

Forewords

This analysis by Dr Naison Ngoma, a retired lieutenant colonel from the Zambia Air Force, not only makes extremely interesting reading material for students in matters of defence and security related to the Southern African Development Community (SADC), but is also an extremely important document, in my opinion, for our political, defence and security leaders in this region to study seriously.

Dr Ngoma proves through this book, and quite a few other materials he has produced including articles such as ‘Hawks, doves or penguins’, ‘SADC Mutual Defence Pact’, and ‘Caging the lions’, that he is extremely well informed, and a clear thinker on matters of defence and security in the SADC region. He shows that he is widely read on the subject and without bias. By without bias, I mean that I see him as someone who is able to critically read what is on the table, produced by other students or specialists in this field. In each case, he gives good reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with other or differing views.

I therefore do not hesitate to recommend to our leaders in this region, and indeed beyond, to use this wonderful and useful material in their preparation and planning for further regional integration.

I would like to note that Dr Naison Ngoma is now not only with one of the most important institutions working in the field of human security in this region, but also served in the Zambian military at a time when that military was in its prime. He was himself a significant role player in the Zambian defence forces.

Finally, I invite all those ready to be exposed to helpful ideas in matters of defence and security to read this analysis of regional security in the SADC region by Dr Naison Ngoma.

Dr Kenneth David Kaunda
First President of the Republic of Zambia

Violent conflicts have erupted in Southern Africa as in other regions in the world. Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) are just a few of the many examples of countries that have been affected by conflict. The long history of conflicts as well as efforts to create inter-institutional ways to mitigate conflicts and enhance collaboration on a wide range of socio-political and economic dimensions is an important observation. Though this route may have been difficult and taxing, indications so far show a considerable effort to create a viable security arrangement.

Regional security in Southern Africa has been a subject of considerable debate since the end of the Cold War, especially after the demise of apartheid in South Africa. The meaning of security has moved away from its traditional narrow preoccupation with state security to human security in all its multifaceted dimensions. There has thus been a steady shift from traditional conventional approaches to security to what is often referred to as a 'new' critical security paradigm. It is critical in the sense that it asks where power lies, how it is exercised and in whose interests. And it is 'new' insofar as it has put non-military threats to security such as poverty, disease, environmental degradation, and bad governance—to name but a few—on the agenda.

Thus, in contrast to the traditional security paradigm, which privileges the state and its security agents, the primary referents and agents of the 'new' security paradigm are the people themselves—whether as individuals or groups represented by political parties and organs of civil society. This, of course, does not mean that the military dimension is entirely ignored in 'new' security thinking. What it means is that military security is seen as one aspect of broad security in an evolving development community such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Much as the new security paradigm is dominant in academic circles, it appears that it has had little impact on the approach of SADC to regional security problems.

This book carefully looks at the political problems that have hindered or interrupted the establishment of security communities in Southern Africa. It provides a useful examination of how best these problems can be understood within the framework of the security community paradigm. The book covers the pre-Frontline States period to the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS) era, and the Mutual Defence Pact.

The prevailing political challenges faced by some countries in the SADC region and the impact this has on the regional grouping as it aspires to improve its performance on the democratic scale is considered in this enriching book within the contemporary context. Worth mentioning too, is the categorisation of the methodology used in achieving the objectives of the book, namely empirical, practical and theoretical. This methodology is indeed enriching in providing a view of the past and current security situations in the region, and a critical analysis of the given situation and, most importantly, uses the security community approach to advance recommendations regarding a security community for the region.

Based on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) constitution is the strong conviction that wars begin in the minds of men and therefore it is in the same minds that defences of peace must be constructed. The Organisation's commitment and purpose to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through its various fields of competences is hereby underscored. The crucial role to the same goal played by the Institute for Security Studies in enhancing community security in Africa through applied research and the dissemination of information is equally important. In order therefore to further refine the SADC security community research agenda, there is need for a strong platform where security issues, both historical and current, can be explored, investigated and debated. UNESCO is in the process of establishing a Regional Centre for Peace, Culture and Security Studies at the University of Botswana. The Centre's objective is to approach peace building and security from a cultural perspective and use this process to develop appropriate, relevant structures capable of addressing the current security challenges facing the sub-region.

Considering the crucial issues examined herein, this book will definitely form part of the rich resource base envisaged for the Centre, as well as similar institutions of higher learning and research, and other initiatives advanced by the development agenda.

Prof. Juma Shabani
Director and Representative
UNESCO Harare Cluster Office

I am delighted to write for Naison Ngoma's first book for five or six interrelated reasons. First, I'm a proud 'godfather' as I was honoured to serve as an advisor and examiner for this doctoral thesis at the University of the Western Cape at the turn of the century. Second, I especially welcome his analysis as he has been a soldier as well as a scholar, serving with distinction in the Zambian Air Force before his metamorphosis into an academic in South Africa (when he no longer qualified as a teenager!); so his insights into security in Southern Africa are informed by service in uniform as well as research in the library. Third, Dr Ngoma begins to fill a gap in the literature as the editors who reintroduced the notion of regional 'security communities' in the post-bipolar period, Adler and Barnett, failed to include an African case study in their volume.

Fourth, this case study contributes African as well as other voices to the post-9/11 'new' security or collective security debate around the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) ('The responsibility to protect') and the UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change ('A more secure world: Our shared responsibility'), reinforced by the UN Secretary-General's response for the Millennium Development Goals summit in September 2005 ('In larger freedom: Towards development, security and human rights for all') and DFID's work on 'fragile states'. It thus talks to concerns of the New Partnership for Africa's Development and the early 2005 report of the Commission for Africa. And fifth, I have worked on aspects of human development, rights and security in Southern Africa since my days at Makerere University in Uganda in the late 1960s, and so am pleased to be invited to contribute these reflections. The author provides an overview of alternative approaches to the understanding of the region, which I've been pleased to help advance through a recent trilogy of titles and a forthcoming one in the New Regionalism series that I edit for Ashgate. In turn, this region's transformations have also encouraged me with others to advance ideas around 'new regionalisms'.

I'm always pleased to mentor post-graduate 'students' whenever they request in part as their career trajectories often take unexpected paths. I take pride in this monograph, but it was Naison Ngoma who did the hard work, for which we're in his debt. Enjoy!

Prof. Timothy Shaw

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