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## **Processes for Developing and Adopting National Security Policies (NSP) Frameworks for Countries in the Global South! A Case of Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)**

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### **Abstract:**

*The quest for security sector reform is topical among African countries. SADC is not exceptional to this movement which is being felt like breeze from ‘Atlantic Ocean’. The need for transformative change cannot be written off given the trends in the Global South where inter-state and intra-state conflicts erode gains obtained from both political and economic independence. The purpose of the study is to appraise African states on the quest for change, from a security sector perspective, change which turn around not only political fortunes of African states but also socio-economic fortunes. In the same endeavour, in an attempt to articulate this phenomenon, Zimbabwe will be used as a point of reference not withstanding references to other countries both in the developing and developed world. The issue of security sector reform should not be understood only from a political perspective but from divergent socio-economic dynamics anchored on humankind. It is therefore a straight jacket issue in this paper that the concept of human development and perpetuity is at the core of this debate. Africa is our beloved continent and embracement of any form of reform-be it political, social, legal and or economic is at the heart of African ubuntuism and African renaissance. It should be understood from the onset that the views expressed in this paper are not prescriptive. The debate on security sector transformation is anchored on academic discourse and is subject to individual tastes and their levels of philosophical, ontological and epistemological interpretation and understanding.*

**Keywords:** Security sector reform, transformation, peace, conflict

### **1. Introduction**

Change is inevitable and today’s world events are characterised by change constancy. The security sector in Africa, especially for developing states is not exceptional to this powerful wave of events. Given, the overwhelming poverty challenges, democratic deficiencies, social and political instabilities in the Global South, SADC states have themselves not been fully transformed (socially, politically, economically and globally) and both in terms of conflicts resulting from both interstate and intra-state relations. Various studies on security sector issues have been carried out in Africa.

Antoni Van Vieuwkerk (2012), in his study on “Towards Peace and Security in Southern Africa” has provided highlights on the need to strengthen SADC Protocols on security sector reforms. Critical lessons are drawn from this study, suggesting that developing countries face a mammoth task in their attempt to develop and draft workable National Security Policy frameworks for their respective states. I am put in a position to quickly draw references from the various studies; I have already alluded to, and assert that, indeed in many countries in Africa, there is need for Security Sector Reforms, thus bringing in the aspect of drawing sustainable National Security Policies. In this essay, I will focus more on the SADC region, and will make inferences Zimbabwe; to demonstrate how best a process and adoption of NSP can be effectively and efficiently developed. This does not rule out making references from lessons learnt from other countries world-over.

### **2. Definition of Key Terms in the Write-Up**

There is need at this juncture to provide precise definition of key terms that will recur in this essay. The definition provided below provides the context in which the issues of NSP are handled and contextualised perse, in so far as my presentation is concerned, as opposed to views put across by others.

- Security Sector: this refers to the structures, institutions and personnel responsible for the management, provision and oversight of security in a country. (Tawengwa, 2013).
- Security Sector Reform: this refers to a process to reform or rebuild a state’s security sector. It responds to a situation in which a dysfunctional security sector is unable to provide security to the state and its people effectively and under democratic principles.

- Peace: according to Barnea et al (2000), peace is not merely the absence of war, but the opportunities contribute to the health and welfare of all the people in the region.
- Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attached (Arnold Wolters, 1962). According to National Defence College of Canada (1989), “it is the preservation of a way of life acceptable to the people... includes freedom from military attack...internal subversion...erosion of the political, economic and social values essential to the quality of life”.

