Arms Control and Disarmament in Southern Africa: An assessment of Civil Society and State Responses in Mozambique 1995 – 2003

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis aims to ascertain the level of success which civil society and state actors have had in dealing with issues of arms control and disarmament in the SADC region during the post-Cold War era. The main research question shall be divided into two key questions, the first being: *How successful have states been in managing arms control and disarmament in the SADC region?* The second question being: *How successful has civil society been in managing arms control and disarmament in the SADC region?* The study is therefore an evaluative study and shall be focused on the case study of Mozambique. Two arms control processes shall be evaluated in this regard. First is the "Transforming weapons into Ploughshares" or TAE project which is a civil society campaign aimed at minimizing the harsh impacts that Small Arms and Light Weapons have on Mozambican society. The demarcated time period for this project shall be 1995-2003. Second is state driven operation between South African and Mozambican police aimed at locating and destroying arms caches responsible for fuelling the illicit trade in light arms between the two countries. This project was known as Operation Rachel and shall be evaluated from the period of 1995-2001.

Through evaluating these two projects, the study shall seek to make the point that in terms of arms control in post-conflict developing states, there is a role for both state and civil societies. The role of civil society organizations can be seen as one of identifying security threats, raising public awareness and democratizing security issues such as arms control so that society at large becomes active in negating the problem. The role of the state on the other hand is to live up to its duties as the chief provider of security for the designated population within the state's territorial boundary. Arms control in Mozambique and in the SADC region in general has been mediocre at best since as shall be demonstrated, states are far too weak to offer any meaningful protection to citizens and secondly civil society organizations which have taken it upon themselves to offer this kind of protection are just not well resourced enough to undertake state responsibilities. Thus the key recommendation of this study is that Southern African states invariably need to build up their capacities. Light weapons have spread uncontrollably throughout the region because weak and fractured states could not contain the problem and continue struggling to manage a multitude of security threats. It is therefore up to civil society organizations to build strong societies which can demand stronger state action.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis se doel is om vas te stel tot watter mate die burgerlike samelewing en Staat akteurs sukses behaal het in terme van wapenbeheer en ontwapening in die Suider-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelings Gemeenskap (SAOG) streek na die koue oorlog. Die hoof navorsings vraag sal in twee kern vrae verdeel word, Die eerste vraag is: *Hoeveel sukses het die burgerlike samelewing in die SAOG streek gehad met die bestuur van wapenbeheer en ontwapening?* Die tweede vraag is: *hoeveel sukses het Staat akteurs in die SAOG streek gehad met die bestuur van wapenbeheer en ontwapening?* Hierdie studie is dus 'n evaluerende studie en sal op Mosambiek fokus as gevalle-studie. Twee wapenbeheer prosesse sal in hierdie tesis evalueer word. Eerste, is die "Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares" of "TAE" projek wat 'n burgerlike samelewings veldtog is, wat hom ten doel gestel het om die negatiewe impak van ligte-wapens op Mosambiekse samelewing te verminder. Die afgebakende tydperk vir hierdie studie sal 1995-2003 wees. Die tweede proses is die staat-gedrewe operasie tussen die Suid-Afrikaanse en Mosambiekse polisie. Die doel van hierdie projek was om die wapen-opslagplekke wat verantwoordelik is vir die onwettige handel in wapens tussen die twee lande te identifiseer en dienooreenkomstig te verwoes. Hierdie was bekend as "Operation Rachel" en sal tussen 1995-2001 evalueer word.

Duur die evaluering van hierdie twee projekte sal die studie probeer om die punt te maak dat daar 'n rol is vir beide die burgerlike samelewing en die staat in terme van wapenbeheer in post-konflik, ontwikkelende lande. Die rol van burgerlike samelewing organisasies kan beskou word as die identifisering van bedreigings wat veiligheid en sekuriteit kan raak, om bewustheid te kweek en die demokratisering van veiligheid en sekuriteit kwessies soos wapenbeheer. Die rol van die staat is om hulle plig te vervul as die 'hoof verskaffer' van sekuriteit vir die bevolking binne die staat se territoriale grense. Wapenbeheer in Mosambiek en in die SAOG streek in die algemeen was totdusver minder suksesvol gewees, aangesien state heeltemal te swak is om enige betekenisvolle beskerming aan hulle burgers te verleen. Tweedens, het burgerlike samelewings organisasies wat die verantwoordelikheid aangeneem het om beskerming te verleen net nie genoeg hulpbronne om die staat se verantwoordelikhede te vervul nie. Dus, is die kern aanbeveling van hierdie tesis dat Suider-Afrikaanse state hulle bekwaamheid en kapasiteit sal moet versterk. Ligte wapens het onbeheersd dwarsdeur die streek versprei omdat swak state nie oor die kapasiteit beskik om veelvuldige veiligheids en sekuriteits-bedreigings te kan hanteer nie. Dit hang dus van burgerlike samelewings-

organisasies af om sterk samelewings te bou wat op hul beurt kan aandring op sterker staats-optrede om hierdie kwessies meer daadwerklik aan te spreek.

Acknowledgments

Contents

Figure 1: Map of Mozambique

(Source: CIA -The World Factbook: Mozambique, 2009)

List of Abbreviations

AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AMP - Arms Management Program

ANC - African National Congress

APC - Armoured Personnel Carriers

CCM – Council of Churches of Mozambique

CNN – Cable News Network

CONSAS – Constellation of States

CSO – Civil Society Organization

DDA – Department for Disarmament Affairs

DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

FAPLA - Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola)

FLS – Front Line States

FNLA – National Liberation Front for Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola)

FRELIMO – Liberation Front for Mozambique (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique)

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNI – Gross National Income

GPE – Global Political Economy

GPS – Global Positioning System

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HSN – Human Security Network

IANSA – International Action Network on Small Arms

ICJ – International Court Of Justice

IDP – Internally Displaced Person

IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party

INGO – International Non-Governmental Organization

IPE – International Political Economy

IR – International Relations

ISDSC - Inter-State Defense and Security Committee

ISS – Institute for Security Studies

LDC – Least Developed Countries

MK – uMkhonto weSizwe

MNC – Multinational Corporation

MPLA – Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola)

MRL - Multiple Rocket Launchers

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

OAU – Organisation of African Unity

ODA – Office of Disarmament Affairs

ONUMOZ – United Nations Operation in Mozambique

OPDS – Organ on Politics Defense and Security

PAC – Pan Africanist Congress

PF – Patriotic Front

PPP$ - Purchasing Power Parity

PRM – Police of the Republic of Mozambique

RENAMO – Mozambican National Resistance (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana)

RSC – Regional Security Complex

SACP – South African Communist Party

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SADCC – Southern African Development Coordination Conference

SADF – South African Defense Force

SALW – Small Arms and Light Weapons

SAP – South African Police

SAPS – South African Police Service

SWAPO – South West African Peoples Organization

TAC – Treatment Action Campaign

TAE – Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares (TRANSFORMAÇÃO DE ARMAS EM ENXADAS)

UN – United Nations

UNAVEM – United Nations Angola Verification Mission

UNDIP – United Nations Disarmament Information Program

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

UNITA – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WHO – World Health Organization

ZANLA – Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU – Zimbabwe African National Union

APU – Zimbabwe African Peoples Union

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

1.1   Introduction

This thesis forms part of the broader field of study known as international security studies. International security studies deal with identifying threats to mutual safety and survival and detail measures which actors such as sovereign states, international organizations and local civil society groups take in trying to lessen the impact of the threats identified. The uncontrolled proliferation of weapons within the international arena is one such threat to safety and survival; it is this threat which will be investigated within the thesis. Arms control and disarmament is in itself a broad field of study and differs with each context in which it is placed. This thesis shall look specifically at arms control in the post-Cold War era from the developing countries perspective. In addition, the thesis shall also take on a less state-centric approach to arms control, as due recognition will be given to the role which civil society and other actors play in undertaking effective arms control.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) region shall be the focus area of this study. Arms control and disarmament shall be investigated with specific reference to processes in Mozambique. The thesis shall compare and contrast contemporary arms control with arms control measures of the past which were primarily focused on responding to threats within developed countries. Thus, this study asserts that arms control measures which are exclusively concerned with state security are structurally unsuitable for resolving issues of arms control within the SADC region today. The study is therefore part of a growing school of thought which propagates a shift in understanding international security, and one which is currently trying to develop new responses to contemporary sources of insecurity within the developing world.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to give an outline of the significance and objectives of the thesis. In addition this chapter shall also explain exactly how the thesis's main objectives shall be achieved through highlighting the research question, the research design, the key concepts and the methodological aspects of the study. A literature review will be given in order to properly place the study within a certain theoretical approach. The theoretical framework will further assist to elucidate the approach which will be employed to analyze the case study.

1.2   Significance of research

As the world globalizes at a much faster rate than before, security issues within the developing regions of the world in turn are gaining much more importance. No longer do we live in a world where developing countries (especially those in Africa) are only relevant to world politics when they impact upon the national security of powerful countries and their allies. Today, the political, economic and cultural contraction of the international system has meant that issues affecting previously marginalized societies could be thrust into the centre of world politics. In other words, the growing importance of Africa to international security compels policy makers to re-adjust and redefine accepted notions of international security to better respond to complexities of Africa's many security dilemmas. As mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, this thesis will focus on the arms control and disarmament aspect of security studies which have been particularly biased towards analyzing the subjects from a state-centric, super-power approach. The importance of this study will thus be its intention to expand current rigid understandings of international security, through using the issue of arms control in sub-Saharan Africa as a means of achieving this. The study will also aim to provide sustainable alternatives to the now outdated, traditional and rigid responses to security threats. These new responses will be better suited for implementation in developing countries and have a more developmental agenda. The research will thus aim to also demonstrate the link between successful arms control, disarmament and development.

The role of civil society will be investigated within this research. Security has for too long been viewed as the sole property and concern of the military and political elites. However, the new approaches to security which as mentioned before are more centered on a humanitarian and developmental agenda are vigorously creating room for the inclusion of non-state actors such as civil society. This study will thus also aim to assess the current state of civil society participation within arms control and disarmament.

The uniqueness of this study lies in the fact that whilst it does support emerging trends within security studies which propagate the expansion of the concept beyond a state-centric one; it shall not totally abandon the state as the chief vehicle for providing security. Many contemporary scholars from the "state collapse" school of thought have rendered African states redundant in terms of providing security (Matthews and Solomon, 2002: 2). In effect,

this development has removed African states from the role which they could play in terms of providing human security. Thus the accepted notion from this perspective is that African states are incapable of ensuring security and thus must be assisted or even replaced by other non-state actors such as private military companies or NGO's. This development has only served to increase insecurity within African societies as non-state actors do not have the legitimacy which traditional states possess. What is required is an overall acceptance from all actors that the African state needs to realize its position as the chief instrument of creating human security. NGO's and other civil society groups are essential in bridging the gap between state security and human security. Thus, this thesis will be unique in asserting that African states are essential to the eventual realization of human security in the continents conflict regions. From this perspective, it is not a move away from track I diplomacy towards track II diplomacy which is needed, but a move towards a multi-track diplomacy encompassing both the African states and a host of other civil society groups.

1.3   Research Problem

The title for this dissertation reads as follows: "*Arms control and disarmament in the Post-Cold War SADC region: An assessment of state and civil society responses*". The dissertation aims to ascertain the level of success which states and civil society organizations have experienced with regards to their attempts to firstly manage and negate the proliferation of small and light weapons in the SADC region; and secondly properly disarming ex-combatants in post-conflict societies. The main research question shall be divided into two key questions, the first being: *How successful have states been in managing arms control and disarmament in the SADC region?* The second key question is formulated as follows: *How successful has civil society been in managing arms control and disarmament in the SADC region?*

The research question observes the relationship between the causal or independent variables and the dependent variables. States and civil society constitute the causal variables within this research question whilst arms control and disarmament represent the dependent variables which are impacted upon by the causal variables. The study shall use primarily already existing data to answer the questions posed above. This data will be collected and analysed in order to formulate the hypothesis, thus this research question can be categorised as an empirical research question. The question can be further categorised as an evaluative

empirical question, which means the question seeks to evaluate how successful the causal variables (states & civil society) have been in relation to the dependent variables (arms control and disarmament). Below is a broad illustration of what the dissertation aims to achieve.

Causal Variable

STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY	Evaluation of Impact	Dependent Variable

| STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY | **Evaluation of Impact** | **ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT within SADC** |

The thesis will thus aim to answer the research problem given above with the following hypothesis*: whilst state and civil society responses to arms control in the SADC region have brought mixed results, full success can only be achieved through a cooperative effort involving both actors. Thus, a multi-track diplomatic response is needed to solve current arms control issues within the SADC region.*

A number of other important sub-questions will be answered within this study, they include the following: How has arms control and disarmament changed in the post-Cold War era? How did arms proliferate within Mozambique and other conflict ridden societies of the SADC region? What are some of the obstacles to effective arms control in the SADC region? Is there a link between arms control, disarmament and development? And: Is there a need for greater cooperation between civil society and state structures?

1.4   Conceptualization

There are four main concepts which will be conceptualized within this study. These main concepts represent the variables which were elaborated upon in the previous section. At this point in time a short conceptualization would suffice. Firstly, we shall conceptualize the independent variables, namely states and civil society.

1.4.1 Independent Variables

Effectively conceptualizing the state has become one of the biggest challenges to international relations theory and all its sub-fields. States can vary in terms of their characteristics and in response to different conditions. States also tend to transform over time. Despite differences amongst states certain characteristics have been adopted by many scholars as key defining features of the state. These include: The sovereignty of the state; the fact that state institutions are recognizably public; the state's ability to maintain legitimacy; the fact that the state has territorial association and the state's ability to instrumentalize violence as means of domination. These core features were borne out of the formation of the Westphalian state system of Europe 1648 and have endured till the present day (Heywood, 2002: 87). The African state though presents a challenge to the Westphalian understanding of what the state is. The way in which African states came into being has meant that they often cannot fulfill the core functions given above, thus a new kind of state is observed. The African state has been analyzed and labeled by various scholars as a 'Shadow state', 'quasi-state', 'disrupted state' or 'collapsed state' (Matthews and Solomon, 2002: 4). All these categories refer to the African states' inability to effectively control internal and external security threats. In response to this, private groups within conflict ridden African states have taken it upon themselves to provide security as the state has been perceived as incapable of doing so. The case study within this thesis will demonstrate how the African states' inability to provide sufficient security for their populations has led to a different kind of state formation, one which cannot be conceptualized solely from a Westphalian state system approach. The proliferation of weapons in the hands of non-state actors in Africa's conflict regions has meant that many African states do not possess the same control over the use of force which Westphalian states possessed. Thus security threats to African states are not just from external sources in the form of an aggressor state, but are often internal or non-state actors. This re-conceptualization of the state means that arms control when applied to Africa's conflict regions such as Mozambique must also be re-adjusted in order to not only view it as an activity exclusively between states, but as one between a variety of actors.

The London School of economics through its Centre for Civil Society has developed a working definition for the concept of civil society which goes as follows: "Civil society refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex,

blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group*" (LSE Centre for Civil Society, 2009)*. This definition shall be applied in the context of organisation which are focused on Arms control and disarmament issue within the SADC region. Organisations which are based outside the region but are significantly involved in operations within the SADC region will for the purpose of this dissertation also be considered as part of civil society within the SADC region.

1.4.2 Dependant Variables

In terms of dependant variables, this dissertation will look at arms control and disarmament. Arms control is defined by the dictionary of weapons and military terms as being "*Any plan, arrangement or process, resting upon explicit or implicit international agreement and governing any aspect of the following: the numbers, types and performance characteristics of weapon systems*" (Quick, J. 1973: 33)*.* The Encyclopaedia of International Peacekeeping Operations points out that Arms control is used more often in an international context and refers to the limiting of military capability to wage war and the preservation of feelings of national security. (Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T. 1999:11) It is imperative that one realises that when dealing with the SADC region, these definitions should be extended to non-state actors as well as the state itself.

Disarmament as the name might imply refers to the specific reduction of weapons to some level which is satisfactory to an agreement. Disarmament is usually implemented in post-conflict situations and includes activities such as policing a cease fire agreement and demobilising armed forces (Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T. 1999:11). The two most important challenges which face post-conflict societies are usually the high number of weapons which find their way into non-military hands, and secondly the huge numbers of cheap landmines which are planted underground and restrict human movement and development. The specific type of disarmament which relates to the control of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is known as micro disarmament. (Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T. 1999:11). This is the most widely used form of disarmament within the SADC region.

Protracted conflicts in South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and most recently the DRC have all led to a proliferation in small and light weapons rather than nuclear weapons. Thus micro disarmament shall be the main focus in terms of disarmament.

Whilst arms control and disarmament may have the same ultimate goal, it is important to distinguish between the two. As mentioned before arms control usually refers to interstate agreements or treaties which seek to place some kind of restraint on international arms policy or trade (Ramsbotham, O. & Woodhouse, T. 1999:11). Disarmament on the other hand is usually applied specifically to post–conflict regions and is the practice of reducing or abolishing weapons. In simple terms arms control refers to the regulation of arms whilst disarmament refers to the reduction or destruction of arms. Arms control has thus come to be seen as the more realistic of the two and often makes use of disarmament but at times will offer other alternatives besides the reduction of weapons. Despite the differences the primary objective of both concepts is to eliminate the security threats which arms have caused. In the later paragraphs we shall take a closer look at the different kinds of approaches to arms control and disarmament and try to ascertain which one is most suitable to the contemporary SADC case.

1.5   Demarcation of Time Period

This study will use one case study and time period to demarcate the research. The case study is that of Mozambique from 1995 till 2003. Within this time period, two Mozambican disarmament processes will be analysed. The first being the more state-centric operation Rachel which was a joint project undertaken by the South African and Mozambican governments as a means to stem the tide of illicit weapons flowing across the borders of the two countries. The second process is an analysis of the more civil society orientated project which was commissioned concurrently to Operation Rachel. The project known as "Transforming weapons into ploughshares" was undertaken by the Mozambican Council of Churches (CCM). This project dealt with reducing the number of weapons in civilian hands across Mozambique.

1.6   Literature Review

The available research with regards to arms control and disarmament has transformed over the years. This first section of this literature review shall detail the path of prior research

within this field and detail how the literature has changed in response to the changing global environment. Nancy Gallagher (1998: 7) observes three broad stages of arms control and disarmament literature; firstly, there is the realist school. This is the oldest approach to viewing arms control and disarmament and is born out of the traditional realist perception that security is a state-centric militaristic activity. These states, which are the most important actors within the international system perform their functions in an anarchic world which lacks governance and thus are forced to protect themselves. They act rationally in a self-help system (Gallagher, 1998: 7). Realist approaches to arms control and disarmament gained prominence and virtual dominance during the years of Cold War confrontation between the world super powers, namely the Soviet Union and the USA. At this stage the greatest threat to security in terms of weapons was the proliferation of nuclear armaments. Thus, most literature on arms control and disarmament from this period was specifically focused on investigating the super power arms race which had developed. With these considerations in mind we can now begin looking at some examples of literary works which were produced from the realist school of arms control and disarmament.

Authors such as Colin Gray who view arms control and disarmament from the realist perspective basically feel that arms control or disarmament is almost always irrelevant or unwise. Since political conflicts force states to worry about relative military power, arms control and disarmament is inherently paradoxical because the more conflictual a relationship is, the less likely adversaries will be to negotiate and uphold limits on military strength (Gray, 1992: 60). Richard Betts was a more moderate realist writer who did not view international politics in the same zero-sum approach as writers such as Colin Gray; instead he believed that arms control was important in stabilizing the balance of power between super powers. Betts supported measures which would leave the East and West with nuclear and conventional capabilities sufficient enough to prevent any side from gaining more than it would loose from an attack, however, he still felt that arms reductions should be taken unilaterally by a state and that any international binding agreement would hinder rather than assist healthy arms control (Gallagher, 1998: 8).

To sum up the realist school of arms control and disarmament, it is one which emerged from the point of departure that security issues are state-centric and that they are primarily dealt with militarily or using some or other form of coercion. This is due to the nature of the international system which is an anarchic self-help system where rational states aggressively

compete in a zero-sum game. Conflict and war are thus inevitable meaning that so is the proliferation of arms. From the point of view of realist authors arms control or disarmament has little impact as states are forced to protect themselves in a hostile international environment. At best less hard-line realist authors such as Betts believed that arms control or reduction could help to maintain a balance of power between East-West cold-war nuclear confrontations (Gallagher. N, 1998:8). Other authors from this approach include E.H. Carr (1964).

The middle ground of the arms control and disarmament debate is populated by policy-makers and academics who believe that the former can make useful if moderate contributions to security even under circumstances where mistrust between states is high (Gallagher, 1998: 9).. In keeping with realist assumptions, this approach asserts that sovereign states remain the key actors in international security issues; however, they are not unitary actors and have a mixture of common and conflicting interests (Gallagher, 1998: 9). In their study titled *Superpower Arms control* Albert Carnesale and Richard N. Haass found that arms control could reduce uncertainty and increase predictability so that military planning need not be based on self-fulfilling worst case assumptions (Carnesale, and Haass, 1987). Some middle ground scholars and policy makers believe misperceptions rather than conflicts of interests are the primary cause of arms races in the world, thus one way to limit insecurity without inhibiting a state from protecting itself is to adopt operational practices which are better suited for defence rather than offence. For example, the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe treaty limits five categories of predominantly offensive weapons and restricts their deployment to preclude a large-scale surprise attack (Gallagher, 1998: 9). Confidence building is another practice which is considered vital to establishing international arms security from the perspective of middle-ground scholars and policy makers. Writers such as Robert Jervis have pointed out how providing information on armaments can help to distinguish between a country's benign intensions and aggressive intensions thus allowing states to be less suspicious of their neighbours (Gallagher, 1998: 9).

Since the 1980's and especially after the end of the Cold War, new understandings of arms control and disarmament have developed which diverge considerably from both realist and middle-ground approaches. The broad word used to describe these approaches is idealism (Gallagher, 1998: 10). The increase in the significance of these idealistic approaches is a

response to the complexity of the post-Cold War era which has redefined security issues. Instead of viewing security as strictly protection from external threats, idealist writers observe human insecurity which can be caused by governments themselves towards their own people. Instead of viewing arms control and disarmament as processes which are the sole responsibility of sovereign states, idealist writers have acknowledged the role that non-state actors have in reduction or proliferation of weapons; and instead of only focusing on the threat of nuclear weapons which have been mainly a threat to superpowers and more developed countries, idealist writers have also acknowledged the role that small and light weapons have on less developed countries. As the world began to take stock of the shear level of destruction of Cold War conflicts on many developing nations, the problem of uncontrolled arms floating around highly volatile regions of the world began to be elucidated. The United Nations Disarmament Information Program (UNDIP) has been the organization at the forefront of trying to redefine security issues. In addition the UN has established an Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA) which has aimed among other things to draw the link between development in post-conflict societies and disarmament, arguing that disarmament is not only important for conflict resolution but also for development of societies. (Department for Disarmament Affairs, 2004:1). World Watch is another organization which has looked at arms control and disarmament from an idealist perspective. In his October 1997 paper titled: "Small Arms, Big Impact: The Next Challenge of Disarmament" Michael Renner notes that 90% of deaths in contemporary wars are caused by small arms and light weapons. (Renner, 1997).

Oxfam International and Amnesty International have been pivotal in raising awareness of the supply side of the new global arms control by drawing attention to how global arms exporters such as Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, UK and the USA contribute to proliferating arms in conflict societies (Control Arms, 2005:2). "Arms without Borders" is another report compiled by Oxfam, Amnesty International and the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA). This paper looks at the ineffectiveness of international arms control measures during the post-Cold War era. The globalised nature of international trade has allowed arms flows to move from manufacturing regions of the world to regions embroiled in violent conflict (Control Arms, 2006: 3). There is an abundance of literature such as the aforementioned which focuses on the international arms trade and how it not only allows repressive governments to visit unspeakable atrocities on vulnerable societies but also on how non-state actors can undermine the states monopoly on force through sourcing

weapons from the illicit trade in arms.

