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THE EMERGING ROLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A REGIONAL POWER

by

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ABSTRACT

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Since 1994 the Republic of South Africa has emerged from the limited role of an isolated government, governed by apartheid programs, to a democracy where apartheid has been rejected and a new republic has been established. A large centralized government with minority rule dominated the country and its peoples. Today, South Africa is the strongest democracy on the continent and a leader in promoting regional stability. This transformation can be seen all across the government and the society of the South African people. The transformation can be contributed to many factors but is due in large part to the willingness of the very diverse people to work and govern together.

South Africa's rise to regional hegemon can be seen in its initiatives to promote and sustain good governance – combating poverty, instituting policies of inclusion and government responsiveness and providing services and resources that moderate social tensions. When examining the general definition of war, it can be argued that the apartheid government of South Africa was engaged in a war with insurgent guerilla groups during the 1970s and 1980s. It can also be argued that stopping wars does not require outside intervention as noted in different research on war and conflict in Africa and South Africa is such a case.

Geo-strategically the Republic of South Africa is dominantly positioned at the southern tip of the continent of Africa with a coastline on the Indian and Atlantic oceans. The country borders Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Swaziland, and it completely surrounds the country of Lesotho. Consisting of nine provinces with a strong federal government, the Republic is an example of a country that moved from minority power to democratic institutions while facing violent internal threats from opposition groups and external armed insurgency from border nations.

As the Republic emerges, South Africa is developing the capabilities to project regional power and has the opportunity to take the lead for regional security in southern Africa. Economically, South Africa embraces globalization; politically, it is non-aligned and promotes African nationalism. This emerging role not only promotes Africans assisting Africans, which

leads to region stabilization, but it also impacts the security strategies for Africa. Focusing on Hans Morgenthau's elements of national power, this study will examine the emerging role of the Republic as a regional power and its ability to influence and shape regional security. Additionally, there will be some national and transnational issues that effect national power. It is written from the perspective that South Africa, even with its past of racial separation and minority rule, is overcoming its past to influence its neighbors and the region. The analysis endeavors to answer the following questions: does the country have the capability of becoming (or sustaining) a regional power and do they have the national power and will to influence security and establish stability in the region.

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PREFACE

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THE EMERGING ROLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A REGIONAL POWER

We, the people of South Africa,

Recognise the injustices of our past;

Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;

Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and

Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to—

Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;

Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;

Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and

Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

May God protect our people.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.

God seën Suid-Afrika. God bless South Africa.

Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.

Preamble to the Constitution
of the Republic of South Africa¹

Africa is the second largest continent in area and in population. With 53 independent countries, an estimated 2002 population of over 831 million and over 800 ethnic groups, the African continent is the most culturally and ethnically diverse region in the world. This cultural and ethnic diverseness has made it difficult for many African countries to develop into unified, democratic nations. War between nation states, internal armed conflict between governments (legitimate and illegitimate) and its people, economic turbulence, and the transnational social issues of human displacement, crime, famine, and the spread of HIV/AIDS have thwarted attempts at peace and legitimacy of governments. A study by the African Centre for

Development and Strategic Studies (ACDESS) noted that by the end of 1998 only nineteen countries (of forty-eight sub-Saharan countries) had stable political conditions; eleven countries were encountering political crisis and turbulence; and eighteen countries were engaged in armed conflict or civil strife.² When looking at this in percentages, 40% of sub-Saharan Africa enjoyed political stability, 25% faced serious political crises, and 38% were involved in violent conflict.

One country, however, is facing these issues head-on, has overcome racial diverseness, and is developing into a leading regional role. South Africa is transforming. Since 1994 the Republic of South Africa has emerged from the limited role of an isolated government, governed by apartheid programs, to a democracy where apartheid has been rejected and a new republic has been established. A large centralized government with minority rule dominated the country and its peoples. Today, South Africa is the strongest democracy on the continent and a leader in promoting regional stability. This transformation can be seen all across the government and the society of the South African people. The transformation can be contributed to many factors but is due in large part to the willingness of the very diverse people to work and govern together.

South Africa's rise to regional hegemon can be seen in its initiatives to promote and sustain good governance – combating poverty, instituting policies of inclusion and government responsiveness and providing services and resources that moderate social tensions. When examining the general definition of war, it can be argued that the apartheid government of South Africa was engaged in a war with insurgent guerilla groups during the 1970s and 1980s. It can also be argued that stopping wars does not require outside intervention as noted in different research on war and conflict in Africa and South Africa is such a case.

Geo-strategically the Republic of South Africa is dominantly positioned at the southern tip of the continent of Africa with a coastline on the Indian and Atlantic oceans. The country borders Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Swaziland, and it completely surrounds the country of Lesotho. Consisting of nine provinces with a strong federal government, the Republic is an example of a country that moved from minority power to democratic institutions while facing violent internal threats from opposition groups and external armed insurgency from border nations.

The national interests and the national strategy of South Africa are derived from the Constitution of the Republic and the inclusive Bill of Rights. Strategically, the national interests of South Africa are focused both internally with the overarching strategy of a better life for all South Africans; and externally with the focus on regional stability; defense from aggression and security of the homeland.

As the Republic emerges, South Africa is developing the capabilities to project regional power and has the opportunity to take the lead for regional security in southern Africa. Economically, South Africa embraces globalization; politically, it is non-aligned and promotes African nationalism. This emerging role not only promotes Africans assisting Africans, which leads to region stabilization, but it also impacts the security strategies for Africa. Focusing on Hans Morgenthau's elements of national power, this study will examine the emerging role of the Republic as a regional power and its ability to influence and shape regional security. Additionally, there will be some national and transnational issues that effect national power. It is written from the perspective that South Africa, even with its past of racial separation and minority rule, is overcoming its past to influence its neighbors and the region. The analysis endeavors to answer the following questions: does the country have the capability of becoming (or sustaining) a regional power and do they have the national power and will to influence security and establish stability in the region.

ISSUES AFFECTING SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION³

Political Developments. Regional developments can be divided into the broad categories of political, security and socio-economic trends and events. Each of these also has a national, regional and global dimension. The focus here will fall on events that have certain implications for the region as a whole.

The main political event effecting the region was the launching of the African Union (AU) in Durban, South Africa, during July 2002, and the hosting of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in South Africa in August/September 2002. South African President Thabo Mbeki serves as the first chairperson of the AU, which is seen as a parallel initiative to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad).

Relatively peaceful elections in Lesotho and Zambia have served as a stabilizing factor in the region. The situation in Swaziland and to a much greater extent in Zimbabwe, however, not only is politically destabilizing to the upholding and development of democracy, human rights and the rule of law in these countries, but to the southern African region as a whole. In Angola as well, despite the peace agreement, the Liberation Front of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC) guerrilla movement is still fighting the Angolan government and major problems still surround the demobilization of former UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) soldiers.

A source of turmoil that directly impacts South Africa and has security and other implications for the whole region is the situation in Zimbabwe and the obstacles to development and foreign aid and investment caused by corruption. The current famine in southern Africa,

affecting millions of people in countries such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, although obviously linked to drought and/or flooding, also have clear political causes and under-currents. Mugabe's controversial land redistribution program and treatment of white farm owners in Zimbabwe; alleged government interference with the distribution of food aid; and the refusal of countries such as Zambia to receive genetically modified food aid from the US are cases in point. In Malawi, corruption regarding the strategic maize reserve has led to a number of officials, including a cabinet minister, being dismissed. Relations between the US and European Union (EU) members, especially the UK on the one hand, and countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi on the other hand, have sharply deteriorated over the last year and targeted sanctions against Zimbabwe have also led to a war of words. Statements by Namibian President Sam Nujoma in 2002 regarding support for Zimbabwe have raised fears that the Zimbabwe "contagion" may spread further in the region. Relations with the EU and the US have also been under pressure, with the EU blaming government policies for the food crisis, with Zimbabwe being the prime example of bad governance.

Security Situation. The most pervasive security problem in Africa is what Dr. Steven Metz of the Strategic Studies Institute identifies as "complex emergencies", the environment growing from a combination of weak states, ethnic tensions and the suppression of minorities, corrupt and dictatorial regimes, arms proliferation, chronic poverty and underdevelopment, and increasing debt.⁴ Current conflict in Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Cote d'Ivoire and others exemplify these "complex emergencies. However, the increased prospects for peace (although some fighting is still continuing and the disarming of militias has not really begun) in the DRC since 2001, has led to Namibia withdrawing its troops in September 2001, and Angola, Rwanda and Uganda substantially withdrawing in October 2002, with final withdrawal by Zimbabwe in November 2002. Mbeki's leadership of the AU and the weight of South African diplomacy backed up with offers of military support to peacekeeping operations played an extremely important role in pushing forward the DRC peace process.

The peace agreement signed in Angola in April 2002 following the death of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has also led to increased prospects for improved relations between Angola and Zambia, following protest from Zambia that Angolan troops were violating Zambian sovereignty by crossing into Zambia in pursuit of UNITA. Some Angolan troops are apparently, however, still in co-operation with Zambia, rounding up UNITA soldiers who refuse to lay down arms. Some deserters from the Angolan army are also present in Zambia. Some normality has also returned to the Caprivi and Kavango regions in Namibia, since the ending of Angolan operations there in

pursuit of UNITA rebels, and an apparent decline in the activities of the Caprivi Liberation Army which aims at independence from Namibia.

The political situation in countries such as Zimbabwe, and to a lesser extent Swaziland, leads to security implications that transcend national borders. Illegal migrants and to a lesser extent refugees, have increasingly been entering South Africa and Botswana from Zimbabwe. These migrations are linked to the drought and famine situation in southern Africa, but also to the political and security situation in Zimbabwe. Although South Africa is seen as a key player in the region, very little overt pressure has been applied to Zimbabwe to normalize the situation. Threats by Zimbabwe that it would defend itself against any Western military intervention, and reports of British paratroop presence in South Africa have increased uncertainties and tensions. Britain has stated that it has contingency plans to evacuate British nationals from Zimbabwe if required.

Corruption, organized crime and the trade in narcotics also continue to be pressing security issues in the southern African region. In May 2002, the SADC Executive Secretary stated that the SADC is becoming a platform for transiting drugs. Security issues discussed at the meeting of the Interstate Defence and Security Committee of the SADC Organ on Politics, Security and Defence Co-operation, in Angola during August 2002, included conflict prevention and resolution; promotion of defense and security co-operation; "foreign interference" in Zimbabwe; the destabilizing effects of poverty; the refugee issue which is seen as a destabilizing factor; and co-operation to combat arms smuggling, drug trafficking, money laundering, corruption and illegal migration. The Ministerial Committee of the SADC Organ met in Mozambique in August 2002, and specifically referred to the combating of terrorism as a priority in southern Africa. A draft mutual defense pact was also discussed.

Economic Performance. Owing to its comparatively large economy, Africa's economic performance impacts on economic growth in the southern Africa region. South Africa accounts for around 80 per cent of GDP in Southern Africa and for about 70 per cent of that of the SADC as a whole. The South African economy is expected to expand by more than three per cent in 2003 with the projection of increased exports. The region will also benefit from increasing oil production in Angola and Nigeria and from mining and tourism expansion and infrastructure developments in Tanzania. Economic growth is forecast to remain strong in smaller economies such as Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, and Mauritius. Lagging behind will be the DRC (as long as instability continues), Lesotho, Malawi, Seychelles, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Having recorded negative growth since 2000, Zimbabwe's economy (once the second strongest in the region) has contracted and is expected to crumble as the likelihood that prompt recovery

measures will be introduced have receded with the intensification of land reform and the dismissal of Minister of Finance Simba Makoni in August 2002.

Famine. By mid-2002 at least six Southern African countries were facing a shortfall of the maize staple food of over one million tons. Worst affected were Zimbabwe and Malawi where people were beginning to die of hunger. Children account for about half the number of starving people.

Famine in Southern Africa (March 2002)		
<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of starving people</i>	<i>Hungry people as percentage of total population</i>
Zimbabwe	6,000,000	52
Malawi	3,200,000	28
Zambia	2,300,000	20
Mozambique	500,000	3
Lesotho	450,000	20
Swaziland	230,000	20
Southern Africa	12,680,000⁽¹⁾	11
Note 1. By Sep 02 the total number of people at risk of starvation had risen to 14.4 million.		

TABLE 1 – REGIONAL FAMINE⁵

The food shortfalls can be ascribed to a combination of factors such as adverse weather conditions, economic decline, disease, and bad governance. Zimbabwe, for example, virtually destroyed its commercial farming sector for political and social reasons. Zambia refused to import genetically modified food from the US, fearing that it might be toxic. The problem is compounded by countries' inability to pay for extra food imports and the regional transport system's incapacity to carry the huge quantity of maize required. Moreover, South Africa, which normally produces surplus maize for export, has produced just enough for its own needs in the past season. Consequently the region depends on food aid from abroad. A major donor is the European Union, which recently increased its food aid to Southern Africa to about Euro150 million. Other donations come from North America and Japan. According to the UN's World Food Programme, acting as the main distributor of food aid, the food aid funding remains insufficient. Moreover, the food crisis is expected to worsen from about September 2002 into 2003.

