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**“The Birth and Evolution of the Military in Independent Swaziland 1973-2013”**

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**The Birth and Evolution of the Military in Independent Swaziland 1973-2013**

**BY**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, acknowledge that I have read and understood the University's policies and guidelines applicable to postgraduate research, and I certify that I have, to the best of my knowledge and belief, complied with their requirements. In particular, I confirm that I had obtained an ethical clearance certificate for my research and that I have complied with the conditions set out in that certificate. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, and is my original work.

This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. The thesis does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced. Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been inside quotation marks and referenced accordingly. The document has been subjected to the University's text-matching and/or similarity-checking procedures.

PRECIOUS P.SIHLONGONYANE, Author

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my heavenly father God for His protection, care, grace and unmerited favour in completing it.

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I'm grateful to my mother Beatrice Mkhabela for instilling discipline and good morals in me because she first believed in me, you are the best mother ever, your love, and support are deeply dardles in my heart always. I would also appreciate the moral support of Simaunda, Ruth D. Mkhabela and Johannes Nkosi. Last but not least my adorable children, Mbali and Sithembiso Dube. Their collective support, encouragement, and unwavering belief in my potential has greatly inspired me even under very challenging circumstances.

## ABSTRACT

*Swaziland is one of the few African countries that has experienced neither a military coup nor a civil war, and has remained peaceful since independence in 1968 from the British. What transpired in Swaziland after independence was not uncommon in post-colonial Africa as evidence suggests that independent African states were motivated by numerous dynamics to build standing armies as security institutions. The intention of the study is to analyse the dynamics that led to the establishment and development of the Swazi army, and how this army has developed overtime and what interests it has served. The study intends to explore both the internal and regional circumstances that played an important role in the formation of the army in the country. The study also analyses the trajectory of the development of the Swazi army over the years with particular reference to its relations with general society.*

**Key words:** Military, Birth and Evolution

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The kingdom of Swaziland is a small land locked country located in the south-eastern part of Africa. Swaziland is 17,703 square kilometers in area and is estimated to be about the same size as Wales and possibly the smallest country in the Southern Hemisphere. The population of the country in 2005 was estimated by the United Nations at 1,138<sup>1</sup> and of late the population stands at about 1.18million people.<sup>2</sup> It is sandwiched between the Republic of South Africa in the North, West and South and the Republic of Mozambique in the East. This geographical position has made the country to be impacted upon by political developments in these two countries in different historical periods. The country is divided into four distinct geographical regions which extend north and south and climatic areas ranging from 400 to 1800 meters above sea level each with its own unique characteristics. They are known as the Highveld in the west, the Middleveld, the Lowveld in the east, and the Lubombo Escarpment. In the west there is the mountainous Highveld which features, rivers, waterfalls and gorges. During the colonial period Transvaal sheep farmers grazed their sheep there.<sup>3</sup> It is followed by the Middleveld at a lower altitude; Lowveld which is the largest region covering about 40% of the country; and the Lubombo Plateau. Swaziland is further divided into four administrative regions: Hhohho in the north, Shiselweni in the south, Lubombo in the east, and Manzini in the centre. These regions are in turn divided into smaller administrative constituencies of 55 administrative sub-divisions, known as *tinkhundla* (constituencies) and approximately 360 chiefdoms. The chiefdoms are the lowest ranked community based administrative structures. The official languages in the country are siSwati and

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<sup>1</sup> Swaziland Central Statistical Office 28 September ,(2007)

<sup>2</sup> Action for Southern Africa Swaziland, September, (2010), p.2.

<sup>3</sup> J.S.M. Matsebula. A History of Swaziland, second edition ,Longman Penguin Southern Africa Cape Town, (1976)

English. The country is the second smallest country in Africa after Gambia.<sup>4</sup> Politically, it is one of the three remaining monarchies in Africa. As a result, the country is the least democratised country in Southern Africa and this has impacted on the institutions that it has developed in the course of its history. Swaziland has a dual system of governance characterised by the co-existence of both traditional and modern modes of life. It has a strong cultural identity, which permeates all forms of social, political, and economic interaction. The official languages of the country are siSwati and English.

At the time of its independence, Swaziland was surrounded by hostile minority regimes in both South Africa and Mozambique. Mozambique was still a Portuguese colony from 1505 to 1975 when it gained its independence. South Africa was under minority white Afrikaner since 1948 - 1994. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to the north of South Africa was ruled by predominately white minority government under Ian Smith in 1965-1979.<sup>5</sup> Regional tension was intensified during the Portuguese colony, the South African Republic, and Rhodesia formed an alliance which was referred to an 'unholy alliance' to assist each other in their resistance against the African liberation movements in their respective countries. Sandwiched between Mozambique and South Africa, Swaziland remained vulnerable and felt forced from time to time to adopt shades of friendly policies towards South Africa despite the fact that it was never comfortable with its powerful neighbour that was always desirous of incorporating her within its boundaries.<sup>6</sup> Such political tension often made it difficult for the Swaziland government to openly support the wishes of the ANC in its liberation struggle to use Swazi territory to launch attacks against Apartheid South Africa. Despite these political difficulties the Swazi government continued to provide ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and Mozambican refugees with a safe haven despite continues objections by

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<sup>4</sup> J.S.M. Matsebula. A History of Swaziland, second edition (Longman Penguin Southern Africa Cape Town, 1976), p.11.

<sup>5</sup> J. Daniel 'The Political Economy of Colonial and Post-Colonial Swaziland' , South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 7, No 6, (1982)

<sup>6</sup> For more information on this subject see, Jack Halpern, South Africa's Hostages and Hamilton Siphos Simelane, "Female Leadership, Europeans, and the Struggle for Swazi Independence, 1890-1902", Uniswa Research Journal 19 December, (2005).

the Apartheid government. This serious political leadership problems within the Swaziland government and opposition politics.<sup>7</sup>

By virtue of its land locked geo-political location, Swaziland was caught up in the region's conflicts and its territory was a potential launching pad for the south African anti – apartheid guerrilla movements fighting for the decolonisation of Southern Africa. <sup>8</sup> This made the country vulnerable to possible attacks from South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique. The refugees brought with them political ideologies and often participated in the politics of the country, giving support to local political parties that developed in opposition to the Swazi traditionalists. One prominent figure in this respect that arrived in Swaziland after 1960 the Sharpeville incident -was Macdonald Maseko, a South African activist believed to be trained in Moscow.<sup>9</sup> While in the country he became a member of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC) which posed as a threat to the Swazi political status quo.

Amidst this complex regional political climate, Swaziland had no standing army of its own to manage the turbulent regional situation as its police force was too small to provide the needed security. Throughout the colonial period (1906-1967/8), the British used their own security forces to deal with political situations in Swaziland. They did not establish a local standing army for fear of possible revolt against their rule. Britain gave Swaziland her independence in September 1968 under the constitutional monarchy arrangement. The departure of the British in 1968 following the country's independence meant that the country was now responsible for its own security.

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<sup>7</sup> For more information on this subject see, Jack Halpern, South Africa's Hostages and Hamilton Siphon Simelane, "Female Leadership, Europeans, and the Struggle for Swazi Independence, 1890-1902", UNISWA Research Journal 19 December,( 2005).

<sup>8</sup> B. Nyeko, "Swaziland and South Africa since 1994: Reflections on Aspects of Post-Liberation Swazi Historiography", Mugeyi, "Swaziland: The Vagaries of Geopolitics, Subordination and Collaboration",(2005)

<sup>9</sup> A.R. Booth. Historical Dictionary of Swaziland. (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow, (2000), pp. 179-180

Swaziland also had its own internal security problems which called for the establishment of an army to protect the monarchy from those opposition parties had made it clear that they were prepared to fight for their own political space. Whereas the monarchy felt the opposition had gone too far in their demands and were a source of instability and political insecurity, the opposition viewed the monarchy as too conservative and resisting the introduction of democratic rule.

Sobhuza II proceeded to assume absolute power in the Swazi kingdom. On the 15 March 1973, he passed a decree establishing the Royal Swaziland Defence Force, a name that was later indigenized to be Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF).<sup>10</sup> At this time, the Swazi state interpreted peace and stability, as meaning the suppression of all those with different political views. Consequently as the tension between the monarchy and opposition parties mounted, the establishment of a standing army was seen as paramount. Before independence, there had been several minor parties. These included the Swaziland United Front (SUF), the Swaziland Progressive Party (SPP), the Swaziland Democratic Party, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC), constituted of progressives seeking liberal democracy, and the Imbhokodvo National Movement (INM) supported by traditionalists, including the King. Swazi history tells us that the King was never in favour of political parties, and that his move in 1973 was thus really a way to neutralize potential antagonism by condemning Western political institutions. Sobhuza II approached parliament a month of the establishment of these Swaziland National Army (USDF) to repeal the independence constitution that allowed multiparty democracy. A strike had broken out in one of the Swazi asbestos mine where workers demanded a pay rise and cash in lieu of food rations.<sup>11</sup>

On 12th April 1973, the Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini Dlamini moved a motion in parliament to repeal the Westminster-style constitution which was introduced in 1968 by a Royal Proclamation of the former king Sobhuza II, who did so on the basis that it had encouraged alien

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<sup>10</sup> The Times of Swaziland. "Repeal of the Constitution and Royal Swaziland Defence Force" 13 April, (1973).

<sup>11</sup> H. MaMillan. "Swaziland: Decolonization and Triumph of Tradition". *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 23, No4, (1985), p.155

and divisive political practices incompatible with the Swazi way of life. The new constitutional structure comprises the King, the Queen Mother, traditional implementing and advisory agencies such as the Libandla and the Liqoqo, Parliament and a system of common law and traditional courts. The 1973 Decree thus vested all executive, judicial and legislative power in the hands of the king and his family. King Sobhuza II made it clear that the 1967-68 constitution had “failed to provide the machinery for good government and for the maintenance of peace and order and the constitution was indeed the cause of growing unrest, insecurity, dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Swaziland and was impediment to free and progressive development in all spheres of life”.<sup>12</sup> What were referred to here were trade unions, political parties and elections conducted on a universal suffrage. Thereafter, the king ruled as a king in council,<sup>13</sup> consulting with the Executive Council, the Cabinet, the Swazi National Council and other councilors from time to time.<sup>14</sup>

Numerous dynamics led to the building of standing armies as security institutions in African States at post colony. While these dynamics varied from country to country and they were all to a larger or lesser degree influenced by external and internal threats.<sup>15</sup> Some of these threats immediately after independence were real while others are perceived. It is of historical significance to unveil some of the dynamics that motivate leaders of different countries to establish standing armies. Such an analysis would enable us to better understand the development of the societies in which such armies are established. The intention of the proposed study is an analysis of the dynamics that led to the establishment and development of the Swazi army. It intends to explore both the internal and regional circumstances that played an important role in the formation of the army in the country. The study also aims at analysing the trajectory of the development of the Swazi army over the years with particular reference to its relations with general society.

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<sup>12</sup>Swaziland Government Information Service, King Sobhuza II Speaks on the repeal of the constitution.

<sup>13</sup> Times of Swaziland 3 May, (1973),p.1

<sup>14</sup> Times of Swaziland, 20 April , (1973), p.1

<sup>15</sup> Tshabalala, Nhlengethwa and Rupiya, “Caught between tradition and regional warfare: The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force Since 1968,” (2005), p.69.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

In the 1960s majority of African territories gained independence from colonialism and the formation of standing armies was a common pattern. The armies that were established became important institutions in the organization of the states as they actively intervened in politics. While a study of the literature shows that a lot of research has been conducted on the African military, two limitations are easily observable. First, there is very little that has been done to analyse the dynamics behind the formation of armies in Africa after independence. Most of the research is concentrated on the role played by armies in the domestic politics of African states. Secondly, the study of the military in Africa has been uneven in that, concentration has been on the countries that have experienced political instability as a result of military intervention. This proposed study intends to close this gap by investigating the dynamics that led to the formation of the Swazi army, and how this army has developed overtime and what interests it has served.

### **1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To explore the historical circumstances that lead to the establishment of the Swazi military.
- To examine the relationship between the army and the country leadership
- To investigate the some of the challenges faced by the Swazi army
- To examine the nature and texture of civil military relations in Swaziland.

### **1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. What were the social, economic and political dynamics that led to the establishment of the Swazi army?
2. To what extent is the Swazi military involved in the political organization of the Swazi state?
3. How far has the Swazi Military worked towards curbing the challenges they face as an institution?

4. What is the nature and texture of civil military relations in Swaziland?

## **1.6 INTENDED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BODY OF KNOWLEDGE**

The proposed study will be the first academic study on the topic in Swaziland. It will contribute immensely in the history field. The work is important to the military in bringing light to the nation why it was important to establish an army and also to emphasise the need of the army. This will lead to a better understanding of how the Swazi security architecture has developed over time.

## **1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This study will use qualitative research methodology. Denzin & Lincoln's in Handbook of Qualitative Research has defined qualitative research as "situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representation; researcher chose this methodology because the search for data must be guided by processes including field notes, interviews, conversations photographs, recordings and memos to the self."<sup>16</sup> This therefore means that qualitative method study things in their natural settings, interpret things in terms of the meaning people bring to them.<sup>17</sup> The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting". Qualitative study seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as "real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest".<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln. The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research. Third Edition California: Sage Publication,(2005),p3

<sup>17</sup> N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln. The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research. Third Edition California: Sage Publication,(2005),pp.3-4

<sup>18</sup>M. Q. Patton .Qualitative research & evaluation methods 3rd ed, Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publication, (2002), p.39

Creswell <sup>19</sup> contends that a researcher using the qualitative approach focuses only on a single concept and in this study that concept is democratization. According to Yin and Creswell, a qualitative inquiry has to answer what and how question. This study is a qualitative case study, whereby I study Swaziland as a single case. The main research question of the study is to unpack and provide a deeper understanding about the social, economic and political dynamics that led to the establishment of the Swazi army.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to gain understanding into a field where little is known.<sup>20</sup> Gay and Airasian <sup>21</sup> argue that qualitative research is most useful for exploring complex research areas about which little is known. The main aspect is to comprehend social actions and events in terms of their specific context rather than to make generalizations to some aspect of the population. Sensitivity to the context of the research is a necessary requirement in qualitative research. This sensitivity to context implies that researchers have to immerse themselves in the setting and the situation that is investigated. Furthermore, qualitative research uses various methods of capturing and analysing unstructured information, like interview transcripts and recordings, notes, feedback forms, and emails. <sup>22</sup>

The study will use interviews as another method of research. Interviews are basic-fact finding interactions where an individual asks questions while another responds. By conducting interviews, researchers obtain a clear understanding of an individual's background and experience.<sup>23</sup> According to Patton 'interviewing becomes an art and science requiring skill, sensitivity,

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<sup>19</sup>J. W. Creswell. Research design : qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches,3rd ed, Los Angeles: SAGE, (2009)

<sup>20</sup> B. Gillham. The Research interviews, London and New York: Continuum,(2000),p11

<sup>21</sup> L. R. Gay and Airasian. Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Applications,7th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill/Prentice Hall, (2003)

<sup>22</sup>N. Golasfshani. Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research University of Toronto Canada, The Qualitative Report vol8, no 4, Dec, (2003), p194.

<sup>23</sup> I. Seidman. Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences 2<sup>nd</sup>ed, New York, NY: Teachers College Press, (1988).

concentration, interpersonal understanding, insight, mental acuity and discipline'.<sup>24</sup> The researcher will therefore use the person-to-person format and the style being the open-ended, conversational format. An open-ended interview method will allow informants to comment freely on government decisions that affect military oversight in the period under review. Leedy and Ormrod suggest that 'the researcher must make sure that interviewees are representatives of the group and written permission for the interview is obtained. The interviewee should record responses verbatim if necessary'.<sup>25</sup>

### *Sampling*

Sampling refers to drawing a sample from a population set. This is done to produce a representative sample similar to the population on all characteristics, except that it includes fewer people because it is a sample rather than the complete population. The sample size will be 70. The group of people will include the army personnel and civilians.

The researcher will also use purposive sampling as a sampling procedure where the researcher will rely on her judgments on selecting the interviewees. The choice of purposive sampling is guided by the research problem. The sample becomes purposive because the researcher uses judgment to select respondents to meet the set objectives.<sup>26</sup>

Snow Ball sampling will be used as a sampling technique in the research. Bryman defines snow ball sampling as a form of convenience sample, yet it is worth distinguishing because it has attracted a lot of attention over the years. This procedure is implemented by collecting data on the few members of the targeted population one can locate and then asking those individuals to provide

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<sup>24</sup> P.D. Leedy & J.E. Ormrod. Practical research: Planning and design 9th (ed).Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, (2010), p 159.

<sup>25</sup> P.D. Leedy & J.E. Ormrod. Practical research: Planning and design 9<sup>th</sup>(ed).Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, (2010), p 159.

<sup>26</sup> C. Robson. Real World Research – A resource for Social Scientist and practical research, Great Britain: Blackwell Publishers Inc., (1993), p143.

the information needed to locate other members of that population whom they happen to know. Snow ball refers to the process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects.

Another method the researcher will use is desk-top research. It refers to seeking facts, general information on a topic, historical background, study results that have been published or exist in public documents. Desk research is the collection of secondary data from internal sources, the internet; libraries trade associations, government agencies, and public reports. The researcher will use online data, libraries and internet which link the whole world and provides solutions to upcoming; current problems. Furthermore the researcher will use archival documents. Wineberg describes the internet as an internationally-linked system of computers that contain information on any topic you can imagine.<sup>27</sup> The next chapter deals with the theoretical framework and literature review.

## **1.7. Overview of chapters**

This work is divided into eight chapters which stands as follows:

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter sets the scene of the study outlining clearly how the whole work as undertaken. It concisely presents the background and past evidence leading to the establishment of the army. Provides an orientation and introduction to the issues of the rationale for undertaking the research study, discussion of the problem statement, objectives, research design and the methodology employed on which the study is premised.

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<sup>27</sup> C. Wineberg. Learning how to research and evaluate. Cape Town: Juta & Company Limited, (1997,) p78.

## **Chapter 2:**

It begins with a conceptual clarification of key terms used in the study by defining the concepts and then providing an analysis of the various theories. It also discusses the conceptual framework and the literature review related to the study

## **Chapter 3:**

Focuses on the evolution and development of the military in Swaziland within the regional and national security context. The chapter ascertain how post-colonial Swaziland was envisaged without war-making capacity in that the state was born without a military. An understanding of the evolution of the USDF can only make coherence if it is attached with an understanding of the regional and national circumstances that gave rise to its creation.

## **Chapter 4:**

The chapter will highlight gender experiences of some women in the military. It will also explain the tactics women implemented to overcome the experiences and the challenges they faced along the way while in the army. These women conformed to a male dominated military and their feelings about their femininity changed due to this. It would show how they did not only conform to military standards but to the men's standards and desire for equality.

## **Chapter 5:**

This chapter explore some of the drivers of HIV/AIDS in the Swazi army, this may include the fact that soldiers are considered to be mobile workers as they are often deployed from one part of the country to another, being away from home may lead to being engaged in unprotected sex or sexual behaviour and boredom.

## **Chapter 6:**

The chapter will focus on corruption which include bribes to obtain everyday services and grand corruption that includes payments to secure government contracts to influence the appeal of laws. Officials' fraudulently award tenders to suppliers who would supply poor quality materials in the

name of professionalizing the national army. Combating corruption is one of Swaziland's most critical governance and developmental challenges. It must be noted, however, that corruption cannot be eradicated quickly and permanently.

## **Chapter 7:**

Chapter focuses on independent institutions necessary for civil control of the military. The chapter looks at conventional requirements necessary for independent oversight of the armed forces such as judicial arrangements, an effective constitution, and the rule of law, legislative oversight, consolidated democracy, accountability and transparency. These oversight mechanisms provide a solid manifestation of the dominance of the rule of law in a democracy.

## **General Conclusion**

It is the conclusion of all the chapters it contains an outline of conclusions on controversies and implications.

## **Limitations of the Study**

The researcher encountered a number of problems which she was able to overcome. One major problem was attempting such a study of this extent in the history of Swaziland. Some officers from the USDF were suspicious of the scholar's identity and also interviewees. They suspected that she was a secret agent working for the political parties who are all out to destroy the reputation of the army. This has led to a number of officers refusing to have their names published in the study.

# CHAPTER TWO

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to expand on the birth of the Swazi army at independence a security appeal in broader theoretical to consider the philosophical and theoretical work that had to be done in order to construct the evolution of the Swazi army as a meaningful category.

The study will provide a broad overview of the concepts that this research uses. The key concepts of the military and its establishment are defined, described and analysed. Concepts that relate to the idea of military establishments and its evolution will be examined. Subsequently a theoretical framework employed by the study on the birth and evolution of the army will be discussed. This chapter therefore presents an overview of two theories used and states how they are used in understanding the birth of the independent Swazi army and its evolution. The main theories on civil-military relations in general highlighting the fundamental aspect of developing the army after the World Wars in Africa will be discussed. Much has been acknowledged on both the theory and the development of the army, it's important to review where scholarship on the subject is today and how the debates have developed.

### 2.1 DEFINION OF KEY CONCEPTS

#### **Military**

Jemibewon<sup>28</sup> defined military as a body of men raised for the defence of the nation permanently established by constitutional law. Equipped with weapons, equipment and is responsible for

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<sup>28</sup> D. Jemibewon. The Military, Law and Society: Reflections of a General. Spectrum Books Ltd. Ibadan, Nigeria. (1998),p.202

application of violence or coercive to eliminate or to deter anything or body.<sup>29</sup> In today's conflicts, instead of operating from the borders of the state the military has been largely involved in internal security issues of most third world states. More so the military is increasingly getting involved in human security and humanitarian activities that is now embedded within contemporary intra-state conflicts and have become extremely valuable public tools that have been used to justify war against its perpetrators; whether individuals, group(s), government or states.<sup>30</sup>

Military refers to a group of individuals trained and given the responsibility to represent their country and constitution<sup>31</sup>. They are also known as soldiers. In the third world, the military is an agent of modernization and democracy that is linked to the state and regimes. It is the most organized institution with a clear chain of command structure, representation in governments, allocated a certain percentage of the national budget, highly trained, informed, should be neutral, has the most resources, and uses sophisticated technology and a common language of war.<sup>32</sup>

## **Civilian control**

Huntington<sup>33</sup> defined civil control of the military as 'Governmental control of the military in which the armed forces accept subordinate roles in the political system'. This definition emphasised the subordinate role of the armed forces – that is, the civil government makes policies, legalises these policies by passing laws, creates a Ministry of Defence and armed forces, and decides when the military should go for war.

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<sup>29</sup> N.D. Edmonds as cited by E. A .Adeche. Nigerian Military and the Challenges of the Democracy Consolidation. *The Nigerian Army Quaternary Journal Vol. 3. No. 1.March 2007*. Lagos, Nigeria. Institute of Army Education. (2007), p.69.

<sup>30</sup> K. Victoria. Holt. A Humanitarian Policy Group Research Briefing on The Military and Civilian Protection: Developing roles and Capacities London: Overseas Development Institutes, March No.22, (2006), p.6

<sup>31</sup> Lieutenant General Jack C. Stultz, The Role of the U.S Army Reserve in Humanitarian Assistance, Military-to-Military Training and Civil Affairs Mission (Washington DC: foreign Press Center Briefing, June 21, (2007) p.3

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p.4

<sup>33</sup> S .P .Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil/military relations*. London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p86

## Parliamentary oversight

Friedberg and Hazan,<sup>34</sup> defined legislative oversight as an integral part of the legislature's operation. It refers to holding the executive and the Ministry of Defence accountable and oversee that a balance exists between the needs of society and the needs of the security sector in pursuing governmental objectives. It includes oversight of the personnel, policies, the finances, the operations and the acquirement of equipment.<sup>35</sup>

## Conflict

Wallensteen <sup>36</sup> defined conflict “as a social situation in which a minimum of two parties strive at the same moment in time to acquire the same set of scarce resources”. Diez<sup>37</sup> argued that conflict is an act of state of opposition, disagreement or the pursuit of incompatible goals or interests by different groups and is linked to struggle over scarce resources or values. Conflict may be characterized by physical, military or mental violence. They take place within a social structure and it involves the use of power to attain some goal and to neutralize resistance. Conflicts can be either violent or non-violent.

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<sup>34</sup> C .Friedberg and Hazan. “Parliaments in Changing Times”, Strengthening Legislative Oversight in Parliamentary Oversight. ,(2012)

<sup>35</sup> H. Borne. *Learning from best practices of parliamentary oversight of the security sector*. Working paper. Geneva center for the democratic control of armed forces .2000.S. Naidoo. “The role of the military in democratic governance in Africa: The need to institutionalize civil military relations”, (2006) in Hendricks, C (ed) *from state security to human security in Southern Africa. Policy research and capacity building challenges*. Monograph no 122. Pretoria: IS. (2006)pp. 33-48

<sup>36</sup> P. Wallensteen. *Understanding conflict resolution war, peace and the global system*. London: Sage Publishing, (2002).

<sup>37</sup> Thomas, Diez, Stephan. Stetter & Albert, Mathias. ‘The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Transformative Power of Integration’ *International Organization*, vol. 60, no. 3, (2006) pp. 563-593.

## **Military training**

Military training is understood as the activity that armed forces use to develop the necessary *skills* to perform effectively on the technical and tactical levels of war.<sup>38</sup> Military training is rooted in the need for action. It places the focus on the primary function of the military associated with war fighting and the skills required to do that well. In the military domain, training is required to teach soldiers all the skills they need to be good at fighting, or, in the realm of peace missions, the skills required from soldiers in their capacity as peacekeepers. Thus, military training aims at the provision of skills related to fighting in particular.<sup>39</sup>

Training is often associated with "narrow" forms of learning as the direct opposite of "broad" forms of learning which are regarded as education. This does not degrade learning in the training milieu to the level of irrelevance. The "narrowness" of training is a description of its limited range of applications. What is learned during training is specific to a given type of situation and there is little cognitive understanding involved.<sup>40</sup> In the military, training is rooted in the disciplined execution of drills as in weapon, fighting and other drills as well as standard operational procedures.<sup>41</sup>

## **Human security**

Thakur<sup>42</sup> defined Human security as the quality of life of the people of a society or polity. Security goes beyond violent threats to address non-traditional threats to peoples' security related to

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<sup>38</sup> S.C .Sarkesian, J.A. William, and, F.B Bryant. *Soldiers, Society, and National Security*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, (1995), p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> A. J, Esterhuysen. "Military Training and Education: Understanding the Difference and Tension", *African Armed Forces Journal*, April, (2004), p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> K. Lawson. "Introduction: The Concepts of 'Training' and 'Education' in a Military Context", In M.D. Stephens, (ed.), *The Educating of Armies*, St Martin's Press, New York, (1989), p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> A.J Esterhuysen. "Strategy, Operational Art and Tactics: Who is Responsible for what in the SANDF?" *African Armed Forces Journal*, July, (2000), p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> R. Thakur. "From National to Human Security." In, S .Harris. & A .Mack. (eds) *Asia-Pacific Security: The Economics-Politics Nexus* Sydney: Allen & Urwin, (1997).

economic, food, health and environmental factors, drugs, terrorism, organized crimes and gender-based violence.<sup>43</sup> It is the ability of an individual living in a society being able to persist in his essential character under changing conditions of possible threats. Human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedom. It requires protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering them to take charge of their own lives where protection in this case refers to norms, policies and institutions essential to shield people and applies the top-down approach. It entails the respect of the fundamental entitlements, essential for a human being without bias on their tribes, status, religion, political affiliations or gender.

### **Civilian control**

Desch<sup>44</sup> defined Civilian Control as a hierarchical relationship in which civilians make decisions that are binding for society as a whole, with the military responsible for advising on and implementing those decisions that have been delegated to them by the civilian decision makers. Consequently, the degree of civilian control depends on the degree to which civilians have the authority to make socially binding decisions, as well as sufficient oversight to ensure that the military fulfils its delegated functions in the way that the civilians want. Civilian Control can be understood as the distribution of authority and oversight under which civilians are able to autonomously decide on all relevant political decision-making matters, can delegate and repeal the delegation of political decision-making and implementation to the military, and can oversee and direct the making and implementation of those decisions that they have delegated to the military.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.p.38

<sup>44</sup> M.C. Desch. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, (1999.), pp. 3–5. See also Croissant and D. Kuehn. “Explaining Civil-Military Relations in New Democracies: Structure, Agency and Theory Development”. *Asian Journal of Political Science* 13,(5),(2011),pp. 231–249

<sup>45</sup>P.D. Feaver. *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press,(2003)

## **Civilians**

These are members of political organisations and agencies that are entitled by constitutional mandate to decide on the “authoritative allocation of values for a society”<sup>46</sup> and to formulate, implement, and oversee the implementation of these authoritative political decisions. This includes the members of the executive and legislative branches of government at the national level.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, it is that hierarchically structured, bureaucratic state organisation that is constitutionally mandated to advise on and implement subset of authoritative decisions that are concerned with establishing and upholding the state monopoly on organised coercion and with protecting society and the state against predominantly but not exclusively external security threats.<sup>48</sup> This includes the armed services (e.g., army, navy, and air force), and other organisations of organised coercion (like the paramilitary units or military intelligence agencies) that are under the command of the professional officer corps.<sup>49</sup>

## **Civil –Military Relations**

Huntington<sup>50</sup> has defined Civil-military relations as an aspect of national security policy. Civil-military relations therefore are the principal institutional component of military security policy. National security policy is established by heads of state to protect the nation's social, economic,

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<sup>46</sup> D. Easton. *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York: Wiley,(1965),p. 3

<sup>47</sup> The military or “armed forces”; both terms will be used interchangeably in the study

<sup>48</sup> M. Edmond. *Armed Services and Society*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, (1988), p. 26; See also Feaver *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (2003), p.4. P. Shemella “The Spectrum of Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces”. In: *Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*, edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Scott D. Tollefson, 122–144. Austin: University of Texas Press,(2006)

<sup>49</sup> Croissant Aurel, David Kuehn, Paul W. Chambers, and Siegfried O. Wolf. “Beyond the Fallacy of Coup-Is: Conceptualizing Civilian Control of the Military in Emerging Democracies”. *Democratization* 17 (5), (2010), pp.950–975.

<sup>50</sup> Huntington, 1957, p. 1

and political institutions from any threats that may arise. Civil-military relations are aspects of national security policy. The aim of national security policy is to enhance the safety of the nation's social, economic, and political institutions against threats arising from other independent states.<sup>51</sup>

## **Peacekeeping**

Conteh-Morgan<sup>52</sup> defined peacekeeping as the use of military intervention to maintain peace and prevent an increase in confrontation. For the purpose of this study, peacekeeping is defined as the act of maintaining peace through the use of military intervention forces.

## **Corruption**

According to Otite<sup>53</sup> corruption means the perversion of (the) integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour, or moral depravity. It involved the injection of additional but improper transactions aimed at changing the moral course of events and altering judgments' and position of trust. It consists of the doers (givers) and receivers' use of informal, extra-legal or illegal acts to facilitate matters. Gibbons and Rowat<sup>54</sup> defined corruption in two distinct but implicitly connected ways. The first definition asserted that politically corruption is the use of a public office in a way that forsake the public interest, measured in terms of mass opinion, elite opinion or both, in order that some form of personal advantage may be achieved at the expense of that public interest. In the second definition, Gibbons and Rowat, emphasized that, corruption in a broader sense meant any behaviour pattern where a power holder is induced by some reward to take actions which favour the individual offering the reward and thus conflict with the public interest; or, any behaviour pattern where a power holder seeks to maintain or extend his personal advantage by inducing individuals with some reward to assist him in neglecting the public interest.

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<sup>51</sup>Huntington, 1957,p.1

<sup>52</sup> E. Conteh-Morgan. *Collective political violence: An introduction the theories and cases of violent conflicts*. New York: Routledge. (2004),p.282

<sup>53</sup> O. Otite. On the sociological study of corruption. In: F. Odekunle (ed.) , (1986).

<sup>54</sup> K.M. Gibbons, and D.C. Rowat. (eds.): *Political Corruption in Canada*. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto , (1976).

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework in research is defined as a mechanism for applying the assumptions and principles of a theory in the description and analysis of a research problem. It is a way of describing, analyzing, interpreting and predicting phenomena. It involves linking the problem under investigation to the assumptions, postulations, and principles of a theory. A theoretical framework could be biased in the sense that it restricts the researcher to a choice of concepts and methods associated with particular theories. The choice of a theoretical framework ought to be made on the basis of variables such as relatedness, explicability and compatibility.

The end of the World Wars led to a reconsideration of the role of the military in society and the conceptualization of the threats and nature of security.<sup>55</sup> Security replaced strategic studies as a more legitimate academic discipline. Strategy was seen as too narrow and increasingly irrelevant at a time when interstate regular wars were in decline and security interests and threats were increasing in diversity and complexity.<sup>56</sup> Security was therefore portrayed as a more valuable and robust organizing framework for the complexity and variety of multidimensional dangers facing strategic actors around the world.<sup>57</sup> The close relationship between strategic studies and the realist paradigm made the incorporation of domestic security affairs and human security a challenge. There was a strong normative and idealistic outlook, visible in most security writing. Most accounts of the paradigm shift in security, particularly those concerned with the emergence of human security, cited the end of the Cold War as a major factor allowing for the development of alternate approaches to security that would shift the emphasis from conflict between states to the security needs of all people, regardless of their membership of a particular state. The Cold War is usually seen as representing a period of time during which the nascent potential of multilateral organizations such as the United Nations was held in check; in the wake of two World Wars, the

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<sup>55</sup> D. A Baldwin. "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War", *World Politics*, Vol 18, (1995), pp. 117-141.

<sup>56</sup> C S.Gray. "Regular Warfare", in D.C .Gray. *Another Bloody Century: Future War*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson. (2005) see also M. VanCreveld. "The Waning of Major War", in, M. Van Creveld. *The Culture of War*. New York: Ballantine Books.(2008)

<sup>57</sup> J. Baylis and J. Wirtz. "Introduction", in J. Baylis, J. Wirtz, C S. Gray and E. Cohen (eds), *Strategy in the Contemporary World* (third edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.(2010)

international community found itself in a situation which, for a brief moment, seemed to prompt serious and critical reflection on the short-comings of traditional approaches to security.

However, contemporary security thinking could not afford to ignore the essential value of military power in and for international security. While security thinking during the 1990s became fairly idealistic in nature, conflict flared up around the world.<sup>58</sup> The realisation that military power remains a significant feature of world politics was accompanied by an understanding that military power has utility across the whole conflict spectrum that is from high intensity warfare to peace missions and post-conflict reconstruction. Burk argued that the military profession's role has expanded over the course of the last century, widening from the management of violence early in the century to encompass the management of defence following the Second World War and the management of peace after the Cold War<sup>59</sup>. The result was a more balanced and realistic contemplation and scholarly consideration of international security and the role of military force in particular in the second decade after the Cold War.

### **2.3 Theories**

This study is guided by two theories, namely the New Institutionalism theories and Historical Institutionalism.<sup>60</sup> The New Institutionalism theory emphasizes the relationship between institutions and action by associating institutions with 'roles' to which dictatorial 'norms of behaviour were attached.<sup>61</sup> In this view, individuals who have been socialized into particular institutional roles internalise the norms associated with these roles, and in this way institutions are said to affect behaviour.

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid

<sup>59</sup> J. Burk. "Expertise, Jurisdiction, and Legitimacy of the Military Profession", in Snider, D M and G Watkins (eds), *The Future of the Army Profession*. New York: McGraw-Hill. (2002)

<sup>60</sup> Paul, Pierson. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94(2).(2000),p.76

<sup>61</sup>A.Peter. Hall and Rosemary, C. R. Taylor. "Political Science and the Three Institutionalisms." *Political Studies*.(1996), pp.936–957

### 2.3.1 New Institutionalism

An institutionalist approach examines how institutions influence the behavior of the individuals through shaping their goals and the strategies by which these are pursued.<sup>62</sup> Institutionalism is employed as a conditioning factor, in which the institutional rules shape politicians' strategies in pursuit of reelection. Sven Steinmo and Kathleen Thelen<sup>63</sup> argue that institutions are found throughout the entire range of state and societal institutions shaping how political actors define their interests and their relations with other groups. Also included in this perspective are such features of the institutional context as the structure of party systems, rules governing electoral competition, relations among the various branches of government, and the structure and organization of economic factors such as trade unions.<sup>64</sup>

These approaches seek to illustrate the role the institutions play in the determination of social and political outcome; however, they do this in different ways. While historical institutionalist see the institutional organization of the polity or political economy as the principal factor structuring collective behavior and generating distinctive outcomes, rational choice institutionalists argue that institutions are created by rational actors in pursuit of their interests. On the other hand, sociological institutionalists argue that many of institutional forms and procedures should be seen as culturally specific practices akin to the myths and ceremonies devised by many societies, and assimilated into organizations as a result of the kind of process associated with the transmission of cultural practices. In analyzing these views, all arguments point in the direction of extending the scope of the security concept which placed more emphasis on the birth of the army in independent Swaziland.

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<sup>62</sup> Wendy Hunter. *Eroding Military Influence in Brazil, Politicians against Soldiers*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press,(1997,)pp.16-7

<sup>63</sup> Sven, Steinmo and Thelen, Kathleen. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." In *Structuring Politics, Historical institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. eds. Steinmo, Thelen and F. Longstreth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,(1992)

<sup>64</sup> Sven, Steinmo and Kathleen. Thelen. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." In *Structuring Politics, Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. (eds). Steinmo, K. Thelen and F. Longstreth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1992), p.2.

### 2.3.2 Historical Institutionalism

History is important in understanding the Swazi regime and the undemocratic culture it espouses. Steinmo<sup>65</sup> outlined reasons why history matters in this kind of study. Firstly, history helps one to realize that political events happening within a historical context and has a direct effect on decisions. Secondly, history matters because the actors involved in political events learn from experienced (path dependency). Pierson contends that path dependent processes involved three stages. The first being “the initial “critical” juncture, when events trigger a movement toward a particular “path” or trajectory out of two or more possible ones. The second period of reproduction, in which positive feedback reinforces the trajectory initiated in phase one; and lastly the end of the path, in which new events dislodge a long-lasting equilibrium”.<sup>66</sup>

Historical institutionalism helps in providing a “deeper understanding of institutions genesis, reproduction and change”.<sup>67</sup> The application of HI in the birth of the independent Swazi army could be explained by considering the historical evolution of institution through informal that is the way things are generally done and formal (laws, rule sets) interaction, and by examining their establishment, performance and change over time. This perspective seems to be an important tool for the analysis. A key concept of Historical Institutionalism is path dependence. It explains the persistence rather than the change of institutional arrangement.

Historical institutions offer a long-term perspective that focuses on path dependency and lock-in what goes on “inside” a state has relevance for the security of other states and possibly on the system as a whole; second, the likelihood of conflict in or between states can be reduced by encouraging democracy. The application of Historical institution in the army can be explained by considering the historical evolution of institutions through informal (the way things are generally done) and formal (laws, rule sets) interaction and by examining their establishment, performance

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<sup>65</sup> S. Steinmo, K. Thelen, F. Longstreth. *Structuring politics: Historical institutionalism in comparative analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1992).

<sup>66</sup> P. Pierson. Not Just What, but When: Timing and Sequence in Political Processes. *Stud. Am. Pol. Dev.*, 14(1), (2000).p76.

<sup>67</sup> K. Thelen. The explanatory power of historical institutionalism. In: R .Mayntz (ed) *Akture-Mechanismen-Modelle: Zur Theoriefähigkeit mackro-sozialer Analysen*, (2002), p. 92

and change over time. This perspective seems to be an important tool for the analysis. A key concept of Historical Institutionalism is path dependence. It explains the persistence rather than the change of institutional arrangement.

## **2.4 LITERATURE REVIEW**

The literature review is organized into three parts. The first part review works of authors who dealt with how professionalism was introduced in the Western world armies. Concepts about civil-military relations will also be covered in the Western world and later Africa.

The next part examined studies on the African periphery. The last part focused on the Swazi history. The theoretical framework used in this research will be divided into two parts. There will be analyses known as the “Old School”, which consists of the theories by the three most central writers in the study of civil - military relations: Samuel P. Huntington, Morris Janowitz and Samuel Finer. Even though their main works on this subject are several decades old, their theories keep getting referred to in the most recent articles concerning civil-military relations? The literature review is substantially based on scholarly works of Morris Janowitz and Samuel Huntington, the two deans of Civil-Military Relations theory and other contemporary scholars who view civil-military relations theory after the major changes such as the end of Cold war or the anti-terrorism war. Civil-military relations are one aspect of national security policy. The endeavor of national security policy is to enhance the safety of the nation’s social, economic, and political institutions against threats arising from other independent states. Civil-military relations are the principal institutional component of military security policy.<sup>68</sup>

### **2.4.1 Western School (Old School)**

Huntington explained the CMR and its associations to the national security policy. The aim of the National security policy is to enhance the safety of nation’s social, economic and political institutions against threats arising from ‘other independent states’. It occurs in three forms: first, the military security policy, which deals with threat by armed forces operating from outside

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<sup>68</sup>S.P. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p.1

institutional and territorial confines. Secondly, the internal security policy, which deal with threat by forces operating within territorial and institutional confines. Thirdly, the situational security policy which deals with a threat from long-term changes in social, economic, demographic and political conditions lead to reduce the relative power of the state.<sup>69</sup> He argued that the best method of achieving civilian control of the military is by minimizing military power. It can be done in two different forms. The first strategy is through subjective civilian control, where civilian power is increased to its fullest. The other approach is objective civilian control, where the military professionalism is maximized. The subjective civilian control argues that the military should be civilized, where the latter argues for a militarization of the military.<sup>70</sup> In the latter way the institution becomes a tool of the civilian authorities. States are best assisted when they grant their military professionals an independent and extensive role in defense policymaking. Given its friendly message and crafty articulation, *The Soldier and the State* became a classic amongst military officers and today constitutes the model by which they judge civil-military relations.<sup>71</sup>

According to Huntington the main components of professionalism included expertise, responsibility and corporateness within a specific field. This could be an ideal system whereby the stronger and more effective it becomes the closer the officer corps get, the stronger and more effective it becomes. In line with the expertise, the officer has a special responsibility toward society. Holding a military commission is a public profession, and only some members have the rights to carry the profession.<sup>72</sup> The main mechanism to obtain professionalism is through respecting the military's independent sphere of action. Civilians' should not interfere in military affairs, as this would undermine professionalism. In that way the military would get a weak political position and at the same time it would keep up its military strength. Professionalism

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<sup>69</sup>S.P. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p1

<sup>70</sup>S.P. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p.8

<sup>71</sup> Samuel P. Huntington set out a theory of civil-military relations to guide both civilians and soldiers in their relationships. *The Soldier and the State* has ever since set the terms of debate about civil-military relations in the country.

<sup>72</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p.8

would lead to a neutral political value and the military would accept civilian supremacy. In political democracies militaries are professionalized, political neutral and controlled by civilian authorities.<sup>73</sup> Among the most cited in civil-military relations literature, he makes a distinction between subjective and objective civilian control over the military. Subjective control means that the power of some civilian groups is maximized vis-à-vis the military. Objective civilian control aims to minimize the power of the military by professionalizing it and making it political neutral. According to Huntington<sup>74</sup> military professionalism consists of expertise, responsibility and corporatism. Expertise refers to the education and experience of military personnel. Responsibility refers to the role of the military as defender of a state it can be essential for the existence of a state. Corporatism refers to the shared sense of unity among military personnel.<sup>75</sup>

Samuel Huntington identified three major factors that defined relations between the state and the military. The functional authoritative was the first factor that defined the relations even if there was an external threat that the military was envisage to deal with. The first aspect was the functional imperative of the military which imagined that whether there was an external threat that the military was projected to work on. The next one was the principles of the government they were dealing with. The state fell on a range between liberal and conservative which affected the overall on how both sides judge their relationship. Lastly it was the structure of the government. He pointed out that within the government there was the parliamentary system that witnessed majorities running a united government with different relations among the state and the military than a system of government where the executive and legislative functions were separated. This depicted the type of factors to be followed whether the military was ‘subjective’ or ‘objective’ control.

Subjective control referred to one in which the bodies involved in the government witnessed the military under their own particular body and had the directive to be controlled by the state. This

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<sup>73</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957)

<sup>74</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p9-10

<sup>75</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p8-10

meant that the armed forces were likely to be seen as pledge of interest groups within the army. In the subjective control civilian control decreases as the military is involved institutional, class, and constitutional politics. In short subjective control achieves its end by civilizing the military in a way that they are a mirror of the state. They also achieve its end by militarizing the military, making them a tool of the state. This means that an increase in military professionalization could explain non-intervention. This work is slightly different from theirs as it draws the international actor's dimension. It would be counter-productive to only study the Swazi regime by only looking at the domestic factors without locating its relationship with international actors; be they business, states, and regional, continental or super national bodies. The argument is that the development of the modern Swazi state and its institutions is interlinked with external actors through colonialism then through international trade and regional and international governmental organizations.

Finer concur with Huntington as he saw professionalism important for civilian control over the military. Finer ascertain that there should be acceptance by the military institutions of civilian supremacy and related closely to the military's perception as well as the political institutions role in society. On another note Janowitz<sup>76</sup> argued that there are three ways in which the civilian authorities can control the military. First its budget constraints can be used to lower the military's capacities; secondly, the way the armed forces responsibilities and missions are allocated could be used as a control mechanism. Finally directives concerned with politico military affairs could be implemented by the civilian authorities. Furthermore Janowitz argued that militaries in the new nations are more politicised than armed forces in the Western World. Huntington and Janowitz's opposing theories on professionalism in the military are important to this study because they bring out concepts that the study will investigate about the Swaziland civil-military relations.

Przeworski<sup>77</sup> argues that forces in society which are trying to bring down an authoritarian regime need to 'struggle' on two fronts first on the dismantling of the old regime and the realization of

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<sup>76</sup> M. Janowitz .*The Professional Soldier*. New York. Free Press,(1960)

<sup>77</sup> Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and development: political institutions and well-being in the world, 1950-1990*. Cambridge University Press (1986),pp. 60-61

their interests by organizing themselves. Also by making sure they alter the institutional arrangement in their favour. Thus, the strengths and weaknesses of the civil society determine the extent to which the military can demand entitlements once an authoritarian regime is extricated.<sup>78</sup> The power of civil society to create and channel social pressure is particularly important in bringing about democratization.

The working of democracy over time reduces the coup attempts by politicized militaries and reduces their power and privileges. The military's became less interested in confronting civilians and overthrowing their regimes, as it became more concerned with protecting its institutional well-being.<sup>79</sup> Those countries experienced an increased transparency in the defence area, greater supervisory over the military by its parliaments, replacement of military personnel in the defence ministry by civilian officials, a replacement of the top of the military and a more politically neutralized military<sup>80</sup> In order to establish such democratic civil-military relations a functioning civilian government is needed, which makes the prospects of returning to an authoritarian regime no longer a viable option by institutionalizing democratic control over the military and addressing shadow networks.<sup>81</sup> This study is concerned with the military, as an element of national security.

Barry Buzan<sup>82</sup> describes the security domain as comprising of five principal areas: the environmental, social (cultural), political, economic and the military. Referring to the concept of security within the context of the international system, Buzan maintains that it connotes primarily

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<sup>78</sup>Stepan, 1986: 75 – 77. See also Phillippe Droz-Vincent. Prospects for “Democratic Control of the Armed Forces”? : Comparative Insights and Lessons for the Arab World in Transition. *Armed Forces & Society*, 40(4), (2013),p.13

<sup>79</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Bknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957), pp.242-243. See also P. Droz-Vincent. Prospects for “Democratic Control of the Armed Forces”? : Comparative Insights and Lessons for the Arab World in Transition. *Armed Forces & Society*, 40(4), (2013), p. 23).

<sup>80</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Bknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957),p.11

<sup>81</sup> P. Droz-Vincent, “The Role of the Military in Arab Transitions,” *Barcelona, Observatory of Euro- Mediterranean Policies (IEMed), Mediterranean Yearbook*,(2012),pp. 18-23

<sup>82</sup> Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver. "Macrosecuritisation and Security Constellations: Reconsidering Scale in Securitization Theory." *Review of International Studies* 35(2), (2009), pp. 253-276

with the freedom from threat: "...security is about the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity. The underlying factor is about survival and also comprises a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence."<sup>83</sup>

Brooks and Stanley describe military effectiveness as "the capacity to create military power from a state's basic resources in wealth, technology, population size, and human capital."<sup>84</sup> The definition stresses on military power in its totality, and joins military potential and military employment in one concept. Millett et al define military effectiveness as the process by which armed forces convert resources into fighting power<sup>85</sup>, thereby confining military effectiveness to its expression in armed combat only. In their focus on military effectiveness as a resource conversion process, both definitions introduce the element of efficiency (contrasting to the associated concept of effectiveness) in the management of human resources, morale, the intellectual qualities of military leaders, financial budgets, technology and equipment, policy and doctrine, and others. This approach to military effectiveness seems to be more concerned with executing activities. Bernasconi<sup>86</sup> on the same note, indicates that military effectiveness is dynamic and changes with time. The political level focuses on the security that the military provides. It also looks at the strategic level that deals primarily with policy also known as grand strategy. More especially, what is required to provide the nation with the desired security which are limited by resources, and the potential threats which are numerous? There is a compromise between the political ends and the military means. Lynn looked at the military organizations which consist of a body of doctrine, organization, weapons systems, and training regimes. The focus was on how were the units organized and why? What weapons systems did they deploy with, and after the first

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<sup>83</sup> Barry Buzan. "Macrosecuritisation and Security Constellations: Reconsidering Scale in Securitization Theory", (2009)

<sup>84</sup> R. A .Brooks and E.A .Stanley. (ed) *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007

<sup>85</sup>A.R. Millett, W. Murray and K.H. Watman (eds). *Military Effectiveness Volume II: The Interwar Period*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, (1990)

<sup>86</sup> B. R .Bernasconi .*The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), (2007),p.23

battles, what did they change? How effectively were combined arms used in both offensive and defensive operations?

According to Barry<sup>87</sup> It is also key to consider a military's competence within its historical context. Relevant questions to ask regarding this collaboration include the following. What is the level of integration between national and military policy? Does the military provide the capabilities required by the public policy? Equally, does the military provide the timely and honest advice to the political process required to ensure that the desired policy is achievable with the military resources available?

Amos Pearlmuter<sup>88</sup> who regarded the military primarily as a authoritarian force, keen on acquiring power and using it to serve its own interests. He argued that once a nation's military had claimed power, it was unlikely to let go of it.<sup>89</sup> He devised the term praetorian state, referring to a state in which the military tends to intervene in the government and has the potential to dominate the executive. In a praetorian state political leaders come mainly from the military, and the military plays a dominant role in all key political institutions. Pearlmuter further distinguished between two types of praetorian armies: the "arbitrator army" which seeks to influence politics behind the scenes; and the "ruler army" which exercises direct rule over extended periods of time.<sup>90</sup>

## 2.4.2 Contemporary Scholars

The theories have been interpreted in different ways and their aspects have been emphasized by current scholars. Some have focused on the reasons why the military intervened in politics. These works have divided the scholars into two schools: where others emphasized on the dynamics and inner characteristics of the armed forces. The other aspect is associated with Huntington and Finer who focused on the socio political environment. He observed that there was a consensus on both

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<sup>87</sup> R. P. Barry .*The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars* .Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (1984),p.23

<sup>88</sup> A. Pearlmuter (1969)

<sup>89</sup> A. Pearlmuter (1969)

<sup>90</sup> A. Pearlmuter (1969)

schools which had to be taken into account which included the internal and external characteristics which are pivotal in understanding civil- military relations. Welch <sup>91</sup> argued that developing states should follow the principle of strategy which emphasized on the military institutions including their value, recruitment, mission and boundaries. The work of these scholars will assist the thesis in understanding why the Swazi army was developed as States were no longer interested in developing armies that were to be only used in fighting wars, instead to focus on providing peace internal and external.

Gutteridge<sup>92</sup> as a frequent writer on the role of the military in former British colonial territories, provides a detailed and well- informed account of military interventions in Ghana ,Nigeria, Uganda, Sudan, Zaire and Dahomey (Benin) and the former Belgian (Congo, Rwanda) and the former French territories Algeria, Tunisia, Chad , Senegal and many more.

Moreover, he focuses on the African military and politics.<sup>93</sup> He treats the military as an overwhelming source of political instability through the organization of coup d'état. The advent of independence in the Late 1950s and early 60s was accompanied by euphoria, and new hopes, for a better future with Africans at the command. These hopes were soon shattered as government felt victim to the coup d'état across the continent. He further argued that the colonial legacy within the military led to serious hardship in its relations with the new states; the nationalist and the slow rate of Africanization in their government often meant that they were still led by colonial officers. The studies will assist in reflecting on the short-comings of traditional approaches to security.