In addition to literature focusing on the supply side factors of the arms control problem, there is also a lot of literature focusing on the demand side features. Taya Weiss looks at the factors which make certain regions more vulnerable to high levels of arms in the wrong hands, these factors include weak and unstable governments, protracted civil conflicts, poor disarmament processes, poverty, a high level of unemployed youth and the availability of these weapons amongst other factors (Weiss, 2003: 8-11). Thus current trends in arms control and disarmament research are moving towards a broadening of definitions and approaches to these issues. The impacts of arms control and disarmament on state as well as non-state actors has become important. Small Arms and light weapons (SALW) are now a more significant threat to the security of many developing countries than nuclear weapons and demand side factors are now being investigated with the same enthusiasm as supply side factors of global arms flows (Weiss, 2003: 8-11).

Idealist approaches to arms control and disarmament are much better suited to analyzing the developing regions such as the SADC region. Subsequently there has been an increase in investigating arms control and disarmament in former conflict regions such as Southern Africa. There are today a number of research institutions and think tanks which have made an effort to research and publish issues of security in Southern Africa. The Africa Institute for South Africa (AISA) is one such organization, a book titled: *Towards a Common Defence and Security Policy in the Southern African Development Community*" was published by the AISA and is a collection of essays focusing on the regions attempts to harmonize security policies (Solomon, 2003). The Institute of Security Studies (ISS) is another organization which has done extensive research through the organization's Arms Management Programme (AMP). This institution publishes "Arms Control: Africa" which is a publication dedicated to providing relevant information and analysis on arms and arms control developments that are either taking place in Africa, or which have the potential to have a significant impact on the continent (Arms Control: Africa, 2008: 1). Confidence building, whilst mentioned before has also been researched by many authors with regards to Southern Africa. "*Hide and Seek*" is a book edited by Chandre Gould and Guy Lamb which looks at record keeping of arms from nine Southern African countries. This book highlights the difficulties in gathering accurate information from Southern African governments of state held weapons (Gould and Lamb,

2004: 1). In terms of disarmament there have been significant shifts in contemporary approaches to understanding the southern African experience. Significantly in much of today's literature, disarmament is seen not as an end itself but an integral part of a process which seeks to rebuild war-torn post-conflict areas in Southern Africa. Gwinyayi Dzinesa in his article analyses disarmament as part of a broader process in post-conflict societies commonly referred to as Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration or DDR. Dzinesa looks at the DDR process within South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe (Dzinesa, 2007: 73). Susan Willet in her piece entitled "*Demilitarization, Disarmament and Development in Southern Africa*" looks at how the DDR process is not only important in itself but also imperative to reconstructing conflict zones in the region and creating conditions more conducive for regional arms control. This thesis will thus reflect on current emerging trends within security studies which are now forming a united front against traditional and rigid understandings of security which have proven to be ineffective in properly explaining arms security in the SADC region.

1.7   Research design

This study will make use of qualitative research to achieve its hypothesis. In other words it will be less dependent on numerical data and focus more on the collection of past and present literature; however, usage of numerical data will not be ruled out and could be used where necessary. As mentioned within the research question section, this thesis is an empirical study which focuses on real life issues and is not a theoretical debate, although theoretical considerations will be made in the second chapter of this thesis. The data to be used will be primarily secondary data, in other words, data which is already in existence. This thesis falls into the category of evaluative research, meaning that it is an analysis of how the independent variables (states and civil society) have impacted upon the dependent variables (disarmament and Arms control).

The main unit of analysis of this study can be categorized as a 'human action'. The specific type of human action in the case of this thesis is an "intervention". In other words the main focus of this thesis is to study the actions of states and civil society in terms of arms control and disarmament and evaluate their success. In terms of states, interventions would include: Operation Rachel, an arms control operation between South Africa and Mozambique

governments. With regards to civil society, interventions would include actions by the Mozambican Council of Churches which has been implementing programs to disarm ex-combatants in that country. These interventions and others like them will be evaluated within this thesis to try and ascertain the level of success which they have experienced and the various challenges which the institutions have had in trying to implement them. In order for this thesis to make any meaningful observation of the successes of arms control and disarmament within the region, the study will have to be compiled from information gathered over time, thus making it a longitudinal study. As mentioned earlier, this time period spans from 1995 to 2003 for the Mozambican case study.

1.8   Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework to be employed in this thesis is one which views security and arms control in the broadest terms possible. This is a significant departure from older realist concepts of arms control which see the concept as a primarily state-centred activity. This thesis will through its theoretical framework seek to expand arms control theory so that it may include relevant non-state actors. Thus this thesis can be summarised as a practice of broadening the realist theoretical framework of arms control, so that it may encompass non-state actors such as civil society, which have been previously neglected.

Nancy Gallagher (1998: 20) refers to the theoretical approach elaborated upon above as the idealist approach to arms control theory. There are a number of features of this approach which can be identified. Firstly: the idealist approach is steeped in multilateralism. Whilst more realist approaches to arms control view it as a unilateral decision taken by a unitary state, the idealist approach recognises that states often have to cooperate with one another for effective arms control. The SADC protocol on the control of firearms, ammunition and other related materials is an example where 14 governments came together in 2002 to put multilateral arms control measures into practice (SADC: 2009). The concept of cooperative security forms part of this theoretical framework. According to Jeffery Larzen, cooperative security refers to: A commitment to regulate the size, technical composition, investment patterns, and operational practices of all military forces by mutual consent for mutual benefit. Thus arms control from this approach is more diplomatic, peaceful and has a wider range of beneficiaries (Larsen, and Rattray, 1996). The SADC Mutual Defence Pact of 2003 is an

example of the former. Article 2 of the pact begins by stressing the importance of cooperation with regards to defence and security matters. Article 9 further elaborates upon the concept of security cooperation by stating that: "State parties shall cooperate in defence matters and facilitate interaction among their armed forces and defence-related industries in the following ways: training of military personnel in any field of military endeavour, exchanging military intelligence and information and joint research, development and production under license or otherwise of military equipment" (SADC, 2003).

The idealist approach to arms control also takes a much more humanitarian standpoint. Therefore the approach focuses on human security and not just state security which is the main focus of realism. This framework seeks to explore security threats from all sources, not just from other hostile states but also from non-state actors such as terrorists, insurgency groups or criminal organisations. In addition, this approach also recognises the role which many governments have in causing insecurity within their own populations (Muller, 2004: 8).

The idealist theoretical approach also possesses what can be called a developmental agenda. In other words arms control is viewed as necessary for development in post-conflict regions and the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons is seen as a direct obstacle to development. Solomon and Matthews (2002: 5) point out that since the mid-1980's, 15 of the 20 poorest countries on earth have experienced violent conflict, thus supporting the argument that there is a link between violent conflict and a lack of development. In order for development to occur, violent conflicts would have to be resolved, and since arms control is an essential part of conflict resolution, it would be subsequently necessary for development. Arms control from this perspective is thus not just a means for maintaining a favourable balance of power, but also essential for development. Since the end of the Cold War, assumptions of a link between human development and human security have grown ever stronger. This approach to security is embodied by the UNDP report (1994: 23):

"Human development is the process of widening the range of people's choices. Human security means that people can exercise these choices safely and freely... There is a link between human security and human development: progress in one area enhances the chances of progress in the other. But failure in one area also heightens the risk of failure in the other. Failed or limited human development leads to a backlog of human deprivation... This backlog in access to power and economic opportunities can lead to violence" (Schoeman, 2004: 62)

Whilst the theoretical framework of this thesis shall be significantly less state-centric than realist approaches of the Cold War era, it does not mean that the state shall be totally abandoned as an important unit of analysis within this approach. In fact, in keeping with Max Weber's notion of the state, it will be argued within this thesis that the state should maintain its monopoly on the use of violence. This applies as much to developing African states as it does to the industrialised states of the west. The pivotal point is that the state's control of military power should be used in favour of the people and never against society. The state thus maintains its responsibility to guarantee security; however this security should be focused on the human element and not on protecting the state at the expense of human security.

1.9   Chapter Outline

1.9.2   Chapter 2 is the Theoretical analysis of the different approaches which have been applied to arms control and disarmament. In this chapter state-centric, realist or track I diplomacy approaches will be contrasted against more humanitarian, development focused or tracks II diplomatic approaches. Chapter 2 shall outline the contemporary clash between the two theoretical approaches which has characterised arms control and disarmament in the post-Cold War era. In addition the chapter will detail how both theoretical approaches can be combined in order to achieve a multi-track diplomatic approach, which recognises that both state and non-state actors have a role to play within arms control. It is this theoretical framework which will be used to analyse the case study of later chapters

1.9.3   Chapter 3 is an introduction to the arms control and disarmament situation within the SADC region. This chapter shall take firstly a historical look into how arms and militarism have grown throughout the region beginning with the wars of liberation, the years of civil wars throughout the 1980's and 1990's and the post-conflict years. From this point it will become clearer as to what has caused the uncontrolled proliferation of small and light weapons within the region and what the results have been.

1.9.4   Chapter 4 will be a case study of the arms control and disarmament process within Mozambique between 1995 and 2003. This chapter will use the theoretical approaches expanded upon in chapter 2 to critically evaluate the role which civil society and the state played within the Mozambique disarmament process. From this analysis it will be

demonstrated how both civil society and state willingness to solving arms proliferation is required for a successful arms control or disarmament process.

1.9.5 Chapter 5 is the concluding and evaluation section of the dissertation. This chapter shall be a review of the main observations made within the case studies which will ultimately support the hypothesis. In this chapter a review of the main arguments of the thesis shall be made, including the primary hypothesis as given in this chapter. Thus all arguments shall be summarised and pulled together within this conclusion. The concluding chapter shall also be evaluative in the sense that it shall look back on the entire research process, looking at the pros and cons of the methods and designs used to reach the hypothesis. Finally this chapter shall identify new avenues of research which relate to the theme of the thesis.

1.10 Conclusion

This concludes the introductory chapter of this thesis. The overall objective has been to point the reader in the right direction in terms of trying to outline not only the theme of the study; but also the importance, the uniqueness and objectives of the study. In addition this chapter has sought to pay particular attention to more technical aspects of the research process by outlining the type of research design and methodological techniques employed. At a theoretical level this chapter has given the reader a broad explanation of the theoretical framework which shall be employed in analysing the case studies whilst also explaining where this research fits into the greater body of literature given in the literature review. A brief outline of each chapter's theme concludes this introductory chapter. It is hoped that through this introductory chapter the reader will be given a basic illustration of the theme of this study and of the approach which will be employed.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1   Introduction

This chapter constitutes the theoretical overview of the thesis. In this chapter the different theoretical approaches shall be elaborated upon with the intention of ascertaining whether or not these approaches would be relevant to the study at hand. Firstly, this chapter shall explore the more traditional realist approaches to discussing security and demonstrate how these approaches are unsuitable and cannot easily be applied to issues such as arms control or disarmament in Southern Africa. Following the discussion on traditional security approaches, the chapter shall turn its attention to new theoretical approaches to security studies such as those which entail a broadening and a deepening of the concept. In this regard the Human Security Approach has enthusiastically embraced both the broadening and the deepening of the concept of security. This approach which is centred on achieving the security of people and individuals as opposed to that of the state shall also be discussed and critiqued. The shortcomings of this theoretical approach shall then be highlighted. Finally this chapter shall attempt to combine the differing theoretical approaches in order to design a custom approach which is tailor-made for the post-Cold War Southern African context, not just in terms of explaining the arms dilemma but also in terms of providing solutions to the problem.

2.2   The Traditional Approach to security studies

The traditional approach to security studies is a variant of the realist theoretical approach to International Relations theory. To be precise, the traditional approach directly mirrors realist understandings of IR theory since to the realist, International Relations is primarily concerned with security. Exploring the key assumptions of the traditional approach to security effectively demonstrates the close relationship between this approach and realism. The first key assumption of traditional security studies can be captured by the concept of 'statism'. Statism is a view of the world that regards states in unitary terms as the only significant actors in world politics. This assumption is a direct product of realist understandings of International Relations (Wyn Jones, 1999: 95). To the realist, states are placed at the centre of the analysis of world politics because they are at the centre of the international stage; this is especially true when considering security issues (Wyn Jones, 1999: 95). Statism, being a central tenet of both traditional security studies and realism suggests that the state is the main

referent object of security, thus, from this perspective to speak of international security is to speak of state security since there is no other actor nearly as relevant within the international system. It should be mentioned that sometimes the security of the state shifts to the incumbent government. This is especially the case in more repressive countries where the line between the state and those in government is quite blurred. Cheryl Hendricks and Lauren Hutton point out that states which are ruled by liberation movements such as Zimbabwe often gravitate towards regime security where the state is inextricably linked to its ruling elite. To protect Zimbabwe is thus parallel to protecting the government of Zimbabwe (Hendricks and Hutton, 2009: 3).

2.2.1 National Security and National Interest

Closely related to the statism is the concept of 'national security'. Buzan explains how national security refers best to the state and its external environment. In other words, national security is the act of protecting the nation against external threats posed by other states (Buzan, 1991: 103). The realist assumption that the international system is intrinsically anarchical and competitive best explains the need for national security. Since there is no central authority making and enforcing rules within the international system, it stands to reason that states must protect themselves because nothing and no one else will (Nel, 2002: 28). National security also corresponds well with the realist notion of 'national interests'. This term was brought to prominence by the renowned realist Hans Morgenthau and seeks to make the point that a government needs to act according to the interests of its own people even if this conflicts with the interests of other states and peoples (Hough, 2004: 3). Thus a key function of national security is to protect the state's national interests which, because of the anarchical international system are quite often detrimental to the interests and security of other states. National security is built on the realist premise that the state is a unitary actor which is closely tied to a nation. In the words of Buzan: 'a nation is defined as a large group of people sharing the same cultural and possibly the same ethnic or racial, heritage' (1991: 70). In the realist paradigm it is taken for granted that the nation's territorial boundaries coincide with that of the state's thus making it easy to look for the purpose of the state in the protection and expression of the nation (Buzan, 1991: 70). Therefore protecting the nation becomes one of the chief functions of the state, allowing it to present itself as a single and united actor within the international arena.

2.2.2 The Security Power Nexus

In keeping with the discussion of national security, it is important to understand that security is not inherent to a state. Security is therefore created. The chief means for the state to create security is power. Thus in the anarchical international system states are forced to amass power in order to create security. Hence relations between states are characterized by the continual search for new ways and means to obtain power, since power begets security (McGowan & Nel, 2002: 339). This perpetual and ungoverned accumulation of power amongst states leads to a challenge known as the security dilemma. The problem is that each state cannot simultaneously seek to maximize their power without negatively impacting upon the security of another state. For realists, this dilemma can be averted by a phenomenon known as the balance of power. This refers to the realization by the most powerful countries that working together to maintain the status quo would mutually benefit the countries concerned. Thus the security of the most powerful countries rests upon not allowing either of the countries to tip the balance by becoming too powerful (Hough, 2004: 4). Traditional security studies emerged from the bipolar balance of power between the USA and the Soviet Union which characterized the Cold War era (McGowan & Nel, 2002: 339).

One of the defining characteristics of traditional security studies is not just its emphasis on power politics but its definition of power. As mentioned, traditional security studies derives its position from the Cold War balance of power between the USA and the Soviet Union. Both these protagonists were involved in an arms race which saw the two countries amassing dangerously high levels of nuclear weapons. The world was soon carved into blocs either supporting the US or the USSR with the two nuclear superpowers acting as guarantors of security for their respective allies. Most notably, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) founded in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact of 1955 were security alliances which solidified the USA and the USSR's position as nuclear powers respectively (McGowan & Nel, 2002: 95 & 353). Nuclear weapons soon came to symbolize the apex of military power within traditional security studies. This view was of course a direct result of the nuclear arms race and subsequent alliances which were formed in response to the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The nuclear arms race seemed to vindicate all the core realist assumptions about world society (Hough, 2004: 4). This could explain why power has come to be so closely associated with nuclear weapons amongst traditional security scholars, to the point that power is defined in strictly militaristic terms and nuclear weapons are seen as the highest level of power for a state or the biggest threat to other states**.**

2.2.3 High Politics VS. Low Politics

Traditional security studies during the Cold War soon became the most important aspect of international relations often overshadowing other branches of politics such as development. Policy makers began to channel resources away from welfare of people to the militarization of the state. This was particularly detrimental to the welfare of ordinary people in less developed parts of the globe. Southern Africa is one such region where during the 1970's and 1980's most countries increased military spending. Peter Batchelor draws attention to the fact that in 1989 Mozambique spent US$115 million in military expenditure compared with US$ 60 million in 1997 (Batchelor, 2004: 83). Thus newly independent states such as Angola and Mozambique were baptized into the international system through the Cold War mentality of focusing on state security by means of high military spending. Military strength and state security soon became the stuff of the international arena whilst development, economic welfare and health were denigrated to domestic politics and kept separate from International Relations. This approach to IR soon came to be known as the division between high politics of security and low politics of domestic concerns with the former occupying a much more prestigious position amongst policy makers. The justification for this amongst realists was that failing to protect the state would invariably undermine the satisfaction of low politics aspirations (Hough, 2004: 4). Hence society in the UK during the late 1940's tolerated food rationing while the government diverted funds towards its atomic weapons project (Hough, 2004: 4).

Thus the preceding paragraphs give a broad insight into the traditional approach to security studies. In summary some of the important assumptions which this theoretical approach makes will be outlined. Firstly, the traditional approach is steeped in statism. It holds that states are the most important role players within the international system and thus the main referent objects of security. Secondly, traditional approaches place high emphasis on national security (Hough, 2004: 4). The nation represents society or the people within the state. It is their interests and survival which needs to be protected by the state, thus state security implies national security. Thirdly, power is of high importance to the traditional security scholar. Power is how states are able to achieve security for their nations hence states are constantly involved in a perpetual battle to accumulate power (Hough, 2004: 4). The security dilemma is the conundrum which arises from the unregulated accumulation of power among states, the arms race between the USA and the USSR was the example given within this section of how the quest for power can create further security problems. The solution offered

by the realists to this dilemma is the concept of the balance of power which posits that the most powerful of states will cooperate together to make sure that neither one gains too much power, thereby tipping the balance to either side (McGowan and Nel, 2002:162). In the fourth place, the discussion of power within traditional security studies is heavily centred on hard power, particularly military strength. To the traditional security scholar, military strength is the one true form of power within the international arena and nuclear power as was the case during the Cold War is the height of military strength. Hence most literature written from the traditional security studies point of departure is focused on the aversion and management of nuclear warfare. Lastly, realists draw a clear dividing line between high and low politics. This means that traditional security issues such as military force are afforded primacy within international relations as opposed to matters such as welfare, health, food and education which are considered domestic concerns or low politics (Hough, 2004: 4). The assumptions given above are some of the key conclusions of traditional security studies which together with the broader theory of realism dominated international relations since the end of the Second World War, throughout the Cold War and continue to be important to policy makers even today.

2.2.4 Traditional Security and Arms control

So how do traditional security scholars view arms control and disarmament? Hard line realist scholars such as Colin Gray who view the world from the perspective elaborated upon above basically believed that any form of arms control is always irrelevant. This due to the fact that the anarchical world system makes inter-state conflict inevitable, meaning that countries will invariably be more concerned with gaining relative military power than with controlling or reducing arms (Gray, 1992: 60). Richard Betts was a more moderate realist writer who did not view international politics in the same zero-sum approach as writers such as Colin Gray; instead he believed that arms control was important in stabilizing the balance of power between super powers. Betts supported measures which would leave the East and West with nuclear and conventional capabilities sufficient enough to prevent any side from gaining more than it would loose from an attack, however, he still felt that arms reductions should be taken unilaterally by a state and that any international binding agreement would hinder rather than assist healthy arms control (Gallagher, 1998:8). Thus, as much as traditional security scholars were willing to acknowledge the danger posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons, they maintained their core belief in statism and international anarchy meaning that

no state could be expected to substantially reduce weapons and thus risk being attacked by another hostile state (Gallagher, 1998:8).

If recent developments are anything to go by, traditional realists are incorrect in their assertions that States can simply not afford to decrease their nuclear weapons. The year 2009 marks the most vocal anti-nuclear weapons rhetoric from an American president in ages. President Barack Obama has led the UN Security Council in adopting a draft resolution in September 2009 calling for reductions in nuclear weapons (Kessler and Sheridan, 2009). Obama has not only been urging nations to get rid of their own nuclear weapons, but has also guaranteed the USA's commitment to this ideal. Therefore Obama stated the following at the Security Council Summit on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament: "we will pursue a new agreement with Russia to substantially reduce our strategic warheads and launchers. We will move forward with the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and open the door to deeper cuts in our own arsenal. In January, we will call upon countries to begin negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile material for weapons. And the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in May will strengthen that agreement" (President Obama, 2009). Whether or not this implies a change to a more human approach to nuclear arms control shall become clearer as time goes on. One should bear in mind though that Obama did warn that the USA will have to maintain a certain number of nuclear weapons to deter any would be attackers (CNN, 2009). This indicates that no drastic nuclear arms reduction will take place.

2.3   The Limits of Traditional Security Studies

There are a number of fundamental flaws which can be observed within the traditional approach to security studies. This section of the chapter shall critique the conclusions which have been outlined in the previous section and elucidate the various problems which arise from the assumptions made by the traditional security school of thought. It is only fitting that this process begins with an assessment of statism, which is the core assumption underpinning all realist thought to International Relations. One cannot deny the pivotal role which states play within the international system. Even in today's post-Cold War world, states remain the most important units of political organization. Regardless of the complexities posed by a rapidly globalizing world, the state still maintains the legal right to be recognized as the

highest authority within its territory. However, this is only the legal argument which quite often does not correspond with the international reality realists claim to grasp so well. Other spheres of international analysis such as environmental, cultural, political and especially economic indicate a clear incorporation of non-state actors into international relations. Since the 1960's and early 1970's, realist theory has come under significant pressure as the number of non-state actors has increased dramatically (Vincent, 2002: 147). A myriad of non-state actors including liberation movements, secessionist groups, terrorist and criminal organizations, International non-governmental organizations(INGO's), Multinational corporations (MNC's) and individuals have emerged and play a stronger role since the end of the Cold War. Thus today, International Relations is as much the study of non-state actors as it is the study of state relations. While the rise in the profile of non-state actors does not imply the demise of the state, it does require all spheres of International Relations including security studies to adopt a new approach (Vincent, 2002:162).

2.3.1 Challenges to Statism

Another challenge which statism encounters is related to the realist conceptualization of the state. Realist definitions of the state are invariably rigid and reflect the Westphalian image of a state which depicts a sovereign political entity with the ability to effectively control its territory through threat or use of force. In addition, the state is populated by a society which shares a distinct geographical, historical, cultural and linguistic heritage; these bonds permit the formation of a nation which legitimizes the authority of the state in that particular territory. A general scan of the world political map demonstrates however that most states especially those in the developing world scarcely fulfil these requirements of statehood. Buzan (1990: 97) distinguishes between strong and weak states. Strong states are those which better reflect Westphalian notions of a state, in other words: A sovereign state; a state with institutions that are recognizably public; the state's ability to maintain legitimacy; the states territorial association and the state's ability to instrumentalize violence as a means of domination (Heywood, 2002: 87). On the other hand, Buzan (1991: 100) looks at weak states which refer to those that are not able to fulfil the responsibilities listed above. Some telling indicators of weak states include: High levels of political violence; An overbearing role for political police in the everyday lives of citizens; Major political conflict over what ideology will be used to organize the state; Lack of a coherent political national identity or the presence of contending national identities within the state; lack of a clear observed hierarchy

of political authority and a high degree of control over the media. All of the above indicators suggest a state which is experiencing problems in creating social and political cohesion.

In the developing world, the weak state is in fact closer to the norm than the strong state depicted by traditional realist theory. During the process of decolonization, many new territorial states were created in the image of the Eurocentric Westphalian state. These new boundaries did not really take into account the existing cultural and ethnic complexities which existed; instead, society was united through a process of negative nationalism based on the idea of a common opposition to foreign occupation (Buzan, 1991: 98). These weak bonds disintegrated as soon as the euphoria around independence died down, leaving behind arbitrarily defined weak states with little legitimacy besides international recognition (Buzan, 1991: 98). Weak states cannot perform many of the tasks which realists observe as core characteristics of the state; however no realist can deny that these states are fully recognized within the international community despite their obvious inability to meet the basic requirements of what a state is in realist terms. What this means is that not only is traditional realism incorrect in its narrow focus on the state, but also with regards to its narrow focus on what a state is (Buzan, 1991: 98). Indeed realism and traditional security studies only take a certain kind of state into consideration, and thus neglect to pay attention to the complexities of states which have developed differently (Buzan, 1991: 98). This fundamental flaw in the traditional approach permeates through all the major assumptions made with regards to security.