An ominous prospect for the region is the predicted recurrence of the El Nino weather phenomenon in the 2002-2003 growing season. As El Nino causes drought over Southern Africa its effect on the subcontinent under the prevailing circumstances could be catastrophic as

even more people than now may become dependent on food aid. The food crisis will aggravate the plight of AIDS sufferers, of whom Southern Africa has more than any other African region. Yet it remains to be seen whether the usually slow-moving SADC organization can galvanize its structures into action to deal with regional food security, the combating of disease and other problems in a more efficient way.

HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS has in Southern Africa hit epidemic proportions and is the highest in the world.⁶ The stark indications are that HIV/AIDS is rising among southern African peoples and has not reached a plateau as it has in other African countries such as Senegal and Uganda where government education programs have succeeded. For example, in Botswana the median HIV prevalence among pregnant women rose from 38.5% in 1997 to 44.9% in 2001.⁷ Similar patterns are visible in Zimbabwe (29% in 1997 to 35% in 2000), Namibia (26% in 1998 to 29.6% in 2000), and Swaziland (30.3% in 1998 to 32.3% in 2000).⁸

Startling as these figures may be, the rate of people living with HIV/AIDS is even higher. According to UNAIDS, women 25-29 years of age living with HIV/AIDS in Botswana was 55.6% in 2001. In Swaziland it was 33.9% and 40.1% in Zimbabwe.⁹

UNAIDS, in its annual 2002 report cites that the situation in South Africa may have reached a plateau for certain age groups. About one in nine South Africans is living with HIV/AIDS, roughly 5 million people. Since 1998, the prevalence rate for HIV/AIDS has dropped among adolescents, presumably due to the large-scale government programs on HIV and AIDS awareness and condom distribution programs.

HIV/AIDS remains a problem in most militaries in the region, including South Africa. As such, the disease limits the deployment capabilities of troops that in turn effects the ability of governments to project power outside its borders across the spectrum of conflict. South Africa is no exception. South Africa is undertaking steps to combat HIV/AIDS in the military. In 2001, South Africa launched an HIV/AIDS awareness program entitled Masibambisane for all members of the armed forces.¹⁰

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In order to examine South Africa today, we need to look at both the past and recent history of the Republic in terms of its political and demographic structure. The argument can be made that the course of development of the political structure of the government can be attributed to the European colonization of the country (and region for that matter) and the movement from colonization to apartheid to national unity was inevitable in the evolution of the

country. This evolution in the development of the country, the diversity of its land and its people directly contributes to the ability of South Africa to be a leading power on the continent.

Early History. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the indigenous peoples of the region had established a variety of social and economic structures that in some regions of the country survive to this day. The development of an agrarian society mixed with the domestication of cattle was the first means of initiating an economic culture for these peoples.

The Portuguese rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 were followed by the first white settlement in 1652 by the Dutch who were the first European colonist of the country. In turn, French and German immigrants that today form the Afrikaner segment (along with the Dutch) of the population followed in the 1700s.

By 1779 European settlements in the region had far-reaching social, cultural and political effects on the indigenous peoples leading to their eventual suppression. As the Europeans moved inward away from the coast, conflict and frontier wars resulted between the two cultures.

By the end of the 18th century, the British had gained a foothold in the region as part of their ever-expanding empire in the eastern hemisphere. In 1836, Afrikaner Farmers, known as Boers, made the Great Trek into what are now the northern provinces of South Africa in an attempt to flee British domination.

As the Afrikaners moved north, their trek brought them into contact with various African groups and tribes and thus increased conflict for land domination. The most formidable were the Zulus, which had established rule in what is now Kwazulu-Natal. Conflict ensued through most of the mid-1800s (the Boers established the independent republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1852 and 1854) and the defeat of the Zulus by the Boer, and later by the British, resulted in the Zulus losing political independence in 1879.

The discovery of diamonds in the Transvaal in 1870 and gold in 1886 caused an influx of British immigrants (along with a smaller number of Asians and Indians) and investment. This influx of British and immigrant workers, including a large number of black Africans, led to domination of the Boer in the region. By the late 1800s, the Boer were facing almost the same discrimination by the British as other non-white minorities. Resentment of British domination led to the Boer War (1899-1902). British forces prevailed and the Boer republics were incorporated into the British Empire.

In May 1910, the two former Boer republics and the British colonies of Natal and the Cape formed the Union of South Africa, a self-governing commonwealth under the British Empire. Power was kept in the hands of the minority white which now included Boer and British whites known as Afrikaners.

By 1912 most Africans opposed the minority white rule. Elite Africans opposed to the political and economic exploitation of black mine workers formed the South Africa Native National Congress which eventually became known as the African National Congress (ANC). The goal of the organization was to eliminate economic and social restrictions based on color and the representation of blacks (or Africans) in parliament. Despite the efforts of the SANNC, the white government continued to pass laws restricting the rights and freedoms of Africans.

Apartheid Era (1948-1990). In May 1948 a coalition of the National Party (NP) and the Afrikaner Party was voted into office by a slender margin of votes. Both parties represented the nationalistic interests of the white Afrikaners who formed a majority among South Africa's white minority population. The indigenous black majority, along with minority groups such as the Indians, Asians and Coloreds did not have the vote.

Despite the unpopularity of racist attitudes the government legislated policies of apartheid (separateness) to entrench Afrikaner political power and to ensure the continued existence of the white minority. Apartheid legislation included racial classifications that were categorized as black (African), coloreds (mixed), Asians and Indians. Separate political units or homelands were developed for Africans but a voice in national and provincial governments was denied. Legislation on residential segregation, separate public and educational facilities and restrictions on freedom of movement of non-whites to discourage social contact was also passed. In fact, Indians, coloreds and other non-black groups were given limited political voice in order to strengthen the National Party. Apartheid led to inequality, poverty, dislocation and lack of opportunities. These practices generally influenced the transformation of government in the 1990s.

Under the Verwoerd government (1958 to 1966) territorial separation and the creation of ethnic homelands (Bantustans) for the various African peoples where they would be able to own land and to exercise political and other rights were instituted. However, it soon became evident that white taxpayers were neither able nor prepared to contribute huge amounts of money for an equitable territorial division of the country. The successor government of John Vorster (1966-1978) however, created ten ethnic homelands. During the 1970s and early 1980s six of the homelands became self-governing while four were granted sovereign independence, though none ever achieved international recognition.

Black opposition to apartheid in 1955 resulted in a 'congress of the people' adopting a 'freedom charter' that demanded a non-racial democratic government.¹¹ The charter offered guidelines that became the ideological manifesto for opposition groups such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses, the United Democratic

Front (UDF), Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU).^{1,2} In 1959 the racist 'Africanist' faction in the ANC broke away from the ANC and other opposition groups to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). In 1960 the government banned anti-apartheid groups forcing them to move underground. Many members fought apartheid through guerilla warfare and sabotage. As the government crackdown on the leaders heightened, most leaders fled into exile into neighboring countries. The government viewed the guerilla movements by the armed wings of these anti-apartheid groups as insurgents that led to armed conflict with the neighboring states.

In 1961 South Africa declared itself a republic and withdrew from the British Commonwealth, due in part to international protests against its official stance on apartheid.

Many of the leaders, most notably Transvaal ANC leader Nelson Mandela, were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. In order to maintain apartheid, South Africa turned into a virtual police state in order to suppress the population. An undeclared war developed from 1975 as neighboring former European colonies, notably Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, became independent and assisted the anti-apartheid forces. The National Party government (which had absorbed the Afrikaner Party in 1950) became military involved in Namibia and Angola in an attempt to control black African Nationalism. The 1970s also saw the revival of Inkatha (later Inkatha Freedom Party) that became the ruling and sole party in the self-governing homeland of Kwazulu. Led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha worked within the apartheid system, though it rejected apartheid and independence for the homelands while standing for non-racial democracy, federalism and free enterprise.

By the early 1980s, many National Party supporters had come to realize that apartheid was a failure and that reform was necessary. South Africa faced worldwide opposition and had become politically and economically isolated. A new constitution in 1984 that gave Indians and Coloreds representation along with the white minority (who remained the majority in parliament) was ineffective against the mounting opposition. Uprisings in black townships in 1960 (Sharpsville), 1976 (Soweto) and country wide in 1985 resulted in some NP members secretly entering into negotiations with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela. In the following years the international community, including South Africa's major trading partners, imposed wider-ranging and stricter sanctions that led to disinvestment and massive capital flights. Many parts of the country had become ungovernable and the economy had gone into recession by the end of the 1980s.

Negotiated Settlement (1990-1994). In 1990, the government under FW de Klerk and the National Party announced the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela (then 72 years old)

and other political prisoners and lifted all restrictions on banned political movements, including the ANC. Talks between the government and the formerly restricted parties followed and in December 1991 a multi-party forum, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), was commissioned with negotiating a new constitution. In April 1992 De Klerk called a referendum to consult the white voters of whom more than two-thirds endorsed the ongoing negotiations.¹³

Reform was slow and failure of the government to stop the violence in the townships led to a general strike directed by the ANC and COSATU in June 1992. Further strikes were held after Inkatha members and the police collaborated in the massacre of ANC supporters at Boipatong.¹⁴ The ANC maintained their boycott of any further talks and seemed to be justified in doing so after the Ciskei massacre in September 1992 exhibited evidence of the involvement of the security forces.¹⁵ Talks were resumed in April 1993 and final agreement was reached in November that year. The negotiating parties, including the NP government, agreed to establish a Government of National Unity (GNU) that was to consist of the strongest parties emerging from the forthcoming election.¹⁶ The GNU would serve a period of five years, between the country's first two non-racial elections. The negotiators also reached consensus on a number of constitutional principles that was to form the basis of the new interim constitution (and all subsequent constitutions).

The election took place from 26 to 29 April 1994, after a few months of preparations under a power-sharing Transitional Executive Council. Eight political parties participated. Despite the ongoing clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters, especially in Natal and Transvaal, 88 per cent of the electorate, now consisting of all South Africans, turned out to vote under peaceful conditions.¹⁷ Based on proportional representation, the election was declared as generally free and fair by the Independent Electoral Commission. The ANC emerged as the majority party, followed by the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party that qualified to join the ANC in the national unity government. The new interim constitution took effect on 27 April (subsequently declared South Africa's national day). In terms of this constitution the new parliament elected ANC President Nelson Mandela as the country's president, ANC vice president Thabo Mbeki as first deputy president, and NP leader F W de Klerk as second deputy president. Mandela was inaugurated in Pretoria on 10 May, when De Klerk officially stepped down and brought to an end the era of white minority rule.

National Unity Government (1994-Present). Following the 1994 elections, South Africa made progress in establishing its democratic credentials that became accepted as an African role model. The country's permanent constitution was finalized by parliament that acted as a

constituent assembly for this purpose. The new constitution that came into force on 4 February 1997 was largely similar to the interim constitution of 1994, except for the replacement of the senate by National Council of Provinces. Deputy President de Klerk yielded to pressure from party supporters to leave the GNU in order to be more effective as an opposition party. The NP consequently withdrew from government in June 1996. Although the country gradually moved away from the political violence that raged in the first half of the 1990s, the crime rate soared to unacceptably high levels. There was also controversy concerning the procedures and revelations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.¹⁸

During 1997, the TRC heard hundreds of cases, including several significant and controversial cases. The TRC not only focused on white criminal activity, such as 1977 murder of anti-apartheid activist Steven Biko, but also on black wrongdoings such as the allegation that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela had been involved in more than a dozen murders and other crimes since the late 1980s.¹⁹ The TRC that intended to shed light on the crimes of the apartheid era and to grant amnesties to those who had confessed proved to be a source of public resentment rather than reconciliation. Many members of the former NP regime, as well as white extremists, viewed the TRC process as a witch-hunt. When the TRC did make its final report, it was something of a surprise to many. In particular, its accusation that the ANC had been responsible for many atrocities while acting as a militant activist force shocked many ANC supporters. Archbishop Tutu was clear in his intention that not only the whites should be blamed for the past years of violence.²⁰

South Africa's second non-racial democratic elections in June 1999 elected Thabo Mbeki the then-deputy president of the ANC and deputy president of South Africa. The 1999 elections ended the Government of National Unity as agreed to by the pre-1994 negotiations. What developed was a multi-party environment dominated by the ANC, winning 266 of the 400 assembly seats. The remainder of the seats are held by the Democratic Party (DP), 38, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), 34, New National Party (NNP), 28, United Democratic Movement (UDP), 14, African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), 6, and seven small parties holding the remaining 14 seats.

NATIONAL INTERESTS, NATIONAL STRATEGY AND THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER.

The national or grand strategy of the Republic of South Africa is not specifically detailed in any one document but is inherent in two primary documents - the Constitution of the Republic

and the Bill of Rights. Other governmental and academic publications also contribute to the development of South Africa's national strategy and national interests.

The Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the values of human dignity, the achievement of equality, a multi-party system of democratic government and the advancement of human freedoms.²¹ The Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. Re-emphasizing the fundamental values stated in the Constitution. Specifically enumerated, the Bill of Rights protects the human dignity, democratic values and freedoms of all South Africans.²²

National interests can be defined as those interests or requirements essential to the survival and well being of a nation. With the objectives of peace, security, stability and freedom as the basis for South African governance, South Africa's national interests can be defined as:

- South African political, economic and social stability.
- Security of the homeland from external aggression and internal threats to stability.
- Effective governance, robust democracy and on-going economic and social development.
- Peace, security, stability and prosperity in the region.

