

CONTENTS

INDEX

Abstract
Declaration
Acknowledgements
Acronyms

CHAPTER 1

Background and research problem	1
Background	1
Nature and scope of empirical material	2
Significance of the research	3
Study focus	3
Research problem	4

CHAPTER 2

Research questions and methodology	10
Research questions	10
Methodology	11
Methods of data collection	11
Sample selection	12
Primary documents	13
Secondary sources	13
Archival materials	13
Data analysis	14
Reliability, validity and ethical issues	15
The limitations of the research	16
Conclusion	17

CHAPTER 3	
Literature review	18
Introduction	18
Definitions	20
The problem	22
Control	23
Characteristics	31
SADC	32
Civil-military relations in democratic transition	33
Civil-military relations in the African context	39
Conclusion	45
CHAPTER 4	
Namibia's civil-military relations in transition	48
The colonial legacy	48
The liberation struggle experience	54
Independence and the establishment of the NDF	60
The role of the military	62
Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration (DDR)	66
Conclusion	84
CHAPTER 5	
The context of Civil-Military Relations	86
BMATT driven civil-military relations	86
Governance contexts	90
Social context	95
Operational context	103
Conclusion	110

CHAPTER 6	
Executive control	99
Conclusion	110
CHAPTER 7	
Parliamentary oversight	124
Conclusion	133
CHAPTER 8	
Civil-Military Relations within the Ministry of Defence	134
Structure of the Ministry of Defence	136
Factors that shaped the Ministry of Defence	141
The Namibian Defence Force	145
The Army	146
The Air force	147
The Navy	147
Defence budget	151
Recruitment and promotion	155
Conclusion	158
CHAPTER 9	
The role of civil society and political parties in civil-military relations	160
The media	168
Political parties	173
Conclusion	178
CHAPTER 10	
Analysis	180
Transitional process to independence	180
The role of the UN	181
The drafting of Namibia's Constitution by the Constituent Assembly	183
Post-independence and DDR experience	185
DDR shortcomings	186
Government's skills initiated projects for ex-combatants: deficiencies	187
Amnesty and reconciliation	188

The NDF/MoD	189
Political leadership of the country	191
The nature of civil-military relations	193
Transparency in the Defence Budget	193
Budgeting process and implications	195
The interface between the Executive and the Legislature	196
Consolidated state and democracy	198
A "case study" of testing civil-military relations	199
Clarifying the role of the military	200
Deficiencies in the oversight mechanisms	203
A link between representative democracy and civil control of the military	203
Inadequacies in democratic governance	206
The responsibility of civil society in civil control of the military	209
Restructuring of the society	212
Perceptions on the level of protection against external threat	212
Strength of civil-military relations in Namibia	215
Deficiencies in civil control of the military	219
Strength of civil control of the security sector	220
Deficiencies in management of military facilities	221

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion	223
-------------------	------------

References

Abstract

The period 1960-63 saw the independence of many African countries. Since then, the continent has experienced numerous military coups, attempted coups or military interference in politics. Consequently, many countries have found it important that the power of the military be used responsibly and for the benefit of the society. To achieve this they opted for subordination of the military to civilian authorities, yet coups and coup attempts have persisted. In contrast to this scenario on the continent there has not been a coup d'état, attempted coup d'état, or any form of unacceptable influence over the political process by the military in Namibia since independence in 1990. The purpose of this study was to determine the political institutions in the country that are necessary for democratic civil-military relations and how they have effectively contributed to the prevailing peace and stability in Namibia.

Much has been written on civil-military relations; however, very little research has been produced on democratic civil-military relations in Namibia since independence. This thesis is a study of how Namibia took the path of democratic civil-military relations that have ensured civil control over the military. The research was informed by examining the generally held assumptions about civil-military relations as espoused in the literature to better understand the phenomenon of civil-military relations in Namibia that has ensured civil supremacy over the military. In this regard, the study was a qualitative method of research. This method helped to describe the concepts of civil-military relations using the guiding theoretical framework and thereafter helped to examine civil-military relations being applied in Namibia.

One of the main findings of the research was that civil-military relations in Namibia are characterised by Western liberal civil-military relations traditions. The nature of civil-military relations in Namibia was influenced by factors such as historical legacy, the liberation struggle experience and the international context that shaped the Namibian state. It was also established through this study that the two main shortcomings of civil-military relations in the country were the inadequacy in parliamentary oversight of the defence and security, and serious deficiencies with regard to limited participation of civil society.

(347 words)

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

.....
Matomola Vincent Mwange

Date:

Acknowledgements

I owe everything in my life to God. Doing research is a very lonely process, one that would not be possible without continuous discussion, advice and support. To this end, I am grateful to many people and organisations.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Gavin Cawthra, for being a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. My ongoing interaction with him provided more valuable guidance and advice.

I am also grateful to Professor Andre Du Pisani for providing some valuable ideas and opinions freely. In addition, I thank Professor William Lindeke for going through the earlier draft and making valuable comments and suggestions. Special thanks are due to the Government of Namibia for granting me a study loan that supported my tuition fees, accommodation and research. Finally, I am indebted to my wife, Mantombi, for emotional support throughout the whole process.

I pray that the results of this research will be interesting and helpful to others.

ACN	Aksie Christelik Nasionaal
AG8	Administrator General Proclamation
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
BMATT	British Military Assistance Team
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCDS	Cabinet Committee on Defence and Security
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia
CDA	Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice
CDF	Chief of Defence Force
CLM	Caprivi Liberation Movement
CoD	Congress of Democrats
COs	Civil Organisations
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
DB	Development Brigade
DBC	Development Brigade Corporation
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DD	Disarmament and Demobilisation
FCN	Federal Convention of Namibia
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Mozambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISDSC	Interstate Defence and Security Committee
Koevoet	South Africa sponsored counter-insurgency unit
MISA	Media Institute for Southern Africa
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MONUA	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola
NANGOF	Namibia Non Governmental Organisations Forum
NDF	Namibian Defence Force
NDP	National Development Plan
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NID	Namibia Institute for Democracy
NNDP	Namibia National Democratic Party
NNF	Namibia Patriotic Front
NP	National Party
NUNW	National Union of Namibian Workers
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OPDSC	Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South Africa Defence Force
SANDF	South African National Defence Forces

SIPE	Socio-economic Integration Programme for E-combatants
SWA	South West Africa
SWATF	South West African Territorial Force
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
SWAPO-D	South West Africa People's Organisation-Democrats
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SMC	Senior Management Committee
TI	Transparency International
UDF	United Democratic Front of Namibia
UN	United Nations
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAG	United Nations Transitory Assistance Group
WFP	United Nations World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army