2.3.2 National Security for whom?

The concept of national security as outlined in the previous section is another aspect of the traditional security approach which tends to fracture when subjected to scrutiny. This concept propagates that it is the duty of the state to protect the interests and survival of the nation; the nation being the people or society in a given territorial area and the state being the official institutionalized and internationally recognized representation of the nation. Clearly then national security is a concept tailor made to suite only the attributes of the strong nation-state. As discussed previously, any view of international relations which focuses entirely on strong states is inadequate, due to the fact that the majority of states within the international system are anything but strong, however, they are still states and thus deserve as much attention as their stronger counterparts (Buzan, 1991: 71). Furthermore the presumed symbiotic

relationship between states and nations is also troublesome. The national security concepts points to a pure form of the nation state in which the nation precedes the state and in a sense gives rise to it, as in the case of Japan, Germany, Swaziland and Poland. It is almost common knowledge today though that most states do not fit this model. Some nations have no states such as the Kurds, Palestinians and the Armenians. Some nations are divided into more than one state such as the Koreans, Irish and the Chinese. And some states have more than one nation such as India, former Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Britain and South Africa (Buzan, 1991: 71).

The complex relationship between the state and the nation outlined above has detrimental impacts upon the concept of national security as it creates confusion about what the nation is and thus who is the state meant to protect (Buzan, 1991: 71). Countries such as Apartheid South Africa where the state protected the interests of only a certain nation have experienced protracted conflicts whilst stateless-nations such as the Kurds and the Palestinians have also experienced high levels of conflict in search of a state to protect their interests. Thus the confusion caused by the complex relationship between the nation and the state has been a major source of conflict throughout the 20th century. The disjuncture between the borders of the state and those of the nation has meant that many people fall outside the reaches of a state's national security although they still reside within the state's territory. Indeed, national security in the Sudan is still only extended to Khartoum and the north of the country populated by an Arab elite whilst the South has experienced some of the highest levels of insecurity on earth for decades.

The case of Sudan is highly informative in that it not only demonstrates how a state can neglect to protect its population but how many states are the direct cause of insecurity to their very own populations, thus playing the opposite role which realists assume. The government of Sudan has been known to use the notorious militia (Janjaweed) as a proxy force and has at times acted in support of the ruthless pillaging and torching of villages. It is also known that the Sudanese government even at the height of the Darfur conflict possessed enough military apparatus to effectively suppress the rebellion (Appiah-Mensah, 2005: 10-11). Instead they have chosen on various occasions to use Antonov aircrafts and helicopter gunships against rebel strongholds which have high civilian populations, therefore contributing significantly to the number of Internally Displaced People (Appiah-Mensah, 2005: 10-11). Thus the greatest security threat for many Sudanese people is their very own government. Once again the concept of national security becomes problematic when viewed against the reality of today's international environment. In the words of Wyn Jones : " Even if a very narrow military

understanding of security is applied, it is apparent that arms purchased and powers accrued by governments in the name of national security are far more potent threats to the liberty and physical safety of their citizens than any putative external threat. This is true not only for states in the disadvantaged South but also for those in the North. Viewed empirically, apparently aberrant "gangster states" are closer to the norm of state behaviour than the Eurocentric notion of a 'guardian angel' state, which is central to the traditional approach to security" (Wyn Jones, 1999:99).

2.3.3 High and Low politics: Fact or Fiction?

The traditional approach to security also has a habit of constructing an inside/outside dichotomy based on the concept of sovereignty. This dichotomy resonates throughout the realist view of international politics (Walker, 1993). One of the consequences of this dichotomy especially when it comes to security studies is a strict divide between domestic and international levels of analysis. As mentioned before this divide can be termed the division between high politics consisting of state relations and security and low politics which consists of domestic issues such as development and welfare. Realists argue that although domestic politics may be interesting one does not need to know anything about it in order to understand the state's behaviour within the international system (Wyn Jones, 1999:96).

Are realists correct in asserting that international relations scholars can for the most part ignore domestic politics of a state when trying to explain that country's behaviour internationally? Wyn Jones answers this question with a resounding no! From his perspective, the experience of the end of the Cold War, undoubtedly the greatest change in the international security environment supports his argument. Wyn Jones asserts that: "To understand the end of the Cold War, one cannot merely concentrate on state/system interaction. Rather, the focus must also embrace an analysis of events within the state and of transnational but non-state interaction" (Wyn Jones, 1999:96).

To fully understand the collapse of the Soviet Union, a scholar would have to look at a number of issues which fall outside the contents of traditional security frameworks, these include: The western European peace movement, the Eastern European dissidents, the rise of nationalism among sub-servient nationalities in Eastern Europe and the collapse in

confidence in the shibboleths of Marxist-Leninism (Wyn Jones, 1999:97). Ned Lebow also observes a number of other factors which impacted upon the collapse of the Soviet Union including: The person of Mikhail Gorbachev, the introduction of western style democratic reforms, relatively free elections, the acknowledgement of the republics right to secede from the USSR, encouragement of anti-communist revolutions in Eastern Europe, and the agreement to dissolve the Warsaw Pact (Lebow, 1994:264). All these factors mentioned above have an explicitly domestic nature in that they were brought about by the changing internal environment within the Soviet Union. Eventually these factors would result in a massive change within the international environment, thus disproving realist's notions of a strict divide between the domestic and international levels of political analysis (Wyn Jones, 1999:97).

2.4   The New Approaches to Security Studies

The rise in economic interactions which had been taking place since the beginning of the 1960's proved that not everything which happens on earth is due to military strength. The economies of Japan and Germany went a long way in substantiating this view. Thus economic issues gradually began to gain more importance, giving rise to a new form of realism known as neo-realism which broadened international relations beyond military issues and incorporated economic power issues as well. International Political Economy (IPE) or Global Political Economy (GPE) developed as an important wing of IR in response to the rise in the importance of economic issues. Neo-realists focused extensively on this subfield of IR, demonstrating quite convincingly at times how states can gain power through purely economic means (Hough, 2004: 4). The energy crises of the 1970's ushered in the securitization of economic issues. Suddenly the superpowers and their allies were facing a threat of a different kind. One which was not militaristic but still threatened the economic well-being of the most powerful countries on earth (Du Pisani, 2004: 19). This can be seen as the first phase of broadening of security issues, albeit very slight. In addition it was not widely accepted until later years. Even within the new neo-realist approaches, statism remained intact and unchallenged.

The 1980's was characterized by the proliferation of academic work which aimed to broaden the narrow views of the traditional security approach. Barry Buzan's book "People, States

and Fear" (1983) remains one of the most relevant examples of the changing discourse on security which was taking place during the 1980's. In this seminal piece of literature, Buzan expanded on the narrow militaristic view of security adopted by the realists by including political, economic, environmental and societal threats in addition to militaristic ones (Buzan, 1991: 15). Furthermore, the 1980's brought with it a growing realization amongst academics and policy makers that problems were also more interdependent than previously thought. In 1987, the World Commission on Environmental and Development emphasized the connection between economic and environmental dimensions of security when it called for sustainable development that did not compromise the future of coming generations (Batchelor and Kingma, 2004: 19). Interdependence began to challenge the priority which realists placed on national security as well; the result being the concept of common security which emphasized the interdependence of security relations as opposed to the national security priorities of the traditional strategy. The 1980's also began to increasingly expose the failures of the states across the globe especially among developing countries. A poisonous cocktail of poor economic performance, protracted civil conflicts, poor governance and increasing global inequality had rendered many states virtually incapable of providing national security; in fact, many states which were high-jacked by ruthless elites had become part of the problem rather than the solution (Buzan, 1991: 15). Statism was facing its biggest challenge since its ascension to dominance post Second World War. It was however the relatively sudden disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end to bipolarity which posed a multitude of difficult questions to traditional security approaches. The end of the Cold War opened the discourse around security; new theoretical approaches were now being given recognition by policy makers and academics. The two fundamental questions which now had to be answered by these new approaches were the following: Firstly, what are the threats to security? In other words, what are the main threats to the security of the referent object? And secondly, Security for whom? In other words, who is meant to be protected or who/what is the main referent object of security?

Thus the end of the Cold War brought about a period of increased vagueness within security studies. An increase in the number of actors within international relations meant that a multitude of explanations could be used to analyze their interactions. It was now no longer possible to give simple bipolar explanations of world politics. Thus E. P. Thompson was correct in asserting the following: "I think we may now be living, this year and for many years ahead, through episodes as significant as any known in the human record…There

would not be decades of détente, as the glaciers slowly melt. There would be very rapid and unpredictable changes; nations would become unglued from their alliances; there would be sharp conflicts within nations; there would be successive risks. We could roll up the map of the Cold War, and travel without maps for a while" (Thompson 1982: 134).

2.4.1 The Broadening of Security

The broader approach to conceptualizing security gained ground in the post-Cold War era. In this new world order many believed that the threats posed by a global nuclear Armageddon had subsided, thus allowing previously marginalized issues to be recognized (Hough, 2004: 7). The case being made by those who seek to broaden security studies is simple, and goes as follows: Whilst there is no denying the fact that military issues remain a threat to people across the world, there is also no denying that people's lives are being threatened by non-military issues as well. Thus what is needed is a broadening of the definition of security threats beyond just a military one. Hence the post-Cold War era permitted a sharp increase in the number of authors highlighting and contributing new potential threats to security studies. Ayoob highlighted how internal rather than external threats were the chief threat to the worlds Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Peterson and Sebenius made the same point for First world states by asserting that the biggest threat to the USA in the post-Cold War era was in fact the crisis in education and the growing economic underclass (Hough, 2004: 7).

Barry Buzan's work "People States and Fear" 2nd edition in 1990 would become the epitome of broader security approaches in the early 1990's. Soon Buzan was joined by his colleagues from the same school of thought which came to be known as the "Copenhagen School" consisting of scholars such as Weaver and De Wilde (1998) to name a few. The broader approach to security can thus be seen as a significant departure from the traditional approaches because it broadened the concept of security to include environmental, economic, societal and political threats (Buzan, 1991: 15). In addition to this, the broader approach also highlighted security threats which were not only threats to the state but also threats to society/individuals and other units of analysis. The violent collapse of the former Yugoslavia demonstrated the previous point by elucidating how societal problems such as exclusionary nationalism can become a direct threat to a certain sector of society (Hough, 2004: 8). Across the African continent vicious civil conflicts exposed a myriad of sub-state actors from armed rebel groups, ethnic societies, political elites and clans all experiencing diverse threats to their

survival. The broadening of security issues thus helped to shine the spotlight on different actors apart from the state and thus facilitated the deepening of security issues.

2.4.2 Human Security, the deepening of Security Studies

The deepening of security goes further than broadening the different threats which a state finds itself faced with. This theoretical approach considers individuals rather than states to be the main referent objects of security, thus challenging the core assumption upon which realism is premised. According to Falk for example, security can be defined as "the negation of insecurity as it is specifically experienced by individuals and groups in concrete situations (1995: 147)'. This is a significant leap from broadening which still views insecurity as a primarily state - related problem as opposed to a human condition (Hough, 2004: 8).

Central to the deepening approach to security studies is the concept of "human security". The objective of human security is the safety and survival of the individual and thus is synonymous with security of the people. Whilst statism is considered to be the main unit of analysis amongst traditional security approaches, human security views individuals as the primary referent object of security (Lodgaard, 2004: 21). The Commission on Human security has worked on a definition of the concept which reads as follows: "To protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms…. freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (Commission on Human Security, 1994: 4).

It should be highlighted that human security is not in any way opposed to the notion of state security. On the contrary, human security complements state security. The UNDP report of 1994 outlines four ways in which the former is achieved. Firstly, the human security approach looks at the individual and community concerns rather than the state security concerns. This is the basic underpinning assertion which human security approaches make. The early 1990's marks the high point of human security. Collective security actions were taken during this period to enhance the security of non-state actors such as in Iraq (1991) and

in Somalia (1992/93) (Lodgaard, 2004: 21). Threats to people during the 1990's would repeatedly become clear. Yugoslavia, Angola, Cambodia, Chad, Sudan, the DRC and Mozambique to name a few are all examples of conflicts which took place at some point during the decade and helped to highlight the plight of civilian populations during conflicts. Thus Sverre Lodgaard (2004: 21) is correct in stating the following: "In the past, civilian casualties and the destruction of civilian property were matters of collateral damage: at least they had been treated as such. Now, civilians were at the epicentre of contemporary wars. Over and over again, they were objects of armed attack, rape, robbery and other atrocities. A qualitative shift had taken place, and its recognition did much to stimulate the formulation of human security as a concept, as well as in practice". The Human Security Network emerged from the landmines campaign driven by Canada and Norway and was formally launched at a Ministerial meeting in Norway in 1999. Member states of this organization include: Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Slovenia, Thailand and South Africa as an observer. This network posits that human rights and humanitarian law are at the centre of human security. Human security is advanced in every country by protecting and promoting human rights, the rule of law, democratic governance and democratic structures, a culture of peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts (Human Security Network, 2006). This demonstrates that even some states are beginning to redefine their approaches to security.

Secondly human security looks at menaces to people's security including threats and conditions which have not always been classified as part of state security. The impacts which food shortages have on people across the world have now been securitized (World Health Organization, 2009). The World Health Organization (WHO) is one such body which has contributed to this development. According to the WHO: "The global food security crisis endangers the lives of millions of people, particularly the world's poorest who live in countries already suffering from acute and chronic malnutrition" (World Health Organization, 2009). The WHO points out that implications for this crisis are enormous and could create further threats such as: Increased malnutrition, communicable diseases, less money to spend on health services (which could further undermine efforts to deal with the AIDS threat); likely impaired mental ability amongst children and child/maternal morbidity (World Health Organization, 2009). The dire impacts of the food crisis are thus not only a threat to the quality of human life but a threat to life itself. The food crisis is therefore a legitimate and

certainly salient security threat to people in countries such as the DRC, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Chad and Bangladesh (World Health Organization, 2009).

Thirdly, the range of actors which are considered by the human security approach are many in comparison with the state-centric approach of traditional security studies. The Human Security Network acknowledges this and thus promotes the role of non-state actors with regards to finding solutions to contemporary security problems (Lodgaard, 2004: 21). Civil society's vital role in pursuing human security objectives was recognized at the second Ministerial Meeting of the Human Security Network in Lucerne, Switzerland, May 11-12, 2000. At this meeting, ministers and representatives of the various member states stressed the importance of non-state actors in achieving human security. "They recognized the invaluable expertise, energy and commitment devoted by NGOs to progress across a range of key issues relevant to the security of people - from small arms, to war-affected children, to landmines, to the promotion of the International Criminal Court. Recognizing these contributions, they undertook to work nationally and in international fora to promote greater engagement, inclusivity and transparency between governments and civil society on human security issues" (Human Security Network, 2006).

Lastly, active human security includes not just protecting people but empowering them to fend for themselves. Human rights and human development are thus closely related to the concept of human security and have a profound impact on the success or failure of the latter. Bas De Gaay Fortman explains the relations between human security and human development and rights: "Human development means that life becomes more than just a mere struggle for survival" (De Gaay Fortman, 2004: 6). It is the process by which people acquire certain options in life which allow them to fulfill their ambitions Human security relates to the ability of people to exercise these options without fear of violent or sudden interruptions. Thus threats to people such as violent conflict and environmental disasters often make it impossible for people to realize their developmental choices (De Gaay Fortman, 2004: 21). This argument can be turned on its head though, therefore whilst it is true that armed conflict can prevent development, it is also true that underdevelopment can become a cause for armed conflict. Increasingly throughout the 1990's, policy makers have come to view economic inequality, underdevelopment and poor governance as causes of many conflicts. In addition, the calamities of war have themselves diverted much needed state resources from development to militarizing the state. Thus a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and

insecurity is created (Buur, Jensen & Stepputat, 2007: 9).From this perspective Human security and human development are mutually dependent.

Human rights mean the protection of fundamental freedoms and basic entitlements by state law (De Gaay Fortman & Muller, 2004: 21). Every individual is entitled to these rights by the mere fact that they are human. These rights cannot be taken away from anyone by anyone else. Human security is used to identify the rights at stake in certain situations, for instance, during armed conflict the freedom to life or the freedom of movement amongst other things may be at risk. Human security is thus important in that it gives a human face to security issues and thus reinforces human rights (Commission on Human security, 1994: 4). Consider that traditional state security approaches are primarily concerned with protecting the rights of the state which are things such as sovereignty and the right to use force. This concept is not broad enough to cover human threats which impinge on human rights. For human rights to be created a state which is subject to law and other checks and balances is required, states therefore have a duty to respect the human rights of citizens as dictated by the law. Civil society organizations are important in reminding the state of this responsibility, they can act as a meso-level interface between the macro level of the state and the micro level of the household. In addition, assertive citizens who are able to express their needs are also required for state commitments to human rights (De Gaay Fortma, 2004: 11 & 12). Thus an assertive citizenry and a strong civil society can assist to not only draw the government's attention to infringements on human rights but can also help in protecting the people against states infringements on human rights.

2.5   Human security and Arms control

In terms of arms control, the human security approach seeks to incorporate the human dimension into the mainstream discourse. This means expanding the debate to small arms and light weapons (SALW) which seem to be the weapons of choice in many of today's major conflicts as opposed to the traditional approaches which investigate nuclear weapons exclusively. It is a well known and established fact that in today's complex conflicts, small arms travel quite easily through society and even across national borders. These weapons may mean little to the super power countries or to the traditional realist scholars who are preoccupied with controlling the most dangerous of weapons (Nuclear weapons), but to many

societies in developing countries, these are the most destructive instruments causing incredible levels of insecurity. There are two levels at which the impacts of small weapons can be analyzed. Firstly, there is armed conflict. The devastating civil war in Mozambique is an example of an armed conflict which was partly driven by the availability of small arms and light weapons. The second major impact of small arms is criminality. The small arms which were used in the Mozambican civil war remained in the country even after the cessation of hostilities in that country (De Gaay Fortman, 2004: 11 & 12). Criminal gangs in South Africa soon began looking to Mozambique as a source of illicit arms since these weapons are light, easy to use and transport and suite the intentions of criminal activity such as armed robbery perfectly. Indeed the high number of illicit small arms in Mozambique has even caused insecurity in societies such as Malawi and Zambia which unlike South Africa do not have a history of political violence. Thus the line between criminality and war has been blurred. In 2005 a total of 29596 people were violently killed by firearms in South Africa, this figure dwarfs the number of civilian victims in many regions which were experiencing war for the same time period (Gun Free South Africa, 2009). Therefore small arms and light weapons are dangerous in that they have impacts which outlast political conflict and in effect become part of society.

The fact that small arms can become part of society means that a more humane approach is required to properly resolve the issue. To this end the human security approach focuses more energy into transforming conditions in society so that armed conflict or criminality is not seen as a viable option for progress. This incorporates the human developmental dimension into the solution. The Human Security Network thus acknowledged in a statement that the impacts caused by small arms are in fact multifaceted and actually go far beyond just military insecurity to include humanitarian, health and development dimensions (Human Security Network, 2006). In addition, the HSN also recognized that in order to properly resolve issues of arms control in society, a myriad of actors will be required to cooperate. Since these weapons are often outside of state hands, the state cannot be expected to single-handedly control these matters especially in developing and post-conflict countries where the state is notably fragile. Civil society organizations will have to come on board so that transformation can occur at a community level and not just at the macro-level.

2.6   The limits of the Human Security Approach

There are a number of potential errors associated with expanding a concept as wide as human security does. This practice tends to make a concept vague and opaque, robbing it of any usefulness in practical terms. As Roland Paris states: "human security is like sustainable-development, everyone is for it, but few people have a clear idea of what it means" (2001: 88). Human security's expansive nature means that it can encompass everything from physical security to psychological wellbeing which often leaves academics confused about what actually needs to be studied. The main defining characteristic of human security is thus its broad nature and attempt to capture almost all issues concerned with human life. The proponents of human security seem to be as diverse as the issues which the concept seeks to represent. A collection of international and local governmental and nongovernmental organizations, middle power states such as Norway and Canada and other non-state actors all seem have interest in promoting this approach. The fact is that such a wide variety of actors can only form shared interests through keeping the concept of security as vague as possible, this is what gives human security its universal, and altruistic ring. The reason that the traditional national security approaches have worked in theory and in practice is because they were focused and ensured the security of a certain group constantly delineating between who is inside the group and who falls outside, what is a threat to the group and what does not constitute a threat (Paris, 2001: 88).

The concept of human security also causes major problems for policy makers whose specific task it is to make sure that resources are properly allocated to the most pressing matters. This is a very difficult task to undertake when one considers all issues as equally important and urgent. A variety of issues thus have to be addressed concurrently since none deserves more attention than any other. It is today considered a truism that all human and natural realms are interrelated and thus impact upon each other, however this does not justify treating all issues as equally urgent which is what human security scholars seem to propose (Paris, 2001: 88). In addition, if all matters are interrelated as the human security approach points out, is not wiser to identify those issues which could impact positively upon other matters instead of trying to approach a situation from all angles at the same time. For example, building a strong state and economy is one way of creating human security. Would it not be more logical to first enhance the capacity of weak states so that they may better protect the rights of citizens

instead of hoping that weak states would magically acquire this ability. Policy makers are thus often left to deal with the complex demands of humanitarians who require that human security is achieved even in countries where the state is hardly capable of doing so.

The previous point leads to another problem of the human security approach. Whilst many developing states are now incapable of properly guaranteeing human security, non-state actors have also not had much success. It seems that this approach fails to understand certain global realities. There is little argument that whilst human security is a popular slogan, there is very little commitment to it. Furthermore, there is minimal clout which the movement can muster in trying to force states to adhere to these standards. In other words, there is still no international non-state body which can properly govern the treatment of humans by their respective states and other possibly threatening actors. Human security thus remains an approach with no proper means of being ensured, it is an ideal more than something which can be strategically implemented (Paris, 2001: 88).

2.7   Theoretical approach

This chapter has investigated various theoretical approaches to security. Firstly, the traditional approach was investigated. It was explained how this approach is unsuitable to contemporary security studies especially within the developing world because its focus is narrowly placed on state security and military threats. The broadeners of security are those who began to realize especially during the 1980's that security threats expand beyond nuclear and other military weapons. Increasingly during this period scholars such as Barry Buzan began to acknowledge the importance of other threats such as environmental, societal, economic and political. It was the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end to the bipolar Cold War which opened up the discourse on international security studies. The deepeners of security are those who directly challenged traditional scholars by arguing that the main referent object of security is not the state but in fact individuals and people. The human security approach has become the most popular theoretical departure from traditional security, by both broadening and deepening the concept of security this approach has highlighted the importance of securing human rights and human development. Much criticism has been levelled at this new security approach since it seems to encompass

everything, making it hard for policy makers to implement and too abstract for scholars to properly grasp.

2.7.1 The State and Human Security

Southern Africa offers the security scholar much to ponder about in terms of which theoretical approach is most suitable. As discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, the traditional approach with its focus on military, superpower and state - centric politics fails dismally to explain historical and current security dilemmas within the region. In addition this narrow approach offers no workable solutions. On the other hand human security dilutes the salience of security threats by expanding the concept too far. Thus almost everything becomes a security issue; this makes it difficult for academics and policy makers to go about analyzing and providing solutions to security threats. What is needed is a clear uncluttered theoretical approach to security, one which can prioritize whist still not neglecting to recognize interconnections between different variables. This thesis shall try to present such a theoretical approach to the issue of arms control and disarmament in Southern Africa. First and foremost it is important to state that the theoretical approach of this thesis is built on the premise that people are the most important referent objects of security. The point of security is to protect humans from threats which affect their daily lives. Thus, this thesis embraces the deepening of security as propagated by the human security scholars. This does not imply a relegation of the state's importance to matters of security however. In fact, the approach to be used in this thesis argues that the state is the chief means of creating human security. Significant attention thus has to be paid to building up the state's capacity to deal with threats which compromise the security of people. A dysfunctional state is in itself a great risk to the people within its borders, not only will that particular state be unable to prevent security threats from impacting negatively upon people but it will also quite often be left with no choice but to viciously suppress human rights in an effort to gain some semblance of authority (Buzan, 1991: 57). One can thus never underestimate the importance of a strong state in trying to guarantee human security.