### 3. Overview to Security Issues

Issues to deal with security sector and security sector reforms need to be understood, from holistic approach, not forgetting the unique backgrounds of countries involved; Africa is at risk, when it comes to security issues. An endeavour to systematically identify, describe, analyse, explain and propose solutions to the many conflicts prevailing in the SADC region-is mandatory. One cannot dispute that the region is undergoing a major transition from a long period of adversity during imperialist towards a future of amity and Cupertino in the in the post-apartheid and the post-liberation era (Baregu, 1998). I am of the opinion that the transition from confrontation to cooperation however, is both volatile and fragile. It is not deniable that, most countries in the region do not have the resources to establish and maintain a critical mass of intellectual capacities and capabilities to enable them to deal with, and address these challenges adequately and sustainably. The peace and security research programme assumes that the conflicts in the region are interconnected and that they arise from common or at least inter-related causes. The need for a collaborative regional development can only be possible through understating the pre-mentioned imperialists’ tendencies, and how our present governments, de-taches themselves from these imperialistic practices, which, in one way or the other, “manufactured, and are a source of conflict that we, are experiencing today.” Let me precisely indicate that, the ultimate vision is that SADC as a region, has the potential to bring the “new order” and influence its member countries to formulate NSP or indulge in committed National Security Sector Reforms “Necla Tschirgi argues that contemporary conflicts framework, and this will lead to more effective peace building. A regional approach to peace building requires new analytical tools, creative mechanisms of collaboration among local, regional and international actors, strengthening of regional and sub-regional organisations, and ultimate, significant reform of the current architecture of security.

### 4. Framework for Considering the Construction of NSP

In order to successfully draft a policy framework on NSP, the following aspects in the table below, are critical, for the process to materialise.

Options	Tensions/dividers	Staking/directions	Connectors	Options
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Systems and institutions, attitudes and actions, values, interests, experiences</li> <li>• Symbols and occasions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government agencies</li> <li>• Civic societies</li> <li>• Academia</li> <li>• Public</li> <li>• Why</li> <li>• Where</li> <li>• When</li> <li>• With whom</li> <li>• How</li> <li>• Accountability</li> <li>• Answerability</li> <li>• Delegation</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> </ul>	External state holders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SADC</li> <li>• All</li> <li>• United Nations</li> </ul> Legislative processes Systems and institutions Attitudes and actions Shared values Common experiences Symbols and occasions		
Identified interest Political Social Poverty reduction Legal Socio-economy environmental			Outcome Enhanced development (local regional, international)	
			Security sector reform	
			NSP framework (adopt/implement)	

Table 1: Frameworks NSP  
Source: (self-created, 2016)

- NB: The above tenets are discussed in depth during the presentation in this essay.

### 5. Process of Developing National Security Policy Framework (NSP)

The development of NSP framework is “a must do” exercise, and the attainment of Millennium Development Goals and regionalised security alignment in the SADC region can only be attained through grasping with realities of the modern world. The United Nations does support Security sector reforms. In its report (A/62/659-5/2008/39) extensive experience in assisting national actors to enhance or re-establish security, United Nations support for security sector reform had largely been pursued as an ad hoc undertaking hampered by needs capacity and insufficient resources to deliver effective support to national authorities. In 2011, the Council requested the Secretary General to submit an assessment of the UN support for security sector reform, including those efforts in Africa. The key objectives of SSR are:

- To ensure that people are safer through the enhanced effectiveness and accountability of security institutions operating under civilian controlled within a framework of the rule of law and human rights, bearing in mind that provision of security is a core function of the state. It is necessary to mention that the major security institutions that require focus, as policy’s formulated are: the military, police, criminal investigation, and the judiciary. The first two are the most visible representatives of the state for the general public.

Africa is generally recognised as the theatre where the vast majority of SSR processes take place, particularly as part of post-conflict reconstruction. Yet such SSR processes have been mostly informed by externally-generated policy frameworks and assumptions that often do not necessarily align with the realities and sources of insecurity of African people, states and societies. AU has taken a bold step in adopting policy framework on SSR, its aim being to provide the AU, regional countries, member states and other stakeholders with the necessary guidelines to implement SSR programmes.