All spheres of government (national, provincial and local) and all organs of government of the state must preserve the peace, national unity and the indivisibility of the Republic; secure the well being of the people of the Republic; and provide effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government.²³ These national interests are reflected in the strategies and policies developed by the national leadership and are foremost in the development of social and economic policies for the country.

Strategically, the national interests of South Africa are focused both internally with the focus on a better life for all South Africans; and externally with the focus on regional stability; defense from aggression and security of the homeland. This is evidenced by South Africa's membership in the United Nations, the Southern Africa Development Community, the African Union, and other regional and international organizations.

The next portion of this paper will attempt to examine the elements of South African national power. National power can be defined as "the art and science of developing and using the political, economic, and psychological powers of a nation state, together with its armed forces during peace and war, to serve national objectives."²⁴ However, national power can also be termed in the context of the ability to influence the behavior of others in accordance with one's own objectives. This influence, by using elements of national power, is contextual with no

one element of national power asserting itself. Together, these elements constitute the resources for the attainment of national objectives and goals.

National power can be distinguished by studying both the natural and social determinants of power. Natural determinants such as geography, resources and population, are concerned with the people of a nation and their physical environment. Social determinants such as economic, political, military and informational concern the ways in which the people of a country organize themselves and the manner in which they alter their environment.²⁵ However, this paper will also examine a few other social determinants that affect the national power of South Africa. These determinants will be education and housing, and the transnational issues of crime and health issues. The application of both natural and social determinants will be applied to South Africa in an attempt to show that the country does have the combined elements of national power, not just one element, and how those elements form the strategic vision of the country.

NATURAL DETERMINANTS OF NATIONAL POWER

Geography. Geographical factors, like a nation's history, influence a nation's outlook and capacity. Location is closely tied to the foreign policy of the state. South Africa is dominantly positioned at the southern tip of Africa, its long coastline stretching more than 2,500 km from the desert border with Namibia on the Atlantic coast southwards around the tip of Africa and then north to the border with subtropical Mozambique on the Indian Ocean. Strategically, this provides South Africa with ports and entrance into both the Atlantic and Indian oceans and provides direct trade routes with the Americas, Europe and Asia. As discussed earlier, the location of South Africa during the 18th and early 19th centuries was dominant in the European colonization of that country as well as others in the region. Strategically positioned as the gateway to the Indian Ocean rim and Asia, South Africa's dominance is even more critical if the Suez Canal is ever closed or becomes inaccessible.

South Africa has a low-lying coastal zone that gives way to a mountainous escarpment that separates it from the high inland plateau called the Karoo. The Karoo plateau where rocky hills and mountains rise from sparsely populated scrubland is very dry, and gets more so as it shades in the northwest towards the Kalahari desert. Extremely hot in summer, it can be icy in winter.

In contrast, the eastern coastline is lush and well watered. The southern coast, part of which is known as the Garden Route, is rather less tropical but also green, as is the Cape of Good Hope. This southwestern corner of the country has a Mediterranean climate, with wet

winters and hot, dry summers. Its most famous climatic characteristic is its wind, which blows intermittently virtually all year round, either from the southeast or the northwest.

The eastern section of the Karoo does not extend as far north as the western part, giving way to the flat landscape of the Free State, which though still semi-arid receives somewhat more rain. North of the Vaal River the Highveld is better watered and saved by its altitude from subtropical extremes of heat. Winters are cold and snow is rare.

Further north and to the east, especially where a drop in altitude beyond the escarpment gives the Lowveld its name, temperatures rise - the Tropic of Capricorn slices through the extreme north. This is also the location of the South African Bushveld.

South Africa's biggest neighbors are two oceans whose territorial waters include Marion and Prince Edward Islands, nearly 2000km from Cape Town in the Atlantic Ocean.

The cold Benguela current sweeps up from the Antarctic along the Atlantic coast, providing plankton and rich fishing grounds. The east coast has the north-to-south Mozambique/Agulhas current which has a major effect on the country's climate, the ready evaporation of the eastern seas providing generous rainfall while the Benguela current retains its moisture to cause desert conditions in the west.

Several small rivers run into the sea along the coastline, but none are navigable and none provide useful natural harbors. The coastline itself, being fairly smooth, provides only one good natural harbor, at Saldanha Bay north of Cape Town. Harbors now exist at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban and Richard's Bay.

On dry land, going from west to east, the country shares long borders with Namibia and Botswana, touches Zimbabwe, has a longitudinal strip of border with Mozambique to the east, and lastly curves in around Swaziland before rejoining Mozambique's southern border. In the interior, nestled in the curve of the bean-shaped Free State, is the small mountainous country of Lesotho, completely surrounded by South African territory.

There are only two major rivers: the Limpopo, a stretch of which is shared with Zimbabwe, and the Orange (with its tributary, the Vaal) which runs with a variable flow across the central landscape from east to west, emptying into the Atlantic Ocean at the Namibian border. In so dry a country dams and irrigation are extremely important for retaining water for irrigation and consumption.

The total land area of South Africa is slightly more than 1.2 million square kilometers or just smaller than twice the size of Texas. The legislative capital is Cape Town, the administrative capital is Pretoria, the judicial capital is Bloemfontein and the biggest city is Johannesburg. A good rail and road system links all major centers. There are nine provinces:

Northern Cape, Free State, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Limpopo, North West, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, and Gauteng.

Population. One of the most striking characteristics of South Africa is its citizens' wide diversity in race, language, culture and religion. For almost five decades, under the apartheid system, South African law divided the population into four major racial categories: Africans (black), Europeans (whites), Coloreds (people of mixed ancestry) and Asians. The Africans comprise the majority (about 77 percent) of the population and are divided into a number of different ethnic groups. Most of today's black South Africans belong to ethnic groups of the Bantu language family, which can be broken into the Sotho, Nguni and Nguni-related languages.

White South Africans comprise about 10 percent of the current population. They are primarily descendants of Dutch, French, English and German settlers who began arriving at the Cape in the late 17th century. Their first languages are Afrikaans (which evolved locally from Dutch) or English. Colored South Africans are people of mixed race who have primarily descended from the earliest settlers and the indigenous peoples. They comprise about nine percent of the total population, are concentrated in the Cape Province, and speak Afrikaans as their first language. Many Asian South Africans descended from Indian and Chinese workers brought to South Africa in the mid-19th century to work on the sugar plantations in Natal and in the mines of the Transvaal. They constitute about three percent of the population and are concentrated in the Province of Kwazulu-Natal.²⁶

South Africa has the largest population in southern Africa and is the fifth largest on the continent.²⁷ South Africa also has the lowest birth rate and lowest death rate in southern Africa and is also in the top five countries on the continent for those statistics. The estimated 2002 population is 45,129,400²⁸ with the last census in 1996 (37,859,000).²⁹

According to the 2002 Human Development Report published by the United Nations Development Programme, South Africa places 107th out of 173 countries on the Human Development Index and is considered a medium human development country.³⁰ There are only two other sub-Saharan African countries, both islands and somewhat "protected" from the sexual transmission of the disease, with a better HDI (Seychelles and Mauritius).³¹ In 2000, the HDI was .695, the lowest in 10 years and can be linked to the growing spread of HIV. Comparatively, the US HDI was .939 in 2000.³²

One of the legacies of the apartheid system is the destruction of the sense of belonging and cohesion among the people of South Africa. Apartheid laws emphasized ethnic identity and sought to categorize and place indigenous peoples into ethnically based political and

geographical units. The system benefited whites at the expense of the other races. As a result, the post-apartheid government has focused on rebuilding a sense of ownership of the country for the whole of the people. It seeks to promote nation-building and racial tolerance among different groups through educational and cultural programs. While it will take a long time to build trust among different groups, consensus holds that South Africans must together reconstruct and develop their country and become the "Rainbow Nation."

Population structure and balance are also significant for developed nations. An indicator of power is the percentage of people that can best meet the needs of the nation's military and industry as well as create the following generation. While a large population contributes to the work force and military pool, it is the number of the available population between the ages of 15 and 49 that impact directly national power. In 2000, South Africa had 11.3 million men in this category. South Africa however, faces a severe threat to population growth with the current HIV/AIDS situation in the country and southern Africa. According to the 2002 World Population Data Sheet released by the Population Reference Bureau, South Africa's life expectancy is 51 years, high for southern Africa and a little above average all of the continent.³³ The percentage of the population that falls within the ages of 15 and 65, generally to be considered as the productive population, is sixty-one percent first in southern Africa and third in the sub-Saharan region.³⁴ However, combined with a lower birth rate than most African countries and a smaller percentage of under 15 population, the demographics of the productive population will change in the future impacting availability for service in the armed forces and police services. A positive note in some aspects, is the small percentage of over 65 population that requires government funding for care which can draw resources from other element of national power, i.e., military funding.

Natural Resources South Africa is rich in natural resources and is the world's largest producer of gold, platinum-group metals, alumino silicates, chrome ore, ferrochromium, manganese metal, vanadium, and vermiculite; the world's second largest producer of titanium and zirconium, and the fifth largest producer of diamonds.³⁵ Mineral sales account for 49% of export revenue.³⁶

The country has limited domestic oil production but has started exploration off of its east and west coasts. The bulk of South Africa's oil comes from Iran (although there are imports from Angola and Nigeria) and the country has four refineries which process imported crude. Increased expansion to obtain crude from other Middle East countries is ongoing, and a South African company is producing a liquid fuel from coal, natural gas and condensate in an attempt to limit the dependence on oil. On the cutting edge of technology, coal gasification originated in

the apartheid era when few producers would sell oil to South Africa. Only two other countries have coal gasification plants: Germany and the U.S. South Africa also has one natural gas facility.

South Africa has invested heavily in water resources in an effort to provide water to all people in the country. South Africa has approximately 450 large dams and several facilities for surface and underground extraction and storage. 13% of water used in the country by the general population comes from surface water resources.

South Africa's farmers produce almost all the food needed by its people.³⁷ Combined with leading the world in sheep raising and wool exports, other leading farm products include beef and dairy products.

South Africa operates one nuclear power plant near Cape Town in Koeberg. The only nuclear-fired electricity plant on the African continent, it accounts for almost 7% of South Africa's electricity. Eskom, the national electric company, generating electricity through 17 coal-fired and the one nuclear power station, provides 90% of South Africa's electricity needs and almost 60% of the continent's total electricity output. However, it is estimated that only 37% of the people in South Africa have access to electricity in their homes.

SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF NATIONAL POWER

Political. This element of power is one of the most important and is related to the psychological and information elements of national power. The development and evolution of the post-apartheid government indicates the willingness of the people to work together in the formation of a democratic form of government that represents all of the people and not just a select few. Although South Africa has a way to go to bring equality to all its peoples, the new Constitution and Bill of Rights, combined with the recent national elections discussed earlier represents the willingness of the country to do so.

The current government is a republic with three branches of federal government: executive, legislative and judicial. The Constitution, developed by the Constituent Assembly and approved by the Constitutional Court, entered into force in February 1997. Mandated by the Constitution, the parliament consists of two houses – the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces. The Assembly, consisting of 400 members, is elected by the voters based on the percentage of votes each party receives in the general election. Each of the parties appearing on the ballot submits a rank-ordered list of candidates with the voters' casting votes for the party rather than the candidate. The National Council of Provinces consists of 90 members, 10 representatives elected from each province.

The National Assembly elects the president and deputy president. The president's responsibilities include assigning cabinet members, signing bills into law, and serving as the military's commander in chief. There are 27 posts in the cabinet, 24 of which are currently held by the ANC and 3 by the IFP.

The third branch of government is the independent and impartial judiciary as provided for in the constitution. The Constitutional Court hears cases of constitutional issues while the Supreme Court of Appeal is the highest court for non-constitutional issues. Most cases are heard in the extensive system of High Courts and Magistrate Courts. The constitution's Bill of Rights provides for due process, right to a fair and public trial within reasonable time of being charged and the right to appeal.

The turbulent history of South Africa is enumerated in the Bill of Rights that also guarantees fundamental political and social rights of the citizens. Basic rights include equality before the law, prohibitions against discrimination; the right to life, privacy, property and freedom and personal security; prohibition against slavery and forced labor; and freedom of speech, assembly and association. The legal rights of criminal suspects are protected as well as citizen entitlements to a safe environment, housing, education and health care.

A critical factor to this element of national power is the current President, Thabo Mbeki. Though not considered a usual element of national power, in the context of South Africa both he and the first president of the new Government of National Unity (GNU), Nelson Mandela, galvanized the country and brought together peoples of all ethnicities and backgrounds. President Mbeki sees South Africa as leading an African renaissance where political, economic and cultural activity makes Africa prosperous, peaceful and powerful. President Mbeki has been actively involved in continental issues and his leadership has helped resolve problems in Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi. His leadership is also instrumental in South Africa's participation in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Union (AU).