2.7.2 Security and Civil Society

The strong state cannot just appear from thin air however. As De Gaay Fortman points out "A strong state - in the sense of a functioning state and a state subject to law – requires a strong civil society (De Gaay Fortman, 2004: 11). Thus Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have an imperative role to play in terms of creating state development. CSOs are part of the process by which stronger states must be developed especially in Southern Africa where many states are only partially developed. In addition the CSOs have to maintain the functionality of the state by creating assertive citizens who can demand accountability and respect of human rights from the leaders. Accountability relates to the social contract between the state and the citizens whereby the state is obliged to fulfil its responsibility to its people by providing certain public goods such as the protection of human rights which are important to the people at ground level. Thus a strong civil society has the ability to inform the government of the main threats to the security of people and make sure that the government plays its role in negating these threats. A good example of the former is the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) which is a powerful CSO in South Africa under the leadership of HIV/AIDS activist Zackie Achmad. In this instance the South African government which behaved in a manner indifferent to the HIV/AIDS threat was rudely awakened to the seriousness of the matter by the organization's campaign to obtain antiretroviral medication for the masses. It was thus the movement's efforts to securitize the issue of access to AIDS medication which forced the government to respond. Thus the state and civil society cooperate and confront each other to ensure that the ultimate goal of human security is achieved. The Mozambican case study to be presented later in the thesis shall outline how CSOs can even get involved in hard security issues such as arms control.

2.7.3 Regional Security as a form of Human Security

Despite all efforts of CSOs to hold states responsible, the fact is that these organizations just do not possess the legitimacy or the resources to properly monitor the states performance or to supplement the state where necessary, thus a higher order is often needed, one with more political legitimacy within the international arena. The traditional realist school makes a convincing point that the international system is anarchical and thus no guarantee of human security could ever be achieved using the international instruments of international security reference. This is especially true in marginalized zones of the world such as Southern Africa

which receive pathetically low levels of attention from institutions such as the Security Council which are more concerned with direct threats to their own interests. Therefore whilst threats to people in Zimbabwe have sadly had little impact on Security Council issues, the same cannot be said for that country's regional neighbours who have certainly felt the spill over effects of the decade - long political and economic turmoil. Thus regional security should be interrogated as not only a dimension of security within international relations but also as a way of better guaranteeing human security. Barry Buzan (1991: 190) looks at how states in the same region are often tied together into Regional Security Complexes (RSC). This arises from a situation whereby a group of states primary security concerns link together closely enough that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another (Buzan, 1991: 190). In the following chapter we shall look at how Southern Africa's security complex was created and how it is being managed especially in terms of arms control. What is important to note is that a region such as Southern Africa which is linked together through a security complex will certainly need cooperation and political will at a regional state level if security is ever to be realized. The regional security complex compels self-interested states to cooperate and thus discard of realist notions that states are always seeking their own security at the expense of other states. Indeed, today's international security environment is one in which the security of one state is increasingly dependent on the security of its neighbours.

2.8   Conclusion

Thus the theoretical approach to be used in this thesis is one which encompasses the human security notion that people are the main referent object of security. Especially in contemporary times and even more so in the developing world the majority of threats being recognized are those affecting normal people. The state however continues to be by far the most important unit of political organization within international relations and thus the main guarantor of human security today. What is different however about the state-centricism propagated within this thesis is that unlike traditional concepts of the state, this one does not view the state as strong or positive in itself. A state can easily become the source of insecurity as has been the case across the developing world. What is needed to create human security is not a move away from the state to the individual, but a move away from a weak state to a capable one which can better protect the individual. One of the main requirements for a

strong state is a strong civil society and empowered citizens who can hold a government accountable and thus strengthen the legitimacy of the state. On the other hand, human security is today as much a part of the new globalizing world as economics and culture. The most efficient way as explained before for marginalized states to manage security is for them to recognize their security complexes and try deal with the threats to human security cooperatively within the region (Buzan: 1991: 190). As shall be detailed in the next chapter, Southern Africa is one such region where a RSC has inspired the formation or at least attempt at creating a regional security community to try and deal with security dilemmas. In conclusion what can be gathered from this approach is that just as Anne Hammerstads book entitled "*People, States and Regions*" implies, the most important role players within the Southern African security environment are: people, states and regions. The key to the security issues facing the region such as arms control and disarmament will probably best be resolved if all three role players demonstrate seriousness and willingness towards achieving human security.

Chapter 3: The Spread of Arms in Southern Africa, An analysis of the Regional Security Complex

3.1   Introduction

This chapter shall take a historical and analytical look at the various stages of Southern Africa's regional security complex with the intention of demonstrating how the security complex has led to the problem of small arms and light weapons. Elaborating upon the stages of the regions security complex may assist in explaining why arms have traveled across the region in the manner that they have. Broadly, this chapter will look at the origins of Southern Africa's modern security complex which can be said to have been borne during the period of decolonization. Following this will be an investigation of the different militarily responses which repressive minority and colonial governments took to stem the tide of African Nationalism across the African continent especially during the 1960's. The liberation movements and their backers during the late 1960's and early 1970's will be also given attention with specific reference to the nature of weapons support which was being given. After this, the period of protracted civil wars in Southern Africa shall be detailed. The impact of other factors such as Cold War politics, South African aggression and state and economic collapse shall also be brought into the picture to demonstrate how these factors have connected to proliferate small arms in Southern Africa. Lastly this chapter shall look at security features of the post-Cold War environment within the region, in addition the impacts which the decades of insecurity had on arms proliferation shall also be reviewed with specific reference to the human dimension of the issue. It is thus hoped that by the end of this chapter the reader will have a broad understanding of Southern Africa's security complex and how it has created favorable conditions for the uncontrolled proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

3.2.   Decolonization

Southern Africa's modern security architecture has its roots in the period of decolonization. This phenomenon which swept across the continent was slightly delayed in Southern Africa where many white settler populations held on obstinately to power and resources. The growing liberation movements across the region thus had a difficult task to undertake, it is through the power struggle between the white settler governments and the liberation

movements that Southern Africa's modern security arrangements can be said to have developed (Ngoma, 2005: 78). Willie Breytenbach (1995) offers an interesting explanation for the regions security environment during the late colonial period. This explanation is premised on a collective security approach which identifies two main security blocs in colonial Southern Africa. Firstly there was the white bloc. This bloc consisted of South Africa and Namibia's Afrikaans apartheid government; Rhodesia's British settler government and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Secondly, there was a black bloc which consisted of the already independent black states during the 1960's (Ngoma, 2005: 78). Despite the glaring differences and even past animosities between the white bloc states (Anglo-Boer war 1899-1902), there was a common understanding that the threat of African nationalism had to be kept at bay. The white bloc therefore sought to preserve the presence of western civilization in the region through adopting policies and activities that would bring about a sustainable security structure through pooling efforts (Ngoma, 2005: 78).

3.3. The White Bloc (Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis)

The primary means of securing the white bloc was the militarization of these territories in order to protect them from internal and external threats posed by the liberation movements. Indeed since its inception, the South African apartheid government was notoriously militaristic in its approach and thus established itself as a military monolith on the continent and certainly within Southern Africa. The decade of the 1960's saw a marked increase in military expenditure in South Africa. With the start of the ANC's armed struggle and the UN arms embargo in 1963, military expenditure increased from 3.2% share of GDP in 1960 to 7.4% in 1965 (Batchelor, Dunne and Lamb, 2002: 341). The weapons embargo on South Africa forced the country to immensely intensify its own weapons manufacturing potential, thus the Armaments Development and Production Corporation (Armscor) was established in 1968 to serve this end (Batchelor & Willett, 1998). It should be mentioned however that the UN embargo placed on Apartheid South Africa was not binding to UN individual member states. This allowed other major arms suppliers such as France and Italy to step in and fill the void. Thus by the end of the 1960's South Africa's defense force was equipped with modern French armored cars, jet aircraft, helicopters and missile systems. British frigates and French submarines had strengthened the navy and the air force was also propped up by Aermacci impalas. In addition, the army was resupplied with rifles, machine guns, mortars and artillery

systems, all of which were standard equipment in many NATO armies (Cawthra, 1986: 16). During this period South Africa also began to manufacture teargas and napalm with the assistance of mainly British-based companies. A nuclear process also commenced in the 1960's with considerable support from the USA and Britain, in fact, as result of a deal with the USA, South Africa obtained 2 nuclear reactors: Safari 1 and 2. (Cawthra, 1986: 16). South Africa's apartheid government had thus fully consolidated its position as the military power of the region during the mid-1960s, by the time compulsory weapons embargoes were put in place in 1977, South Africa had long established the most modern effective war machine in Sub-Saharan Africa (Cawthra, 1986: 16). This reality would become one of the chief determining factors of the regions security arrangements in the following decades.

By the late 1960's the Apartheid government had sufficiently and quite brutally crushed internal resistance and thus military spending temporarily stagnated. However with the intensification of the armed struggle in South-West Africa, the Apartheid government once again found itself militarizing the state in an effort to quell uprisings (Batchelor, Dunne and Lamb, 2002: 341). In addition, concurrent liberation struggles commenced in Angola 1961, Mozambique 1964, and Namibia and Rhodesian 1966, (ISS African Country Fact File: 2009). These regional struggles gathered intensity especially in the early part of the 1970's and forced the "white bloc" powers to increasingly apply harsher military measures to maintain their hold on power. The Apartheid government sought to secure its position in the region through encouraging collaborative efforts from the white regimes of the region which were by the late 1960's experiencing a crisis in legitimacy owing to the liberation struggle. The Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis was a security arrangement consisting of the white governments of Southern Africa which would work together to ensure that liberation movements would be effectively controlled (Ngoma, 2005: 78). This was not an official alliance but an understanding among the settler governments that their security was clearly becoming ever more interdependent. South Africa would thus have to play the leadership role in this informal alliance. Prime Minister John Vorster Therefore stated the following in 1967: "We are good friends with both Portugal and Rhodesia and good friends don't need a pact. Good friends know what their duty is if a neighbor's house is on fire. I assure you that whatever becomes necessary will be done" (Ngoma, 2005: 78).

3.3.1 Vorster's Search for Regional Partners

It would be wrong to assert that the Apartheid government was solely bent on militarily destabilizing everything in the region which did not display a white face. In fact, it was the failure of the Vorster regime's attempts to garner support among black ruled states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that greatly narrowed South Africa's options towards military action. Indeed the ruling elite of South Africa were happy to live along side black states which did not pose a threat to their own internal security. Beginning in the late 1960's Vorster initiated the "outward policy" or détente which was an attempt at finding support for South Africa within the OAU (Solomon, 2004: 22). Emerging from this policy were agreements such as the alliance between Vorster and Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda in 1968 (Ngoma, 2005: 78). This was followed by state visits in 1970 and 1971 between the two Southern African state leaders. This fragile and cautious friendship was fraught with problems from the start. Firstly, there was the opposition from the OAU, which put much moral pressure on African states not to engage in dialogue with the White bloc states. There was also significant domestic opposition from the more conservative sectors of the Apartheid Regime who found Vorster's alliance with a black president from a black ruled state rather objectionable (Ngoma, 2005: 78). Other factors which led to the eventual collapse of Vorster's détente was Kaunda and Vorster's failure to resolve the ever intensifying Rhodesian crisis and South Africa's direct military incursion into Angola in 1975 which irreparably compromised the alliance. Growing international criticism from powerful states such as the USA left South Africa dejected and with a heightened sense of paranoia (Ngoma, 2005: 78). Convinced that everyone was out to destroy them, the pariah regime went into partial recluse with only a few reliable allies namely Rhodesia and Portugal.

3.3.2 The threat of the Liberation movements

South Africa began strengthening military ties with both Portugal and Rhodesia in the late 1960's. In 1968, a thousand South African troops were apparently sent to Mozambique, in the same year a joint Portuguese South African command centre was established in Angola to direct air strikes against Guerrillas. Portugal as well began to intensify its counter revolutionary strategy. By the early 1970's one hundred thousand Portuguese troops were deployed in Angola and Mozambique. By that stage it had become clear that unlike the ANC, the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies had made enough gains to force a

stalemate on the situation. Furthermore socio-political domestic issues in Portugal were beginning to preoccupy the colonizers in the early 1970's (Cawthra, 1986: 16). At relatively the same time Rhodesia too began to feel the impacts of an intensifying guerrilla campaign for independence (Maxey, 1975: 39). Two primary liberation movements were behind increasing attacks on the struggling Ian Smith regime. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). South Africa deployed troops and police during the early 1970's to assist in handling the growing insurgency in Rhodesia, eventually 4000 South African troops supported by armoured cars and helicopters were involved in the Rhodesian war. South Africa also supported the Rhodesian forces through supplying military equipment including loaning a high-tech aircraft which was used for cross border raids into Zambia and later Mozambique where ZAPU and ZANU guerillas were based respectively (Cawthra, 1986: 16).

Completing the regions complex security environment during this period was the armed struggle in Namibia which commenced in 1966 when the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) began its insurgency. In the early 1960's Liberia and Ethiopia had hauled South Africa in front of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) hoping that South Africa's occupation of South West Africa would be terminated (World Encyclopaedia of the Nations, 2007b). In 1962 and again in 1966 the ICJ gave rather ambiguous rulings which neither supported nor condemned South Africa's occupation in Namibia or the extension of racist Apartheid policies into that country (World Encyclopaedia of the Nations, 2007b). Therefore, realizing that diplomatic pressure alone would not bring independence to their country, SWAPO embarked on an armed struggle. The South African government responded with gradually increasing ferocity and the implementation of draconian security measures to stem the growth of the rebellion (Cawthra, 1986: 16). Some of these measures included: The increase in the South African Police (SAP) counter insurgency presence; the extension of security laws; the introduction of the Terrorism act of 1967 to suppress the Namibian struggle which meant that people could now be detained for longer periods of time; the establishment of security communities along the Okavango River bordering Zambia; the imposition of Curfews and widespread interrogation and torturing of people suspected of being aligned to SWAPO (Cawthra, 1986: 16). Despite the need to crush the uprising, South Africa remained sensitive to the growing displeasure of the international community regarding its conduct, and thus was at first apprehensive about deploying the SADF into South West Africa. It was the ICJ's eventual 1971 ruling which deemed South Africa's occupation of South West

Africa illegal however which led to the use of military force. The decision spurred fresh rebellion and wave upon wave of demonstrations from the Namibian people which led to the deployment of the SADF in January 1972 (Cawthra, 1986: 16). The SADF took over all operations from the SAP in 1973 imposing martial law over large parts of the country and brutally suppressing the rebellion. The SADF forces were drastically increased owing to the 1967 universal conscription legislation which compelled all white South African and Namibian adult males to military service. By the mid-1970's South Africa had built up a formidable military presence along Namibia's borders with Zambia and Angola, thus preventing SWAPO from launching attacks from these bases (Cawthra, 1986: 16).

South Africa can be seen as the glue which held the informal security bloc known as the white bloc or Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis together. In addition to security arrangements the allies also began increasing economic relations, transport and infrastructural transfers. South Africa emerged as the regional hegemon in this respect as well. Thus by the early 1970's South Africa had troops in Rhodesia, South West Africa, and both Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola (Ngoma, 2005: 96) Military support and training was being given to the forces of the two weaker white regimes by Pretoria even though South Africa regularly denied this. As the years progressed South Africa also found itself evermore isolated as the UN and several other international bodies constantly condemned the state. The international legitimacy of the apartheid government was seriously challenged by the late 1960's and thus South Africa was forced to hold on desperately to the few allies it could collect in the region. The threat of African nationalism was spreading further south and was now knocking on South Africa's doorstep as the countries to South Africa's north battled to contain their respective liberation movements. Thus it is this situation which produced the white bloc security arrangement in Southern Africa.

3.4 The Black Bloc (Liberation Movements in Southern Africa)

The black bloc consisted of two principle groups during the 1960's, firstly there was the newly independent states represented by Lesotho, Swaziland, Mauritius, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zaire. And secondly, there were the liberation movements which were in the process of trying to attain independence for the colonial and settler controlled territories of South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Angola. It should be noted that there were often multiple liberation organization's attempting to secure

independence for a single country, thus few liberation movements in the region could claim to be national in the sense of representing the interests of the entire nation. The competing interests of these liberation movements would come to increasingly define the security complex in Southern Africa once the veil of colonialism had been removed (Ngoma, 2005: 94).

The beginnings of the Southern African black bloc can be traced to the efforts of two national leaders namely: Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Presiding over independent states allowed these leaders to take part in diplomatic platforms across the continent and indeed the world (Ngoma, 2005: 94). During the early 1960's, a series of complex interlinked organizations were created and recreated in Africa, these were tasked with dealing with the question of liberation in Southern Africa. The OAU which was established in 1963 became the overarching continental body which established a liberation committee that took responsibility for much of the work of the previous organizations (Cilliers, 1999). At first the OAU reflected an uncompromising commitment in support of armed struggle in the region and left little room for dialogue with the white minority regimes. The Lusaka declaration of 1969 did however engage the possibility of dialogue with the white regimes and was thus adopted by both the OAU and the UN. It was ignored by the white regimes though and thus recommitted African structures to their assertions that the white regimes of Southern Africa had to be removed through armed struggle (Cilliers, 1999).

Efforts to seek a peaceful resolution to the security impasse in Southern Africa were continuously being derailed by South Africa which only seemed to be interested in establishing peace on its own narrow terms. As mentioned before, Kenneth Kaunda was the most optimistic African statesman when it came to engaging South Africa. Zambia undertook a peaceful approach to the problems facing Southern Africa through offers of diplomatic relations in January and April of 1964 with South Africa. These offers were withdrawn after South Africa rejected Zambia's initial attempt. In 1967 and 1968 though, South Africa realized that it could make use of Zambia to solve the Rhodesia security crisis (Ngoma, 2005: 78). what can be gathered from South Africa's relations from this period with Zambia is that the Apartheid government had no genuine interest in creating inclusive peace in the region, this further antagonized the liberation organization's of the region and most African states who by the early 1970's had come to the conclusion that peaceful solutions to the Southern African security dilemma were highly unlikely (Cilliers, 1999). Disillusioned with attempts

to reach an amicable solution in Southern Africa, the independent black states began to provide growing support to the liberation movements who were by 1970 finding it very hard to operate in an environment which was dominated militarily by the South African antagonistic war machine.

3.4.1 The rise of the liberation movements and the fall of the Portuguese

The Mulungushi club which was established around 1970 was an informal collection of respected African heads of state who dealt with the problem of liberation in Southern Africa. The four original members were Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia (Cilliers, 2009)**.** The small size and loose structure of the club allowed members to meet frequently and rather easily, leaders of the liberation struggle were also often invited to attend meetings (Ngoma, 2005: 96). From this stage the black bloc began to demonstrate increasing solidarity whilst South Africa consolidated its military strength and subsequently propped up the weaker regimes of Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. By the early 1970's the Southern African regional Security complex was effectively split between two conflicting sides, the black bloc which consisted of the Mulungushi club in alliance with the liberation movements versus the White bloc or the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury Axis (Ngoma, 2005: 96).

Despite the intensifying armed struggle across the region, the white bloc was fairly confident that they maintained an upper hand on the situation, effectively diluting the harsh impacts which the liberation movements could have had. Thus when the Vorster regime was reelected in April 1974, they had not yet properly prepared for the events which were about to unfold. The momentous Carnation Revolution of April 25 1974 overthrew the Authoritarian Estado Novo regime in Portugal and replaced it with a democracy (Cawthra, 1986: 23). One of the first steps which the new Portuguese leadership took was to grant almost immediate independence to the colonial territories including those in Southern Africa (Cawthra, 1986: 23). The South African government and security structures had been caught totally off guard by the Carnation revolution and subsequent departure of arguably their most reliable ally in a region which was hostile towards South Africa. Barely a few days before the coup, a South African broadcaster had described Portugal and South Africa as the only two remaining stable states in the world (Cawthra, 1986: 23). South Africa had to now contend with a drastically altered security environment in which its buffer protecting it from the black bloc had been removed (Ngoma, 2005: 97). The only other regional ally was Rhodesia which now

lay dangerously exposed especially along its Mozambican border (Cawthra, 1986: 23). In addition the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) could from this point on operate freely in Mozambique and Angola without being harassed by Portuguese forces. The black bloc had now grown to incorporate Mozambique and Angola, tilting the balance of power in favor of the liberation movement. Growing assertiveness gripped the black bloc as independence became a reality. The spotlight was now placed squarely on those few territories in Southern Africa where independence had not yet been achieved.

3.4.2 The Frontline States

Of all the regional arrangements which at varying times dealt with the security issues facing the black bloc, it was the Frontline states (FLS) which became the most important. This alliance was the successor to the Mulungushi club and operated in much the same way as the former in terms of its loose structure and close relations with the liberation organizations. The founding state heads of the group were Kaunda and Nyerere, later they were joined by presidents Khama, Machel, Dos Santos and Mugabe - of Botswana, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe(former Rhodesia) respectively. The FLS extended its functions beyond security and was also a forum for dialogue concerning trade and economic development in the region (Ngoma, 2005: 96). The Inter-State Defense and Security Committee (ISDSC) was established in 1975 as a sub-structure of the FLS to handle all matters pertaining to the collective security of the FLS states and liberation movements. Jakkie Cilliers (1999) gives the following comprehensive definition of this structure: "The ISDSC was essentially a ministerial committee where ministers responsible for Defence, Home Affairs, Police, State Security, Intelligence and eventually Immigration Services met to discuss issues relating to their individual and collective security requirements and those related to the liberation struggle. Similar to the FLS Summit, the ISDSC had no charter or constitution; neither did it have a headquarters or secretariat. Yet, it was more formally structured than the FLS Summit. The Committee met twice a year or as often as necessary. Its meetings were preceded by meetings of officials and, similar to the FLS Summit, the heads of the military wings of the active liberation movements were invited to both officials and ministerial meetings".

The FLS was quite active in the region with regards to the efforts against Apartheid. In 1976, the OAU passed a resolution expressing support for the FLS and declared within this resolution that an attack by South Africa or Rhodesia on any member of the FLS would be considered an attack on independent Africa as a whole (du Plessis and Swart, 2004: 28). By 1976 the security landscape in Southern Africa was quite different to that which existed prior to the departure of Portugal. The FLS now focused much of its attention to the collapsing Rhodesian regime. Independence seemed imminent for Rhodesia as Ian Smith struggled to gain legitimacy beyond South Africa's apartheid elite who had their own security in mind when supporting the Rhodesian government. As was expected, the independence of Mozambique offered a welcome base for the ZANU PFs military wing known as ZANLA (Maxey, 1975: 44). On Rhodesia's north and western frontier, Zambia continued to offer ZAPU PF forces a base from which they could mount attacks. Rhodesia thus found itself sandwiched between two hostile forces (Maxey, 1975: 44). South Africa's failure in trying to derail Angola's independence just before the November 11 1975 independence date further convinced the black bloc countries that the tables had turned and continued to turn in their favour (Cawthra, 1986: 23).

In 1977 SWAPO once again stepped up its insurrection forcing SADF troop numbers in Namibia to swell. South Africa found itself being occupied on so many different fronts in the region. The virtual thwarting of MK activity in South Africa since the early 1960's led the SADF to the incorrect conclusion that they had successfully dealt with internal opposition. However, the June 1976 uprisings proved that this assumption could not have been further from the truth. The riots which commenced on the 16th of June 1976 would last nearly 6 months and would spread across the country as youth and workers alike boycotted and rebelled, nearly bringing the Apartheid state to its knees. The state responded by issuing a nation-wide state of emergency. Widespread human rights violations took place; an estimated one thousand protestors were killed mainly by police and between ten and twenty thousand people were arrested at demonstrations (Cawthra, 1986: 23). In that year and the years to follow, nearly three thousand young South Africans would leave the country to join mainly the MK guerrilla forces. Subsequent to this was the sharp increase in sabotage and attacks in 1976 and 1977 (Cawthra, 1986: 23). The MK benefited tremendously from this influx of young recruits who came to be known as the "June 16th Detachment". The MK began to diversify its functions, offering a number of different courses to the new recruits spanning from communications, intelligence, engineering and general 'crash' courses, amongst others.