Decalo<sup>94</sup> explains that recent studies on coup d'état in Africa and on the political role of African armies are reviewed and criticized. Recent studies are examined under three headings: political sociology and historiography, the pre- conditions for military interventions, and the military as

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<sup>91</sup> C. Welch. *Civilian Control of Military: Myth and Reality*. In C E Welch (ed). *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*. Albany: State University of New York Press. (1976), pp. 1-42.

<sup>92</sup>W. Gutteridge *Military regimes in Africa: Studies in African history*. London. (1975), pp.195.

<sup>93</sup>W.F.Gutteridge. *Military regimes in Africa*, London: Methuen. (1962), p6.

<sup>94</sup> S. Decalo. Military coups and military regimes in Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol.2, no.1, (1973), pp.105-127.

rulers. He further argues that African leaders that assumed stable countries adopted various strategies in the 1980's<sup>95</sup> to subordinate the military to civilian authority. He argues that they employed preferential recruitment into the armed forces which were seen to be supportive of the regime. He provides an understanding of stable civilian rule in 12 African countries similar to Swaziland in the 1960s and 1990s. Civil-military stability has been determined by seven concrete tactics. The use of colonial policy of preferential recruitment into the armed forces, establishment of armed paramilitary structures that monitor the activities of the army, appointment to key military posts of members of the head of state's direct family, appointment of expatriate to structures monitoring the loyalty of the armed forces, eternal guarantees of military support in domestic intervention for instance in Franco-phone countries, systematic legitimacy based on economic and political achievements and economic payoffs to the military as a corporate state group.<sup>96</sup>

Chuter<sup>97</sup> argues that the military is one of a number of instruments of the state and has the duty of loyalty to the state which employs it on behalf of the state machinery and it works as an executive arm of the state. He focuses on the three characteristics of the military that determine its existence as an institution. They focus on the military in the management of violence for the protection of society. Furthermore he argues that the skill in the management of violence in the military makes it different from other operational sectors of state governance. In further expansion of the relationship between defence and security, he also provides a description of national security strategy that is of value to the study: "National security strategy is the process of maintaining, coordinating and employing the assets of the security sector so that they contribute optimally to the nation's strategic goals."

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<sup>95</sup> S. Decalo. "Modalities of Civil Military Stability in Africa", *A Journal of modern African Studies* 274, (1988): These countries include Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland, Kenya, Mauritius, The Gambia and Tanzania.

<sup>96</sup> S.Decalo. towards understanding the sources of stable civilian rule in Africa: 1960-1990. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*(1991), p72-4

<sup>97</sup> D.Chutter. *Defence Transformation: A Short Guide to the Issues*. Pretoria. Institute for Security Studies, (2000), p.27.

The armed forces are a major component of the security sector; therefore national security imperatives should be primary drivers for defence policy. As with the employment of military force, the development and deployment of military forces are subject to the regulations of defence policy a term that the study uses, as it relates primarily to the military political concerns of the state.<sup>98</sup> Effectiveness that is usually associated with capable militaries. Being effective means producing a desired or intended result,<sup>99</sup> which account for the military connotes with the successful execution of the organisations mission, in reasonable disregard of absolute resource cost. In spite of its potential importance for state security, the literature on military effectiveness does not provide a generally acceptable definition for the concept.<sup>100</sup>

David Chuter contributes to the study by concluding that militaries exist primarily to support the foreign and domestic policies of the national state with force, or the threat of force. The description expresses the armed forces active participation in the execution of government policy and does not come open about the armed forces passive role in the affairs of the state. Militaries also exist to ensure government's exclusive control of intra-national force. Chuter also mentions that a state that loses its grip on the monopoly of organised violence fails to be a viable entity, because it can no longer ensure security for its citizens. Such work will provide an understanding of why the military of Swaziland was established.

In addition to that Huntington<sup>101</sup> explore the paradox of civil-military relations when he observed that in a democracy the military is shaped by a functional imperative stemming from the threats to the societies security and a societal imperatives arising from the social forces, ideologies and institutions dominant.

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<sup>98</sup>D.J. Murray and P.R. Viotti. (eds) *The Defense Policies of Nations: A Comparative Study*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, (1982),p 7

<sup>99</sup> J. Pearsall. (ed). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary: Tenth Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press,(1999)

<sup>100</sup> Millett, A.R. and Murray, W. (eds). *Military Effectiveness. Vol 1: The First World War*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd,(1990), p 1

<sup>101</sup> S.P. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil – military relations*, London: Beknap Press of Harvard: University Press, (1957), p2.

Morris Janowitz<sup>102</sup> agrees with Huntington that the relationship between the soldier and state was the obedience of the soldier to the state. Huntington argued that this was indirectly a role of the professional soldier. He saw the idea of professionalism as one that remained standard since the military revolution brought about professional soldiers serving the states. However, Huntington argued that this was implicitly a role of the professional soldier. On another note Janowitz differed from Huntington's discussion of the term "professional" and he argued that the perspective that the military existed has altered the meaning of the term.

Janowitz emphasized that the military should be professional in specific technical skills, given the demand of modern warfare strategies and they should be well informed in politics. The military must not remain a separate and distinct culture from the civil state it safe guarded, must constantly reflect the values of the civil society, this clearly explains that the role of the military has shifted and civilians are open to security challenges. Furthermore, he asserts that the military and the civilian spheres are not as separate as Huntington dichotomy would have us believe. He claims that the modern skills sets of military personnel have brought the military and civilian profession's closer than they have.<sup>103</sup> He concludes that the military in the new concept becomes a constabulary force when it is prepared to act while committed to the minimum use of force and looks at better means to international relations instead of victory. Thus the new concept has made the military to become more politicized making a change to the nature of civilian supremacy. In addition to that Janowitz argues that the military is an organ of government seeking to develop new techniques for intervening in domestic politics. He has paid little attention to the history of military organization, the period since independence, and the level of economic development. Instead, he argues that in all the new and modernizing nations the military and the socio-political context in which they operate tend to have common characteristics, resulting in a high potential for military involvement in politics and making it unstable. Janowitz underlines the importance of institutional dimension. At institutional level, military seeks to reinforce the cohesion among military personnel and society, and intends to impose its own perception of its role to the society. Military education and military service system are two significant tools for determining military's role in a political

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<sup>102</sup>M. Janowitz .*The Professional Soldier*. New York. Free Press,(1960)

<sup>103</sup> M.Janowitz,p.424

system.<sup>104</sup> Since Janowitz came from a sociologist background, it's not surprising that he focused more on societal perception of military's role compared to Huntington, however, he is not going further in detail about how military shapes the civilian perception and is shaped by it.

Huntington<sup>105</sup> focused on the internal relationship between states and the military, other works focused from the outside, especially at the role external threats played in praetorian behaviour. This led to two opposing views on the role of external threats in political incursions from the military. One side argued that lack of external threats led to the military that was bereft of purpose, the strength of the army will be used in internal issues to create a situation in military's own interest. The other view of the argument stated that the existence of an external threat would logically lead to a powerful military which will have more influence in the political and popular sphere. This 'garrison state' will lead to the civilian control sublimated to the needs of the military in the struggle against external threats.<sup>106</sup> Huntington has apparently re-emphasized the structure and responsibility of the armed forces in the book titled *Changing Patterns of Military Politics*.<sup>107</sup> With respect to military coups or explicit intervention the main argument is that if the division of function and military training is addressed towards external threats rather than internal, there is possibility that the military would not intervene in politics. This explicit emphasis on the external variables indirectly points to his earlier thesis of professional armed forces. In addition, quite ironically, the frequency of military coups in developing countries are not viewed as unreasonable but a substitute to revolution and a form of gradual change.

His argument hangs on a sensitive distinction between two closely related concepts of political modernization and political development. The term political modernization is used with reference to the spread of political participation, and political development is maintained to mean the

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<sup>104</sup> Janowitz, M. *The professional soldier: A social and political portrait*. New York: The Free Press. (1960)

<sup>105</sup> S. P. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State*. Cambridge. Harvard University Press,(1957),p2

<sup>106</sup>H. Lasswell. "The Garrison State", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.46,(1941),pp455-68

<sup>107</sup> S. P. Huntington. *Changing Patterns of Military Politics* Glencoe: Free Press, (1962)

establishment of institutions that regulate the rate of modernization in all domains of life. Understandably, he establishes that the underdevelopment of a society's political institutions will result in the waste of its modernizing potential. Meaning that more regulation than the rate of modernization required is merely repressive and may be intolerable. Similarly, political stability is valued both as an end in itself and as a condition for the merging and extension of public benefits.

Samuel Finer<sup>108</sup> argues that the military's intervention had little to do with the structure of the military. Instead it was the political culture of the state in which the military existed. If a state had high level of political culture and participation, the military took no action to intervene within the civilian sphere. While in states where the culture was weak and lacked developed channels of public participation, the level of praetorian was increased. This was a reflection of public attachment to the political structures within which the military existed. Not much reference is made to the social, economic and institutional structures associated with the different types of political cultures, and to the ways in which these factors, in turn, affect the outcome of military intervention. Also, the study lacks a more exhaustive analysis of comparable situations over a period of time in order to locate different cases, despite a low political culture intervention between military attitudes and principles and those of the civilians need to be given more attention.

Beishline<sup>109</sup> discussed military organization, interaction between commands and subordinates, military functionalism, management and group activities and line command functions within the military structures, which are part of a broader society. The military tries to find a way to instill the value into its recruits to develop their full potential so that they may develop better ways of operation to achieve their goals.

N'Diyane ascertain that professionalization of the military is vital in order to prevent military intervention. It reflects well in the studies of coup prevention strategies used by leaders in Kenya. He noted that the strategy has failed because the approaches have undermined military

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<sup>108</sup> S. Finer. *The Man on a Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, 4th Edition. New Brunswick Transaction Publishers,(2006)

<sup>109</sup> J.R. Beishline. *The Military Management* (Prentice-Hall, 1950), p.289.

professionalism N'Diaye<sup>110</sup> and other scholars they suggest that if developing democracies in Africa are to consolidate their democracy successfully, they need to keep the military out of the political agenda, and isolate the military from the operation by politicians, then African democracies must institutionalize the process of civilian control.<sup>111</sup> Institutionalized control of the armed forces does not mean that civilians make all decisions on defense matters while the military simply executes it. On the contrary, as Bland<sup>112</sup> points out that civil control of the armed forces is managed and maintained through the sharing of responsibility for control between civilian and military leaders. Institutionalized civilian control means that civil-military relations, or civilian control, is managed through various democratic institutions whereby both military and civilians interact to formulate and execute defense policies. He first describes the mission model where military compliance grows out of the existence of an outside threat. Second is the institutional model where strong civilian institutions overcome the power of the military organization. Thirdly he identifies civilian supremacy where civilian leaders are involved in every level of the military decision-making process. Fourthly and finally, Bland lists the humanitarian model where military and civilian elites coexist in harmony.<sup>113</sup>

When institutionalization of civilian control takes place in emerging democracies the legislature has a key component in enhancing its role in controlling the armed forces, however, it is often a neglected dimension in the transition process.<sup>114</sup> He further points out that, for instance in many post-authoritarian states, the decisions affecting the military are often initiated by the same security establishment that has always been entrusted to make decisions, usually without any input from

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<sup>110</sup> B.N'Diaye. *The Challenge of Institutionalizing Civilian Control: Botswana, Ivory Coast, and Kenya in Comparative Perspective*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books., (2001)

<sup>111</sup> S. A. Luqman and A.J. Omede. "The Faltering Prospect of Crafting Stable Civil Military Relations in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *Institutional Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 2 (2.3), (2011), See also Bruneau, C. Thomas and H. A. Trinkunas. 2008. *Global Politics of Defense Reform. 1st ed, Initiatives in Strategic Studies—Issues and Policies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2008).

<sup>112</sup> D. L. Bland. "A Unified Theory of Civil-military Relations." *Armed Forces & Society*, 26(1) ,(1999),pp.7-25

<sup>113</sup> D. Bland. "Patterns in Liberal Democratic Civil-Military Relations." *Armed Forces and Society*. 27(4),(2001),pp. 525-540

<sup>114</sup> B. N'Diaye. "Parliaments and Security Sector Transformation in West Africa." *In Security Sector Transformation in Africa*, edited by Alan Bryden and Funmi Olonisakin, 55-68. Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF),(2010)

other institutions or even individuals outside a certain group. In the long run the legislature fails to take initiatives to address issues linking the governance and oversight of the security sector with democratic institutions. Instead, the reforms according to N'Diaye “often tantamount to rearranging chairs on the deck of a more or less rapidly sinking ship.”<sup>115</sup> They are not the universal transformation required of the security apparatus in new democracies. Scholars articulate that the participation of the legislature in the defense territory does not only enhances the accountability and transparency of the armed forces, instead it also enriches the quality and legitimacy of the resulting policies. Legislatures in a democracy are accountable for expressing and passing legislation, policies, and budgets as well as monitoring their application. He suggests a unified theory of civil-military relations based on the idea of shared responsibility and driven by the assumptions of the theory of regimes.

Giraldo<sup>116</sup> asserts in her work “Legislatures and National Defense: Global Comparisons” that when legislatures get involved in issues of defense, it strengthens the democratic accountability. Involved legislatures receive input from all democratically elected officials, as well as other stakeholders from civil society, not just from those in the executive branch. The policies produced tend to be better as well because interested parties in both the executive branch and the military are forced to defend their positions publicly. Moreover, in exercising its oversight functions, the legislature can determine whether laws are being effectively implemented and whether they do in fact work in the way they are intended. The participation of the legislature in the defense realm can also help inform and educate the public on issues relating to defense. Giraldo<sup>117</sup> ascertains that the legislative debates on defense issues which help to increase the public’s knowledge of

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<sup>115</sup> B. N'Diaye. “Parliaments and Security Sector Transformation in West Africa.” In *Security Sector Transformation in Africa*, edited by Alan Bryden and Funmi Olonisakin, 55-68. Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), (2010), p.57

<sup>116</sup> J.K. Giraldo. “Legislatures and National Defense: Global Comparisons.” In *Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*, edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Scott D. Tollefson. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, (2006)

<sup>117</sup> J.K. Giraldo “Legislatures and National Defense: Global Comparisons.” In *Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*, edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Scott D. Tollefson. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press. Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary CR Taylor. 1996. “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms.” *Political Studies* 44 (5):936-957, (2006)

security issues, which assist in contributing to the public's constructive participation in future policy discussions.

Richard Khon<sup>118</sup> points out that the institutions constitutionally vested with the authority to make laws and approve budgets, the legislature determines the mere existence of the military, which is usually done through budget assumption. The legislature also determines the strength of the armed forces because it makes policies on the size and resources of the nation's military. Furthermore, the legislature implements its investigative authority to ensure that the armed forces remain accountable to the people.

Thomas Bruneau and Richard Goetze<sup>119</sup> argue that as emerging democratic states continue to consolidate their democracies, the MoD has become widely viewed as the best solution to the classic impossibility, "Who guards the guardians?" They provide five main purposes for the MoD in democracies. The first and most obvious purpose of the MoD, they argue, is the organizational structure the armed forces command and the democratically elected civilian leaders have. In an emerging democracy where the military previously exercised complete control of defense policies and activities, establishing civilian control over these activities is critical to the consolidation of democracy. Furthermore the second purpose of the MoD is to define and allocate responsibilities among civilian and military leaders. A clear division of responsibilities can serve two purposes. First, the division assist in ensuring that military leaders are kept out of politics. Second, they are defined responsibilities helps to prevent unprincipled politicians from using the military to enhance their positions. Thirdly the major role of the MoD is to alleviate any danger of the armed forces from becoming politicized and to ensure that the armed forces stay away from politics. The fourth purpose of creating the MoD is to maximize the effectiveness of employing the armed forces. The fifth purpose is to maximize the efficiency in the use of resources. In the pre-democratic phase of most emerging democracies, the different branches of the armed forces enjoy incredible

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<sup>118</sup> R. Khon. "How Democracies Control the Military." *Journal of Democracy* 8 (4):140-153, (1997)

<sup>119</sup>T. Bruneau, C. Thomas and B.R. Goetze JR. "Ministries of Defense and Democratic Control." In *Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*, edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Scott D. Tollefson, 169-229. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, (2006)

independence. The military received the greatest amount of resources and budgets were secret and ordinary citizens had no mechanisms by which to exert influence over allocations.

Andrew Cottey<sup>120</sup> notes that civil society activity in the post-communist European countries provided an additional means for public oversight of the armed forces and the political institutions controlling them. The activities of civil society disrupted excessive political influence of the armed forces and prevented civilian leaders from political abuse of control the military.

Nicole Ball <sup>121</sup> argues that civil society play a key role in promoting dialogues among stakeholders, both civilian and military. They foster change where needed in the armed forces. Civil society also assist in the development of norms within the armed forces. Ball highlights the South African Defence and Security Management (SADSEM) Network that has played a key role in developing both norms and capacity in the security sector in South Africa. The organization has not only pursued to capacitate local research and policy capacity in South Africa, instead the SADSEM Network has also engaged in promoting the contributions of civil society in issues of peace and security to regional governments.

Cottey<sup>122</sup> points out that when an emerging democracy has certain dimensions, the civil society can play an essential role in the institutionalization of civilian control in the emergent democratic state. The first dimension is a free media that is interested and able to investigate defense issues. The other aspect consists of think-tanks and academic expertise that can contribute to informed debate on defense policy. The freedom for citizens to organize nongovernmental activity and protest in relation to the armed forces is the third dimension. The final dimension of an emerging democracy has is the existence of an independent research institute.

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<sup>120</sup> A. Cottey. *Democratic Control of the Military in Post-communist Europe*. Gordonsville, VA, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, (2001)

<sup>121</sup> Nicole. Ball. "Civil Society, Good Governance and the Security Sector." *In Civil Society and the Security Sector*, edited by Eden Cole, and David Nosworthy. Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). (2009)

<sup>122</sup> A .Cottey *Democratic Control of the Military in Post-communist Europe*. Gordonsville, VA, USA: Palgrave Macmillan,(2001)

Omari<sup>123</sup> studied civil-military relations in Tanzania and he argued that it is hard to study African cases through Western lenses. He has pointed out to the problem that the prevailing civil-military relations in West were imposed on Africa at independence despite their different backgrounds in the various countries. Naidoo stated that the Cold War played a significant role in justifying African militaries to the citizenry as an outbreak of war between the superpowers was possible and military protection was needed.

Nordlinger in the *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments* focused on numerous methods for civilian control of the military mainly in the Third World context. He concludes that coups occur when corporate grievances of the military coincide with a deficit of legitimacy produced by poor government performance. Moreover, how coups occur is enlightened with (over)emphasis on the officers and their attitudes towards politics and politicians. He discusses the attitudes, policy preferences and governing style of the soldiers when in power. Despite the claims made for the military as an agent of change, most military regimes protect the status quo with military governments equally conservative than their civilian counterparts.<sup>124</sup> Radical military regimes normally turn out to be ineffective in promoting reform. Their conservativeness and concentration of power within them make their claims about national integration and development deep, in the aftermath of military intervention resulting in enduring crises.

Perlmutter states that, "Praetorians emerge in largely agrarian or transitional or ideologically divided societies."<sup>125</sup> He developed a concept of military praetorianism whereby the military plays a significant role in key political structures and institutions. Furthermore, he acknowledged two types of praetorian armies; the arbitrator army and the ruler army. The problem posed by praetorianism is how to advance the removal of the army from control over executive functions and its domination of mass political institutions, which represses the expression of the political

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<sup>123</sup> A. H. Omari. 'Civil-military relations in Tanzania', in R. Williams, G. Cawthra and D. Abrahams (eds), *Ourselves to Know. Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Strategic Studies, (2002).

<sup>124</sup> Nordlinger. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. New York: Prentice-Hall, (1977), p.176

<sup>125</sup> A. Perlmutter. *The Military and Politics in Modern Times: On Professionals, Praetorians, and Ordinary Soldiers*. New Haven: Yale University Press, (1977), p.10

desires of the multitudes. While examining the reasons for military intervention in politics, theories of civil-military relations will be helpful in this research. Nordlinger's works enables one to understand the substantial dynamics of civil-military relations from the aspect of praetorianism.

Nordlinger in line with Pearlmutter, argued that the actions of military forces are mainly determined by their own corporate self-interest, rather than by any wider conception of national interest.<sup>126</sup> This position touched upon a related debate among scholars of civil military relations; the question of when, and under what conditions military forces would be inclined to intervene in political decision making. Nordlinger<sup>127</sup> discussed institutionalization of military intervention through the praetorianism theory. The studies deal with the military corporatism in the conditions of modern states. Praetorianism term and theories emerged in the civil military relations in order to explain military offensive political influence in a country. The praetorianism is a state in which military officers are dominant political actors by virtue of their actual use of force.<sup>128</sup> Military praetorianism highlights the failure of a subjective political control system. Under constant regimes, few officers prefer politics to their profession. Praetorian conditions affect military professionalism negatively by decreasing the standards of professionalism, and cause bloodshed. Nordlinger mainly asks two sets of questions. First, he asks about the attainment of political power, which explains the reasons for military intervention in politics at various levels. Secondly he poses a question as to the government power in dealing with the problem of measuring military intervention in politics. He presents a tripartite typology of praetorianism, which consists of "Moderators", "Guardians", and "Rulers"<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> E. A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, (1977)

<sup>127</sup> E. A. Nordlinger. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. Eaglewood Cliffs, N,J New York: Prentice-Hall, (1977)

<sup>128</sup> E. A. Nordlinger. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. New York: Prentice-Hall ,(1977).pp. 2-3

<sup>129</sup> E.A. Nordlinger. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. New York: Prentice-Hall, (1977)

Nordlinger goes even further than Finer in highlighting the role of military corporatism in determining the decisions of military leaders on whether or not to intervene in political processes. He defines military corporatism as the protection and enhancement of the military's own interests through adequate budgetary support, autonomy in internal affairs, and the preservation of their responsibilities in the face of encroachments from rival institutions, and its own institutional continuity.<sup>130</sup> He argues that military forces are most likely to intervene in politics when their corporate interests are seen as being threatened. As such, Nordlinger identifies the primary condition for the military's disengagement from politics as its confidence in the fact that its corporate autonomy and privileges will not be threatened by political leaders upon its withdrawal.

Samuel E. Finer in the book *"The Man on Horseback"*, the theory in the frame of praetorianism was proclaimed where he classified military regimes. He considered the conditions of military intervention to politics, rather than professionalize and control the army. Finer also expanded the view of research by considering the coups and military interventions around the world.

Peter Feaver<sup>131</sup> argues in the book titled *"Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations,"* is a simple paradox. Societies create an institution of violence because they fear others and society fears the same institution that it created to defend itself against the others. In principle, suggests "the very institution created to protect the polity is given sufficient power to become a threat to the polity."<sup>132</sup> The problem of civil-military relations therefore is so disturbing because societies need the military to protect the nation and charge off potential aggressors. It serves no purpose to create a protection force and then humiliate it to such point that it can no longer perform its function.<sup>133</sup> The problem for many democracies, especially in emerging ones, is to balance

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<sup>130</sup> E. A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics*, pp.65-66

<sup>131</sup> Peter Feaver. *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (2003)

<sup>132</sup> P. Feaver. *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (2003),p.4

<sup>133</sup>P. Feaver *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (2003)

armed forces strong enough to meet the tasks assigned to it by civilian leaders with armed forces subordinate enough to only do what the civilian leaders ask of them.

### 2.4.3 African Context

Baloro<sup>134</sup> asserts that at initial stages, in most cases what was put in place was a one party regime which espouses one political ideology. Socialism-cum African Union in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana, African Socialism and *Ujaama* in Julius Nyerere's Tanzania and humanism in Kauda's Zambia. Several reasons were advanced to justify the emergence of one party regime as the case of Swaziland.

Sinjenga<sup>135</sup> argues that most Sub-Saharan countries shifted from multi party types of constitutions, which were viewed as having been imposed upon them by departing colonial states. It was argued that these constitutions were not a suitable vehicle for creating unified states from different and fragmented nations often fixed in the pre-independence era. These new regimes were not without opposition as opposition groups and political parties demanded more space in governance.

Gladius Marlies<sup>136</sup> asserts that human security shows how human security has functioned as both a paradigm-shifting and bridging with its most significant implications being, first, the shift from a focus on state security to one on human rights, and second, the indivisibility of physical and material security. The article argues that, despite attempts at narrowing and appropriation, human security has lost neither its radical edge nor its holistic character. The other aspect is an attempt to operationalize human security while respecting its paradigm –shift and character. It discusses necessary connections with wider policy shifts before outlining ways in which current intelligence, development, and military and 'state- building' practices would have to be transformed to serve human security. Lastly it is the idea of 'human security worker' of the future and the contexts in

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<sup>134</sup> J. Baloro. 'Democracy and human right in Swaziland: study of the law and practice regarding free association and assembly' in Okapuluba. (1984), pp.30-31.

<sup>135</sup> M. Sinjenga. 'Constitutionalism in Africa: emerging trends: the evolving African constitutionalism'. *The Review* , (1998)

<sup>136</sup> G. Marlies. Human Security from Paradigm Shift to Operationalization: Job Description for a Human Security Worker. *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39. No. 1, (2008), pp.31-54

which she might work. This study will assist in understanding how human security has functioned as both a paradigm-shifting and bridging with its most significant implications of being, first, the shift from a focus on state security to one on human rights, and second, the indivisibility of physical and material security. It will also emphasize the importance of developing an army after independence in Swaziland.

Cawthra Gavin<sup>137</sup> argues that in the ten years since the establishment of South Africa's first inclusive democratic government, an ambitious, extensive and systematic process of reform has been carried out in the governance of security. The process is widely regarded as having been successful and a model for other processes of security sector reform in the context of transitions from authoritarian forms of governance to democratic ones. This has been achieved with hardly a short fired in anger is remarkable and credit to the visionary political leadership as well as organisational capacity, to effective security governance. At the same time progress has been uneven and at times fragmentary, whereas policy and commitments have not.

Hanggi Heiner<sup>138</sup> states that security sector governance combines the concepts of 'security' and 'governance' at the state level. Thus, it is essentially a state centric concept but one which shares with the concept of human security a concern for the welfare and safety of individuals, groups and society, which more often than not offer most from a poorly governed security sector. Furthermore, though primarily addressing domestic issues, security sector governance is viewed as being of growing importance for international peace and security. From a governance perspective, security sector governance covers that public sector which is responsible for the exercise of the state monopoly of coercive power and has traditionally been a key feature of the modern- nation state. One may therefore expect that the shift from government to governance has been rather been modest in the security sector. Yet, governments increasingly face governance challenges in the security sector, which may range from the need to rebalance security a liberty in the context of the fight against terrorism deficiencies in the accountability of the use of national army forces under the auspices of international institutions to transforming the security sector in

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<sup>137</sup>G. Cawthra. Security Governance in South Africa. *African Security Review*. Vol. 14, No 3, (2005).

<sup>138</sup> H. Hanggie. & Winkler, H. Theodor. Challenges of Security Sector Governance. Geneva: ACAF,(2003)

response to international demand or domestic pressures. From a security perspective, security sector governance reflects the broad notion of security because it does not cover the military alone, but acknowledges the importance and in some countries the predominant role of non-military security forces.

Isima Jeffrey <sup>139</sup> highlights that recent proliferation of private military and security companies in Africa reflects a global trend in which non-core security functions of the state are increasingly being out sourced to the private sector. This is the unravelling of the process of globalisation and privatisation, which even powerful states have been found difficult to resist. A major security concern has been that while powerful states are able to retain core security functions within the public sphere and effectively regulate the private security sector, sub-Saharan Africa countries do not face the same scenario. The fragility of the state makes it possible for the expanding scope privatisation to encroach upon core security functions. So far attempts to regulate the industry by African states and the international community have been almost non-existent, with a few exceptions. The concern of this study is to find the appropriate point where the public and private security sectors in Africa should meet. It argues that effective regulation of the industry is integral to and a potential instrument for security sector reform (SSR) in the region, and suggests the conditions under which security sector reform in Africa can be enhanced through the private security sector. The study will align with the pivotal role of establishing an army that will focus at the welfare of civilians instead of fighting wars which brings disorder.

United Nations Development Programme Report<sup>140</sup> points out that the concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly as security of territory from external aggression, protection of national interests in foreign policy. It has been related to nation state than to people forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people. For many of them security symbolized protection from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards. UNDP offered a paradigm definition calling it human security portraying

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<sup>139</sup> J. Isima. Report on the current position with regard to the Security Sector in Ethiopia View: *Journal of Security Management*. Vol.1. No.1, March (2003),p.5

<sup>140</sup>United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report,(1994 )

it as a people centered rather than state centered. Again this work will explain aspects of security as vital to all citizens yet the military no longer fulfill its logics of providing security in all designated areas like borders where illegal weapons are smuggled into the countries therefore putting the lives of the people in danger.

#### **2.4.4 Swaziland Context**

J.S.M Matsebula<sup>141</sup> provided background information about the Swazi monarchy. He, was the first Swazi to write a history of Swaziland, traced the genealogy of Swazi kings. His close links to the monarchy and his experience as the kings secretary between April 1967 and April 1974 enabled him to go behind the scenes providing more understanding into the Swazi royal family and the reign of king Sobhuza II, and he has been criticised for glorifying the king by other authors who came after him . For instance he supported the idea of the king on the repeal of the constitution and the establishment of the Swazi army which protected the state and the king. The study builds on Matsebula's work by capturing the actual experiences of repealing a constitution for the country same year the King established the modern Swazi army which he valued the importance of the local army after obtaining independence from the British.

Hildah Kuper's<sup>142</sup> work proved to be a useful starting point for this study. She enjoyed endless access to the Swazi royal family under King Sobhuza II patronage. In turn, this made her to observe, describe and portray the Swazi way of life. In addition to that she examined the relationship between the monarchy and the military in Swaziland at different stages particularly the age-class system. She based her study on a historical perspective referred to the traditions and customs of an idealized Swazi past (libutfo or age-class system) for the purpose of planning the nations. The functional role of the age- class system is analysed in the context of the Swazi military history. Furthermore she showed that the cultural tension underpinned wider economic and political developments in Swaziland until Sobhuza's highly symbolic repeal of the 1968 constitution in 1972. Kuper concludes by contending that Sobhuza was indeed successful in securing the monarchy and its legitimacy by the use of its own traditional defenses, thus avoiding

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<sup>141</sup> J. S. M. Matsebula. History of Swaziland: The King's Eye. Maskew Miller: Longman, (1983).

<sup>142</sup> H. Kuper.an African Aristocracy: Rank among the Swazi. London: Oxford University Press (1980), p64.

the violence and coup d'état that have characterized other post-colonial African territories.<sup>143</sup> The study will assist in depicting the evolution of the army since its establishment.

Kuper and Macmillan<sup>144</sup> contend that most historians lacked political understanding in viewing tradition as rigid and unchanging. King Sobhuza supported education and other development projects in the country. Most of his reforms were limited to the socio-economic, whereas democracy and gender concerns lacked behind. His leadership brought change in the country as he established the army. She further maintains that Swazi tradition is a modern phenomenon which constitutes both traditional and western aspects which can be separated. King Sobhuza ensured that culture and tradition were at the forefront of political and administrative agendas.<sup>145</sup> The study builds on Kuper's work by capturing the actual experiences of how King Sobhuza II visualized the modern army to be developed in Swaziland after experiencing the use of traditional army.

The article of Jeffery Tshabalala, Cyprian Nhlengethwa and Martin Rupiya<sup>146</sup> specifically focused on the birth of post-colonial Swazi army which was created to fill an existing security vacuum with the departure of the British. They raise the issue of a modern army which is undemocratic as it wipes away any forms of demonstrations by political groups which they feel it is an internal threat to the Swazi government. And in their conclusion they state that the Swazi army if faced with the HIV/AIDS prevalence which reduces the personnel in the military. However, they have failed to demonstrate how the army has evolved since establishment.

Simelane, Kunene and Magongo<sup>147</sup> affirms that Swaziland like most sub-Saharan countries face the challenges imposed by HIV/AIDS. They further highlight the commitment of government by

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<sup>143</sup> H. Kuper. *An African Aristocracy: Rank among the Swazi*, (1980), p64.

<sup>144</sup> P. Esterhuizen. '*The Legacy of Sobhuza II*', *Africa Insight*, Vol 14, No 1, (1984). p.171.

<sup>145</sup> Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p9

<sup>146</sup> M. Rupiya et al. *Caught Between Tradition and Regional Warfare: The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force*. Institute of Security Studies, (2005)

<sup>147</sup> H.S. Simelane, S.C. Kunene and T. Magongo. "HIV/AIDS in the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force" .Martin Rupiya. Institute for Security Studies (South Africa). *The enemy within: Southern African militaries' quarter-century battle with HIV and AIDS*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, (2006)

ejecting resources to combat the epidemic which is ravaging the personnel. A large body of literature has emerged addressing some of the research concerns surrounding the havoc in Swaziland caused by the pandemic. In spite of the numerous works on HIV/AIDS in Swaziland, research gaps are still glaring. It is in light of such aspect that the study be undertaken. The study builds on the works of these authors by capturing the actual experiences of officers with regard to professionalism since Swaziland obtained independence.

Hamilton Simelane <sup>148</sup>who has written extensively on socio-political and economic history of Swaziland looked at how corruption has jeopardized the economy of the country. He has focused on the major problems that has faced African countries since political independence and how poverty has affected the lives of the populations of the countries. He ascertain that there were numerous issues behind African poverty, corruption has emerged as one of the critical drivers. To address the problem of corruption African governments have been forced to experiment with different strategies, one of which has been the establishment of anti-corruption agencies. Swaziland is one of the African countries that has a huge problem of corruption, and has responded with the formation of an anti-corruption agency. Since its inception, the agency has failed to operate effectively and corruption has continued to rise. The army has the same problem of corruption and no study has attempted to highlight the problems faced by the army due to corruption. His work will provide a foundation on the issue of corruption. This study will highlight the reasons that has led to the failure of the anti –corruption unit to curb corruption in the army and the problem of corruption in Swaziland and the steps taken to curb it.

Precious Sihlongonyane <sup>149</sup>examined the developments of the military in Swaziland in the Colonial and Post-Colonial period from 1939 – 2006. Her main focus was the nexus between the traditional Swazi regiments and the modern army. She argued that even though the modern army was established in Swaziland its members were drawn from the existing pool of traditional regiments. In her study she was bound by time frame and her study was limited to the formation and

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<sup>148</sup> The Swazi Monarchy and the Poor Performance of the Swazi Anti- Corruption Agency, 2006–2009. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* ,47(4) ,pp.421–435,(2012)

<sup>149</sup> P.Sihlongonyane .The making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-colonial Swaziland 1939-2006.M.A Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni ,(2010)

challenges faced by the army. While the current study will investigate the dynamics that led to the development of the modern Swazi army and how it has developed over time.

Majority of scholars are interested in the making of the military in colonial period in Africa and those that focused on the establishment in post colony were more interested in civil-military relations. As the overview of the existing literature has been looked at, the proposed research has drawn out concrete aspects. Most of the scholars in the field of civil –military relations are based in the Western world which their theories had a strong impact on the study of civil-military relations in Africa. These theories have proved to be varied in some areas outside the Western world. However, these works has provided a framework for this thesis. I shall test which of the theories fits well in the case of Swaziland.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has given an overview of literature. The seminal theories of Huntington, Janowitz and Finer, Welch, Decalo and Feaver have been examined on the applicability to the African context. Even though these theories have been tailored to fit a certain aspect, it has been shown that they also have imperfection and insufficiency. This may be due to their Western centric views and period of publication. This chapter has demonstrated the insufficiency of the dichotomy and has shown the importance of viewing civil- military relations along the scale of a continuum. In conclusion, the literature on civil-military relations in an emergent democracy reveals that institutionalization of civilian control is an important dimension of the transition process.

The legislature, as a body representative of the people, plays a key role in controlling and overseeing the military. In developing democracies where the military has been previously held significant privileges, it is important that the legislature passes bills and exercises oversight authority to limit or overturn the privileges. The MoD plays a key role in controlling the armed forces. This is done primarily by placing civilians in key positions at the MoD to ensure that policies formulated on defense-related topics are linked to the government's goals. The MoD plays an integral part in the day to day oversight of the armed forces. The most central role that the MoD plays, is to act as a buffer between the military and civilian leaders. This buffer

safeguards that the military is not politicized by deceitful civilian politicians and that the military does not engage in politics. Lastly, because democracy is representative of the people, civil society is part of the foundation for establishing or ensuring an additional layer of oversight of the armed forces and the political institutions controlling them. A strong civil society can be far reaching with its impact on promoting dialogue, creating policies, and finally institutionalizing civilian control of the armed forces. It has further looked at the theories suitable for the study. The next chapter deals with the birth of the Swazi army. Swaziland was envisaged without war-making capacity in that the state was born without a military.

# CHAPTER THREE

## The Birth of the Swazi Army

### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

Armed forces are unique institutions designed with specific characteristics. Armed forces have been established as a modern institution to provide a self-guard to state. They are considered as instruments of war equipped with weaponry and substantial coercive power that make their loyalty a necessity for state survival. Militaries are modeled as tightly organised and extremely disciplined entities characterised by a hierarchy of ranks and a culture of obedience. Analysed from this perspective, they are highly effective bureaucratic organisations, to the extent that they breed hardness and discourage innovation and initiative. In addition, militaries are characterised by a set of values, a unique culture, and an *esprit de corps* that prepares their members to fight and kill.

This chapter examines the evolution and development of the military in Swaziland within the regional and national security context. The chapter argues that post-colonial Swaziland was envisaged without war-making capacity in that the state was born without a military. An understanding of the evolution of the USDF can only make coherence if it is attached with an understanding of the regional and national circumstances that gave rise to its creation. The country has enjoyed political peace in a region that has encountered conflict and internal struggle. Furthermore, it will analyze the development of the USDF five years after independence and its evolution since establishment in 1973.

### 3.1 Development of the USDF.

The development of USDF in Swaziland is a post-colonial phenomenon. The birth of the Swazi Army can be traced from 1973. By virtue of its geo-political location, Swaziland was immersed in the conflicts of Mozambique and South Africa. Swaziland's territory was a potential safe haven

and a launching pad of the guerrilla movements fighting for decolonization of South Africa.<sup>150</sup> Swaziland had no standing army of her own to manage the turbulent regional situation. The departure of the British in 1968 following the independence of Swaziland meant that the country had to assume her own security. The country was not in a position to check the infiltration of guerrillas from Mozambique and South Africa into its territory because it had no army of its own. Smugglers, illegal immigrants and refugees were flowing across the borders of the country.<sup>151</sup> The turbulence in the sub- region pointed to the urgency of the Swazi erecting their own army. After Mozambique's independence, Swaziland permitted the ANC a low-key but official presence in the country and a blind eye was often turned to the actions of its guerrillas.<sup>152</sup> King Sobhuza II got into an alliance with racist South Africa as a way of containing the ANC. The king was concerned about this as he spoke during the 8<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1976 about the unstable situation in South Africa. It was regional events that played a pivotal role in later years, necessitating for the creation of the military in Swaziland.

Threats came from regimes in other Southern African countries that were not independent like Swaziland. The white-settler regimes of South Africa and Mozambique were some of the threats that Swaziland faced. In order to survive as a new nation, Swaziland had to reconstruct and expand its Defense Force. The growth and expansion of the Swazi Army was important to protect the country's sovereignty. The liberation struggle intensifying, especially in the neighbouring states of South Africa in the Eastern part and Mozambique in the western part, Swaziland was increasingly bearing the heat of the conflict as these states had internal conflicts. This was primarily due to incursions into Swaziland's territory by freedom fighters from both countries. The armed struggles championed by the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) required a greater surveillance of

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<sup>150</sup> B.Nyeko, "Swaziland and South Africa since 1994: Reflections on Aspects of Post-Liberation Swazi Historiography", Mugenyi, "Swaziland: The Vagaries of Geopolitics, Subordination and Collaboration", (2005), p.35

<sup>151</sup> Interview, F.G. Dube, Former Brigadier General, Ludzidzini, 18 July, (2017). See also Tshabalala, Nhlengethwa and Rupiya, "Caught between tradition and regional warfare: The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force Since" 1968, (2005)

<sup>152</sup> John Daniel, Swaziland: JUST ANOTHER BANTUSTAN. Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, (1988), p.181

Swaziland's boundaries. Swaziland as a landlocked country surrounded by turbulent and belligerent neighbours engaged in internal and cross-border conflicts. Swaziland was a potential victim of infiltration of guerrillas from Mozambique and South Africa into its territory and her fragility was further underscored by the fact that she had no deterrent military force of her own.<sup>153</sup> Five years after independence, on 15 March 1973, King Sobhuza II passed a decree establishing the Royal Swaziland Defence Force. The police force was the only established force entrusted with the obligation of maintaining law and order and provision of security. The level of insecurity had been increased by a large number of firearms in the hands of unlicensed individuals. Although these crimes have frequently been linked to Mozambican refugees, there is evidence showing that the locals are also responsible for these crimes.<sup>154</sup>

From the time of independence in 1968 the Swazi state was characterized by weaknesses, which rendered it unable to discharge its obligation of being a protective shield for its citizens. The post-colonial period experienced the emergence of numerous sources of security threats to the general Swazi population. These were threats which the state failed to handle. This was especially the case with the emergence of non-state forms of organized violence that included criminal syndicates, gangs, and general lawlessness. These security threats were, to a large extent, a product of economic inequality. Such an affluence of sources of insecurity proved to be above the capacity of the newly independent Swazi state. The state had no capacity to effectively deal with the security concerns of the citizens. Such evolving security threats worked to explain for the development of the Swazi army.

Five years after independence, on 15 March 1973, King Sobhuza II passed a decree establishing the Royal Swaziland Defence Force. His Majesty King Sobhuza II outlined his reasons for setting up the Umtsofo Swaziland Defence Force about three years ago. The king gave his reasons when he addressed the regiments at Lozitha Royal Residence after weeding the Royal fields. (see

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<sup>153</sup> Tshabalala, Nhlengethwa and Rupiya, *Caught between tradition and regional warfare: The Umtsofo Swaziland Defence Force Since* 1968, (2005), p. 275

<sup>154</sup> John Daniel, *Swaziland: JUST ANOTHER BANTUSTAN*. Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, (1988), p.181. See also P.Sihlongonyane, *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and Post Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*, M.A Thesis, (2010)

appendix 2 for details). The police force was the only established force entrusted with the obligation of maintaining law and order and provision of security. The level of insecurity had been increased by a large number of firearms in the hands of unlicensed individuals. Although these crimes have frequently been linked to Mozambican refugees, there is evidence showing that the locals are also responsible for these crimes.<sup>155</sup>

The constitution that was used after independence in 1968 allowed political parties to contest for power in elections and this was a threat to the king as his power had to be challenged. The monarchy felt threatened by the manoeuvres of the opposition within the country which was caused by multipartyism and king Sobhuza II started expressing his nonchalance for multipartyism as obstructive and alien working in the general interest of the people. Political parties emerged during the pre- independence elections of 1964 and 1967. These were Imbokodvo (grindingstone), National Movement (INM), Swaziland Democratic Party (SDM), Swaziland People's Party (SPP), United Swaziland Association (USA), and the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC).<sup>156</sup> The country did not have an army that could tackle internal problems confronting the kingdom and the political tension in the state that were associated with the operation of multipartyism which was perceived as a threat to the survival of the monarchy thus necessitated the need for the formation of an army. The king started contemplating to establish a military force for purposes of maintaining the peace which he felt was being threatened by the opposition. At the end of the Incwala ceremony and the weeding of the Royal fields in 1972-3, the king hinted that a modern army would soon see the light of the day in Swaziland. He indicated that the way forward was to establish a permanent force. The "Tinkundla" (regional centres) were to be used as catchment centers for the recruitment of the army.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> John Daniel, Swaziland: JUST ANOTHER BANTUSTAN. Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies. (1988), p.181. See also P.Sihlongonyane, The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and Post Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006, M.A Thesis, (2010)

<sup>156</sup> R. Davies. The Kingdom of Swaziland. London: Zed books, (1985), pp.6-8

<sup>157</sup> Times of Swaziland, 9 September, (1973)

Elections were held in 1972, the NNLC showed its strength and won elections in three constituencies, giving them a victory of three of the twenty-four seats in parliament. This growth was clearly due to the dissatisfaction of the working class as those constituencies and a substantial percentage of the working class.<sup>158</sup> The NNLC increasingly became a threat to the ruling class and it was further necessitated by the dismissal of Mfanasibili, explicitly within the close relations of the royal family. The ruling class, INM, could not easily accept the NNLC's victory and refused to accommodate its members into parliament and went on to implement plans that would totally exclude them from parliament.<sup>159</sup> Within the space of a week, following the results of the elections, an NNLC candidate, Thomas Ngwenya, was labelled as an "undesirable person" and was expatriated to South Africa. In the subsequent months the events that followed the small victory of the NNLC made it modest on how far the traditional elite would go to have total and unchallenged power in ruling Swaziland. Thomas Ngwenya appealed in September 1972 and the High Court ruled out his deportation order. In October same year when he had to be sworn in as a member of parliament, the INM members of parliament (MPs) held a boycott to avert his swearing in due to the fact that a quorum was not formed. The Swazi parliament passed an amendment to the Immigration Act in November which replaced the High Court with the prime minister as the one with the definitive authority in a given matter for instance an argument over citizenship. Ngwenya and his lawyers appealed to the High Court, asserting that the act passed was unconstitutional and further petitioned the Swaziland Court of Appeal. The Swaziland Court of Appeal had three prestigious South African judges; it had replaced the British Privy Council which could reverse decisions made over areas in question. It is the same court that on 29 March 1973, declared the Immigration Amendment Act unconstitutional.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> A.R. Booth. *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, (1983). See also Davies, O'Meara & Dlamini. *The Kingdom of Swaziland: a profile*: Zed Books. (1985).

<sup>159</sup> R.H. Davies, D. O'Meara & S. Dlamini. *The Kingdom of Swaziland: a profile*: Zed Books. (1985).

<sup>160</sup> A.R. Booth. *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview, (1983).

Like most Southern African countries, the armed forces were the most important structure of the government organisation to be created because the military was seen not only as a national instrument to deal with internal and external security matters, but also as a material national symbol that participated in ceremonial functions and traditions representing the prestige of the newly independent nation.<sup>161</sup> The Force therefore, prides itself that the Swaziland Umbutfo Defence Force stands among a handful of militaries in the continent that were truly home grown. When Swaziland achieved her independence in 1968, she had no army, depending instead on a police force with deep roots in the colonial era. The country waited another five years before creating a military and had seen it develop into a capable, well-educated and self-disciplined force that was attracting some of the nation's most talented young people.

The Swazi army established army barracks in the four regions in strategic positions and it was done according to the internal treats of the time. Nsingizini is found in the Hhohho region it controls the infiltration in the northern border of Swaziland. The infiltration includes the unwanted people from the Republic of South Africa and any smuggling activities.<sup>162</sup> Mdzimba barracks used for military activities within the kingdom (internal usage). Mlidazwe is in the Lubombo region mostly used for controlling the coming of illegal immigrants from Mozambique and South Africa (protecting the eastern frontline). Zombodze barracks was used for part time soldiers. Mbangweni in the Shiselweni region was for internal use.<sup>163</sup>

The country's humble resources reinforced the decision of the type of military to be established in Swaziland as there was no money for a larger unrestricted sector in the army. The Swaziland Police could not cope with these threats, and citizens threatened by the cross-border violence increasingly clamoured for protection from their government. The Swazi Armed Forces was established by the Armed force Order 1973 which states that "there shall be a defence force for

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<sup>161</sup> H.L. Phiri, THE REBELLION OF ENLISTED PERSONNEL AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN MALAWI. M.A Thesis. December p. 31, (2011). See also Martin Rupiya. *Evolutions and Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militaries in the Southern Africa* Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, (2005), issafrica.org, Accessed July 22, (2017).

<sup>162</sup> Interview, Jeffery Tshabalala, Deputy army Commander, Nokwane,18 October, (2017)

<sup>163</sup> Interview, Jeffery Tshabalala, Deputy army Commander,31 October, (2017)

the maintenance of internal security and the defence of Swaziland".<sup>164</sup> The USDF comprises of the Swaziland Army, Air Force, and Navy.<sup>165</sup> Swaziland being landlocked does not maintain a Navy. In April 1973 the country reversed its earlier decision, and, established the Swaziland Umbutfo Defence Force (USDF), an unambiguously military establishment and was comprised of approximately 10,000 personnel, which was drawn from World War II veterans (who had supported the Allied war effort) and soldiers from former colonial militia, but also included individuals with no previous military experience.<sup>166</sup> To date the USDSF has not been involved in operations outside Swaziland (with the exception of peacekeeping operations) but has frequently been involved in the suppression uprisings and the expression of opposition ideas on behalf of the monarchy.

The establishment of the USDF was clearly a reaction to the deteriorating regional security situation in the 1970s, of training and materiel acquisition. During that period; many Swazi officers received military education from overseas countries, the primary one being the United Kingdom (UK) at the Royal Military Academy. The Army leadership understood very well that the only way the Swazi Army was going to enhance professionalism was by investing in the education of young officers to lead the Swazi Army. Therefore, the Professional Military Education (PME) that the Swazi Army officers received from overseas countries at independence contributed to the professionalization of the Swazi Army.<sup>167</sup> The country engaged in a vigorous effort to broaden its military officers, sending them to military schools in the United Kingdom (UK), Switzerland, Taiwan, Israel, South Africa and Kenya all made military assistance and training available to Swaziland. Among these were the first USDF personnel to attend command and staff and war colleges, essential education for senior military leaders in the armies of developed countries. The various partnerships contributed to substantial and growing

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<sup>164</sup> Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force Standing Order, (1977)

<sup>165</sup> Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force Standing Order, (1977)

<sup>166</sup> Tshabalala, Nhlengethwa and Rupiya, *Caught between tradition and regional warfare: The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force Since* 1968, (2005), pp. 276-277

<sup>167</sup> Interview, F.G. Dube, Former Brigadier General, Ludzidzini, 30 July, (2017)

professionalism, evident in the USDF by the end of the 1980s, but it was neither quickly nor easily achieved.

The reform that took place in the army was the publication of a new Army Code whose provisions came into effect on 10 October 1977. The Army Code provided for an armed force, with the King as commander-in-chief. (See picture 1 below). King clad in the army uniform during pass out. The Swazi Army comprises of three elements: the army, air force and navy. In a spirit of merging the modern and the traditional a World War veteran was appointed as the army commander.<sup>168</sup>

### **His Majesty King Mswati III Commander in Chief**



**SOURCE: Mass Media Production USDF**

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<sup>168</sup> Daniel John, 'The Political Economy of Colonial and Post-Colonial Swaziland', *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol. 7, No 6, (1982)

### 3.2 The Role of the USDF in promoting Security to the State

The primary tasks of the armed forces in the area of internal security included:

- protecting the King/monarchy (i.e. Queen Mother, princes and princesses);
- protecting royal residences across the country; and
- safeguarding key strategic points.<sup>169</sup>

The primary responsibility of the USDF is to protect the integrity of the country's borders and to assist in the maintenance of internal security. There are also secondary roles. They include saving life and property in times of emergency like disaster.<sup>170</sup> They also provided tents for shelter in affected areas due to storm. The Defence Policy includes other roles of the USDF as participation in national economic development activities in peacetime, provided such participation does not impede the ability of the USDF to carry out its core missions.<sup>171</sup> Over the years the USDF has lived up to expectations regarding its missions and roles. In 1984, during the cyclone that took place in the country, the USDF was tasked to restore bridges in the affected areas and transport affected people to their destinations. The USDF has also been used to support the police force in anti- poaching operations targeting armed people who come to the country with illegal fire arms.<sup>172</sup> Umutfo comes from the traditional regiments of lindimpi and umsizi thus culture was left in the hands of the army. Soldiers sharpen their skills for defence at Mbuluzi School of Infantry in case there are intensive strikes in the country they should be ready to bring order. Another role of the army is to protect the monarchy and citizens from unrest and terrorism. Thus it is able to control any threat to the Swazi monarchy. As the king declared the State of Emergency, he simultaneously announced the formation of an army which would be loyal and responsible to the royal family and the monarchy. The national army would also serve to suppress opposition parties and movements that the king was very distasteful of and for a while he had been doubting the loyalty of the police

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<sup>169</sup> Tshabalala, Nhlengethwa and Rupiya, *“Caught between tradition and regional warfare: The Umutfo Swaziland Defence Force Since”* 1968, (2005), p.282

<sup>170</sup> Interview J. S Tshabalala, Deputy Army Commander, Nokwane, 28 July, (2017)

<sup>171</sup> Interview, Fonono Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 30 July (2017) *See Also* Swaziland Government Document, USDF Standing Order, (1977)

<sup>172</sup> Interview, J. S Tshabalala, Deputy Army Commander, Nokwane, 28 July (2017)

force. All of these immediate changes and amendments to the political order of Swaziland was, again, justified to have been carried out as per the “Swazi tradition”.<sup>173</sup>

The Army is an esteemed profession, founded on a foundation of trust. Meaning that there is trust between Soldiers; trust between Soldiers and Leaders; Trust between Soldiers and Army Civilians; trust between Soldiers, their Families and the Army; and trust between the Army and the Swazi people. By the solemn oath, they are morally committed to support and defend the Constitution of the country each time they graduate. This duty requires a foundation of trust with the Swazi people who grant them autonomy to use lethal force on their behalf, only because they have earned their trust. Army professionals understand and accept that they may give their lives and justly take the lives of others to accomplish the mission intended for. The moral implications of this realization compel essential bonds of mutual trust within cohesive teams. The Nation tasks the Army with a number of besides combat operations, ultimately, the primary reason the Army exists is to fight and win the Nation’s wars through prompt and sustained land combat as part of the joint force. The Army and each of its members must maintain the readiness to accomplish this mission, now and in the future. Once a Soldier, always a Soldier... The purpose of the information is to introduce and reinforce who they are as Army Professionals and what they represent as Soldiers. Their job is to fully understand, comprehend and demonstrate their proficiency by reciting to the Drill Sergeant and leaders either individually or as a group. Soldiers rely on one another to stay encouraged and reach ultimate performance. Although required in Initial Military Training, Soldiers will form natural bonds with their fellow Soldiers as part of Army culture. To contribute to team spirit, they live by the friend system. A friend team is defined as two Soldiers in the same unit who look after each other at all times. By getting to know other Soldiers on a professional and personal level, you learn how to improve yourself and encourage others. Working together, with your battle friend assist in learning initiative, responsibility, trust, and dependability.