Economic. Economic capacity and development are key links to national power. As discussed earlier, elements of power are inter-related. Here, the state of the economy directly impacts the ability of the nation to develop other power capacities such as education and health programs, military forces, housing, and infrastructure.

Since 1994, the government of South Africa has focused its attention on the socio-economic problems of the country. This strategy of focusing on economic and social issues as a priority led to two programs affecting the national economy – the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)

program. Both provide a strategy and place priority on rebuilding and restructuring the economy in order to meet basic needs, developing human resources and increasing participation in democracy for all the people of South Africa. South Africa embraces economic globalization focusing on the continent of Africa. Supporting economic activity across borders, South Africa's strategy not only promotes trade with neighbors but supports the export of services and democratic principles.

Strategically located, South Africa is positioned for easy access to the countries comprising the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the islands off the coast of Africa, and even the Gulf States, India and Asia. South Africa also serves as a trans-shipment point between the emerging markets of Central and South America and the Asia. While South Africa is a middle-income developing country, it is the richest and most economically developed country in Africa.³⁸ It occupies only about four percent of the continent and has only about six percent of the population; yet, South Africa produces two-fifths of Africa's manufactured goods, nearly half its minerals, and a fifth of its farm products.³⁹ In terms of gross domestic product, South Africa ranks twenty-second globally and first in Africa.⁴⁰ However, South Africa also has the widest gap between rich and poor. Additionally, 47% of the population lives below the poverty line as established by the U.N. Although high when compared to western countries, the percentage is low when compared to the rest of the continent.⁴¹

South Africa also has well-established financial, legal, communications, energy, and transport sectors, and a stock exchange that ranks among the ten largest in the world. On the downside, much of the population remains impoverished with inadequate access to housing, medical care, and education. Unemployment averages around 29%. In the post-apartheid years, the country has struggled with extending developed country standard of living enjoyed by most whites to the majority black population.

South Africa's economic growth averaged only 1.8% from 1980-2000, but in the last three years the gross domestic product (GDP) grew at 2.5% in 1999, 3.1% in 2000 and 2.3% in 2001. Real GDP is predicted to grow by 2.3% in 2002.⁴² Despite these positive trends, foreign direct investment is low. Fixed investment that accounted for 27.5% of GDP in 1981 accounted for only 14.9% in 2000.⁴³ However, South Africa continues to record a positive trade offset, exporting more materials than it imports, trading predominately with the United Kingdom, Germany, the U.S. and France. The country also continues to see a rise in production of primary crops, although the current drought has impacted production, and a stabilization of meat production. Setting aside the economic differences in the population, South Africa is able to provide for the population. South Africa also continues to be a major coal producer and

exporter (world's second largest net exporter behind Australia), has a highly developed synthetic fuel industry and small reserves of oil and natural gas.⁴⁴

Exports.⁴⁵ Of the top ten countries that South Africa exports goods to, only two countries are on the African continent (Zimbabwe and Mozambique). The largest importer of South African goods is the United States followed by the UK, Japan and the European Union. Of the top ten African countries that import South African goods, six are in the SADC (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, Mauritius, Malawi). The largest importer of South African goods on the continent is Zimbabwe, but that accounts for only 2.8% of exports for the country. Of the goods exported in 2001, 58% was in manufacturing 58%, 38% in mining and 4% agriculture.

Imports.⁴⁶ Germany remains the number one exporter of goods to South Africa followed by the US, UK, Japan and China. South African import trade with regional partners is minimal. Of the top 50 exporters of goods to South Africa, only 5 are on the continent. South Africa's largest import partners are Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Of the goods imported in 2001, 82% was in manufacturing 58%, 16% in mining and 2% agriculture.

Various internal factors have impinged on recent economic performance. These include the Asian financial crisis and consequent weakening of South Africa's currency (the rand); a downturn in prices for some mineral products that are key components of South African output; a spike in fuel and therefore transportation costs; and the drought impact on agricultural production.⁴⁷

South Africa offers abundant natural resources⁴⁸, serviceable infrastructure⁴⁹, and a comparatively (to the other countries on the continent) developed and diversified economic base. Transition to majority rule sidestepped extreme political violence that seemed inevitable but a high poverty rate and a well-publicized high crime rate remain serious obstacles to investment and economic growth. Yet, in a half-decade since transition of governments, a black middle class has emerged enhancing the prospects for a stable, democratic civil society as well as economic growth.

In June 2002, the Economic Freedom of the World 2002 Annual Report rated South Africa's economy as 47th out of 123 countries. The report evaluates economies in terms of personal choice, voluntary exchange, freedom to compete and protection of persons and property. In November 2002, Standard and Poor's revised South Africa's outlook rating from stable to positive which is evident that South Africa's persistent, sound macroeconomic management and policies and management of the debt burden were having a good effect.⁵⁰ S&P expects sound fiscal and monetary policies coupled with growth and enhancing fiscal reforms to bolster ratings on South Africa in the coming years which would probably result in the

Treasury making more resources available for social (reducing poverty and unemployment) and infrastructure spending.⁵¹

Military. Military strength has historically been the lead element of national power that gauges the ability of one nation to exert power and influence over another. The large militaries of the Cold War are downsizing and emphasis is being placed on technology as well as the human element - the soldiers, sailors, marines and airmen that comprise the services. Leadership, morale and discipline of this smaller force directly affect the ability of a nation to project military power.

Like all other elements of its national power, South Africa is transforming its military. Emphasizing all elements of national power rather than on one determinant, the mainstream vision is that national security shall be sought primarily through efforts of meeting the political, economic, social and cultural rights and needs of the South African people.⁵² As such, there have been two major changes in the military since the 1994 transition to democracy. The first was to integrate the standing military of South Africa, the South African Defense Force, with the personnel of the militaries of the former “homelands” and the military wings of apartheid opposition groups, namely the ANC and PAC. The second change was the rightsizing of the military force based on national interests and objectives. The following table reflects the current personnel structure of armed forces of the region. Although figures vary depending on the source, South Africa maintains one of the largest forces in the region.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Amy</i>	<i>Air Force</i>	<i>Navy/Coat Guard</i>
Angola	114,500	105,000	6,500	3,000
Botswana	7,800+	7,300	500+	None
Lesotho	2,050	2,050	None	None
Madagascar	13,000	12,000	500	430
Malawi	5,725	5,300	200	225
Mauritius	750	None	None	750
Mozambique	6,150	5,000	1,000	150
Namibia	9,250	9,000	None	250
South Africa	50,200	37,000	8,100	5,100
Swaziland	3,000	3,000	None	None
Zambia	21,500	20,000	1,500	None
Zimbabwe	36,000	32,000	4,000	None

TABLE 2. REGIONAL MILITARY BALANCE - ARMED FORCES⁵³

Focusing on defensive capabilities rather than an offensive armed force, today's South African military is entitled the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) and is (still) the preeminent fighting force in the region. It is, however, struggling to emerge from the strategy as

outlined in two primary DOD documents that shaped its downsizing – the 1996 White Paper on Defence and the 1998 Defence Review.⁵⁴

Both documents, approved by Parliament, shifted the focus of national security from purely a military function to a combined function of all elements of national power and outlined the future structure and missions of the SANDF. It decreed that national security was no longer to be viewed as a predominantly military and police issue. The documents broadened the scope of national security to incorporate political, economic, social and environmental matters. Thus, the priority for resources was shifted to the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme, an integrated socio-economic policy focusing the resources of the government toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic future. These historical documents shaped and transformed the military from a large, minority-led, standing military to an integrated, downsized force. As such, the White Paper provides the initial strategic vision for national security by outlining transforming defence policy, the role of the armed forces as set by the Constitution, civil-military relations, promoting regional security and the integration of the armed forces.

The national military strategy is detailed in the DOD Strategic Plan that identifies three strategic objectives for the country. They are defending against aggression, promoting security, and supporting the people of South Africa.⁵⁵ Further derived from the national security strategy, the military strategy focuses on two sub-strategies, force preparation and force employment. The SANDF uses a mission-based approach to achieve these objectives. Wartime and peacetime missions direct the peacetime strategy for force preparation and to guide joint and combined force preparation for force deployment to incidences of conflict.

In 1998 the Parliament approved the Strategic Defense Procurement (SDP) which authorizes major expenditures for upgrading the SANDF.⁵⁶ This decision and marked the end of a complex four stage process of policy formulation, management and evaluation of proposals, negotiation and decision making. Between February 1996 and April 1998 a comprehensive process was carried out to determine the kind of Defense force South Africa needed and how it should be equipped. The SDP had the support of all Parties.

The SDP was a carefully considered, thoroughly researched and analyzed decision made in the best interest of the country to produce an effective and modern defense capability that, in the past, had taken a back seat to other social and economic programs. This policy decision was taken with the full understanding that there are competing needs in South Africa but proves that the government understands a need for and effective defense capacity. The SDP outlines modernization through 2010.

The equipment needs were detailed in the Defense Review and approved by Parliament in 1998 and reflected the decision to procure a wide range of equipment for the South African National Defense Force (SANDF). The Defense Review pointed to the need to provide strategic equipment for a number of arms of service of the SANDF if South Africa wanted to retain an effective defense capability. Without this replenishment of the main arms of service of our SANDF, its operational capabilities would have been impaired and faced serious degradation.

The process was unique for South African defense procurement for a number of reasons. The process was conducted in an open and transparent manner unlike decades of previous purchases. The plan represents a strategic package rather than piecemeal procurement and a systematic process of Industrial Participation obligations was developed in line with the National Industrial Participation Program (NIPP) adopted by Cabinet in April 1997.⁵⁷ The NIPP for this procurement has a direct component relating to defense equipment, where the objective was to assist the South African defense industry, and a non-defense components facilitating investment and technology and skill transfer into South Africa's manufacturing sector.⁵⁸ In both these programs black economic empowerment is an objective as it is in all government economic policy.

The SANDF remains one of, if not the, premier military in the sub-Saharan region and serves as a model for other African countries.⁵⁹ Civilian control of the military is well established and the transformation and restructuring of the military is underway. Budgetary constraints have slowed the pace of equipment transformation but the human and cultural transformation resulting from the integration of the homeland armies and military wings of political parties reflecting the values and aspirations of the Constitution has proceeded well. A modernization program is underway in all of the services and South Africa is the only country in the region expanding its military capabilities in any notable way. South Africa increased the defence budget for 2002-2003 by 15% from the previous year. The increase is primarily to pay for arms acquisition and to fulfill its commitment to regional peacekeeping.⁶⁰ South Africa's modernization program consists of four naval corvettes, three submarines, 30 light utility helicopters, 24 trainer aircraft and 28 fighter aircraft.⁶¹

South Africa also has an extensive defense industry that supplies the SANDF. A majority of the land combat equipment used by the SANDF is of South African manufacture. Some of the larger items that the South African defense industry provides the SANDF is armoured personnel carriers, reconnaissance vehicles, main battle tanks, and attack helicopters. This lessens the requirement for South Africa to negotiate arms sales with foreign countries.

ARMSCOR, the Armaments Corporation of South Africa, was established to meet South Africa's needs for armaments and related products and services.

The strategic vision of the Department of Defence is to support government policy aimed at creating a secure environment within the Republic of South Africa and in the region.⁶² With the security of the RSA as the primary mission, the vision of the DOD is "to ensure, in accordance with the Constitution, effective defence for a democratic South Africa and enhanced national, regional, and global security through balanced, modern, affordable and technologically advanced defence capabilities."⁶³ The Department of Defence, in an attempt to overcome the force cuts in defence directed by the White Paper and Defence Review, is focusing on twelve strategic issues derived from six mission success factors. These factors along with the resulting strategies are:⁶⁴

- National Consensus on Defense – reformulating a strategy that transcends the current regulatory documents such as the Defence Act of 1957, the 1996 White Paper on Defence, the 1998 Defence Review and the role of South Africa in collective regional security to ensure a modern force able to meet current and future requirements.
- Excellent Strategic Direction – Force design updates that are affordable and sustainable and the formulation of a national military strategy based on key tenants of the national security strategy.
- Excellent Resource Management – Formulation of a strategy for a Reserve Force to replace the outdated Territorial and Conventional Reserve Forces; allocating money for DOD infrastructure repair; and combating crime within the DOD.
- Effective Combat Forces and Support Forces – Sustaining the technology and industrial bases for DOD; development of a human resource strategy entitled DOD HR Strategy 2010 to combat low morale and loss of expertise; and strategy development to combat HIV/AIDS in the services (SANDF deployment capabilities are affected by large number of uniformed members unable to comply with prescribed health standards).
- Professionalism in the Conduct of Operations – Development of a Code of Conduct.
- Implementation of the Transformation Process – Continued transformation of the DOD.

South Africa currently faces no external threat from land, sea or air forces and will remain threat free for the next 3-5 years.⁶⁵ Based on the threat, South Africa is redesigning the armed forces to meet the requirements as outlined in the Constitution and the White Paper of 1996. The redesigned armed forces will be smaller and more technologically proficient in performing the missions discussed above.

Internally, the armed forces will focus on supporting the people of South Africa which includes support to the South African Police Services in combating crime, patrolling the country's borders and rural areas and providing assistance to other state agencies. In the regional context, South Africa is likely to emphasize assisting and supporting neighboring countries but not likely to deploy troops outside its borders unless there is an international mandate, i.e., peacekeeping/peace enforcement operations under UN auspices.