Hundreds of young recruits were also sent abroad for advanced engineering, intelligence and artillery training (Williams, 2000).

The MK could now benefit from the support it would receive from the FLS states, especially Mozambique and Angola. Despite South Africa's attempts to buy Mozambique's allegiance through artificially setting a preferable exchange rate with the country and even paying the Mozambican government in gold for the migrant labourers it supplied, Mozambique remained hostile to the Apartheid regime (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu, 2004:372). Instead Samora Machel's government maintained good relations with the MK, allowing them to use the country as a base and a means of infiltrating Swaziland before entering South Africa (Keller and Picard, 1989: 206). Thus at the end of the 1970's Southern Africa's security environment was much more complex than before and the liberation of Angola and Mozambique provided the MK with enough territory to plan and launch attacks into South Africa. Entry routes into South Africa were now available through Swaziland. In addition the late 1970's saw the FLS and the liberation movements growing in international prestige, many influential people around the world began to sympathise with the struggles of the FLS and the liberation movements. Indeed by the end of the 1970's the ANC was a well equipped internationally supported movement. Through their close ties with the OAU, the MK and other liberation organisations were able to receive arms from the Soviet Union which delivered a huge number of weapons to the Southern African liberation organisations and to the FLS in order to help protect themselves against South African aggression (Callaghy, 1983: 195).

3.5   The militarization of Southern Africa

There are a number of important trends which can be observed from the period immediately after 1975. All these trends relate to the increasing militarization of Southern African politics. Southern African states were all faced with an extremely high level of state insecurity owing to the aggression originating from South Africa. The Angola debacle was a clear example to the FLS states that South Africa was capable of militarily intervening in the internal affairs of independent African states. On the other hand, the increasing MK attacks on South Africa since the independence of Mozambique and Angola proved to the Apartheid government that the FLS were willing to allow themselves to be used as bases for security threats (Cawthra, 1986: 33). Thus began a sort of regional arms race whereby the FLS states and South Africa

began to intensely increase military spending. Since 1977 military expenditure began to increase immensely within the region and just over a decade later in 1989. Thus beginning especially in 1977 Southern Africa began to record high levels of military expenditure which would increase as the intensity of the regional conflict grew during the 1980's. In 1977-78 Southern Africa recorded a total military expenditure of about US$2789 million; this figure would jump up in the following decade reaching US$ 7396.9 million in the years 1988-1989. The latter part of the 1990s brought about a marked decrease in regional conflicts thus by 1996-1997 expenditure had fallen to US$ 4475 with countries such as Angola showing more than a 50% decrease (Ngoma. 2005: 317).

3.5.1 The Total Strategy

South Africa dominated the militarization process in Southern Africa. The perceived threats posed by the FLS, the liberation movements and their communist backers came to be known collectively by South Africa's security structures as the" total onslaught". This concept was based on the assumption that Southern Africa represented a microcosm in the global battle between the west and the east. The danger was that the FLS states had fallen into Soviet dependence and were now bent on extending this to South Africa and Rhodesia (Cawthra, 1986: 23). By the time P W Botha became Defence minister in 1966, he was well versed in the concepts of the total onslaught and the dangers associated with the communist threat. Defence minded members of the South African government began to gain more influence on politics and thus managed to convince government and the white population of South Africa that the total onslaught facing South Africa had to be met with a total response known as the "total strategy" (Callaghy, 1983: 268). South Africa thus unleashed a military onslaught on the FLS countries of the region. In March 1975 Defence Minister P W Botha presented the Defence White paper to parliament. In this paper Botha outlined the new defence strategy which came to be known as "Total Strategy" it asserted the following: "It involves economy, ideology, technology and even social matters and can therefore only be meaningful and valid if proper account is taken of these other spheres...all countries must more than ever, muster all their activities – political, economic, diplomatic and military – for their defence. This, in fact, is the meaning of total strategy" (Cawthra, 1986: 27).

South Africa's total strategy thus involved the militarization of domestic politics especially amongst the white population who were fed anti-communist and anti-FLS propaganda. Regionally it involved the economic and military destabilization of the enemy states. The role

of the military was expanded beyond just deployment of armed forces, all forms of protest even labour strikes were viewed as military threats, and thus South African society was overtly militarized in the late 1970's (Cawthra, 1986: 28). In 1977/78, military spending peaked at nearly 5% of GDP and over 18% of total government expenditure (Batchelor, Dunne and Lamb, 2002: 342). The mandatory weapons embargo which was placed on South Africa, necessitated that the country try especially hard to make itself militarily self-sufficient (Batchelor, Dunne and Lamb, 2002: 342). In addition, South Africa began exploring some more options within the total strategy; the establishment of homeland armies which were almost completely funded by the Apartheid regime would further militarize the region during the late 1970's (Cawthra, 1986: 29).

It is impossible to assign exact figures on the level of damage which the South African government caused. What is lucid is that there was immense suffering as a result, and that most of the suffering was felt by the civilian populations in the FLS. From 1978 until the end of the following decade the FLS were subject to South Africa's Total Strategy. The TRC report on the conflict estimated that anything between 500 000 and 700 000 Southern Africans died as a direct or indirect result of the military interventions. The economic impacts of the total strategy were just as severe. Roads and railroads linking FLS states were destroyed or closed (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu, 2004:372). The Benguala rail route linking Angola and Zambia was an example of this. Formerly profitable mines were closed and land was rendered untillable owing to the high number of land mines which were planted (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu, 2004:372). In 1994 an estimated 2 million landmines lay strewn across Mozambique's countryside, about 28 of its national roads had been rendered impassable due to suspicion of mines and more than 10 000 lives had been claimed from mines (Baynham, 1994). As the name implies the Total Strategy extended to all spheres of life including economic. Thus South Africa began to implement harsh economic measures on the FLS, especially on those states which were heavily dependent on South Africa for trade such as Lesotho and Mozambique. South Africa began limiting the number of migrant labours streaming into the country from neighbouring states. In the space of two years (1975-1977) Mozambican migrant numbers fell from 118 000 to 41 300 (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu, 2004:372).

The response from the FLS was to also increase their weapons capability. Support was sourced externally through the OAU's and the liberation struggle links with the international community. The Soviet Union would emerge as the biggest backer in terms of arms supply

and transferring skills. Thus from 1975 onwards, Southern Africa's regional battles were thrust into the international scene. The influence of the Soviet Union spread across the region, especially in the form of weapons which were supplied to the FLS and liberation movements in order to assist them in fighting the Apartheid government.

3.6   State Collapse, Cold War Rivalry and the flow of Arms in Southern Africa

Despite the danger which the Apartheid regime posed, it is important to note that external threats were not all that states such as Angola and Mozambique had to worry about. As mentioned before, quite often internal opposition to the new incumbents was just as salient as the Apartheid government's hostilities, to the point that these belligerent groups were even willing to allow themselves to be used as proxy armies for destabilisation of the FLS (Ngoma, 2005: 92)**.** Thus the newly created states in Southern Africa might have gained a lot of international support and legitimacy but still struggled to fulfil many of the core functions of the state. FLS states were thus born weak, with very little ability to kick-start social cohesion.

 Reverting back to the previous chapter we can see how the FLS demonstrated most of the characteristics of what Buzan called the "weak state" specifically: High levels of political violence; A conspicuous role for political police in the everyday lives of citizens; Major political conflict over what ideology will be used to organize the state; Lack of a coherent political national identity or the presence of contending national identities within the state; lack of a clear observed hierarchy of political authority and a high degree of control over the media (Buzan, 1991: 100). Therefore Portugal's rather botched period of colonial rule over the territories of Mozambique and Angola meant that on receiving independence these new states with arbitrarily externally imposed borders had very little sense of national identity. The people of these new states and indeed the different elites had almost no knowledge of working together in a single functioning state since the territories for decades were little more than spaces for colonial extraction (Gruffydd, 2008: 185). The lack of economic opportunities coupled with the economic weakness of these states caused the elites to compete viciously for the control of the natural resources and whatever economic wealth did exist. The power vacuum left by the literally sudden departure of the Portuguese left the new states with hardly

any nations and at the mercy of competing groups attempting to control the state. This created an internal dimension to the conflicts.

3.6.1 State Collapse: The Case of Angola

This process of state collapse commenced in Angola just prior to independence and would continue for decades after. At the dawn of Angola's independence, each of three rival organizations had its own army and sphere of influence. The FNLA primarily represented the Kongo people; Together UNITA and the FNLA established the Popular Democratic Republic of Angola (with its capital at Huambo); UNITA had the support of the Ovimbundu, the largest ethnic group in Angola. The MPLA, a Marxist-oriented party, drew social support from mestiços in Luanda and other urban areas and from the Mbundu people (World Encyclopaedia of the Nations, 2007a). The announcement by the Portuguese government to declare 1975 November 11th the official date for Angolan independence set off a race for power by the various competing national liberation movements. Each believed that it represented legitimate state authority thus reflecting the weakness in social cohesion of the Angolan state. The lack of economic resources experienced by competing groups meant that they would have to arm themselves through obtaining external support. The FNLA received arms and funding mainly from China and the United States. UNITA received funding and arms from South Africa and the USA whilst the MPLA received military support from the Soviet Union and Cuba (World Encyclopaedia of the Nations, 2007a). Thus began the internationalisation of Southern Africa's internal regional conflicts. In Angola, Soviet funding proved to be superior for this first phase in the country's long war as the MPLA managed to claim power and declare independence on the 11th of November 1975. However this was only the beginning of Angola downward spiral into further state collapse (de Beer and Gamba, 2000: 70).

3.6.2 State Collapse: The Case of Mozambique

Soon after Angola declared its independence, Mozambique, which had obtained independence the year before began to follow the same process of state collapse. Since independence Mozambique has remained one of the poorest countries on earth The Frelimo government inherited a dilapidated infrastructural layout and an economy which was

dependent on South Africa for trade and remittances from migrant labourers (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu, 2004:372). Frelimo has always maintained only partial control of the country, leading to a situation whereby the vastness of the country attributed further to this lack of control. Rhodesian forces were able to exploit Frelimo's limited control and inability to create social cohesion through assisting in the creation of the rebel movement RENAMO (MNR), *Resistência Nacional Moçambique* in 1977 (Mozambique Fact File, 2009).

It was thus the failing legitimacy of the Frelimo government which sent Mozambique spiralling down. Barry Shutz (1995) identifies certain trends which emerged after Mozambique gained independence that hastened the process of state collapse in that country. First, there were hostile international trends which saw the Soviet Union and the USA aggressively trying to destabilise one another's influence within the developing world (Shutz, 1995: 114). This point shall be further examined under the next sub-heading. The departure of the Portuguese was another factor which compromised Frelimo's legitimacy. Machel's administration was unfortunately unable to retain the skills and resources of the Portuguese populous, thus at independence thousands of former Portuguese left Mozambique whilst pillaging or destroying anything they could before their departure. In order to gain international support from the Soviets, Frelimo implemented a radical Marxist-Leninist approach to economic development in the country (Shutz, 1995: 114). The government therefore imposed a rapid industrialisation program and collectivisation policy with no room for gradualism. The result of this centralised and quite ruthless economic planning was a disruption of traditional Mozambican life. Thousands of people were resettled against their will, traditional structures of authority were undermined and ethnic and regional tensions were provoked (Shutz, 1995: 114). Therefore hostile states such as Rhodesia and South Africa were able to fan discontent within Mozambique.

Through the supply of weapons by Rhodesia, Renamo was able to terrorise villages across Mozambique committing some the most inhumane atrocities recorded in Southern African history (Mozambique Fact File, 2009). After Zimbabwean independence, South Africa took over as Renamo's main backer. The SADF trained and armed the Renamo forces from 1980 onwards. This could be seen as a punitive measure by South Africa, directed at a Mozambican government which continued to offer support to the ANC, affording them an opportunity to infiltrate the country. Frelimo looked to its communist backers for help as the

state began to collapse under the pressure of South African/Renamo destabilisation (Shubin, 2008: 137). The Soviets responded by equipping the Frelimo government with military equipment sufficient enough to at least deter Renamo from contemplating an all out attack on the capital Maputo. By 1980 Southern Africa's security complex had transformed, whilst the FLS maintained strong solidarity in their opposition towards South Africa and minority rule, they were now reeling under the pressure of internal opposition. Economic decline and state collapse in countries such as Angola and Mozambique forced them to search for external backers who could supply arms amongst other things in order to control the insurgent movements such as UNITA and Renamo, who were often just as successful as the incumbent governments at obtaining external military support (Le Billion, 2001: 58). Southern Africa was therefore thrust into the international system through the Cold War politics which existed at the time. The region became yet another chess board arena for the global east-west rivalry.

3.6.3 The International Dimension

The underlying issues of state collapse and economic decline were unfortunately masked by the east-west global dispute between the USA and the Soviet Union. Many outside observers came to the conclusion that what was taking place in Southern Africa was a reflection of the international bipolar balance of power. Whilst this was certainly an element to the conflict it could never surpass the salience of the fact that Southern Africa and certainly many other developing regions were witnessing a crisis of the state (Gamba, 1999: 41). Regardless of whether the ruling state elites propagated an authoritarian Marxist system or a capitalist democratic system, the fact of the matter was that the states themselves were weak and fractured, hardly able to pursue such demanding politico-economic duties. Conflicts such as the Angolan war were hence misinterpreted. Whilst this conflict from the start possessed ethnic and regional dimensions, it was concluded by many that the conflict was solely about disputes over political ideologies. This misinterpretation led to an unprecedented pouring of weapons into Angola from both the east and west blocs who tried by all means to outdo each other. The internationalisation of the Southern African conflict can be said to have greatly increased the numbers of weapons and propensity for war in Southern Africa since the superpowers were much more able to produce and supply weapons than the weak states of the region. The 1980's saw a drastic increase in the supply of weapons to Southern Africa as

the Cold War hostilities between the superpowers continued on the one hand and the devastating conflicts in the region continued on the other (Gamba, 1999: 41).

3.6.4 Arms and Underdevelopment

It seems that the Southern African region missed its opportunity for development especially during the 1980's as conflicts raged on. At the time when the fractured states of the region were meant to be receiving the means for development, they were instead being flooded with weapons. There is no way of determining just how many weapons were imported during the period of 1975 until 1990 since many of these weapons were imported covertly to non-state actors such as South Africa and Rhodesia's arming of Renamo. In addition repressive governments often concealed the nature and numbers of weapons which they obtained (Gould and Lamb, 2004 :). In Mozambique alone estimates of weapons imported during the civil war range from 0, 5 million to six million. Angola's long civil war also presents much confusion in terms of the exact figures of weapons which were supplied. It has been reported though that in some years more than 700 000 weapons were handed out to civilians (Gamba, 1999: 43).

As the Southern African states began to fall deeper and deeper into state collapse, they were left with no options other than continuing the mass purchase of weapons from powerful states which were more than willing to deliver these arms. In 1981 the MPLA: replaced its old T-34 tanks with T-54/55s which were used operationally in 1983. Older armoured personnel carriers (APC) were replaced with BTR-60s and more artillery pieces such as 122mm D-30 howitzers and 122mm BM-21multiple rocket launchers (MRL) were received. The D-30 gave the force an artillery capability of approximately 15km and the BM-21s an area bombardment and standoff capability of between 11 and 20 km's. MiG-21 aircraft were replaced with MiG-23 and Su-22 ground attack aircraft were introduced into the Angolan air space (de Beer and Gamba, 2000: 76). These weapons were supplied by the Soviet Union, MPLA's chief backers. UNITA responded the very following year in 1982, UNITA standardised its units and deployment across its operational areas. Each military region was provided with units consisting of dispersed guerrilla formations (15 to 50 troops each), 150-man guerrilla companies and 500- man strong semi-regular infantry battalions, reinforced with artillery (mortars, rocket launchers or small-calibre field guns) for attacking fixed FAPLA positions. UNITA now had armed forces numbering almost 30 000 and had developed its own Special Forces or commandos that provided it with the ability to infiltrate enemy positions and

perform specialised small team operations. The following year UNITA numbers swelled to 35 000 combat ready troops and that amount almost doubled by 1987–88. It received anti-tank weapons from South Africa as well as captured 82mm B-10 recoilless guns mounted on Unimog trucks for its anti-tank units in the same year – essential for countering FAPLA's deployment of its new T-54/44 tanks (de Beer and Gamba, 2000: 77).

It is clear from the above information regarding Angola's arms situation during the 1980's that the military sphere consumed the lion's share of the country's time and funds. This focus on accruing weapons represents the missed opportunities for development and the beginnings of the vicious cycle which was outlined in the previous chapter. As Buur, Jensen & Stepputat asserted, the "vicious cycle" relates to how conflict causes underdevelopment and how in turn underdevelopment increases conflict (2007: 9). A similar process is reflected in Mozambique. By 1985 Mozambique had the lowest GNI per capita (PPP\$) in the world; The country ranked 115 out of 119 countries in the Human Development Index ; and life expectancy was about 41.5 years at birth (Globalis Indicator, 2009). As Mozambique slipped further and further into underdevelopment more and more weapons were imported into the country. South Africa especially in the early part of the 1980's began an intense military support of the Renamo rebels in Mozambique; information regarding the amount of weapons delivered to Renamo during this period is scanty (Gould and Lamb, 2004: 95). It is believed however that Renamo began to diversify their patronage links also receiving military support from certain groups in Portugal, West Germany and more conservative elements in the USA (Morgan, 1990: 607). The weapons which Renamo were endowed with allowed them to visit unspeakable human atrocities, especially on the rural populations of Mozambique, this in turn caused high levels of insecurity, denying civilians an opportunity to exercise certain development choices such as agriculture for fear of Renamo attacks or landmines. In addition, The Frelimo government was forced to redirect funds from welfare initiatives into arming the state in response to Renamo's attacks (Batchelor and Kingma, 2004: 4). Thus perpetuating the "vicious cycle" or "underdevelopment-insecurity trap".

3.7   SADCC and Southern Africa's lost Decade

The fall of the former Rhodesia and the creation of Zimbabwe in 1980 can be seen as one of the most important contributions which the FLS alliance made to Southern Africa's

development. However this alliance which was built essentially for the purpose of protecting black regimes and destroying white ones could not offer viable solutions to the new security complex which emerged in Southern Africa especially during the 1980's. The nexus between insecurity and underdevelopment as detailed in the previous paragraph was becoming the dominant feature in Southern Africa. Thus the 1980's demonstrated a general decline in Southern Africa's economic performance. The FLS's impact on regional developments therefore began to wane after 1980 (Cilliers, 1999). Following a meeting by the FLS foreign ministers in May 1979, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was established in 1980. The primary objectives of SADCC was to achieve greater economic and transport integration amongst the nine black ruled states of Southern Africa (Angola Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia later joined by Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Zimbabwe) (Swart and du Plessis, 2004: 28).The SADCC states were bent on trying to reduce their independence on South Africa in response to the Apartheid regimes Constellation Of States (CONSAS) initiative which aimed at preserving white rule through supporting its puppet states in the region such as The homeland governments; and secondly destabilising opposing states and organisations in the region such as Mozambique, Angola, ANC and SWAPO (Ngoma, 2005: 88).

The FLS did not entirely disappear, it remained intact and generally handled matters relating to the liberation of South Africa and Namibia, the last two white ruled territories in Southern Africa. SADCC maintained a generally economic agenda. The war ravaged, underdeveloped, weak states which constituted SADCC prevented this body from playing any significant role in controlling the security complex though. Despite SADCC's presence, South Africa continued to destabilise the FLS, and maintained oppressive internal policies (Ngoma, 2005: 100). Insurgent movements continued to wage protracted wars in Angola and Mozambique owing to the excessive influx of light weapons into the regions from the superpowers; as a result, civilian populations continued to suffer from a declining quality of life characterised by insecurity and underdevelopment. It seems likely that the establishment of SADCC was part of a deeper understanding or realisation on the part of FLS that they could not continue fighting indefinitely. The damage which these already weak states incurred as a result of South Africa's unrelenting military punishment could no longer be withstood, thus in 1984 President Samora Machel of Mozambique and President P W Botha of South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord which was an undertaking by both states not to allow each other's territories to be used for "acts of war, aggression, or violence against the other" (Ngoma,

2005: 99). Whilst this decision provoked harsh criticism from President Julius Nyerere amongst others, it was supported by the Angolan and Zimbabwean governments. A shared experience of internal strife and South African destabilization must have facilitated the understanding between the these FLS states, thus President Robert Mugabe once described independent black states of Southern Africa as: "To weak to provide the ANC with the external bases it needed" (Ngoma, 2005: 100). Despite the Nkomati accord, it is widely believed that South Africa continued covertly supporting Renamo, thereby perpetuating the strife in Mozambique (Shubin, 2008: 144).

As the 1980's decade came to a close, the superpower support of Southern African conflict zones began to decline fairly rapidly. There were a number of developments which can be seen as driving forces behind the retreat from the region by the superpowers. The economic exhaustion of the Soviet economy is one factor. Clearly the Cold War competition between the USA and USSR had taken its toll on the Soviet economy, the Soviet Union was no longer able sustain support for all its patron states and liberation groups across the developing world (Batchelor, 2004: 76). In addition the devastating war against the Mujahideen in Afghanistan had become somewhat of a Vietnam for the Soviets. Thus from 1986 onwards the Soviets increasingly began pushing for peaceful settlements to conflicts so that they could pull out (de Beer and Gamba, 2000: 75). Another factor was the winding down of Apartheid in South Africa. From 1986 onwards South Africa embarked on a complicated journey to democracy. In addition, it has been mentioned before that across the region government and civilians were becoming war weary and realising at least the partial extent of damage. The late 1980's can thus be characterised as the period at which the super power ideological veil was lifted off the regions security complex. What is most notable though is that the insecurity and underdevelopment which continued after the veil of decolonisation was lifted would in many cases continue after the Cold War came to an end.

3.8   The Post Cold War Era: New Patterns of Insecurity

The absolutely momentous changes which took place in 1989 and 1990 again reconfigured the security complex in the region. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin wall on an international level meant that the bipolar Cold War between the two superpowers had come to a conclusion. The ending of South Africa's occupation of Namibia in 1989

would alleviate a significant dynamic of the regional security complex as well (Shubin, 2008: 232). On the 2nd of February 1990 President FW De Klerk announced that the ANC, South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) would be unbanned. Furthermore all political prisoners, most notably Nelson Mandela would be released (du Plessis and Swart, 2004: 29). This gave hope to most, especially the black ruled states that the period of hostile destabilisation and racist minority rule would be completely brought to an end in Southern Africa. It thus seemed that the end of the Cold War brought with it an abundance of opportunities for a long overdue security community in Southern Africa which could better deal with security threats. Already in 1989, the SADCC heads of state met in Harare and took a decision to formalize the organisation giving it a permanent legal status to replace the memorandum of agreement (Solomon, 1999: 148). It would take four years of discussions until in 1992 the declaration and treaty of the SADC was eventually signed in Windhoek. According to Solomon (1999: 148). "The treaty expressed confidence that recent developments, such as the independence of Namibia and the transition in South Africa will take the region out of an era of conflict and confrontation, to one of cooperation in a climate of peace, security and stability. These are prerequisites for development".

SADCC was replaced with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, emphasising the regions shifts from development coordination to development integration (Solomon, 1999: 148). The new regional integrationist stance meant that ensuring regional peace and security would be one of the core objectives of SADC. It was expected that a move away from regime protection to a more human security approach would be made since at least two of the main threats to regimes which were the Cold War and Apartheid South Africa had now disappeared. In order to formulate SADC's security operations, the SADC Organ for Politics, Defence, and Security (OPDS) was established. The ISDSC which was created during the height of the FLS was incorporated into this organ (Solomon, 1999: 148). It seems the end of the Cold War, Namibian independence and the dismantling of Apartheid had ushered in a period of optimism which had not been seen since Zimbabwe gained independence a decade or so prior to these events. It was now hoped that the regional schisms and complexities which characterised the 1980's would be smoothed over, allowing all SADC states without exception to cooperate in order to achieve regional security.