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<sup>173</sup> A.R. Booth. *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview, (1983). See also R. Davies. *The Kingdom of Swaziland*. London: Zed books, (1985). See also J. Daniel and J. Vilane. *Swaziland: Political Crisis, Regional Dilemma*. *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 13(35), (1986).

While at the Reception Battalion, (BCT) same-gender Soldiers (male-male and female-female) are placed in friend teams. For that reason, they are paired based on their strengths, so the friend can complement each other's weaknesses. The friend responsibilities is not to leave their friend alone, let them go into an office or room by themselves; even if a Drill Sergeant, Platoon Sergeant or Instructor says it's okay. They keep their friend safe and free from harm, they know the whereabouts of their friend at all times, pass information to their friend, encourage and support them to train harder and do better. They help their friend solve problems, inform Cadre of any changes in their friend's behavior, in the end, the most rewarding part of the friend system is making every Soldier your friend; for any one of them could help one accomplish their mission or save their life in combat. Army Values are ethical and moral foundation as Soldiers are solidified in the seven Army which include, Values Loyalty, Duty, Respect, Selfless Service, Honor, Integrity, and Personal Courage. They are at the core of who they are as individuals, as Soldiers, as Professionals and as Swazis. Whether on or off-duty, Soldiers live these values every day. The easiest way to remember the Army Values is through the acronym "LDRSHIP".

Loyalty refers to bearing true faith and allegiance to the Swazi Constitution, the Army, your unit, and other Soldiers. Bearing true faith and allegiance is a matter of believing in and dedicating yourself to the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force. A loyal Soldier is one who supports his or her leader and stands up for fellow Soldiers. By wearing the uniform of the USDF one expresses loyalty to the Nation, Family, and their fellow Soldiers. The responsibility of a soldier is to fulfill these obligations. Doing their duty means carrying out their assigned tasks and being able to accomplish the mission as part of a team. Duty also requires one to work hard every day to be a better Soldier. Everyone in our Army contributes to the mission if they do their duty.

Respect means treating people as yourself would want to be treated. Respect allows us to appreciate the best in other people. Respect is trusting that all people have done their jobs and fulfilled their duty. Self-respect is also a vital ingredient and is a result from knowing you have put forth your best effort. The Army is one team, and all contribute best when they are treated

with respect. Selfless service include putting the welfare of the Nation, the Army, and the subordinates before an individual. In serving the country, one need to be loyal without thought of recognition, reward, or personal comfort. Selfless services is the commitment of each team member to go a little further, endure a little longer, and look a little closer to see how he or she can add to the team effort without thought of personal gain.

Honour in the army refers to live up to Army Values. It is a matter of carrying out, acting, and living the values of loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, integrity, and personal courage in everything you do. It is doing what they know is right even when no one is looking.

Integrity means doing what is right, legally and morally. It is a quality one develops by adhering to moral principles. Once it is lost, it is the hardest to recover. It requires complete honesty in your words and actions. As your integrity strengthens, so does the trust of others places in you. Trust is one of the most important attributes in the profession. The more choices you make based on integrity, the more highly prized value will characterize your relationships with family and friends, and finally, define you as a person and a Soldier.

Personal courage face and overcome fear, danger, or adversity (physical or moral).It has long been associated with the Army. Courage is a matter of enduring physical duress and at times risking personal safety. Facing fear or adversity may require continuing forward on the right path, especially if taking those actions is not popular with others. You can build your personal courage by daily standing up for and acting upon the things that you know are right which is the Soldier's Creed and Warrior Ethos.

### ***3.3 Recruitment of new personnel to the Army***

Recruitment is the moment when the diverse paths of thousands of men and women meet in a common decision to join the USDF. It represents those who would be soldier's first interactions

with the Army's bureaucracy and with the challenges and opportunities of navigating it. The organizational structure of the Swazi Army was inherited from Britain forty-nine years ago when the country gained independence. Since independence, the Swazi Army has grown in recruitment and in equipment holding with officers receiving Professional Military Education (PME) from overseas Army institutions.<sup>174</sup> On the local institution, Officer Cadets are sent to the Mbuluzi Army Barracks for officers' basic training. Recruitment of the people who eventually became members of the USDF was first done at the different Tinkhundla where it was announced about the recruitment exercise. The USDF uses the media such as radio, television, and newspapers to inform the public about recruitment centres, procedures, and requirements. The recruits were from all segments of the Swazi population yet majority of them seem their ages is between eighteen and thirty. Although no study has dealt with the gender composition of the army, evidence indicates that the USDF employed both men and women. There is still need for in-depth research into this area so as to find out the types of responsibilities given to the different sexes, and the whole issue of the working conditions of the army. What is important for Swaziland is that USDF have given equal opportunity of employment to both men and women even though anecdotal evidence indicates that men outnumber women. The people employed were not required to satisfy any level of education on recruitment, except that they should be able to read and write English.

Recruitment and selection processes in the USDF are traditional in the sense that human resource management follows formal procedure according to the USDF Order, people are recruited into the USDF based on objective criteria such as citizenship, marital status, education, age, physical fitness, and good conduct.<sup>175</sup> King Sobhuza II did not intend to leave out any able-bodied Swazi in the modern army when he was setting it up because in traditional warriors from the Umutfo (the king's body guards), "complete with disciplinary code and hierarchical command".<sup>176</sup> Recruits for the army were to be below the age of 60 years. It was meaningful for Sobhuza II to venture into establishing a modern conventional army from his trusted Umutfo traditional elements in

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<sup>174</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Deputy Army Commander, Nokwane, 28 July, (2017)

<sup>175</sup> Swaziland Government Document, USDF Standing Order, (1977)

<sup>176</sup> H Kuper. Sobhuza II Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland. London: Duckworth, (1978), pp.76-77

order to avert the nasty experiences of coup d'état that several post-colonial politicians had suffered in Africa.

During the first few years after the establishment of the USDF, recruitment was based on political loyalty to the monarchy since the first recruits to the army were recruited from the trusted regiments of Lindimpi and Umsizi.<sup>177</sup> Factors such as education were given low priority especially among the rank and file since the main issue was allegiance to the king. The recruits from the traditional regiments came with their command which made it easier for the recruits to follow orders. Later on in 1977 the Defense Forces Regulation, Standing Order 10 of 1977 was implemented which laid out the basic requirements for recruitment into the USDF. Over the years, the policies and strategies for recruitment have been reviewed and improved as new roles, missions, and responsibilities have evolved. The recruitment method currently used is to send recruitment teams to all four districts in the 55 constituencies to interview and test applicants for the military.<sup>178</sup> The system of sending out recruitment teams was also used during the early years when USDF was established.<sup>179</sup> Recruitment is conducted through the Defense and Security Committee in the Regions. Defense and Security Committee test applicants from the regions who have been scrutinized already by the region Executive Defense and Security Committees (See picture below for recruitment exercises at the Constituencies). Giving the mandate to scrutinize applicants at the regional level the Defense and Security Committee ensures quality and background checks because recruits who do not meet the stated criteria are dropped at this level. This process is repeated at the national level where the recruits undergo final tests including medical examinations.

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<sup>177</sup>Interview, Fonono Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 03 August, (2017)

<sup>178</sup> Times of Swaziland, (1973)

<sup>179</sup> Swaziland Government Document, USDF Standing Order, (1977)

## **Army Officers at Work Recruitment Training at Constituencies**



**Source: Swazi Observer**

The selection procedures attempted to ensure that those who are enrolled are suited for both the military and the occupation to which they will be assigned at the end of the training. To ensure the representation of people throughout the country, the USDF uses the four Regions in the country. Recruitment with professional knowledge and skills follows the same procedures outlined above. These include, nurses, lawyers, to name just a few. Having passed all of the tests, all applicants, regardless of their professions, undergo a six month-long basic training before being posted to different units. The recruitment policy was reviewed in 1977 to raise the minimum education entry levels to secondary school certificate for the enlisted and high school certificate or above for officers. Prospective candidates had to be between the ages of 18-30 years and with no criminal records. Recruitment in the army is not yearly instead it depends on the availability of

post where people have retired and according to the need of the country.<sup>180</sup> The PRO Khanya said it was not known when the army will conduct the next recruitment exercise. “We will be recruiting but no date has been set yet. People will know because it will be announced once logistics have been completed. The last recruitment was in 2010.”<sup>181</sup>

Deputy Army Commander Lieutenant General Jeffrey Sipho Shabalala, on behalf of Army Commander Sobantu Dlamini in 2017 made an announcement on the recruitment exercise. Shabalala said the USDF would be recruiting in a bid to fill vacant posts that have been in existence in the army for a long time. He said the team will be deployed around the country to conduct the recruitment exercise. They would be working hand in hand with chiefs and acting chiefs in the respective chiefdoms. “We are inviting young men and young women who are physically and psychologically fit to partake in the recruiting process. The decisive factor in this recruiting is young men and women who are prepared to endure Mbuluzi Army Barracks training,” he said.<sup>182</sup>

Shabalala further stated that the young men and women should be prepared to follow to all the rules at the intense training in Mbuluzi Army Barracks. The army is not a place for people who have failed at school or those who are desperate job seekers but only serious citizens who would work for the army and country. “We do not want people who are always complaining, but citizens who are willing to work without any complaints. From the day they pass-out, they should be willing to serve in the army for a lifetime. The kind of people we are looking for are those to be deployed anywhere in the world. The army is not the type of job where you come and go, but it is a lifetime job.”<sup>183</sup> The PRO Khanya Dlamini could not disclose how many people the army looked at recruiting because that would be determined by government’s financial muscle. “The numbers of recruits differ with every recruitment exercise, depending on whether government can meet the

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<sup>180</sup> Interview, Nkosinathi Dlamini, Public relations officer, Nokwane, 7 August, (2017)

<sup>181</sup> Times of Swaziland ,30 May (2013)

<sup>182</sup> The Swazi Observer, (2017)

<sup>183</sup> The Swazi Observer, (2017)

figures that we want.<sup>184</sup> The army is the most important institutions in society as it does not protect the nation only, instead it is part of its mandate and it is a reflection of the government.

### 3.5 Training of the recruits in the Army

According to Bashista,<sup>185</sup> training refers to technical and tactical competence of military leaders on all levels. Training in the army may be used to inculcate a particular institutional culture. For instance, the strengths from most armed forces in the world today use their training resources as a tool for the cultivation of mission tactics considered as building blocks. It emphasized on a culture of decentralised command, considered an indispensable organising and operational element in modern armed forces, on lower command levels.<sup>186</sup>

According to Burke<sup>187</sup> basic training aims at transforming individuals into standard, “government-issue” soldiers by erasing civilian identities that have been formed over many years. During basic training, recruits are prohibited to contact with the civilian world, the anchor to their former selves. Furthermore, recruits undergo a process of “the individuation,” the suspension of the self and the uncritical investment in a group identity. A sense of anonymity arises from the group identity, a loss of self-awareness that allow a person to perform acts that a self-conscious individual ordinarily would not. By erasing self-awareness, military training dissolves the inclination toward self-regulation and crystallizes the willingness to be regulated by others.<sup>188</sup> Military recruits lose their various pre-existing civilian identities and/or individual self in becoming soldiers, and that the new

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<sup>184</sup> Times of Swaziland, 17 December, (2013)

<sup>185</sup> R.J. Bashista. “*Auftragstaktik*: It’s More Than Just a Word”, *Amor*, Vol CIII, No 6, Nov-Dec, (1994), p. 19. See also the following article: J.L. Silva. “*Auftragstaktik*: Its Origin and Development”, *Infantry*, September

<sup>186</sup> J. Bunting. “The Humanities in the Education of the Military Professional”, In L. J. Korb, (ed). *The System for Educating Military Officers in the U.S.* International Studies Association. Pittsburg, (1976), p.158

<sup>187</sup> C. Burke. From recruit to soldier: Military discipline is enforced with marching chants, and their often sexist, racist, and brutal messages. *The Women's Review of Books*, 21(12), (2004b)p. p.6

<sup>188</sup> C. Burke *Camp All-American, Hanoi Jane and the high-and-tight: Gender, folklore, and changing military culture.* Boston: Beacon Press,(2004a), p.46

soldier identity is therefore completely uninfluenced by these previous civilian identities. Further, it is assumed that this is because the retention of such pre-existing identities would hinder the internalization of soldier hood.

Military training is about educating officers what to reflect. Training is often associated with "narrow" forms of learning as the direct opposite of "broad" forms of learning which are regarded as education in the normal governmental institutions. This does not degrade learning in the training situation to the level of irrelevance. The "narrowness" of training is an explanation of its limited range of applications that is learned during training and there is little cognitive understanding involved.<sup>189</sup> In the military, training is rooted in the disciplined execution of drills in weapons, fighting and other drills as well as standard operational procedures.<sup>190</sup> Criterion objectives are appropriate for training and require that under a given set of conditions a student will exhibit a specific behaviour to a certain predetermined level of standard.<sup>191</sup> The trained officers respond to orders which are immediate, precise, and instructions are followed fully.<sup>192</sup> According to Moorcraft <sup>193</sup> a trained officer, follows what he is told to do. Training does not teach the officer "how to think" instead "what to think".<sup>194</sup>

Training therefore, is a closed system given that the trained officers are easily recognised as knowing the "right answers", and doing things the "accepted manner". The results of each trained individual in every situation can be expected to look the same.<sup>195</sup> There are accurate and inaccurate

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<sup>189</sup> K.Lawson, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>190</sup> A.J. Esterhuysen. "Strategy, Operational Art and Tactics: Who is Responsible for What in the SANDF?", *African Armed Forces Journal*, July, (2000), p.32

<sup>191</sup> J.A Kline. Op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>192</sup> K.Lawson. Op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>193</sup> Moorcraft. Op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>194</sup> J.A Kline. Op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

ways of doing things and a distinction between correct and incorrect issues clearly defined. Training allows little room for variation in procedures.<sup>196</sup> In military training, the need to be functionally relevant and job-specific dominates. According to Kelley<sup>197</sup> training creates competence in using tools required for tasks. It focuses on group-orientated, requiring the individual to subject his personal identity, needs and wants to that of the group. The emphasis is on teamwork and immediate, coordinated obedience to externally imposed directives. Military training methods usually involve verbal instruction and demonstration<sup>198</sup>. It emphasises on conformity, constraint and order to ensure that "... fear is instilled; aggression evoked, and disorder prevented."<sup>199</sup> The training of military personnel goes beyond training in the specifics of particular tasks or jobs. Training in the co-ordination of specific tasks as part of a larger unit is necessary.<sup>200</sup>

Military training highlights the importance of obedience, independence of action and self-esteem. Obedience in this context refers to adherence to the intention of the higher commander, expressed in terms of purpose and what it will look like once it has been done. Within the context of the higher commander's intention, the subordinate should be allowed to exploit the initiative through independence of action. Training should focus on the development of the self-confidence and self-esteem of all subordinate leaders.

Military training is an unremitting process that does not include the acquirement of initial skills, knowledge, attitudes and understanding necessary for the performance of tasks and roles, instead for frequent rehearsals and practice. The daily life of soldiers, airmen and sailors is itself a process of training in which they simultaneously do their job and learn to improve their performance. There is frequent change and development in doctrine, procedures, technology and roles. Military training involves not only frequent retraining, instead periodic rehearsals and exercises.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> K. Lawson. Op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>197</sup> J.W Kelley. Op. cit., p. 104

<sup>198</sup> K.Lawson, Op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>199</sup> C. Downes. *Special Trust and Confidence: The Making of an Officer*, Frank Cass, London. (1991),p. 135

<sup>200</sup> K. Lawson. Op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>201</sup> K. Lawson. Op. cit., p. 2

Periodic military exercises manoeuvres, as it is known in some countries which are well established features of the training of armed forces in combined arms warfare. Being a member of the USDF is not just like having a civilian job. In the military, there will always be someone telling you what to do, when to do it, and how to do it and you have to do it. Sometimes they will tell you what to do something that you do not want to do, or tell you in a way that makes you angry. Failing to do it is not an option. The purposive defying of a lawful order won't just get you "fired," as it would in a civilian occupation, it can get you sent to jail. In the military, you will work the hours you are told to work, work "overtime" with no additional pay, do the tasks assigned to do (even if they don't relate exactly with your "job"), live where you are told to live, and deploy where and when you are told to deploy. If you're not absolutely willing to make these sacrifices, then do yourself and the government a big favor and don't join.

Lawson ascertains that weapon training: "... the purpose of all weapons training is to kill the enemy".<sup>202</sup> It is not required that trainers make moral judgments about the worthwhile of the ends which they serve. The trainer could be regarded as a technician judging the effectiveness of the training he provided and not the purpose it serves.

Officer Cadets undergo six months of training at MAB. The six months of vigorous military training covers subjects like Amour, Artillery, Engineers, Signals, Ordinance, Transport, Infantry, Organizational Structure of the Ubutfo Defense Force, Voice Procedure, Driving, Swimming, Drill, Survival Training (Escape and Evasion), Roles of the Defense Force Locally and Internationally. In the final analysis, the six months spent at MAB suggests that more needs to be done in order to cover more subjects in PME.<sup>203</sup> When officers attain the rank of Captain, they undergo training and education for company commanders and squadron leaders.

In military training, for instance, recruits are systematically closed off from civilian life in an effort to change 'boys' to 'men and be like animals'<sup>204</sup>. This supports the statement when saying that

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<sup>202</sup> K. Lawson. Op. cit., p. 2

<sup>203</sup> USDF Policy for Recruitment and Training, (1977)

<sup>204</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 07 November ,(2017)

the military attracts “recruits with the attributes suitable for molding into an identified finished product, the competent soldier”. Recruits learn that there is a cult of toughness and masculinity traditionally associated with making soldiers out of civilians. They are taught that the proper response is to exhibit courage, endurance, toughness and lack of squeamishness.<sup>205</sup> Military training teaches that soldiering requires commitment and determination and that the defence of the country is touted as the reason for masculinity to be embraced, mobilized and highlighted in the military.<sup>206</sup> Military training aims at producing ‘warrior heroes’. The warrior hero is physically fit and powerful. He is mentally strong and unemotional. He is capable of both private, individual pursuit of his goals and self-denying contribution towards the work of the team. He is brave, adventurous, and prepared to take risks. Significantly, he possessed the abilities to conquer hostile environments, to cross unfamiliar terrain, and to lay claim to dangerous ground.

Battalion means that one has met their initial entry qualification requirements. While at the Military Entrance Processing Station they underwent a battery of aptitude tests and medical examinations to determine if they were qualified for military service. Congratulations, you passed! You’ve been vetted mentally, physically, and intellectually, by passing the Occupational Physical Assessment Test (OPAT), and the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB). You know what your future military occupational specialty Job will be, and then sworn into the USDF. Now it’s time for one to begin the transformation of becoming a Soldier.<sup>207</sup> During your stay at the Reception Battalion, BCT, one will be expected to read, study, and memorize all necessary information. The purpose of the information is to introduce and reinforce who they are as Army Professionals and what we represent as Soldiers. Their job is to fully understand, comprehend and demonstrate their proficiency by reciting it to the Drill Sergeant and leaders either individually or as a group. Upon arrival at their training company, the Drill Sergeants and cadre will in-process you and assign you to a platoon, which is a group of 60 Soldiers and 3 Drill Sergeants. Drill

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<sup>205</sup> F.J.Barrett, The organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity: The case of the US Navy. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 3(3), (1996), p 132. See also N. Mankayi, *Scientia Militaria*. South African Journal of Military Studies, Vol 34, Nr 2, p.45, (2006)

<sup>206</sup> F.J. Barrett. The organisational construction of hegemonic masculinity 3(3), (1996), pp.133-142

<sup>207</sup> Interview J.S. Tshabalala Deputy Army Commander, Nokwane, 18, November, (2017)

Sergeants are a mix of highly qualified male and female with 5-10 years of experience in the Army. The Company Commander (Captain) is in charge of the Company. The Commander establishes policy and has legal discipline authority over you and all assigned company personnel. The First Sergeant, who is the master trainer assists the Commander and supervises the Drill Sergeants and other Soldiers and civilians assigned to the company. There are typically 12 Drill Sergeants assigned to the company. They are responsible for the training and testing. There is also a Supply Sergeant (could be a civilian) who is responsible for the linen, pillows, cleaning supplies and the work orders needed to maintain the company. The Training Officer/Executive Officer (XO) is responsible for updating and maintaining training records and the coordination of each day's training events. The Army provides a safe living and learning environment for all Soldiers. Alarms are placed on doors that separate male and female Soldiers. This is to ensure no unauthorized entry during lights out or sleeping hours.

Training at the School of Infantry at Mbuluzi Army Barracks offers the Basic Recruit Training and other selected Military career courses. The basic Recruit training refers to initial instruction of new military personnel. The training is a physically and psychologically intensive process which socializes its subjects for the demands of military employment. The recruit training systematically stimulates aggression more especially for ground close roles. The psychological conditioning techniques are used to shape attitudes and behaviour, so that during their military life adhere to all orders, face mortal danger and kill their enemies in the battle field. The training is vigorous such that those who are weak can die and a certain percentage of the recruits drop out due to the intensity of the training (See picture below for army recruits driven to MAB). After the recruit training courses, the USDF value team work. One has to be a team player while in the training. The fortunate individuals who surpass the Recruitment training become soldier. They are later developed through Career Courses which prepare them to be commanders and proficient soldiers.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Interview J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 08 November, (2017). See also USDF Policy for Recruitment and Training, (1977)

## Recruits Driven to Mbuluzi Army Barracks



*Soldiers and aspiring recruits at Mbuluzi Army Barracks in this undated file photo. However, the people in the picture are not necessarily linked to the article.*

**Source: Swazi Observer**

Soldiers are expected to show no fear, sadness, or even joy; anger may be considered acceptable for men in some settings.<sup>209</sup> However, “soldiers must embody mastery over weaponry, and certain emotions that threaten the rational. By successfully demonstrating mastery, individuals are implicitly actualizing the gendered division between rational and irrational, between men and women. Beginning in basic training, military training teaches soldiers to shut off their emotions completely, a practice which is commonly known as the “soldier’s switch.” The military has been considered compared to sociologist explanation of a “total institution” as a rigid setting in which individual identities are broken down, reformulated, and separated almost completely from their former identities in order to serve the institutional mission. Another interpretation of this idea is to view the military as an exclusive community that necessarily defines itself in opposition to civilian life. Upon completion of basic training, service members receive their orders to report to their duty station where their mission begins. It is during their mission where they begin to

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<sup>209</sup> Interview Unanimous, Manzini, 28 July, (2017)

implement the strategies for adapting to the new culture of the military that they learned in boot camp.

Another important part in the shaping of the soldier is the mental break-down. This is done to make the soldiers forced to follow orders. Deputy Army Commander said:

...you break those [people from the civilian world] down to build them up again. That is how you build a soldier, or create a soldier. [...] You shall not talk up, sure you are entitled to views but an order is an order and you must be able to execute it. [...] Defiance cannot exist. This shows how things work in the army. Change is hard because you can have your own views but an order is still an order which needs to be followed. You are forced to accept the chain of command and military culture.<sup>210</sup> He joined the Swazi army in the 1970s.

When I joined the army at the age of 19years, I had no personality and I had no character. I was a pretty blank page. Therefore, the character that I developed was the character the instructors and the sergeants above me wanted me to have. They had been in the army all their life and I was a blank page, they were writing all over it. I became what they wanted... They got the idea across to me that killing was part of our game.<sup>211</sup>

Harrison <sup>212</sup>ascertains that recruits exchange their old identities for the military uniform, haircut, and daily routines. They are humiliated, derogated, and emptied of the achievements of their previous lives by being told repeatedly that nothing they did prior to coming to boot camp was important. The vacuum created in recruits' self-esteem by this harassment is then filled with the new 'combat-ready' identity that the military wishes to provide. Many rules are established when members enlist in the military. In basic training (also termed recruit training or boot camp), new recruits learn how to be soldiers. It is undeniable that basic training is difficult: "Drill sergeants

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<sup>210</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 07 November ,(2017)

<sup>211</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 07 November ,(2017)

<sup>212</sup> D. Harrison .Violence in the military community. In P. Higate (Ed.), *Military masculinities: Identity and the state* ( Westport, Connecticut: Praeger,(2003),p.74

are tasked with weeding out those who are physically unfit or are not mentally ready for military service.<sup>213</sup> Individual independence is not represented in the military culture; rather the military utilizes a collectivist approach.<sup>214</sup> Throughout the course of military training, a high value is placed on teamwork, leadership, loyalty, hierarchy, obedience, and community. Emphasis is placed on an authoritarian ideology, stressing the importance of discipline, control, rules, and regulations.<sup>215</sup> The entry into the military describes an initiation of rites such as those found in basic training, which reflect a powerful transformation. Civilians experience other rites of passage in their communities or religions. Rites can intensify a service member's commitment to the military.

A Drill Sergeant is a symbol of excellence in initial entry training, an expert in all warrior tasks and battle drills, lives the Army Values, exemplifies the Warrior Ethos, and most importantly is the epitome of the Army as a Profession. A Drill Sergeant wears the distinctive "campaign hat" or "bush hat" and is responsible for coaching, counseling, mentoring, and transforming Soldiers from a civilian volunteer to a combat-ready Soldier. When addressing a Drill Sergeant your response will be, yes, Drill Sergeant; no, Drill Sergeant, This is a form of respect to the Drill Sergeant and their position. Like the distinctive headgear they wear, each Drill Sergeant proudly wears their Drill Sergeant badge on their uniform. When drill sergeants were asked about what they perceive as characteristics of the ideal soldier, they identified key character traits such as respect, discipline, and motivation; physical fitness and a fit appearance were consistently identified by the majority of drill sergeants interviewed. This is understandable considering the emphasis on duty performance and rigorous training designed to prepare soldiers for combat. A primary role of a soccer coach is to mentor soccer players in order to perform physically. Drill sergeants play many roles, yet their primary duty is training soldiers to be combat ready. They also act as ideal soldier's role models and impart life skills which most BCT recruits have yet to

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<sup>213</sup> Interview, F.G Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 3 August,(2017)

<sup>214</sup> M.A. Rausch. Contextual career counseling for transitioning military veterans. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 51(2), (2014)

<sup>215</sup> T. Q. Strom, M. E Gavian, E. Possis, J. Loughlin, T. Bui, E. Linardatos and W. Siegel. Cultural and ethical considerations when working with military personnel and veterans: A primer for VA training programs. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, 6(2) , (2012),pp. 67-75

master. Training new recruits to become good soldiers was considered the main priority of the drill sergeants interviewed in this study, and most drill sergeants' identified good soldiers as being physically fit.

The difference between Drill Sergeants and Advance Individual Training Platoon Sergeants is the environment in which they train recruits. The basic combat training experience will be highly supervised by Drill Sergeants as they are encourage and evaluate on the ability to reach the highest Army standards. The Drill Sergeant enforces standards and their focus is on "attention to detail". Their job is to ensure recruits are mentally and physical fit to earn a place as a member of a team and be able to contribute as a soldier in AIT. During AIT and the latter portion of One Station Unit Training (OSUT), the training environment changes to one that best prepares one for first unit of assignment. Military Occupational Specialty (MOS) skills and additional Soldier skills will be introduced in an atmosphere geared to prepare recruits for the performance of their occupational specialty in a unit. The roles of Drill Sergeants and AIT Platoon Sergeants are comparable even though they train Soldiers during different phases of initial entry training. Drill sergeants transform new recruits into Soldiers AIT Platoon Sergeants, Squad Leaders and MOS Instructors train Soldiers to become proficient at their Army job/MOS and prepare them for their transition to their first assignment. Mannitz<sup>216</sup> highlighted that in the military, individuality and self-determination are replaced by discipline to ensure coercive operational. Soldiers need to be transformed from autonomous persons into useful "means" that serve the purpose of the institution, at least to some extent.

The Soldierization involves the process early entrance soldiers undergo a five-phase training program that prepares them for the transition from civilian to Professional Soldier. The phase advancement is a major "stepping stone" in their life, because each stage repeatedly tests and pushes them to be the best. In a highly supervised environment, they will experience training that challenges their physically and mentally. Successful Soldiers model the actions, behaviors, and Army Values exhibited by the Drill Sergeants and AIT Platoon Sergeants. Each of the five phases

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<sup>216</sup> S. Mannitz. Redefining soldierly role models in Germany. *Armed Forces & Society*, 37(4), (2011), p.682. See also Nina Harding. "You Bring It, We'll Bring It Out" Becoming a Soldier in the New Zealand Army, Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology. Massey University Manawatū: New Zealand (2016), p.15

is essential. They are identified by colors; each phase signifies a specific turning point in becoming a Soldier.<sup>217</sup> Being a Soldier is a 24-hour a day job, it is only fitting that military time is expressed using 24 hours. Platoon Sergeants help Soldiers transition from a completely supervised environment to one that involves more individual responsibility. This gives them a better understanding of the duties, discipline, and responsibilities they must maintain as a Soldier including personal appearance. A Soldier's appearance measures forms part of his or her professionalism. Proper wearing of the Army uniform is a matter of personal pride for all Soldiers.

The most exciting parts of the training for most recruits was the firearms portion of the course. Most of the youths were really aching to get their hands on a gun and learn how to shoot it, and their first chance to do this was usually a great thrill. Started out with dizzy-firing the guns or using rubber bullets for practice, and their first attempts with live bullets were thrilling and occasionally amusing. One woman remembered, "When you shoot an AK, the cartridges come out the back of the gun, over your shoulder got scared because he thought he was shooting himself by mistake. The first time I used a weapon it was exciting. They were taught how to assemble and disassemble, learning to do it in minutes, calculating the time and it was very exciting for the recruits. Then they learned on how to shoot a target, doing something practical, and they taught them how to use a grenade. It was a little scary for the first time, but as time went on, they needed confident. Learning to shoot really brought joy after completing training as it showed why they joined the army, and what they had accomplished. As the initial enthusiasm of transforming the Swazi army into modern standards gained momentum, Swazi military commanders had to come to grips that military training carried at home by local trainers was inadequate to prepare the army for the new demands in the modern world. The military command advised government on the necessity of sending the Swazi army out of the country for advanced training. Swaziland's High Commission to Kenya succeeded in negotiating for the training of the Swazi army in the Kenyan academy at Lanet.<sup>218</sup> The first Swazi to be sent for training in Kenya was Mfanawenkhosi Maseko who spent a year at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Kenyan Army Rifles. Six other Swazi's were subsequently selected

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<sup>217</sup> Interview Unanimous officer at Nokwane 28 November , (2017)

<sup>218</sup> Interview, F.G Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 3 August, (2017). *See also* Tshabalala *etal* , (2005) p.82

and dispatched to the Lanet-base Kenyan Armed Forces Training College to undergo an officers training course for a year. (See picture below for the cadets).

### **The six Cadets Trained in Kenya**



**SOURCE: Mass Media Production USDF**

In 1974 there were six cadets that were dispatched to the Lanet-based Kenyan Armed Forces Training College for a one-year officer training course. The six had been selected from the traditional *Ludlukhala* ('eat while you cry') Regiment that comprised one of the most trusted echelons of the traditional army. The *Ludlukhala* Regiment is likened to present day presidential guard units and was responsible for the personal safety and security of the King. The candidates

<sup>219</sup> were Gideon Dube, Abednego Dlamini, Mangomeni Ndzimandze, Phenduka Cindzi and Velinjani Motsa. They were trained in various categories which included pilots, para-troopers and magistrate combat engineers.<sup>220</sup> The young officer cadets returned to Swaziland in 1975 and were commissioned with major and captain ranks. This group was the first to take command of the Swaziland Defence Force. On their return to Swaziland these military cadres gave basic training of soldiers in small arms and support weapons, tactical training, map reading and bush craft. An infantry training school for no-commissioned officers was established at Mbuluzi Barracks and Jameson Ndzimandze, one of the six cadres, was appointed commandant. After the departure of general Dube the army was trained in Botswana for advanced courses. For senior courses they were trained in Taiwan and Britain. Some of the soldiers were sent to Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania.<sup>221</sup> The Swazi government also had training agreements which provided assistance to the army; they included the United States of America, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Taiwan, Israel, Tanzania and South Africa. Since 1998 Swazi army members received training in Britain for roles in peace keeping ventures.<sup>222</sup>

Defence force is infantry strong thus it is known as an infantry school. Training in the army is divided into their specialties: Air force school which is responsible for the protection of the sovereign state in the air, Air lifting is known as the cargo and there are also the joint forces which include the entire different field found in the army and they are known as administrators. There is also the Communication school where the soldiers learn communication skills used in the army. Lastly there is the Intelligence Course department which included those that are trained on information gathering. The School of Engineers-trained on the mining in the army like looking at the terrains. There is a misconception that the current generations of junior officers in the Swazi Army who are trained at MAB were generally viewed as less professional as compared to the senior officers who were mainly trained overseas like at Sandhurst in the UK.<sup>223</sup> The main

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<sup>219</sup> See also Tshabalala *etal*, ,(2005),p.276

<sup>220</sup>Interview, F.G Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 3 August, (2017). See also USDF Policy, (1974)

<sup>221</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 September, (2017)

<sup>222</sup> USDF Policy for Recruitment and Training, (1977)

<sup>223</sup> Interview, Nkosinathi Dlamini, Public relations officer, Nokwane,26 July (2017)

difference between MAB and the overseas Cadet Academies lies in the duration of cadet programs. At MAB the cadet program runs for six months while at West Point it is a four-year program.

The exact figures of army recruit each time the recruitment exercise is done they are not specific. For instance, in 2014 there were 700 recruits pass-out according to PRO Madoda Mkhathshwa. Some recruits leave the Mbuluzi barracks due to various reasons; this include the slapping which was a normal practice used by the military instructors when correcting the recruits during training. However, it did not go down well with one recruit who was a chief he said; “*Angeke ngikhone kushaywa yindvondza ngingabuyiseli,*” meaning ‘I cannot be slapped by a man and not retaliate’.<sup>224</sup> In the army one has to take orders, no retaliation.

The other form of corruption in the Army is favoritism of officers who are related to senior Army personnel. Some officers argue that certain appointments or abroad courses were only given to officers who were closely related to some senior Army personnel. However, it is difficult to verify that assertion because all officers have opportunities of travelling abroad on courses.<sup>225</sup> Officers just need to change their mindset more especially when it comes to the deployment of officers who were once dependents of Army personnel. Some of the favored officers are actually brilliant; therefore, the allegation of favoring of such officers could not be taken as truth.<sup>226</sup>

### **Military Ranks in the Swazi Army**

Training is directed towards equipping its members with the necessary skills, knowledge and attitudes for service in the USDF. Effective force preparation is the first and foremost consideration when determining the content, scope and cost of training. As the USDF is committed to providing the individual member with the greatest mobility in the work environment, it has established a Defence Training Board. Each member of the USDF has an equal opportunity of attending applicable scheduled courses. Training is hierarchically structured to allow for career

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<sup>224</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 14 September (2017)

<sup>225</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 27 July (2017)

<sup>226</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 September (2017)

development. Training shall therefore qualify an individual to rise to the highest level within his/her ability. In order to make training accessible to those previously educationally disadvantaged, programme are introduced to enable those who display potential to qualify on the applicable courses. The USDF currently presents over 2 00 formal courses per year, ranging from military development courses to war fighting skills training, some lasting a week while others last a year or more. In addition the USDF also trains a large proportion of its personnel in industry-related skills. While the starting level for most courses is at O'level, some senior courses are presented on the level of a post-graduate degree. To remain abreast of military developments and to improve its operational standards, the USDF will make use of international training. No foreign country will provide the total requirement for training in a particular field. The USDF will rather make use of such training opportunities to gain expertise in a particular field in order to introduce the newly acquired knowledge and skills into the USDF. To improve co-operation between the Southern African countries and to facilitate combined peace support operations in Africa, the USDF will make available to foreign countries places on USDF courses, with priority given to Southern African countries. It will also consider seconding trainers to countries which so request.

The contributions before the Selection Board for empanelling officers for higher ranks are confidential reports (CRs), performance on training courses, honours and awards, value judgment and negative inputs such as poor disciplinary awards. Of these inputs, CRs normally constitute approximately 90 per cent of the total weightage. In the past, articulated standing and employability in the higher rank of the officer being assessed was also taken into consideration before making the recommendation about his suitability for further promotion. However, after the Quantification Model was introduced in 2008, these inputs were by and large ignored. The operational performance of an officer against an external threat and in counter insurgency operations provides an important input. Therefore, CRs form the most important input in the Selection Board. The ACR system and its impact on an officer's career progression is often criticised on the grounds that it breeds sycophancy and induces sacrifice of moral courage merely to get a good CR. However, the fact remains that the CR system is well designed since the report is normally reviewed by two superior officers in the chain of command, after it is endorsed by the

initiating officer (IO). The Reviewing Officer (RO) and Senior Reviewing Officer (SRO) are required to moderate the report and eliminate biases of subjective reporting.<sup>227</sup>

Military rank is all about leadership and responsibility. An individual is promoted through the military ranks, he or she assumes additional responsibility for more personnel, equipment, resources, and missions operations. Military ranks are divided into three categories: enlisted, officer, and warrant officer. Enlisted rank includes the ranks of private, corporal, etc. Officers are lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels, general officers, etc. The rank of corporal exists primarily in combat units and denotes an individual with more responsibility than that of a specialist. A first sergeant has significantly more responsibility for personnel and is usually the senior ranking enlisted soldier in a company.

Warrant officers are also considered commissioned officers and hold warrants from their service authority. Warrant officers are generally considered technical experts in a specific area. They do not hold any command authority, nor are they responsible for personnel. They are experts in maintenance, computers, aircraft, personnel functions, and other areas. The Air Force is the only service that does not have the rank of warrant officer.

### **3.6 The Making of Lieutenants in the USDF (Promotions)**

The first step in the development of professional military officers is a process acknowledged as “the making of lieutenants.”<sup>228</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel is a rank found in the most of the land forces in the world. In the USDF, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel is ranking above a Major and below a Colonel. Lieutenant-Colonel is often shortened to "Colonel" in conversation and in unofficial correspondence. A Lieutenant-Colonel is typically in charge of a battalion in the Swazi Army. "Lieutenant" was the deputy to a "Captain", and as the rank structure of armies began to formalise, this came to mean that a Captain commanded a company and had several Lieutenants, each commanding a platoon. It employed a process whereby recruits are brought into the military and

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<sup>227</sup> Interview Unanimous officer at Nokwane 27 November , (2017)

<sup>228</sup> T.J. Crackel. "On the Making of Lieutenants and Colonels," *The Public Interest* 76, summer, (1984).

the training they received to become commissioned officers. Initially, *attitudes*: candidate officers need to embrace the military culture and become military intellect a process that sociologists refer to as secondary socialisation.<sup>229</sup> These candidate officers learn to think and act like soldiers and officers. Individual officers need to be inculcated with and accept the military culture and ethics as a way of living. In fact, there are different levels of culture includes *inter alia* the military culture, a service specific ethos and, in most cases, a regimental culture.<sup>230</sup> Warrant an officer holding the substantive rank of Major General may be promoted by selection to the substantive rank of Lieutenant General in accordance with instructions laid down by the Defence Council.

Caforio <sup>231</sup>ascertain that special procedures are used in order to induce strong normative compliance, such as community life, discipline, hierarchical authority, rules of public and private behaviour, as well as a system of sanctions.<sup>232</sup> It can be argued that military socialisation aimed at providing candidate officers with a "military mind "a unique way of thinking. Moreover, *military skills*: candidate officers, whether in the army, navy or air force, had to be prepared for their primary function as military professionals. They will serve as junior leaders in one of the services and should be prepared for their primary function in that service. These functions are diverse, ranging from combat pilots to weapons officers on ships to infantry platoon leaders. This requires an emphasis on the training domain to equip these candidate officers with the necessary basic military skills to operate as junior leaders in their respective geographical domains land, air or sea.

Also present in the army are the king's sons. Prince Majaha, one of the sons of His Majesty King Mswati III. The Prince has been promoted to the rank of Second Lieutenant. He prince is a member of the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force (UDSF). In the past, he was just an ordinary

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<sup>229</sup> G. Caforio. "Military Officer Education", In G. Caforio. (ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, Kluwer Academic. Plenum Publishers: New York. (2003), p. 255

<sup>230</sup> M, Keating, op. cit., p. 113

<sup>231</sup> G. Caforio, p. 255, (2003)

<sup>232</sup> Caforio, G, op. cit., p. 255

soldier known as Private. Prince Majaha, twenty two years, is based at the Air-Wing in Matsapha.<sup>233</sup> The duo of Princes Sicalo and Lindani held the rank of Lieutenant in the army. USDF PRO Major Madoda Mkhathswa confirmed the commissioning and promotion of the officers.<sup>234</sup>

### **3.6.1 The Making of Colonels in the USDF (Promotions)**

Military doctrinal education provided officers with all the doctrinal and other expertise that is required from a leader and his staff to be successful in the battle. The doctrinal schooling of officers should culminate in the ability of the officer to be an operational commander. At this level, the officer is also exposed to the roles and missions of the other services and the fundamentals of joint and combined operations.<sup>235</sup> The making of colonels is therefore a process with two elements: the development of the officer as a tactician and, secondly, as a commander. Colonel is a military rank of a commissioned officer, with corresponding ranks existing in almost every country in the world. It is also used in some police forces and other paramilitary rank structures. A Colonel is typically in charge of a Regiment or second in charge of a Brigade in the army. Today, a Colonel is usually a military title rated as the highest, or the second-highest field rank below the general, or "flag" grades. While military training is the most appropriate tool for the development of tacticians, professional education underpins the development of commanders. This schooling is rooted in the provision of the appropriate military skills, knowledge and attitudes for candidate officers to be commissioned into one of the services. As such, three processes underpin the making of Lieutenants.

The career progression of an officer in the Swazi Army is marked by pursuing Professional Military Education (PME) and other courses. Officers in the Swazi Army are expected to undergo courses such as Platoon Commanders Course or its equivalent, Junior Command and Staff Course, and the Senior Command and Staff Course. A normal career progression of an officer is expected

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<sup>233</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 September, (2017)

<sup>234</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 September, (2017)

<sup>235</sup> D.F. Bletz. *The Role of the Military Professional in U.S. Foreign Policy*. Praeger Publishers: New York, (1972), p.134,

to go through these learning processes. However, it is evident that the junior officers expressed concern that the Swazi Army was more concerned with hastened promotions of senior officers and not junior and middle officers like captains and majors. An average officer stays at the rank of major for up to seven years, yet the ranks above major were generally promotable at a faster rate.

This unbalanced rate of career progression seemed to put junior officers at a dilemma because even if they did every important course required for their career progression, they would mound at the rank of major for many years.<sup>236</sup> Some junior officers acknowledged that they were promoted too fast from second lieutenant to lieutenant up to captain. Officers are promoted too fast after reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel; the major's rank is seen to be the congregated zone for most officers. It is evident that junior officers needed to be competitive if they are to make the mark of those who are promoted from the major's rank. The promotions of captains and lieutenants were not a big issue because officers could plan their career progression as they sat for Promotion Examination (PROMEX). However, after the rank of major, there is no PROMEX so the career progression becomes more competitive and unclear. In a bid to survive the competitive promotions from the rank of major, some officers have ended up losing their professional touch by scandalizing others who are seen to be potential good officers. It is evident that some disgruntled officers have ruined the careers of well-deserved hard working officers, tarnished their image hoping they would be deemed as the rightful officers to take the promotions.<sup>237</sup>

Other promotions available in the USDF include Major. By World War I, Majors were often commanding independent Companies, Squadrons and Batteries, but those that were organically part of a Regiment or Battalion were still usually commanded by Captains. After World War II, Major became the usual rank held by Officers Commanding all Companies, Squadrons and Batteries, and remains so today. The substantive rank of Lieutenant Colonel may be promoted by

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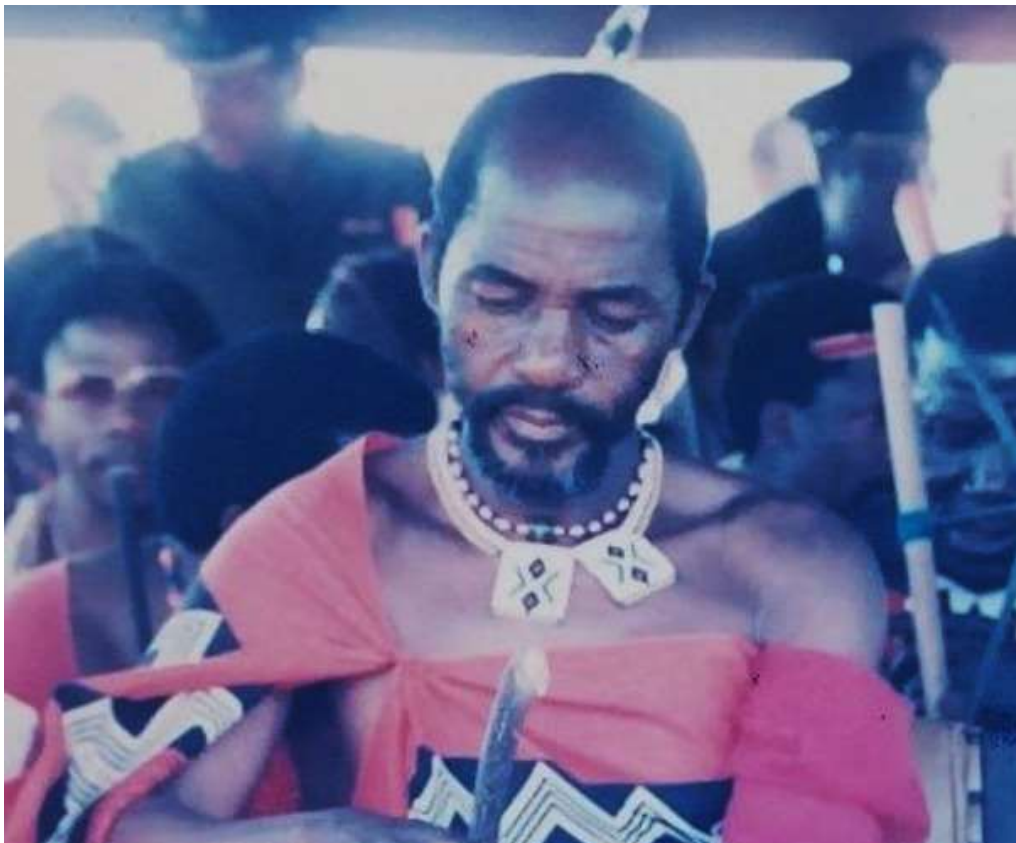
<sup>236</sup> Interview, F.G Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 3 August, (2017)

<sup>237</sup> Interview, F.G Dube, Former Brigadier, Ludzidzini, 3 August, (2017)

selection to the substantive rank of Colonel in accordance with instructions laid down by the Defence Council.

The ranks in the USDF for Commissioned Officers from junior to senior officers stand as follows: Junior Officers there is the Captain, Lieutenant, and 2nd Lieutenant. Senior Officers include Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, and Major. General Officers include: General, Lieutenant, Major General, and Brigadier General. Non-Commissioned Officers NCOs from Junior NCOs include the following: Corporal, Lance Corporal. Senior NCOs include: Staff Sergeant and Sergeant. Finally there is Warrant Officers or Sergeant Majors include Warrant Officer I and Warrant Officer II. Promotions that were available from 1974 were that of Sergeant which was occupied by the first Army Commander Sergeant Bhekimpi Dlamini (see picture below). Colonel was the next rank which was occupied by Colonel Maphevu Dlamini who was among the pioneer soldiers who were trained in Kenya (see photograph below).

**Picture of Sergeant Bhekimpi Dlamini First Army Commander**



**Source: Production Media in the Army**

**Picture of the Second Army Commander Colonel Maphevu Dlamini**



**Source: Production Media in the Army**

After his demise Major Gideon Dube took over until his retirement in 2000. While in the army he served as Brigadier which was the highest rank to be achieved by Army Commander. He also took the army to higher levels as compared to his predecessors. (See picture below)

**Brigadier Fonono Dube Third Army Commander**



**Source: Production Media in the Army**

There were other promotions in the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF) that of Lieutenant General Sobantu Dlamini who was promoted and confirmed into the position of General Army

Commander as the King ensured that the local army came into conformity with other armies in the SADC region. Dlamini would be ranked Full General Four Star and in line with other ranks in other army forces in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region (see picture below). He has taken the army to greater height while he was an army commander.

### **Army Commander 3 Star S Dlamini**



**Source: Production Media in the Army**

His Majesty highlighted that the promotions were as a result of recommendations from a committee he had commissioned to study how other armies in the region were structured as well as their welfare. He said for the local army to be trusted to contribute positively to the SADC peacekeeping exercises, it should be structured appropriately. “One of the recommendations of the committee was the review of the structure within the army. This has been done to bring the

country into conformity with other army forces in the region as well as to adequately equip the local army.<sup>238</sup> The Commander in Chief also announced new ranks in the army which included the; Lieutenant General Three Star 3, Major General Two Star SADC Defence Sub Committees they 6, Major General Two Star SADC Defence Sub Committees they were 6, Brigadier General One Star Administration they were 8. This indicates that indeed in the army there had been a paradigm shift since its establishment. Also promote recently by the Commander in Chief was the Deputy Army Commander Jeffrey Tshabalala who was also trained in Kenya (See picture below). He had worked diligently in the Army and the Commander in Chief found it deemed to promote him in June 2019 to the rank of Army Commander. He has worked in the army for over twenty years. Trained in Defence Intelligence and Security Ways and means of collecting an information. When the army was established it started with six officers who were promoted to different ranks and the highest rank was Major who was later promoted to Brigadier.

### **Deputy Army Commander 2 Stars Jeffrey Tshabalala Trained in Kenya**



**Source: Production Media in the Army**

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<sup>238</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 September, (2017)

### **3.6.2 The making of Generals in the USDF**

The making of generals focuses on the need for senior officers to become strategically and politically minded. These are field-ranked general officers at the crest of the defence forces' hierarchies, and thus including Lieutenant-General, Major-General and Brigadier-General in the USDF. They have to be prepared to work with leading defence officials and political office bearers in managing and controlling the country's military resources in accordance with the security needs of the country and in subordination to the polity.<sup>239</sup>

Currently the highest rank in the army is that of full General four stars. In the army once someone reaches retirement that person would be in the reserve for five years and that means that person could be called to fight in case there is war. Army Officers are aware that dedication to duty is their primary responsibility.<sup>240</sup> The officers to be dedicated to duty, they must first understand where their loyalty lies. To a Swazi Army officer, loyalty is first to the King Commander in Chief and the constitution of Swaziland. The officers are also expected to be loyal to their superior officers, subordinates, and families. Dedication to duty is one virtue by which the officers' level of professionalism is measured.<sup>241</sup> When officers enlist in the Swazi Army, they are sworn to uphold the Swazi constitution at all times. Officers are constantly reminded that it is their duty to stand up and defend the constitution of Swaziland.

When considering Swaziland's involvement in regional, international defense and security arrangements, it is necessary to consider the changing context within which the international community finds itself. Swaziland's national interests are connected to international and regional peace and prosperity. The government of Swaziland recognizes its responsibility to ensure the safety, security, welfare, and well-being of its citizens, as well as that of the international community. These dual responsibilities are not separate entities, but are interdependent. Safety

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<sup>239</sup> See the discussion on the need for this kind of promotion in: D.F.Bletz. "Military Professionalism: A Conceptual Approach", *Military Review*, May (1971), pp. 9-17.

<sup>240</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 September, (2017)

<sup>241</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Nokwane, Deputy Army Commander, 5 July, (2018)

and security in Swaziland are the keys to increased economic growth and development and, therefore, also to national stability.