There is, however, a call from within the armed forces to focus outward and engage national and regional security by ensuring a strong, prepared military. In August 2000, a white paper entitled "A Determination of South African Defence Requirements: A Vision for 2015 and Beyond" was delivered at the Africa Defence 2000 summit in South Africa. The conclusions of the paper, written by the Department of Defence, was that the SANDF must not only exist to deter direct aggression against the Republic and fight and win the nation's wars, but must also play a role in creating conditions of peace and stability on the continent to proactively advance the 'African Renaissance'.⁶⁶ To this end, the SANDF must pursue and support national diplomatic initiatives, military diplomacy, peace support operations and confidence and security building mechanisms. The resulting objectives from the paper were to build a warfighting capability, a deterrent capability and a capability to participate in peace missions in the African region with emphasis on the SADC region. Furthermore, in November 2002, in a state of the SANDF workshop, it was recommended that the SANDF re-focus its efforts to ensure the safety and sovereignty of South Africa, leaving internal situations such as crime and border security to the SAPS and other government departments. The SANDF has the ability, commitment and leadership to disengage from internal deployments and focus on national and regional security supporting those regional organizations such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) and the SADC.⁶⁷

As South Africa faces no regional threat, both the DOD leadership and the national leadership have remained low-key in their approach to regional security. President Mbeki appears to use the same approach to transforming the region as he does with his own country by focusing on the political, social and economic factors rather than using the "big stick" approach. However, a 1997 public opinion pole showed strong public support for the SANDF playing an external role, suggesting that national security cannot be pursued from isolation. Sixty-two percent favored a South African role in assisting other countries maintain peace while 26% were opposed and 12% undecided. While somewhat outdated, the survey indicates that public opinion supports an external role.⁶⁸

The SANDF needs to complete the integration and transformation projects currently being undertaken before adopting any new roles as regional policeman. Building mutual confidence and on establishing a mutual security system in the region is paramount to keeping South African forces at home. Despite this approach, South Africa became involved in Operation Boleas, the intervention in Lesotho in 1998 in which the armed forces did not perform as well as in the past or as expected.⁶⁹

Army. The Army has three major roles: deter any attack on South Africa; deter a conventional military threat to the region by an outside power; and to protect South Africa's borders. Secondary roles include support to the South African Police Service and to assist civil authorities in times of disaster or other emergencies. The Army remains able to handle any likely contingencies and is the best trained in the region, however, support to the SAPS drains already limited resources and tasks the Army for missions it is not structured to provide. It has sound experience with sound training and doctrine practices, which include the Army College, the Army Battle School and a national training center, and has retained some of its experienced personnel. The integration of the homeland armies has not severely degraded operations, however, the level of training of these soldiers is quite lower than that of the old SADF.

The Army does face some problems limiting its ability to perform missions outside of the country. Severe funding cuts, re-organization of the reserve force, and the integration of the homeland militaries restrict taking on any new missions. Much of the equipment is modernized and highly effective for the type of threat faced. Most of the equipment is optimized based on the need and is available in adequate numbers to support the force. Equipment not currently being utilized by the active force is held for war reserve.

The SAA does have long-range plans (15 years) for the acquisition of a ground-based air defense system (GBAD) based around a very short range (VSHORAD) missile followed by a short range (SHORAD) system. Other equipment developments include the development of a towed 105mm light gun for other-than-war operations. This would replace the current G5 155mm towed and the G6 self-propelled howitzer, deemed to heavy for distant deployments supporting other-than-war operations. The SAA is also completing the upgrade of 1200 Ratel infantry combat vehicles and 44 Olifant main battle tanks.⁷⁰ South Africa has also completed production of 240 Rooikat 76 reconnaissance vehicles. As the external threat increases, the SAA will need to consider the purchase of a new MBT and infantry combat vehicle (ICV). The current Ratel is no longer considered an ICV but as an armoured personnel carrier (APC). The SAA is looking at the Piranha IV to replace the Ratel by 2010.⁷¹

Impacting the ability of the ability of the Army to deploy is the increasing number of soldiers with HIV. In July 2002 the South African Minister of Defence revealed that about 23% of the SANDF are believed to be HIV positive.⁷² In a report from a parliamentary portfolio committee on defence, the figures for soldiers could be as high as 60%.

The new SANDF has been training to reach NATO standards and to achieve regional compatibility through training exercises such as Blue Hungwe in Zimbabwe and training with the Dutch and British at the Army Combat School.⁷³ Additionally, the SANDF has participated in Exercise Blue Crane, designed to test multinational C3I and logistic capabilities in support of a multinational operation. South African forces have also provided a 1500 SANDF force to support UN peacekeeping operations in the DRC (MONUC) and a small number of troops to Ethiopia-Eritrea (UNMEE). The deployment to the DRC is a strong test of the ability to support regional operations outside the country. Due to the location of the mission, air support in terms of cargo aircraft (C-130s) and helicopter gunship support will also be used in the operation testing South Africa's ability to sustain a rotating, deployed force. As late as January 2003, South Africa committed to extending the deployment of a 775-strong SANDF protection and support detachment, ongoing since Nov 01, to Burundi to help monitor the cease-fire brokered by South African deputy president Jacob Zuma.⁷⁴ Interestingly, the deployment is not a United Nations sponsored mission but is part of the growing commitment and concern of the African Union.

Air Force. The SAAF remains the most effective air force in the sub-Saharan region. The primary mission in wartime is to ensure a favorable air situation over the territory and waters of South Africa and over any area where South Africa has forces. As South Africa assumes a more dominant role in regional security, the lack of long-range maritime capabilities seriously hampers protection of regional marine assets and coastal shipping. Another concern is the long-range interdiction capabilities that are present while South Africa awaits delivery of the new BAE Systems/Saab Gripen aircraft to replace the aging Cheetah D and C aircraft. The Gripen will give South Africa a reconnaissance, air-to-air, and air-to-ground capabilities. The SAAF has retained experienced pilots and has the ability to provide interdiction, ground attack, reconnaissance, troop transport and logistic support as needed. In peacetime, the SAAF provides a wide range of services from interagency support to border surveillance and protection to VIP transport and security. The growing regional role expands the role of the SAAF to transport and maritime operations, disaster relief and humanitarian support operations.

While the SAAF continues to be the dominant force in the region, the service is faced with three areas of concern: aviation safety, aircraft availability, and loss of skilled personnel.⁷⁵ The bottom line is that the current DOD budget is too shallow to support the required transformation

of the SAAF. Like its Army counterpart, the service consists of an institutional training base consisting of two flight training schools, an air navigation school, an air defense school and technical training schools.

Navy. Like the Army and Air Force, the South African Navy (SAN) is the only well balanced navy in the region. It has surface, sub-surface and mine countermeasures capabilities supported by a sound infrastructure. Also like the SAA and SAAF, the fleet is aging. However, the SAN is scheduled to receive four corvettes in 2004-2005 and three submarines in 2005-2007.

The SAN faces some major problem areas however, as it assumes a regional role. The SAN has been unable to rebuild its "blue water" capability which is a major weakness given the distance between the mainland and the Prince Edward Island group. Another shortcoming is the inability of the SAAF to provide long-range maritime patrol craft. The navy has no capabilities. Finally, the submarine fleet consists of outdated submarines and the SAN does not have and is not acquiring anti-submarine capabilities.

The navy's role grew out of the geographical situation of the country and that 95% of the imports and exports and over 80% in terms of monetary value of the country move by sea through South African ports.⁷⁶ Additionally, many of the neighboring landlocked countries move their imports and exports through South African ports. Thus, the primary role of the SAN is maritime trade protection and the continued operations of the ports. However, due to the small size of the SAN, only two major port areas can be protected: Cape Town, Saldanha Bay and Simon's Town, and Durban and Richard's Bay. The Natal port complex of Durban and Richard's Bay are vital to South African interests – they provide the largest concentration of sophisticated port facilities on the southern African coast. Protection of the other ports in the country is only against very minor threats.

The SAN, like the SAA and SAAF, have modern institutionalized training venues which include the Naval College and Naval Staff College.

As South Africa assumes its regional role, neighboring countries will request support from the SAN. Countries without viable navies, which is most if not all the countries in the region, will request assistance in patrolling fishing grounds and protection of maritime trade from piracy, smuggling and gun-running.

In FY 00-01 the SAN participated in 7 planned exercises and 2 unplanned exercises focusing on mine-countermeasures, joint training with the Germans and French and peacekeeping operations.

The following table reflects an assessment of the equipment capabilities of the SANDF in terms of combat vehicles, combat aircraft and naval vessels. In terms of raw numbers, South Africa dominates other countries in the region. Force on force numbers combined with equipment modernization programs in these countries impact the balance of power. For example, while South Africa dominates in main battle tanks (MBTs) and armoured vehicles it should be noted that the majority of those number are armoured vehicles from the 1970s and 1980s. As previously discussed, due to budget constraints South Africa places a large number of combat vehicles in storage for war reserves.

Country ⁽¹⁾	Main Battle Tanks and Armoured Vehicles	Combat Aircraft ⁽²⁾	Naval Vessels ⁽³⁾
Angola	360+	73	None
Botswana	116	13	None
Lesotho	22	None	None
Madagascar	82+	12	None
Malawi	43	None	None
Mauritius	17	None	None
Mozambique	320	None	None
Namibia	54	None	None
South Africa	4,130	97	6
Swaziland	Unknown	None	None
Zambia	65	41	None
Zimbabwe	238	40	None

Notes:
1. Equipment indicated not necessarily all serviceable, or some in storage.
2. Dedicated combat aircraft and combat-capable jet trainers. Excludes combat helicopters.
3. Missile craft included in naval vessel totals.

TABLE 3. REGIONAL MILITARY BALANCE - EQUIPMENT⁷

Nuclear Weapons Program. Any discussion on South Africa's national power would not be complete with a brief look at the country's nuclear arms program. The South African nuclear weapons program evoked a defense strategy and was an element of national power at the time. The program can also be viewed as a reflection on the national will of the country to secure its sovereignty during a time when South Africa faced external threats from Soviet influence in the region and an insurgency of black African nationalism which at the time was supported by neighboring countries. The program was abandoned 11 years ago when then-President F.W. de Klerk terminated the program and South Africa signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1991.

South Africa's nuclear program began during World War II and by 1967 a program was launched to build peaceful nuclear explosives (PNEs).⁷⁸ By 1977 South Africa established a nuclear weapons research, development and production facilities at Pelindaba.⁷⁹ Around this

time, South Africa's security environment had deteriorated with the introduction of Cuban forces into Angola and the imposition of a military embargo by the United Nations. By 1978 South Africa had developed nuclear weapons and a nuclear strategy was developed. This strategy espoused that a fully weaponized nuclear capability was needed to provide a credible deterrent on the continent. While there was research indicating that South Africa may have developed nuclear capabilities with Israel, it is unclear if that was actually the case.

South Africa's nuclear strategy had three phases.⁸⁰ Phase one consisted of perpetuating strategic uncertainty regarding South Africa's nuclear capabilities. If South Africa faced an overwhelming conventional military threat and the West was unwilling to intervene on its behalf, South Africa would implement phase two of the strategy. In phase two, South Africa would covertly acknowledge the existence of its nuclear weapons to key Western powers in the hope of inducing their intervention. If this approach did not succeed, South Africa would move to phase three, the adoption of an overt deterrent posture, which included several options. South Africa would publicly acknowledge the existence of its nuclear stockpile, conduct an underground nuclear test, or detonate a nuclear explosion on the surface. South Africa calculated that the West's determination to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons would force them to place South Africa under their nuclear umbrella in the event of a crisis.

By 1989, South Africa had six devices in its arsenal and with the departure of Cuban forces from Angola that same year, the decline of the Soviet Union and the independence of Namibia, South Africa's security situation had greatly improved. President F.W. de Klerk, elected in September 1989, seeking an end to the apartheid regime and South Africa's acceptance back into the international community, viewed the nuclear weapons program as an obstacle to these goals and ordered the termination of the program. South Africa joined the NPT in the summer of 1991 and the International Atomic Energy Agency verified that the program had been dismantled. However, the ability to re-start the program remains a viable option for the government.

Chemical and Biological Weapons Program As with the development, subsequent destruction and ability to restart the nuclear weapons program, South Africa also has similar abilities with their chemical and biological weapons program. South Africa developed the ability to produce and deploy chemical and biological weapons during the mid-1980s. Surrounded by controversy (which still exists), Pretoria then acknowledged that it was developing defensive countermeasures against such weapons being used by Angolan forces in their civil war.

South Africa's chemical and biological warfare program known as Project Coast included work on cholera, botulism, anthrax, and chemical poisoning. In 1993, after South Africa's

involvement in Angola had ended, then-President de Klerk ordered the destruction of any remaining chemical and biological substances. South Africa also joined more than forty other African nations in signing the international Convention on Chemical Weapons. Much controversy surrounds Project Coast.