Security threats such as the abundance of arms became highly visible at the end of the Cold War. The unregulated supply of small arms and light weapons into the Southern African

security complex caused a volatile situation in countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola (Solomon, 1999: 148). Despite the high expectations of the new regional structures, regional insecurity was not solved or significantly lessened in the early part of the 1990's, instead conflicts such as the Angolan civil war continued with as much ferocity as before. In South Africa new conflicts such as the civil war between Inkatha and the ANC developed on the eve of the Soviet Union's collapse. In many instances the conflict mutated into banditry and crime, such as the highly lucrative trade in illicit arms and narcotics between South Africa and Mozambique (Solomon, 1999: 148).

3.8.1 Arms Dumping in Southern Africa

The decline of Cold War politics did not put an end to the internationalisation of regional insecurity as expected. Instead, weapons began to flow into Southern Africa from different international sources with different objectives. The dumping of small arms was a practice driven by the developed countries need to rid their stocks of small arms and light weapons and conventional weapons (Gamba, 1999: 45-46). At the end of the Cold War, developed countries were compelled by their regional security arrangements such as NATO and the Warsaw pact to undertake the conversion of weapons of mass destruction. However, no such conversion of small arms ever took place. The end of the 1980's and early 1990's were characterised by weak economic conditions which drove developed countries to keep their military industries alive by selling off excess small arms and low technology weapons to the developing world (Gamba, 1999: 45-46). The end of the Cold War meant that these weapons sales were not monitored and thus conflicts such as the Angolan civil war were given a means to continue. Since there was no longer a political or ideological reference for this practice, the weapons often landed in the wrong hands whether oppressive governments, violent rebel movements, civilians or criminal gangs. Since the early 1990's, former eastern bloc countries such as Bulgaria and the Ukraine with huge stocks of small arms have contributed heavily to the influx of arms into Sub-Saharan Africa (Gamba, 1999: 45-46). Thus security threats such as small arms not only remained in Southern Africa but actually transformed in order to suite the post-Cold War global structure.

3.9   In search of a Security Community in Southern Africa

By the mid 1990's it had become abundantly clear that the security issues facing Southern Africa were in fact more complicated than the dynamics of decolonisation or the Cold War. The fact that security threats such as arms proliferation did not subside after the Cold War but merely mutated implies that a significant part of the problem could have originated from the Southern African region itself (Cilliers, 1995). Furthermore, the international community's preoccupation with Yugoslavia and a general sense of disillusionment in Africa's situation led to a period of marginalisation for the region during the mid 1990's. A most telling and brutally honest example of the marginalisation of the continent can be found in the comments made by the US Institute for National Studies which asserted the following in 1995: "The US has essentially no serious military/geostrategic interests in Africa anymore, other than the inescapable fact that its vastness poses an obstacle to deployment to the Middle East and South Asia, whether by sea or air" (Cilliers, 1995).

Marginalisation thus forced regional states to be more inward looking and to depend more heavily on their own resources instead of canvassing for international support. This in turn exposed the structural weakness of states in the region. By 1995 SADC organs tasked with monitoring security issues such as the ISDSC were hard at work trying to build a better sense of collective security amongst SADC state members. The control of security threats such as arms control was being undermined though by the persistence of old rivalries in the region (Berman & Sams, 2002: 50). The highly publicised tensions between South Africa and Zimbabwe led to a situation whereby the regions aspirations for a security community were seriously compromised. In addition the elite interests of despotic leaders led to certain decisions which may have in the end done more to worsen the security issues in the region as opposed to solving them. The incorporation of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) into the region in 1997 added a whole new dimension to the regional security complex. The security problems facing the DRC are too complicated to elaborate upon in this thesis and are today the responsibility of SADC's security structures. The manner in which SADC has handled the DRC conflict which is probably more linked to a Central African security complex bears testament to the assumption that there is yet to be a unified security approach within the region (Berman & Sams, 2002: 50).

3.10 Observations of the Southern African Arms issue

This chapter has been an in depth elaboration of Southern Africa's Regional Security Complex from its beginnings through its various stages till the post Cold War era. The objective has been to give the reader a context of how insecurity has been entrenched into the region and to demonstrate how the proliferation of small arms and light weapons have been induced by the high level of regional insecurity.

By far the most significant movement on the African continent during the previous century was the decolonisation process. This continental movement which gripped the imagination of so many oppressed Africans came to symbolise the African state. Thus the year 1960, for many observers came to be known as "Africa year", in that year alone, 16 African states gained independence (Shubin, 2008: 1). Decolonisation swept across the continent like a wild fire creating new states where previously there was little more than exploited colonial communities. In no other African region did decolonisation encounter heavier opposition than in Southern Africa. This was as a result of the settler regimes of the region that for various reasons held on to power. The region was thus split into two primary blocs giving birth to the first stage of Southern Africa's modern security complex. At this stage the security environment was far less complex, it depicted on one hand those who sought the liberation of the Black African states and those who sought to hold on to power "the Settlers and colonialists" on the other. Gradually, the liberation movements' commenced armed struggles across the region (ANC-1961, Frelimo-1961, MPLA-1964, SWAPO- 1966 and ZANU PF-1966) and the first significant wave of small arms were delivered to the region (Cawthra, 1986: 16).

As liberation movements continued their various struggles, the incumbent white regimes grew ever more repressive. Specifically South Africa began to militarise itself against the threat posed to their position. In addition South Africa began to support its visibly weaker white regional partners namely: Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, thus spreading the militarisation across the region. It was the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in 1975 which ushered in new security complex in the region, henceforth former liberation movements Frelimo and the MPLA would be fully recognised as states. The black bloc was strengthened by these developments signalling a shift in power from the white bloc to the

bloc (Cawthra, 1986: 23). The heightened sense of paranoia which South Africa felt as a result of the growing Black Nationalism, the internal uprisings of 1976 and increasing international criticism led the country to implement a hostile response. This response entailed destabilising the black states and forcing them into a subservient position in relation to South Africa. The South African government thus embarked on yet another militarization drive whereby huge amounts of high technology weapons were bought in order to inflict massive damage on regional threats.

The late 1970's also brought about a period of more aggressive foreign policy in terms of the superpower Cold War confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union (Gamba, 1999: 41). The Cold War would come to represent another significant element of the arms control issues in Southern Africa. All over the developing world, the two competing superpowers fought each other indirectly through proxy wars whereby their own ideological differences would mask internal disputes. The USA and Soviet Union would invariably give their support to opposing sides in a conflict. In Southern Africa, the main currency of aid from the superpowers became small arms and light weapons (Gamba, 1999: 41). South Africa's destabilisation efforts would also entail arming certain rebel movements which in turn destabilised the black states and displaced the liberation movements. To this end, groups such as UNITA and Renamo were supported militarily by South Africa, thereby creating another wave of small arms and light weapons across the region. The 1980's best illustrates the potent impacts which arms proliferation had on the regions security. Firstly the continuation of the superpower Cold War meant that USA and the USSR were willing to continue flooding the region with weapons as a means of undermining each other's influence internationally. Secondly South Africa's destabilisation tactics were continuing as the black states such as Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe were suspected of providing support to the MK. And thirdly, the collapse of Southern African states and their inability to create social and economic cohesion also led to devastating civil conflicts which were being maintained by the high prevalence of weapons (Solomon, 1999: 148).

The post Cold War era would also become significant in terms of reconfiguring of the security environment. Moreover this period was characterised by new understandings of security. From this point onwards, academics and policy makers began realising the negative impacts which weapons had, not only on the integrity of the state but on people. Southern Africa's situation immediately after the Cold War elucidated this. People being killed and maimed by landmines; famine induced by the neglect of land as a result of conflict;

destruction of schools, hospitals and clinics and the usage of child soldiers in war all point to adverse effects which weapons have had on people. Not only was Southern Africa battling to deal with the surplus of old weapons which were supplied to it during the Cold War but also with the new influx of weapons (Gamba, 1999: 45). These weapons were now being dumped by developed countries on Southern Africa and other developing regions as a means of clearing the old stocks of the developed countries' military industries after the Cold War (Gamba, 1999: 45).

Thus to conclude, some of the most important observations which can be made from this chapter are as follows. Firstly, the impacts of arms proliferation in Southern Africa have been particularly adverse for civilians; general quality of life has depreciated as a result of a high presence of arms in society. Secondly, the impacts are particularly transnational and are most salient on a regional level. Since the start of decolonisation, Southern Africa's security agenda has been interdependent, hence the constant need for states and non-state actors to collaborate in search of security. Thirdly, the involvement of the international community has been a primarily negative force, in many respects increasing the severity of arms in Southern Africa (Ngoma, 2005: 88). And lastly, the weakness of the Southern African state has been at the core of regional insecurity. Since their inception, states in the region have displayed most of the characteristics of the weak and fractured states; this has led to the weak state of regional integration and thus an inability to deal with regional security complexes. The weak states have also been the reason why arms proliferation has had such negative impacts on the general population of the region.

Chapter 4: Arms control and Disarmament in Mozambique

4.1   Introduction

This chapter is an investigation into the manner in which arms control and disarmament has been implemented in Mozambique following the devastating liberation war and 16 year civil war. These conflicts left Mozambique with an extremely high prevalence of small arms and light weapons. The chapter is therefore a follow up on the previous one which dealt with the spread of small arms and light weapons in Southern Africa. This chapter will look at some of the mitigation efforts. The region of Southern Africa is quite vast and as explained in the previous chapter, the security environment is extremely complex. For this reason it would be unwise to look at the entire regions arms control methods, instead a case study has been chosen so that this thesis may be more focused. In this chapter two arms control and disarmament processes shall be put under scrutiny.

Before this however, a brief elaboration on the security environment in Mozambique after the civil war shall be made. This chapter shall look specifically at the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) which followed the civil war and was the first form of arms control in Mozambique since the civil war broke out. ONUMOZ achieved peaceful elections in Mozambique however it failed to control the prevalence in arms (Mozambique-ONUMOZ Background, 2009). Thus this chapter shall look at what was driving the continuation of illicit arms flows in Mozambique despite the end of political hostilities. It is within this environment that two primary and virtually concurrent disarmament processes were initiated. The first was Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares (TAE) which was a civil society, community focused process of disarmament which aimed to primarily rid Mozambican society of not only weapons but also the inclination for conflict (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 17). This process shall be evaluated from the period 1995-2003. Secondly, the chapter shall look at operation Rachel, which was a state led mutual agreement between the police forces of South Africa and Mozambique to locate and destroy arms caches in Mozambique which were fuelling the criminal market in South Africa. This process shall be examined from 1995-2001. The goal of this chapter is therefore to ascertain what roles do civil society and states have in disarmament processes? Is there a connection between civil society and state led initiatives and how successful has each been at solving flows of small arms and light weapons in

Southern Africa. The chapter is thus an empirical demonstration of the theoretical discussion in chapter 2.

4.2   United Nations Operation in Mozambique

The predecessor to the operations which will be put under scrutiny in this chapter is the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). Without going into too much detail this section of the thesis shall elaborate briefly on the mission's establishment, mandate and results. The intention is to provide the reader with a context in which the focus of this chapter namely: Operation Rachel and TAE can be analyzed.

On 4 October 1992, after two years of negotiations in Rome, Frelimo and Renamo signed a General Peace Agreement. As part of the Agreement, the Security Council established (ONUMOZ) to monitor and support a ceasefire, the demobilization of forces and the holding of national elections (Mozambique-ONUMOZ Background, 2009). One of the core principles of ONUMOZ's mandate was to facilitate a process of disarmament amongst other things. Therefore the following is articulated within the operation's mandate: "To monitor and verify the ceasefire, the separation and concentration of forces, their demobilization and the collection, storage and destruction of weapons" (Leao, 2004: 13). ONUMOZ was thus the first official attempt at disarmament in Mozambique after nearly 16 years of bloody civil war fuelled partly by the uncontrolled proliferation of small arms. Certain characteristics associated with the type of civil war fought in Mozambique rendered ONUMOZ's efforts less than impressive. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the wars of Southern Africa were not conventional interstate conflicts. There were a number of non-state actors and individuals which complicated the conflicts.

Martinho Chachiua offers a historical explanation of how weapons diffusion took place in Mozambique. This explanation ties in with the Chapter 3's outline of how weapons spread across Southern Africa. The first phase of weapons proliferation in Mozambique took place between 1964 and 1974/5 and represents the liberation struggle fought by Frelimo against the Portuguese colonisers. Estimates show that by 1971 more than 45 000 small arms could have entered Mozambique destined for Frelimo Guerrillas. At the beginning of 1974 Frelimo reported the following statistics: "10 000 troops, equipped predominantly with Soviet arms, including 60 mm and 82 mm mortars, 122 mm rocket-launchers, SA-7 surface-to-surface missiles, 14.5 mm anti-aircraft guns and some MiG fighters." (Chachiua, 1999). Both

Frelimo and the Portuguese forces had very weak arms control mechanisms; it is widely believed that Frelimo guerrilla tactics involved distributing an undisclosed number of weapons amongst citizens. The Portuguese as well handed out arms to the settler population so that they could protect themselves against the guerrilla threat. Between May and June 1974, a total of 5 000 licences were issued in favour of settlers (Chachiua, 1999).

The second phase of the arms proliferation dilemma in Mozambique commenced with the civil war which took place between Renamo and Frelimo. It was South Africa's support of Renamo from 1980 which prompted an unprecedented increase in military spending in Mozambique. It is believed that Machel's government spent anything between 40% and 50% of the government's budget on the military following South Africa's destabilisation tactics. Renamo began to receive significant support from South Africa and other groups forcing the Frelimo government to respond by increasing the militarization of the state and society, guns were thus given to anyone who could fight including children (Leao, 2004: 13). Thus by the time ONUMOZ began its disarmament drive, Mozambique was awash with weapons. Some startling figures are given by the Institute for Security Studies: in Sofala, a rural province, arms were carried by 40 per cent of the adult population; the town of Beira had approximately 30,000 armed militia; in 1995 an estimated six million AK-47s were circulating in Mozambique and the government had distributed some 1,5 million assault rifles to the civilian population for self-defence during the civil war; and, there were about 155 600 armed men in Mozambique by the time of the ONUMOZ exercise (Chachiua, 1999). It may be that some of these estimates are exaggerated but the fact to take note of is that the state, civilians and Renamo all had little control of weapons flows in the country or for what purpose they would be used for (Chachiua, 1999).

4.2.1 Challenges to ONUMOZ disarmament

The challenges faced by ONUMOZ were evidently very great and the pressure on the UN to find a solution to the conflict was just as significant, this unfortunately led to a number of mistakes on the part of the involved groups. UN documents on ONUMOZ include only a few paragraphs on disarmament as opposed to the attention given to other aspects of the peace process, it can thus be concluded that arms control was never a priority for ONUMOZ (Leao, 2004: 13). One of the reasons for this was ONUMOZ's resolve to bring an end to hostilities no matter what. The people of Mozambique and even Frelimo and

Renamo were also clearly war-weary and sought solutions without taking more difficult issues such as disarmament and demobilisation into proper consideration. Realizing that a concerted drive to collect weapons might have angered certain parties, ONUMOZ chose to pay less attention to it and focused on mainly achieving peaceful, free and fair elections. (Leao, 2004: 14).

Another problem which made disarmament difficult for ONUMOZ was the high level of distrust between the parties. Despite the fact that both parties had come to a point where they considered the costs of war far too high to continue fighting, the environment of suspicion which existed compromised the collection of weapons. Both parties feared that giving up their weapons would leave them vulnerable to an attack by the opposing party (Chachiua, 1999). This was no ludicrous concern, indeed the failure of UNITA to return most of their weapons during UNAVEM 2 (Angola) whilst the MPLA did, led to a situation whereby UNITA decided to dishonour the peace agreement and return to armed conflict. It seems highly likely that UNITA took into consideration that the MPLA was weaker after disarmament (Global Witness, 2002: 6). In trying to prevent such a situation, many Renamo and Frelimo soldiers were apprehensive about handing in their weapons to ONUMOZ (Chachiua, 1999). Administrative problems were rife at the start of ONUMOZ. These problems would impact upon the functioning of the process, thus in April 1993; the report to the Security Council by the Secretary General stated the following: "although the ceasefire had largely held, many of the timetables established in the Agreement "proved to be unrealistic". Continuing deep mistrust had resulted in reluctance to begin assembly and demobilization of troops, and contributed to the delay in the deployment of United Nations military observers" (UN Mozambique ONUMOZ-Background, 2009).

Another shortcoming regarding ONUMOZ's disarmament efforts relates to the fact that after collecting weapons the UN handed them over to the Government of Mozambique (GoM). This turned out to be an unwise option as the GoM was at times unwilling or unable to completely destroy all these arms. It is estimated that out of 200 000 weapons which were handed over to the government by ONUMOZ, only 24 000 were recorded as destroyed (Chachiua, 1999). In fact, ONUMOZ expressed a desire to destroy a much greater number than this but the GoM refused. This scenario raises many questions about the commitment of the GoM during this fragile transition period (Leao, 2004: 15). The disarmament undertaken by ONUMOZ was also quite limited. In other words, ONUMOZ

concentrated its efforts on managing the stocks and flows of weapons between militarised actors within the conflict. This limited form of disarmament neglected to take into account the popular involvement in arms handling in the Mozambican wars. As mentioned before, a chronic lack of control led both Frelimo and Renamo to distribute undisclosed numbers of light weapons to people across the country (Chachiua, 1999). Thus considering that so many weapons were distributed amongst civilians and very few were collected, we can thus conclude that the figure given of 200 000 weapons collected by ONUMOZ is far too low (Chachiua, 1999).

The politicisation of disarmament became a serious drawback to the effectiveness of ONUMOZ efforts. The main priority of ONUMOZ was to see that peaceful elections took place in Mozambique. Thus other aspects of the agreement were most important when in relation to this. ONUMOZ realised that they had to reduce the number of weapons prevalent on the streets of Mozambique as a prerequisite to peaceful elections. Once elections seemed possible, ONUMOZ's support for a comprehensive disarmament program in Mozambique began to wane (Chachiua, 1999). Thus ONUMOZ made the mistake of only focusing on the political side of disarmament, this despite the fact that an increase in crime owing to the high number of weapons in the country continued to cause extreme insecurity. The number of reported crimes in Mozambique increased from 30,579 in 1994 to 37,396 in 1995 and 42,967 in 1996, an increase of thirteen percent. Many of these crimes were violent crimes and committed with light weapons (Leao, 2004: 16). It seems that ONUMOZ was rather hasty in trying to achieve an internationally celebrated peace agreement in Mozambique without giving proper thought to some of the long term issues which would remain within Mozambican society for some time.

The demobilisation process which was complementary to the disarmament process in Mozambique also ran into a number of problems during ONUMUZ. Martinho Chachiua (1999) lists four notable problems with the technical aspect of demobilisation of soldiers in Mozambique. First, ONUMOZ's demobilisation campaign was premised on a standard of one man/one weapon. This was highly unsuccessful due to the fact that by the end of the civil war, many soldiers had more than one weapon (Chachiua, 1999). In addition it emerged that many of the soldiers who possessed more than one weapon would hand over only those weapons which were of poorest quality. It was felt that the weapons of better quality were being held in reserve (Gamba, 1999: 22). Second: At the time of ONUMUZ it

seems that there was very little political will on the part of both Frelimo and Renamo to fully disarm. It is likely that both opposing sides of the conflict may have ordered their soldiers to hide some of their weapons (Leao, 2004: 16). Third, there was also significant lack of information regarding demobilisation processes. Many soldiers were either unaware or just too tired of war to involve themselves in the disarmament process (Leao, 2004: 16). Finally, security conditions relating to the storage of weapons were often quite unsafe. These poor conditions for weapons storage often resulted in leakages of weapons back onto the streets of Mozambique. It is widely believed that when ONUMOZ left Mozambique, a great number of weapons held at government armouries or assembly areas (AA) were stolen and subsequently found their way back into civilian or criminal possession (Chachiua, 1999). Thus one could gather a lack of seriousness to full disarmament on the part of ONUMOZ. Virgina Gamba (1999) succinctly words this situation as follows: "Disarmament during the ONUMOZ operation, which at first had been the prerequisite to the holding of the elections, eventually became little more than an afterthought".

Table 1: Total Numbers of Collected Weapons at the End of the Peace Process

FAM (ONUMOZ + Unilaterally Demobilised. Troops):   106 799 weapons
RENAMO: 17 736 weapons
Armed, Paramilitary, Private and Irregular Troop: 43 491 weapons
Post-Demobilisation Disarmament: 46 193 weapons
Total: 214 219 weapons

(Source: Chachiua, M. Table 1. *The Status of Arms Flows in Mozambique*. ISS, 1999)

Table 2: Arms-Related Crimes 1994-1996

Year	Total Reported Crimes	Arms Related Crimes	Arms related Crimes as percentage of Total Reported Crimes
1994	26 063	1 122	4,3
1995	35 160	1 445	4,1
1996	37 725	1 679	4,4

(Source: Chachiua, M. Table 2. *The Status of Arms Flows in Mozambique*. ISS, 1999)

ONOMUZ achieved a number of successes especially with regards to their democratization processes. Indeed, Mozambique unlike Angola experienced peaceful elections after years of warfare, underdevelopment, and one-party rule. The UN project however was unable to properly solve the security problem in Mozambique. The figures shown in Table 1 state that in total, an estimate of 214219 weapons were collected by UNOMOZ, however this figure is far below any estimates of the actual number of weapons which were present at the time (between 1-6 million). Thus ONUMUZ concluded without properly dealing with the prevalence of small arms and light weapons. The end of UNOMOZ also brought with it a marked rise in violent crime which was being fuelled quite substantially by small arms which had not been collected. It is thus observable from Table 2 that armed related crime in Mozambique would continue to rise annually from 1994-1996. In addition, the problem began to take on a more regional dimension. Nyararai Magudu stated the following: "Mozambique is now a regional arms trade centre. It is very common for people in South Africa or Zimbabwe to travel an hour to Mozambique, obtain a firearm and return it to their country" (Magudu, 2003). It is therefore in response to this situation that a need for further action was identified. If anything was clear at that stage it was that the government of Mozambique was too weak after 30 years of liberation and civil war to take over fully from ONUMOZ. Thus in 1995 a group of churches known as the Mozambican Council of Churches (CCM) expressed its desire to undertake the task of collecting and destructing the

excess weapons. This was a pioneering initiative in many respects since for the first time; a civil society organisation was taking full responsibility of arms control, a task which is historically the sole responsibility of the state (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 9).

4.3   TAE Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares: Is civil society the Solution to arms control in weak states?

CCM launched TAE on the 20th of October 1995 in the presence of religious, governmental and diplomatic representatives as well as various national and international NGO's. The launch was supported by a public campaign whereby CCM outlined the goals of TAE to the general public (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 9). In the broadest terms the fundamental goal of TAE is to build and encourage a culture of peace in a society ravaged by war and natural disasters (Boaventura, 1999: 20). In achieving this, TAE aims to strengthen democracy and civil society by encouraging the population to partake actively in peace building activities such as disarmament. Therefore TAE applies a distinctly Human security approach to arms control.

According to the basic TAE project document, the five major goals of the project are: 1 - collection of weapons; 2 – Exchange of weapons for tools; 3 – Destruction of weapons; 4 – Civic education of the beneficiaries and the surrounding community; and 5 – Transformation of the destroyed weapons into art and presenting it to the general public (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 14). The project receives funding from its ecumenical partners in Europe, but at times has had to halt activities due to lack of funding. It should be noted that since TAE's inception, the Mozambican government has always supported the project, given its shared concern for the high rate of weapons on the streets of Mozambique (Gamba, 2000: 175). Hence, in its national Program of Action for 2002 – 2004 TAE was confident enough to state the following: "Mozambique is the first country in the world with a government who accepted in 1995 to give the society (CCM) completely the responsibility for the collection and massive destruction for small arms and light weapons as well as all security [processes] of these complex and politically very [sensitive] issues" (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 14).

