

UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

South African Border Protection: An Historical and Theoretical Perspective

Prof AJ Esterhuyse, PhD Department of Strategic Studies





But for solutions you need to understand the nature of the problem!









State borders as a creation of Western & European societies:

• Charles Tilly: "War makes states and states make war."

The Peace of Westphalia - the beginning of the modern international system.

Three 19th Century Revolutions:

- Napoleonic Wars, birth of democracy, nationalism and the idea of citizenship.
- Massafication of production and consumption / supply and demand / resources and markets.
- Management revolution: State bureaucratic and tax system & big business.

Culmination of the power of the Western state system: Treaty of Versailles, 1919

In the western world: state borders = the nation state idea

Contemporary challenge:

- Hard vs soft borders.
- Cross-Border Regional Homogeneity
- Negative immigration





The creation of decision-making processes:

- Scramble for Africa: 1884-85 Berlin Conference
- Decision by the OAU & AU: "Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence."

Result – an issue of negative debate

- An aversion to international borders drawn by colonial powers has been a consistent theme of anti-colonialism nationalism in Africa.
- The borders are **blamed for the disappearance of a unity** which supposedly existed in Africa in precolonial times.
- Borders are regarded as arbitrarily imposed, **artificial barriers** separating people of the same stock, and they are said to have balkanized Africa.
- The borders are considered to be one of the humiliating legacies of colonialism which, according to this view, independent Africa ought to abolish.



Reality of African border.

- I. African borders are not linked to "states make war and wars make states" process.
- Not link to the idea of the nation state.
- 2. Political borders does not coincide with geographical, linguistic, socio-cultural and economic borders.
- 3. Most African borders are 'soft'.
- 4. Borders serve a different purpose than in Western society & rest of the world.
 - Generating income for states and individuals.
- 5. Tension between the emphasis of African states on safeguarding of territorial integrity vs regional integration and Pan-Africanism.



From state-base and military threats to the growing convergence of violence, crime and war:

- Violence between varying combinations of state and non-state networks;
- Fighting in the name of identity politics as opposed to ideology;
- Attempts to achieve political rather than physical control of the population through fear and terror;
- Conflict financed not necessarily through the state, but through other predatory means that seek the continuation of violence.

Shifting security realities:

- Funding priorities from protection against external threats to address internal vulnerabilities:
 - Lower defence budgets & growing law enforcement and home affairs budgets and high welfare spending to address critical vulnerabilities in the domestic or internal security domain.
- Militaries left in a void between growing responsibilities and declining capabilities.





Implication for security forces	 The traditional dividing line between military and police work and between internal and external security is blurred due to the emergence of a growing number of transnational risks and challenges. Police had to upscale and militarise elements of their forces, possibly affecting their ability to police by public consent. Armies were required to fill the void, they downscaled for duties related to domestic public order – not only in terms of their physical capabilities, but also in terms of the adjustment of their institutional culture through an emphasis on minimum violence – "both these options represent a compromise and risk inhibiting the ability of both organisations to carry out their primary task".

"Particularly in Africa, these kinds of 'parallel' forces have been problematic. The division between paramilitary and regular armed forces in Africa is often – also ethnically – exploited as political counterweights. As, in essence, a variant of private security organisations, these forces are frequently personalised to protect the leader or regime (i.e. support of regime security) rather than civil society. Disguised as presidential guards, they 'prosper' at the expense of the army and, in reality, undermine the professionalism of the military, to which the armed forces may respond by effecting a military coup. On the other hand, a paramilitary force may complicate coup planning or stifle actual attempts by a resentful military."



South Africa: from threat perception to border protection



Union of South Africa, 1910: The "Greater South Africa" project.

No geographically hardening of borders.

Threat agenda:

- From outside of Africa
- From Africa
- From within

The strategic challenge confronting the pre-1994 South African government:

- Fighting the Cold War in Africa
- Deal with the reality of decolonization
- Domestic security

Pre-1994 garrison state & cordon sanitaire = hard border (and some soft!)





Pre-94: Maintaining hard borders



Physical hardening of the borders



Border security in depth:

- Psychological borders: 'total onslaught' & 'total strategy': militarisation of the South African society.
- A general doctrinal framework of COIN.
- SADF well-resourced, disciplined, equipped and trained
- C²I National Security Management System
- Regional command, group and commando headquarters = sophisticated intelligence, logistical and other forms of support & a refined understanding of local conditions and realities.



Personnel, time, and resource intensive

Dismantling of the hardened borders since 1994



Reasons for the shift to soft borders





Softening the borders

- "We are in Africa" and we need to prove it!
- Africa is not a threat and we need to prove it!
- Human security soft cooperative approach to security.
- Historical realities
 - Time to repay our debt sanctuary & assistance in the fight against apartheid.
- Demilitarization of society (and our borders!).
- South Africa's borders are porous.
 - Around 1% of all tax revenue is collected at the country's borders.
- Borders are a police responsibility!



Africa is a threat!

- Turmoil in neighboring states.
- Hope for a better live: People in Africa are fleeing north and south.
- Illegal immigration.
- Illegal trade & smuggling including drugs, guns and people!
- Organised crime.
- Green security issues.
- Inverse reality: South Africa is exporting crime and instability.
- Taping South African service delivery schools, hospitals, grants

<u>Regionally</u>: Laissez-faire approach to dealing with problems in neighboring states & downplay the domestic implications

<u>Internationally</u>: Tension between the problem we are creating for ourselves and our critique for countries dealing with a similar strategic scenario.











The result:

- How to manage the borders bureaucratically? Border Management Authority vs Border Management Agency.
- "one of the worst pieces of legislation that has come before the House" & "an attempt to create another entity that could be captured by greedy politicians". (DA MP Haniff Hoosen)
- Responsibility of a host of departments:
 - Home Affairs, National Treasury, Immigration Bureau. South African Revenue Service, Department of Agriculture, Department of Health, Police, Defence, State Security Agency
- Fragmented
- Uncoordinated You cannot resolve complex problems by means of a silo-ed approach.
- Institutional problems corruption.
- Laissez-faire approach = a delayed reaction from within.
- Politicisation of border protection part of state capturing process.
- Very negative effect on the economy.
- Resistance to the "securitization" of border management.
- Irony of Immigration: legal = impossible & illegal = 'a walk over'.



The involvement of the security agencies



Questionable effectiveness?



To conclude . . .



Policy & bureaucratic framework is needed.

Comprehensive approach & better cooperation between agencies and depts.

Clear demarcation of roles and responsibilities.

Less emphasis on human-driven approaches – there is technology!

From an interdictive approach to a facilitative approach.