In 1998 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission conducted a special investigation into the project. Findings indicated that the program veered from its original intent of defensive capabilities to counter regional and international threats against South Africa and included use of chemical and biological weapons against anti-apartheid leaders, black South Africans and others identified as opposing the minority government. The TRC also determined that the two senior managers of the program, the surgeon general and project leader, were responsible for the numerous bizarre aberrations of policy, management and intent of the program.⁸¹

Infrastructure. South Africa has one, if not the most modern infrastructure on the continent and the extensive transport system plays an important role in the national economy as well as the economies of several other African states. A number of southern Africa countries such as Angola and Lesotho, use South Africa's transport infrastructure to move imports and exports.

The national Department of Transportation has established four agencies to move certain elements of the government's operational activities to commercial agencies. They are the South African National Roads Agency (SANRAL), the South African Maritime Safety Authority (SAMSA), the Cross-border Road Transport Agency (CBRTA), and the South African Civil Aviation Authority (CAA). These agencies perform functions previously provided by the national government in a now, fully commercial environment with the government as the primary shareholder.

South Africa has an extensive and sophisticated transport network serving national and international transportation needs. The national road system connects all the country's major population centers and a railway system capable of transporting both passengers and cargo throughout the country.

Transnet Limited is the major controller of South Africa's rail transport system with the government is its sole shareholder. Transnet consists of 5 transport businesses, Spoornet (rail transport), Portnet (harbors), freightdynamics (strategic road freight), Petronet (liquid petroleum transport) and Metrorail (commuter rail services).

South Africa has the largest, best-equipped and most efficient network of ports on the African continent. South Africa's seven commercial ports are conduits for the imports and exports of South Africa and neighboring countries and also serve as hubs for traffic to and from

both the East and West African coasts. South African ports handle an average of 13000 vessels carrying 500 million tons of cargo annually.

Portnet, a division of Transnet Limited, is the largest port authority in greater southern Africa, controlling seven of the 16 biggest ports in this region. These are Richards Bay, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Mossel Bay, Cape Town and Saldanha. All of the ports are capable of handling international commercial vessels within limitations.⁸² Portnet's regulatory function will be separated from its operational function in order to enhance efficiency in freight handling and logistics, and reduce costs while at the same time providing for independent regulation. Portnet will retain its landowner function, but will have to compete with international tenders for the concession of port operations. In August 2001, the new National Ports Authority was created to ensure independence and impartiality in carrying out the regulatory function.

Additionally, South Africa has three international airports with the intent to expand to ten based on a 1998 Green Paper on National Policy for Airports and Airspace management. Establishing criteria to be used to determine which airports could be used to accommodate international flights, the Civil Aviation Authority plans to expand giving South Africa the ability to provide international connections to the entire country.

Informational. South Africa has a comprehensive communications network and when compared to other African countries the best, on the continent.⁸³ South Africa currently has over 26 daily newspapers, 347 FM radio stations, 556 broadcast TV stations and 150 internet service providers.⁸⁴ The state-owned company Telkom, that owns 39% of all the telephone lines on the continent, provides the country's entire telecommunications network.⁸⁵ Cellular services were launched in 1994 and include coverage along all major transportation routes and population centers.

A government agency called the independent broadcasting agency (IBA) directs the licensing and regulating of all radio and television stations, both public and private. The South African Broadcasting Corporation provides most of the country's public broadcasting. The government owns most of the SABC and broadcasting is done in English, Afrikaans and a number of black languages. The government also runs the telegraph and postal service.

In May 1998, the Public Service Act of 1994 launched Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) with the intent of developing an organization that meets the communication and information needs of government and the people, to ensure a better life for all.

GCIS is primarily responsible for communication between government and the people. A high premium is placed on development communication that emphasizes direct dialogue,

especially with people in disadvantaged areas. GCIS is involved in drafting communication strategies and program for the whole of government at national level, and integrating the communication operations of all government departments.

To reach its objectives, GCIS aims to provide excellent media and communication services to both the government and the public by establishing Government Information Centers (GICs) and Multi-purpose Community Centers (MPCCs) in order to ensure efficient services to the media and to produce information products for dissemination to citizens.

The ending of apartheid and the transition to democracy have given rise to the dramatic changes in the external strategic environment surrounding South Africa. The country is no longer isolated internationally and has been welcomed into many international organizations, most notably the UN, African Union (AU) and South African Development Community (SADC).

Psychological. The psychological element of national power consists of national will, national character and to a degree, national integration.⁸⁶ When applying the other elements of national power, examining the history of the country and the 1994 and 1999 national elections, it is clear that the transformation the government was a direct result of the national will of the people.

The resulting changes in the government, set upon in the early 1990s did not only include the majority black population, but included minority whites, Asians and coloreds as well. The African National Congress won overwhelmingly in 1994 and in 1999 with 86 and 66 percent of the votes respectively. Although support for the ANC declined in the latest national elections, there was also an emergence of new political parties, further strengthening the national will of the people.

The main focus of the government is to develop a better life for all by creating wealth and providing security. South Africa's foreign policy objectives are essentially linked to the domestic imperatives of the country. The ending of apartheid and the transition to democracy have given rise to the dramatic changes in the external strategic environment surrounding South Africa. The country is no longer isolated internationally and has been welcomed into many international organizations, most notably the United Nations where South Africa has aspirations to occupy a seat on the UN Security Council representing Africa, the chair of the newly-formed African Union (AU) and South African Development Community (SADC). Since the beginning of the transition to democracy, the South African capital of Pretoria has become one of the busiest capitals in the world. By March 1999 diplomatic relations had been established with over 164 countries and more than 70 international agencies.⁸⁷ Between 1996 and 2001, 81 heads of

state visited South Africa, while the president of South Africa undertook 103 state visits outside the country.⁸⁸ It is clear that South Africa is becoming a continental leader.

Educational. Education ranks high as a government priority, and close to a quarter of the national budget is devoted to this sector alone. After four decades of apartheid education, schooling has become one of South Africa's greatest challenges. The legacy of apartheid education promoted white education that skews education figures in favor of the white population. For example, 65% of whites over 20 years old have completed high school or higher, compared to 14% of the black, 17% of the colored and 40% of the Indian population.

Literacy rates are slightly higher when compared to other African countries of the same size and population. In 2000, the adult literacy rate was 85.3% for adults, and 91.3% for youths. However, research indicates that the minority white population has a higher rate of literacy when compared to blacks.

According to the 1996 census - results of the 2001 census are due in 2003 - almost 20% of the adult population has received no education at all, and almost 17% has not completed primary school. However, the future holds promise with 30-40% of the population in all provinces having reached high school.

Education figures differ widely from province to province. Worse off is the remote Northern Province, where more than a third of the population has received no education. In the more developed Western Cape, by contrast, 93% have been to school. Currently, there are more than 12 million South African students attending 27,000 schools. Over a third of these are in high (or secondary) school. A further 350,000 South Africans are at universities, and 200,000 more at technical schools.

About 6% of the total population have tertiary qualifications with the highest number of people with tertiary qualifications being in the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces, 10% and 8% of their populations respectively.

Housing. The South African government is taking overall responsibility for providing houses to all citizens. With the abolition of apartheid housing programs, the government inherited a critical housing shortage, with the 1996 census reflecting a housing backlog of 2,202,519 homes. Since 1994, the state has built 1.4 million housing units, providing more than 5 million people with secure homes.

The government's goal is to create sustainable housing developments whereby people own their properties. It is anticipated that by instilling a sense of pride in their homes, streets and areas, the concept advances the entire community. At least 2 million people have benefited from the transfer of ownership of 398,000 houses to their residents since the government came

to power. From 1994-2001, the percentage of homeowners has risen from 66 to 77 percent of all household dwellers despite the fact that the number of households has also increased by 1.5 million during the same period.

The government has undertaken a series of programs to enhance the national housing program. These include the National Housing Subsidy Programme which aims to stimulate both rural and urban development by providing housing subsidies⁸⁹; establishment of financing for the poor in the form of the National Housing Finance Corporation to give banks access to capital for subsidy-linked and lower income housing; job creation and skills development which promote employing local labor and small-time contractors and also supports those who prefer to build their own homes and provides technical, financial and other support to them; and the Human Settlement Redevelopment Programme which aims to improve the quality of the urban environment and address the imbalances and backlogs inherited from the apartheid government.⁹⁰

Health Issues As previously discussed, South Africa has the lowest human poverty rate in the sub-Saharan but also has 47% of the population living below the poverty line as established by the U.N. Development Programme. However, when examining the government commitment to health that includes access, services, and resources, South Africa is first on the continent, committing \$230.00 per capita on health care. By comparison, the U.S. spends almost \$5,000.00 per capita.

The overriding health issue facing South Africa is the AIDS epidemic that is prevalent in parts of South Africa. The South African Ministry of Health believes that 2.5 million people are HIV positive, and UNAIDS (the United Nations AIDS' body) puts the figure at 4.2 million people—nearly a tenth of the population.⁹¹ In a report issued by UNAIDS in 2002, there is an estimated 5,000,000 people living with AIDS in South Africa, the highest on the African continent.⁹² These figures include adults and children which equates to approximately 11% of the population. However, the rates rises to about 20% in all adults (ages 15-49) with the disease affecting women at a slightly higher rate than men.⁹³ A study by Abt Associates, a Johannesburg consulting firm, forecasts the number of deaths attributable to AIDS in South Africa from 354,000-383,000 in 2005, rising to 545,000-635,000 in 2010 with the average life expectancy is set to fall from 60 years to 40 by 2008.⁹⁴

The United Nations expects the epidemic to knock 0.3 to four percent off the growth rate each year, making South Africa's GDP in 2010 17 percent (or US\$22 billion). Many analysts believe the impact of the AIDS will be more on the capital-intensive industries than the labor

intensive ones—all this through reduced manpower with the population growing at a rate of two percent.

Medicinal drugs are quick to come to South Africa but the ongoing controversy over drugs and patents has not helped reduce the mounting issues that South Africa faces. In 1997, the government drafted laws that would give it more flexibility in procuring medicines—whether from homegrown sources or from cheaper foreign exporters. In 2000, five companies offered certain African countries, including South Africa, discounts of 70-90 percent on several drugs to treat the HIV infection. This has resulted in a price war. However the drugs are still too expensive and the average South African cannot afford to pay for these drugs. There have been talks to reduce the drugs from US\$10,000 or US\$15,000 a year to around US\$600, but this is still a whole lot more than what an average South African spends on health.

In an effort to fight the epidemic in the country, the government announced in October 2002 that it is considering universal access to anti-retroviral drugs.⁹⁵ In early 2002, a Constitutional Court ruling is forcing the government to provide anti-retrovirals⁹⁶ to HIV-positive women prompting the government to also provide them to victims of sexual assault. It is estimated that only about 20,000 HIV-positive South Africans receive the drugs through private medical aid coverage.⁹⁷ Included in the program is the government's coordination with pharmaceutical companies to manufacture more affordable drugs for HIV/AIDS; providing nevirapine⁹⁸ to all HIV-positive women; establishment of HIV/AIDS centers of excellence for HIV/AIDS care; and increasing technical training for health workers and doctors to care for HIV/AIDS patients.⁹⁹

Crime. Crime has escalated dramatically since the early 1990s and has become a national issue in much the same way the HIV/AIDS pandemic has. Violent crime by organized gangs, proliferation of drugs and firearms, and corruption at all government levels is plaguing the country. The policies governing policing in South Africa are set out in three capstone documents the National Crime Prevention Strategy of 1996, the White Paper on Safety and Security of 1998, and the National Crime Combating Strategy of 2000. These three documents compose the long-term program that incorporates a large segment of agencies in the government that includes the South African Police Services, South African National Defence Force, National Intelligence Coordination Committee and the Departments of Justice, Correctional Services and Welfare. This strategy is designed to align the interagency fight against crime. Failure to combat crime leads to a decline in economic activity and heightened levels of criminal activity. A further threat is that of a disillusioned public increasingly taking the law into its own hands. In these scenarios, crime and its consequences provide and ideal

breeding ground for political violence and instability. As such Department of Safety and Security has set four key strategic priorities: combating organized crime (crimes related to drugs, firearms trafficking, vehicle theft and hijacking, public corruption and commercial crime); combating serious and violent crime; crimes against women and children; and improving service delivery at police stations.

The effects of the high crime rate can be evaluated by examining the professional population of the country. In a survey conducted in 2002 by the Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 473 doctors, out of 1100 surveyed, indicated they would leave South Africa after their mandatory public service.¹⁰⁰ The exodus is felt mostly among the young, white professional population that elect to leave South Africa and move to Canada, Australia or the UK citing economics, the risk of HIV/AIDS (among the medical profession), safety and security as the Black professional are more likely to stay in country. The impact is the loss of a young professional work force that is essential to South Africa's future.

High levels of crime pose a serious threat to the emerging democracy in South Africa and the current government regards the prevention of crime as a national priority. This applies not only to the Cabinet, and the departments concerned with security and justice, but also to all other national departments that are able to make a contribution to a reduction in crime levels. As such, the government developed a national crime prevention strategy that coordinates the national government and the provincial governments working together. While the causes of crime are deep-rooted and related to the history and socioeconomic realities of South African society, this comprehensive strategy goes beyond providing only effective policing and addresses the mobilization and participation of society in assisting to address crime.