Similarly, Swaziland recognizes the building block for both greater regional security in Southern Africa and East Africa is progress toward a shared system of democratic values amongst the various states of both regions, coupled with rapid and sustainable economic growth. Maintaining stability is essential for development, while development will enhance stability. It is against this background that Swaziland has joined other African nations in regional organizations to ensure that peace and stability are maintained in Africa and the world in general by prudent employment of the USDF contribution to UN peacekeeping. The delegation sent by Swaziland to the UN is pivotal to embrace her representation even though it's minimal.

SADC peace keeping brigade were commissioned by His Majesty, King Mswati III. The team of 237 – 200 soldiers will be based in Bloemfontein in South Africa where they will take part in a month-long peace keeping training. His Majesty King Mswati III told them that SADC believed in resolving conflict through dialogue – saying that sending troops is always the last resort in such situations. “Even if you go to the troubled countries to keep law and order, you must go there and find a workable environment. It is important that when you arrive in that particular country you receive a warm welcome and be able to execute your duty without a problem.”<sup>242</sup> The army Commander also added that the aim of the training was to arm the SADC Troops to be able to work as a team and also to be part of an African Union known as Standby Force. The Standby Force came from the African continent as a whole and will be officially launched 2010 in Ethiopia,” explained the army commander. The local brigade will be led by Colonel Welile Magagula.<sup>243</sup>

The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF) will be sending about a 100 soldiers to the Kingdom of Lesotho at the recommendation of the Southern African Development Community

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<sup>242</sup> The Swazi Observer, A SADC peace keeping brigade commissioned by King Mswati 111,26 August ,(2009)

<sup>243</sup> The Swazi Observer, A SADC peace keeping brigade commissioned by King Mswati111,26 August ,(2009)

(SADC) Double Troika Summit.<sup>244</sup> The SADC Double Troika convened summit that was held in Pretoria, South Africa in September after the assassination of Lesotho Defence Force commander, Lieutenant-General Khoantle Motšomotšo by his subordinates. The proposed SADC intervention in Lesotho will assist in ending instability and prepare the stage for the implementation of the security sector, constitutional and governance reforms.

USDF Public Relation Officer said the army has prepared more or less 100 soldiers for the mission. The USDF has already identified those who will be deployed to Lesotho.<sup>245</sup> “All we are waiting for now, is an instruction that the country must deploy the soldiers to Lesotho”. He revealed that senior army officials from around SADC will be meeting in Angola to discuss logistics around the deployment of the army personnel from the SADC countries to Lesotho.

At the Double Troika Summit, SADC submitted to the Lesotho government's request for a standby force comprising military, security, intelligence and civilian experts to assist the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) in managing the security crisis in the country. The summit was attended by representatives of the governments of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Tanzania. "Given the impulsive security situation with serious implications for the political stability of the Kingdom of Lesotho, there was an urgent need to assist the country in restoring law and order and a peaceful environment conducive, the implementation of SADC decisions specifically, security sector and constitutional reforms".<sup>246</sup>

It further stated that although SADC leaders directed the heads of defence and security "to assess the requirements, determine the appropriate size of the contingent force and prepare the modalities for the deployment," the documents show that the budget is for at least 1 000 personnel including military, police and civilian experts.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Interview ,PRO ,Nokwane,14 August ,(2018)

<sup>245</sup> Interview ,PRO ,Nokwane,14 August ,(2018)

<sup>246</sup> Interview , J.S. Tshabalala Deputy Army Commander ,Nokwane,14 August ,(2018)

<sup>247</sup> Interview , J.S. Tshabalala Deputy Army Commander ,Nokwane,14 August ,(2018)

Since 1998, Swazi soldiers have received training in Britain for roles in peacekeeping ventures. The training will be in Dar es Salaam, which will be run jointly by Tanzania and France, was truly an international exercise intended to integrate Swazis into a wider role in continental peacekeeping. Mampondweni Shongwe<sup>248</sup> stated, “We will join SADC forces, and soldiers invited from Kenya and Madagascar. Amongst the attendants will be the United Nations Peacekeeping forces, the United Nations Development Fund, World Food Programme, OAU and the European Union.” Shongwe added that, “There were three categories of the exercise, and our troops will form the ground forces.” For obvious reasons, soldiers from landlocked Swaziland, which has no air force, will not participate in the sea and air training.

Heading for the giant C130 B Hercules transport plane, the 26 troops, who thought of themselves as pioneers, were enthusiastic, almost dizzy at the prospect of leaving the mountainous kingdom for a while, though they would be working in tropical Tanzania at the height of summer. “With 25 years in the army, I am ready for anything, and soon I will be equipped with knowledge on how to maintain peace in one of the war-torn African States. I am eager to actually do the peace keeping,” said Martin Gama,<sup>249</sup> a veteran soldier at the age of 43. King Mswati III personally dismissed the troops, who had gathered at the traditional royal village Engabezweni. He has encouraged his foreign ministry to engage in conflict disputes, even using Swaziland as a neutral venue for the resolution of factional fighting in Burundi. The use of Swazi soldiers in peacekeeping missions will further raise the kingdom’s profile internationally, and give the army its first formidable mission.

## **Conclusion**

The history of the Swazi armed force since 1968 is understandably rooted in the traditional system, to which it remains wedded even today. When the British colonialists left Swaziland there was no formidable army except for a paramilitary capacity. This was a regular army with a mandate and

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<sup>248</sup> Inter Press Service News Agency. James Hall .POLITICS-AFRICA: Swazi Army in Search of a Mission. Retrieved 8 January (2019)

<sup>249</sup> INTER PRESS SERVICE News Agency. James Hall .POLITICS-AFRICA: Swazi Army in Search of a Mission. Retrieved 8 January (2019)

responsibility for internal and external defence thus it had to be created from scratch. To be able to cope with the various challenges he soldier needs a specific mind-set. Attributes favoured are aggressiveness, rationality, insensitivity and killer instinct but also humility. One is learned these through the training and socialization in the military. The aggression does not only protect life but also the masculinity. Through the selection of aggressive individuals and the construction of aggressive behaviour the masculinity is preserved in the military structure.

In a bid to attain military professionalism, Swaziland government in 1974 sent six cadet officers for training in Kenya. Others were sent to Europe, the United States and elsewhere for further training. In the same year an army code was introduced and it aimed at improving the quality of army recruits. Recruits that bribe to be in the army have tarnished the image of the defence force and compromised the quality of the soldiering aspect. The next chapter will focus on women integration in the Swazi army.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **The Integration of Women and the challenges they face in the Swazi Army**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The chapter shall highlight gender experiences of some women in the military. It will also explain the tactics women implemented to overcome the experiences and the challenges they faced along the way while in the army. These women conformed to a male dominated military and their feelings about their femininity changed due to this. In addition to that it would show how they did not only conform to military standards but they conform to the men's standards and desire for equality. In order to conform to the men's standards, they had to eliminate or set aside expressing emotions and femininity in front of men in order to be respected. This chapter presents the changing role of women in the Swazi society and how these reforms changed the military, gender in the military is a debatable and significant issue. The role of women in the military has a long history. Different ideas have been expressed on this subject, according to which there are particular time periods where military institution (traditionally considered as a true all-male society) on the one side, and society on the other side consider women possibility to join the armed forces with favour.

#### **4.1 PERCEPTIONS ON DUTIES OF WOMEN IN GENERAL: FACTORS BEHIND THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO THE ARMY**

The responsibility of women in militarisation has been unnoticed and baffled by two competing perspectives; those of sexism and feminism. Both analysis excluded women from war on the grounds that they are bearers of "special qualities". Sexism excludes women from the ranks of the military on the grounds of their physical inferiority and unsuitability for fighting. As the weaker sex, women must be "protected" and "defended". One variant of feminism similarly excludes women but on opposite grounds; that of their natural nurturing qualities based on their creativity

and pacifism. War was totally understood as a male affair and the military as a patriarchal institution. The military as an institution has historically discriminated the employment of women. Women therefore were to be home bearing and nurturing children to ensure sustainability of the human race while men were afield gathering food and offering protection.

This was based on the assumption that warfare, was the strength of the profession as it was brutal and heartless in nature. The military was viewed as a traditional male environment because it was understood as risky. Diversity in the military was a complex subject, both theoretically and in terms of its more practical, executive implications. It represented one of the most significant and difficult challenges for human resource management that military leaders faced over the past two or three decades. Greater diversity in recruitment, development, and employment has challenged traditional military institutional norms, values, beliefs, and attitudes. The history of women's involvement in the army was important for an understanding of gender dynamics within the organisation.

Emphasis has been placed on gender equality; there has been removal of restrictions on the utilisation of women in the military and in all aspects of security sector reform. The success of bringing about a more gender-balanced perspective remains obscure. This was because the military is a masculine institution that value masculinity above femininity. In order for women to succeed in these environments they have to assume masculine traits in the military, this is typically rooted in 'hegemonic masculinities'. This was a form of masculinity that can be described as being an "ultimate" standard of what it means to be a man. It also refers to the "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women".<sup>250</sup> The military provided a favourable environment for this form of masculinity as it is supported by institutional values.<sup>251</sup> Aggressiveness, risk-taking, heterosexuality and rationality are embodied

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<sup>250</sup> R.W Connell. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press. (1995),p.38

<sup>251</sup> A. Kronsell. Gendered practices in institutions of hegemonic masculinity: Reflections from feminist standpoint theory. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(2), (2005), p. 281.

in the military culture. Other qualities include loyalty to leaders, willingness to protect the weak and vulnerable, strength and skill such as knowledge of tactics, planning and effective use of weaponry as well as physical courage, including bravery in facing death.<sup>252</sup> Women in the military were expected to assume masculine traits to meet the notion of the ideal military ‘officer’ or ‘woman’.<sup>253</sup>

In the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, the number of women has increased in countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania, as a result of their participation in the liberation struggles for independence and their involvement in the pursuit for peace and national reconciliation. The traditional perception that women could not be military combatants has indeed changed as attested to by their contribution towards achieving national security and development.

The role of women in Swazi society has changed significantly, not out of design, but because life in Swaziland today has also changed. The traditional role of women in Swaziland has been primarily that of being a mother, raising her children and taking care of her husband. Women’s role in Swazi society has changed over time because of the modern lifestyle that demands more financial independence from men. Urbanization has also precipitated the shift in the lifestyle of Swazi society. Due to the migration of young men from villages to look for jobs in the towns and cities, many women are left in the villages to manage families alone. Owing to the need to sustain the family economically, many women have been forced to reject the traditional tasks of motherhood that fail to meet the modern needs of an average family. The current expensive lifestyle has put much pressure on women to be the breadwinners and devote less time to traditional roles in the home. Representation of women in defense has been increasing which is consistent with the global development trends. The integration of women into the USDF meets the postmodern paradigm. However, societal attitude reflects into the armed forces and poses the

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<sup>252</sup> M.Milošević. Challenges of women’s participation in Serbian peacekeeping missions. Belgrade: Belgrade Centre for Security Policy. (2010),p.289

<sup>253</sup> N.Sudgen. Women in charge: Policing, gender and leadership. Australian and New Zealand *Journal of Criminology*, 37(2). (2004),pp.304-307

major complication for a full integration. The new nature of the USDF's mission, technological change and the shift in the nature of the military professional provide better requirements for the integration of women into the armed forces than in former times and will thus be an aspect that makes the military more attractive for women. Generally, it is assessed that a change in attitude will still take time. However, the legal provisions and the educational efforts will influence the attitude of the men in the armed forces and might even turn out to place the military in the situation in which it will be the driving force for an attitudinal change for the role of women in society.

## **4.2 MOTIVATION FOR WOMEN TO JOIN THE ARMY**

In this section, shall discuss what motivated the women to join the military, including the key influences on their decision. Different ideas have been expressed on this subject, according to which there are particular time periods where military institution (traditionally considered as a true all-male society) on the one side, and society on the other side consider women possibility to join the armed forces with favour. While it is a profession like many others, it is more than simply joining the military it is also an institution. Noted sociologist Charles Moskos<sup>254</sup> wrote that, "members of an institution are often viewed as following a calling; they generally regard themselves as being different or apart from the broader society and are so regarded by others." Moskos conceived of two roles, institution and occupation (I/O). Institutional values are defined by values and norms that transcend the self-interest of service members in pursuit of some higher good (service to one's country). The occupational values are defined by self-interested motivations found within the marketplace (salary and benefits). There is in fact a difference with respect to other activities, mainly bureaucratic services, assigned also to women as part of the civilian personnel working in the administrative sectors of defence departments. The primary institutional motivator cited by soldiers was a call to serve. One soldier said that she joined because she really wanted to participate more in the nation as a whole, especially when it came to foreign policy. Some soldiers stated that it was a desire to improve the current and future prospects which helped motivate them join the military. In particular, many soldiers sought to gain access to the military's benefits. These particularly included health care, tuition assistance during service and

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<sup>254</sup> Charles C. Moskos. *The American Enlisted Man*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, (1970)

exposure to the outside World. The first part, relates to Self-Improvement (SI), referring to the individuals desire to improve themselves and grow as a person. The next factor, Social Encouragement (SE) looks at motivators such as support or role models among friends and family. The third factor, Monetary Encouragement (ME) which addresses compensation, bonuses, or benefits as a motivating force. Finally, Employment Opportunity (EO) groups questions together that are related to gaining skills and abilities to enhance a civilian career and concern with civilian employment. Others used the Army to look to the future and create a better life after military service. Sebakhona<sup>255</sup> noted that the army provided her with great education benefits and great career benefits:

So . . . why not do this and do that, instead of just working at some lousy and funny jobs that's only paying minimum wage, an hour when I can go and get fantastic benefits by being a soldier, all that. A number of officers highlighted various reasons for joining the army and one of the reasons was a stable pay, knowing they "needed to make money"<sup>256</sup>.

Some soldiers saw it as a prospect of a steady career. They considered the pros and cons of working for 20 years or more and the issue of retiring at the age of 60. So it seemed a good deal in the economy they were in. Certainly, some women reported joining the army in order to obtain a job; a feature of the socio-economic situation of most Swazi people, both male and female. Poverty and high unemployment meant that any available job was better than no job. That was consistent with international de-professionalization of the military, that it was less of a calling/vocation and more of a job security than the private sector. Others were unexcited at the idea and simply tried their "luck." These responses are indicators that as a career option, being a soldier is not that attractive to females, except as a paid and stable occupation. There were different reasons stated by the women that were interviewed by the researcher whereby they gave out similar responses that they wanted better opportunities.

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<sup>255</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Matsapha, 27 July, (2017)

<sup>256</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Manzini, 28 July, (2017)

While others joined to get out of the bad situation they were in, which did not benefit them. In that way the Army has provided a good job opportunity or joined the military to pursue a life-long career in the military. The role of military nurse was considered as a true female activity. The change in cultural values about women's social roles was linked also to changes in the definition of family roles, so that the movement away from traditional conceptions of family and family duties, and the growing supportive policies outside the family, permit a greater participation of women to military activities. Others expressed their sense that the military was a "man's world" and that was the main reason for their joining the army. They wanted to experience how it felt to be in a man's world.<sup>257</sup> Recruited in their late teens or early 20s, their parents' opinion appeared to have played a critical role in their final decision to push through with their inspirations. Some parents opposed; others encouraged them to join as having a family member in the Army was a source of prestige:

My father encouraged me to enter the army. My brother is a soldier. When I completed high school, I wished to study nursing. But our family finances [were] insufficient so my mother suggested for me to find a job. The timing was good because there was the first batch of females for the integration programme. My father told me to just become a soldier and that I could go to nursing once I am already inside. My father remarked "why should I become a soldier when I could very well earn a living without being one?" He suggested I work as a nursing assistant. I didn't go home for one week.<sup>258</sup>

After that, my mother cried. She told my father to just give me what I wanted because she was worried about what might happen to me. I really wanted to be a soldier because my brother was also one and also some other relatives. My family is proud of me being a soldier, I can provide them of all their needs as well as education for my children. Officer, Training is hard. You leave the life you had. You can't do what you used to do, even talk to people. You see things differently. They call you a dog, things you hadn't heard before. The first thing they do is lock you up. From

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<sup>257</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Manzini, 30 July, (2017)

<sup>258</sup> Interviewed Unanimous. Manzini, Zakhele, 31 July, (2017)

that moment on, you're deprived of your freedom. You can't go to the bathroom without permission. But it's positive. You learn to be disciplined." Career soldiers, **Peru**

Among the interviewed people was Lieutenant General Tsembeni Magongo in an interview she stated she wanted an adventure. She simply wanted to show her capabilities which she had dreamt about as a girl out of all the careers that were available she felt saving her nation from intruders was the best gift she could offer in her life. A notable absence on the Self-Improvement SI factor is "I want to defend my country." Patriotism was another reason given by the deputy army commander to join the army. Patriotism and the will to defend the nation may have powerful effects on the individual's insights about the presence of the military system and the acceptance of military obligation. Also, the importance of personal efforts for the benefit of the country are key concepts.

Abrahamsson noted that,<sup>259</sup> modern military organisation could be considered as a good replication of civilian society, in the sense that division of labour, roles and functions coming from the ongoing differentiation and specialisation of modern society were replicated within armed forces aside and around their core function. The correlated specialisation of military roles increased emphasis on technical skill, and their integration to civilian occupations, all these elements had positive impact over the possibility of women to fit in with military roles. In the past women's role in the army were quite limited. The role of military nurse was considered as a true female activity and that is why in the beginning women were only allowed to be in the army as nurses. They worked on medical, administrative, personnel or signal fields according to their civilian occupation, without real military training, because men considered them as female employees, not as soldiers. The change in cultural values about women's social roles is related to changes in the definition of family roles, so that the movement away from traditional conceptions of family and family duties,

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<sup>259</sup>Bengt. Abrahamsson. *Military Professionalization and Political Power*. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications. *Journal of Politics*, Vol.35, ( 1972)

and the growing supportive policies outside the family, permit a greater participation of women to military activities.<sup>260</sup>

In Swaziland as a response to WID, the first female soldiers and officers were recruited in 1979 under the command of the First Army Commander, Prince Bhekimpi Dlamini with instructions from then Commander in Chief King Sobhuza II.<sup>261</sup> The military has always needed women in at least in some capacity. Though it might not be in the same capacity as men in many respects, they had always and would continue to play a role. When women were initially recruited into the USDF they were positioned in administrative jobs, sent on department courses and wore a uniform that was designed to make them look attractive and glamorous. In 1977 females were allowed to apply for specific posts that were available like typist and the nursing profession in the army for the first time and they had to be single. The first recruit for women occurred in 1979. The number of women who applied to join the Swazi army was 99, yet only 20 qualified after undergoing screening and physical fitness tests. Women recruited into the army were to meet the same requirements as men. In some SADC countries for instance the inclusion of more women in the Zambian military was fastened on equal rights arguments, on legislation that promoted equal rights of both sexes and not on the unique contributions that women were expected to make in the army. Equal rights arguments emphasised women's rights to opportunity, power and the right to work and to go for war. The legislative framework in Zambia to some extent promoted gender equality. Also in South Africa, the influence of international groups funding projects during the democratization process increased pressure which included policies that recognized gender issues in creating the new Government.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> M.Segal,1995,p.762

<sup>261</sup> Swaziland Government Document, USDF Standing Order,(1977)

<sup>262</sup> Seidman, Gender Links, a Southern African non-Governmental group: Gender under the Spotlight at SADC Summit: 9 Derrick Avenue, Cyrildene: Johannesburg, 2198, South Africa, (2001) [Online].  
<<http://www.genderlinks.org.za>> [Accessed 6 August,2017 ]

The number of female recruits following 1977 of the general army orders was 30% of the total recruits while males made up the remaining 70%. The policy was put in place before women were recruited. At the end of the vigorous training only four females survived the military training and the rest failed to meet the expectations. For instance some got pregnant while undergoing recruitment training. According to the USDF Review Training, it was strongly believed that every soldier that was male and female should have the same basic skills of handling a fire arms. They received training in weapon handling, first aid, and general military skills (how to take care of themselves and conduct tasks successfully in a tactical environment). This, alongside ongoing specialist training in their chosen trade and the role of their wider unit (Battalion/Squadron), prepared them well for exercises and operational deployments. The numbers of women in the army currently stand at 10-20 percent.

Explaining the gender experiences of women in the military, the researcher highlighted the tactics women implemented to overcome these experiences and the challenges they faced along the way. These women conformed to a male dominated military and their feelings about their femininity changed due to this. They also conformed to military standards desired for equality. The military is a unique organizational construct in one's life. While it is a profession like many others, it is more than simply a job the military is also an institution. Noted by the sociologist Charles Moskos argued that, "members of an institution are often viewed as following a calling; they generally regard themselves as being different or apart from the broader society and are so regarded by others." Institutional values are defined by values and norms that transcend the self-interest of service members in pursuit of some higher good service to one's country.

Women who would enter the USDF, just like their male counterparts, would do so because they want something different, something challenging and something adventurous. Based on the current professionalism and training challenges in the USDF, I certainly believe those who would volunteer to join regard themselves as tough, daring and smarter than ordinary women. Therefore, the USDF will not only be dealing with ordinary women, but also some of the best or those who consider themselves the best both intellectually and physically. These will be the types of women who are looking for challenging opportunities. It was important to give those exciting challenges

to the women rather than just desk or administrative jobs. Otherwise, there was no incentive for them to join the USDF since those types of jobs were available everywhere in the civilian world and perhaps even at better paying levels.

It appeared exciting for everyone who always looked so good in the army uniform to be part of the army. They had to make a decent living for themselves by contributing in the protection of the country. A number of reasons were raised that made women to stay in the army. They included the following equal pay for equal work, great educational benefits, and friends all around the world, job security and the chance to excel and be recognized for it. The above statements showed there were many who joined for the wrong reasons. They meet all the prerequisite of good soldiering, but they did not really have the soldiering in their hearts. All the benefits that were mentioned were reflective of what one would find in the USDF today. These benefits were meant to make the soldiers more comfortable so they were able to perform their tasks with fewer distractions but not to lure them in the military and turned them into careerist rather than professional soldiers. Most women desired on protecting their country as men. They looked at the military as a vocation and they liked doing what they hoped to be best in the military. Taking command taught them perseverance, confidence in themselves. They learned that nothing in life came easy; one had to work hard to achieve their goals. ‘I’m very proud because I’m not just a woman. I am a woman in uniform serving my country with pride. Managed to excel in male dominated world people valued my opinion because I knew what I was talking about. Knowing what I am capable of.’<sup>263</sup> These responses show woman soldiers regarding themselves as full and equal participants in military operations. Since operations are the military’s core business and since women have historically been barred from participation in operations, these responses suggested that USDF women were claiming a central place in the military system. They were not relegated to peripheral, second line or support roles. Rather, they had claimed a space for themselves in the front, alongside their male comrades.

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<sup>263</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Matsapha, 27 July, (2017)

These soldiers talk about team building and they suggested the military also taught them to only lean on fellow soldiers; a sister or brotherhood of soldiering which kept them from leaning on outsiders. The military has often broken soldiers down in basic training and built them back up. Their sense of self and their emotional management skills. It looked like they were broken down and built back up again as a soldier and taught the appropriate ways to cope, handle themselves and perform, both under pressure and not being under pressure. For instance their management of feelings was based on their ability to perform to the right standards; poor management of feelings was said to be a weak and an ineffective soldier and vice versa. Women managed their feelings appropriately and used coping skills which were acceptable to fellow soldiers, respected and effective in their duties of soldiering. Other respondents noted that they did not have enough time to shower or get ready in the morning. Often, they woke up at three or four in the morning and did not believe they were given adequate time to prepare for the day. They began to find preparation unimportant and instead, they showered at night.

### **4.3 RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND RETENTION OF WOMEN**

Recruitment is the moment when the diverse paths of thousands of men and women converge in a common decision to join the USDF. Women, just like men, had to pass a complex test to be allowed to become professional soldiers. The test consisted of three parts; a medical test, a physical test and a complex psychological test. The military tests physical fitness for three reasons: general fitness, military appearance, and combat effectiveness. It is "theoretically" empirical, you either pass or fail. Yes, there are scores and one can excel, but the military can determine a pass/fail through raw numbers without needing to resort to subjective standards (of course there is subjectivity in fitness training and testing). Recruits must pass three physical tests; pushups, curl ups, and the "Beep" (running) test, to progress through the recruitment process. The responsibility of women in the military in recent years had been fast growing and changing at the same time. The same recruitment procedures for servicemen applied to servicewomen, with adjustments, as deemed necessary, to take into account physiological differences. At the same time, the recruitment agenda was driven by the plans and strategies the USDF had for utilizing women. The required number as well as the specific professions was determined and guided by the roles they would be expected to play. The difficulty of the initial training that soldiers undertake before being

assigned to their first unit can be complex and extensively in time, though, initial basic training remains structurally the same for all recruits. The learning journey for all recruits starts with Phase one training at one of the four main training bases located within the MAB. Phase one training turns a civilian into a soldier; it teaches the soldier recruit about the structure of the military, attached with teaching basic military skills such as map reading, small weapon skills, first aid and military discipline; whilst instilling the Army's Core Values and Standards. Soldier recruits will develop their fitness and basic functional skills including math's, English and general communication skills, while the four developing basic skills such as confidence, self-esteem and motivation enable them to function as part of a team. After completing Phase one training, recruits are now considered as a basic trained soldier, at this point in their training and development they will be assigned to a specialist training establishment. At Phase two training, soldiers are taught specialist skills and knowledge to enable them to undertake and perform their specific job role within the Army, these can range from the teaching of a military chef the basic cookery skills to a military engineer being taught construction skills. Phase two training can vary in length from a few months to over a year depending on trade specifications requirements. The objective of initial military training is to transform a civilian into a trained soldier. Foot drill is a fundamental activity of the military and is practiced regularly during initial military training.<sup>264</sup> Foot drill involved marching with an exaggerated heel strike, and regimented manoeuvres performed while marching and standing in place (at the halt) characterised by an exaggerated stamping of one foot into the ground from 90° hip flexion. Women received the same training as men and there is no gender differentiation, except with regard to facilities and certain drill adaptations based on physiological differences. Every branch of the military has a basic training camp. Servicewomen join the same specialization courses and participate in all trainings and schools required for promotion to higher rank same way as the male counterpart. There are no limits restricting access of women to military schools.

The period of training had a grueling mental and physical experience for soldiers when they left home and went to a base to be trained into the military way. The training process as explained to

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<sup>264</sup> USDF Standing Order,(1977)

them is designed to eliminate their “civilian” disposition. But for many the transformation of their physical appearance and the seeming loss of their feminine aspects was necessary. Among female trainees in the Mbuluzi Military Academy, the pressure to be manly was ever present, yet evokes reflections as well on the persistent habit of male cohorts to treat them like their female counterparts:

In my exploration, for example in the field, you can’t risk showing your feminine side. If your voice is not whole, you are going to be teased: it’s a sign of weakness. That’s why I tried to change my voice even before going into MAB. My classmates even remarked my voice has changed. It’s rather unpleasant to shout “forward march.” A classmate inquired if I was a tomboy or lesbian. I wasn’t offended by the question because I did not mingle freely with the males. But it’s a question of respect if you appear lame. Personally, I had to transform because that’s part of gaining respect, to transform into a male.<sup>265</sup>

The women described basic training as a grueling experience where they did a lot of physical training and classroom learning. The history, customs, and manners of being in the military were taught along with an intense physical fitness regimen. The interviewees explained a difficult learning environment due to the complexity of the information since each branch had different traditions and histories. As Zanelwa <sup>266</sup>noted, they had these smart books thick books that explained everything one needed to know about the military and they read them from cover to cover and they would practice the soldier doctrine and the army song. They did that for an entire week. The military taught the women to understand the history in order to be able to build off the history and their job-specific training to become soldiers. Often, the women reported basic training as much more of a mental game than the physical one due to the intensity of the psychological training that went with the physical training.

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<sup>265</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Matsapha, 27 July, (2017)

<sup>266</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Matsapha, 27 July, (2017)

The Army is characterized by a series of echelons, from the squad, a group of four to ten soldiers, up to the field army, consisting of two corps. In junior ranks of the Army, soldiers' primary identification tended to be with small units. In ascending order, these were squad, section (two squads), platoon, company (also called troop or battery), and battalion. Rather than impose a particular echelon as the unit in our questions, such as platoon or company, allowed soldiers to decide for themselves what size unit or echelon was the most relevant to their Army experience. Each branch's training was fairly similar consisting of men and women in the same camp training together. The Army is characterized by a series of echelons, from the squad, a group of four to ten soldiers. In junior ranks of the Army, soldiers' primary identification tends to be with small units. In ascending order, these are squad, section (two squads), platoon, company (also called troop or battery), and battalion. The military has different standards for men and women. Military boot camp is like nothing you've ever experienced. However, the rigid routine and absolute control over every aspect of your life are several times worse than normal military duty, and that's by design. It's the job of the Training Instructors (T.I.'s) and Drill Instructors (D.I.'s) to either adjust your attitude to a military way of thinking (self-discipline, sacrifice, loyalty, obedience) or to drum them out before the military spends too much money on your training. They did that by applying significant degrees of physical and mental stress, while at the same time teaching the fundamentals of military rules; and the policies, protocol, and customs of military service. These training programs were scientifically and psychologically designed to disassemble the "civilian" and build from scratch a proud, physically fit, and dedicated member of the military.

They acknowledged that their bodies were constructed differently than men which made running, pushups, and sit ups more difficult. The military is well aware of these differences and has created different standards for women than men to pass physical training (PT) requirements. Women had to do less running times as compared to their male counterpart, sit up and pushup requirements are less. For instance they could do 19 pushups and men had to do 42 for minimum (in 2 minutes).<sup>267</sup> Women were asked to do more sit ups than men because their body could handle the exercise

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<sup>267</sup> Interviewed Unanimous, Matsapha, 17 July, (2017)

better than males. Bearing it in mind that there were unwritten benefits of having women in the Army besides physical fitness. For example, just like there are a lot of women in the banking business, there are a lot of women who handled the purse strings in the military. This is because, by nature a woman is more trustworthy than a man. It takes all Kinds of people in all kinds of places to win a War.

Training of recruits is to be integrated with the common standard and this is done so that the male standard (physiologically) is maintained. Observed evidence suggests that most armies employed women for certain duties that were neither combat nor frontline related. It was highly likely that the USDF followed the same trend, and as a result the following character reflected in it: better educated, high intellect, older (above the traditional recruiting age of 18-19 years) and experienced. The attitude towards the recruitment of women in the USDF sent a very clear message that there was no double standard aimed at directly or indirectly hampering the USDF from looking for people with the desired aptitudes and skills to become part of it.

A small army with limited resources, like the USDF, would find it more efficient to rely on integrated training because separation was expensive. There were mechanisms that could be put in place to supplement the gaps created by integrated training as compared to the needs of segregated training. The USDF had been in a better position in the end to adopt the integrated system. There are many things that helped in the shaping of the attitudes of the entire USDF towards women when integrated into basic training. Both sexes were in a better position because they lived next to each other on a daily basis and had learnt a lot about working with each other. By integrating them, the army had from the beginning been taught that soldiers relate and rely upon each other professionally. Living and associating with each other on a professional level had prepared trainees for future challenges including various controversial gender issues like rules on fraternization, sexual harassment and misconduct.

Trainees only effectively understood and consistently practiced appropriate conduct (male/female) when they were exposed to the situation on an ongoing basis. Trainees, from the beginning, saw

and understood the tough punishment that was enforced regarding sexual misconduct. Therefore, from the moment they left training, joined the officer and enlisted cadres, they were definitely in a better position for knowing where they drew the line. The physical fitness arena was another aspect that posed a great challenge to the USDF in the future. This was because the results of the physical training test were used as a prerequisite for promotion or any kind of a reward. Many young soldiers regarded different Physical Training (PT) standards for men and women as special treatment for women and lowering the standards for the military. Although the training was physically and mentally challenging, most people felt a huge sense of pride and achievement when they successfully completed their recruit courses. The military training staff were motivated for them to succeed. Although they may be very hard on them at times, this was to ensure that they gained the required skills in an efficient and safe manner. There was so much variety that some things were exciting and exhilarating, and some things were tough. At every step of their journey there would be many others experiencing exactly the same emotions and challenges.

The pay was comparable, they would be paid right from their first day as recruits, and their expenses was minimal as they were provided with meals and accommodation. After they had graduated their salary jumped to wages comparable to that in the civilian world, and it kept climbing according to ranks. The King expressed appreciation at the fact that local soldiers always excelled when called upon to do duty in other countries. He said he was told that local female soldiers went overseas for training where they did very well. It showed that there was gender equality within the army as not only males but females were also given opportunities to go and acquire skills externally.<sup>268</sup> Once a recruit completes Basic and Advanced Individual Training, his or her daily work can become a central feature of Army life. For many new soldiers, the day-to-day jobs they perform as part of their MOS represent their first experiences in full-time employment.

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<sup>268</sup> Sisho Magagula. Learn From Me, Keep Fit – King Tells Soldiers. Swazi Observer, 21Mach,(2010)

#### 4.4 The Experiences of some women in the army

Many women share the same desires about protecting their country as men. They look at the military as a vocation and they like doing what they know best in the military. Deputy Army Commander Tsembeni Magongo<sup>269</sup> noted it was a sense of patriotism and she watched a movie where a young girl saved her country and it really inspired her so much that she dreamt of becoming a soldier and could do the same thing that was done by this young girl. When the opportunity was opened to women in 1979 she did not hesitate to join the army and do as her heart desired. She further endorsed the sentiment of knowing from an early age that she wanted to join the military. She said that:

“It’s something’ I’ve been wanting to do since I was a child, I don’t know, I just had to do it. In order to display that the country upholds the global movement of gender imbalance in every sector.”<sup>270</sup>

His Majesty king Mswati III appointed the first ever female to the position of USDF Chief of Military Health.<sup>271</sup> She has made tremendous achievements, she became the first woman to be appointed in senior officer ship cadre, the first to be appointed 3 star General in African Defence Force in 2015. It is a milestone for Swaziland to attain such a rank in the army. Indeed she has made history and the good work that women do in the army they had been rewarded for it.

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<sup>269</sup> Interview, Tsembeni Magongo Chief of Military Health, Nokwane, 19 October, (2017). See also P.Sihlongonyane, *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and Post Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*, M.A Thesis, University of Swaziland: Matsapha, (2010)

<sup>270</sup> Interview Tsembeni Magongo Chief of Military Health, Nokwane, 19 October, (2017)

<sup>271</sup> Interview, J.S Tshabalala, Deputy Army Commander, Nokwane, 28 November, (2017)

## Chief of Military T. Magongo



**SOURCE: Mass Media Production USDF**

It was worth noting that in 1979 when women were recruited as private soldiers to the army there were 20 and only 4 survived the rigorous trainings. Others fell pregnant while undergoing training. In 2016 there were 17 specialists soldiers who were sent to Tanzania to further their studies. In the year 2004 the intake of women in the army was increased to 20%. These recruits came from the imbali regiments. Throughout history to current, no country so far in the world had appointed a woman Chief of Defence Force (CDF), Army Commander (AC), Air Marshall (AF), Navy Commander (NC), or commander of combat fighting unit. Equally, most of the world military Generals are men, women represent below 10 percent. Reflecting on this, Goldstein and Collins pointed out that history has been biased towards women and even though women participated

equally as men, war had and many would argue continue connected with masculine values as such accounts about women's contribution to war remains silent.<sup>272</sup>

Women who entered the USDF, just like their male counterparts, would do so because they wanted something different, challenging and adventurous. Therefore, the USDF will not only be dealing with ordinary women, but also some of the best or those who consider themselves the best both intellectually and physically. These will be the types of women who are looking for challenging opportunities. It was important to give those exciting challenges to the women rather than just desk or administrative jobs. Otherwise, there was no incentive for them to join the USDF since those types of jobs were available everywhere in the civilian world and perhaps even at better paying levels.

There were many who joined for the wrong reasons. They met all the prerequisite of good soldiering, but they did not really had the soldering in their hearts. All the benefits that were mentioned were reflective of what one would find in the USDF today. These benefits were meant to make the soldier more comfortable so they would be able to perform their tasks with fewer distractions but not to lure them in the military and turned them into careerist rather than professional soldiers. The military has been a stronghold constructed of masculinity. This has been created by the pressure to conform to specific performances of dress, appearance and behavior. By adhering to these identifying codes, one became a soldier, and a man. As with any socially constructed gendered identity, military masculinity was created and has historically stood in opposition to the 'weaker' feminine. The Army is characterized by a series of echelons, from the squad, a group of four to ten soldiers, up to the field army, consisting of two corps and more people. In junior ranks of the Army, soldiers' primary identification tends to be with small units. In ascending order, these are squad, section (two squads), platoon, company (also called troop or battery), and battalion. Working together with some soldiers was good, "How well does your unit work together?" Soldiers overwhelmingly answered this in the positive way. Soldiers felt a sense of pride in the ability of their unit to set a goal and accomplish it together. As one said, "We

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<sup>272</sup> A. Collins. *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford University Press: New York,(2015)

communicate very well. If you need something, call whoever's nearby. Like if you need a wrench, a toolbox or anything like, 'Hey, I need this right now, bring it,' have it there in about 10 seconds, and we get the job done".<sup>273</sup> Others felt their platoon had a special drive to succeed: "We push each other to be better; we're constantly on each other about getting better and stuff. I don't know personally about other platoons; I see them, but I don't know what their little groupings or discussions are about, but I feel like my platoon is the best platoon".<sup>274</sup>

Some of the women explained on how it was to be in the army. The Deputy Commander stated that she felt she was in the rightful job. Women in the USDF wanted to feel good and important and contribute to the services needed by the country in the various fields. Therefore, they would definitely expect the USDF to recognize their abilities as it has done for their male counterparts. The women interviewed here were exposed of their prior lives, made to learn the military way, and then became soldiers. Their sense of self shifted from being just teenagers to becoming upstanding soldiers and that began during basic training. Women in the military found themselves in a new social context characterized by withdrawal from their previous lives and interactions with others, this was a sharp transition and isolation from their normal environment facilitated change within themselves. However, unlike the camp environment, women did not have the opportunity to reflect on themselves or their lifestyles; they were embarked into rigorous training with little intervention about their day to day situations. Right away in basic training the women were forced into a structured environment where the only thing they had to focus on was what they are told. There was also an expectation that women needed to "man up" their emotions just like their men counterpart for the military. These women were taunted for crying or showing any sign of weakness.<sup>275</sup> Masculinity was associated with the idea of a model soldier. Not only did these women need to show they were capable soldiers by holding themselves to higher standards but they needed to conduct themselves in ways men would in order to be viewed favorably and as real or model soldiers. Some soldier discussed stories from basic training where drill sergeants made

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<sup>273</sup> Interviewed with Unanimous, Zakhele, 17 July, (2017)

<sup>274</sup> Interviewed with Unanimous, Matsapha, 17 July, (2017)

<sup>275</sup> Interviewed with Unanimous, 20 July, Manzini, (2017)

their soldier group perform physical punishment until they were able to correct the action they were in trouble for. Are you frail? Are you built like a woman's chassis? These are examples of connecting weakness and negativity with femininity. The result was that femininity was produced and perceived to be something negative. Sturdiness, hardness and not complaining was preferable. This illuminated the relation between masculinity and femininity where's one was good and one was bad

Satiso<sup>276</sup> described how she prepared for basic training. She knew she would be yelled at but she found humor in the way drill sergeants reacted to young recruits. Her task was to stuff her emotions and try not to laugh or smile at the drill sergeants yelling at them; so they must compartmentalize them. The first thing you will notice about your new drill sergeant is that he or she appears to be a different species from the ones hanging around the Reception Battalion. He/she will appear to be much bigger, meaner, and very much louder. Army Drill Sergeants absolutely love push-ups. "Drop and Give me twenty" is a favorite phrase (shouted, of course). On this first day, pretty much everyone will get "dropped." You will be dropped individually, in pairs, and as an entire platoon. The other weeks were characterized by a term known as TOTAL CONTROL. Total control was where the soldiers only did what they were told to do by their Drill Sergeants.

She further described her experience with the physical punishment and her ability to handle the mental portion of basic training. She discussed the team building aspect; they were taught to take care of their group members by looking out for them or get into trouble or being put on the rag if they did not. Being put on the rag or being smoked as some refer to it was the extensive and grueling physical exercise punishment superiors did. They would be doing pushing, pushups, sit-ups or overhead claps. They would get into trouble for something always because someone's boots were untied or something. So everyone got punished for it because they didn't square them away. It was all for a cause because they had to take care of their group members or units. The physical

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<sup>276</sup> Interviewed with Unanimous ,20 July, Manzini, (2017)

punishment helped the soldiers coordinate with each other and work together so they did not allow the punishment to happen again for that action. Satiso elaborated that:

The military trains you to be technically proficient in whatever occupation you are assigned. But you'll also learn teamwork, perseverance, leadership, and other skills widely applicable in the civilian workforce.<sup>277</sup>

A good officer must care for others. She must be empathetic, must be able to build trust downwards. It is important, especially at the squad leader level, you must be able to build trust with those under you, so that those under you respect you, that those under you in a way choose you and agree that you are their boss. And for that, you must possess some qualities. It is quite difficult to achieve, especially when you are young [...] you must mold yourself. You must crack the trust-building code so that they respect you as a person and an officer [...] Because now it's like that, especially in the professional units; if the soldiers there have no respect for you as an officer, you are not their boss when you go out [in international operations]. They were also introduced to the use of a rifle. More specifically, an "M4 Rifle. They are not allowed to shoot and they only get to learn how to hold it, point it, take it apart, clean it, and repetitively put it back together, take it apart again in the first few weeks of their training . There would be also Weapons and Combat Training Time. They will spend most of the time on various ranges. M4 shooting for a start (just try to hit the targets), and move on to farther targets, pop-up targets, grenades, grenade launchers, and more.

Some women had to let their feelings out and this was an emotional management strategy for them. Most of the women reported feeling better after letting their feelings out. Some of the struggle was due to homesickness; some of this was due to dangerous and scary situations, being yelled at too much by a drill sergeant and some just being stressed out from the pressure of conforming to military standards. These soldiers would cry in private areas. These women often struggle to deal with their emotions.

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<sup>277</sup> Interviewed with Unanimous ,20 July, Manzini, (2017)

Some soldiers did not anticipate how little of their time would be spent in the field:

Just a lot more office work than I thought, being in an office environment. I wanted to be more out exploring more things out in the field, which we do but it's not as much as I thought we'd be doing. So we're working inside more than we're out in the field, a lot more, and that's what I wanted to do is be out doing that in the field. So I think I had a relatively accurate understanding of what I guess deployment and the wars would be like but I thought we'd be training a lot more in garrison and in peacetime. I guess I didn't really understand what joining a bureaucracy of so many people would be like initially.<sup>278</sup>

#### **4.5 Challenges facing women advancement in the Army**

Women in the military leadership in other forces showed acceptance of women in command positions not to have been smooth anywhere and that bias and stereotypes continued to be active. The major constraints preventing women hastened military leadership is the patriarchal ideological system of the military where the executive power and command authority is in the hands of males only. The cooperative troubled of masculine male forces in military worked out women's marginalization thus; accepting them in command positions is unfavorable to upholding military professionalism to most men. The systematic discrimination continued to exclude women from command appointment. Thus, it created challenges that hindered women's appointment in strategic decision-making and command positions of the USDF from inception to date. Some officers were asked to provide answers to this question: "*what challenges affected women's appointment in leadership, decision making and command positions in the army at inception*"? The response was that it was a male chauvinism, women considered as weaker sex, stereotypes, lack of confidence from the women's side, women considered to be emotionally unstable, inferiority complex, negative attitude towards work, some jobs considered as men's, seen as a lesser performer than a man, women cannot travel extensively and women not as committed as men. Problems, faced by women in the armed forces can be distinguished into two groups. The

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<sup>278</sup> Interviewed with Unanimous, 22 July, Manzini, (2017)

first one being difficulties of adaptation to an often harsh environment, where living conditions are far from the normal life in an advanced society (living at camps, during training or missions, combat and non-combat, where environmental conditions are highly uncomfortable and various levels of promiscuity are rather obliged). Severe work rhythms and workload, where conditions are worsened by the fact to be a small gender minority in strict contact with a male majority. Women had to constantly and actively seek to do things outstandingly so as not to be treated differently.

Although, a number of factors affected the appointment of female members, the following were among the most considered hindrances: Male chauvinism, women considered as weaker sex, stereotypes, lack of confidence from the women's side, women considered to be emotionally unstable, inferiority complex, negative attitude towards work, some jobs considered as men's, seen as a lesser performer than a man, women cannot travel extensively and women not as committed as men. Swaziland has not been an exception to the above mentioned points. The reasons why officers think that USDF has not done enough to alleviate gender imbalances are many but the main one is that all the decision-making is in hands of men.

The cultural and historical background were also considered as very important factors contributing to keeping inequalities between men and women in the army. No one considers women favourably. This situation hindered the success of women's development and contribution towards issues of national defence and security. Women remained invisible in the upper echelons of power and decision-making, resulting in blockage of mainstreaming gender and empowerment processes in the Force.

Most of the women in the USDF were confined to subordinate positions which reflect the sexual division of labour in the wider society. They are involved in telecommunications and signals, logistic, finance, administration, cartography, medical and welfare work, and instructional activity. The exclusion of women from combat roles is justified on a number of different grounds such as: Women are unsuited to killing. It's the task of women to give life and to preserve it. Women's

socialisation is inappropriate. Women are incapacitated through physiological functions such as menstruation. Men would find it difficult to prevent themselves from saying things like 'I'll take that, it's too heavy for you to express their physical strength. Women have difficulties to be accepted as members of unformal (homogeneous) groups mainly formed by men. They are always considered firstly as women rather than colleagues or workers. Service women may attend the same specialization courses and participate in all trainings and schools required for promotion to higher rank. There are no limits restricting access of women to military schools. Training programs (basic, advanced military, etc.) for women are identical with the ones for their male counterparts, and are organized in the same institutes and training centers.

## **Conclusion**

The military is viewed as a traditional male environment because it is understood as risky and not suitable for women, who are tolerated mainly in lower-status administrative posts which are 'safer'. Swazi women have diligently served their nation in every sector in the military. The Swazi government has put in place many programs that empowered women and encourage them to be self-sufficient. Women in Swazi society are increasingly moving away from patriarchy to inclusion in all sectors of society. The admission of women into the USDF has been an important step in the history of Swaziland, the region and for women in particular. It has brought the military in line with the social transformation whereby the roles of women have dramatically changed over the years. Women are now regarded as equals and partners in the development of Swaziland rather than as passengers in the development process.

The chapter further provided an overview of the role of African women in the whole depiction of the family. Describing the typical daily life of an African woman, using the example of a Swazi woman, disproves the widely conceived notion that women are not tough enough to make it in the military. By detailing the long working hours and physical endurance outlined in this portion, it demonstrates that a woman has the potential, brains, and physique to equally handle many jobs if not better than those men are doing in the military.

The military has been a stronghold constructed of masculinity. It has been an arena in which a specific form of hegemonic masculinity has been shaped, patrolled, preformed and enforced. This has been created by the pressure to conform to specific performances of dress, appearance and behavior. By adhering to these identifying codes, one becomes a soldier, and a man. As with any socially constructed gendered identity, military masculinity is created and has historically stood in opposition to the 'weaker' feminine.

The army gave them an opportunity to become a military professional. Soldiers chose combat occupations for instance, infantry because it exposed them to excitement and adventure unique to the Army. A number of soldiers in noncombat occupations like being a mechanic exposed them to unique work experience that could help their employment prospects when they separated. Put simply, most soldiers acknowledged the unique benefits they hoped to get from their Army service. Soldiers highlighted the importance of their relationships with other soldiers. These relationships typically began to form once soldiers entered their first duty stations. However, before arriving, most soldiers knew very little about their new duty stations or about the units where they would forge these important relationships. Upon arrival, soldiers began to forge strong relationships with other service members. The Army is actually probably the best job ever. One will get a lot more career opportunities if you have been in the Army, because people know you are a lot more mature than some of these people who are just straight out of high school. Taking pride in the uniform and/or receiving praise and recognition from others for serving was also a major positive actually doing something worth risking your life for the benefit of the state. It was all about serving your country and actually doing something meaningful and to make a difference. The next chapter will look at how HIV has manipulated itself in the army. It will also look at stigmatization and disclosure of HIV status in the USDF was challenge because the HIV/AIDS policy does not force the HIV positive spouse to disclose their status to their spouse unless the spouse was at risk.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## NATIONAL EPIDEMICS: HIV AND AIDS A CHALLENGE IN THE ARMY

### 5.0 Introduction

HIV/AIDS is one of the epidemics that need to be fared closely by the world. This does not leave the military community out of the monitoring of this pandemic.<sup>279</sup> Since 1999, the HIV and AIDS epidemic in Swaziland has been declared a national disaster. In response to the epidemic, the National AIDS Programme in the Ministry of Health was established. HIV and AIDS still pose a great threat to the survival and development of Swaziland and its people. The impact of the pandemic demanded a multi-faceted response from the government. This chapter seeks to explore some of the drivers of HIV/AIDS in the Swazi army, this may include the fact that soldiers are considered to be mobile workers as they are often deployed from one part of the country to another, being away from home may lead to being engaged in unprotected sex or sexual behaviour and boredom.

Southern Africa took on the highest dominance rates worldwide. In 2007, Southern Africa, consisting of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, “accounted for almost a third (32%) of all new HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths globally.”<sup>280</sup> After spreading to Malawi in the

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<sup>279</sup> A. Thomas, M. P. Grillo, D. A. Djibo, B.Hale. & R. A .Shaffers. Military HIV Policy Assessment in Sub-Saharan Africa.179 (7), (2014) pp.773-777

<sup>280</sup> World Health Organization. Map Production: Public Health Mapping and GIS. World Health Organization and Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, (2007), <http://gamapserver.who.int/mapLibrary/Files/Maps/HIVPrevalenceGlobal006.png> (accessed April 12, 2017)

late 1980s, the virus entered Zambia and was briefly contained in those two countries. However, by 1990, Zimbabwe's national antenatal HIV prevalence rate had surpassed Zambia's rate. After sweeping through Zimbabwe, the virus invaded Botswana, and the international world shifted its focus to these four countries.<sup>281</sup>

Southern African countries are the most affected with the prevalence ranging from about 12% in South Africa<sup>282</sup> to 32% in Swaziland.<sup>283</sup> In Swaziland, the first case of AIDS was identified in 1986. The prevalence of HIV infection has increased suddenly, from 3.9% in 1992 to 26.1% in 2007 among people aged 15-49 years.<sup>284</sup> HIV is the leading public health concern in Swaziland. Swaziland's Demographic and Health Survey (SDHS), conducted in 2006-7, demonstrated a generalized epidemic with an HIV prevalence of 26% among people between the ages of 15-49 years old<sup>285</sup>. Faced with the highest HIV prevalence rate in the world, the Swaziland Ministry of Health (MOH) has expanded access to key HIV services: HIV testing and counselling, HIV care and antiretroviral therapy (ART), and prophylaxis for the prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT) of HIV<sup>286</sup>. Swaziland has made enormous progress towards providing ARVs, guided by the Health Sector Response Plan for HIV and AIDS 2003-2005 and the

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<sup>281</sup> J. Illiffe. *The African AIDS Epidemic*. Athens: Ohio University Press,(2006)

<sup>282</sup> O. Shisana, T. Rehle, & L.C. Simbayi. *South African national HIV prevalence, incidence and behaviour survey*, South Africa: HSRC Press, (2014)

<sup>283</sup> G.T. Bicego, R. Nkambule, L. Peterson, J. Reed, D. Donnell, H. Ginindza, J. Justman. *Recent patterns in population-based HIV prevalence in Swaziland*,(2013)

<sup>284</sup> Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. *National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS*. Mbabane: Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland,2009-2014, (2014),p.23

<sup>285</sup> Central Statistical Office (CSO) [Swaziland], and Macro International Inc. *Swaziland Demographic and Health Survey 2006-07: Chapter 14 HIV Prevalence and Associated Factors*. Mbabane, Swaziland: Central Statistical Office and Macro International Inc. (2008). [http:// www.measuredhs.com/publications/publication-FR202-DHS-Final-Reports](http://www.measuredhs.com/publications/publication-FR202-DHS-Final-Reports). Cfm. [Accessed 22 July,2018]

<sup>286</sup> National Emergency Response Council on HIV and AIDS (NERCHA) .*National Multi Sectoral Strategy Framework HIV Aids 2009-2014*. Mbabane, Swaziland, NERCHA. (2010), [http:// www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_protect/---protrav/](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/) Retrieved on published at whilst December year 1111 from ILO aids/documents/legal document/wcms 174723.pdf. [Accessed 30 October,2017]

Emergency Care and Treatment Implementation Plan.<sup>287</sup> In 2011 based on randomized control trials showing the potent effect of medical male circumcision (MMC) in reducing risk of HIV acquisition from heterosexual exposure in men<sup>288</sup> Swaziland has the world's highest HIV prevalence of 26% among adults of reproductive age, and an estimated comparative HIV incidence of 3% in the Sub-Saharan region; while an HIV prevalence of 41.1% among pregnant women posits a state of affairs that warrants immediate action-oriented approaches.<sup>289</sup> It has become clear since the start of the AIDS epidemic, that efforts to prevent the disease spreading, by bringing about changes in high risk sexual behaviour, are difficult to achieve. Research has proven that giving correct information about transmission and prevention does not necessarily lead to behaviour change in most individuals.<sup>290</sup> By 2005, there were approximately 220,000 people living with HIV in Swaziland<sup>291</sup>.