The major question is: Can SSR dictates be used as part of the change process in drafting a NSP framework? The answer is neither here nor there. To me the SSR is an important stepping stone for creating modern democratic security policies driven by citizen interests in the face of tuned imperialist motives. What is critical is the respect of indigenous knowledge systems-values, norms and cultures of the people of respective member states for example Zimbabwe. If the reformation is spoken by the children of Zimbabwe, or her brothers across the continent, yes, but not from proclaimed *democratists* who may be hiding behind their fingers, targeting at certain individuals. If the focus is on the system, then it is for the solidarity for Africans partnership, but if it targets individuals, then it has a hidden agenda

Objectively, the need to provide security to the state and its people effectively and under democratic principles is necessary, notwithstanding the dangers of having a security sector, which is itself a source of widespread insecurity due to discriminatory and abusive policies or practices. In such a situation, an unreformed or misconstrued security sector represents a decisive obstacle to the promotion of sustainable development, democracy and peace. This in short, SSR process seek to enhance the delivery of effective and efficient security and justice services by security sector institutions that are accountable to the state and its people, and operate with a framework of democratic governance, without discriminating and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law. In my recommendations, for Zimbabwe, the SSR efforts should indeed involve all state institutions and other entities with a role in ensuring the security of the Zimbabwe and her people including armed forces, law enforcement and intelligence services, institutions responsible for border management and custom services, justice and penal institutions, and actors that play a role in managing and overseeing the design and implementation of security, such as ministries, parliament portfolios, human rights commissions and civil society organisations.

### 6. Security Sector Reform

Security is a core aspect of the vulnerability of the poor. Thus security sector reform aims at developing a secure environment based on development, rule of law, good governance and local ownership of security actors.

Core security actors	Armed forces, police services, gendarmeries, paramilitary forces, presidential guards, intelligence and security services, border guards, customs authorities, militias
Management and oversight bodies	The executive, national security advisory boards, legislative and legislative select committees, ministry of defence, internal affairs, foreign affairs, customary and traditional authorities, financial management bodies (Finance ministries, budget officers, financial audit and planning units)
Justice and rule law	Judiciary and justice ministries, prisons, criminal investigation and prosecution, human rights commissions and ombudsmen, customary and traditional justice system
Non statutory security actors	Liberation armies, guerrilla armies, private security companies, political party militias

Table 2: Security actors  
Source: (self-created, 2016)

In the process of crafting a policy, it is important consider the above actors, carryout an audit of the present structures in Zimbabwe, and draw inferences based on a Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) model of current system. It is only after a thorough analysis of the above actors as interlinked and as experience has shown that an attempt to develop one and ignore the other may have ripple brick effect on the others. Hence a holistic approach is required.

The complex nature of democratic system needed to establish correct 'security puzzles "is on its own a head-aching process and paradoxical development that cannot take less than a generation to achieve.

Regardless of the challenges and complexities involved in trying to develop workable NSP frameworks, Africa has no options but to swallow" conflict culture" and work towards developing sustainable security policies if it is to develop faster than it is today. This really calls for unity of purpose. Indeed, they are a number of factors, issues to be considered as part of the process of developing a "true and correct "policy document. As I indicated, I will constantly make reference to Zimbabwe, current and possible future scenarios.

### **7. Addressable and Adoptable Issues as Part of the Process of NSP Framework Development**

Whose task, whose mandate is it to develop the NSP framework in Zimbabwe?

This is a trick question but with a clear window-dressing view. The performance of drafting a National Security Framework rests entirely with the whole nation. In my view, it is every Zimbabwean citizen task to be involved in drafting up a National Security Policy Framework. I strongly believe in the view that "those affected by it are the persons to design and develop it ". At the end of the day there is no one to blame. To be more specific, when I referred to "everyone", I mean representation by various bodies such as those reflected in table 2. Lastly, input from direct-indirect stakeholders such as regional players (SADC, AU) and International players as represented by the United Nations, on behalf of the rest of the Countries in the world is prerequisite.