The most recent data available on the TAE project from 1995 – 2003 indicates that the TAE has collected 7850 weapons, 5964 pieces of unexploded ordinance, 256 537 rounds of ammunition and various other pieces of military equipment. Together this adds up to a figure of 270 351 items ranging from bullets to machine guns. There is no way of guaranteeing the authenticity or reliability of these figures but there is also no way of to disputing them. It should be noted that on previous occasions, TAE has intentionally given an impression that the total of over 200 000 refers to weapons, when in actual fact it refers to a myriad of different military paraphernalia consisting mainly of bullets. It should be stressed that only 7850 of the objects collected were actually arms (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 17). It is hard to determine the success of TAE'S performance since information regarding the number of weapons in Mozambique is so sketchy (Chachiua, 1999). One thing is certain though, if the over 200 000 weapons collected by ONUMOZ after their efforts concluded made little difference, then it is naive to think that 7850 arms collected by TAE would.

The second core function of TAE is to provide tools in exchange for weapons. by August 2001 TAE had exchanged 795,856 zinc sheets, 1,808 bicycles, 674 sewing machines, 1 tractor, 2,969 hoes, 532 ploughs, 202 doors, 402 windows, 78 kitchen utensils, 68 machetes and 600 kg of different seeds for 200,000 weapons and ammunition. According to the same source the project has benefited about 26,000 families (Leao, 2004: 20). TAE has definitely benefited those who decide to hand in their weapons through giving them "tools for construction" in exchange for their "tools of destruction". The TAE's weapons exchange program benefits not only those who hand in weapons but also those who give information regarding weapons caches. Thus this practice not only assists the TAE in collecting more weapons but also creates an active role for citizens to play. An obvious problem however would be the reality that this kind of "weapons for tools exchange" rests heavily upon the TAE's ability to obtain significant funding. As mentioned before, the TAE has from time to time experienced problems with regards to funding; this casts doubt upon the organisation's ability to sustain their operations (Leao, 2004: 20).

In terms of its civic education objectives, the TAE has done fairly well in creating public awareness. The artwork which has been created from the disassembled weapons has captured public imagination, spreading the message that weapons can be handed in. TAE has quite vigorously driven the point that they maintain the total anonymity of persons handing

weapons in to them, thus the organisation has gained more trust than the police might have. Disarmament has become a nationwide campaign in Mozambican society; this is in stark contrast to the ONUMOZ disarmament efforts which focused almost exclusively on disarming Renamo and Frelimo combatants (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 19). The guns into art project which the TAE undertook was not an initial objective, it developed out of the organisations realisation that substantial awareness could be raised about the project internationally. The creative artwork has gained a lot of media attention and subsequently sculptures have gone on tour to USA, Britain, France and Italy. Certainly the "turning guns into artwork" initiative has done much to improve the project's international profile. However the same cannot be said regarding its impacts inside Mozambique. The artworks are rarely put on display in rural areas where there is little chance of them being bought by anyone, secondly many rural people with superstitious beliefs display reservations to these sculptures (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 19).

Table 3: Collection Results from TAE Project from 20 October 1995 till 14 October 2003

Type	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Cabo Delgado	Zambezia	Total
Weapons Collected	280	543	465	867	348	777	590	571	970	7	2432	7850
Explosives	1172	844	57	103	33	240	355	85	1856	34	1185	5964
Ammunition	10489	9946	2881	33307	10226	19227	40059	22669	200507	3494	102907	455709
Cartridges	147	128	371	180	26	112	160	46	3	0	8	1188
Other Equipments	5	7	1	0	2	4	1	3	6	0	1	30
Bayonets	75	4	1	1	0	34	0	0	3	0	2	120
Grand Total	12168	11469	3776	34465	10635	20394	41165	23374	203345	3535	106535	470861

(Adapted from: Faltas and Peas. Figure 1, pg 18. *Exchange guns for tools: The TAE approach to practical disarmament-An assessment of the TAE project in Mozambique.* Bonn International Centre for Conversion. Brief 29, 2003)

The above table represents the final statistics for TAE between 1995 and 2003.Clearly much work has been done as a wide range of weapons and other dangerous materials have been collected. It is also worth mentioning that unlike ONUMOZ, TAE made sure that weapons were disposed of. There are a number of challenges which TAE faced with regards to disarmament in Mozambique; these will be outlined in the following section of this chapter.

4.3.2 Challenges for TAE

A recurring problem which effects arms control in Mozambique is the fact that there is very little information regarding weapons in that country. The nature of the problem in Mozambique is different from arms control in perhaps more developed countries where information is more organised. Therefore TAE could not easily evaluate their performance since there are no reliable figures regarding the number of weapons in Mozambique. As mentioned before though a total of 7850 weapons collected in 9 years is rather miniscule compared to the large amount of weapons which existed when TEA started and the undisclosed number of weapons which might have entered the country during the process (Chachiua, 1999). This lack of information compromises the entire process of arms control in Mozambique. Thus Moose and Nyararai state the following in an article called Mozambique: A Powder Keg: "The authorities do not know who owns what arms or how they get access to them. The government does not even know the quantity of the arms used by the uniformed forces. If the government cannot control the movement of small arms within its jurisdiction, clearly it cannot control the illicit proliferation and misuse of small arms within the country" (Gould and Lamb, 2007: 106). This statement best captures the magnitude of the information problem in terms of arms control in Mozambique.

Regardless of TAE's best efforts what became clear is that certain issues regarding arms control could not be solved by a local NGO and needed a greater force. It was stated in the previous chapter that the nature of the arms proliferation problem in Southern Africa is a regional one. Since arms entered the region from the mid 1970's onwards they have

successfully traversed regional boundaries with relative ease. The pathways which were created by the rebel movements during the brutal years of civil war were taken over by criminal gangs and arms traffickers in the post-Cold War era. Today Mozambican arms are moved clandestinely to South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi. In addition these arms are also assisting in the trafficking of other contraband (Chachiua, 1999). Taxi violence which engulfed the Kwazulu Natal province in South Africa is believed to have been driven partly by the flow of illicit small arms from Mozambique. South Africa has the biggest criminal market in Southern Africa, It is estimated that in 1995 crime cost the South African economy R31.3 billion, or 5.6 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP).Between 1989 and 1995, South African murders increased by 61 percent, armed robberies by 119 percent and rapes by 80 percent (Vines, 1998). Complex crime networks began to develop between the countries of Southern Africa. These networks were increasingly being used for the smuggling of drugs, vehicles, ivory, rhino horn, gem stones and precious metals. Mandrax, much of it originating in Pakistan, was also imported through Mozambique and Zambia and traded on to South Africa and to a lesser extent to Mexico and Holland (Vines, 1998). Despite the obsession which Southern Africa has had with the liberation weapon of choice namely: the AK-47, statistics have shown that there is a move towards pistols in South Africa's crime market, since these smaller guns are easier to conceal. Although automatic weapons have not been popular in armed crime in South Africa, there is a market for them. Studies have shown that certain groups in Kwazulu-Natal may have been stockpiling these weapons in preparation for future combat (Vines, 1998). Thus though it is true that the arms issues in Mozambique have particularly been detrimental to local communities, it should be borne in mind that these issues may be larger than this and are of a regional nature. The work done by the TAE has been primarily local though, which assumes that arms proliferation in Mozambique is a local problem. It thus ignores the market forces of supply and demand which give rise to the transnational regional trade in illicit arms. There has also not been enough cooperation with other civil society organisations in Southern Africa, it should be noted that the scourge of illicit arms impacts upon all destitute communities whether in South Africa, Malawi, Zimbabwe or Mozambique; furthermore these communities are linked together by criminal networks. Thus the solution should be a regional one.

The approach which TAE used in Mozambique is geared toward gathering weapons from individuals. The prospect of receiving a useful tool such as a tractor in exchange for a weapon was certainly attractive to many former holders of small arms in the country.

However, as the disarmament operations proceeded it became clear that many of the weapons in Mozambique were not being held by individuals but stored in arms caches. It is even harder to get hold of these weapons when one considers that many of the caches are being protected by political actors. Despite peaceful elections in 1994 both Frelimo and Renamo maintained significant arms caches in a highly volatile environment characterised by distrust and souring crime rates. In later years poor supervision and criminality would result in some of these weapons being stolen from the caches and distributed onto the streets (Leao, 2004: 20). In trying to tackle the caches problem, TAE officials were very cautious as many of the owners of these caches were high profile political figures who did not want to be associated with such practices. TAE could never posses enough resources to locate and destroy weapons caches though; they had to depend on slowly gaining the trust of those guarding the cache and hope that they would hand a few weapons over (Chachiua, 1999).

Probably the most important fact which TAE has failed to fully consider is the fact that destroying illegal weapons is not very meaningful unless it is done in conjunction with other security measures. In the case of TAE this process includes: creating a culture of peace, offering ex-combatants alternative means of protection or ways of securing income besides arms and eroding feelings of distrust amongst belligerents. This process is quite extensive and costly and therefore takes more than just a cheap weapons buy-back program (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 31).As mentioned in the 2nd chapter, when considering human security one has to take into consideration developmental aspects of security, thus broadening the concept. Arms control in Mozambique offers a good example. Consider that former combatants in Mozambique who posses weapons are often poorly educated and unskilled. Taking away their weapons could mean taking away the only means of protection or even dignity these former soldiers maintain. Thus when one views underdevelopment as a form of insecurity, it becomes easier to see why certain people will hold on obstinately to their weapons. Despite TAEs attempts to give development options to former combatants, it is clear that with a budget of only $304 000 in 2001, the project would never be able to achieve any meaningful results. Indeed, this budget is barely enough for the weapons buy-back program (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 23).

4.3.3 Achievements of the TAE project

In many respects TAE was a pioneer initiative. It was the first of its kind in Mozambique and dealt with aspects of arms control which seemed to have been overlooked by ONUMOZ. TAE was an attempt to fill the gap which had been left unattended by the disarmament process of the General Peace Agreement after 1992 (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 31). TAE intentionally brought the much politicised process of disarmament down to the community level, thus for the first time humanising the Mozambican discourse around security. TAE was thus an example of human security in practice.

The TAE was highly successful in creating public awareness amongst Mozambican citizens. Many who did not know before were thus informed that weapons could be handed in without any risk of persecution. The TAE staff was also intentionally non-threatening, wisely they chose not to have any police presents when undertaking their fieldwork, if the situation arose that police would be required, these state officials would be dressed in plain clothes, this assisted in giving the organisation a benign image (Chachiua, 1999). TAE thus allowed normal Mozambicans to take ownership of the disarmament process linking this objective strategically with other national goals such as democratisation and the strengthening of civil society. In addition to creating domestic public awareness, TAE has also attracted significant international attention through its creative guns into art programme. There has been also a fair amount of international campaigning on the part of TAE officials and this has been complemented with the arrival of many foreign visitors to the TAE offices who seek to observe TAE's operations. Indeed the international community developed an interest in this small organisation which bravely took on a process which has been historically the sole responsibility of the state and turned it into a community-focused affair.

Despite heavy criticism regarding TAEs buy-back approach, there have been a noticeable number of beneficiaries to these initiatives. A huge number of goods for production have been exchanged for weapons. Another achievement of the TAE project is the manner in which it has sought to change damaging perceptions regarding armed crime in Mozambique. It is true that many of the crimes which took place in Mozambique during the period of drastic crime rise just after the elections were done using weapons from old Frelimo and Renamo caches, contrary to popular belief at the time however; this did not mean that the former combatants were solely to blame for the crime. Many of the weapons had found their way into non-partisan criminal hands that planned to use the weapons for the first time and

for apolitical reasons. Through its field work, the TAE managed to dispel the misperception that all former combatants were to blame for the sharp rise in crime. Instead, TAE took a very affable approach towards ex-combatants, prioritising them in many aspects of the project (Leao, 2004: 23).

If for no other reason, TAE should be commended for undertaking such a task in an incredibly difficult environment. It might be the case that TAE did not reach the targets for weapons collection nor did they totally succeed in creating a peaceful society but they have set an important precedent for civil society movements involved in Southern African security issues. This project has shown that indeed there is a role for these organisations to play especially when it comes to recognising the impacts of security issues on the lives of normal people. TAE's leader has is thus correct when he stated the following: "We are not thinking about what 881 small weapons mean out of the existing arms in Mozambique, but we think in terms of the lives that would have been lost with the use of what we have collected. (Chachiua, 1999) Any small contribution can cause people to take note and since TAE began its project people have shown interest in the creative manner in which TAE has approached arms control at a grassroots level. They have at least succeeded in demonstrating that arms control and disarmament is at least possible in Mozambique.

4.4 Operations Rachel 1995 – 2001: A Bilateral State-led Approach to Arms Control

Operations Rachel was a bilateral agreement between the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM) effective since 1995. This agreement was based on a series of joint weapons destruction operations code-named "Operations Rachel ". The fundamental objective of Rachel was to destroy the arms caches left behind after the Mozambican civil war. These weapons had become a major threat to security in both countries since they were being trafficked from Mozambique to South Africa to supply the latter's thriving criminal market (Hennop, 2001). Thus in March 1995, the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Mozambique and the Government of the Republic of South Africa in Respect of Co-operation and Mutual Assistance in the Field of Crime Combating was signed. This agreement made the following provisions: access to detainees for interrogation purposes, and an exchange of information on arms smuggling. It also allowed the police forces of the two countries to undertake joint operations in response

to common safety and security problems. It is under the following provision that Operation Rachel was established (Cilliers, 1999). The striking similarities in the situations which South Africa and Mozambique were facing facilitated the need for mutual cooperation between the two neighbours. Both countries were in a period of political transition with democratic elections in 1994; both countries experienced drastic rises in small arms; a shift in the use of weapons for war to crime; an increase in violent crime; an increase in the illegal arms market within and between the two countries; lack of capacity to provide security for the public and a general potential for social instability (Hennop, 2001).

Despite the similarities between the countries, there were also glaring differences which would later form significant challenges to Operation Rachel. The two police forces had never worked together before; in fact historical developments made them adversaries more than anything else. There were also uneven operational capabilities between the two countries. The most significant difference though was obvious difference in endowment of resources; The SAPS was exponentially more resourced than the struggling PRM. Most expertise, funding and skills came from South Africa, thus creating an imbalance in the partnership (Hennop, 2001). Previous attempts for state cooperation between South Africa and Mozambique had failed prior to 1994. There was just too much historical animosity and suspicion, especially from the Mozambicans. This with good reason though, as for more than a decade South Africa was responsible for intentionally fuelling the war in Mozambique (Gamba, 2000: 201). The fact that South Africa and Mozambique were able to work together at state level after so many years of hostility should not be overlooked.

4.4.1 The Functioning of Rachel

As a starting point, both police forces had to bear it in mind that they were fulfilling their national duties through Operation Rachel. The operation was not a practice in philanthropy. Substantial evidence demonstrated the link between Mozambican arms caches and the rise in crime and insecurity in South Africa. Thus it was expected that the SAPS would do their job with as much dedication in Mozambique as on the streets of Johannesburg (Gamba, 2000: 201). This was not always possible though for two reasons, firstly South Africa did not have knowledge of the vast Mozambican terrain. They had very little intelligence in that country and the language was also often a problem. Secondly, the SAPS had to take into

consideration that they were bound by international law, which states that they have no legal right to operate in Mozambique (Gamba, 2000: 201). What South Africa lacked in knowledge of local conditions they made up for in resources and expertise. Likewise, what Mozambique lacked in resources was compensated by their knowledge of local terrain, informants, intelligence and legal right to operate. There was thus a complementary partnership between the two countries (Gamba, 2000: 201).

The aspect of Rachel which dealt with the destruction of arms caches was intelligence driven. Both Mozambican and South African forces gathered information about the locations of arms caches and plotted them onto a global positioning system (GPS) MAP. After this the police would retrieve the weapons and explosives where and when safe to do so. These weapons were destroyed on site by a team of South African and Mozambican experts (Hennop, 2001). The approach regarding obtaining information about arms caches was an unorthodox one. Instead of prosecuting those in possession of arms caches, the police chose to rather co-opt them. The reasons for this were that it was widely perceived amongst police that many arms cache holders had in their possession or at least knew of more arms caches. It was thus logically more beneficial for the police to follow up on leads from individuals with arms caches instead of prosecuting them and risk losing out potential leads. Another reason was the fact that many of the arms caches were historically used and owned by either Frelimo or Renamo forces which politicised these caches. In keeping with the general principle of reconciliation, a general amnesty was given to arms cache holders to prevent a resurgence of animosity. Lastly, the absolute poverty which characterises Mozambique's rural areas created a need for a reward system whereby informants could at least receive something for their valuable information (Gamba, 2000: 201).

4.4.2 An Evaluation of Operation Rachel: Challenges

Rachel 1 and 2 in 1995 and 1996 respectively, experienced operational challenges such as personality clashes amongst high ranking officers. There were also issues of trust and cultural differences. (Hennop, 2001). These kinds of challenges could be resolved though since all officers understood that their personal likes or dislikes could not get in the way of a successful operation. There were however more structural problems which were harder to resolve. Chachiua looks at some of these. Firstly, there were the deplorable working conditions SAPS officers claim to have been subjected to in Mozambique. Many officers

complained of a lack of basic infrastructure and almost inhumane living conditions, not at all what the South Africans were accustomed to. General Wouter Grove once described the conditions at the Mozambican police stations as "extremely difficult and primitive" (Gamba, 2000: 207). As one could imagine, language became another significant issue, as many high ranking Mozambican police officials could not properly communicate in English nor could the South Africans speak Portuguese. Mozambican police had to thus consider this when selecting officers for teams since communication is very important. Miscommunication could easily lead to bad mistakes or conflict between officers.

The stark differences in the level of operational skills between SAPS officers and their Mozambican counterparts made it extremely difficult for the two groups to work together. South Africans found it hard to work with the Mozambicans on specific aspects of Rachel owing to a lack of proper training of the Mozambicans. Handling of explosives was one such core activity which many PRM officers were not able to properly perform. This was not a desirable situation since the consequences of mishandling explosives would have been very costly. Mozambican officers were also heavily under-resourced. The illicit firearms unit at the general command of the PRM had a budget of about only R15 000 per month with no available vehicle. This made their work highly dependent on South Africa's presence (Gamba, 2000: 207).

It is true that South Africa has given its full support since the beginnings of the operation. This is because the country saw its own national security as vulnerable to an influx of weapons along the Mozambican Border. However one must question South Africa's dedication to extending the operations further north. It should be noted that initially South Africa was against extending Rachel further north into Mozambique and wanted to in fact restrict the operations to the South where weapons are more likely to reach South Africa. Thus Rachel has been in many respects less about disarming Mozambique and more about providing national security for South Africa. It was not until external European funding was obtained that South Africa decided that Rachel could move further north with South African assistance. We can thus expect that disarmament issues will continue in Mozambique's hinterlands up north where there is little interest in controlling arms (Leao, 2004: 23). An unfortunate development has been the suspected scandals which may have involved the tipping off of arms traffickers prior to raids. Both the SAPS and PRM officers have been implicated in these corrupt and criminal activities (Vines, 1998).

4.4.3 The Successes of Operation Rachel

In total, operation Rachel has seen the collection and destruction of a huge number of weapons which substantially dwarfs anything ever achieved prior to its establishment. Between 1995 and 2002, 8 operations consisting 19 missions have been undertaken. During this time a total of 611 weapons caches were located and destroyed. This illustrates the kind of impact which one operation can have. Comparing this with the amount of weapons collected by the TAE demonstrates the obvious superiority of Operation Rachel's methods. For the year 1995 TAE collected 280 weapons in total, whilst Rachel for that same year collected 1120 firearms. TAE collected 10489 rounds of ammunition for the year 1995 whilst Rachel gathered 23 182 (Hennop, 2001). Rachel's methods of sourcing informants and using technology to locate arms caches instead of collecting weapons one individual at a time proved to have much more of an impact on the situation. The following table gives a picture of the weapons and other implements which Rachel gathered during the period of 1995 – 2001.

Table 4: Weapons destroyed by Operation Rachel 1995 - 2001

Weapons	1995 Rachel 1	1996 Rachel 2	1997 Rachel 3	1998 Rachel 4	1999 Rachel 5	2000 Rachel 6	2001 Rachel 7
Firearms	1120	475	5584	4385	1755	2394	2803
Pistols	8	13	78	353	208	18	65
Anti-personal mines	96	577	518	410	28	129	48
Landmines	3	4	4	0	0	1	0
Hand grenades	407	66	336	5201	210	469	266
Mortars	379	230	372679	21	6	70	1065
Launchers	43	292	79	72	5	55	54
Projectiles	202	59	2340	5039	99	422	385
Boosters	219	51	83	923	98	39	1 case
Cannons	6	17	13	1	0	8	2
Ammunition	23 182	136 631	3000 000	156 161	108 973	100509	477 000
Magazines	344	577	3674	1317		1290	1170
Other accessories	1008	694	301	0		0	599

(Table Adapted from: Hennop, E. Operation Rachel 1995-2001. Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper No 53 2001)

Table 4 supports assertions that Rachel was a resounding success. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly Rachel was distinctly strategic in its approach. By targeting arms caches instead of individuals, Rachel was geared to hit the illicit arms trade in Southern Africa where it really hurts. Rachel thus sought to break the chain which held the illicit network of arms together. It should be noted that the explicit role of the state in operation Rachel eliminated any questions about the legality of the operations. The operation was also thus able to source the best expertise and significant resources from the South African state, since it was perceived as an initiative dealing with an issue of national security. This highlights the importance of state actors in controlling arms. This is not to imply that Rachel was in the same category as some of the arms control projects of the Cold War, in fact one of the huge successes of Rachel was its ability to consider human factors. The police force undertaking the operations were thus conscious of the issues facing Mozambican societies such as extreme poverty and underdevelopment (Chachiua, 1999). Another human factor which had to be considered was the fact that Mozambique was only recently emerging from a devastating civil war, thus reconciliation was of paramount importance. Operation Rachel from the start chose wisely not to use proactive policing which might have compromised their ability to locate arms caches, thus it was decided that intelligence would be the main mode of tracing arms. This assisted in preventing serious feelings of insecurity amongst old Renamo soldiers who were in possession of arms. A general amnesty was also added so that animosity would not increase on the part of Renamo (Gamba, 2000: 218). Therefore Operation Rachel very skilfully walked the tight rope by effectively administering arms control as a state actor whilst considering the human dimensions of disarmament in Mozambique.

The flexible and ad hoc implementation strategy which Rachel used ensured that decisions were not made too hastily. Indeed there was still a lot of suspicion on the part of the Mozambican and South African officers. Therefore a rigid approach might have caused displeasure or even a straightforward refusal to cooperate if the officials felt unhappy. Thus no political decisions were taken without considering the police officers involved in the actual operations. As Chachiua points out, the vital lesson to learn is: "Take it easy, do not get upset with your counterparts. After signing the agreement, let the ground officers decide what needs to be done. Listen to the ground officers' needs and complaints" (Chachiua, 1999). In addition it should be noted that when problems between the two states did arise, the political actors who were the signatories to the agreement refused to allow the problems to become politicised, preferring rather quiet diplomacy and corrective action (Hennop, 2001).

One of the most positive impacts which contributed to the success of Rachel was the fact that there were coinciding national interests between both states. The movement of weapons from Mozambican arms caches into South Africa meant that South Africa's security was threatened directly by the prevalence of arms in Mozambique. Thus both sides were very responsive to the needs and interests of the other party, since failure of the partnership would seriously jeopardise their own interests. It should be borne in mind that during the Cold War, Mozambique's instability was considered an important priority for South Africa's national interests. Thus the mutual security approach implemented by Operation Rachel is a vivid example of just how much the regional security complex had transformed merely 5 years after the end of the Cold War (Gamba, 2000: 207).

The results which Rachel has achieved seem to be much more accurate than those collected or not collected by other disarmament programs such as TAE. Record keeping was a priority for this operation and thus one can better analyse the data. Operation Rachel maintained good standards through making sure that weapons which were uncovered were destroyed on site instead of being transported to some or other location where leakages could occur. Operation Rachel was therefore a more accountable initiative which used good standards of moving information about (Chachiua, 1999).

Operation Rachel was a vanguard initiative in Southern Africa. It was the first bilateral agreement between two countries; furthermore it was established prior to most of the regional attempts to deal with the arms control issues such as the Southern African Regional Action Programme on Light Arms and Illicit trafficking. Regardless of the fragile environment which the operation faced, Rachel has still managed to uncover weapons caches and trafficking routes with resounding success, exceeding any other gun buyback or other collections program at the time. Thus an important key to the success of Operation Rachel is the resilience and determination which the officers and political actors involved in the operation displayed even at the hardest of times (Gamba, 2000: 207). Hence by Rachel 4 in 1998, the operation was under extreme pressure owing to the costs incurred especially in Rachel 3. Despite this the operations continued even increasing the number of missions in a single operation (Hennop, 2001).