The results of the Population-based HIV Impact Assessment conducted between August 2016 and March 2017 to measure the impact of the country's HIV response on HIV incidence and viral load suppression show that Swaziland is approaching HIV epidemic control. Widely known as the Swaziland HIV Incidence Measurement Survey 2 (SHIMS 2), the assessment shows that Swaziland's massive scale-up of the antiretroviral treatment programme, along with targeted prevention efforts, have cut the rate of new infections by 44 per cent, from 2.5 per cent in 2011 to 1.4 per cent. HIV prevalence, which was found to be 32 per cent of the adult population aged 18-49 in 2011 has stabilised within that margin.

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<sup>287</sup> Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS. Mbabane: Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 2009-2014, (2014), p.23

<sup>288</sup> UNAIDS. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2006) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>. (Accessed 10/12/2017).

<sup>289</sup> Swaziland Government 7, Ministry of Health. National multisectoral strategic framework for HIV and AIDS (NSF). 2009-2014. Mbabane: Swaziland Ministry of Health, (2014), p.19,

<sup>290</sup> UNAIDS. *Sexual Behavioural Change for HIV: Where Have Theories Taken Us?* Report. Geneva: UNAIDS, (1999), pp.1-155

<sup>291</sup> UNAIDS. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2006). Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>. (Accessed 10 December, 2017)

## 5.1 HIV /AIDS

When the USDF was established in the 70s the issue of HIV was not there and as it evolved it slowly embedded in the army thus this chapter will look at how this prevalence has been a thorn in the army crippling in its personnel in fulfilling its mandate. The primary mandate of the Defence Force is to defend, protect the sovereignty and integrity and people of the Kingdom of Swaziland, in accordance with the the Constitution of the country which clearly stipulate the mandate of the USDF which is to protect king, Swazi people and also to be involved wherever they are tasked by the King of Swaziland in the world.<sup>292</sup> HIV and AIDS is today among the most pressing concerns facing health providers worldwide. There is still no cure for HIV. The military is seen as a community with a high prevalence of HIV among its members and a high likelihood that members could be infected by HIV, because of the deployments and members' lifestyle.<sup>293</sup> Soldiers are also seen as the mode leading to the most HIV infections in the areas to which they are deployed. The military is usually full of youth, whereby they are in the stage of experimenting meaning that they may be involved with any member of society. HIV is regarded as a chronic and manageable illness. In 2005, it was estimated that 40 million people worldwide were living with HIV.<sup>294</sup> This number includes adults and children. Of the 40 million people infected with the virus, 28 million were from sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>295</sup>

In Swaziland, the first case of AIDS was identified in 1986. The prevalence of HIV infection has increased sharply, from 3.9% in 1992 to 26.1% in 2007 among people aged 15-49 years.<sup>296</sup> Swaziland is considered to be one of the countries most affected by HIV, with about one in three

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<sup>292</sup> Swaziland Government. *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act*, Mbabane: Swaziland (2005),p.91

<sup>293</sup> L. Heinecken. & M. Nel .Human Rights and HIV-Testing in the South African Armed Forces: Who's Rights Arte Paramount? (2009),p342

<sup>294</sup> UNAIDS. Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2000) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>, [Accessed 10 December,2017]

<sup>295</sup> UNAIDS. Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2000) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>, [Accessed 10 December,2017]

<sup>296</sup>Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS. 2009-2014 Mbabane: Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland, (2009),p.23

adults infected.<sup>297</sup> By 2005, there were approximately 220,000 people living with HIV in Swaziland.<sup>298</sup> The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force is no exception with the high prevalence of HIV in the country. The USDF has implemented community-based activities among soldiers, their sexual partners, and surrounding communities to promote safer sexual behaviour and practices. In some instances, the USDF will use key prevention strategies including peer education and interpersonal communication (including drama/entertainment) during recruit training and quarterly outreach to battalions through existing counsellors to address social and gender norms, (SGBV), STIs, alcohol and drug abuse, and campaign of condom use. This organised development of existing prevention activities within the military emphasizes close association with existing interagency prevention activities adjacent military bases.

HIV/AIDS Wellness Programme unit functions outside the army headquarters in Bethany, 20km east of the capital, Mbabane. Furthermore, also the arrangement of the army emulates the society in many ways, and it may be time to see how other HIV programmes in the country are working towards curbing the disease. The army officials could not reveal the exact figures for HIV-positive personnel or deaths from AIDS-related illnesses due to confidentiality issues, but an estimated 26 percent of Swazis between the ages of 15 to 49 are living with HIV.

According to Lieutenant Colonel Thembeni Magongo<sup>299</sup>, an implementing officer in charge of the programme soldier's lives highlighted the vulnerability of the army officers to AIDS because of their deployment which is far from home. There is loneliness and boredom among officers. Sometimes it is tempting to use sex against the loneliness and boredom. She further stated that the army's HIV/AIDS campaign was introduced almost a decade ago in 2000 and uses peer counsellors and special drama shows to encourage enlisted staff to be tested. The displays feature

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<sup>297</sup> UNDP. HIV/AIDS and poverty reduction strategies. Policy note. New York, (2002)

<sup>298</sup> UNAIDS. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2006)(2006) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>, [Accessed 10 December, 2017]

<sup>299</sup> SWAZILAND. Army slowly winning the HIV/AIDS battle Report from IRIN/News.14 Dec ,(2010)

a trio of HIV positive soldiers who put a human face to the condition, which is highly stigmatized in Swazi society. She noted that these soldiers are the best implements. They call them their heroes, because they have saved so many lives by coming out openly declaring their HIV status. Colonel Gwalagwala Dlamini<sup>300</sup>, the army's chief of personnel and chairman of its HIV/AIDS Task Committee, said it would be compulsory for 3,500 USDF's and recruits to undergo testing, still the results would remain anonymous. He further stated that all personnel will be tested, but test results will not bear the name of the person tested. At this point, they need to know the percentage of soldiers who are HIV-positive. This would assist in planning purposes, to help mitigation efforts.

However, Dlamini added that there was a voluntary component to the plan, which would allow soldiers to elect to receive their test results, and to undergo voluntary testing and counselling (VTC). According to Colonel Gwalagwala Dlamini the VCT programme is conducive and friendly, and the counselling was done professionally, army personnel had to go off base for testing and counselling.<sup>301</sup> On another note he highlighted that 3 testing and counselling centers will be established at the army's headquarters in Bethany and at military bases throughout the country. He further stated that the voluntary counselling and testing is the point of departure in the fight against HIV/AIDS and a key component of prevention and care programmes. In the prevention, personnel learn how the immune virus is transmitted, how to practice safe sex, the advantages of taking a test, and steps to take to avoid becoming infected or infecting others. The Department of Defence has embarked on a comprehensive strategy on various levels to prevent a further spread of HIV in the military and to support and protect the family members of soldiers. These involve the distribution of posters and information pamphlets, articles in military magazines, pre-employment counselling, sex and life-style education, and free condom provision. Furthermore, it has established structures that ensure the distribution of information, education of the personnel and the collection and evaluation of relevant data. Part of the pre-deployment training, soldiers are

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<sup>300</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Army to introduce compulsory HIV testing." Mbabane, (2004)

<sup>301</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Army to introduce compulsory HIV testing." Mbabane, (2004)

lectured and involved in discussions on how to prevent an infection with HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases. The HIV awareness programme have been implemented in the USDF for HIV awareness programme on HIV prevention through information on abstinence, condom use and be faithful to one tested negative partner. Door to door HIV Counselling and testing Medical. Also the Male Circumcision awareness campaign has been implemented. The World AIDS Day commemoration has also attributed to effective lifestyle changes among the personnel and Condom distribution and demonstration awareness meetings.

Lance Corporal Thembinkhosi Dlamini<sup>302</sup>, credited the Simomondiya Drama Society for reducing the stigma attached to HIV, Condom usage, HIV Testing, Counselling and Circumcision. He highlighted that they were part of their shows and soldiers responded well to their plays. These were programmes that were compulsory for all uniform members to attend. The programmes empowered members with detailed information regarding the origin of HIV/AIDS, prevention, replication and treatment, as well as encouraging infected members to get treatment and HIV-negative members to care for themselves. They have done a lot to boost the popularity of condoms. Before, no soldier would wear a condom. Condoms were thought to be unmanly and un-Swazi," Dlamini noted. In the past years, the army distributed 1.2 million condoms, donated by the American NGO AIDS Healthcare Foundation. Also available through the army's treatment programme are antiretroviral drugs. The USDF has put the necessary structures in place to contain the spread of HIV/AIDS by informing soldiers of the risk sources of obtaining the virus, soldiers pose a risk to themselves, society through unprotected sex. Engaging in occasional sex by changing partners.

## **5.2 Policies developed in the Country to address HIV**

In Response to these challenges, Swaziland has implemented various policies that seek to improve the health and social welfare of the Swazi people. These include the National Multi-Sectorial HIV and AIDS Policy, National Social Welfare Policy, and the National Children's Policy, (NERCH).

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<sup>302</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Army to introduce compulsory HIV testing." Mbabane, (2004)

One of Swaziland's achievements has been to successfully pass laws and develop policies that take into account international standards of care and provisions for the protection of human rights. With support from the WHO's Global Programme on AIDS, the government responded by establishing the National AIDS Prevention and Control Programme (NAPCP). Shortly afterwards, King Mswati III declared the HIV and AIDS epidemic a national disaster and the Crisis Management and Technical Committee (CMTC) was established to lead the formulation and implementation of a new national response policy on the epidemic. The CMTC developed the National Strategic Plan for 2000-2005. This focused on improving health services; changing behaviour by means of mass media outlets, schools and workplaces; and minimizing the future impact of the epidemic, especially for vulnerable groups such as orphans.<sup>303</sup> In September 2000 the CMTC developed the Swaziland National Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS 2000-2005, which was Cabinet approved. In November 2001, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MOHSW) published a policy document on HIV and AIDS and STI prevention and control. The key objectives of the policy were to maintain a sustained political commitment at all levels for HIV and AIDS prevention and control. It was also to expand the national response to the HIV and AIDS epidemic by strengthening and maintaining a multi-sector approach. In addition to that it was to improve coordination of HIV and AIDS prevention and control activities at all levels, increase the capacity of women, youths and other vulnerable or disadvantaged groups in protecting themselves against HIV and AIDS and STIs. Finally to safeguard the human rights of people living with HIV and AIDS and promote HIV and AIDS-related research and surveillance activities.<sup>304</sup>

In 2003 the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MOHSW) launched the Emergency Care and Treatment Implementation Plan to provide free antiretroviral therapy (ART) to people living with HIV and AIDS. This reframed policy decision brought about a significant increase in the number of health facilities in the country, which rose from 3 in 2003 to 17 in 2005. This was in line with

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<sup>303</sup> Swaziland National Strategic Plan for HIV/AIDS 2000-2005, (2000).

<sup>304</sup> Report on the 8th HIV Sentinel Survey, Swaziland Government, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare: Mbabane, (2001).

the global securitizing actors call for securitization of the HIV and AIDS epidemic as it permitted the purchase of cheaper generic AIDS drugs.<sup>305</sup>

However, implementation of the program was slow and it was not until the late 1990's that a standard package of interventions was put into place.<sup>306</sup> During this period, the disease spread rapidly. In two years, from 1992-94, when the first national surveys of women attending antenatal clinics (ANC) were conducted, the prevalence of HIV in this population jumped from 3.9% to over 16%. By 2002 prevalence had reached 38.6% among ANC attendees. The rapid increase in HIV prevalence during this period. His Majesty King Mswati III declare HIV/AIDS a national disaster in 1999. Although policy implementation has been in accordance with international norms, and funding was provided through the Global Fund for AIDS, TB and Malaria, prevalence continued to rise through the early 2000's and has since stabilized around 28% of the adult population. A 2003 report to the Swaziland National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA)<sup>307</sup> indicated that the main limitations to national response have been due to inadequate capacity, bureaucratic struggles and a lack of inventive ideas on where to invest funds.<sup>308</sup> Voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) was introduced as part of the national response in Swaziland during the second medium term plan of the national response. Since then more than 20 VCT sites have been established, including mobile services. Efforts are now being made to introduce provider initiated counselling and testing services in all health facilities. This

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<sup>305</sup>Craig Vincent Moffat. *Securitization of HIV and AIDS in Southern African policy processes: An investigation of Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland, (2000-2008)*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch: South Africa, December ,(2014), p.90

<sup>306</sup> A. Whiteside et al. (eds). *What is driving the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Swaziland, and what more can we do about it? Final report for the National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA) and United Nations Programme for HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)*. Swaziland: UNAIDS, UNICEF and NERCHA. *Cross Facing up to AIDS: The Socio-economic impact in Southern Africa*, New York: St Martin's Press, (2003)

<sup>307</sup> Swaziland National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS NERCHA report ,(2003)

<sup>308</sup> A. Whiteside A et al. (eds). *What is driving the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Swaziland, and what more can we do about it? Final report for the National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA) and United Nations Programme for HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)*. Swaziland: UNAIDS, UNICEF and NERCHA. *Cross Facing up to AIDS: The Socio-economic impact in Southern Africa*, New York: St Martin's Press, (2003)

intervention is also associated with the establishment of support groups in the country. While approximately 5% of the world's population know their HIV status.<sup>309</sup> The SDHS<sup>310</sup> of 2006/2007 states that 40, 7% of women and 18, 6% of men in Swaziland are reported to have tested for HIV. The deterrence and controlling of STIs have been part of the national response phases from early times the pandemic has occurred. The response to STIs has always included public awareness, early involvement and service development, including the training of health workers. A major achievement of the response in this intervention area is the decline of syphilis over the years, even though the prevalence rate of 7, 8% is still very high.<sup>311</sup> The intensification in the occurrence of herpes can be described by the increased prevalence of immune dominance in the Swazi population, due to HIV infection.

Although countries across sub-Saharan Africa have struggled with similar challenges, authors note the severity to which these barriers have been debilitating to recovery efforts. Swaziland has made enormous progress towards providing ARVs, guided by the Health Sector Response Plan for HIV and AIDS 2003-2005 and the Emergency Care and Treatment Implementation Plan. Both the public sector and non-governmental organisations offer ART. The public sector started providing ART in 2001 at the Mbabane Government Hospital. By September 2008, 30,337 of those infected with HIV in Swaziland (or 48% of those infected) were receiving ART.<sup>312</sup> The policy in the USDF is to test and decline HIV positive candidates at the entry level. However, HIV infected soldiers will not be dismissed from active duty. In view of the restructuring of the USDF, the civilianization of large parts of the supply and logistics branch and the outsourcing of numerous services, the accommodation of soldiers who are too ill for operational assignments is becoming

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<sup>309</sup> United Nations Development Programme. *Human Development Report 2004 – Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*. UNDP: New York,(2004)

<sup>310</sup> Swaziland - Demographic and Health Survey 2006-2007, Swaziland,(2006)

<sup>311</sup> The Kingdom of Swaziland. *HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care Program (HAPAC)*. Progress Report number 9, July September, (2004). Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and European Commission

<sup>312</sup> Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS 2009-2014,(2014),p.23

increasingly challenging. Prevalent of HIV infection in the ranks has threatened the ability of the military to react to external threat or fulfil of its other functions. Illness results in a loss of skills in all ranks and loss of institutional memory among long serving soldiers and officers, which may contribute to a decline in military performance and breakdown in discipline. Swaziland's Prime Minister, Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini, has launched the country's Umgubudla HIV Investment Case, which aims at implementing King Mswati III's vision of ending the country's AIDS epidemic by 2022. Umgubudla means roadway or water stream.<sup>313</sup> The investment case identifies five areas for prioritized high-impact action: accelerating access to HIV treatment; increasing the number of voluntary medical male circumcision procedures; expanding HIV prevention programme for adolescent girls; the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV; and managing co infection cases of HIV and tuberculosis.

The USDF in 2009 opened a clinic in order to assist in the combat of HIV to army personnel. One service outlet provided HIV-related palliative care services to USDF personnel and their families. On the other hand it provides clinical prophylaxis for Opportunistic Infection (OIs) and provides cure for TB once the client has been diagnosed at the government hospital. With the upgrading of the Phocweni laboratory and x-ray departments, clients are diagnosed by USDF medical personnel, which reduces delays in treatment. During the fiscal year of 2005-2009, 375 military personnel were provided with HIV-related palliative care training. The US Department of Defense HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP) staff continued to provide technical assistance to the USDF for the establishment of palliative care at St. George's Barracks. This increased palliative care services to the USDF and their families.<sup>314</sup> Through this initiative the USDF has taken strides in fighting the virus among the army personnel.

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<sup>313</sup> UNAIDS. <https://www.unaids.org/en/keywords/swaziland>, 24 July 2017 [Accessed 28 October, 2017]

<sup>314</sup> Department of Defence HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP). Reducing the Incidence of HIV/ AIDS Among Uniformed Personnel Across the Globe Annual Report , (2010), p.87

### **5.3 Drivers for the vulnerability of the military to HIV/AIDS personnel.**

A number of factors add to the possibility of contact to the virus by military officers. Among these factors there is the general culture that values the awareness of strength and masculinity both within ranks and in the eyes of the general population. This military culture is not explicit to African militaries, but it may be enriched by traditional cultural values and beliefs held by indigenous peoples. The connection between the military culture and HIV viral transmission has three basic mechanisms that increase a soldier's potential for exposure to the virus. They include social and peer pressure to engage in high levels of sexual activity to "prove" one's masculinity or strength. The popularity of prostitution or sex trade activities in the vicinity of military posts fuels intimacy relationships. These can promote risky sexual behavior including multiple sex partners and unsafe sex. The use of condoms may not be considered "masculine." Today "boredom in the barracks" has acquired a new, more direct meaning that represents the day to day life of soldiers. Alcohol is one outlet used to relieve soldiers' extreme tedium and loneliness. However, alcohol use brings with it severe consequences that include potential alcoholism, spree drinking, and intoxication that impairs judgment.<sup>315</sup> Soldiers in situations where their ability to make coherent choices and decisions is impaired by alcohol intoxication, there are greater chances of engaging in unsafe sexual practices. Some of the drivers of HIV include the following: Single-sex hostels and limited home-leave. Military personnel have no choice but to live in single-sex hostels without the option of being accompanied by their partners and families. In addition, they may have limited home-leave which further distances them from their partners. These circumstances may lead to some military officers to seek other (multiple) relationships.

Secrecy and denial of HIV infected people in the country do not want to know their HIV status. It is believed that most of those who know their status keep it a secret even to their sexual partners. As a result, many infected persons continue to have sex with their steady partners without protection and as such pass on the infection both knowingly and unknowingly. In some cases these sexual relationships lead to pregnancy and subsequently to mother to child transmitted HIV infections. To console themselves, families and friends in some cases choose to believe that

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<sup>315</sup> Health Economics & HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) ,(2004).See also Health link Worldwide, (2002)

infected persons have been bewitched. Public disclosure is very low. When it occurs it is generally among low profile personalities. As a result, no political or professional leaders have made public disclosure of their HIV status. With a large number of new infections and an increasing pool of advanced AIDS patients with a high viral load in denial yet very infective, the virus is easily passed on to others.

It is an organisation dominated by young, sexually active males. They are liable to peer pressure. There is a rise in sexual activity in both pre- and post-deployment. According to Fleshman<sup>316</sup> claimed that military culture tends to exaggerate male behaviour, by removing thousands of young men in their sexual prime from the behavioral constraints of family and community, inculcating a sense of risk-taking and strength, and promoting aggression and toughness as the male ideal attitudes that extend to sexual behaviour and often lead to interaction with commercial sex workers. One of the leading factors that make the military a high-risk population is the practice of relocating personnel from their homes. The exclusion from familiar communities and environments crafts an environment of emotional separation and sexual tension. Being separated from family ties and moral obligation, some soldiers seek companionship from other sources. The mobilization and reintegration of affected soldiers in turn impend their communities when they return home.<sup>317</sup> Apart from the emotional stresses, this departure can encourage collaboration with sex workers. Resulting in this, the sex industry flourishes around military establishments<sup>318</sup>

Transactional sex and concurrent relationships have also played significant roles in the spread of HIV throughout the country. Transactional sex occurs regularly in Swaziland when men buy presents for women in exchange for sex. In these situations, women are rarely able to refuse sex

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<sup>316</sup>M. Fleshman. AIDS Prevention in the Ranks: UN Targets Peacekeepers, Combatants in War against the Disease. *Africa Recovery*, 15(1–2, (2001), p16. [Google Scholar](#) [Accesses 04 May 2019]

<sup>317</sup> Forman, J. Mendelson and M. Carballo. "A policy critique of HIV/AIDS and demobilization." *Conflict, Security & Development* 1:2. London: The Conflict, Security & Development Group, Center for Defence Studies, King's College, (2001), p.1

<sup>318</sup> UNAIDS. AIDS and the Military. United Nations Paper, May, (1998) ,p.3

or demand that their partners use condoms.<sup>319</sup> Simultaneous relationships that overlap for several weeks, months, or even years provide the perfect environment for the spread of HIV/AIDS. These relationships are common in many parts of Swaziland and are far more dangerous for the spread of HIV than monogamous relationships because they lead to an interconnection between dozens of people. Most men and women in concurrent relationships are comfortable with each other, do not use condoms with any of their partners, and are therefore especially susceptible to HIV.<sup>320</sup> This contributes to high occurrence rate of HIV, because when people have sexual intercourse with multiple partners without using condoms HIV is transmitted faster between them. It happens mostly between workers of principal projects such as roads, farmers, soldiers, police officials and other officials when they travel to work far away from their husbands and wives. They are forced due to the long distance from their homes to have multiple partnerships wherever they camp. By this situation HIV prevalence rate becomes high.

Low level of male circumcision adds to the high occurrence rate of HIV, because it is not a common concept in the country. The men who are circumcised have 60% chances of not becoming infected with HIV. The uncircumcised men are at risk of HIV infections because the foreskin can tear easily and the virus will be transmitted to the other person.

Low use of condoms consistently most people do not use condoms constantly when having sexual intercourse. They say they feel nothing when they have sex with condoms, it causes them to have rash and also they want to have children. This contributes to high HIV prevalence rate because as people have vulnerable sex with many partners HIV will be assimilated and transmitted to others.

Boredom and loneliness due to limited availability of recreational activities such as sports or entertainment at military bases or at borders. Personnel are often distanced from traditional norms

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<sup>319</sup> UNDP. *Impact of HIV/AIDS on Agriculture and the Private Sector in Swaziland*. Jubilee Printers, Matsapha, Swaziland,( 2002)

<sup>320</sup> D. T. Halperin and H. Epstein. Concurrent Sexual Partnerships Help to Explain Africa's High HIV Prevalence: Implications for Prevention. *The Lancet* 364 (9428), (2004),pp. 4-6

and support systems that regulate behaviour in stable communities, and coupled with feelings of boredom, loneliness, and isolation, this can result in a disregard for health. In addition, the proximity and availability of sex may fill the workers' (temporary) emotional and sexual needs. While the use of drugs in some militaries is strictly monitored and forbidden, other militaries in Africa have experienced problems in being able to control drug usage particularly when troops are deployed away from command bases or in combat situations. Today "boredom in the barracks" has acquired a new, more direct meaning that depicts the day to day life of soldiers. Alcohol is one outlet used to alleviate soldiers' extreme tedium and boredom. However, alcohol use brings with it severe consequences that include potential alcoholism, binge drinking, and intoxication that impairs judgment. These bachelor circumstances and the monthly salary these soldiers receive often lead to alcohol abuse, resulting in risky behaviour. These elements combined with a risk-taking code and sexual prestige adds to the problem of increasing HIV infection in the military. Dangerous working conditions faced daily with the prospect of danger and death, military personnel may be preoccupied with other immediate challenges and may regard HIV as a distant threat.

Lack of social cohesion led to social exclusion that mobile workers often feel in their new environment and the lack of community. Cohesiveness may lead to risky sexual behaviour among officers. Men marrying women with no or little education, makes the wives vulnerable because they cannot read or understand a document if they came across it about their husband's HIV status. Women who are unemployed married to soldiers rely on the partner as their sole bread-winner and hence cannot challenge their husband, even when he is not maintaining them financially. They are particularly vulnerable because they do not know their rights and depend on their husbands financially.<sup>321</sup> Even though majority of the Swazis are educated we still have those in society who are liberate because of different reasons. Some of the general vulnerability factors may include population movements, military movements, gender inequalities and equity. Lack of social cohesion in some areas, extend sexual mixing patterns and multiple partnerships, including

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<sup>321</sup> H. Jackson. *AIDS Africa continent in crisis*. Harare: SAFAIDS Publishing, (2002),p. 8

commercial sex. Various cultural factors of low rates of male circumcision contributes to the growth of HIV in the army.

Drug and Alcohol Abuse with a non-regular partner after use of alcohol is proof of urban males and females having unprotected sex. Such sexual behaviour may involve money transactions which are likely to fuel more drug and alcohol abuse. Alcohol and drug use as suggested before often add to forced sex and domestic violence. Complicating the problem of sexual promiscuity and unsafe sexual practices is the issue of drug and alcohol abuse. While this form of drug usage may be of some concern to authorities, the more prevalent drug of choice among soldiers is alcohol. In some of the first analyses of African militaries and their relationships to civilian governments, boredom in the barracks. Alcohol abuse causes people not to think appropriately, because if a person is drunk they may not be able to have a choice of who to have sex with. If people are drunk that is when they get absorbed to have sexual intercourse with women or men.

Sexually transmitted infections on STI increases the risk of acquiring HIV infection as sexually transmitted infections are still at epidemic levels in the country. Prevalence of Genital Ulcers and the presence of STD increases the risk of acquiring HIV during unprotected sex with an HIV-positive partner. The presence of genital ulcers can be used as a basic way of gauging the level of STD prevalence. It is known that patients with STD symptoms consult a wide range of health care providers, including public, private, informal, and traditional sources of care. Herpes genitalis,<sup>322</sup> the circumcision status of men and the low level use of condom, and multiple and concurrent partnerships embrace the initial phase of infection with high viral loads. The duration of infectivity is mainly influenced by concomitant sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and at the end of the disease period by the ARV therapy given to a portion of the infected.<sup>323</sup> High levels of untreated

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<sup>322</sup> Wald A, Corey L. How does herpes simplex virus type 2 influence human immunodeficiency virus infection and pathogenesis? *J Infect Dis*, (2003), pp.187, 1509–12. [[PubMed](#)] [[Google Scholar](#)]. See also. H. Weiss, A. Buve, N. Robinson, E. Van Dyck, M. Kahindo, S. Anagonou et al. Study Group on Heterogeneity of HIV Epidemics in African Cities. The epidemiology of HSV-2 infection and its association with HIV infection in four urban African populations. *AIDS*. (2001), pp.15, [[PubMed](#)] [[Google Scholar](#)]

<sup>323</sup> Auvert B, Taljaard D, Lagarde E, Sobngwi-Tambekou J, Sitta R, Puren A. Randomized, controlled intervention trial of male circumcision for reduction of HIV infection risk: the ANRS 1265. *Trial PLoS Med*. (2005).pp.2-298. [[PMC](#)]

sexually transmitted infection and reproductive organs infection, and relatively low condom use. The above mentioned factors highlight the remarkable threat of HIV/AIDS amongst military members, their spouses and the larger society to which they belong. Like women everywhere, female military personnel are especially vulnerable. As well as being at higher risk of HIV for physiological reasons that all women share, they are often at a disadvantage in sexual negotiations, including negotiations for condom use. Women are more likely to acquire any kind of STD from a single sexual exposure than men, and to have more asymptomatic STDs that are difficult to diagnose.<sup>324</sup> HIV is a threat not only to military personnel but also to their families and community. Military HIV programs are most effective if there is close collaboration with civilian health authorities. Perhaps the single most important factor leading to high rates of HIV in the military is the practice of posting personnel far from their accustomed communities and families for varying periods of time. As well as freeing them from traditional social controls, it removes them from contact with spouses. As a result, local sex industries grow in response to demand from military bases and units. It is a prime challenge to military establishments to re-think this traditional feature of operational practice in the light of health and social issues, both of which suggest the high value of finding ways to support constant family relationships and marriages.

Debrah et al<sup>325</sup> observed that the extent of the HIV/AIDS crisis can be evaluated in terms of increased absenteeism of soldiers and spouses who have to take time off to attend to sick family members or to attend funerals. Sick soldiers are less productive at work and may not be able to carry out more demanding physical jobs. Substitutes for AIDS victims may be less skilled and experienced and may require additional training. There are also significant AIDS-related costs including the purchase of coffins, transport for mourners using military means of transportation, provision of benefits to survivors, and a lot of hours spent at funerals. Since AIDS is a late

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[free article](#) [[PubMed](#)] [[Google Scholar](#)], See also .WHO; UNAIDS. New data on male circumcision and HIV prevention: policy and programme implications. (2007), [http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2007/mc\\_recommendations\\_en.pdf](http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2007/mc_recommendations_en.pdf)

<sup>324</sup> For more information, see UNAIDS Point of View "Reducing women's vulnerability to HIV infection".

<sup>325</sup> Y.A. Debrah, F.M, Horwitz, K.N Kamoche and G.N. Muuka. Managing Human Resources in Africa. Routledge: New York, (2003) <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?aandd=104242281>

consequence of the HIV infection, the long incubation period and the absence of significant symptoms at the early stage of infection make it impossible to know the exact number of infections in the military, and this lack of knowledge affects planning and provisions of services.

Male circumcision is one of the most striking evidence that emerged in recent years as a protective factor for HIV infection. However, its protection is only partial. Randomized control trials have shown to reduce infection in men but no clear decrease in transmission from men to women and there is no information on transmission between men who have sex with men.<sup>326</sup> Exposure to infected blood or blood products through injection drug use and blood transfusion are two mechanisms of HIV exposure to infected blood. Because of the efficiency of HIV transmission through needle sharing, the introduction of HIV into an urban network of injecting drugs users can quickly raise the HIV prevalence in this population.<sup>327</sup> The probability of becoming infected through an HIV contaminated transfusion is estimated at more than 90 % <sup>328</sup> and the amount of HIV in a single contaminated blood transfusion is so large that individuals infected in this manner may rapidly develop AIDS.

#### **5.4 Stigmatization, acceptance and Disclosure of HIV status**

Stigma generally denotes to prejudice, negative attitudes, abuse and maltreatment directed at a certain group of people.<sup>329</sup> The stigma not only makes it more difficult for people trying to come to terms with HIV and manage their illness on a personal level, but it also interferes with attempts

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<sup>326</sup> H.A. Weiss, K.E Dickson, K. Agot, C.A. Hankins .Male circumcision for HIV prevention: current research and programmatic issues. *AIDS* 24(4), (2010), pp.S61-9

<sup>327</sup> R.E. Chaisson, P. Bacchetti, D. Osmond, B. Brodie, M.A. Sande, A.R. Moss. Cocaine Use and HIV Infection in Intravenous Drug Users in San Francisco. *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 261(4), (1998), pp. 561-65.

<sup>328</sup> UNAIDS. (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS). *Blood Safety and AIDS: UNAIDS Point of View*. Geneva: UNAIDS, (1997)

<sup>329</sup> Avert HIV and AIDS stigma and discrimination <http://www.avert.org/hiv-aids-stigma.htm>, [accessed 21 February, 2019]

to fight the AIDS epidemic as a whole.<sup>330</sup> UN secretary- General Ban KI Moon referred to stigma as the single greatest vital obstacle to public action. It is a focal motive why too many people are afraid to see a doctor to determine whether they have the disease. People fear the social disgrace of discourse about it, assists in making AIDS the silent killer and all over the world people are dying.<sup>331</sup>

Swaziland has been described as one of the most HIV stigma saturated societies in the world.<sup>332</sup> Acceptance and disclosure of one's status it's not an easy thing to do. Stigma is the major reason why the AIDS epidemic continues to devastate societies around the world. On national level, the stigma associated with HIV can deter governments from taking fast, effective action against the epidemic, whilst on a personal level it can make individuals reluctant to access HIV testing, treatment and care.<sup>333</sup> The existence of stigmatization and discrimination coupled with lack of codes of conduct and interpersonal communication on HIV and AIDS makes the implementation of workplace HIV and AIDS programs more challenging. Spousal separation due to work deployment creates an opportunity for HIV transmission through extra marital affairs.

Army Commander General Sobantu Dlamini, responding to the King's call, gave directive on the HIV and AIDS issue; saying there has to be no discrimination and no victimization of those officers living with HIV. The Army commander's expressed defiance as he led the response to HIV then was: "Every soldier lives to protect the country their role is not just confined to preventing the smuggling of cars over boundaries, but that begins with the health and well-being of every soldier,

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<sup>330</sup> Avert HIV and AIDS stigma and discrimination <http://www.avert.org/hiv-aids-stigma.htm>, [accessed 21 February, 2019]

<sup>331</sup> Ban KI Moon. "The stigma factor" Washington Times online 6 August 2008. available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/aug/06/thestigma-factor/>, [accessed 21 March, 2019]

<sup>332</sup> E. Green. Rethinking AIDS prevention: learning from successes in developing countries. Westport, CT: Praeger Press, (2003)

<sup>333</sup> <http://www.avert.org/aidsstigma.htm>

who has to be safe from disease. This will ensure that the soldier can protect himself or herself, and colleagues. In this way, the families of soldiers will be safe, hence the whole country will then experience total safety, when soldiers are safe themselves.”<sup>334</sup>

Stigma and discrimination are drivers of the spread of the AIDS pandemic in that the negative attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) cause people to be secretive about their health status. AIDS is still linked to sexual promiscuity, causing innocent (non-promiscuous) partners within a marriage to remain silent and usually delaying to get diagnosed for early treatment. Living with HIV in Swaziland is still considered a shame and viewed as an act of being sexually negligent. Receiving positive results to HIV testing is stressful, as is having to disclose this information to friends, family, and sexual partners. The fear of being discriminated makes the victims to remain silent about their condition. PLWHIV have difficulty disclosing their positive status to their sexual partners. Although HIV disclosure has been shown to improve physical health, psychological well-being, and health behaviors, status disclosure has not been accepted as universally positive. People’s attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS remain a major community challenge. There is a need to generate an environment of understanding, compassion and dignity in which people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) will be able to voluntarily disclose their status and receive the support and respect all people deserve.

Disclosure of HIV status is primarily done to attain social support from other close individuals such as one’s partner, family members, close friends or health workers. It is also done so that sexual partner(s) can get tested or protected, to be open and to share the burden. Kalichman<sup>335</sup> ascertain that it improve access to medical care including antiretroviral treatment, increased opportunities to discuss and implement RN risk reduction with partners, and increased

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<sup>334</sup> The Swazi Observer. A JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIV/AIDS CRISIS,31 March ,(2016)

<sup>335</sup> S. C. Kalichman, Understanding AIDS: advances in research and treatment,( 1998)

opportunities to plan for the future. According to Lovejoy<sup>336</sup> it promotes responsibility and help to reduce the stigma, discrimination and denial that are associated with HIV and AIDS.

In addition to disclosing to individuals, it can also be openly done as part of campaign to encourage people to get tested<sup>337</sup>. Disclosure is an important public health goal for a number of different reasons. Disclosure motivate sexual partners to seek testing, change behaviour and decrease the transmission of HIV.<sup>338</sup> Disclosure may not be done immediately due to fear of the possible adverse consequences, especially stigma related to moral judgement and blame, exclusion by family or community members, and discrimination. On the other hand, disclosure gives the individual an opportunity to come to terms with living openly with the infection for life. Other adverse consequences of disclosure experienced by People Living With HIV (PLWH) included violence; loss of employment; termination of a relationship; abuse (physical and/or verbal); and loss of support from family, community, employers and employees.<sup>339</sup> Of all the negative consequences of disclosure, one of the worst reported was stigma and discrimination because they affect all aspects of the experience of living with HIV, including the management of the disease. Stigma may originate from the immediate family or from others who one interacts with at work, the community, or in the health services. Low self-esteem can composite stigma<sup>340</sup>. More than half of the people living with HIV (PLWH) (53%) experience stigma, more than those with other chronic conditions. PLWH in low-and middle-income countries are affected more than those from higher income countries. Disclosure of HIV status to family members is still a challenge to those

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<sup>336</sup> N.C. Lovejoy. Aids impact on the gay man's homosexual and heterosexual families. *Journal of Marriage Family Rev.* 14 (4), (1990)

<sup>337</sup> O. Shisana, W. Parker, T. Rehle, L.C Simbayi, K. Zuma, A. Baan, V. Pillay. South African national HIV prevalence, HIV incidence, behaviour and communication survey. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council,(2005)

<sup>338</sup> P. Ewing. *Confronting marginalisation in the context of HIV/AIDS*: Report of the National Summit, Durban, South Africa 7-8 August. GAFIICW,(2003)

<sup>339</sup> K.J.B. Keregero and Emma Allen. Positive living to HIV in the Swazi social Economy. International Labour Organization. COOP Africa (2011),p,15 [Accessed 02 August, 2018]

<sup>340</sup> K. Lowther, L Selman, R. Harding, & L.J. Higginson .Experience of persistent psychological symptoms and perceived stigma among people with HIV on antiretroviral therapy (ART): A systematic review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 51(8), (2014). pp.1171– 1189

PLWH. Some participants said that disclosure of the disease was a very sensitive issue. Some of them thought that disclosure to their children and parents might discriminate against them, the information would affect their studies and parents cannot move freely with the society. One officer said that; “I am unmarried, I have not told my mother about my disease because she might feel bad to know that I am suffering with HIV and my family members may keep me away from home.” Some HIV positive women officers showed their concern about children. One officer said that “My children are studying in professional colleges if I tell them, what will be their reaction? If they accept me, it will be fine but if they don’t accept and reject me? So, I am very scared to inform them”.<sup>341</sup>

At first, I didn't want my parents and friends to know what was going on with me. I isolated myself from all my friends and family. I finally found the best opportunity for me to disclose my HIV status to my sister. I am thankful because my sister was able to understand me and I asked her to educate my mom about HIV. After disclosing my status I don't have any burden at all. I don't care if everyone around the world knows that I am living with HIV. Those already in the military who are positive are allowed to remain until they become very sick to work. They are allowed to continue in their chosen military career fields if they are able, said one officer who is affected.

Some officers on ART disclosed their HIV status to family members and colleagues and talked very freely about it and to preempt gossip. This coping mechanism was well narrated by one officer who stated that I have disclosed my status to almost everybody because I am sometimes seen on the television or heard on the radio revealing that I am HIV positive (I am an AIDS activist). At my workplace everybody knows I am infected. It helped me a lot to disclose my status because I sometimes feel unable to work and I just tell my boss by phone that I am sick. He always understand the situation and my colleagues say jokingly “mmmh! Today viruses have woken up and are harassing her “that’s why she was not able to report to work. One day, one of

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<sup>341</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July , (2017)

my colleagues told me that some officers were saying that I didn't come yesterday because viruses were harassing me, but I just told her, I don't care (she giggled).

People of this kind, who disclose and talk freely about their HIV status, can strengthen others living with HIV by helping them overcome internalized stigma, cope with stigma, rebuild their self-esteem, and develop skills to take leadership roles in anti-stigma education and action.

In order to minimise the possibility of HIV-infected individuals being rejected by their families or society, or both, officers felt that stigma should be dealt with at individual, family, and community level. Some officers felt that, in the army, they should be role models in reducing the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS.<sup>342</sup> The following were some effects of stigma that an HIV-positive client on ART may experience that were identified by the participants included the following: Stigma may lead to social isolation, loss of hope, loss of reputation, and feelings of worthlessness. It may discourage individuals from contacting health and social services, thereby increasing the risk of transmission of HIV. It may discourage an individual from engaging in risk-reduction practices. It exacerbates problems faced by AIDS orphans and it may cause non-adherence to ART by officers.

Measures to combat stigma that were identified by army officers included education on the HIV, avoidance of judgemental attitudes towards officers, and maintenance of confidentiality.<sup>343</sup> There was, however, disagreement among the participants concerning the issue of confidentiality. While some felt that confidentiality had to be maintained, others felt that maintaining confidentiality would cause the infection to spread. One officer was of the view that although in the army they had clinics now and again they were reminded of the importance of maintaining confidentiality

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<sup>342</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>343</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 27 July, (2017)

regarding people's information, it appeared that they were losing sight of its importance, and that unfortunately resulted in stigmatisation of officers.

The officers further stated that the HIV-infected officers had difficulty in accepting his or her HIV-positive status and coping, because of his or her perception of the illness. HIV and AIDS is an infection with many associated perceptions and meanings. Whether one accepts the illness depends on one's perceptions of the illness. The meaning that the individual ascribes to HIV and AIDS may also influence the way he or she accepts and copes with the illness. Different individuals may see HIV and AIDS in different ways. Individuals may see it as a punishment, or an enemy, or a conspiracy, or an irreparable loss, or a challenge, or a shameful illness, and so forth. One army officer stated that everyone is aware of how AIDS originated. It was known as a disease for gays and prostitutes. We dissociated ourselves from it, because we were not prostitutes, and we were not gays and lesbians.<sup>344</sup> It was very difficult to change the mind set of people, maybe with time they will change, seeing that a pastor's wife has died, a neighbour, a nurse, and everybody is getting sick made it difficult to accept ones condition.<sup>345</sup> Participants reported to the researcher their experience of depression, and such reports were not verified. One of the participants who was severely affected by depression said that she thought the disease was for those who moved around having sex with everyone, yet that was not the case. She further expressed that she was stressed by the tablets each time she felt sick at heart. The tablets were sort of a reminder that she was HIV-positive. What was most depressing was that these drugs were not a cure, and she had to take them for the rest of her life.

In addition to the above, it was mentioned that the labels given to HIV made it difficult for officers to accept their status, because these labels stigmatise. Common labels, according to some participants, were umbulalave (nation killer), mashayabhuce (destroyer), silwane (animal),

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<sup>344</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>345</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 27 July, (2017)

ligciwane (a germ), and ingculaza (sexually transmitted infection). Concerning the labels given to officers, one participant mentioned that the intention of these unpleasant labels was not to stigmatise them per se, but to label the epidemic so badly that people would do all in their power to take preventive measures. Depression could be caused by the virus itself, or stigma and discrimination. Depression lead to lack of self-worth and despair. Care must be taken to identify those patients that risk developing depression, those that are experiencing difficulty with interpersonal relationships, those that were failing to cope, and those with a poor self-concept. The prevalence of depression and anxiety in PLWHA was similar to those suffering from other serious chronic and life-threatening medical illnesses. A major factor was the psychological reaction to having such an illness. The individual will be faced with the reality of serious illness and possible death at an early stage. In many cases there were additional stressors related to the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS and lack of social support for the infected individual.

There were factors contributing to the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS, according to the officers this may include inaccurate information about how HIV is transmitted, infection is often thought to be the result of personal irresponsibility, religious or moral beliefs which has made some people to believe that being infected with HIV is the result of a moral transgression that deserves to be punished. Also that AIDS is a life-threatening disease and is associated with behaviours such as homosexuality, drug addiction, and prostitution. HIV is a sexually transmitted infection (STI). According to some officers, psychological variables also include the officer's perception of wellbeing and life satisfaction. Officers may experience fear, anger, anxiety, denial, confusion, depression, and distress.<sup>346</sup> All these emotions stemmed from uncertainty. The individual may be uncertain about the future, about opportunistic infections, and about the occurrence of side effects caused by the drugs.

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<sup>346</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

## 5.5 Implications of the male sexual drive in the army

Male sexual desire has exacerbated the spread of HIV. According to Hollway the male sexual drive discourse in military highlights the centrality of dominant constructions of the ‘male sexual drive discourse’.<sup>347</sup> This discourse, refers to notions of inherent, urgent male sexual desire, which has been identified in the country and internationally as central in the way both men and women understand male sexuality.<sup>348</sup> For example Men want a lot of enjoyment through sex. For a man sex generally is about the more women one has, the better. Then, two or more nights later have sex with another woman. When a man sees a woman, walking in the streets the first thing he thinks of is sex. As in other studies, the male sexual drive is primarily constructed in biologically deterministic terms, rationalized through discourses of ‘nature’. Thus participants felt they are forced by ‘nature’ to seek sexual relationships with women, at times irrespective of any existing sexual relationship.

Mboneni<sup>349</sup> stated that when one sees a woman you started to have feelings for her. Even though you know that you have your own partner. It is natural that’s why one cannot resist temptations. The ‘urgency’ of male sexual need is, however, understood within the context of the military, with male need for sexual gratification explained as intensified by the particular working conditions of the military. While this stereotype of male sexuality is also common place among men outside the military, participants appear to make meaning of their sexuality within the circumstances imposed by military life. Studies reviewed similarly highlight the significance of military conditions, in particular periods of separation and isolation.<sup>350</sup> The deployment of soldiers for

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<sup>347</sup> W. Hollway. *Subjectivity and Method in Psychology: Gender, Meaning and Science*. London: Sage, (1989)

<sup>348</sup> L.Miles. ‘Women, AIDS, Power and Heterosexual Negotiation: A Discourse Analysis’, *Agenda* 15, .(1992), pp.14–27

<sup>349</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July , (2017)

<sup>350</sup> D. Achery. ‘The South African Perspective’, paper presented at the UNAIDS Meeting on HIV/AIDS and Uniformed Services: Analysing the evidence, Cape Town, (2004). See also T. Shefer and K, Ruiters. ‘The Masculine Construct in Heterosex’, *Agenda* 27, (1998), pp. 39–45. A. Strebel. ‘Women and AIDS: A Study of Issues in the Prevention of HIV Infection’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town: Cape Town, (1993). Bujra. *Targeting Men for a Change:*

long periods such as a year did not only increase their risk of being infected, but also the risk on their return, transmitting the virus to their spouses. The broader community was also at risk because the spouses who stayed home were also tempted to engage in risky sexual behaviour in the absence of their soldier spouses. The direction of spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic was not only from returning migrant men/ women to their partners/ spouses, but also from women/ men to their migrant partners/ spouses. A young officer joined the USDF in 1977 at 21 years and was first posted at the Ngwavuma Camp situated at the borderline past Nsoko. As a young man who was single he had to explore life in many things, including alcohol, smoking, and women, which he took to like fish to water. The deployment factor is central to the nature of the USDF and hence not an easy one to address. In the work setting, the USDF members are more vulnerable in the case of external deployment for instance for nine months or more they would be on detachments to other regions where the member only went home once a month.

According to Heinecken <sup>351</sup> opportunities to engage in risky sexual behaviour are much higher in African military contexts as elaborated above, meaning these men were regarded as a sought-after group due to their access to both political power and financial means. Such conditions, together with their own discourses on the immutability of their ‘urgent needs’ for sex, may facilitate coercive and unsafe sexual practices. In line (support) of this view an officer in the USDF stated that; “Although it is difficult to take the decision overnight, but one needs to man up and take the initiative.”<sup>352</sup> He was not afraid to open up to the world on how he contacted the virus. He further stated how he got it when he joined the force in 2005. “When I joined the force I was stationed at the borders (eminceleni), so I grabbed everything that came across my way in the name of being a soldier.” <sup>353</sup>

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Aids Discourse and Activism in Africa’, in F. Cleaver (ed.) *Masculinities Matter: Men, Gender and Development*, Cape Town: David Phillip, (2002), pp. 209–34

<sup>351</sup> L. Heinecken. ‘Affirming Gender Equality: The Challenges Facing the South African Armed Forces’, *Current Sociology* 50(5), (2002) pp.715–28. See also D. Achery. ‘The South African Perspective’, paper presented at the UNAIDS Meeting on HIV/AIDS and Uniformed Services: Analysing the evidence, Cape Town, (2004).

<sup>352</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 23 July, (2017)

<sup>353</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 23 July, (2017)

Bahlomile <sup>354</sup> stated that there's a belief that men cannot go along for two, three months without having sex and the moment they start being away from their partners, that causes problems because they would need to have a woman even though they are attached to their original girlfriend. They will have women on the outside, simply because they want to satisfy their normal way of life as they see it. They believe that one cannot go for three to four months without having sex. On another note he asserted that women are considered to be objects that make them feel good. Men use their body as an object, to be satisfied. And, once they had their satisfaction, which body has no value any more they opt for another woman. Linked with the construction of men's sexuality in relation to women, a discourse positioning men as different from women with respect to emotions also emerges, which reflects the notion of the oppositional female focus on 'love' and relation, versus male focus on 'sex'.<sup>355</sup>

Furthermore, he argued that sex for a man is very unemotional because you're thinking of physical things like; you're thinking of how big her breasts are and also about her bums as well as thighs. This was anchored by another officer who stated that men are not taking sex as something that has to be emotional, instead they take sex as a physical thing, and that's it. When one has it its fine no strings attached as to make that person a lifelong partner. Likewise, he further noted that for someone to have as many girlfriends as possible showed that person was a true man. Our culture does not require women to 'prove' their womanhood in the way it requires of men to prove their manhood. A woman, is supposed to be sleeping at home sticking to her man. In the military context, the competition between men takes on an interesting dimension in that manhood becomes integrally interwoven with soldier hood. Thus, it seems particularly important for the soldier to prove his success with women in relation to civilian men. Officers drew on their constructions of masculinity as linked to physical strength in rationalizing their superiority to civilian men, considering themselves to have more success with women because their bodies are well formed as

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<sup>354</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July, (2017)

<sup>355</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July, (2017)

a result of their physical training. The perceived rivalry with civilian men appears to be a preoccupation among military men, articulated in sexualized terms through ‘possession’ of civilian women supposedly ‘belonging’ to civilian men.

He went on to say that in the military they have a unique lifestyle and they did things in a unique way. For instance, some civilians did not like the way they did things. Like they showed off money while in the bars which they could also give out freely to the ladies around them. So, the ladies in the vicinity liked the way soldiers were as they were free handed. They quarrelled with the civilian guys because they broke their hearts. The researcher asked questions based on quarrels about women? He responded positively that some women were very funny, they liked the way soldiers were doing things in a club for instance they were properly dressed and some civilian men did not come properly dressed. Also on pay days, soldiers did not care about money, especially on pay days. And women saw it as a good thing and they made plans to get into the soldier’s company.

Again the signifiers of being well dressed and flaunting money in relation to other men who did not achieve such signifiers were raised as a sign of masculinity, similarly articulated by Gezokuhle.<sup>356</sup> In the military through traditional male practices of multiple sexual partners, is clearly a central way in which military men achieved successful masculinity. While most of their quotes are attempts to assert superiority in relation to civilian men, it is also clear that such assertions are underpinned by a less flattering, contradictory discourse which undermines military men as inferior due to their inability to find other employment. He stated that the army has a stigma that if you’re in the army it means bolstered by military conditions of having money, being in areas where women are particularly economically dependent on men, means these aspects may be foregrounded as a tool in the articulation of masculinity. Other studies have also illuminated the popular construction of soldiers’ success with civilian women, especially those vulnerable to male control on the basis of age and economic status.