### **8. Depoliticisation**

In order to enhance relevancy and practical implementation of NSP framework that is congruent to the needs and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, it is in my view that the aspect of depoliticisation takes precedence before developing the framework. Conflicts in Africa as a whole, has created a new thinking phenomena, creating a different set of "political tools" opposed to "realism of the people who created those very Institutions". This gap resulted in a mixed discrepancy between the proliferation, Intensification, diversification and extension of a culture of involvement by parties who are expected to be non-involving. Indeed, I feel that, the rate of proliferation and Intensification of those "attitudes" and "acts" is inversely related to our capacity, as their capacity to understand, let alone explain, transform or resolve them, (SAPES Trust, 1998). In some situations, the depoliticisation and reform of the state security sector is crucial to achieving durable peace, improving governance and democratic consolidation. As part of depoliticisation, an effective NSP developmental policy is somehow unease, where, the new developments in Africa formation of governments of National Unity (GNUs) such as what has been seen in Zimbabwe and Kenya in the recent years. One would want to ask; what role does the security sector play in such instances? How partisan can they be to national cause? The degree of political influence possessed by actors within the Security sector and the strength of content on security reform depends with the power sharing agreement. I have given examples of Zimbabwe and Kenya, but we also have countries such as Bosnia, Afghanistan, Liberia faced with the same. Statistics shows that from 1999 to 2009, power-sharing agreements, also known as Unity governments, were utilized in 18 African countries to resolve a multiplicity of conflicts ranging from high-intensity civil wars, as in Sudan, to lower-grade electoral violence. With these experiences, it is in my opinion that the issue of depoliticisation becomes an important consideration in the process of formulating a Security policy for the State. We cannot afford to ignore it holistically.

### **9. Engagement of External Stakeholders Input**

Zimbabwe, for example is a member of SADC, and AU, and hence in its quest to develop sustainable NSP framework is influenced by the two organs above. She has to widely consult the SADC protocol on security and peace, as well as the AU organ on peace and security. The concept of "security regionalism" represented by the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (SIPO) of the Southern Africa Development Community, is a good starting point to link, individual state security policy drawing vis-à-vis the interests of the region. Professor Anthoni van Nienwkerk, who currently teaches public policy, foreign policy and international security at Wits University has written extensively on this area and made a follow up to what he refers to as SIPO I and SIPO II. In his study on the SIPO of the SADC, he has provided a clear platform indicating that today peace and security issues cannot be isolated from regional environment as such. He therefore recommends that a regional mindset where countries are expected to draw and adopt NSP frameworks. He actually talks of "Communicate, share intent, decisions, development and success with SADC, regional citizens and the international community" in one of his recommendations. Let me not hasten to say this view propounded by Van Nienwkerk needs to be seriously incorporated as part of the process of formulating NSP.

### **10. Ability to Define Real Security Areas**

The starting point in developing a NSP framework is the need to clearly define, identify and position areas that are a threat to National Security. For example, what would we say are the key security threat for Zimbabwe, and possibly SADC member states? The current understanding of security issues in the region is conflicting with the practicalities of security implications. The understanding of security sector appears to be hinged more to political security. But one may want to raise the question; what is of more threat to the stability of SADC member states? Is it political threats? Is it economic threats? Is it socio-economic threats? Is it war? or is it what? As far as I see this phenomena, the current mindset of our governments in the SADC region, is settled more on the political

demagogue. To me this is less than half sufficient to address security needs of Africa. I believe poverty is the main threat to our security issues. Even the wars, and conflicts we encounter as Africans, if properly traced, we will get to the “root of poverty”. Believe me, this is my opinion, based on observations and experiences as a true African. Given the challenges of poverty, whatever, policies we draw, as in this case Zimbabwe is going to draft, should be based on “the need to eradicate poverty”. Hence I feel the “poverty reduction model” is the one to provide guidance on the whole process.

### **11. Historical Context**

Zimbabwe has been experiencing both political and economic challenges in the past two decades emanating from the land invasions, sanctions imposed by the west and its policy contradictions with the West. Having attained independent in 1980, it emerges that the independence was more political, and the economy still remained in the hands of a few “White imperialists”. The government could not continue to entertain the failure to holistically enjoy the benefits of the success of the second Chimurenga. The battle between the government of Zimbabwe and the British brought instability, suffering and the current socio-economic and political conflicts that the country has been experiencing and still experiences today and possibly tomorrow. Given this brief background, I can conclude that the post-conflict era in which the country is at today calls for the need to re-engineer, reshape, redesign and reformulate a new and fresh sustainable NSP framework. The whole exercise should be guided by ubuntuism and the history that has shaped us as a people.