4.5   Government, Civil Society and Arms Control

This chapter so far has documented the operations which both civil society and governments have undertaken in Mozambique with regards to arms control. But is there a case for joint action between state level and civil society responses to arms control? To revert back to the argument made in chapter 2, "a strong state needs a strong civil society". This is true for matters pertaining to security as well, especially in developing countries which are characterised by high levels of human suffering. In addition, it has been made abundantly clear throughout this thesis that the impacts of arms proliferation within Mozambique are of a distinctly human nature meaning that it tears at the fabric of society and not just at the integrity if the state. Despite this the important lesson to learn from the Mozambican case study is that despite the best efforts, CSO's can never become surrogate states. Nearly all literature commenting on weapons collection maintain that this highly dangerous activity should be handled only by trained and highly skilled professionals under government authority (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 30). TAE has had a very limited impact on the numbers and flows of arms since it did not have these expertise or authority at its disposal.

The case of Mozambique provides an interesting twist though, as pointed out in chapter 3, the state of Mozambique itself lacks the capacity for arms control. Not only is the Mozambican government incapable of controlling the free flow of illicit weapons within the country, but also lacks the capacity to control its own stocks. Thus, on 23rd March 2007 a series of explosions at a military weapons depot in the Mozambican capital, Maputo, showered rockets and other ballistic debris into densely populated poor neighbourhoods, killing at least 76 people, wounding hundreds more, and sending thousands of residents fleeing from their homes. This was the second tragedy in 4 years since an electrical storm set off an explosion at the Beira arms depot in 2003 killing 3 people and destroying 130 homes (IRIN, 2009). It is with these considerations in mind that TAE aimed to alleviate the high levels of insecurity caused by uncontrolled arms in the country, this move however did not result in any serious impact upon the total numbers of arms in Mozambique, what it has done however is created public awareness. The civic education program has also made many Mozambicans increasingly conscious of the negative impacts which light arms have on society therefore democratizing the disarmament process. It is this which should be seen as the core function of civil movements with regards to security matters. CSO's have an integral duty to play in terms of making not only the public aware of security threats, but also holding governments

accountable to their duty to allay the threats. CSO's cannot however take over from the state since this would defeat the purpose of even having a state in the first place.

4.6   Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at three different arms control measures which have been implemented in Mozambique in order to lessen the threats which weapons pose. Firstly, an evaluation of ONUMOZ was taken. It was discussed how this first initiative was inadequate in a number of aspects. The general hastiness with which this first disarmament drive was implemented compromised its effectiveness. Thus it emerged that ONUMOZ was geared primarily toward achieving peaceful elections in Mozambique and failed to consider the more permanent dimensions of the disarmament problem. At a societal level, ONUMOZ failed to consider the impacts of arms on human security, in addition it also failed to recognise that weapons in Mozambique had proliferated in a totally uncontrolled manner and eventually landed in the hands of civilians (Leao, 2004: 14).

Secondly, ONUMOZ failed to consider the criminal dimensions of arms in Mozambique. Through creating suitable conditions for an electoral process and fostering reconciliation amongst Renamo and Frelimo, ONUMOZ was able to achieve political gains in Mozambique, at least removing political motivations for small arms. ONUMOZ however did not realise that arms could be used for criminal purposes just as successfully (Leao, 2004: 14). Thus Southern Africa quickly developed criminal networks which spanned across the region. Former combatants were aware of concealed routes which were used to move weapons for the liberation struggles and civil wars during the Cold War. These routes could be used just as successfully for the transnational trade in illicit firearms and for other illicit goods (Chachiua, 1999). The above mentioned shortcomings of ONUMUZ stimulated the establishment of more disarmament processes in Mozambique following the elections in 1994.

Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares or TAE was established in 1995 with the specific purpose of dealing with the prevalence of small arms within Mozambican society and the impacts which occur. This project aimed to deal primarily with disarmament at a societal or community level, thus representing the human approach to arms control. TAE thus had a very broad focus since it aimed to create a culture of peace within society. This meant looking at

aspects such as development and democratisation. Two broad problems emerged from the manner in which TAE looked at arms control. Firstly, the broadening and deepening of the arms control in order to encompass societal issues would greatly increase costs. TAE was simply not well resourced enough to deal with all these issues which would entail rural development, democratisation, human rights activism education and health amongst other things. Secondly, the process of collecting arms and destructing them was also far beyond TAE's capabilities (Leao, 2004: 14). Apart from the lack of resources there were also legal questions about whether or not TAE had the authority to embark on such activities. TAE also neglected to resolve the issues regarding the illicit trade in small arms which was particularly regional and encompassed elements of the transnational shadow economy which has burdened Southern Africa since the end of the Cold War. TAE's method of buying back weapons from individual's was thus honourable but slow and ineffective (Chachiua, 1999).

Almost concurrent to TAE's disarmament project was the state driven governmental agreement between South African Police and their Mozambican counterparts. This Project code named "Operations Rachel" was a series of operations which sought to locate and destroy arms caches in Mozambique responsible for fuelling crime regionally and especially in South Africa. This state driven approach which closely resembled realist theory of arms control was heavily motivated by national interest; this meant that it was more focused than TAE's project and subsequently more successful in terms of collecting and destroying weapons. The presence of Mozambican police officers allowed the operations to gain legal authenticity. The unavoidable problem which arises from state driven arms control measures is that national interests will eventually change. It came to light as the operations proceeded that South Africa had a certain agenda, which was to limit the flows of illicit arms entering the country from Mozambican arms caches. The South Africans lost enthusiasm for the project after their aims had been nominally achieved. There was also little desire on the part of the SAPS to move operations further north since it was not a direct threat to South Africa's national security. This leaves Mozambique in a precarious position since, as discussed earlier; this state has been, and continues to be totally incapable of undertaking proper arms control.

Chapter 5: Key Findings and areas for further Study

5.1   Introduction

This chapter shall review the work done throughout this thesis and look for possible areas for further study which may be relevant. The key findings shall aim to reiterate the conclusions which this study has arrived at through answering a number of key questions elaborated upon in chapter 1. Thus at this point it would suffice to recap on some of the critical questions that this thesis was based upon. The most important question which this thesis has attempted to answer is the research question. The research question is the defining aspect of the thesis. Thus as expressed in Chapter 1 the thesis was a study which tried to evaluate the success that states and civil society have had in terms of arms control and disarmament in the SADC region. Worded differently the question goes as follows: *How successful have states been in managing arms control and disarmament in the SADC region?* And, *how successful has civil society been in managing arms control and disarmament in the SADC region?* This two part question is the main research question and thus the answer to it would form the hypothesis.

5.2   The Theoretical Question

This research question is quite broad and therefore warranted an entire study to answer it sufficiently. The thesis was divided into chapters with the expressed intention of eventually reaching the conclusion which will be elaborated upon in this final chapter. Chapter 2 initiated the process of finding an answer by looking first at the theoretical approaches which have been used to analyze arms control and disarmament around the world. A key observation from this chapter was that traditional, realist and state-centric approaches have become highly unsuitable for analyzing arms control in the post-Cold War era. A number of reasons were given for this assertion; some of the most salient were as follows: The state-centricism of this theoretical approach ignores the growingly important role which non-state actors such as civil society can play in providing security for people (Vincent, 2002: 147). Indeed this point would be demonstrated in the Mozambican case study in chapter 4. On a theoretically deeper level, chapter 2 outlined how traditional security approaches are flawed in their definition of the state which assumes that all states reflect the Westphalian notion of statehood which amongst other things depicts states as having a monopoly on violence (Heywood, 2002: 87). The relevance for arms control in this regard is that this generalization

would mean that all states are invariably in control of the weapons within their territories. Chapters 3 and 4 would prove that this has definitely not been the case in Southern Africa, particularly in Mozambique.

Accompanying state-centralism is the concept of "national security" (defined in chapter 2). This concept was criticized owing to the fact that it presupposes a harmonious relationship between state and society, and ignores the fact that many states such as Somalia are incapable of providing security, whilst others such as Sudan are security threats themselves (Appiah-Mensah, 2005: 10-11). The traditional approaches to security also tend to have a bias in favour of international politics at the expense of domestic developments which can impact upon the manner in which a state behaves internationally. Wyn Jones (1999:96) elaborated upon the fall of the Soviet Union in order to demonstrate how domestic developments can have significant impacts on state behaviour internationally. Chapter 3 also demonstrated this link by observing how the internal weakness of Southern Africa contributed to the Cold War confrontation on a global scale. Lastly, the fact that traditional approaches to security were formulated and heavily inspired by the Cold War meant that in terms of arms control and disarmament the approach would be heavily focused on nuclear weapons as opposed to Small and Light Weapons which were destroying Southern Africa (Gallagher, 1998:8).

The glaring incompatibility which the traditional approach to arms control displayed provoked the emergence of new approaches to security studies which aimed to expand the discussion on security beyond states and military threats. Security studies was thus broadened and deepened as explained in chapter 2 (Hough, 2004: 7). The Human Security approach grew to symbolise the broadening and deepening of security issues during the post-cold war era. This approach shifted the focus of security from the state and threats to the state, towards individuals and threats to those individuals, thus making it more encompassing (Lodgaard, 2004: 21). The shear broadness of this theoretical approach exposed it to a lot of criticism though. Firstly, the concept is extremely difficult to grasp. Its broadness means that at any stage it can encompass anything and is related to everything (Paris, 2001: 88). This makes it lose focus since to human security proponents; all matters are equally important. The risk therefore with expanding security so widely is that the concept may lose substance (Paris, 2001: 88).

Human Security approaches are also quite difficult to implement. Policy makers are therefore often left with the problem of not knowing where to start in terms of human security.

Traditionally security has always discriminated between security and non-security matters; this is what has informed policy makers on how to take action when assessing a situation. The rapid broadening of the concept of security however has lead to situation whereby security has been meshed with development and human rights issues amongst other things. The result being that policy makers and decision makers within the field of security are often left unsure as to whether or not a matter requires their attention or not (Paris, 2001: 88). It is actually through the shortcomings of the Human Security theoretical approach that the usefulness of traditional security is elucidated. The theoretical approach used within this thesis is thus an attempt to reconcile the focus of traditional security approaches with the broadness and flexibility of the human security approach. What this means practically is that whilst accepting the fact that humans and not states are the main referent objects of security, this study propagates that capable states are still the most important means of creating human security. Chapters 2 and 3 thus demonstrated that no real security can ever be achieved in the absence of a capable state. This thesis also aimed to prove that there is a strong role for civil society to play in terms of security matters since states are the sum total of all human interaction within their borders and not just reflections of the incumbent regime.

5.3   The Spread of Arms in Southern Africa: Key Findings

The third chapter was geared specifically towards answering questions relating to the spread of arms in the SADC region and give the reader an understanding as to how and why these arms spread throughout the region. Three broad stages of weapons proliferation were identified by the study. Firstly there was the period from the mid 1960's till about the mid-1970. During this period, liberation movements and colonial governments were in a struggle for control of the different territories. Weapons were thus given to liberation movements primarily by the Soviet Union to assist them in combating the colonial and settler white regimes (Ngoma, 2005: 78). This period was gradually replaced from the late 1970's with a period of state collapse amongst the newly independent Southern African states. A multitude of factors such as South African destabilisation, poor economic performance, international involvement and bad governance lead to a crisis in the legitimacy of the Southern African regimes (Ngoma, 2005: 78). Countries such as Mozambique and Angola were forced to militarize as internal insurgencies sought to depose these governments. Vast resources were spent on arming soldiers and civilians in the most irresponsible fashion (Ngoma, 2005: 78).

This would continue throughout the 1980's until eventually, the fall of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War and the dismantling of Apartheid would put a brief end to this. The third period in Southern Africa's history of arms proliferation began after the end of the Cold War and was characterised by the marginalisation of the African continent together with the practice of dumping excess arms left over from the Cold War (Gamba, 1999: 41). Thus since the mid 1960's and especially from the mid 1970's onwards, arms have been proliferating throughout Southern Africa.

There are different role players which were identified in chapter 3 as being responsible for this situation. Firstly, at an international level there were the powerful states which have for differing reasons been flooding Southern Africa and indeed other regions with large amounts of weapons. The motivation behind these actions during the Cold War was to try and undermine each other's influence in the global competition for power. After the Cold War huge stocks of weapons were dumped on the region by the international community who now had to rid themselves of surplus weapons (Gamba, 1999: 41).

On a regional level, the chief recipients of these weapons flows were newly independent black states and the liberation movements that tried to firstly gain control of the state through armed struggle, and then tried to maintain control of the state through armed repression, thus constantly providing a need for arms in Southern Africa. South Africa and Rhodesia before 1980 were the last remaining white governments in the region, the isolation they felt coupled with the fact that the FLS states were to varying degrees supporting MK forces drove South Africa to embark on a counter-revolutionary war path. This included delivering a high number of weapons to anti-government movements such as Renamo in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu 2004:372). South Africa is also known to have been giving weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a divisive tactic against the liberation movement in South Africa and especially the ANC (Melander, 2002: 15). Thus South Africa's Apartheid regime greatly contributed to the number of small arms in Southern Africa.

The harshest impacts of weapons proliferation in Southern Africa were felt by civilians. Chapter 3 explained that firstly there were scores of civilians who were directly affected by armed conflict in the region. Since civil wars gripped the region, countless civilians have been murdered and maimed by the use of small arms and light weapons. Refugee populations were also scattered across the region in an attempt to escape the conflict. Thus, at the end of

Mozambique's long civil war there were between 4 and 4.5 million Internally Displaced People (IDPs) and 1.5 million returning refugees. (Mozambique-ONUMOZ-Background, 2009). In addition to these impacts, there was also the fact that the armed conflicts destroyed infrastructure and disrupted economic development programs, therefore leading to underdevelopment. The more the wars persisted, the more governments had to divert funds from development and reinvest in militarization. This lead to a vicious cycle of insecurity and underdevelopment, proving that indeed there is a relationship between armed conflict and underdevelopment (Batchelor, 2004: 83).

Another key observation is that the security concerns in the SADC region were distinctly regional. In other words they spanned across national boundaries. The network of liberation movements across countries and South Africa's destabilisation tactics served to tightly entangle the states into a regional security environment where the security of one country was dependent on its neighbour's security (Ngoma, 2005: 88). This essay has used the literature of Barry Buzan (1990) to explain the regional security environment in Southern Africa. Barry Buzan investigated how regions have played a prominent role in terms of determining security. The concept of the "Regional Security Complex" (RSC) is an analytical tool developed by Buzan as a means of examining regional security linkages. This study has applied the RSC concept to Southern Africa's security environment in terms of arms control and disarmament, therefore observing the regional nature of this particular security threat.

Probably the most important fact to take note of throughout the many years and stages of arms proliferation in Southern Africa is that the Southern African state has always been intrinsically weak. The legitimacy of these states has thus been challenged and undermined by a variety of actors, whether it was the colonial and settler populations, the international community, internal resistance or international financial and economic demands. One of the most Salient examples of these states inability to meet the basic requirements of statehood is the manner in which small arms have undermined their legitimacy. Regardless of the motivation behind the influx of weapons in Southern Africa, the result was always the uncontrolled dissemination of these weapons into society owing to the poor state of arms control measures by the struggling states of the region. It should be noted that arms proliferation is not exclusive to weak states. Strong states such as the USA and Soviet Union during the Cold War amassed a huge number small and nuclear weapons (Leysens and Thompson, 2002: 86). What distinguishes arms proliferation in weak states such as Mozambique however, is the highly uncontrolled manner in which weapons are spread

throughout the state and society, thus creating a huge number of problems not only for the state, but also for population within the state.

5.4   Key Findings from the Case Study

The fourth chapter of this thesis takes a closer look at the case of arms control and disarmament in Mozambique. This was achieved through examining two projects which took place in Mozambique with the expressed purpose of decreasing the prevalence of small arms and light weapons in that country. TAE represented the civil society attempt to resolving the arms issue. TAE's broad intention was to eventually create a culture of peace in the war ravaged society through reducing the prevalence of weapons amongst other things (Boaventura, 1999: 20). Thus TAE can be seen as an overtly human security approach to the arms control issue in Mozambique. In fact, TAE prides itself on being the first ever Civil Society Organisation in the region to undertake the physical act of collecting and destroying arms (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 14). The TAE's creative methods for arms control and disarmament included a civic education program which was successful in creating public awareness regarding weapons within society. In addition the turning weapons into sculptures project has also captured public interests including gaining international support (Faltas and Peas, 2003: 14).

TAE's project has been successful in raising awareness about disarmament thus taking this historically state-centred activity and democratizing it at a grassroots level. The organisation's non-state approach has helped it gain support amongst communities which for many years have been suspicious of the state. In addition, the weapons buy-back program has contributed to development by giving individuals productive tools such as tractors in exchange for weapons (Leao, 2004: 20). Probably the most important aspect of the TAE project is its willingness to provide a long-term solution to arms control and disarmament in Mozambique. As explained in chapter 4, ONUMOZ which was the UN commissioned initiative for arms control was geared towards creating suitable conditions for elections. This meant that the project ceased to exist after peaceful elections took place in 1994. However this did not reflect the situation within Mozambican society which was still awash with weapons. TAE therefore has long term goals for Mozambican disarmament; it offers no quick-fix solutions but instead seeks to create conditions for sustainable peace in the country

(Boaventura, 1999: 20). Despite the many successes of the TAE project, it has been faced with a number of structural problems which inhibit the success of the project. At a fundamental level is the fact that TAE's ambitions greatly surpass its resources. Thus, one should consider that creating human security is a highly expensive task. As we can see from the Mozambican case study, a human security approach entails not only taking away the instruments of destruction, but also replacing them with the means to production (Boaventura, 1999: 25). This single organisation despite its good intensions could not properly deal with developmental issues in Mozambique since underdevelopment and poverty in that country is endemic.

TAE had some success in terms of buying-back weapons from individuals. However individuals do not completely characterise the weapons problem in Mozambique. There are a number of arms caches which the civil society organisation could not ever locate due to lack of intelligence and technology (Chachiua, 1999). In addition TAE failed to contend with the regional nature of the illicit trade in arms across Southern Africa. It came to light during the 1990's that the arms caches in Mozambique were not simply hidden without any purpose, but were in fact supplying South Africa's massive criminal market. The arms in Mozambique had thus tied the country into a sophisticated regional criminal network which had international links. These issues were beyond what the TAE was capable of resolving (Chachiua, 1999).

It was the impacts of the arms trade on South Africa which would eventually lead to the bilateral state-supported initiative undertaken by South African and Mozambican police to locate and destroy the arms caches in Mozambique (Gamba, 1999:51). As mentioned in chapter 4, Operation Rachel was a joint initiative between the two affected countries. The resources which were available to the police forces helped them to better reach targets and work efficiently. The usage of intelligence and high level technology such as Global Positioning Systems meant that Rachel was able to collect and destroy more weapons than any other program in Mozambique (Chachiua, 1999). Rachel was focused and results driven. By destroying arms caches it managed to inflict serious damage on the regional trade in illicit arms. In addition, this project had territorial legitimacy since there were Mozambican police involved whilst South Africa's relatively advanced police force meant that the project had a wealth of skills and resources (Gamba, 2000: 201).

Operation Rachel was not without problems though; many issues were minor, relating to personality clashes, cultural and linguistic misunderstandings. A major problem however was

the fact that Operation Rachel, like most state-driven initiatives was based on national interests and national security considerations (Gamba, 2000: 201). To repeat what was asserted in chapter 2, national interest's means pursuing a country's interests, even at the expense of other countries (Hough, 2004: 4). What really took place during Operation Rachel is that South Africa's and Mozambique's interests coincided, in that ridding Mozambique of weapons would be in South Africa's national interest or security. However what emerged after a while is that these interests were not permanent. South Africa began to display apprehension about moving Operation Rachel further north where weapons were not a direct threat to South Africa. In addition South Africa would also decrease its funding as time passed (Gamba, 2000: 201). This situation was most detrimental for Mozambique which has since independence until now never been able to build up enough capacity to properly control arms within its territory.

5.5   Final Conclusions in Relation to Research Question

The Chapter 4 case study of arms control in Mozambique is a practical example of the theoretical argument which was made in Chapter 2. Thus The TAE can be viewed as an example of the human security approach to security. This program aimed to broaden and deepen the arms control issue in Mozambique by focusing on the community and by looking at spheres such as development, democracy reconciliation and public awareness. This project also sought to implement arms control in the absence of the state, since it had become clear that the Mozambican state would not be able to fulfil this task. The TAE demonstrates that indeed, the detractors of human security are correct in their assertion that this approach is too broad and lacks focus. TAE had a very extensive mandate since it sought to deal with the human impacts of arms control which go way beyond the collection and destruction of arms. The conclusion is that in terms of arms control and disarmament, civil society in Southern Africa has not been very successful.

Operation Rachel on the other hand represents a more state-centric and traditional approach to security. In this regard, the state is the main guarantor of security. The resources endowed to South Africa and the jurisdictional legitimacy of Mozambique tie in with the traditional security approach which favours state intervention to arms control. States in this instance acted out of national interests with the intension of protecting their own national security.

Operation Rachel was more focused than TAE; it made use of technologically advanced devices and had better recording systems for results. As mentioned earlier though, bilateral state-centric arms control measures such as Operation Rachel are highly responsive to changing security environments. Rachel could therefore only expect South Africa's commitment when that country's security was at stake. Anything else would most likely be an act of kindness. Thus state interests have to coincide in order for regional and bilateral arms control measures such as Operation Rachel to succeed. For this reason, state responses to arms control and disarmament have had success albeit limited and dependent on whether or not state interest and especially those of South Africa are at stake. Therefore all approaches to arms control and disarmament in Southern Africa will eventually encounter the same insurmountable hurdle. The state is too weak to contain the movement of small arms or light weapons and thus any action whether state-centric or humanitarian will be compromised by this fact.

5.6   Areas for further Study

This study certainly does well to open up other avenues for further studies. In terms of arms control in the SADC region, an important and interesting area of analysis would be the DRC which presents the biggest current challenge to arms control within the region. This complex case study would also offer an interesting trans-regional dynamic. In addition to looking at SADC's management of arms control issues, A DRC case study would also demonstrate the Central African regional security arrangement in this regard. Other interesting regions in terms of arms control include Latin America, East Africa and the horn, the Middle East and the former Yugoslavia region. A comparative study could be done in terms of looking at differing responses across the regions.

Another interesting avenue for further study would be to look at other forms of security threats which are prevalent within the region. Besides the spread of arms, there has also been significant movement of refugees, narcotics and human trafficking across the region. It would be interesting to examine exactly how these phenomenon took root and what are the direct impacts which they have on the security of the region.

Chapter 3 of this study took an in depth look at how Southern Africa's Regional Security Complex has developed through the years since the beginning of the armed struggle until the

adoption of the SADC mutual defence pact in 2003. More studies can be developed to assess the current security environment and to see whether or not a real security community will be possible in the following years. Other issues which are important for the realisation of a security community such as economic integration and infrastructural harmonisation also need attention. An informative study would be one which could look at the relationship between regional economic integration and a security community, with Southern Africa as a case study. This could go further in establishing the link between development and security in Southern Africa. The possibilities for further study in terms of security in Southern Africa are limitless. Arms control is thus just one aspect of a very complex issue. Much more research is needed in terms of identifying these threats and formulating solutions which are focused yet inclusive and properly establish clear roles for state and civil society.

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Appendix

- **1991**
  Bicesse Accords provide basis for UNAVEM II in Angola which entails disarmament and demobilisation as specific tasks.

- **October 4 1992**
  General Peace Agreement establishes ONUMOZ which undertakes disarmament as part of mandate

- **February 1995**
  UNAVEM III seeks to improve on UNAVEM II in Angola which failed to disarm

- **March 1995**
  Agreement signed between Mozambique and South Africa which establishes Operation Rachel

- **August 2, 1995**
  The Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO) is established

- **October 20 1995**
  Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares (TAE) is established in Maputo Mozambique, and is first significant arms control project by a civil society organization.

- **August 2001**
  The signing of the SADC Protocol on the control of firearms, ammunition and other related materials.

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