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<sup>356</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 25 July, (2017)

## 5.6 THE IMPLICATIONS OF LIVING WITH HIV/AIDS in the USDF

Officers in the health department stated that the psychological variables of clients (soldiers) are aspects that are very important to consider when providing holistic care to People Living with HIV (PLWH). Psychological problems that were noted by officers that are of concern included: AIDS-related stigma and discrimination, fear, anger, denial, anxiety, confusion, depression, distress, loss of dignity, uncertainty, hopelessness, and helplessness. AIDS-related stigma refers to the prejudice and discrimination directed at people living with HIV or AIDS and the groups and communities associated with.<sup>357</sup>

Swaziland has been described as among the most stigmatizing countries. Officers in the army felt that in Swaziland people still suffer self-stigmatisation, and are stigmatised by their families, and by communities and health workers. Consequences of stigma identified by officers include rejection by family due to the stigma associated with this illness. The client may lose family, social, and cultural roles, depending on how his or her family and society define the illness. At community level, stigma can manifest itself in the client being ostracised, rejected, or verbally or physically abused. The client may lose his or her employment due to the chronicity of the infection. This could cause a lot of confusion and distress within the family. Stigma makes it hard for people to go for HIV testing, treatment, care and counselling for fear of being judged. Stigma and discrimination have been reported as a major barrier to HIV testing across Africa.<sup>358</sup>

One problem that is common in the army is stigma. The officers also stated that stigma made it difficult to deal with the epidemic. Stigma directed at officers made it more difficult for people trying to come to terms with and managed their illness on a personal level, but it also interfered

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<sup>357</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July, (2017). See also <http://www.avert.org/aidsstigma.htm>

<sup>358</sup>B. Wolff, B. Nyanzi, G. Katongole et al. Evaluation of a home-based voluntary and counselling and testing intervention in rural Uganda, *Health Policy and Planning*, 20,(2005),pp. 109-116

with attempts to fight the AIDS pandemic as a whole.<sup>359</sup> The army officers mentioned that the stigma experienced by officers had a negative impact on ART adherence. This stigmatisation often resulted in secretive behaviour among those infected, and failure to take protective measures, which perpetuates the spread of the epidemic in Swaziland. PLWHA is still prevalent in Swaziland, and it is a major cause of non-adherence to ART and consequently lowers QOL. Self-esteem is characterised by feelings of confidence, achievement, independence, reputation, and feeling recognised, appreciated, and valued. ART has lowered participants' self-esteem. A lowered self-esteem parallels a low QOL. It was also identified that stigmatisation and discrimination against PLWHA in Swaziland leads to PLWHA being afraid to disclose their HIV-positive status, failure to use risk-reduction practices, and social isolation. Stigma and discrimination is at the heart of many failed efforts to deal with HIV and AIDS over the years, and many HIV prevention, care, support, and treatment interventions have not been that effective, as a result of HIV-related stigma.<sup>360</sup> One officer shared her experience of counselling an HIV-positive female officer who was on ART and was scared of being rejected by her family: She [the woman on ART] had to hide her ARVs at a neighbour's house for fear of being rejected by her husband and family. She goes there in the morning and evening to take the drugs. Taking these medications is not simply a matter of popping pills a few times a day.

According to Shernoff<sup>361</sup> these drug had radiating effects, which profoundly influenced eating, sleeping, and work schedules, as well as day-to-day interactions with other people. And then it was obvious that no protective measures were taken, and one wondered if she took her ARVs on time. Who can blame her though? Nobody wants to be rejected.<sup>362</sup> Seriously ill people with HIV disease have experienced significant improvements in their health as a result of ARVs. This was

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<sup>359</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July, (2017)

<sup>360</sup> World Council of Churches .Working with people living with HIV/AIDS organizations, (2005). Available online at <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/document/wcc-programmes/justice-diakona-and-responsibility>. (Accessed 21, November,2017)

<sup>361</sup> M. Shernoff. Uncertainty and quality of life: Psychosocial realities of combination antiretroviral therapy. *Journal of HIV/AIDS and Social Services* 1, 1, (2002), pp.25-43

<sup>362</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini,25 July, (2017)

because ARVs reduced HIV replication to such an extent that the viral load in the blood was reduced to very low and even undetectable levels. This reduced the chances of being attacked by opportunistic infections and cancers, and People living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA) who were on ART may live a near-normal life.<sup>363</sup> The introduction of antiretroviral treatment has brought hope in prolonging the lives of those living with HIV and AIDS. However, it was reported that the availability of antiretroviral drugs had resulted in some individuals resorting to high risk behaviors. With treatment available some individuals felt it was acceptable to indulge in high risk behaviors after all if infected with HIV, they received medication and be able to lead a normal life. Thus the perception has been that some people were engaging in high risk behavior practices due to the availability of antiretroviral treatment.

Although ART has significant benefits of controlling HIV disease and extending life, many researchers suggested that ARVs have unpleasant side effects that may erode Quality Of Life (QOL).<sup>364</sup> Feelings of hopelessness and helplessness were common among respondents as there was no vaccine or cure for HIV. These feelings were also intensified by the fear that their husbands or partners would divorce them. Sesabitwa<sup>365</sup> described her feelings like “I felt so hopeless and helpless. The first person I told about this was my husband, I told him five days later”. She said she did that after being diagnosed as HIV positive and she debated on whether to tell him or not because she was afraid he would say “I can't stay with such a person and divorce me” she emphasised. The diagnosis made her feel like she was less human, that she did not deserve to be loved and accepted by her husband. Sharing experiences about taking ARVs in Support Groups plays an important role in handling stigma and discrimination. Such groups constitute a forum for learning about challenges related to living with HIV and taking ARVs.

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<sup>363</sup>N.R. Calles &H. Schwardwald. Antiretroviral Treatment. In HIV Nursing Curriculum. Texas: Baylor College of Medicine, (2001),p.111

<sup>364</sup> Swaziland National VCT guidelines, (200), pp.5-7, See also S. Roberts & K. Dennilk. HIV/AIDS management for professional nurses: Foundations for professional development. Pretoria: City Bridge Foundation. (2006,)pp.191-197

<sup>365</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini,26 July, (2017)

Officers revealed that HIV and AIDS was known for its ability to rob the army of their dignity, and that this may have serious implications on the self-concept of the individual. Officers may have a low self-image, or low self-esteem or self-worth. The individual may also experience feelings of hopelessness and helplessness. Helplessness can occur when a person was forced into the position of temporary or permanent dependence on others. One officer mentioned that feelings of hopelessness were caused by the fact that HIV and AIDS is incurable and that being on ART is permanent and lifelong. HIV is different from any other illness. You are stigmatised because of it. There is no treatment, and it is a disease that is associated with shameful behaviour and a disease that you are not proud to reveal. One officer commented that the hospital situation made it possible to degrade officers to the point of nonbeing. It was impossible to maintain confidentiality in their situation. The fact that one was being in hospital in the HIV wing confirmed to the public that one has HIV. One was stigmatised solely because one happened to be in a place where people associated it with the virus where they were cared for in these hospitals.

Officers also mentioned that psychological problems caused by HIV and AIDS and ART affected the grieving process. As a result of the continual stigma surrounding HIV and AIDS officers may experience a prolonged grieving process. Officers may be angry, they may suffer denial, they may have feelings of guilt, and they may become depressed, suffer loneliness, fail to accept, lose hope, and may even commit suicide.<sup>366</sup> Being HIV positive was associated with dire consequences related to suffering and ultimate death. The knowledge of the benefit of ARVs in controlling HIV was probably not so widespread at the time. The fear for HIV infection was reflected in the way people reacted when they tested positive. ART was a lifelong treatment which had its prone and cons. It varied from acute stress to suicidal ideation, and even actual suicide. The concerns about their families as well as the consequences of the loss to the family were also articulated. *“After I heard about my status I cried, thinking that I am going to die. I was unable to sleep. I was thinking about my children more than anything else. My worry was that I was not sure about their status.”*<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, July 24, Manzini, (2017)

<sup>367</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

One officer declared his HIV status in 2008, and was one of the three enlisted men who testified on living with HIV at the army Aids Day. He stated that he was not yet on medication, instead he was keeping himself healthy by eating properly, avoiding stress, getting exercises and being faithful to his wife. He emphasised that he looked normally like any other fit soldier who was in his 20s.<sup>368</sup> Another officer who declined to have his name stated that he found it very difficult to test and all of a sudden started medication.” I was occasionally sick but not critical before I went for testing. I did not get proper counselling before testing. So I tested and found out that I had the virus. I was not prepared for the results, and while I was shocked at the results, I was told that I had to have my CD4 count checked, which was found to be very low, and I had to start treatment before I got worse. You see, now I had to deal with being HIV-positive and taking the drugs for the rest of my life.”<sup>369</sup>

The USDF HIV prevention programme owed its success to the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland. At individual level, one person came out and publicly spoke about his experiences as an HIV positive member of the military. Through the early years of responding to the epidemic, he braved it all and became the face of HIV in the army. There were a lot of men like him who needed to be recognized and affirmed, so as to encourage others to emulate them. He said he joined the USDF in 1977 at the age of 21years and he was first posted at the Ngwavuma Camp situated at the borderline past Nsoko. As a young man who was single he had to explore life in many things, including alcohol, smoking, and women, which he took to like fish to water. He said he did not use condoms. He was free to sleep with anyone without being worried about HIV and AIDS. The carefree lifestyle soon caught up with him as in 1978 he had his first STI case. He was next posted at Phocweni in 1979, before the Army invested in him by sending him to England for a “skills at arms” course.<sup>370</sup> On his return,

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<sup>368</sup> Times of Swaziland (2007)

<sup>369</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>370</sup> Interview, S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018). See also P. Sihlongonyane. The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006. MA Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni, (2010).

he was posted at Mbuluzi as a training instructor. In 1982, got married, and in the same year, was blessed with a son. The following year, he experienced various cases of STIs. In the beginning, he visited clinics for treatment for the ones he saw as minor ailments, at times he was hospitalized for two days.<sup>371</sup>

However, when he developed rashes and began having bouts of diarrhea, acting on ill-advice, he opted for “speculative” treatment and consulted tinyaga, tangoma and babholofithi (traditional doctors). He further stated that in 1998, he fell seriously ill and was rushed to the Raleigh Fitkin Memorial (RFM) Hospital, where he was diagnosed with jaundice. It was there that the accompanying nurse from the USDF took him on an “unofficial” brief tour of the ward with those also said to be suffering from the illness (which he later realized, was an attempt by the nurse to introduce the issue of HIV and AIDS). Since he consumed alcohol, he was advised to stop taking alcohol for medical reasons and he duly complied and quit. In 2003 he once again fell seriously ill and his son (born in 1989) also fell sick. After consulting several hospitals to no avail, his wife took the child to Good Shepherd Hospital. It was here that an HIV test was suggested for the family. It came back positive for his wife and son, but was negative for the other children. On return, his wife disclosed the devastating news to him, who also made the decision to go and take an HIV test (which confirmed his positive status).

He eventually started ART in 2004 after treatment literacy conducted at the Mbabane Clinic. In 2005, after consultation with his family, disclosed his HIV positive status publicly. As a true leader, he also found it imperative to disclose his positive status to his colleagues, in the process, inspired many to come out. For his part, the Army commander and his administration gave him the necessary support.

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<sup>371</sup> Interview, S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018). See also P. Sihlongonyane. *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*. MA Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni, (2010).

He revealed that though the initial diagnosis was a bitter pill to swallow, there had been many ideas that came out, including the need to invest in a family home (after several years of living in a rented apartment); and he stopped all the risky behaviours that he previously engaged in, and has been a one-woman-man since.<sup>372</sup>

The HIV response needed to adopt an approach that emphasized the collective responsibility of individuals, community groups, different levels of government and other agencies; particularly emphasizing the role of men in combating the pandemic. Men should be in the forefront of the prevention of HIV infection, mitigation of the impact of the epidemic on individuals and communities, and provision of health care and compassion, just like they had taken leadership in other sectors.<sup>373</sup>

Acceptance of the positive HIV status was considered to be important for the ARVs to work. This made one to adhere to treatment for a problem one has accepted. Having accepted their own results one could support and inspire their peers who had not accepted their results to do so. Peer education to encourage those who had not accepted their HIV status happened in the clinic. Another officer added that he was not free because he had not told people that he was sick. He delayed taking his dose of ARVs as he had to wait for people to leave so that he remained alone. Similarly, at work he had to go to the toilet to take medications because he did not want them to know or suspect anything about his HIV status. Later on he said he was helped by being actively involved in the social groups in the army which motivated him to accept life as it was and be strong to face the world in order to prolong his life.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>372</sup> P. Sihlongonyane. *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*. MA Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni, (2010). See also Swazi Observer. *A JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIV/AIDS CRISIS*. 31 March, (2016)

<sup>373</sup> Interview, S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018)

<sup>374</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 October, (2017)

Another officer based at the Mdzimba army barracks was also brave enough to disclose his HIV positive status to the gathering and further divulged that his HIV negative wife whom they had been able to give birth to three negative children while the latter remained negative. The officer, who was speaking during the commemoration of the World AIDS Day, confirmed that he discovered that he was HIV positive in 2005. He said his wife whom he married traditionally, was HIV negative. He said he had five children in total and three with his wife, he said he was not afraid to come out to the public and disclose his status as he believed that it would help his fellow colleagues to take the initiative and test so that they would know their HIV status.

He said this was how most of his coworkers behaved yet it was not a good move, instead he pleaded with them to use a condom anytime they felt tempted. Consistent condom use reduced the chances of HIV transmission by 80%. There was a low rate of condom use among people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Swaziland who are on ART, yet the major mode of transmission of HIV was through unprotected sex. Currently, he advocated for a zero HIV infection to his colleagues, friends and his community people while he also did outreach programs at the Cheshire Homes.<sup>375</sup> Furthermore he advocated for Behavioural change. Unlike some other infectious diseases, the transmission of HIV was facilitated directly by human behaviour. Changing one's behaviour meant each individual will be responsible for his or her own health, and, thus will be able to use protective measures, such as condoms effectively.

Sivelwe <sup>376</sup>stated that “I was a stone reaper and used to travel from one place to another for my job and I had the habit of going with females, hence I got HIV”. Most of HIV positive officers stated that they have experienced a feeling of shock, fear of others once aware of their HIV status. One

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<sup>375</sup> Interview with S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018).

<sup>376</sup> Interview with unanimous , Zakhele, 19 August, (2018)

female officer said that; when I heard that I got HIV, I was shocked, unable to express and felt how to face others since by then it was a shame to be associated with HIV/AIDS.<sup>377</sup> Another female officer added that when I heard, I got HIV, I felt very bad, felt like dying and also thought who will take care of my children? One male officer said that when I heard that I got HIV, I thought it's my fate, what can I do? I felt I should learn to live with this.<sup>378</sup>

The impact of HIV on family members was received differently. Majority (80%) of HIV positive patients expressed that their family members take care of them very well with love and affection. One female patient said that, her husband (who is also HIV positive) takes care of her very well with love and care than before. This showed that those officers who had undergone counseling and have accepted their status live a happy life. Another male officer added to that his wife also got HIV, there is no difference in love and care in the present compared to the past.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has conceptualized and analysed the prevalence and consequences stemming from HIV/AIDS. It has highlighted the seriousness of the HIV/AIDS virus as well as the impacts of it as a serious issue not just in the workplace but even in the communities where personnel live. It warrants the same attention as any chronic disease. Soldiers are not just part of the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force; they form part of the country as well. When HIV/AIDS intervention measures are not functional in the workplace then it intensifies to communities and countries where Swaziland is involved in peace keeping operations. Part of organization duties is to keep his/her subordinates well informed about some of the external dangers that they can encounter besides being the enemy in combat operations. Officers highlighted the importance of HIV testing as the basis for the diagnosis of HIV, and therefore a gateway to accessing care. Acceptance of the test result facilitated adherence to ARVs.

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<sup>377</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Nokwane Headquarters, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>378</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Mbikwakhe, 26 July, (2017)

Disclosure of HIV status in the USDF is still puzzling because the HIV/AIDS policy does not force the HIV positive officers to disclose their status to spouses unless they are at risk. Disclosure of one's status is a challenging experience because of the stigma attached to it, and the discrimination against people known to be living with HIV. What emerged was that the women were confronted with fear, despondency, helplessness and an embarrassment of other challenges based on their nervousness about disclosing their status. They were afraid of the stigmatization associated with HIV. Disclosing ones status to anybody is a complicated process that included a lot of soul searching and consideration of its consequences. This was a nerve-wracking exercise which was coupled with other demeaning feelings. These feelings were also intensified by the apprehension that their male partners would reject or divorce them. It seemed as though none of the women's partners were prepared to take the blame for causing the HIV infection, although some men were bold enough to admit promiscuity and took responsibility for cross-infecting their female spouse. HIV and AIDS is still a stigmatised condition and, as such, ARVs are also stigmatised. ARVs exacerbated the stigma of HIV and AIDS. PLWHA, when given their pills, will discard the pill boxes. Some even emptied all the pills into new containers. It is evident that they are afraid of being seen with ARVs, which are used by stigmatised people. This therefore means that HIV and AIDS and ARV stigma is not yet gone. Participants mentioned that taking medication was a marker for HIV infection, and that it could therefore be awkward taking medication outside the home, and that carrying the treatment as luggage may lead to involuntary disclosure of HIV status, resulting in stigmatisation. VCT services are central to tackling stigma, because they constitute the entry point for care and treatment.

HIV related stigma may be the greatest hindrance to action against the epidemic. The stigma around HIV/AIDS seemed to be a major contributing factor in the failure of HIV counselling and testing to succeed as a prevention method in Swaziland. This was because most people seek voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) as a last resort when they fell sick. If one was healthy, one did not go for VCT. It was undertaken as a last alternative after presenting symptoms associated with HIV and AIDS. Risky sex practices appeared to persevere regardless of people's knowledge of HIV/AIDS. Members' of sexual practices seemed to be shaped by the social meanings attributed to the intimate relationships and various categories within which sex occurred.

Counselling in this regard should continue throughout the entire therapeutic relationship. Knowing their status did not only enabled couples to prevent infection of the HIV-negative partner, but also ensured that infected partners started treatment early.

The government of Swaziland has instigated many programs, drafted policies, signed declarations, attended summits, made commitments, and set goals to realise the vision of the Ministry of Health by the year 2015. What is needed now is implementation and strengthening of the initiatives by all sectors. There is a need to reinforce the multisectoral approach to the epidemic, where each sector will play its role and the combined effort will result in the improvement of the epidemic in the country. Also noted was that PLWHA looked striking and difficult to identify physically, because they got healthier as a result of treatment, and that they were engaging in unprotected sexual relationships, thus spreading the disease. The next chapter shall focus at the implications of corruption in the army and what measures has been taken to curb it.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## NATIONAL EPIDEMICS: HIV AND AIDS A CHALLENGE IN THE ARMY

### 5.0 Introduction

HIV/AIDS is one of the epidemics that need to be fared closely by the world. This does not leave the military community out of the monitoring of this pandemic.<sup>379</sup> Since 1999, the HIV and AIDS epidemic in Swaziland has been declared a national disaster. In response to the epidemic, the National AIDS Programme in the Ministry of Health was established. HIV and AIDS still pose a great threat to the survival and development of Swaziland and its people. The impact of the pandemic demanded a multi-faceted response from the government. This chapter seeks to explore some of the drivers of HIV/AIDS in the Swazi army, this may include the fact that soldiers are considered to be mobile workers as they are often deployed from one part of the country to another, being away from home may lead to being engaged in unprotected sex or sexual behaviour and boredom.

Southern Africa took on the highest dominance rates worldwide. In 2007, Southern Africa, consisting of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, “accounted for almost a third (32%) of all new HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths globally.”<sup>380</sup> After spreading to Malawi in the late 1980s, the virus entered Zambia and was briefly contained in those two countries. However, by 1990, Zimbabwe’s national antenatal HIV prevalence rate had surpassed Zambia’s rate. After

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<sup>379</sup> A. Thomas, M. P. Grillo, D. A. Djibo, B.Hale. & R. A .Shaffers. Military HIV Policy Assessment in Sub-Saharan Africa.179 (7), (2014) ,pp.773-777

<sup>380</sup> World Health Organization. Map Production: Public Health Mapping and GIS. World Health Organization and Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, (2007), <http://gamapserver.who.int/mapLibrary/Files/Maps/HIVPrevalenceGlobal006.png> (accessed 12 April, 2017)

sweeping through Zimbabwe, the virus invaded Botswana, and the international world shifted its focus to these four countries.<sup>381</sup>

Southern African countries are the most affected with the prevalence ranging from about 12% in South Africa<sup>382</sup> to 32% in Swaziland.<sup>383</sup> In Swaziland, the first case of AIDS was identified in 1986. The prevalence of HIV infection has increased suddenly, from 3.9% in 1992 to 26.1% in 2007 among people aged 15-49 years.<sup>384</sup> HIV is the leading public health concern in Swaziland. Swaziland's Demographic and Health Survey (SDHS), conducted in 2006-7, demonstrated a generalized epidemic with an HIV prevalence of 26% among people between the ages of 15-49 years old<sup>385</sup>. Faced with the highest HIV prevalence rate in the world, the Swaziland Ministry of Health (MOH) has expanded access to key HIV services: HIV testing and counselling, HIV care and antiretroviral therapy (ART), and prophylaxis for the prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT) of HIV<sup>386</sup>. Swaziland has made enormous progress towards providing ARVs, guided by the Health Sector Response Plan for HIV and AIDS 2003-2005 and the Emergency Care and Treatment Implementation Plan.<sup>387</sup> In 2011 based on randomized control

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<sup>381</sup> J. Illiffe. *The African AIDS Epidemic*. Athens: Ohio University Press,(2006)

<sup>382</sup> O. Shisana, T. Rehle, & L.C. Simbayi. *South African national HIV prevalence, incidence and behaviour survey, South Africa: HSRC Press, (2014)*

<sup>383</sup> G.T. Bicego, R. Nkambule, L. Peterson, J. Reed, D. Donnell, H. Ginindza, J, Justman. *Recent patterns in population-based HIV prevalence in Swaziland,(2013)*

<sup>384</sup> Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. *National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS*. Mbabane: Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland,2009-2014,p.23

<sup>385</sup> Central Statistical Office (CSO) [Swaziland], and Macro International Inc. *Swaziland Demographic and Health Survey 2006-07: Chapter 14 HIV Prevalence and Associated Factors*. Mbabane, Swaziland: Central Statistical Office and Macro International Inc. (2008). [http:// www.measuredhs.com/publications/publication-FR202-DHS-Final-Reports](http://www.measuredhs.com/publications/publication-FR202-DHS-Final-Reports). Cfm. [Accessed 22 July,2018]

<sup>386</sup> National Emergency Response Council on HIV and AIDS (NERCHA) .*National Multi Sectoral Strategy Framework HIV Aids 2009-2014*. Mbabane, Swaziland, NERCHA. (2010), [http:// www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_protect/---protrav/](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/) Retrieved on published at whilst December year 1111 from ILO aids/documents/legal document/wcms 174723.pdf. [Accessed 30 October,2017]

<sup>387</sup> Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. *National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS*. Mbabane: Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland,2009-2014, (2014),p.23

trials showing the potent effect of medical male circumcision (MMC) in reducing risk of HIV acquisition from heterosexual exposure in men<sup>388</sup> Swaziland has the world's highest HIV prevalence of 26% among adults of reproductive age, and an estimated comparative HIV incidence of 3% in the Sub-Saharan region; while an HIV prevalence of 41.1% among pregnant women posits a state of affairs that warrants immediate action-oriented approaches.<sup>389</sup> It has become clear since the start of the AIDS epidemic, that efforts to prevent the disease spreading, by bringing about changes in high risk sexual behaviour, are difficult to achieve. Research has proven that giving correct information about transmission and prevention does not necessarily lead to behaviour change in most individuals.<sup>390</sup> By 2005, there were approximately 220,000 people living with HIV in Swaziland<sup>391</sup>.

The results of the Population-based HIV Impact Assessment conducted between August 2016 and March 2017 to measure the impact of the country's HIV response on HIV incidence and viral load suppression show that Swaziland is approaching HIV epidemic control. Widely known as the Swaziland HIV Incidence Measurement Survey 2 (SHIMS 2), the assessment shows that Swaziland's massive scale-up of the antiretroviral treatment programme, along with targeted prevention efforts, have cut the rate of new infections by 44 per cent, from 2.5 per cent in 2011 to 1.4 per cent. HIV prevalence, which was found to be 32 per cent of the adult population aged 18-49 in 2011 has stabilised within that margin.

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<sup>388</sup> UNAIDS. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2006)(2006) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>. (Accessed 10 December, 2017)

<sup>389</sup> Swaziland Government 7, Ministry of Health. National multisectoral strategic framework for HIV and AIDS (NSF). 2009-2014. Mbabane: Swaziland Ministry of Health, (2014), p.19,

<sup>390</sup> UNAIDS. *Sexual Behavioural Change for HIV: Where Have Theories Taken Us?* Report. Geneva: UNAIDS, (1999), pp.1-155

<sup>391</sup> UNAIDS. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2006). Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>. (Accessed 10 December, 2017)

## 5.1 HIV /AIDS

When the USDF was established in the 70s the issue of HIV was not there and as it evolved it slowly embedded in the army thus this chapter will look at how this prevalence has been a thorn in the army crippling in its personnel in fulfilling its mandate. The primary mandate of the Defence Force is to defend, protect the sovereignty and integrity and people of the Kingdom of Swaziland, in accordance with the the Constitution of the country which clearly stipulate the mandate of the USDF which is to protect king, Swazi people and also to be involved wherever they are tasked by the King of Swaziland in the world.<sup>392</sup> HIV and AIDS is today among the most pressing concerns facing health providers worldwide. There is still no cure for HIV. The military is seen as a community with a high prevalence of HIV among its members and a high likelihood that members could be infected by HIV, because of the deployments and members' lifestyle.<sup>393</sup> Soldiers are also seen as the mode leading to the most HIV infections in the areas to which they are deployed. The military is usually full of youth, whereby they are in the stage of experimenting meaning that they may be involved with any member of society. HIV is regarded as a chronic and manageable illness. In 2005, it was estimated that 40 million people worldwide were living with HIV.<sup>394</sup> This number includes adults and children. Of the 40 million people infected with the virus, 28 million were from sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>395</sup>

In Swaziland, the first case of AIDS was identified in 1986. The prevalence of HIV infection has increased sharply, from 3.9% in 1992 to 26.1% in 2007 among people aged 15-49 years.<sup>396</sup> Swaziland is considered to be one of the countries most affected by HIV, with about one in three

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<sup>392</sup> Swaziland Government. *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act*, Mbabane: Swaziland ,(2005),p.91

<sup>393</sup> L. Heineken. & M. Nel .Human Rights and HIV-Testing in the South African Armed Forces: Who's Rights Arte Paramount? (2009),p342

<sup>394</sup> UNAIDS. Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2000) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>, [Accessed 10 December,2017]

<sup>395</sup> UNAIDS. Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2000) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>, [Accessed 10 December,2017]

<sup>396</sup>Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS. 2009-2014 Mbabane: Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland, (2009),p.23

adults infected.<sup>397</sup> By 2005, there were approximately 220,000 people living with HIV in Swaziland.<sup>398</sup> The Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force is no exception with the high prevalence of HIV in the country. The USDF has implemented community-based activities among soldiers, their sexual partners, and surrounding communities to promote safer sexual behaviour and practices. In some instances, the USDF will use key prevention strategies including peer education and interpersonal communication (including drama/entertainment) during recruit training and quarterly outreach to battalions through existing counsellors to address social and gender norms, (SGBV), STIs, alcohol and drug abuse, and campaign of condom use. This organised development of existing prevention activities within the military emphasizes close association with existing interagency prevention activities adjacent military bases.

HIV/AIDS Wellness Programme unit functions outside the army headquarters in Bethany, 20km east of the capital, Mbabane. Furthermore, also the arrangement of the army emulates the society in many ways, and it may be time to see how other HIV programmes in the country are working towards curbing the disease. The army officials could not reveal the exact figures for HIV-positive personnel or deaths from AIDS-related illnesses due to confidentiality issues, but an estimated 26 percent of Swazis between the ages of 15 to 49 are living with HIV.

According to Lieutenant Colonel Thembeni Magongo<sup>399</sup>, an implementing officer in charge of the programme soldier's lives highlighted the vulnerability of the army officers to AIDS because of their deployment which is far from home. There is loneliness and boredom among officers. Sometimes it is tempting to use sex against the loneliness and boredom. She further stated that the army's HIV/AIDS campaign was introduced almost a decade ago in 2000 and uses peer counsellors and special drama shows to encourage enlisted staff to be tested. The displays feature

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<sup>397</sup> UNDP. HIV/AIDS and poverty reduction strategies. Policy note. New York, (2002)

<sup>398</sup> UNAIDS. *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. Geneva: UNAIDS. (2006)(2006) Available online at <http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV-data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp>, [Accessed 10 December, 2017]

<sup>399</sup> SWAZILAND. Army slowly winning the HIV/AIDS battle Report from IRIN/News.14 Dec ,(2010)

a trio of HIV positive soldiers who put a human face to the condition, which is highly stigmatized in Swazi society. She noted that these soldiers are the best implements. They call them their heroes, because they have saved so many lives by coming out openly declaring their HIV status. Colonel Gwalagwala Dlamini<sup>400</sup>, the army's chief of personnel and chairman of its HIV/AIDS Task Committee, said it would be compulsory for 3,500 USDF's and recruits to undergo testing, still the results would remain anonymous. He further stated that all personnel will be tested, but test results will not bear the name of the person tested. At this point, they need to know the percentage of soldiers who are HIV-positive. This would assist in planning purposes, to help mitigation efforts.

However, Dlamini added that there was a voluntary component to the plan, which would allow soldiers to elect to receive their test results, and to undergo voluntary testing and counselling (VTC). According to Colonel Gwalagwala Dlamini the VCT programme is conducive and friendly, and the counselling was done professionally, army personnel had to go off base for testing and counselling.<sup>401</sup> On another note he highlighted that 3 testing and counselling centers will be established at the army's headquarters in Bethany and at military bases throughout the country. He further stated that the voluntary counselling and testing is the point of departure in the fight against HIV/AIDS and a key component of prevention and care programmes. In the prevention, personnel learn how the immune virus is transmitted, how to practice safe sex, the advantages of taking a test, and steps to take to avoid becoming infected or infecting others. The Department of Defence has embarked on a comprehensive strategy on various levels to prevent a further spread of HIV in the military and to support and protect the family members of soldiers. These involve the distribution of posters and information pamphlets, articles in military magazines, pre-employment counselling, sex and life-style education, and free condom provision. Furthermore, it has established structures that ensure the distribution of information, education of the personnel and the collection and evaluation of relevant data. Part of the pre-deployment training, soldiers are

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<sup>400</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Army to introduce compulsory HIV testing." Mbabane, (2004)

<sup>401</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Army to introduce compulsory HIV testing." Mbabane, (2004)

lectured and involved in discussions on how to prevent an infection with HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases. The HIV awareness programme have been implemented in the USDF for HIV awareness programme on HIV prevention through information on abstinence, condom use and be faithful to one tested negative partner. Door to door HIV Counselling and testing Medical. Also the Male Circumcision awareness campaign has been implemented. The World AIDS Day commemoration has also attributed to effective lifestyle changes among the personnel and Condom distribution and demonstration awareness meetings.

Lance Corporal Thembinkhosi Dlamini<sup>402</sup>, credited the Simomondiya Drama Society for reducing the stigma attached to HIV, Condom usage, HIV Testing, Counselling and Circumcision. He highlighted that they were part of their shows and soldiers responded well to their plays. These were programmes that were compulsory for all uniform members to attend. The programmes empowered members with detailed information regarding the origin of HIV/AIDS, prevention, replication and treatment, as well as encouraging infected members to get treatment and HIV-negative members to care for themselves. They have done a lot to boost the popularity of condoms. Before, no soldier would wear a condom. Condoms were thought to be unmanly and un-Swazi," Dlamini noted. In the past years, the army distributed 1.2 million condoms, donated by the American NGO AIDS Healthcare Foundation. Also available through the army's treatment programme are antiretroviral drugs. The USDF has put the necessary structures in place to contain the spread of HIV/AIDS by informing soldiers of the risk sources of obtaining the virus, soldiers pose a risk to themselves, society through unprotected sex. Engaging in occasional sex by changing partners.

## **5.2 Policies developed in the Country to address HIV**

In Response to these challenges, Swaziland has implemented various policies that seek to improve the health and social welfare of the Swazi people. These include the National Multi-Sectorial HIV and AIDS Policy, National Social Welfare Policy, and the National Children's Policy, (NERCH).

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<sup>402</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Army to introduce compulsory HIV testing." Mbabane, (2004)

One of Swaziland's achievements has been to successfully pass laws and develop policies that take into account international standards of care and provisions for the protection of human rights. With support from the WHO's Global Programme on AIDS, the government responded by establishing the National AIDS Prevention and Control Programme (NAPCP). Shortly afterwards, King Mswati III declared the HIV and AIDS epidemic a national disaster and the Crisis Management and Technical Committee (CMTC) was established to lead the formulation and implementation of a new national response policy on the epidemic. The CMTC developed the National Strategic Plan for 2000-2005. This focused on improving health services; changing behaviour by means of mass media outlets, schools and workplaces; and minimizing the future impact of the epidemic, especially for vulnerable groups such as orphans.<sup>403</sup> In September 2000 the CMTC developed the Swaziland National Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS 2000-2005, which was Cabinet approved. In November 2001, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MOHSW) published a policy document on HIV and AIDS and STI prevention and control. The key objectives of the policy were to maintain a sustained political commitment at all levels for HIV and AIDS prevention and control. It was also to expand the national response to the HIV and AIDS epidemic by strengthening and maintaining a multi-sector approach. In addition to that it was to improve coordination of HIV and AIDS prevention and control activities at all levels, increase the capacity of women, youths and other vulnerable or disadvantaged groups in protecting themselves against HIV and AIDS and STIs. Finally to safeguard the human rights of people living with HIV and AIDS and promote HIV and AIDS-related research and surveillance activities.<sup>404</sup>

In 2003 the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MOHSW) launched the Emergency Care and Treatment Implementation Plan to provide free antiretroviral therapy (ART) to people living with HIV and AIDS. This reframed policy decision brought about a significant increase in the number of health facilities in the country, which rose from 3 in 2003 to 17 in 2005. This was in line with

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<sup>403</sup> Swaziland National Strategic Plan for HIV/AIDS 2000-2005, (2000).

<sup>404</sup> Report on the 8th HIV Sentinel Survey, Swaziland Government, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare: Mbabane, (2001).

the global securitizing actors call for securitization of the HIV and AIDS epidemic as it permitted the purchase of cheaper generic AIDS drugs.<sup>405</sup>

However, implementation of the program was slow and it was not until the late 1990's that a standard package of interventions was put into place.<sup>406</sup> During this period, the disease spread rapidly. In two years, from 1992-94, when the first national surveys of women attending antenatal clinics (ANC) were conducted, the prevalence of HIV in this population jumped from 3.9% to over 16%. By 2002 prevalence had reached 38.6% among ANC attendees. The rapid increase in HIV prevalence during this period. His Majesty King Mswati III declare HIV/AIDS a national disaster in 1999. Although policy implementation has been in accordance with international norms, and funding was provided through the Global Fund for AIDS, TB and Malaria, prevalence continued to rise through the early 2000's and has since stabilized around 28% of the adult population. A 2003 report to the Swaziland National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA)<sup>407</sup> indicated that the main limitations to national response have been due to inadequate capacity, bureaucratic struggles and a lack of inventive ideas on where to invest funds.<sup>408</sup> Voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) was introduced as part of the national response in Swaziland during the second medium term plan of the national response. Since then more than 20 VCT sites have been established, including mobile services. Efforts are now being made to introduce provider initiated counselling and testing services in all health facilities. This

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<sup>405</sup>Craig Vincent Moffat. *Securitization of HIV and AIDS in Southern African policy processes: An investigation of Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland, (2000-2008)*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch: South Africa, December ,(2014), p.90

<sup>406</sup> A. Whiteside et al. (eds). *What is driving the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Swaziland, and what more can we do about it? Final report for the National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA) and United Nations Programme for HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)*. Swaziland: UNAIDS, UNICEF and NERCHA. *Cross Facing up to AIDS: The Socio-economic impact in Southern Africa*, New York: St Martin's Press, (2003)

<sup>407</sup> Swaziland National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS NERCHA report ,(2003)

<sup>408</sup> A. Whiteside A et al. (eds). *What is driving the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Swaziland, and what more can we do about it? Final report for the National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA) and United Nations Programme for HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)*. Swaziland: UNAIDS, UNICEF and NERCHA. *Cross Facing up to AIDS: The Socio-economic impact in Southern Africa*, New York: St Martin's Press, (2003)

intervention is also associated with the establishment of support groups in the country. While approximately 5% of the world's population know their HIV status.<sup>409</sup> The SDHS<sup>410</sup> of 2006/2007 states that 40, 7% of women and 18, 6% of men in Swaziland are reported to have tested for HIV. The deterrence and controlling of STIs have been part of the national response phases from early times the pandemic has occurred. The response to STIs has always included public awareness, early involvement and service development, including the training of health workers. A major achievement of the response in this intervention area is the decline of syphilis over the years, even though the prevalence rate of 7, 8% is still very high.<sup>411</sup> The intensification in the occurrence of herpes can be described by the increased prevalence of immune dominance in the Swazi population, due to HIV infection.

Although countries across sub-Saharan Africa have struggled with similar challenges, authors note the severity to which these barriers have been debilitating to recovery efforts. Swaziland has made enormous progress towards providing ARVs, guided by the Health Sector Response Plan for HIV and AIDS 2003-2005 and the Emergency Care and Treatment Implementation Plan. Both the public sector and non-governmental organisations offer ART. The public sector started providing ART in 2001 at the Mbabane Government Hospital. By September 2008, 30,337 of those infected with HIV in Swaziland (or 48% of those infected) were receiving ART.<sup>412</sup> The policy in the USDF is to test and decline HIV positive candidates at the entry level. However, HIV infected soldiers will not be dismissed from active duty. In view of the restructuring of the USDF, the civilianization of large parts of the supply and logistics branch and the outsourcing of numerous services, the accommodation of soldiers who are too ill for operational assignments is becoming

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<sup>409</sup> United Nations Development Programme. *Human Development Report 2004 – Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*. UNDP: New York,(2004)

<sup>410</sup> Swaziland - Demographic and Health Survey 2006-2007, Swaziland,(2006)

<sup>411</sup> The Kingdom of Swaziland. *HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care Program (HAPAC)*. Progress Report number 9, July September, (2004). Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and European Commission

<sup>412</sup> Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV and AIDS 2009-2014,(2014),p.23

increasingly challenging. Prevalent of HIV infection in the ranks has threatened the ability of the military to react to external threat or fulfil of its other functions. Illness results in a loss of skills in all ranks and loss of institutional memory among long serving soldiers and officers, which may contribute to a decline in military performance and breakdown in discipline. Swaziland's Prime Minister, Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini, has launched the country's Umgubudla HIV Investment Case, which aims at implementing King Mswati III's vision of ending the country's AIDS epidemic by 2022. Umgubudla means roadway or water stream.<sup>413</sup> The investment case identifies five areas for prioritized high-impact action: accelerating access to HIV treatment; increasing the number of voluntary medical male circumcision procedures; expanding HIV prevention programme for adolescent girls; the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV; and managing co infection cases of HIV and tuberculosis.

The USDF in 2009 opened a clinic in order to assist in the combat of HIV to army personnel. One service outlet provided HIV-related palliative care services to USDF personnel and their families. On the other hand it provides clinical prophylaxis for Opportunistic Infection (OIs) and provides cure for TB once the client has been diagnosed at the government hospital. With the upgrading of the Phocweni laboratory and x-ray departments, clients are diagnosed by USDF medical personnel, which reduces delays in treatment. During the fiscal year of 2005-2009, 375 military personnel were provided with HIV-related palliative care training. The US Department of Defense HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP) staff continued to provide technical assistance to the USDF for the establishment of palliative care at St. George's Barracks. This increased palliative care services to the USDF and their families.<sup>414</sup> Through this initiative the USDF has taken strides in fighting the virus among the army personnel.

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<sup>413</sup> UNAIDS. <https://www.unaids.org/en/keywords/swaziland>, 24 July 2017 [Accessed 28 October, 2017]

<sup>414</sup> Department of Defence HIV/AIDS Prevention Program (DHAPP). Reducing the Incidence of HIV/ AIDS Among Uniformed Personnel Across the Globe Annual Report , (2010), p.87

### **5.3 Drivers for the vulnerability of the military to HIV/AIDS personnel.**

A number of factors add to the possibility of contact to the virus by military officers. Among these factors there is the general culture that values the awareness of strength and masculinity both within ranks and in the eyes of the general population. This military culture is not explicit to African militaries, but it may be enriched by traditional cultural values and beliefs held by indigenous peoples. The connection between the military culture and HIV viral transmission has three basic mechanisms that increase a soldier's potential for exposure to the virus. They include social and peer pressure to engage in high levels of sexual activity to "prove" one's masculinity or strength. The popularity of prostitution or sex trade activities in the vicinity of military posts fuels intimacy relationships. These can promote risky sexual behavior including multiple sex partners and unsafe sex. The use of condoms may not be considered "masculine." Today "boredom in the barracks" has acquired a new, more direct meaning that represents the day to day life of soldiers. Alcohol is one outlet used to relieve soldiers' extreme tedium and loneliness. However, alcohol use brings with it severe consequences that include potential alcoholism, spree drinking, and intoxication that impairs judgment.<sup>415</sup> Soldiers in situations where their ability to make coherent choices and decisions is impaired by alcohol intoxication, there are greater chances of engaging in unsafe sexual practices. Some of the drivers of HIV include the following: Single-sex hostels and limited home-leave. Military personnel have no choice but to live in single-sex hostels without the option of being accompanied by their partners and families. In addition, they may have limited home-leave which further distances them from their partners. These circumstances may lead to some military officers to seek other (multiple) relationships.

Secrecy and denial of HIV infected people in the country do not want to know their HIV status. It is believed that most of those who know their status keep it a secret even to their sexual partners. As a result, many infected persons continue to have sex with their steady partners without protection and as such pass on the infection both knowingly and unknowingly. In some cases these sexual relationships lead to pregnancy and subsequently to mother to child transmitted HIV infections. To console themselves, families and friends in some cases choose to believe that

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<sup>415</sup> Health Economics & HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) ,(2004).See also Health link Worldwide, (2002)

infected persons have been bewitched. Public disclosure is very low. When it occurs it is generally among low profile personalities. As a result, no political or professional leaders have made public disclosure of their HIV status. With a large number of new infections and an increasing pool of advanced AIDS patients with a high viral load in denial yet very infective, the virus is easily passed on to others.

It is an organisation dominated by young, sexually active males. They are liable to peer pressure. There is a rise in sexual activity in both pre- and post-deployment. According to Fleshman<sup>416</sup> claimed that military culture tends to exaggerate male behaviour, by removing thousands of young men in their sexual prime from the behavioral constraints of family and community, inculcating a sense of risk-taking and strength, and promoting aggression and toughness as the male ideal attitudes that extend to sexual behaviour and often lead to interaction with commercial sex workers. One of the leading factors that make the military a high-risk population is the practice of relocating personnel from their homes. The exclusion from familiar communities and environments crafts an environment of emotional separation and sexual tension. Being separated from family ties and moral obligation, some soldiers seek companionship from other sources. The mobilization and reintegration of affected soldiers in turn impend their communities when they return home.<sup>417</sup> Apart from the emotional stresses, this departure can encourage collaboration with sex workers. Resulting in this, the sex industry flourishes around military establishments<sup>418</sup>

Transactional sex and concurrent relationships have also played significant roles in the spread of HIV throughout the country. Transactional sex occurs regularly in Swaziland when men buy presents for women in exchange for sex. In these situations, women are rarely able to refuse sex

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<sup>416</sup>M. Fleshman. AIDS Prevention in the Ranks: UN Targets Peacekeepers, Combatants in War against the Disease. *Africa Recovery*, 15(1–2, (2001), p16. [Google Scholar](#) [Accesses 04 May 2019]

<sup>417</sup> Forman, J. Mendelson and M. Carballo. "A policy critique of HIV/AIDS and demobilization." *Conflict, Security & Development* 1:2. London: The Conflict, Security & Development Group, Center for Defence Studies, King's College, (2001), p.1

<sup>418</sup> UNAIDS. AIDS and the Military. United Nations Paper, May, (1998) ,p.3

or demand that their partners use condoms.<sup>419</sup> Simultaneous relationships that overlap for several weeks, months, or even years provide the perfect environment for the spread of HIV/AIDS. These relationships are common in many parts of Swaziland and are far more dangerous for the spread of HIV than monogamous relationships because they lead to an interconnection between dozens of people. Most men and women in concurrent relationships are comfortable with each other, do not use condoms with any of their partners, and are therefore especially susceptible to HIV.<sup>420</sup> This contributes to high occurrence rate of HIV, because when people have sexual intercourse with multiple partners without using condoms HIV is transmitted faster between them. It happens mostly between workers of principal projects such as roads, farmers, soldiers, police officials and other officials when they travel to work far away from their husbands and wives. They are forced due to the long distance from their homes to have multiple partnerships wherever they camp. By this situation HIV prevalence rate becomes high.

Low level of male circumcision adds to the high occurrence rate of HIV, because it is not a common concept in the country. The men who are circumcised have 60% chances of not becoming infected with HIV. The uncircumcised men are at risk of HIV infections because the foreskin can tear easily and the virus will be transmitted to the other person.

Low use of condoms consistently most people do not use condoms constantly when having sexual intercourse. They say they feel nothing when they have sex with condoms, it causes them to have rash and also they want to have children. This contributes to high HIV prevalence rate because as people have vulnerable sex with many partners HIV will be assimilated and transmitted to others.

Boredom and loneliness due to limited availability of recreational activities such as sports or entertainment at military bases or at borders. Personnel are often distanced from traditional norms

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<sup>419</sup> UNDP. *Impact of HIV/AIDS on Agriculture and the Private Sector in Swaziland*. Jubilee Printers, Matsapha, Swaziland,( 2002)

<sup>420</sup> D. T. Halperin and H. Epstein. Concurrent Sexual Partnerships Help to Explain Africa's High HIV Prevalence: Implications for Prevention. *The Lancet* 364 (9428), (2004),pp. 4-6

and support systems that regulate behaviour in stable communities, and coupled with feelings of boredom, loneliness, and isolation, this can result in a disregard for health. In addition, the proximity and availability of sex may fill the workers' (temporary) emotional and sexual needs. While the use of drugs in some militaries is strictly monitored and forbidden, other militaries in Africa have experienced problems in being able to control drug usage particularly when troops are deployed away from command bases or in combat situations. Today "boredom in the barracks" has acquired a new, more direct meaning that depicts the day to day life of soldiers. Alcohol is one outlet used to alleviate soldiers' extreme tedium and boredom. However, alcohol use brings with it severe consequences that include potential alcoholism, binge drinking, and intoxication that impairs judgment. These bachelor circumstances and the monthly salary these soldiers receive often lead to alcohol abuse, resulting in risky behaviour. These elements combined with a risk-taking code and sexual prestige adds to the problem of increasing HIV infection in the military. Dangerous working conditions faced daily with the prospect of danger and death, military personnel may be preoccupied with other immediate challenges and may regard HIV as a distant threat.

Lack of social cohesion led to social exclusion that mobile workers often feel in their new environment and the lack of community. Cohesiveness may lead to risky sexual behaviour among officers. Men marrying women with no or little education, makes the wives vulnerable because they cannot read or understand a document if they came across it about their husband's HIV status. Women who are unemployed married to soldiers rely on the partner as their sole bread-winner and hence cannot challenge their husband, even when he is not maintaining them financially. They are particularly vulnerable because they do not know their rights and depend on their husbands financially.<sup>421</sup> Even though majority of the Swazis are educated we still have those in society who are liberate because of different reasons. Some of the general vulnerability factors may include population movements, military movements, gender inequalities and equity. Lack of social cohesion in some areas, extend sexual mixing patterns and multiple partnerships, including

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<sup>421</sup> H. Jackson. *AIDS Africa continent in crisis*. Harare: SAFAIDS Publishing, (2002),p. 8

commercial sex. Various cultural factors of low rates of male circumcision contributes to the growth of HIV in the army.

Drug and Alcohol Abuse with a non-regular partner after use of alcohol is proof of urban males and females having unprotected sex. Such sexual behaviour may involve money transactions which are likely to fuel more drug and alcohol abuse. Alcohol and drug use as suggested before often add to forced sex and domestic violence. Complicating the problem of sexual promiscuity and unsafe sexual practices is the issue of drug and alcohol abuse. While this form of drug usage may be of some concern to authorities, the more prevalent drug of choice among soldiers is alcohol. In some of the first analyses of African militaries and their relationships to civilian governments, boredom in the barracks. Alcohol abuse causes people not to think appropriately, because if a person is drunk they may not be able to have a choice of who to have sex with. If people are drunk that is when they get absorbed to have sexual intercourse with women or men.

Sexually transmitted infections on STI increases the risk of acquiring HIV infection as sexually transmitted infections are still at epidemic levels in the country. Prevalence of Genital Ulcers and the presence of STD increases the risk of acquiring HIV during unprotected sex with an HIV-positive partner. The presence of genital ulcers can be used as a basic way of gauging the level of STD prevalence. It is known that patients with STD symptoms consult a wide range of health care providers, including public, private, informal, and traditional sources of care. Herpes genitalis,<sup>422</sup> the circumcision status of men and the low level use of condom, and multiple and concurrent partnerships embrace the initial phase of infection with high viral loads. The duration of infectivity is mainly influenced by concomitant sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and at the end of the disease period by the ARV therapy given to a portion of the infected.<sup>423</sup> High levels of untreated

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<sup>422</sup> Wald A, Corey L. How does herpes simplex virus type 2 influence human immunodeficiency virus infection and pathogenesis? *J Infect Dis*, (2003), pp.187, 1509–12. [[PubMed](#)] [[Google Scholar](#)]. See also. H. Weiss, A. Buve, N. Robinson, E. Van Dyck, M. Kahindo, S. Anagonou et al. Study Group on Heterogeneity of HIV Epidemics in African Cities. The epidemiology of HSV-2 infection and its association with HIV infection in four urban African populations. *AIDS*, (2001), pp.15, [[PubMed](#)] [[Google Scholar](#)]

<sup>423</sup> Auvert B, Taljaard D, Lagarde E, Sobngwi-Tambekou J, Sitta R, Puren A. Randomized, controlled intervention trial of male circumcision for reduction of HIV infection risk: the ANRS 1265. *Trial PLoS Med*, (2005).pp.2-298. [[PMC](#)]

sexually transmitted infection and reproductive organs infection, and relatively low condom use. The above mentioned factors highlight the remarkable threat of HIV/AIDS amongst military members, their spouses and the larger society to which they belong. Like women everywhere, female military personnel are especially vulnerable. As well as being at higher risk of HIV for physiological reasons that all women share, they are often at a disadvantage in sexual negotiations, including negotiations for condom use. Women are more likely to acquire any kind of STD from a single sexual exposure than men, and to have more asymptomatic STDs that are difficult to diagnose.<sup>424</sup> HIV is a threat not only to military personnel but also to their families and community. Military HIV programs are most effective if there is close collaboration with civilian health authorities. Perhaps the single most important factor leading to high rates of HIV in the military is the practice of posting personnel far from their accustomed communities and families for varying periods of time. As well as freeing them from traditional social controls, it removes them from contact with spouses. As a result, local sex industries grow in response to demand from military bases and units. It is a prime challenge to military establishments to re-think this traditional feature of operational practice in the light of health and social issues, both of which suggest the high value of finding ways to support constant family relationships and marriages.

Debrah et al<sup>425</sup> observed that the extent of the HIV/AIDS crisis can be evaluated in terms of increased absenteeism of soldiers and spouses who have to take time off to attend to sick family members or to attend funerals. Sick soldiers are less productive at work and may not be able to carry out more demanding physical jobs. Substitutes for AIDS victims may be less skilled and experienced and may require additional training. There are also significant AIDS-related costs including the purchase of coffins, transport for mourners using military means of transportation, provision of benefits to survivors, and a lot of hours spent at funerals. Since AIDS is a late

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[free article](#) [[PubMed](#)] [[Google Scholar](#)], See also .WHO; UNAIDS. New data on male circumcision and HIV prevention: policy and programme implications. (2007), [http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2007/mc\\_recommendations\\_en.pdf](http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2007/mc_recommendations_en.pdf)

<sup>424</sup> For more information, see UNAIDS Point of View "Reducing women's vulnerability to HIV infection".

<sup>425</sup> Y.A. Debrah, F.M, Horwitz, K.N Kamoche and G.N. Muuka. Managing Human Resources in Africa. Routledge: New York, (2003) <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?aandd=104242281>

consequence of the HIV infection, the long incubation period and the absence of significant symptoms at the early stage of infection make it impossible to know the exact number of infections in the military, and this lack of knowledge affects planning and provisions of services.

Male circumcision is one of the most striking evidence that emerged in recent years as a protective factor for HIV infection. However, its protection is only partial. Randomized control trials have shown to reduce infection in men but no clear decrease in transmission from men to women and there is no information on transmission between men who have sex with men.<sup>426</sup> Exposure to infected blood or blood products through injection drug use and blood transfusion are two mechanisms of HIV exposure to infected blood. Because of the efficiency of HIV transmission through needle sharing, the introduction of HIV into an urban network of injecting drugs users can quickly raise the HIV prevalence in this population.<sup>427</sup> The probability of becoming infected through an HIV contaminated transfusion is estimated at more than 90 %<sup>428</sup> and the amount of HIV in a single contaminated blood transfusion is so large that individuals infected in this manner may rapidly develop AIDS.

#### **5.4 Stigmatization, acceptance and Disclosure of HIV status**

Stigma generally denotes to prejudice, negative attitudes, abuse and maltreatment directed at a certain group of people.<sup>429</sup> The stigma not only makes it more difficult for people trying to come to terms with HIV and manage their illness on a personal level, but it also interferes with attempts

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<sup>426</sup> H.A. Weiss, K.E Dickson, K. Agot, C.A. Hankins .Male circumcision for HIV prevention: current research and programmatic issues. *AIDS* 24(4), (2010), pp.S61-9

<sup>427</sup> R.E. Chaisson, P. Bacchetti, D. Osmond, B. Brodie, M.A. Sande, A.R. Moss. Cocaine Use and HIV Infection in Intravenous Drug Users in San Francisco. *Journal of the American Medical Association*. 261(4), (1998), pp. 561-65.