Crime levels in South Africa are affected by many of the same universal factors that affect other countries. The unique situation and history of the country, however, has contributed to a range of factors specific to South Africa. An example is the rapid transition of government from apartheid to democracy that did not allow the revamping of policing, correctional and other agencies that were part of the apartheid era and replace them with legitimate and credible alternatives. The Government of National Unity inherited the entire public service, including a racially based, disproportionate distribution of Criminal Justice resources. Insufficient and ill-equipped personnel, combined with outdated systems, and fragmented departments, have contributed to a system that has been unable to cope with the demands created by the need to provide services to all the people of South Africa.

The political transformation also generated substantial expectations from South African citizens, much of which was beyond the immediate capacity of the new government. These

high expectations associated with the governmental transformation have contributed somewhat to the justification of crime. Violence, which in the past brought about needed change, was legitimized and associated with political causes. This has served to decriminalize certain categories of crime related to political rivalries and the historical criminalization of now legal political activity has contributed to a blurring between legitimate forms of protest and criminal activity.

South Africa's violent history developed a "culture of violence", which contributes to the high levels of violence associated with criminal activity in South Africa. Violence in South Africa has come to be regarded as an acceptable means of resolving social, political and even domestic conflicts. However, there are signs of a positive trend emerging for the first time since the implementation of the National Crime Combating Strategy. Except in the case of theft and robbery, major crimes (such as murder, violence aimed at property and arson) have stabilized in the first 18 months of the NCCS.¹⁰¹ Of particular concern however, is the growing number of attacks on farms and smallholdings in South Africa. Of such concern are these attacks, the SAPS has developed a reserve police force and security plan for farmers to patrol outlying areas in attempts to thwart attackers.¹⁰² Similar to attacks in neighboring Zimbabwe on white farm owners, robbery here appears to be the prime motive. However, political motivations underlying some of the attacks on white owned farms have resurfaced. President Mbeki, a staunch opponent of the actions in Zimbabwe, has made it clear that violent occupation of farmland would not happen in South Africa.¹⁰³

A particular problem linked to threats of crime and terrorism is the proliferation and availability of firearms, both legal and illegal. Many of these firearms have entered South Africa from neighboring countries where cessation in hostilities has driven the arms market across international borders. Years of inter- and intra-state conflict have generated large quantities of small arms that can threaten the internal balance of a newly emerging democracy. Combined with the large numbers of disaffected people and the violent history of the country, South Africa faces a major threat from this proliferation.

During the apartheid era, South Africa was shielded from much of the growth in the illegal narcotics trade. But the end of enforced isolation has triggered an unprecedented growth in drug trafficking and consumption. In the past, the drug problem was limited, largely, to the use of methaqualone and marijuana. Today, however, large quantities of cocaine and heroin are entering the country from the Asian narcotics producing regions. Major hurdles in the country's fight against drug abuse and trafficking include long and isolated land and sea borders, a scarcity of personnel and resources to combat the threat, insufficient collaboration between law

enforcement agencies and official corruption. South Africa, with its established financial markets and advanced computer networking, relative wealth, and regional shipping hub, is ideal for money laundering and transnational shipping of drugs to Europe and South America.

Also linked to escalating levels of crime is the concern of illegal immigration. Figures for illegal immigrants range from 3-5 million and there is little doubt that many of the 'illegals' that are unable to find work turn to crime. The flood of economic refugees - which is threatening the ANC's promises of reducing unemployment and uplifting the people - is also having wider ramifications. This is manifesting itself in a new mood of racism, with local South Africans increasingly blaming outsiders for their plight and resorting to violence against foreign blacks.

Other contributors are the slow growth in the job market which has contributed to the creation of a large pool of "at risk"; young people; the absence of services to victims of crime which contributes to the incidence of repeat victimization and possibly retributive violence; the number and easy accessibility of firearms and a large proportion of armed citizenry; and gender inequality, both in terms of popular attitudes and the inadequate service offered by the criminal justice system to women, contributes to the high levels of violence perpetrated against women.¹⁰⁴

In 1994 with the transition of governments, the new democratic order brought about many changes in the country and also had a substantial impact on policing. Prior to 1995, South Africa was divided into the so-called TBVC States, Self-Governing Territories and Development Regions consisting of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The TBVC States had independent status but were not widely recognized by the international community. The TBVC States and Self-Governing Territories of Gazankulu, Kangwane, Kwandebele, Kwazulu, Lebowa and Qwaqwa were also referred to as Homelands. Every homeland had its own policing agency, bringing the total number of policing agencies in the country to eleven (10 homelands + the old South African Police). All eleven policing agencies had different uniforms, rank structures and conditions of service and were established under different pieces of legislation.

With the adoption of the interim Constitution in 1994, the Homelands and old development regions were abolished and integrated into a united South Africa with nine provinces. The new Constitution established a single National Police Service for South Africa (South African Police Service) under the executive command and control of a National Commissioner who is appointed by the President. With that came the expansion of the South African Police Service (SAPS) from around 40,000 in the early 1980s to some 140,000 (including civilian staff) in 2001.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSION.

This paper endeavors to examine the South African elements of national power and apply them to the Republic as an emerging regional power. It also attempts to discuss whether the country has the ability and the national will to sustain that role and influence security and establish stability in the region.

In the course of the research conducted, a more accurate description of South Africa would be the re-emergence of the Republic as a regional power. In the 1970s, 1980s and into the early 1990s, South Africa emerged onto the global scene as a regional power with a white minority rule government, a powerful military that developed decisive combat power along with nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and a strong economy (until global denunciation of the apartheid government) that supported, by design, a small portion of the population. After the transition to majority rule in 1994, South Africa's position as a regional power diminished. Undergoing transformation of its political and military establishments and a shift in policy from external security to internal domestic programs, South Africa's ability to influence the region took a down turn in terms of projecting regional dominance. Now, eight years after the peaceful transition of government, various international organizations and governments now consider South Africa as an emerging regional power and are engaging Pretoria as such. More importantly, countries in the sub-Saharan region are now embracing the Republic as a regional leader.

Regional powers are considered powerful in their own region and can forge regional relationships that foster peace and prosperity in the region. In a paper entitled "South Africa as an Emerging Middle Power", Professor Maxi Schoeman points out that regional powers have a geographically restricted range vice that of a "middle power" which is found in a hierarchal order of states and is not restricted to a geographic region.¹⁰⁶ South Africa has not risen to the role of middle or a global power - yet, but that is due only to the fact that it has been only a little over eight years since a post-apartheid government has been in power. The 2004 elections and the continuance of the Mandela-Mbeki philosophy of government will influence the continuing transformation of the Republic as it moves forward into the hierarchy of states.

As an "emerging" power this is not to suggest that South Africa has not yet arrived on the world stage as a regional actor and does not influence the southern African region. They have and do. South Africa has been spared the "complex emergencies" that affect other African countries and, in fact, it reaches out to the entire continent by setting the standard for non-violent transition to a multi-party democratic government while continuing relative economic prosperity, maintaining infrastructure to provide services to all its people and providing a

competent military presence for both internal and external security. Although the military is modernizing, health issues regarding military personnel directly impact the ability to support a number of peacekeeping operations outside its borders. South Africa continues to assert its national will to be a regional leader by improving social and economic conditions and in its leap to modernize its aging armed forces – both in equipment and personnel.

South Africa's strongest element of national power is found in its political leadership. Historically, South Africa's leadership has positioned the country to a level of regional power that exceeds other African countries. The national strategy of every nation is to protect its foreign and domestic interests and should reflect the national character and values of the state coordinating the use of national power to achieve those objectives. The transition to majority rule identified the country's collective national character and reflected its values and built those characteristics into its basic documents of the new government – the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. As a sovereign, democratic state founded on the values of human dignity, the achievement of equality, a multi-party system of democratic government and the advancement of human freedoms, the Republic stands as model to other African countries that are embracing democracy for the first time. Building mutual confidence and on establishing a mutual security system in the region is paramount to South Africa's security.

South Africa exhibits its national will by accepting a range of leadership roles on a global, continental and regional level. In these roles South Africa has entered into peacekeeping missions mandated by both the UN and AU. The most notable of these leadership positions are the Chair of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (1995-1999), the Presidency of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (1996-1999), Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) (1998-2001), Chair of the UN Commission on Human Rights (1998-1999) and most recently, Chair of the African Union (AU) (2002). The latest example (Jan 03) of South Africa's interest to assist the region is the donation of \$20 million to fund the UN World Food Programme emergency relief operations in southern Africa.

South Africa is not unlike most of the African continent south of the Sahara. South Africa has a vibrant and rich history and bears the burden, like most of the continent, of its colonial past but has the added burden of the bitter controversy of four decades of apartheid government. The 1994 elections transformed the government and South Africa, long viewed as a "western" country, into an "African" country under the leadership of the once outlawed African National Congress and Nelson Mandela. Under the current leadership of President Mbeki, South Africa is leading an African Renaissance where political, economic, and cultural activity

makes Africa prosperous, powerful and peaceful. With similar cultures, civilization and history, South Africa is poised to lead the region into that renaissance.

Since the end of apartheid South Africa has made significant progress in overcoming the politically and economically biased system of racial inequality to providing full rights to all the peoples of South Africa regardless of race or gender. The government seeks to promote nation-building and racial tolerance among the very diverse population through educational and cultural awareness programs and the consensus is that South Africa is building towards the philosophy of a "rainbow nation". This is not to suggest that there are not any problems in the country, but eight years after Mandela's election, South Africa remains the most advanced democracy on the continent, has shed international isolationism, and holds the key for the political and economic future of the region.

Strategically located, South Africa is positioned for easy access to the countries comprising the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the islands off the coast of Africa, and even the Gulf States, India and Asia. South Africa also serves as a trans-shipment point between the emerging markets of Central and South America and the Asia. It is also positioned to provide port access to both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans becoming strategically important for its landlocked neighbors to the north.

South Africa offers abundant natural resources, serviceable infrastructure, and a comparatively (to the other countries on the continent) developed and diversified economic base. Transition to majority rule sidestepped extreme political violence that seemed inevitable but a high poverty rate and a well-publicized high crime rate that remain serious obstacles to investment and economic growth. In the eight years since transition of governments, a black middle class has emerged enhancing the prospects for a stable, democratic civil society as well as economic growth but there has also been an exodus of white professionals that impacts the future professional work force of South Africa.

South Africa also has well-established financial, legal, communications, energy, and transport sectors, and a stock exchange that ranks among the ten largest in the world. On the downside, much of the population remains impoverished with inadequate access to housing, medical care, and education. South Africa's industry regarding trade with other African nations is weak as it focuses on trade with global economic powers. In the post-apartheid years, the country has struggled with extending a "developed country" standard of living enjoyed by most whites to the majority black population.

While South Africa is a middle-income developing country, it is the richest and most economically developed country in Africa. The country enjoys a rising GDP and continues to

increase trade with the US, the European Union and Japan. With a modern infrastructure that includes a modern road and rail network, world class port facilities and an abundance of natural resources (namely gold and diamonds) for export, South Africa becomes the conduit for imports and exports not only for the Republic but for neighboring countries as well. Given the internal conflicts in some neighboring states that have port access, this becomes critical for those landlocked nations such as Namibia, Mozambique and Zambia

A major impact on the ability of South Africa to continue its rise to regional power is the HIV/AIDS issue. Affecting the entire spectrum of national power, HIV has reached epidemic proportions affecting over five million people in the country, the highest on the continent. The impact of health care for these patients alone directly impacts the budgeting process for the government as it seeks out ways to provide adequate care while not detracting from other government programs. Judicially mandated for certain elements of the population, the costs of supporting the program will directly impact other social and military spending programs. Unless the government takes drastic, proactive measures, HIV/AIDS will decimate that portion of the population that is required to maintain economic and political dominance and will directly affect the ability of the nation to provide a sound defensive posture.

Militarily, South Africa remains the premier military in the region and focuses on three strategic objectives as outlined in the DOD Strategic Plan: defending against aggression, promoting security, and supporting the people of South Africa. Further derived from that document are two sub-strategies, force preparation and force employment. Using a mission-based approach to achieve these objectives, wartime and peacetime missions direct the peacetime strategy for force preparation and guide force preparation for deployment. South Africa also maintains a strong defense industry and is modernizing its armed forces, ostensibly for defensive purposes.

The national will of South Africa to become and remain a regional power is expressed not only in its national policies but in public statements by both the Minister and Secretary of Defence. In statements made to South African Soldier magazine, both indicate that the SANDF is ready and able to fulfill both regional and continental commitments to peace support operations. Additionally, the Chief of the SANDF, Gen. Sipiwe Nyanda, in the same magazine reports that the SANDF is ready to support external peace support operations and to internally support the police service in the quest for a crime free society. The SANDF is ready.

However, the focus of national security has shifted from purely a military function to a combined function of all elements of national power. The current strategy is that national security is no longer to be viewed as a predominantly military and police issue and incorporates

political, economic, social and environmental matters. Thus, the priority for resources was shifted to the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme, an integrated socio-economic policy focusing the resources of the government toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic future. This directly impacted the readiness of the SANDF. The downsizing and resulting readiness decline from lower budget allocations impacted the ability of the country to support any operations outside its borders. However, South Africa is beginning to modernize its defense forces for the purposes of defense and peacekeeping operations – but only when mandated by a regional or international organization.