### **12. Gender and Mainstreaming**

As part of the process in NSP, gender mainstreaming is critical and an essential component of comprehensive security sector reform. There is need to strengthen women’s participation, and this has to be reflected in the main security sector policy document. The participation of women in conflict prevention and peace processes, early recovery, governance and in peace operations can only be realised if states respect women as mothers” not girls. In a nutshell, the empowerment of women in security matters will see Africa’s pace of development doubling (personal opinion). Conclusively, states must promote women participation in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stage of policy drafting, development and formulation.

The adoption of a NSP is an important move that has to be done with the concurrence of all stakeholders. While they are serious challenges as to the extent of making the policy public, we still expect the state to be answerable to civil society for its actions. My view is the inculcation of ubuntuism and African renaissance is something that we need to talk about. What has put Africa’s security sector in shambles is the failure to uphold ubuntuism by some states in the execution of normal security duties. Documenting security aspects does not amount to ubuntuism and as such, there is need to “bring aboard moral and ethical values in security reform. The essay will not dwell much in this, but can be pursued further, serve to say the implementation and adoption of NSP frameworks requires a culture of ubuntuism to be visibly part of the whole process.

### **13. Policy Constraints**

The major challenge in adopting a holistic policy framework, in the case of Zimbabwe, is resource availability, political differences as shown by divergent views between opposition parties and the government. The underground influence by imperialist powers, has been overtly denied by the government and this can continue to be so if no amicable solution is put in place. The need to involve all stakeholders is paramount in reducing these constraints. SADC and AU need to play a neutral role in trying to mobilise, and lobby Southern African States to adopt and implement the SSR as a way of enhancing development and peace. This must be done with a democratic-solidarity approach without imposing external agendas. The other major challenge is what is said on paper and what happens on the ground is different. The other constraint is that developing countries face is the need to enhance democratic control and accountability, on the one hand and operational capacity on the other (OECD, 2005). The need to invest in effective and sustainable security structures is a necessary prerequisite for inter alia, development vis-a-vis deficit reduction resulting from cuts in military and security actor’s expenditures.

In addition to these, the other major constraint is the secrecy behind the “who” exercise of security policy. The lack of transparency in most countries world over makes the “who” subject a mystery and hence lack public accountability. The understanding of security, as already alluded to in this essay, from an African perspective is “physical security of state”. This is a narrow understanding of security in its broadest sense. Instead of focusing on issues such as health, poverty, education securities, governments tend to be worried on building “physical nets” for their survival and defence. I would like to refer to this as “knowledge deficiency on security matters and that Africa is still far from embracing “what real security factors are”. Dealing with physical security will not end the threat of poverty, health and education. In fact, worry on physical security is a symptom of failure to address “real issues” of poverty and health in particular.

### **14. Empirical Evidence of Failed Security Issues in Africa**

The response of the new democratic government in Nigeria to conflict for most of its tenure has been more or less a rigid law-and-order regime. The police have been used to disperse and suppress conflicts and when things get out of hand, soldiers are called in to wage war on the population in the conflict area. This is what caused the massacre at Odi and Zakibiam in which many people died, including 12 policemen at Odi and 19 soldiers at Zakibiam (Yakubwi, 2002). What reflection does it have on National Security Policy? What is the role of government in protecting its citizens? It appears that some of what we call “our security policies” is actually a threat to the security of the citizens, who in fact, are supposed to be protected with it. What lessons can we draw from this? A situation portrayed above, simply shows that security sector reform is not an option if Africa has to enhance its developmental vision. This case does not represent Nigeria only, but many a states in Africa are in that category.