<sup>428</sup> UNAIDS. (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS). *Blood Safety and AIDS: UNAIDS Point of View*. Geneva: UNAIDS, (1997)

<sup>429</sup> Avert HIV and AIDS stigma and discrimination <http://www.avert.org/hivaidsstigmahtm> ,[accessed 21 February, 2019]

to fight the AIDS epidemic as a whole.<sup>430</sup> UN secretary- General Ban KI Moon referred to stigma as the single greatest vital obstacle to public action. It is a focal motive why too many people are afraid to see a doctor to determine whether they have the disease. People fear the social disgrace of discourse about it, assists in making AIDS the silent killer and all over the world people are dying.<sup>431</sup>

Swaziland has been described as one of the most HIV stigma saturated societies in the world.<sup>432</sup> Acceptance and disclosure of one's status it's not an easy thing to do. Stigma is the major reason why the AIDS epidemic continues to devastate societies around the world. On national level, the stigma associated with HIV can deter governments from taking fast, effective action against the epidemic, whilst on a personal level it can make individuals reluctant to access HIV testing, treatment and care.<sup>433</sup> The existence of stigmatization and discrimination coupled with lack of codes of conduct and interpersonal communication on HIV and AIDS makes the implementation of workplace HIV and AIDS programs more challenging. Spousal separation due to work deployment creates an opportunity for HIV transmission through extra marital affairs.

Army Commander General Sobantu Dlamini, responding to the King's call, gave directive on the HIV and AIDS issue; saying there has to be no discrimination and no victimization of those officers living with HIV. The Army commander's expressed defiance as he led the response to HIV then was: "Every soldier lives to protect the country their role is not just confined to preventing the smuggling of cars over boundaries, but that begins with the health and well-being of every soldier, who has to be safe from disease. This will ensure that the soldier can protect himself or herself,

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<sup>430</sup> Avert HIV and AIDS stigma and discrimination <http://www.avert.org/hivaidstigma.htm> ,[accessed 22 February, 2019]

<sup>431</sup> Ban KI Moon. "The stigma factor" Washington Times online 6 August 2008.available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/august/06/the-stigma-factor/>,[accessed in March 2019]

<sup>432</sup> E. Green. Rethinking AIDS prevention: learning from successes in developing countries. Westport, CT: Praeger Press,(2003)

<sup>433</sup> <http://www.avert.org/aidsstigma.htm>

and colleagues. In this way, the families of soldiers will be safe, hence the whole country will then experience total safety, when soldiers are safe themselves.”<sup>434</sup>

Stigma and discrimination are drivers of the spread of the AIDS pandemic in that the negative attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) cause people to be secretive about their health status. AIDS is still linked to sexual promiscuity, causing innocent (non-promiscuous) partners within a marriage to remain silent and usually delaying to get diagnosed for early treatment. Living with HIV in Swaziland is still considered a shame and viewed as an act of being sexually negligent. Receiving positive results to HIV testing is stressful, as is having to disclose this information to friends, family, and sexual partners. The fear of being discriminated makes the victims to remain silent about their condition. PLWHIV have difficulty disclosing their positive status to their sexual partners. Although HIV disclosure has been shown to improve physical health, psychological well-being, and health behaviors, status disclosure has not been accepted as universally positive. People’s attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS remain a major community challenge. There is a need to generate an environment of understanding, compassion and dignity in which people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) will be able to voluntarily disclose their status and receive the support and respect all people deserve.

Disclosure may not be done immediately due to fear of the possible adverse consequences, especially stigma related to moral judgement and blame, exclusion by family or community members, and discrimination. On the other hand, disclosure gives the individual an opportunity to come to terms with living openly with the infection for life. Other adverse consequences of disclosure experienced by People Living With HIV (PLWH) included violence; loss of employment; termination of a relationship; abuse (physical and/or verbal); and loss of support from family, community, employers and employees.<sup>435</sup> Of all the negative consequences of

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<sup>434</sup> The Swazi Observer. A JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIV/AIDS CRISIS, ,(2016)

<sup>435</sup> K.J.B. Keregero and Emma Allen. Positive living to HIV in the Swazi social Economy. International Labour Organization. COOP Africa (2011),p,15 [Accessed 02 August 2018]

disclosure, one of the worst reported was stigma and discrimination because they affect all aspects of the experience of living with HIV, including the management of the disease. Stigma may originate from the immediate family or from others who one interacts with at work, the community, or in the health services. Low self-esteem can composite stigma<sup>436</sup>. More than half of the people living with HIV (PLWH) (53%) experience stigma, more than those with other chronic conditions. PLWH in low-and middle-income countries are affected more than those from higher income countries. Disclosure of HIV status to family members is still a challenge to those PLWH. Some participants said that disclosure of the disease was a very sensitive issue. Some of them thought that disclosure to their children and parents might discriminate against them, the information would affect their studies and parents cannot move freely with the society. One officer said that; “I am unmarried, I have not told my mother about my disease because she might feel bad to know that I am suffering with HIV and my family members may keep me away from home.” Some HIV positive women officers showed their concern about children. One officer said that “My children are studying in professional colleges if I tell them, what will be their reaction? If they accept me, it will be fine but if they don’t accept and reject me? So, I am very scared to inform them”.<sup>437</sup>

At first, I didn't want my parents and friends to know what was going on with me. I isolated myself from all my friends and family. I finally found the best opportunity for me to disclose my HIV status to my sister. I am thankful because my sister was able to understand me and I asked her to educate my mom about HIV. After disclosing my status I don't have any burden at all. I don't care if everyone around the world knows that I am living with HIV. Those already in the military who are positive are allowed to remain until they become very sick to work. They are allowed to continue in their chosen military career fields if they are able, said one officer who is affected.

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<sup>436</sup> K. Lowther, L Selman, R. Harding, & L.J. Higginson .Experience of persistent psychological symptoms and perceived stigma among people with HIV on antiretroviral therapy (ART): A systematic review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 51(8), (2014). pp.1171– 1189

<sup>437</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July , (2017)

Some officers on ART disclosed their HIV status to family members and colleagues and talked very freely about it and to preempt gossip. This coping mechanism was well narrated by one officer who stated that I have disclosed my status to almost everybody because I am sometimes seen on the television or heard on the radio revealing that I am HIV positive (I am an AIDS activist). At my workplace everybody knows I am infected. It helped me a lot to disclose my status because I sometimes feel unable to work and I just tell my boss by phone that I am sick. He always understand the situation and my colleagues say jokingly “mmmh! Today viruses have woken up and are harassing her “that’s why she was not able to report to work. One day, one of my colleagues told me that some officers were saying that I didn’t come yesterday because viruses were harassing me, but I just told her, I don’t care (she giggled).

People of this kind, who disclose and talk freely about their HIV status, can strengthen others living with HIV by helping them overcome internalized stigma, cope with stigma, rebuild their self-esteem, and develop skills to take leadership roles in anti -stigma education and action.

In order to minimise the possibility of HIV-infected individuals being rejected by their families or society, or both, officers felt that stigma should be dealt with at individual, family, and community level. Some officers felt that, in the army, they should be role models in reducing the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS.<sup>438</sup> The following were some effects of stigma that an HIV-positive client on ART may experience that were identified by the participants included the following: Stigma may lead to social isolation, loss of hope, loss of reputation, and feelings of worthlessness. It may discourage individuals from contacting health and social services, thereby increasing the risk of transmission of HIV. It may discourage an individual from engaging in risk-reduction practices. It exacerbates problems faced by AIDS orphans and it may cause non-adherence to ART by officers.

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<sup>438</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

Measures to combat stigma that were identified by army officers included education on the HIV, avoidance of judgemental attitudes towards officers, and maintenance of confidentiality.<sup>439</sup> There was, however, disagreement among the participants concerning the issue of confidentiality. While some felt that confidentiality had to be maintained, others felt that maintaining confidentiality would cause the infection to spread. One officer was of the view that although in the army they had clinics now and again they were reminded of the importance of maintaining confidentiality regarding people's information, it appeared that they were losing sight of its importance, and that unfortunately resulted in stigmatisation of officers.

The officers further stated that the HIV-infected officers had difficulty in accepting his or her HIV-positive status and coping, because of his or her perception of the illness. HIV and AIDS is an infection with many associated perceptions and meanings. Whether one accepts the illness depends on one's perceptions of the illness. The meaning that the individual ascribes to HIV and AIDS may also influence the way he or she accepts and copes with the illness. Different individuals may see HIV and AIDS in different ways. Individuals may see it as a punishment, or an enemy, or a conspiracy, or an irreparable loss, or a challenge, or a shameful illness, and so forth. One army officer stated that everyone is aware of how AIDS originated. It was known as a disease for gays and prostitutes. We dissociated ourselves from it, because we were not prostitutes, and we were not gays and lesbians.<sup>440</sup> It was very difficult to change the mind set of people, maybe with time they will change, seeing that a pastor's wife has died, a neighbour, a nurse, and everybody is getting sick made it difficult to accept ones condition.<sup>441</sup> Participants reported to the researcher their experience of depression, and such reports were not verified. One of the participants who was severely affected by depression said that she thought the disease was for those who moved around having sex with everyone, yet that was not the case. She further expressed that she was

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<sup>439</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 27 July, (2017)

<sup>440</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>441</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 27 July, (2017)

stressed by the tablets each time she felt sick at heart. The tablets were sort of a reminder that she was HIV-positive. What was most depressing was that these drugs were not a cure, and she had to take them for the rest of her life.

In addition to the above, it was mentioned that the labels given to HIV made it difficult for officers to accept their status, because these labels stigmatise. Common labels, according to some participants, were umbulalave (nation killer), mashayabhuce (destroyer), silwane (animal), ligciwane (a germ), and ingculaza (sexually transmitted infection). Concerning the labels given to officers, one participant mentioned that the intention of these unpleasant labels was not to stigmatise them per se, but to label the epidemic so badly that people would do all in their power to take preventive measures. Depression could be caused by the virus itself, or stigma and discrimination. Depression lead to lack of self-worth and despair. Care must be taken to identify those patients that risk developing depression, those that are experiencing difficulty with interpersonal relationships, those that were failing to cope, and those with a poor self-concept. The prevalence of depression and anxiety in PLWHA was similar to those suffering from other serious chronic and life-threatening medical illnesses. A major factor was the psychological reaction to having such an illness. The individual will be faced with the reality of serious illness and possible death at an early stage. In many cases there were additional stressors related to the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS and lack of social support for the infected individual.

There were factors contributing to the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS, according to the officers this may include inaccurate information about how HIV is transmitted, infection is often thought to be the result of personal irresponsibility, religious or moral beliefs which has made some people to believe that being infected with HIV is the result of a moral transgression that deserves to be punished. Also that AIDS is a life-threatening disease and is associated with behaviours such as homosexuality, drug addiction, and prostitution. HIV is a sexually transmitted infection (STI). According to some officers, psychological variables also include the officer's perception of wellbeing and life satisfaction. Officers may experience fear, anger, anxiety, denial,

confusion, depression, and distress.<sup>442</sup> All these emotions stemmed from uncertainty. The individual may be uncertain about the future, about opportunistic infections, and about the occurrence of side effects caused by the drugs.

## **5.5 Implications of the male sexual drive in the army**

Male sexual desire has exacerbated the spread of HIV. According to Hollway the male sexual drive discourse in military highlights the centrality of dominant constructions of the ‘male sexual drive discourse’.<sup>443</sup> This discourse, refers to notions of inherent, urgent male sexual desire, which has been identified in the country and internationally as central in the way both men and women understand male sexuality.<sup>444</sup> For example Men want a lot of enjoyment through sex. For a man sex generally is about the more women one has, the better. Then, two or more nights later have sex with another woman. When a man sees a woman, walking in the streets the first thing he thinks of is sex. As in other studies, the male sexual drive is primarily constructed in biologically deterministic terms, rationalized through discourses of ‘nature’. Thus participants felt they are forced by ‘nature’ to seek sexual relationships with women, at times irrespective of any existing sexual relationship.

Mboneni <sup>445</sup>stated that when one sees a woman you started to have feelings for her. Even though you know that you have your own partner. It is natural that’s why one cannot resist temptations. The ‘urgency’ of male sexual need is, however, understood within the context of the military, with male need for sexual gratification explained as intensified by the particular working conditions of

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<sup>442</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>443</sup> W. Hollway. *Subjectivity and Method in Psychology: Gender, Meaning and Science*. London: Sage, (1989)

<sup>444</sup> L.Miles. ‘Women, AIDS, Power and Heterosexual Negotiation: A Discourse Analysis’, *Agenda* 15, .(1992), pp.14–27

<sup>445</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July , (2017)

the military. While this stereotype of male sexuality is also common place among men outside the military, participants appear to make meaning of their sexuality within the circumstances imposed by military life. Studies reviewed similarly highlight the significance of military conditions, in particular periods of separation and isolation.<sup>446</sup> The deployment of soldiers for long periods such as a year did not only increase their risk of being infected, but also the risk on their return, transmitting the virus to their spouses. The broader community was also at risk because the spouses who stayed home were also tempted to engage in risky sexual behaviour in the absence of their soldier spouses. The direction of spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic was not only from returning migrant men/ women to their partners/ spouses, but also from women/ men to their migrant partners/ spouses. A young officer joined the USDF in 1977 at 21 years and was first posted at the Ngwavuma Camp situated at the borderline past Nsoko. As a young man who was single he had to explore life in many things, including alcohol, smoking, and women, which he took to like fish to water. The deployment factor is central to the nature of the USDF and hence not an easy one to address. In the work setting, the USDF members are more vulnerable in the case of external deployment for instance for nine months or more they would be on detachments to other regions where the member only went home once a month.

According to Heinecken<sup>447</sup> opportunities to engage in risky sexual behaviour are much higher in African military contexts as elaborated above, meaning these men were regarded as a sought-after group due to their access to both political power and financial means. Such conditions, together with their own discourses on the immutability of their 'urgent needs' for sex, may facilitate coercive and unsafe sexual practices. In line (support) of this view an officer in the USDF stated that; "Although it is difficult to take the decision overnight, but one needs to man up and take the

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<sup>446</sup> D. Achery. 'The South African Perspective', paper presented at the UNAIDS Meeting on HIV/AIDS and Uniformed Services: Analysing the evidence, Cape Town, (2004). See also T. Shefer and K. Ruiters. 'The Masculine Construct in Heterosex', *Agenda* 27, (1998), pp. 39–45. A. Strebel. 'Women and AIDS: A Study of Issues in the Prevention of HIV Infection', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town: Cape Town, (1993). Bujra. Targeting Men for a Change: Aids Discourse and Activism in Africa', in F. Cleaver (ed.) *Masculinities Matter: Men, Gender and Development*, Cape Town: David Phillip, (2002), pp. 209–34

<sup>447</sup> L. Heinecken. 'Affirming Gender Equality: The Challenges Facing the South African Armed Forces', *Current Sociology* 50(5), (2002) pp.715–28. See also D. Achery. 'The South African Perspective', paper presented at the UNAIDS Meeting on HIV/AIDS and Uniformed Services: Analysing the evidence, Cape Town,(2004).

initiative.”<sup>448</sup> He was not afraid to open up to the world on how he contacted the virus. He further stated how he got it when he joined the force in 2005. “When I joined the force I was stationed at the boarders (eminceleni), so I grabbed everything that came across my way in the name of being a soldier.”<sup>449</sup>

Bahlomile <sup>450</sup> stated that there’s a belief that men cannot go along for two, three months without having sex and the moment they start being away from their partners, that causes problems because they would need to have a woman even though they are attached to their original girlfriend. They will have women on the outside, simply because they want to satisfy their normal way of life as they see it. They believe that one cannot go for three to four months without having sex. On another note he asserted that women are considered to be objects that make them feel good. Men use their body as an object, to be satisfied. And, once they had their satisfaction, which body has no value any more they opt for another woman. Linked with the construction of men’s sexuality in relation to women, a discourse positioning men as different from women with respect to emotions also emerges, which reflects the notion of the oppositional female focus on ‘love’ and relation, versus male focus on ‘sex’.<sup>451</sup>

Furthermore, he argued that sex for a man is very unemotional because you’re thinking of physical things like; you’re thinking of how big her breasts are and also about her bums as well as thighs. This was anchored by another officer who stated that men are not taking sex as something that has to be emotional, instead they take sex as a physical thing, and that’s it. When one has it its fine no strings attached as to make that person a lifelong partner. Likewise, he further noted that for someone to have as many girlfriends as possible showed that person was a true man. Our culture

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<sup>448</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 23,July, (2017)

<sup>449</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 23July , (2017)

<sup>450</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July , (2017)

<sup>451</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini ,24July, (2017)

does not require women to ‘prove’ their womanhood in the way it requires of men to prove their manhood. A woman, is supposed to be sleeping at home sticking to her man. In the military context, the competition between men takes on an interesting dimension in that manhood becomes integrally interwoven with soldier hood. Thus, it seems particularly important for the soldier to prove his success with women in relation to civilian men. Officers drew on their constructions of masculinity as linked to physical strength in rationalizing their superiority to civilian men, considering themselves to have more success with women because their bodies are well formed as a result of their physical training. The perceived rivalry with civilian men appears to be a preoccupation among military men, articulated in sexualized terms through ‘possession’ of civilian women supposedly ‘belonging’ to civilian men.

He went on to say that in the military they have a unique lifestyle and they did things in a unique way. For instance, some civilians did not like the way they did things. Like they showed off money while in the bars which they could also give out freely to the ladies around them. So, the ladies in the vicinity liked the way soldiers were as they were free handed. They quarrelled with the civilian guys because they broke their hearts. The researcher asked questions based on quarrels about women? He responded positively that some women were very funny, they liked the way soldiers were doing things in a club for instance they were properly dressed and some civilian men did not come properly dressed. Also on pay days, soldiers did not care about money, especially on pay days. And women saw it as a good thing and they made plans to get into the soldier’s company.

Again the signifiers of being well dressed and flaunting money in relation to other men who did not achieve such signifiers were raised as a sign of masculinity, similarly articulated by Gezokuhle.<sup>452</sup> In the military through traditional male practices of multiple sexual partners, is clearly a central way in which military men achieved successful masculinity. While most of their quotes are attempts to assert superiority in relation to civilian men, it is also clear that such

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<sup>452</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 25 July, (2017)

assertions are underpinned by a less flattering, contradictory discourse which undermines military men as inferior due to their inability to find other employment. He stated that the army has a stigma that if you're in the army it means bolstered by military conditions of having money, being in areas where women are particularly economically dependent on men, means these aspects may be foregrounded as a tool in the articulation of masculinity. Other studies have also illuminated the popular construction of soldiers' success with civilian women, especially those vulnerable to male control on the basis of age and economic status.

## **5.6 THE IMPLICATIONS OF LIVING WITH HIV/AIDS in the USDF**

Officers in the health department stated that the psychological variables of clients (soldiers) are aspects that are very important to consider when providing holistic care to People Living with HIV (PLWH). Psychological problems that were noted by officers that are of concern included: AIDS-related stigma and discrimination, fear, anger, denial, anxiety, confusion, depression, distress, loss of dignity, uncertainty, hopelessness, and helplessness. AIDS-related stigma refers to the prejudice and discrimination directed at people living with HIV or AIDS and the groups and communities associated with.<sup>453</sup>

Swaziland has been described as among the most stigmatizing countries. Officers in the army felt that in Swaziland people still suffer self-stigmatisation, and are stigmatised by their families, and by communities and health workers. Consequences of stigma identified by officers include rejection by family due to the stigma associated with this illness. The client may lose family, social, and cultural roles, depending on how his or her family and society define the illness. At community level, stigma can manifest itself in the client being ostracised, rejected, or verbally or physically abused. The client may lose his or her employment due to the chronicity of the infection. This could cause a lot of confusion and distress within the family. Stigma makes it hard

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<sup>453</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July, (2017). See also <http://www.avert.org/aidsstigma.htm>

for people to go for HIV testing, treatment, care and counselling for fear of being judged. Stigma and discrimination have been reported as a major barrier to HIV testing across Africa.<sup>454</sup>

One problem that is common in the army is stigma. The officers also stated that stigma made it difficult to deal with the epidemic. Stigma directed at officers made it more difficult for people trying to come to terms with and managed their illness on a personal level, but it also interfered with attempts to fight the AIDS pandemic as a whole.<sup>455</sup> The army officers mentioned that the stigma experienced by officers had a negative impact on ART adherence. This stigmatisation often resulted in secretive behaviour among those infected, and failure to take protective measures, which perpetuates the spread of the epidemic in Swaziland. PLWHA is still prevalent in Swaziland, and it is a major cause of non-adherence to ART and consequently lowers QOL. Self-esteem is characterised by feelings of confidence, achievement, independence, reputation, and feeling recognised, appreciated, and valued. ART has lowered participants' self-esteem. A lowered self-esteem parallels a low QOL. It was also identified that stigmatisation and discrimination against PLWHA in Swaziland leads to PLWHA being afraid to disclose their HIV-positive status, failure to use risk-reduction practices, and social isolation. Stigma and discrimination is at the heart of many failed efforts to deal with HIV and AIDS over the years, and many HIV prevention, care, support, and treatment interventions have not been that effective, as a result of HIV-related stigma.<sup>456</sup> One officer shared her experience of counselling an HIV-positive female officer who was on ART and was scared of being rejected by her family: She [the woman on ART] had to hide her ARVs at a neighbour's house for fear of being rejected by her husband and family. She goes there in the morning and evening to take the drugs. Taking these medications is not simply a matter of popping pills a few times a day.

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<sup>454</sup>B. Wolff, B. Nyanzi, G. Katongole et al. Evaluation of a home-based voluntary and counselling and testing intervention in rural Uganda, *Health Policy and Planning*, 20,(2005),pp. 109-116

<sup>455</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 24 July, (2017)

<sup>456</sup> World Council of Churches .Working with people living with HIV/AIDS organizations, (2005). Available online at <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/document/wcc-programmes/justice-diakona-and-responsibility>. (Accessed 21, November,2017)

According to Shernoff <sup>457</sup> these drug had radiating effects, which profoundly influenced eating, sleeping, and work schedules, as well as day-to-day interactions with other people. And then it was obvious that no protective measures were taken, and one wondered if she took her ARVs on time. Who can blame her though? Nobody wants to be rejected.<sup>458</sup> Seriously ill people with HIV disease have experienced significant improvements in their health as a result of ARVs. This was because ARVs reduced HIV replication to such an extent that the viral load in the blood was reduced to very low and even undetectable levels. This reduced the chances of being attacked by opportunistic infections and cancers, and People living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA) who were on ART may live a near-normal life.<sup>459</sup> The introduction of antiretroviral treatment has brought hope in prolonging the lives of those living with HIV and AIDS. However, it was reported that the availability of antiretroviral drugs had resulted in some individuals resorting to high risk behaviors. With treatment available some individuals felt it was acceptable to indulge in high risk behaviors after all if infected with HIV, they received medication and be able to lead a normal life. Thus the perception has been that some people were engaging in high risk behavior practices due to the availability of antiretroviral treatment.

Although ART has significant benefits of controlling HIV disease and extending life, many researchers suggested that ARVs have unpleasant side effects that may erode Quality Of Life (QOL).<sup>460</sup> Feelings of hopelessness and helplessness were common among respondents as there was no vaccine or cure for HIV. These feelings were also intensified by the fear that their husbands or partners would divorce them. Sesabitwa<sup>461</sup> described her feelings like “I felt so hopeless and

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<sup>457</sup> M. Shernoff. Uncertainty and quality of life: Psychosocial realities of combination antiretroviral therapy. *Journal of HIV/AIDS and Social Services* 1, 1, (2002), pp.25-43

<sup>458</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 25 July, (2017)

<sup>459</sup> N.R. Calles & H. Schwardwald. Antiretroviral Treatment. In HIV Nursing Curriculum. Texas: Baylor College of Medicine, (2001), p.111

<sup>460</sup> Swaziland National VCT guidelines, (200), pp.5-7, See also S. Roberts & K. Dennilk. HIV/AIDS management for professional nurses: Foundations for professional development. Pretoria: City Bridge Foundation. (2006,) pp.191-197

<sup>461</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

helpless. The first person I told about this was my husband, I told him five days later”. She said she did that after being diagnosed as HIV positive and she debated on whether to tell him or not because she was afraid he would say “I can't stay with such a person and divorce me” she emphasised. The diagnosis made her feel like she was less human, that she did not deserve to be loved and accepted by her husband. Sharing experiences about taking ARVs in Support Groups plays an important role in handling stigma and discrimination. Such groups constitute a forum for learning about challenges related to living with HIV and taking ARVs.

Officers revealed that HIV and AIDS was known for its ability to rob the army of their dignity, and that this may have serious implications on the self-concept of the individual. Officers may have a low self-image, or low self-esteem or self-worth. The individual may also experience feelings of hopelessness and helplessness. Helplessness can occur when a person was forced into the position of temporary or permanent dependence on others. One officer mentioned that feelings of hopelessness were caused by the fact that HIV and AIDS is incurable and that being on ART is permanent and lifelong. HIV is different from any other illness. You are stigmatised because of it. There is no treatment, and it is a disease that is associated with shameful behaviour and a disease that you are not proud to reveal. One officer commented that the hospital situation made it possible to degrade officers to the point of nonbeing. It was impossible to maintain confidentiality in their situation. The fact that one was being in hospital in the HIV wing confirmed to the public that one has HIV. One was stigmatised solely because one happened to be in a place where people associated it with the virus where they were cared for in these hospitals.

Officers also mentioned that psychological problems caused by HIV and AIDS and ART affected the grieving process. As a result of the continual stigma surrounding HIV and AIDS officers may experience a prolonged grieving process. Officers may be angry, they may suffer denial, they may have feelings of guilt, and they may become depressed, suffer loneliness, fail to accept, lose hope, and may even commit suicide.<sup>462</sup> Being HIV positive was associated with dire consequences

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<sup>462</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, July 24, Manzini, (2017)

related to suffering and ultimate death. The knowledge of the benefit of ARVs in controlling HIV was probably not so widespread at the time. The fear for HIV infection was reflected in the way people reacted when they tested positive. ART was a lifelong treatment which had its prone and cons. It varied from acute stress to suicidal ideation, and even actual suicide. The concerns about their families as well as the consequences of the loss to the family were also articulated. *“After I heard about my status I cried, thinking that I am going to die. I was unable to sleep. I was thinking about my children more than anything else. My worry was that I was not sure about their status.”*<sup>463</sup>

One officer declared his HIV status in 2008, and was one of the three enlisted men who testified on living with HIV at the army Aids Day. He stated that he was not yet on medication, instead he was keeping himself healthy by eating properly, avoiding stress, getting exercises and being faithful to his wife. He emphasised that he looked normally like any other fit soldier who was in his 20s.<sup>464</sup> Another officer who declined to have his name stated that he found it very difficult to test and all of a sudden started medication.” I was occasionally sick but not critical before I went for testing. I did not get proper counselling before testing. So I tested and found out that I had the virus. I was not prepared for the results, and while I was shocked at the results, I was told that I had to have my CD4 count checked, which was found to be very low, and I had to start treatment before I got worse. You see, now I had to deal with being HIV-positive and taking the drugs for the rest of my life.”<sup>465</sup>

The USDF HIV prevention programme owed its success to the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland. At individual level, one person came out and publicly spoke about his experiences as an HIV positive member of the military. Through the early years of responding to the epidemic, he braved it all and became the face of HIV in the army. There were a lot of men like him who needed to be recognized and affirmed, so as

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<sup>463</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

<sup>464</sup> Times of Swaziland (2007)

<sup>465</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 July, (2017)

to encourage others to emulate them. He said he joined the USDF in 1977 at the age of 21 years and he was first posted at the Ngwavuma Camp situated at the borderline past Nsoko. As a young man who was single he had to explore life in many things, including alcohol, smoking, and women, which he took to like fish to water. He said he did not use condoms. He was free to sleep with anyone without being worried about HIV and AIDS. The carefree lifestyle soon caught up with him as in 1978 he had his first STI case. He was next posted at Phocweni in 1979, before the Army invested in him by sending him to England for a “skills at arms” course.<sup>466</sup> On his return, he was posted at Mbuluzi as a training instructor. In 1982, got married, and in the same year, was blessed with a son. The following year, he experienced various cases of STIs. In the beginning, he visited clinics for treatment for the ones he saw as minor ailments, at times he was hospitalized for two days.<sup>467</sup>

However, when he developed rashes and began having bouts of diarrhea, acting on ill-advice, he opted for “speculative” treatment and consulted tinyaga, tangoma and babholofithi (traditional doctors). He further stated that in 1998, he fell seriously ill and was rushed to the Raleigh Fitkin Memorial (RFM) Hospital, where he was diagnosed with jaundice. It was there that the accompanying nurse from the USDF took him on an “unofficial” brief tour of the ward with those also said to be suffering from the illness (which he later realized, was an attempt by the nurse to introduce the issue of HIV and AIDS). Since he consumed alcohol, he was advised to stop taking alcohol for medical reasons and he duly complied and quit. In 2003 he once again fell seriously ill and his son (born in 1989) also fell sick. After consulting several hospitals to no avail, his wife took the child to Good Shepherd Hospital. It was here that an HIV test was suggested for the family. It came back positive for his wife and son, but was negative for the other children. On return, his wife disclosed the devastating news to him, who also made the decision to go and take an HIV test (which confirmed his positive status).

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<sup>466</sup> Interview, S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018). See also P. Sihlongonyane. *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*. MA Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni, (2010).

<sup>467</sup> Interview, S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018). See also P. Sihlongonyane. *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*. MA Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni, (2010).

He eventually started ART in 2004 after treatment literacy conducted at the Mbabane Clinic. In 2005, after consultation with his family, disclosed his HIV positive status publicly. As a true leader, he also found it imperative to disclose his positive status to his colleagues, in the process, inspired many to come out. For his part, the Army commander and his administration gave him the necessary support.

He revealed that though the initial diagnosis was a bitter pill to swallow, there had been many ideas that came out, including the need to invest in a family home (after several years of living in a rented apartment); and he stopped all the risky behaviours that he previously engaged in, and has been a one-woman-man since.<sup>468</sup>

The HIV response needed to adopt an approach that emphasized the collective responsibility of individuals, community groups, different levels of government and other agencies; particularly emphasizing the role of men in combating the pandemic. Men should be in the forefront of the prevention of HIV infection, mitigation of the impact of the epidemic on individuals and communities, and provision of health care and compassion, just like they had taken leadership in other sectors.<sup>469</sup>

Acceptance of the positive HIV status was considered to be important for the ARVs to work. This made one to adhere to treatment for a problem one has accepted. Having accepted their own results one could support and inspire their peers who had not accepted their results to do so. Peer

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<sup>468</sup> P. Sihlongonyane. *The Making of the Swazi Military in Colonial and post-Colonial Swaziland 1939-2006*. MA Thesis University of Swaziland: Kwaluseni, (2010). See also Swazi Observer. *A JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIV/AIDS CRISIS*. 31 March, (2016)

<sup>469</sup> Interview, S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018)

education to encourage those who had not accepted their HIV status happened in the clinic. Another officer added that he was not free because he had not told people that he was sick. He delayed taking his dose of ARVs as he had to wait for people to leave so that he remained alone. Similarly, at work he had to go to the toilet to take medications because he did not want them to know or suspect anything about his HIV status. Later on he said he was helped by being actively involved in the social groups in the army which motivated him to accept life as it was and be strong to face the world in order to prolong his life.<sup>470</sup>

Another officer based at the Mdzimba army barracks was also brave enough to disclose his HIV positive status to the gathering and further divulged that his HIV negative wife whom they had been able to give birth to three negative children while the latter remained negative. The officer, who was speaking during the commemoration of the World AIDS Day, confirmed that he discovered that he was HIV positive in 2005. He said his wife whom he married traditionally, was HIV negative. He said he had five children in total and three with his wife, he said he was not afraid to come out to the public and disclose his status as he believed that it would help his fellow colleagues to take the initiative and test so that they would know their HIV status.

He said this was how most of his coworkers behaved yet it was not a good move, instead he pleaded with them to use a condom anytime they felt tempted. Consistent condom use reduced the chances of HIV transmission by 80%. There was a low rate of condom use among people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Swaziland who are on ART, yet the major mode of transmission of HIV was through unprotected sex. Currently, he advocated for a zero HIV infection to his colleagues, friends and his community people while he also did outreach programs at the Cheshire Homes.<sup>471</sup> Furthermore he advocated for Behavioural change. Unlike some other infectious diseases, the transmission of HIV was facilitated directly by human behaviour.

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<sup>470</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Manzini, 26 October, (2017)

<sup>471</sup> Interview with S. Hlophe, Matsapha, 18 August, (2018).

Changing one's behaviour meant each individual will be responsible for his or her own health, and, thus will be able to use protective measures, such as condoms effectively.

Sivelwe<sup>472</sup> stated that "I was a stone reaper and used to travel from one place to another for my job and I had the habit of going with females, hence I got HIV". Most of HIV positive officers stated that they have experienced a feeling of shock, fear of others once aware of their HIV status. One female officer said that; when I heard that I got HIV, I was shocked, unable to express and felt how to face others since by then it was a shame to be associated with HIV/AIDS.<sup>473</sup> Another female officer added that when I heard, I got HIV, I felt very bad, felt like dying and also thought who will take care of my children? One male officer said that when I heard that I got HIV, I thought it's my fate, what can I do? I felt I should learn to live with this.<sup>474</sup>

The impact of HIV on family members was received differently. Majority (80%) of HIV positive patients expressed that their family members take care of them very well with love and affection. One female patient said that, her husband (who is also HIV positive) takes care of her very well with love and care than before. This showed that those officers who had undergone counseling and have accepted their status live a happy life. Another male officer added to that his wife also got HIV, there is no difference in love and care in the present compared to the past.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has conceptualized and analysed the prevalence and consequences stemming from HIV/AIDS. It has highlighted the seriousness of the HIV/AIDS virus as well as the impacts of it as a serious issue not just in the workplace but even in the communities where personnel live. It warrants the same attention as any chronic disease. Soldiers are not just part of the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force; they form part of the country as well. When HIV/AIDS intervention

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<sup>472</sup> Interview with unanimous , Zakhele, 19 August, (2018)

<sup>473</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Nokwane Headquarters ,26 July, (2017)

<sup>474</sup> Interview with anonymous officer, Mbikwakhe,26 July, (2017)

measures are not functional in the workplace then it intensifies to communities and countries where Swaziland is involved in peace keeping operations. Part of organization duties is to keep his/her subordinates well informed about some of the external dangers that they can encounter besides being the enemy in combat operations. Officers highlighted the importance of HIV testing as the basis for the diagnosis of HIV, and therefore a gateway to accessing care. Acceptance of the test result facilitated adherence to ARVs.

Disclosure of HIV status in the USDF is still puzzling because the HIV/AIDS policy does not force the HIV positive officers to disclose their status to spouses unless they are at risk. Disclosure of one's status is a challenging experience because of the stigma attached to it, and the discrimination against people known to be living with HIV. What emerged was that the women were confronted with fear, despondency, helplessness and an embarrassment of other challenges based on their nervousness about disclosing their status. They were afraid of the stigmatization associated with HIV. Disclosing ones status to anybody is a complicated process that included a lot of soul searching and consideration of its consequences. This was a nerve-wracking exercise which was coupled with other demeaning feelings. These feelings were also intensified by the apprehension that their male partners would reject or divorce them. It seemed as though none of the women's partners were prepared to take the blame for causing the HIV infection, although some men were bold enough to admit promiscuity and took responsibility for cross-infecting their female spouse. HIV and AIDS is still a stigmatised condition and, as such, ARVs are also stigmatised. ARVs exacerbated the stigma of HIV and AIDS. PLWHA, when given their pills, will discard the pill boxes. Some even emptied all the pills into new containers. It is evident that they are afraid of being seen with ARVs, which are used by stigmatised people. This therefore means that HIV and AIDS and ARV stigma is not yet gone. Participants mentioned that taking medication was a marker for HIV infection, and that it could therefore be awkward taking medication outside the home, and that carrying the treatment as luggage may lead to involuntary disclosure of HIV status, resulting in stigmatisation. VCT services are central to tackling stigma, because they constitute the entry point for care and treatment.

HIV related stigma may be the greatest hindrance to action against the epidemic. The stigma around HIV/AIDS seemed to be a major contributing factor in the failure of HIV counselling and testing to succeed as a prevention method in Swaziland. This was because most people seek voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) as a last resort when they fell sick. If one was healthy, one did not go for VCT. It was undertaken as a last alternative after presenting symptoms associated with HIV and AIDS. Risky sex practices appeared to persevere regardless of people's knowledge of HIV/AIDS. Members' of sexual practices seemed to be shaped by the social meanings attributed to the intimate relationships and various categories within which sex occurred. Counselling in this regard should continue throughout the entire therapeutic relationship. Knowing their status did not only enabled couples to prevent infection of the HIV-negative partner, but also ensured that infected partners started treatment early.

The government of Swaziland has instigated many programs, drafted policies, signed declarations, attended summits, made commitments, and set goals to realise the vision of the Ministry of Health by the year 2015. What is needed now is implementation and strengthening of the initiatives by all sectors. There is a need to reinforce the multisectoral approach to the epidemic, where each sector will play its role and the combined effort will result in the improvement of the epidemic in the country. Also noted was that PLWHA looked striking and difficult to identify physically, because they got healthier as a result of treatment, and that they were engaging in unprotected sexual relationships, thus spreading the disease. The next chapter shall focus at the implications of corruption in the army and what measures has been taken to curb it.

# CHAPTER SIX

## PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION: ASSESSING CHALLENGES OF CORRUPTION IN THE SWAZI ARMY

### 6.0 Introduction

The aim of the chapter is to provide an understanding of corruption in Swaziland. Corruption is a comprehensive theme that covers several aspects, so for this study, the focus is on corruption in the USDF. This chapter will analyse the numerous forms of corruption, its manifestations, causes and, most importantly, the different anti-corruption mechanisms that have been put in place by the Swaziland government. Also how the public or whistle blowers have alerted the army on the corruption taking place during the recruitment exercise. This chapter argues that corruption poses countless threats and it is therefore crucial to analyse corruption to ensure that operational anti-corruption mechanisms are engaged.

Swaziland has experienced petty corruption which include bribes to obtain everyday services and grand corruption that includes payments to secure government contracts to influence the appeal of laws. Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)<sup>475</sup> ranked Swaziland at 88 out of 176 countries with a score of 37 (where a score of 100 is very clean and 0 is highly corrupt).<sup>476</sup> In most of the developing countries corruption has been one of the challenges derailing the military progression. The top officials have swindled the little money meant to be used in improving military equipment's. This was attributed to top army officials not being subject to public accountability.

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<sup>475</sup> Corruption Perceptions Index, ( 2012)

<sup>476</sup> Transparency International, (2012)

The top officials' fraudulently award tenders to suppliers who would supply poor quality materials in the name of professionalizing the national army. A number of tenders entered into supplying, guns, tanks as well as uniforms and food rations. Corruption is a crime committed by officials who are in public or private to acquire gain for themselves or others. Corruption in Swaziland is now regarded as obstinate, infiltrating the society as a whole. The Swazi media, civil society organizations, and government officials are often engaged in pointing out the corruption crime problem in their country. "Corruption cuts across all sectors of society and it affects everybody in one way or another."<sup>477</sup> In most of the developing countries corruption has been one of the underlying causes of wars and failure to end and it was one of the biggest challenges derailing the military. The government has acknowledged that corruption has ravaged and adversely affected the struggling economy.<sup>478</sup> However, weak payment systems, as reported in the World Bank's latest Country Integrated Fiduciary Assessment for Swaziland, mean that it was likely to occur.<sup>479</sup> Expertise of parliamentary oversight is another challenge. Most of the parliamentarians are not military officers knowledgeable in the field and hence depend on the military to inform them. Such information is usually biased, and insufficient. Burk<sup>480</sup> recommends that transparency is central for checks and balances among branches of governments in order to prevent misuse of power.

Definitely official Government documents, such as the updated Fiscal Adjustment Roadmap (FAR), acknowledge that there are ghost workers in the civil service and media articles have also reported on the existence of such workers, though not specifically in respect to the defence sector. A public service payroll and skills audit that extends to the security forces was launched in July 2013 and is still ongoing.<sup>481</sup> Corruption is common, particularly in the procurement of public

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<sup>477</sup> Swazi Observer, (2012), p. 1. See also Times of Swaziland, (2012), p. 1

<sup>478</sup> Director of Public Prosecution" available at <http://www.gov.sz>.

<sup>479</sup> Government of Swaziland, Updated Fiscal Adjustment Roadmap (UFAR) ,(2012)/13-2015/16 (undated).

<sup>480</sup> J. Burk. "Theories of democratic civil-military relations", Armed Forces & Society, vol. 29, no. 1,(2002), pp. 7–29

<sup>481</sup> Government of Swaziland, Updated Fiscal Adjustment Roadmap (UFAR), (2012)/13-2015/16 (undated). See also Government of Swaziland, Statement by the Honourable Prime Minister at the Launch of the Public Service Payroll and Skills Audit, 12 July , (2013)

goods and services and the tendering and implementation of capital projects. It takes place over the entire cycle, from the acquisition of goods and services to the payment of such, and results in Government paying considerably above the market price for goods and services.<sup>482</sup> Military procurement is highly susceptible to corruption for several reasons. First, for security reasons, governments tend to be transparent in their spending on defense. This constructs opportunities for rent seeking and project misallocation. Moreover, military equipment is usually highly specialized, which reduces market entry and competition among suppliers as well as buyers. Finally, because major arms are expensive and complicated, prices vary highly and thus provide a window for corruption. The highly specialized nature of military goods, large profit margins and lack of market competition sets the stage for bribe-taking and collusion. Corruption has also been exercised in the procurement of military tools and equipment as witnessed in the case of helicopters which were procured with huge sums of money beyond their worth aircraft experts and it threatened the lives of the military men who used them. Article 44 of the Regulations on Public Procurement allowed for single source procurement. A World Bank assessment of the country's public finance management system from 2011 noted for the justification for use of less competitive methods for up to 20% or more of all procurements was currently weak or missing.<sup>483</sup> There is no legislation covering defence and security procurement in Swaziland, since the Defence Force is not bound by The Public Procurement Act, 2011, the main piece of procurement legislation in the country.<sup>484</sup>

In terms of defence procurement specifically, single-sourcing in relation to food provision for the army who produce very little of their own food is a cause for concern. Tibiyo Taka Ngwane was

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<sup>482</sup> Government of Swaziland. *Economic recovery strategy for accelerated, inclusive and sustainable economic growth*. Mbabane: Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, (2011), p. 69

<sup>483</sup> Swazi Observer. "Government to pay E42m food debt for army ". March 27, (2014). See also World Bank, Swaziland Country Integrated Fiduciary Assessment (2017), [http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSPContentServer/WDSP/IB/2013/09/13/000442464\\_20130913113125/Rendered/PDF/623950CFAA0Swa000PUBLIC00Box379827B.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSPContentServer/WDSP/IB/2013/09/13/000442464_20130913113125/Rendered/PDF/623950CFAA0Swa000PUBLIC00Box379827B.pdf)

<sup>484</sup> The Public Procurement Act,( 2011)

the sole supplier of food to the country's Defence Force.<sup>485</sup> A tender or supplier could be suspended from participation in public procurement for reasons that include corrupt, fraudulent, collusive and coercive practices, according to the Public Procurement Act. Suppliers on the Register for Tender Defaulters as prescribed in the Prevention of Corruption Act, 2006 were also suspended from participation in public procurement. Furthermore, convicted individuals who had committed offences were liable to a fine not exceeding E10 million and/or a prison term not exceeding ten years in the Procurement Act. There was no evidence that these sanctions had been applied to the corrupt activities of a supplier operating in the defence and security sector.<sup>486</sup>

## 6.1 General Causes of Corruption

The causes of corruption cannot be viewed in isolation from other factors, because these are interwoven. The World Bank report on Corruption and Economic Development has stated that the causes of corruption are always contextual, rooted in a country's policies, bureaucratic traditions, political development and social history.<sup>487</sup> There are also generic factors that hearten corruption across different countries, contextualizing it supports to broaden the understanding of the phenomenon in different societies. Puny government policies have been identified as one of the causes of corruption which cuts across different countries.<sup>488</sup> Correspondingly, as noted by the World Bank, every country has regulations against corrupt practices. Werner<sup>489</sup> ascertain that the presence of networks in society, which thrive at any level of political leaders including soldiers, politicians and public officials they rely on clientelistic relationships to hold on to power and these

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<sup>485</sup> Times of Swaziland. "Government to pay E42m food debt for army. " (2013)<http://www.times.co.sz/news/92685-e303m-tender-awarded-secretly.html>

<sup>486</sup> The Public Procurement Act, (2011). See also The Prevention of Corruption Act, No. 3, (2006)

<sup>487</sup> World Bank. Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries. Washington D.C., (1997), p.12

<sup>488</sup> World Bank. Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries. Washington D.C., (1997), p.12

<sup>489</sup> S.B. Wemer. New directions in the study of administrative corruption. *Public administration review*, (1983), p.14. See also J. S. Mbatha. The ethical dilemmas of whistle-blowing and corruption in the South African public sector, Unpublished Thesis, Empangeni: University Of Zululand, (2005)

relationships are held together by payoffs. According to Kyambalesa<sup>490</sup> greed influences the public official to put his/ her interests ahead of the public interest. Greed can be seen as a selfish motive as it only focuses on satisfying the corrupt officer's needs instead of the general good. The common appearance of a consumer oriented society and the gap between desire and the means of fulfilment can also fuel corruption. People do not always want to wait for a certain purpose, so the desire to possess a certain thing can be of such extent that they go over to different behaviour to achieve their objectives. Klitgaard<sup>491</sup> noted that Cultural attitudes prevalent in a society could also be conducive to corruption where, if a person obtains rank and a good income and if this person does not want to lose face and clients, it must be demonstrated continuously. Once having obtained public office, the public official adopts a lifestyle manifestly different from that of an average person, for example, buying an expensive car and wearing tailor-made clothes. Furthermore, corruption can also be related to the presence of inadequate political channels and is viewed as being nothing more than a special case of political influence. Poor countries are good candidates for corruption because of the disproportionate impact of government on society, bureaucratic dominance, and a weak sense of nation with greater emphasis being placed on kinship, and a distinct gap between citizen and government. These factors place a heavy burden for political institutions to carry in terms of capacity and legitimacy, and corruption fills this gap.<sup>492</sup> According to Hope<sup>493</sup>, administrative corruption in developing countries thrives as a result of the following causes, lack of leadership and discipline shown by the politicians tends to be more widespread where there is significant political corruption and/or where the idea of the national interest remains weak. Also the expanding role of state activity in developing countries has resulted in an expanding public service with increasing discretionary power, which is abused for personal gain. For example, the increased number of regulations coupled with greater

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<sup>490</sup> H. Kyambalesa. Corruption Causes, Effects, and Deterrents. *Africa Institute of South Africa*, 36(2), (2006), p.109. See also J. C. Chamunorwa. AN EXPLORATION OF WHISTLE BLOWING IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE OF STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY. M.A Unpublished Thesis. Stellenbosch University, (2005), p. 24

<sup>491</sup> R. Klitgaard. "bribes, tribes and markets that fail: rethinking the economics of underdevelopment" in *development southern africa*, vol. 11 (4),(1992 b), p.81

<sup>492</sup> G.E. Caiden. Public maladministration and the rise of the ombudsman. *Politeia*, 5(1),(1986)

<sup>493</sup> K.R. Hope. Politics, bureaucratic corruption and maladministration in the third world. *International review of administrative science*, 51 (1),(1985)

administrative discretion provides the public official with an ideal tool to engage in deviant behaviour as these regulations can be used to frustrate the public and result in bribery to avoid such frustration. Likewise, the absence of a public service work ethic may result in administrative corruption. Public officials in developing countries lack a sense of purpose and commitment to their responsibilities. They do not believe that they are serving anyone but themselves and exploit their position for personal gain.

## **6.2 Multiples Forms of corruption in the Swazi Army (?)**

There are several forms of corruption that transpire within the public sector. Corruption has many aspects and forms in which it can manifest itself.<sup>494</sup> The scale can be grand or petty. Grand corruption occurs on a large scale and involves top-level individuals or public officials; large sums of money are often exchanged. It also occurs when every aspect of the social system functions in a style that individuals get away with being corrupt.<sup>495</sup> The Public Service Commission (PSC) noted that the following are common forms of Corruption which include the following; bribery, fraud embezzlement, extortion, abuse of power, conflict of interest, nepotism favouritism and insider trading.

Bribery refers to receiving a benefit that affects the decision of a public servant. Fraud implicate the actions by a public official to trick another into providing a benefit that should not accrue to them. Embezzlement of funds refer to theft of resources by a person entrusted with their control. Extortion involve the coercion of a person into providing a benefit. Abuse of power include the use of a vested authority to inappropriately benefit another party. Conflict of interest involves the acting or failing to act on a matter in which the public official has an interest to ensure a benefit is received. Insider trading account for the use of information to provide an unfair benefit.

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<sup>494</sup> M. Robinson. (ed). *Corruption and development*. London: Frank Cass Publishers. (1998), p.3. See also J. C. Chamunorwa. AN EXPLORATION OF WHISTLE BLOWING IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE OF STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY. M.A Unpublished Thesis. Stellenbosch University, (2005), p.15

<sup>495</sup> E. Grobler and S.J. Joubert. Corruption in the public sector: The Elusive Crime. *Acta Criminologica*, 17(1): (2004), p.91.

Favouritism relate to the provision of a service according to personal affiliation. Nepotism compliments ensuring that family members receive advantaged consideration. Each of the components mentioned above will be unpacked together with reference to applicable examples of its realisation.

### 6.2.1. Bribery

Masri <sup>496</sup> defined bribery as a payment, in money or in kind, that is given or taken in a corrupt relationship. In explaining bribery more in-depth, he further explain that a bribe could be a fixed sum of money a percentage of a contract usually paid to a state official who is in a position to make contact on behalf of the state or otherwise distribute benefits to individuals, businessmen and clients. These are payments, demanded or needed to speedup matters, make it progress more swiftly and/or favourable through the government bureaucratic machinery. Bribery according to the United Nations<sup>497</sup> is the essence of corruption. In defining bribery, the UN <sup>498</sup> agreed with Masri and added that bribery is an offer of money or favours to influence a public official. Corporations and business people can use bribery to buy political favours, buy protected markets and monopolies and escape the burden of taxes and required regulations. Matsheza<sup>499</sup> noted that bribery "... refers to consideration, giving an inducement to influence conduct in one's favour, contrary to standing procedures and regulation". The Encyclopedia Britannica, however, defines bribery as the act or practice of giving, taking or promising "money or favor [...] in order to influence the judgment or conduct of a person in a position of trust"<sup>500</sup> Minister of finance, Majozi

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<sup>496</sup>M.A.L. Masri. Corruption issues in Jordan: A Public Field Survey. Centre for Strategic Studies. Jordan University. (2006),p.6

<sup>497</sup> United Nations Handbook. Practical Anti-Corruption Measures For Prosecutors and Investigators. Vienna. (2004),p.4

<sup>498</sup> United Nations Handbook. Practical Anti-Corruption ,(2004),p.24

<sup>499</sup> P. Matsheza. Corruption: Concept and Definition. (Lecture delivered during Specialised Training Workshop for Investigators and Prosecutors on Corruption 5–9 March 2007) Mombasa: Kenya, (2007), p.3 See also Emmanuel Pringle Cloete. A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION AND CORRUPTION. Doctoral Thesis, University of the Free State: Bloemfontein,(2013)

<sup>500</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica at <http://search.eb.com/dictionary?va=bribe&query=bribe> [Accessed 29 October ,2018]

Sithole, stated that ‘the twin evils of bribery and corruption have become the order of the day in the country ... the economy is dying gradually because of this practice, and the citizens are placed under a heavy yoke’.<sup>501</sup> His statement highlighted that Swaziland’s economy was being undermined by corrupt activities. The Prime Minister also publicly stated that corruption remained a challenge and that the government needed the cooperation of the public, business, the media and the international community to effectively combat it.<sup>502</sup> Also to highlight on how corruption has hindered progress in the country was the king when he indicated the manifestation of corruption in Swaziland. He has condemned corruption and the manner in which it has infiltrated society, more especially the public sector. The Swazi leadership had to address the problem of corruption to endorse the signatories it made. This had an implication on the country since it signed regional, continental, and international agreements. These included the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol against Corruption; the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combatting Corruption, and the United Nations Convention against Corruption.<sup>503</sup> The Army Commander has publicly acknowledged that corruption was a problem within the army and expressed commitment to anti-corruption measures. On another note the King, as the Commander-in-Chief, warned army personnel to desist involvement in corrupt activities.