The armed forces may have a greater impact on the government's social and political than one may expect. South Africa has both an active and reserve force which are used for internal projects such as humanitarian assistance, border security, support to the SAPS and infrastructure development. Both components have the potential of impacting social programs by the mere integration of diverse political, ethnic and tribal groups. Given the modern infrastructure of the armed forces (schools, technology, etc), the armed forces can also be an asset in terms of civilian education, technology, social and economic development. The government also has implemented a program to stimulate the South African defense industry, and a non-defense components facilitating investment and technology and skill transfer into South Africa's manufacturing sector.

A key element will be the modernization and restructuring of the reserve component. These citizen soldiers not only contribute to the defense of the country, but bring to their civilian world, the traits of a professional service and the ethics and integrity with it. In keeping with the strategic objective of supporting the people of South Africa, the military also has the potential of providing services to the country – predominantly to people of remote areas in the form of disaster assistance and infrastructure enhancement.

The impact of this policy shift on the SANDF is felt in terms of equipment modernization and readiness. Most of the tracked and wheeled equipment, to include towed and self-propelled artillery and the main battle tank, is 1970s/1980s vintage. There have been modifications and retrofit done to the majority of the fleet. An additional concern is the number of vehicles that are in storage, ostensibly for war reserves. The SANDF needs to complete the integration and transformation projects currently being undertaken before adopting any new roles as regional policeman. This includes a blue water capability, training aircraft, new fighters, submarine replacement and a new main battle tank.

This shift in policy has somewhat impacted the ability to support regional operations. While South Africa is currently supporting peacekeeping operations (on a rotational basis) in

Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, there is concern that these operations have extended the military beyond its capabilities. The ability to sustain these operations without serious degradation to the force will be of great concern as well as the ability to take on any more regional missions simultaneously while maintaining a ready defense forces at home. Some SANDF observers felt that South Africa was unable to assume the DRC mission citing concerns of combat readiness, insufficient funding, age profile of soldiers. Success or failure remains but the continuing commitment to these two operations again exhibit the national will to assume the role of a regional power. Further impacting on the ability of the SANDF to field an effective defense force is HIV/AIDS. Reported HIV figures approach 23% for the SANDF (with some estimate much higher) impacting the ability to deploy a trained, cohesive force outside the country and cross-leveling of personnel to man these deployment requirements affect stay-behind forces.

As South Africa faces no regional threat now and for the next 3-5 years, this may be the time for the government to focus internally on social and economic issues, rebuilding the military force, and testing that force in peacekeeping operations. With an increase in the defense budget in 2002-2003, South Africa is beginning the process to modernize its forces in preparation for future peacekeeping operations. Both the DOD leadership and the national leadership have remained low-key in their approach to regional security but there is an understanding that South Africa has a responsibility to help the region find its way out of the current disorder. There is concern, too, that the Republic remains a non-aligned nation, operating outside its borders only under an international or regional mandate. President Mbeki is using the same approach to transforming the region as he does with his own country by focusing on the political, social and economic factors rather than using the "big stick" approach.

For the foreseeable future, South Africa will remain a model for the region and the continent. The current governmental policies regarding social, political and economic change will ensure South Africa's viability as an emerging regional power. Contributions made by South Africa to the continent promote peace, prosperity and development. Given the continued trend of the economy and defense spending, combined with social programs that support all the people of the country, South Africa will enter the hierarchy of states and merge into a middle power status.

WORD COUNT =19,996

ENDNOTES

¹ Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

² Catherine Newbury, "States at War: Confronting Conflict in Africa," African Studies Review, Vol 45, Number 1, (Apr 2002): 5.

³ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001 (United Kingdom: Jane's Information Group Limited, 2001). Information contained in this section derived from this source.

⁴ Steven Metz, Refining American Strategy in Africa (U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2000), 13.

⁵ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001.

⁶ United Nations Development Programme, UNAIDS, Fighting AIDS: A New Global Resolve (New York: UN Development Programme, 2001), 23.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Nomande Vuthela, "United in the fight against HIV/AIDS," South Africa Soldier, June 2002; available from <www.mil.za/magazines/sasoldier/June2002/Page12.htm>; Internet; accessed 13 Nov 02.

¹¹ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001, 307.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 309. The TRC was established to hear evidence from both the victims and the perpetrators of misdeeds under apartheid in order to be able to consider applications for amnesty from persons who had confessed to being guilty of misdeeds in the course of their duties.

¹⁹ Ibid., 308.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Chapter 1.

²² Ibid., Chapter 2.

²³ Ibid., Chapter 3.

²⁴ David Jablonsky, "National Power," Parameters (Spring 97): 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Population Reference Bureau, 2002 World Population Data Sheet, (New York: United Nations, 2002). Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Egypt are higher.

²⁸ Country Watch, "Country Review South Africa 2001-2002," 2002; available from <<http://www.countrywatch.com>>; Internet; accessed 12 Nov 02.

²⁹ World Book Encyclopedia, South Africa, (Chicago: World Book, Inc), 610.

³⁰ United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2002 (Oxford University Press, 2002), Table 1. The HDI is a summary measure of human development. It measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life as measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge as measured by adult literacy rate; and a decent standard of living as measured by GDP per capita.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Population Reference Bureau, 2002 World Population Data Sheet. There are fifteen countries that have life expectancy equal to or higher than South Africa. Eastern Africa has an average life expectancy of 47 years but contains nine countries higher than RSA. Middle Africa has 9 countries higher or equal to RSA with an average of 49 years.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001, 297.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ World Book Encyclopedia, South Africa, 617.

³⁸ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001, 371.

³⁹ World Book Encyclopedia, South Africa, 616.

⁴⁰ Country Review, South Africa 20001-2002. Appendix A Global Rankings, p 55.

⁴¹ Human Development Report, Table 3.

⁴² US Energy Information Administration, "South Africa," June 2002; available from <<http://www.eia.doe.gov>>; Internet; accessed 14 Nov 02.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ South African Department of Trade and Industry, Department of Trade and Industry, 2002, available from <<http://www.thedti.gov.za/econdb/raport/rapcoun.htm>>; Internet; accessed 31 Jan 03.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Country Review South Africa 2001-2002, 34.

⁴⁸ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001, 297. South Africa is the world's largest producer of gold, platinum-group metals, alumino-silicates, chrome ore, ferrochromium, manganese metal, vanadium, and vermiculite; the world's second largest producer of titanium and zirconium and the world's fifth largest producer of diamonds. Mineral sales account for 8.7% of the GDP and about 48.7% of export revenue.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mail and Guardian Newspaper online. 13 November 2002; available from <<http://www.mg.co.za>>; Internet; accessed 12 Nov 02.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Defence in a Democracy White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa, 1996, available from <<http://www.mil.za/Articles&Papers/Papers/WhitePaperonDef/white.htm>>; Internet; accesses 1 Aug 02.

⁵³ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001.

⁵⁴ South African White Paper on Defence 1996 and South African Defence Review 1998, available from <<http://www.mil.za>>; Internet; accessed 3 Aug 02.

⁵⁵ DOD Strategic Plan for Financial Years 2002/03 to 2004/05, 2002, available from <<http://www.mil.za/Articles&Papers/StrategicPlan2002.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 Aug 02.

⁵⁶ Strategic Defence Procurement Package – Defence Equipment, available from <<http://www.gov.za/projects/procurement/pressbrief/background.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 Feb 03.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook 1999 (Alexandra, Virginia: International Strategic Studies Association, 1999), 1354.

⁶⁰ The International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance 2002-2003 (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), 318.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² South Africa Department of Defense, Annual Report for Financial Year 2000-2001, 2001, 2.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001, 329.

⁶⁶ South Africa Department of Defence, "A Determination of South African Defense Requirements: A Vision for 2015 and Beyond", 2000, available from <http://www.mil.za/Articles&Papers/a_determination_of_south_african.htm>; Internet; accessed 1 Aug 02.

⁶⁷ South Africa Department of Defence, "Challenges facing the SANDF in a changing Global and Foreign Policy Environment", 2002, available from <www.mil.za>; Internet; accessed 1 Dec 02.

⁶⁸ Human Sciences Research Council, "Public Opinion on a Peacekeeping Role for the SANDF", 1997, available from <<http://www.hsrc.ac.za/media/1997/6/19970605.htm>>; Internet; accessed 24 Oct 02.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 330.

⁷⁰ Armed Forces Journal International, August 2000, available from www.afji.com/AFJI/Mags/2000/august/passing_4.htm>; Internet; accessed 1 Aug 02.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Jane's Defence Weekly, July 24, 2002.

⁷³ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment 2001, p 333.

⁷⁴ All Africa.com, "More SA Troops Heading for Burundi," available from <www.allafrica.com/stories/200212080213.htm>; Internet; accessed 8 Dec 02.

⁷⁵ South Africa Department of Defense, Annual Report for Financial Year 2000-2001, 2001, 15.

⁷⁶ Strategic Defence Procurement Package - Defence Equipment.

⁷⁷ Jane's Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment, 2001.

⁷⁸ David Albright, "South Africa's Nuclear Weapons Program," Institute for Science and International Security,

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Special Investigation into Project Coast, South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme, 1998, available from <<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/rsa/cbw/2chap6c.htm>>; Internet; accessed 29 Jan 03.

⁸² South Africa Internet Gateway, South Africa Ports, 2002, available from <<http://www.safrika.info>>; Internet; accessed 1 Dec 02. The ports of Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town provide large container terminals for deep-sea and coastal container traffic. East London has a small terminal to handle conventional and coaster feeder vessels carrying containers. Durban is Africa's busiest port and the largest conduit for containerized cargo in southern Africa. It is responsible for more than 70% of South Africa's containerized cargo, with a daily handling capacity of 3500 containers. Durban can accommodate deep RO-RO vessels and has five deep-sea and two container berths, as well as repair facilities. Privately owned bulk storage and handling facilities for various products are provided in the port. The Ben Schoeman Dock in Cape Town has five berths for container handling as well as a pier for coastal RO-RO traffic. The Dock has comprehensive ship-repair facilities. The bulk of South Africa's fruit exports are handled here. Saldanha, 110 km northwest of Cape Town, is in water mass the largest harbor facility on the South African coast. It was developed primarily for the export of high-grade iron ore from Sishen in the Northern Cape. A railway line of 861 km was built from Sishen to the ore terminal. Saldanha Bay is the largest port on the west coast of Africa. The port area is about four times larger than the combined areas of the ports of Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London. It is one of the best natural ports in the world, and the only breakwater, which had to be constructed, was a 1700 m spending beach type. Richards Bay Port was developed primarily to handle bulk cargoes such as bituminous coal and anthracite. This deepwater port, 193 km north of Durban, is the biggest port in South Africa and the world's largest bulk-coal terminal. It handles 53% of the country's total tonnage of cargo

⁸³ CIA World Fact book 2002, South Africa, available from <<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sf.html>>; Internet; accessed 5 Dec 02.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Jablonsky, "National Power".

⁸⁷ Country Review South Africa 2001-2002, 25.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Since 1994, 1 323 205 housing subsidies were allocated, 36 percent of these to women-headed households.

⁹⁰ This involves yearly roll-on housing development plans spanning all three tiers of government. So far the government has spent more than R40-million in 15 areas in all 9 provinces in human settlement programs.

⁹¹ Country Review South Africa 2001-2002, 34.

⁹² UNAIDS Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic 2002, available from <www.unaids.org>; Internet; accessed 12 Nov 02.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Mail and Guardian Newspaper on-line. 11 October 2002; available from <<http://www.mg.co.za>>; Internet; accessed 12 Nov 02.

⁹⁶ An anti-HIV combination drug known as HAART for highly active anti-retroviral therapy – HIV is a virus called a retrovirus.

⁹⁷ UNAIDS Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic 2002.

⁹⁸ Ibid. According to the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, a joint US-Ugandan study has found that a single dose of the anti-retroviral drug nevirapine when given to an HIV-infected woman in labor and to her baby within 3 days of birth, significantly reduces the transmission rate of HIV from mother to child.

⁹⁹ Ibid. Programs will be instituted in all provinces. Only about 2000 of the registered 27000 medical doctors have the skills to provide HIV/AIDS care.

¹⁰⁰ Sunday Times Johannesburg, “Young Doctors Plan to Bolt En Masse”, 8 Dec 02. Available from <<http://www.allafrica.com/stories/20021208223.html>>. Internet; Accessed 8 Dec 02.

¹⁰¹ The Reported Serious Crime Situation in South Africa for the Period January-September 2001, Crime Information Analysis Center. The target of the NCCS is specifically aimed at achieving stabilization in the first 3 years of its inception.

¹⁰² Jane’s Sentinel, Southern Africa Security Assessment, 309.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Maxi Schoeman, "South Africa as an Emerging Middle Power", African Security Review, Vol 9 No 3, 2000. Available from <<http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/ASR/9No3/SAMiddlePower.htm>>. Internet; Accessed 16 Jan 03.

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