### 15. India-Pakistan Conflict

Misunderstanding between India and Pakistan has been raging for decades since 1947. The conflict around the disputed land of Kashmir, fuelling conflicts and unsustainable development has been there for several decades. India claims that the accession letter signed by the Kashmiri Hindu Maharaja in favour of India in 1948, and its confirmation by Kashmir elected assembly in 1953, makes it a legitimate integral part of India. Pakistan on the other hand, challenges the legitimacy of the accession, and that it was signed under duress and the assembly that confirmed it was not authentic. Pakistan asserts that the uprising in Kashmir is indigenous and the people of Kashmir should exercise their right to self-determination in order to decide the future of their state. India argues that it has held free elections under a democratic framework in Kashmir and the Kashmir issue is mainly because of cross-border terrorism instigated by Pakistan. Both countries have fought three wars and have engaged in several limited armed conflicts, in the last 63 years around the issue. What lessons can we draw from this as a region, and Zimbabwe as an independent and sovereignty state? The Kashmir issue has become inextricably linked to the national identities of the two countries and in the process has emerged a mantra of “narrow minded nationalism” on both sides of the border. What is the implication? When drawing National Security Policies, the drafters should take regional interest into account to avoid clashes with neighbours, SADC, attempt through SIPO should be applauded.

### 16. Case of Israel

It is argued that a policy document by itself does not constitute a national security policy. Israel policy required radical improvements. Several conflicts facing Israel include Arab-Israel conflict. The policy document spells out that its policy must seek ways to intervene in history with a critical impact adequate for bending history’s trajectory towards peace, or at least toward less violence. Regardless of policies in place, Israel still faces challenges, more serious than often thought of. The lesson drawn from Israel’s case is that despite policy, more has to be done with behaviour and thought culture.

### 17. United States of America

USA is deemed to be one of the countries in the world with the best NSP framework, which is democratic. In USA, national security affairs are managed by the National Security Council, which is established by law. There is a core set of agencies and figures that in all cases participate in this management process. In practice, management of the NSC and its activities is conducted by the National Security Advisor, who works for the president and is the president’s representative in discussions that define the issues, set the agenda and regulate the process among the principals, deputies and working groups. The issue in America is not what is documented but what is happening on the ground. The lessons learnt from USA are that policy documents on their own simply represents democratic consensus but the actual policies are embedded in people’s behaviour and actions.

### 18. Recommendations

- There is need to contextualise issue of National Security with a view to promote the development of the nation and the citizens. This is not only limited to but extends to regional and international development.
- That all Zimbabweans (regardless of creed, class, colour, gender, sex, and otherwise) be totally involved in crafting sustainable NSP frameworks.
- That those mandated to lead and govern be accountable, in their success or failure to implement the policies.
- That SIPO be legislated to avoid “a barking toothless dog scenario”
- That, when a policy has been formulated, it becomes a national policy, not a party or individual policy framework.
- That those, who do not adhere to the dos and don’ts of the policy be taken before the laws of the land.
- That the policy should be flexible enough to accommodate new developments that may have both positive and negative effects on security development.
- That as Zimbabwe, and other SADC states draws their NSP frameworks, consider the historical and contemporary facts surrounding Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). First confronted with colonial laws and practices that sought to eliminate them, IKS now struggle to survive. Contemporary inhuman economic and scientific practices that continue to undermine their existence. Any policy formulated in any country, must be built upon human relations that respect, recognise and protect the values, beliefs, practices, labour and wisdom of the “other”.
- Development of axiomatically reduces conflict and increases security. Hence, it is recommended that the policy formulation on security should be “tipped to focus on the ultimate goal of developmental aspect”.

### 19. Conclusion

In the real world decisions have to be made under a whole range of constraints and yet they have to be made and carried out with the necessary consequences. In real life, risk takers will make decisions and risk evaders will defer decisions. Yet indeed by not making a decision of crafting a public policy on peace and security, one may enjoy the illusion of not committing errors but one also misses the opportunity structure or at least to influence outcomes. I, indeed advocate seeing Zimbabwe and the SADC region, committing themselves to errors of commission rather than those of omission. Good history is made by persons that take risks, often under conditions of extreme uncertainty, and to me the option of security sector reform is an area that calls for risk taking than to perpetuate the past and present, that we all know needs new approaches. Indeed, no system is immune to change. Change is good, when it is hoped to bring positive outcomes. The future of Zimbabwe and the SADC region is guaranteed. *Aluta* security sector reforms targeted at pro-curing (managing) than post-curing (managing) peace and conflict agendas.

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