Beyond the rhetoric, there was little evidence to indicate the political or institutional will to curb corruption in the army and government at large. Key pieces of anti-corruption legalisation such as a Witness Protection Act are not in place and the Anti-Corruption Commission remains a government department with no constitutional status. There was, some basic awareness of corruption risk, with senior members of the army. There was a warning on armed forces personnel against the temptation to engage in corrupt activities. The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)

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<sup>501</sup> H.S. Simelane. The Swazi monarchy and the poor performance of the Swazi anti-corruption agency, 2006–2009. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47(4), (2012),p 424

<sup>502</sup> H.S. Simelane. The Swazi monarchy and the poor performance of the Swazi anti-corruption agency, 2006–2009,(2012),p.424

<sup>503</sup> H.S. Simelane. The Swazi monarchy and the poor performance of the Swazi anti-corruption agency, 2006–2009,(2012), p.424

positioned within the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs also undertook its own investigations on defence personnel when possible. Evidenced to that was shown by the arrest of an army Lieutenant in June 2014 by the ACC for accepting bribes from members of the public for recruitment into the army.<sup>504</sup> Despite the ACC's previous successes investigating corruption within the military, there were examples of resistance from the security forces. In January 2011, media reported that a top-ranking officer in the army was attempting to block an ACC investigation into five members of the Air Wing division.<sup>505</sup> Facilitation payments were directly covered within the definition of bribery in Part III of The Prevention of Corruption Act of 2006, para 21. The Act does not distinguish facilitation payments from bribes. It also provided a basis for prosecutions to be made when offences had been committed.<sup>506</sup>

In the past, army officers have been arrested for bribery in relation to recruitment. While these cases may not have resulted in dismissal or prison sentences, they are assessed as likely to have served as some deterrent to army personnel. There is no known policy to make the outcomes of prosecutions publically available. While army personnel have been arrested for corrupt activities in the past, no information could be found to indicate these have resulted in successful prosecutions. The Swazi Observer reported in June 2014 that two years on, the case of a Formation Commander arrested in 2012 on corruption charges was still pending at the Magistrate's Court.

### **6.2.2. Fraud**

In principle fraud is an economic crime that involves some form of deceit. Masri<sup>507</sup> points out that fraud involves manipulation or distortion of information, facts and expertise by public officials who seek to draw a private profit. Fraud takes place when a public official responsible for carrying

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<sup>504</sup> Sandile Nkambule. "Teeth bite deeper as senior army officer arrested for corruption. Swazi Observer, 14 June, 2013, [Accessed 12 November, 2017], <http://www.observer.org.sz/news/62870-acc%E2%80%99s-teeth-bite-deeper-as-senior-army-officer-arrested-for-corruption.html>.

<sup>505</sup> Swazi Observer, 21 June, (2011)

<sup>506</sup> The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2006 Act No. 3, (2006).

<sup>507</sup> M.A.L. Masri. Corruption issues in Jordan: A Public Field Survey. Centre for Strategic Studies. Jordan University. (2006), p.6

out tasks and orders assigned by superiors, manipulates the flow of information in order to gain a private benefit.

### **6.2.3. Embezzlement**

In the handbook for prosecutors and investigators, the UN (2004:26) refers to embezzlement (also theft) as cases in which property is taken by those to whom it was entrusted. It furthermore explains that embezzlement involves the taking or conversion of money and other valuable items such as property by those who are not entitled to them but who have access to it by virtue of their position, employment and access. The Transparency International <sup>508</sup> defines embezzlement as “When a person holding office in an institution, organisation or company dishonestly and illegally appropriates, uses or traffics the funds and goods they have been entrusted with for personal enrichment or other activities”. Fraud, embezzlement and misappropriation of government funds by both the public was coming in the form of collusion and commission paid when procurement was conducted between the public and private sectors.<sup>509</sup> Corruption is common, mainly in the procurement of public goods and services and the tendering and implementation of capital projects. It takes place over the entire cycle, from the acquisition of goods and services to the payment, and results in Government paying extensively above the market price for goods and services. <sup>510</sup>

### **6.2.4. Extortion**

Extortion is yet another type of corrupt behaviour in which one person coerces another to pay through money, favours or goods for an action. According to the TI <sup>511</sup> defines extortion as an “act of utilizing one’s access to a position of power and knowledge, either directly or indirectly,

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<sup>508</sup> Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, (2009), p.10. <http://www.transparency.org>

<sup>509</sup> Kingdom of Swaziland. Report of the Auditor General for the financial year ended 31st March 2010. Mbabane: Office of the Auditor General, Kingdom of Swaziland, (2011)

<sup>510</sup> Government of Swaziland, (2011), p. 69.

<sup>511</sup> Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, (2009), p.11. <http://www.transparency.org>

to demand unmerited cooperation or compensation as a result of coercive threats.” Individuals seeking favour can extort payment from an official by making threats such as the revealing of sensitive information. In some cases extortion may differ from bribery only in the degree of coercion involved.

### **6.2.5. Abuse of power**

Encyclopedia.com defines the abuse of power as the improper use of authority by someone who has that authority because he or she holds public office. Abuse of power should also be seen as the improper use of trust, confidence and influence placed in an individual. The name of the king has been used to conduct corrupt activities. High ranking people have taken away other people’s properties using the concept of Labadzala (elders). They have accessed state resources of staggering amounts using this concept. The concept used by influential people to loot the state is dangerous.<sup>512</sup> A good example of corruption using the name of the king outside the military involved a senior prince who attempted to defraud a local bank the sum of R300, 000. The MD of the bank reported the matter to the board and nothing came out of it to show that the matter has been actioned.<sup>513</sup>

### **6.2.6. Conflict of interest**

Kanyane<sup>514</sup> referred to the concept as “conflict of interest” as an area that is sometimes poorly understood. The PSC viewed conflict of interest as the fact of acting or failing to act on a matter in which government officials have an interest to ensure a benefit was received.

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<sup>512</sup> H.S. Simelane. The Swazi monarchy and the poor performance of the Swazi anti-corruption agency, 2006–2009. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47(4), (2012) , p. 430

<sup>513</sup>H.S. Simelane. The Swazi monarchy and the poor performance of the Swazi anti-corruption agency, 2006–2009. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47(4),(2012)

<sup>514</sup> T. Kanyane. To what extent has conflict of interest become a problem in the public service of South Africa with specific reference to three provinces under study, i.e., Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape? Dissertation, University of Pretoria: Pretoria, (2006).

### **6.2.7. Insider training**

This process involves the use of information secured during an official's course of duty. Matsheza<sup>515</sup> states that the information is then leaked to companies competing for tenders, only alluding to one example. The information is also being used in areas such as the stock exchange, giving one party an unfair advantage over the other.

### **6.2.8. Favouritism / nepotism**

One type of significant corruption gaining in currency in the Kingdom is that of nepotism/favoritism. This may not be surprising, given the homogeneous nature of Swazi society and cultural norms. However, its magnitude has become a matter of concern in recent times. The aspect of nepotism and favouritism should be carefully approached particularly within the African context. Bauer<sup>516</sup> was of the view that corruption was even more complicated by the conflict of values and norms as they differed from culture to culture. These values and norms were very influential forces in day-to-day African life as they were determining factors in who got appointed, promoted and who should win government contracts to cite a few examples. The unlawful discrimination against the favouring of individuals could be based on a wide variety of characteristics such as race, religion, political and other affiliations as well as personal and other relationships. Expanding on the forms of corruption, Arora<sup>517</sup> differentiates between three types – collusive, coercive and non-conjunctive.

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<sup>515</sup> P. Matsheza .Corruption: Concept and Definition. (Lecture delivered during Specialized Training Workshop for Investigators and Prosecutors on Corruption 5– 9 March 2007) Mombasa: Kenya. (2007), p.4 See also Emmanuel Pringle Cloete. A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION AND CORRUPTION. Doctoral Thesis, University of the Free State: Bloemfontein,(2013)

<sup>516</sup> C. Bauer. The disease called corruption. *Journal of Contemporary History*. vol.30, 2, (2005), pp.51-68 See also Emmanuel Pringle Cloete. A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION AND CORRUPTION. Doctoral Thesis, University of the Free State: Bloemfontein,(2013)

<sup>517</sup> D. Arora. Conceptualising the Context and Contextualising the Concept: Corruption Reconsidered. *Indian Journal of Public Administration* (IJPA) 39 (1), (1993),pp.1-19

In the case of collusive corruption, the corrupt were willing and personally involved by using corruption as an instrument for inducing action or inaction on the part of the authorities and by so doing, derive benefits greater than the cost of corruption. Coercive corruption takes place when the activity is forced upon the corrupted by those in a position of power and authority. In non-conjunctive corruption, benefits were obtained at the cost of someone else and the victims were unaware of their victimization.

One type of significant corruption gaining in currency in the Kingdom is that of nepotism/favoritism. This may not be surprising, given the homogeneous nature of Swazi society and cultural norms. However, its magnitude has become a matter of concern in recent times. It noted that the country did not have the formal provision for effective and independent legislative scrutiny of defence policy. One of the questions posed during the assessment of the army was whether there was a formal provision for effective and independent legislative scrutiny of defence policy. The response was: “There is no formal provision for effective and independent legislative scrutiny of defence policy. While the Constitution provides for a Parliament and freedom of speech to parliamentarians, the legislature is neither independent nor constitutionally in charge of defence scrutiny.”<sup>518</sup> There was no evidence of an openly stated anti-corruption policy for the defence sector. The country has produced a draft National Anti-Corruption Policy with support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). However, this policy document was yet to be approved by the Cabinet and it did not refer to the defence sector. There was also no specific mention of the defence sector in The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2006.<sup>519</sup> Transparency International calls on governments to make this traditionally secretive sector, which involves large public contracts, more open. Defence establishments should increase citizens’ access to information about defence budgets and procurement. Legislators should have stronger controls and oversight of the sector, possessing the teeth and access to cut corruption down. “Corruption in defence is dangerous, divisive and wasteful, and the cost is paid by citizens, soldiers, companies

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<sup>518</sup> Transparency International “Country corruption perception index”, (2008) available at [http://www.transparency.org/news\\_room/in\\_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi\\_2008\\_table](http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi_2008_table) , [Accessed 23 October, 2018]

<sup>519</sup> Kingdom of Swaziland, [draft] National Anti-Corruption Policy (2012). See also The Prevention of Corruption Act, 2006 ,Act No. 3, (2006)

and governments. Yet the majority of governments do too little to prevent it, leaving numerous opportunities to hide corruption away from public scrutiny and waste money that could be better spent,” explains Mark Pyman, Director of Transparency International UK’s Defence and Security Programme.<sup>520</sup>

Dealing with corruption was regarded as a collective responsibility of everyone by not allowing anyone to put their personal interest above that of the nation. As observed in a speech by the Head of State, when he officially opened the fourth session of the Ninth Parliament and pronounced zero tolerance towards corruption, he said “as we move forward in rebuilding this country amidst all these challenges, one must express serious disappointment at some individuals who continue to plunder state resources for personal benefit. We have seen these individuals divert national funds intended for important projects for their own benefit. We can no longer allow these people to place their personal interest above that of the country. It is time serious action is taken against such selfish people and it should be action that truly serves as a very effective deterrent if this country is to make any progress economically from this day forth”.<sup>521</sup> Even though the speech was not directed specifically to the USDF the Head of State condemned acts of corruption which were rife. There is military police within the Defence Force responsible for investigating military offences. In an article in the Swazi Observer in June 2014, the Army Commander was quoted saying “I have unleashed the military police to investigate all cases of corruption and crime taking place within our force.”<sup>522</sup> No evidence could be found on the effectiveness of the military police in countering corruption and the assessor considers them unlikely to be independent.

It was noted that the country did not have the formal provision for effective and independent legislative scrutiny of defence policy. One of the questions posed during the assessment of the

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<sup>520</sup> Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2014: Results. Available from: <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/>, [Accessed 25 January, 2019]

<sup>521</sup> His Majesty King Mswati III. *Speech from the throne on the official opening of the fourth session of the 9th Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland*. Mbabane: Kingdom of Swaziland, (2012), p. 16

<sup>522</sup> Swazi Observer, June 21, (2014).

army was whether there was a formal provision for effective and independent legislative scrutiny of defence policy. The response was: “There is no formal provision for effective and independent legislative scrutiny of defence policy. While the Constitution provides for a Parliament and freedom of speech to parliamentarians, the legislature is neither independent nor constitutionally in charge of defence scrutiny.”<sup>523</sup> It further highlighted that the country did not have an identifiable and effective parliamentary defence and security committee (or similar organisation) to exercise oversight. “Swaziland is an absolute monarchy where the king has final authority over all branches of government. Although parliament includes both appointed and elected members and a prime minister, international observers have concluded that the September 2013 parliamentary elections did not meet international standards it can, therefore, not be considered independent. US State Department reporting notes authorities have failed at times to maintain effective control over the security forces.”<sup>524</sup> “There is nonetheless a Parliamentary Portfolio Committee for the Ministry of Defence that reviews the budgets and performance reports of the ministry.” Interviewees have raised concerns over the effectiveness of this committee, however. For example, while legislators may raise concerns over the defence budget and its size, the budget is approved without amendment. Through the assessment done by the organisation, some of the questions that were to be answered were: “Is the country’s national defence policy debated and publicly available? “Do defence and security institutions have a policy, or evidence, of openness towards civil society organisations (CSOs) when dealing with issues of corruption? If no, is there precedent for CSO involvement in general government anti-corruption initiatives?”<sup>525</sup>

Some of these reforms can be adopted as part of a comprehensive anti-corruption agenda. Transparency International notes that the policy response to combating corruption has several elements common to every society: the reform of substantive programs; changes in the structure of government and its methods of assuring accountability; changes in the moral and ethical

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<sup>523</sup> “Country corruption perception index” (2008) Transparency International available at [http://www.transparency.org/news\\_room/in\\_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi\\_2008\\_table](http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi_2008_table) [Accessed 23 October, 2018]

<sup>524</sup> “Country corruption perception index” (2008) Transparency International available at [http://www.transparency.org/news\\_room/in\\_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi\\_2008\\_table](http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi_2008_table) [Accessed 23 October, 2018].

<sup>525</sup> “Country corruption perception index” (2008) Transparency International available at [http://www.transparency.org/news\\_room/in\\_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi\\_2008\\_table](http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2008/cpi2008/cpi_2008_table) [Accessed 23 October, 2018].

attitudes; and perhaps most importantly the involvement and support of government, the private sector and civil society.<sup>526</sup> Four main approaches that characterized reform efforts include the following: Building systems of well-performing government that is a professional civil service, sound financial management including state tender procedures, effective service delivery and a balance of responsibilities amongst the executive and parliament; Strengthening the legislative framework including the rule of law, effective enforcement capacity, statutory oversight agencies such as independent anticorruption institutions and mechanisms, and an independent judiciary; Increasing transparency through introducing measures that strengthen the role of civil society and the media in demanding better government. Promoting international co-operation on issues such as the criminalization of bribery and corruption, and institutional reforms and capacity building.<sup>527</sup> To achieve this, values of honesty and integrity it should be instilled and reinforced among public servants as well as the population as a whole, and there should be clear rules that describe how public office ought to be used in the public interest. Civil society organisations and the media play a critical role in influencing the perception of corruption in a society. The challenge facing them is to stimulate public opinion and persuade citizens to actively combat corruption. This process can be assisted by promoting the growth of an active civil society and ensuring that the media are free from pressure and censorship and can raise awareness about corruption by openly reporting about its extent and consequences.

There were also institutions not specifically in the defence sector charged with combating corruption, including the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), though they were often put under pressure not to pursue cases involving the army.<sup>528</sup> Opinion information in the local media had

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<sup>526</sup> Transparency International. Global Corruption Reports 2010-2013, [www.ti.org](http://www.ti.org). (2014), [Accessed 25 January, 2019]

<sup>527</sup> L. Camerer. Poverty and corruption in South Africa. Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies. ISS monograph series; no. 15. (1997). See also Marianne Irene Camerer Corruption and reform in Democratic South Africa. Doctoral Thesis :University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg, ( 2009),pp.49-50

<sup>528</sup> Times of Swaziland, January 10, (2011), [Accessed 13 November, 2018], <http://www.times.co.sz/News/60785.html>

voiced out public concerns over corruption in the army. In 2011, a letter from the public published in the Times of Swaziland, the only daily newspaper not state-owned, came with the title “Corruption goes unchecked in the army”.<sup>529</sup> There were numerous complaints from the general citizenry about the recruitment process of officers.

The army commander mentioned that following an outcry from the public and from Members of Parliament (MPs) concerning the irregularities in the recruitment exercise, he established a Commission of inquiry into the recruitment exercise. The commission of inquiry was set up and it comprised of senior army personnel. This was after the commission found that there was a lot of corruption by senior army officials who were mandated to conduct the exercise. It was found that instead of conducting the recruitment exercise as per the order of the Commander-in- Chief), Simelane and the other senior officials allegedly decided to recruit their relatives and ignored the eligible candidates. After the conclusion of the enquiry where Colonel Simelane was fingered, the army commander deemed it fit to terminate his three-year contract. Some of the recruits who were illegally recruited informed the commission that they were assisted by Simelane.<sup>530</sup>

Most parents complained that their children were not selected at the Officers Selection Board because of corruption. Incidents have been recorded in Swazi local newspapers where parents accuse the recruiting officers of favoring senior Army and government officials’ children at the expense of well qualified ordinary applicants. Corruption in the army is an old phenomenon and the people involved in it were not exposed. By so doing it has made the army officials to continue with the bad practice. The army has compromised quality soldiers as bribery into the recruitment exercises is rife. At one point training was stopped at the Mbuluzi army barracks following allegations of corruption in the recruitment exercise. Following an outcry from members of the public and the royal family the army head honchos have decided to halt the training at the army barracks. The PRO said people have been turned back because they could not explain how they

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<sup>529</sup> Times of Swaziland, November 26, (2011), [Accessed 13November, 2017], <http://www.times.co.sz/index.php?news=71075&vote=5&aid=71075&Vote=Vote>

<sup>530</sup> USDF Standing Order,(1973)

got there. Dlamini however, said their recruitment process was transparent people who had concerns were at liberty to come to the headquarters to report. An example of an outcry from the public over the army recruitment exercise was of one woman taking the army to the Anti-Corruption Unit while others have reported their ordeal to the army headquarters. The latest round of recruitment has sparked widespread outcry and more than 40 recruits were expelled from the Mbuluzi Infantry School. It was said recruits had failed to prove that they used the legal route to be recruited into the military.

An allegation circulating in newspapers in the kingdom was that top army officers were bribed. Families were reported to have sold livestock and other belongings to get their men in uniform. The Swazi Observer reported that the army said action was taken following complaints from the civilians 'about abnormalities which happened during the recruitment exercise'. On the same note the Swazi Observer reported the army was taking action following complaints from throughout Swaziland 'about abnormalities which happened during the recruitment exercises'. In February 2017, during the recruitment drive it was reported that several men who tried to cheat during exercises were tortured by the army personnel. The army was recruiting 495 additional soldiers from across the kingdom. According to a report in the Swazi Observer, eight top recruiting officials face dismissal from the force. The officer has been summoned to the headquarters at Nokwane to answer allegations of bribery. One allegation is that they recruited their own relatives. The PRO has refused to comment about the recruitment irregularities. The Swazi News reported in April 2017 that corrupt practices had been known about for several years, but this was the first time that recruits had been expelled.

The Times of Swaziland reported that recruits were shown the exit door from the Umtfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF) Infantry School in Mbuluzi. Some of these people alleged that they paid money to the so called "related to the Royalty" who resides at Nkhanini after the latter has promised to submit their names to the force. It was alleged that some people who claimed to be closer to the royal family or soldiers in the senior ranks took advantage of the recruitment exercise; they offered to assist aspiring soldiers to get jobs. Though all aspiring soldiers were expected to undergo an extensive recruitment exercise to ascertain their physical fitness, those who

have bribed their way through are usually exempted from such tests. The Swazi people have been quick to use the name of the king, to conduct corrupt activities. They developed the notion of Labadzala (elders) to avoid investigation and prosecution. If one committed a corrupt act and explained it in terms of how it was acceptable by labadzala. It placed one above the law against corruption in the country because the decision of the king cannot be questioned and they are not subject to judicial review.<sup>531</sup> This has compromised the quality of soldiers that the country could trust while executing their duties.

On another note an aspiring soldier said he paid E3 000 for a job in the army and was confident that he would succeed. Meanwhile, another would-be soldier at Nsingizini, Hluti, related how during the recruitment exercise he saw an aspiring soldier emerge from the bush to join the marathon race. "I think someone was assisting him because he was carrying the paper which we were given when we started off during the race. However, I sped past him because he was weak and had seemingly not made preparations for the mandatory fitness test. Had he reached the line before me, I would have protested," said the aspiring soldier who also declined to be named because he was still hopeful for a job. In February 2017, during the recruitment drive it was reported that several men who tried to cheat during exercises were tortured by army personnel. The Army was recruiting 495 additional soldiers from across the kingdom, sub-Saharan Africa's last absolute monarch. According to a report in the Swazi Observer on Monday<sup>532</sup>, eight 'top recruiting officials' faced dismissal from the force. It alleged that they had been summoned to the headquarters to answer allegations of bribery. One allegation was that they recruited their own relatives. The newspaper reported, some were said to have admitted bending the rules while some completely denied.

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<sup>531</sup> H.S. Simelane. The Swazi monarchy and the poor performance of the Swazi anti-corruption agency, 2006–2009 *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47(4), p. 430. See also Transparency International. *National Integrity Systems Country Study: Swaziland*. Geneva: Transparency International, (2006/7), p, 12.

<sup>532</sup>Times of Swaziland ,(2013)

The Army has refused to comment about the recruitment irregularities. Through the assessment done by the organisation, some of the questions that were to be answered were: “Is the country’s national defence policy debated and publicly available? “Do defence and security institutions have a policy, or evidence, of openness towards civil society organisations (CSOs) when dealing with issues of corruption? If no, is there precedent for CSO involvement in general government anti-corruption initiatives? Aspirant soldier was refunded bribe after he has been turned back from the Mbuluzi Army Barracks three days of joining the army in the training session. This was because his name did not appear on the list of recruits. It transpired that he was the overall winner at his constituency at Mahlangatsha under Manzini region after the USDF had conducted training exercises. The aspiring candidate had to grease the hands of the senior female official before the recruitment exercise with the sum of 7000.<sup>533</sup> The person alleged that though under serious contention by the army, that he passed the medical tests and that the road to Mbuluzi Army Barracks was clear. However, army officials refuted this statement, they said he failed the medical tests and his name was not among official recruits. Army officials further alleged that he cheated his way to the transportation trucks as his name has never been called with those who left for Mbuluzi. Three days later he was informed to go back home as his name did not appear in the army recruits list. He later appealed to the principal Secretary of Defence and the Army Commander he was not helped. The army spokesperson Madoda Mkhathswa confirmed the incidence of an aspiring recruit to have greased the palms of another soldier.<sup>534</sup> One officer expressed to have witnessed the paying back of part of the money to the aspiring recruit by the implicated official.<sup>535</sup> The army spokesperson stated that the story was not true as one of the officers involved in the recruitment exercise stated that the candidate did not pass the medical test and he was above the age required of recruitment.

Some officers in the army felt they were quiet for long time, with the hope that things would change for the better instead they had gone from bad to worse in the organisation. For instance;

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<sup>533</sup> Times of Swaziland. Timothy Simelane. “Aspirant Soldier Refunded Bribe”,16 December, (2013)

<sup>534</sup> Times of Swaziland. T. Simelane, 16 December ,(2013)

<sup>535</sup> Times of Swaziland. T. Simelane, 16 December ,(2013)

during the pass-out of the Suka Sambe Regiment, only two officers deserved promotion on that day. Army Commander General Sobantu Dlamini has disgraced the Commander-in-Chief of the army.<sup>536</sup> He should not have rapidly done this if he respected the King, taxpayers and the rest of the soldiers. And to show your appreciation to taxpayers, you must have the following; highly-trained and disciplined commanders; physically and mentally fit soldiers. Those promoted were baby generals. What should one achieve before being promoted to a rank of a general? At what age should one be promoted to being a general? These were questions posed by some members of the USDF.

One of the baby generals undertook three courses in their military life but they had been promoted to major general. The courses they undertook were only meant for a platoon commander. Lt. General, that had been promoted; they had one military course and today they are Lt. General. People that had been trained, both locally and abroad, were being frustrated by the army commander's leadership style. Some officers wished for a defence council that would help clean the mess caused by the army commander.

Belloh-Imam<sup>537</sup> outlined negative consequences of corruption which include the following: Retardation of Economic Growth through corruption lowers investment and retards economic growth. Misallocation of Talent where rent seeking proves more lucrative than productive work, talent would be misallocated. People would be lured to rent seeking rather than productive work. Limitation of Aid Flows where corruption is widespread, donor agencies were unwilling to put in their money. Loss of Tax Revenue is lost through tax evasion or claiming improper tax exemptions. Adverse Budgetary Consequences when corruption is extensive budgeted amount would not deliver the required services. Also to be noted are Negative Impact on Quality of Infrastructure and Public Services. When public contracts were procured through a corrupt system, it resulted

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<sup>536</sup> Times of Swaziland. T. Simelane, 16 December, (2013)

<sup>537</sup> I.B Belloh-Imam. Corruption and National Development in Bello-Imam and M.I. Obadan. (eds), Democratic Governance and Development Management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic 1999-2003. Ibadan, Centre for Local Government and Rural Development Studies, (2004)

in lower quality of infrastructure and public services. Negative Composition of Government Expenditure corruption often tempt government officials to choose government projects on the basis of public welfare than on the opportunity they provide for extorting bribes. Under such a situation, large projects, whose exact value and benefit were difficult to monitor. Usually they presented lucrative opportunities for corruption while returns on teachers' salaries and textbooks could be zero for the same set of officials. Any corrupt action can result in reducing public concern and the loss of public confidence. Tooley and Mahoi<sup>538</sup> notes that the general public may witness corrupt activities occurring and this reduces the confidence people have in the impartiality, integrity and honesty of public officials. Corrupt public officials thus violate the trust and confidence that the general public has in them to deliver public services. Where there is corruption, public officials often demonstrate inadequate performance and are incompetent, which also destroys public trust.

Magagula and Masilela<sup>539</sup> illustrate the state of affairs; the undemocratic rule that exist in the country produced many problems which ranged from economic issues, to social and political issues. There has been mismanagement of finances, corruption, lack of accountability, poor allocation of resources, inefficiency, lack of service delivery to the public, embezzlement of funds, lack of humanity on the part of leaders, weak administrative institutions, no basic human rights, restriction of reporting by the media, failure to attract foreign investors. The above outline the multiple problems faced by Swaziland, resulting from the lack of democracy. The opposition has tried to raise these issues, but it is always treated with disdain by the political elites in that country. The economy will continue to suffer unless something drastic is done to redirect the country's political trajectory.

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<sup>538</sup> R. Tooley and K. Mahoi. The impact of corruption on service delivery in South Africa. *Journal of Public Administration*, 42(3), (2007), p.369. See also J. C. Chamunorwa. An Exploration of Whistle Blowing in Fighting Corruption in the Public Sector in South Africa: a case of Stellenbosch Municipality. M.A Unpublished Thesis. Stellenbosch University, (2005)

<sup>539</sup> P. Magagula and Z. Masilela. Swaziland: Opposition Politics within a Feudal System. In H. Solomon. (ed.). *Against All Odds: Opposition Political Parties in Southern Africa*. KMM review Publishing Company. Sandton. (2011), p 196 See also H.S. Simelane. "Conformers and Pretenders: The Case of Middle Class Political Opposition in Swaziland, 1962-2000", *Lwati: A Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol. 3 (2003), pp. 235-251.

It has been very hard to uproot corruption in the Swazi Army and it has been caused by the fact that the country has failed to be democratic. Governance is about the rules of collective decision-making in settings where there are a plurality of actors or organisations and where no formal control system dictate the terms of the relationship between these actors and organisations.<sup>540</sup> Decision-making involve a number of individuals and it does not fall on one person. Elements of good governance, would be able to deal with corruption and having measures in place to do that effectively. The whole idea of democracy is to ensure that power is not centralised in one person. The monarchy incurs both direct and indirect costs, political and economic. Mills<sup>541</sup> stated that absolute powers were not good for accountability, probity and honesty, and lie at the heart of elite attitudes and actions. In a democratic country where the rule of law is a guiding principle, citizens are able to ensure anti-corruption by holding those in public office to accountability.<sup>542</sup> Lack of accountability is prevalent within the Swaziland system of government, as it is centralized, hierarchical and traditional in its underpinning.

According to the Transparency International document<sup>543</sup> it observe that the system of government in Swaziland was in dire channel, due to the inevitable conflict between western and traditional systems of government which permeates all aspects of life. For instance, nepotism, and its associated ills, is not necessarily considered troublesome, considering the fact that, with a relatively small population, there is virtually a network of affiliated and affinity relations that compel loyalty to family that any bureaucratic system of governance can accommodate. The report outline lack of judicial independence, the weak or lack of parliamentary oversight, the absolute

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<sup>540</sup> V. Chhotray and G. Stoker Governance Theory & Practice: a cross-disciplinary approach. New York: Macmillan-Palgrave. (2011),p.3

<sup>541</sup>G. Mills. Why Africa is Poor: and what Africans can do about it. Pietermaritzburg. Penguin Books, (2011),p. 300

<sup>542</sup> Mutisi in K. Matlosa. J. Elklit. & B. Chiroro. Challenges of Conflict, Democracy and Development in Africa. EISA publishers: Johannesburg, (2007), p.52).

<sup>543</sup> Country Study Report: Swaziland.(2006/2007),p.7

nature of the powers of the King, among other things, which make it hard to curb corruption in the country.

All these had greatly undermined Swaziland's democratic development. There has been much discussion about corruption at the People's Parliament held in August 2012, and it was encouraging, pointing to the fact that the people of Swaziland were fed up with the persistent corruption that they were experiencing in the country. Civil society helps to keep governments accountable for their actions, monitors developments in corruption and contributes to the drafting of whistle blowing legislation. A list of civil society organisations that support the Swaziland government in curbing corruption is stated below:

Transparency International is a global non-governmental organisation actively involved in the fight against corruption. It monitors and publicizes literature on corruption. This includes the annual CPI, the Global Corruption Report and Bribe Payers Index. These tools have been used widely in determining the extent of corruption in various countries by also making comparisons between the different countries.<sup>544</sup>

Institute for Security Studies (ISS) is an African organisation, based in Pretoria, South Africa, which aims to develop human security on the continent. It deals with various issues such as governance, crime and justice. It also aims to reduce corruption by assisting African governments to develop evidence-based guidelines, regulation and policies and to improve the performance of their criminal justice systems<sup>545</sup>

Office of the Public Protector (Ombudsman) is mandated to investigate any alleged corrupt activities found within the public sector or any sphere of government and propose remedial actions

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<sup>544</sup> Transparency International. 7 Steps to fighting corruption. [Online]. Available: [http://www.transparency.org/who we are](http://www.transparency.org/who-we-are), (2013b),pp.1-2, (Accessed 12 August ,2019)

<sup>545</sup>Institute for Security Studies (ISS). *Institute for Security Studies Annual Review: Working for a Sustainable and Peaceful Africa*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/ANUAL%20REPORT>. ISS, (2006),pp.14-15 PDF (Accessed 13 August, 2019)

on how to address the issue. It aims to promote accountability and improve fairness and efficiency within the public sector.<sup>546</sup>

The media plays a central role in the combat against corruption. As the public eyes, the media keeps members of the public informed about the issues that concern them and notifies the public about public officials involved in corruption. It can be contended that the key role of the media is to ensure that public officials maintain ethical behaviour and to question their activities.

## **Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter is to conceptualize corruption within the USDF. Having understanding of corruption is important in formulating ways to fight it. There are several definitions for corruption, they are essentially about public officials abusing their power for private gain. Corruption manifests in diverse forms. When corruption becomes entrenched in an organisation, it becomes difficult to control. Another important aspect of corruption is its measurement. This chapter has highlighted that it is important to measure corruption in order to establish where corruption is prevalent; focus can thus be turned to these areas. It is evident that there are negative consequences associated with corruption. There is an emerging vocal consensus that combating corruption is one of Swaziland's most critical governance and developmental challenges. It must be noted, however, that corruption cannot be eradicated quickly and permanently. But, left unchecked, it will increase and make the poorest and least-educated poorer. Where personal risk and punishment are minimal, as of now the case in the Kingdom, acts of corruption are likely to naturally increase. The military like most other government organs is composed of pots of vicious people who rely on bribery, corruption and intimidation to get their interests met at the expense of security. These top echelons carry out nefarious deeds by granting dubious deals like uniform deal where they reap millions of emalangeni. This has brought mistrust within the military and even from the local citizens who came to know of such occurrences. It also affected their operations in the field since

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<sup>546</sup>Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA). *Towards a Fifteen Year Review: Assessing the Effectiveness of the National Anti-corruption Framework*. [Online]. Available: [http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs/reports/15year\\_review/governance/anticorruption.pdf](http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs/reports/15year_review/governance/anticorruption.pdf) DPSA, (2008), p.19. (Accessed 13 August, 2019)

the effects from this trickles down. Their image as a professional and respected army has been distorted both nationally and internationally. According to official statements and comments by some Swazi citizens, corruption is one of the factors that has contributed to increasing poverty in Swaziland.

After the establishment of the anticorruption programme it was hoped that corruption would be reduced and thereafter resources would effectively be redirected toward serving the economic needs of the majority of the citizens. This study has shown that the official opinion and that of some citizens through media that corruption is widespread implications in Swaziland. Also, the official view on corruption has had a negative impact on the economic development of the country. Corruption can, be viewed as a moral and fundamentally a development issue. Failure of the anti-corruption programme in the country is mostly because the constitution places the king above the law. The anti-corruption agency can deal with corruption at lower levels of society but powerless of dealing with influential people of society. It makes it to predict a successful anti-corruption programme in Swaziland if the monarchy continues to be above the law as some members of society will cite his name in order to gain certain positions. Corruption and lack of accountability from the discussion point to bad governance practices. There is no accountability as the institutions, like parliament and anticorruption agencies, are weak. Swaziland cannot be regarded as a democratic country. The country is not free as it is governed through an authoritarian system that has been able to manipulate the populace. The next chapter deals with Civil Military in the country.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE PERSPECTIVES OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on independent institutions necessary for civil control of the military. The chapter looks at conventional requirements necessary for independent oversight of the armed forces such as judicial arrangements, an effective constitution, and the rule of law, legislative oversight, consolidated democracy, accountability and transparency. These oversight mechanisms provide a solid manifestation of the dominance of the rule of law in a democracy. These mechanisms are essential for effective independent control of the armed forces. Civil-military relations and democratic control of the military evolve only in constitutional and legal framework.<sup>547</sup> Civil-military relations theory suggests that a functional and effective military requires a unique culture, separate from its parent society. There is a gap between the military and society which is inevitable as the military's function, the lawful application of military force in accordance with government direction, is fundamentally different from civilian business. The work shall show some of the guidelines that can be used in coming up with a better civil military relationship with the military.

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<sup>547</sup> P. Pantev, V. Ratchev, T. Tagarev, V. Zaprianova. (2005). Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Control of the Security Sector. A Handbook for Military Officers, Servicemen and Servicewomen of the Security and Intelligence Agencies, and for Civilian Politicians and Security Experts. ProCon Ltd. Sofia, Bulgaria, (2005), p.127. [www.procon.bg](http://www.procon.bg). (Retrieved 28 March, 2018).

## 7.1 Definition of Civil Military Relations

Civil-Military relations refer to the web of relations between the military and the society within which it operates, and of which it is necessarily a part. Such relations encompass all aspects of the role of the military; as a professional, political, social and economic institution in the entire strategy of national life. Civil military relations involve issues of the attitude of the military towards the civilian society, the civilian society's perceptions of, and attitudes to the military, and the role of the armed forces in relation to the state.<sup>548</sup> The relationship between civilians (people without arms), the society at large, and the military (people with arms) established as a separate armed body in order to protect a society. This definition is an eye opener in understanding the function of the army since establishment.

Generally, civil-military relations in democracies are understood as civilian control of the armed forces. However, how this control is exercised continues to be the topic of debate in civil military literature. In his seminal work *The Soldier and the State; the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* that continues to influence the study of civil-military relations today, the renowned political scientist, Samuel Huntington, provides two primary patterns of civilian control: subjective and objective.<sup>549</sup> Under subjective control, political elites protect themselves by moulding the military into an image of itself. Subjective control also ensures that the armed forces share the common values and objectives of the elites by politicizing the armed forces. Conversely, under objective control, which Huntington suggests is the most ideal form of civilian control, the military is subordinated to civilian leaders through the professionalization of the armed forces. Objective control envisions a separate sphere from which both civilians and the military operate. Thus, the military in this context is self-directed through strong norms of professionalism that include the subordination to the constituted state authority. Civil-military relations is described as total

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<sup>548</sup> T Adedeji Ebo. TOWARDS A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR ARMED AND SECURITY FORCES IN AFRICA: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES. GENEVA CENTRE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES DCAF. Policy Paper. Geneva, March, (2005)

<sup>549</sup> S. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, (1957)

national defence and security or bureaucratisation of the military vs militarisation of the bureaucracy, the process itself was only possible under a one-party system.

However, African militaries have often failed to demonstrate military professionalism because of the political and social situations that prevail in their environments. Samuel Huntington has suggested the following prerequisites of military professionalism: an existing nation state, a democratic governance system, and an acceptance of civilian authority over the military.<sup>550</sup> African armies have not exhibited the kind of professionalism that Huntington advocates. Authoritarian African regimes have instead employed Howe's five tactics of political survival at the expense of military professionalism.<sup>551</sup> However, African militaries must be developed to the required professional standards so they do not threaten the national development of a state. Likewise, Africa's civilian leaders must understand the military's role and allow military leaders to perform appropriate military tasks. When civilians and military leaders of a new state fail to establish a positive working relationship, tensions inevitably arise regarding political responsibilities and military capabilities.

Nonetheless, some African countries may have performed exceptionally in developing good governance and building excellent civil-military relations; examples include South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, and Nigeria. Even so, these countries have not fully established civilian control of their militaries. Huntington asserts that objective civilian control requires the following: maximizing military professionalism, minimizing military power or subordination of the military to civilian authority, recognition of professional competence, and autonomy for military authorities while minimizing military intervention in politics and political intervention in military affairs.<sup>552</sup>

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<sup>550</sup> Samuel Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, (1957), pp. 32-34.

<sup>551</sup> Howe. "The personal rulers employed five tactics that aided their short-term political survival at the expenses of the long-term institutionalization. They continued the colonial habit of employing sub national, and especially ethnic criteria to recruit soldiers".

<sup>552</sup> Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, (1957), pp. 82-85.

Huntington specifies these conditions as requisites for positive civil military relations. Observance of these conditions, therefore, puts a country on the right track toward establishing objective civilian control.

## **7.2 ARGUMENTS AND INDICATIONS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN THE USDF**

### **7.2.1 Creating a Role Model**

In the 50 years of independence Swaziland have relatively been successful in keeping military at bay from politics and the remedy have worked where military are kept out of political decision making processes, where they are only given a small scope of policy formulation and the acquisition of military hardware. The military has always been in check and remain apolitical when there are challenges to the status quo. A proposed definition by scholars is civilian control, “that distribution of decision-making power which civilians have exclusive authority to decide on national politics and their implementation. “In this regard, the Swaziland civilian authority and control have the power and will to freely choose and delegate decision-making power. At the same time the implementation of certain policies to the military while the military has no decision making power outside those areas specifically defined by the civilians.<sup>553</sup>

In addition, the Swazi civilians themselves are the determinant on which policies, aspect of policies that the USDF implements and the Swazi civilian government themselves define the boundaries between policy making and policy-implementation. With these parameters and insights, the Swazi civilian authority have indeed conceptualize Croissant’s civilian control as a set of norms, rules and institutions that structure the balance of decision-making power, that is based on the balance between civilian institutions as the sole power to control and the military to adhere to in different areas as follows:

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<sup>553</sup> Aurel. Croissant, David Kuehn and Philip Lorenz. *Breaking With the Past? Civil-Military Relations in the Emerging Democracies of East Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (2012).

*Recruitment:* This defines the rules, criteria, and the processes of recruiting, selecting, and legitimizing political office holders. It reflects the degree to which political processes are open to competition, and the degree of participation, that is, the inclusiveness of political competition.<sup>554</sup> The Swazi Government through Armed Forces Council (MAT) has the authority to appoint and promote the suitable candidates to join its organization but with the careful monitoring of the Public Service Department. This creates an environment where the recruitment has to obtain the civilian authorities clearance for increase recruitment and will be under close scrutiny if there is mismanagement in terms of elite recruitment.

*Public Policy:* This comprises the rules and processes of policymaking (agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy adoption) and policy implementation. The Ministry of Defense under the wing of Policy Division is headed by a civilian Under-Secretary. He is assisted by senior military officers and civilians who advises and formulates the defense and public policy that reports to the Deputy Secretary General who is also headed by a civilian. The concept of civilians whether they are in the government or private sector goes hand in hand in ensuring that the nation is safe from internal and external threat. This policy have created an environment where the USDF is seen as a people's confidant in times of crises. Swazi civil society lacks such initiative. It has not been engaged in the development of the defense policy and there is no civil society organization focusing on military issues. In addition, there has been little public debate about civil military issues.

*Internal Security:* Huntington's argument on Professional soldiers, are neutral and loyal because they see themselves as professionals. The professional soldier is "permeated with the ideal of service to the nation an awareness that his skill can only be utilized for purposes approved by society by its political agent, the state."<sup>555</sup> Military professionalism leads to political neutrality, which then allows internal civilian control. A professional military does not want to be involved

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<sup>554</sup> Robert .A. Dahl. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. Yale: Yale University Press, (1971)

<sup>555</sup> S. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, (1957b), pp. 15 & 35.

in politics, and prefers to stay neutral in political matters.<sup>556</sup> Internal security entails all decisions and measures regarding possible deployments of the military to keep peace, order, and security within the national boundaries (for instance in riot control, domestic law enforcement, border control, counterterrorism, and to put down insurrections) as well as the military's provision of logistical support and restoration of civil infrastructure during its involvement in development operations.<sup>557</sup> When internal security is the main issue, in Swaziland the police are given the task of leading the operations with the USDF as in assisting role to provide border control and logistical support. However when the security has blown up that requires the further management of the USDF as war managers, the primary role would later be given to the USDF to eradicate remaining threats. The political masters call the shots for any strategies and tactics needed to be done with the advice of the USDF generals. The state has to be accountable to civil society and, thus, it has to control the actions of the military.

*National Defense:* The safeguarding of the nation's territory against external military threats that is the traditional primary role of any armed forces. As entombed in Swaziland's Constitution Chapter 2 sub section 3 (a), the government has the jurisdiction to oversee the responsibility of national defense. The King is the Commander-in-Chief with the advice of the USDF Generals as actors of war.

*Military Organization or the Armed Forces Council (MAT):* This comprises policies that define the mission, roles, and structure of the military decisions about acquisitions, logistics, training, and equipment, as well as personnel management and military promotions. The MAT has the prerogative to control the personnel management and military promotions, but not with the consent of the members of the MAT that comprises not only the Chief of Defense but the chairman is the

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<sup>556</sup> S. Huntington. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, (1957b), pp. 83

<sup>557</sup> USDF Standing Order (1973). See also Rasmussen 1999; Collier 1999; Harold. A. Trinkunas. *Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela: A Comparative Perspective*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, (2005). Wilkinson 2006

Minister of Defense with the Council's Secretary being the Secretary General of the Ministry. The MAT largely comprises more civilians than military personnel.

### **7.2.2 Civilianization.**

Another indicator of positive civil-military relations concerns the level of civilianization in the Armed Forces. Specifically, this revolves around whether civilians have control over the missions of the armed forces, and also whether the army is representative of the society it serves. If this is indeed the case, then a military has interests aligned with its civilian population. One indicator of civilianization is whether a country has a conscript or all-volunteer army. Janowitz introduced a theory of convergence, arguing that the military, despite the extremely slow pace of change, was in fact changing without external pressure. Convergence theory proposed either a civilianization of the military or a militarization of society. He encouraged the use of conscription, which would bring a wide variety of individuals into the military.<sup>558</sup> Swaziland abolished the volunteer army and focused on the conscript army. The implication of a conscript army is that it is highly representative of society, barring any racist/separatist laws that limit certain segments of society from involvement in the military. Thus majority of the USDF members constitute members of society from all levels of life. The Constitution of Swaziland, Chapter outlines structures, responsibilities and relationships necessary for civil-military relations that the King shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Force.

*Budgeting:* Welch <sup>559</sup>argues that budgetary supervision is the most powerful means of maintaining civil control over military establishments. In Swaziland both military appointments and the budget are decided by the king himself through his councils. No public defense policy exists and security remains “off the table” for members of Parliament to discuss. In terms of budget oversight, a military budget is released as part of an overall budget available to the public (including members of parliament). There is definitely no space to question or disagree with budgeting choices made

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<sup>558</sup> S. Huntington. Reforming Civil-Military Relations. *Journal of Democracy*, 6.4.(1995),pp. 9-17

<sup>559</sup> C.E. Welch. Civilian Control of Military: Myth and Reality. In C E Welch (ed). *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*. Albany: State University of New York Press. (1976),p.8

by the military establishment, or the king; thus, civilian dominance in this area is wholly inadequate. Budgeting: Allocation of funding for the security sector must often compete with other areas of public spending, in particular, the social and developmental sectors. The parliament has the power to approve, disapprove or amend the defence budget, as with the budget of any other sector. Parliament must have comprehensive information on all budget items (not just grand totals) regarding defence expenditure. They can also request that external auditors report to the parliament on the financial state of affairs of each security force. It is not only the legality of budget spending that could be scrutinised, the parliament has the right to research whether money is spent in an effective and efficient way. The Minister of Defence has to report to parliament on any budgetary changes, and the latter then retains the right to approve or disapprove any supplementary budget proposals. In the case of Swaziland this is different as the budget is delivered by the minister of finance and members of parliament accept the budget without criticizing or amending it. Budget speeches delivered by the Minister of Finance to Parliament are silent on defence despite the high proportion of the budget that goes to the defence sector. The sector received E890 million (6% of the national budget) in 2014/15 but no analysis on defence appeared in the budget speech presented to Parliament.<sup>560</sup>

The published defence budget contains information on the recurrent and capital budget for the Ministry of Defence, where the recurrent expenditure is broken down by Central Transport Administration personnel and external transfer. More detailed information, including expenditure on military equipment, is not published.<sup>561</sup> Internally, there is an arms and ammunition for defence budget line that is used by the Ministry of Finance. The published capital budget contains information on the Ministry of Defence's capital projects. There is no budget disaggregation between the army and the air force.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> Government of Swaziland, Budget Speech 2015 presented by Martin G. Dlamini, the Minister of Finance, to Parliament, February 27, 2015, <http://www.gov.sz/images/Health/budget%20speech%202015.pdf>

<sup>561</sup> Government of Swaziland, Estimates for the Year from 1st April 2014 to 31st March 2017 (undated), <http://www.gov.sz/images/estimates.pdf>

<sup>562</sup> Interview Former Brigadier F. Dube ,Ludzidzini, 18 July, (2017 )

Though there is no law that permits public access to government documents, the approved defence budget is publicly available, as contained in the Government Estimates for the 2014/15 fiscal year. The proposed budget for 2015/16 is also in the public domain. Media articles indicate that a more comprehensive breakdown of military spending beyond what is contained in the Government Estimates is not provided by the Government on grounds of national security considerations, and there is no evidence that citizens, civil society and the media have been able to obtain information on the defence budget beyond what is in the Government Estimates. The public does not have access to the Ministry of Defence's in-year budget reports.<sup>563</sup> No information on defence income other than from central government allocation (from equipment sales or property disposal, for example) published and scrutinised) this is contained in the Government Estimates. There is information on the revenue accrued from the sale of goods and land, but this information is not provided for individual ministries.<sup>564</sup>

The parliament also scrutinises the planning and programming of the Department of Defence (DOD). The defence strategic plan and its corresponding programmes designed to accomplish its defence objectives, is overseen by parliament. In short, parliament authorises policy, has legislative powers, approves the budget and endorses, alters or cancels the King's decision to deploy the armed forces.

*Parliamentary oversight* is important since it is Parliament that set up the military through an Act of Parliament, and also approves its budgetary allocations. How much power should Parliament have over the military and how should this relate to the Executive power? Why is parliamentary oversight, particularly in a democracy, critically important? A key feature of a democratically elected government is its system of 'checks and balances' that assists to avert autocratic rule,

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<sup>563</sup> Government of Swaziland, Estimates for the Year from 1st April 2013 to 31st March 2017 (undated), [http://www.gov.sz/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=702&Itemid=574](http://www.gov.sz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=702&Itemid=574).

<sup>564</sup> Government of Swaziland, Estimates for the Year from 1st April 2014 to 31st March 2017 (undated).

amongst other things. It is important to counterbalance the propensity of the executive to monopolise and autocratically decide the national security and defence policies, and corresponding roles and functions of the armed forces. The corresponding roles and functions of the armed forces, can be checked with adequate parliamentary oversight. The main function of the legislative (or parliament) is the oversight of the executive and its security services. The legislative oversight includes issues such as (dis-)approving the budget, adopting new laws, overviewing the defence procurement processes and adopting or discussing the security policy of all security services. The executive is responsible for the effective, efficient and transparent management of the security services.

Parliament should be the primary actor in the exercise of oversight on a country's armed forces. According to Heiner Hänggi<sup>565</sup> of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces asserts that, "while legislatures may range from ornamental to significant governing partners, they have some common characteristics, which include the basic functions they perform. This include representing the public, making or shaping laws, and exercising oversight. It is an undisputed tenet of democracy that the parliament, being the representative body of the polity, must exert oversight over every element of public policy, including the military or the security sector in general". Parliament, as the elected representative body of the public, needs to ensure that the defence forces operate within democratic and constitutional parameters and that it does not abuse its powers".<sup>566</sup>

Parliamentary oversight of the defence sector entail the main principle of parliamentary oversight of the defence sector which is to hold the executive and the Ministry of Defence accountable and to oversee that a balance exists between the needs of society and the needs of the security sector in pursuing governmental objectives. In a liberal democracy, the following main principles should be applied to parliamentary oversight of the security sector and they include the following: Parliament is autonomous and has the last say in security and defence policy and, in that way it

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<sup>565</sup> H Hänggi. *Best Practices of Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector*. Geneva, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, (2001), p1

<sup>566</sup> J Ngculu. The Role of the Parliamentary Defence Committee in Ensuring Effective Oversight: The South African experience, in R Williams et al (eds) *Ourselves to Know*, Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, (2003), p 178.

holds the government accountable for the development, implementation and review of the security and defence policy. It also has a unique constitutional role in the authorisation and scrutiny of defence and security expenditures as well as declaring a state of emergency and the state of war. The state is the only organisation in society that has the legitimate monopoly of force. Since the state has delegated this monopoly to the military, the military is accountable to the democratic, legitimate authority; principles of good governance and the rule of law are valid for all branches of government, including the security sector. The political and military leaders are committed to a healthy division of labour, that is political leaders interfere as little as possible in military decision-making and vice versa. The military is an instrument of national security and foreign policy; and the legitimate democratic authorities are the only actors entitled to decide whether the society needs more ‘guns or butter’<sup>567</sup>.

The power vested in it allows parliament to implement a range of critical functions concerning the defence sector. The most noticeable of these are the Legislative powers that parliament makes, shapes and passes laws that govern the defence sector. The constitutional framework of a democracy constitutes the authority of the parliament’s involvement in defence legislation. Although parliamentarians may not be the main drafters of legislation, they nevertheless constitute the principal institution for its debate and subsequent approval (or rejection). Parliament exercises significant power in overseeing the defence sector by stipulating what concept of security must be adopted.

One of Parliament’s primary functions is to oversee the raising of money for government and the subsequent use of that money. In defence, Parliament has been unable to satisfactorily fulfil the function because government has denied MPs access to information. The idea that there is no oversight committee within our elective political body of Parliament which reviews the USDF staff level, its equipment, pay packages, efficiency and cost effectiveness is a cause for major concern that most people have never really thought about. The writer observed that this meant that

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<sup>567</sup> H Born et al. Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector, Geneva, Inter-Parliamentary Union/Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), (2003), [www.dcaf.ch/oversight](http://www.dcaf.ch/oversight).

the USDF was a self-regulating institution without any measure of oversight being exercised over it.

There is a Parliamentary Portfolio Committee for the Ministry of Defence that reviews the budget and planned activities of the Ministry of Defence. It is normally the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation that presents this budget to Parliament (there is no sitting Minister for Defence). Scrutiny of the budget is weak and it is generally passed as presented, despite re-occurring concerns over its size. In short there is no legislative committee responsible for defence budget scrutiny and analysis in an effective way, and there is no body provided with detailed, extensive, and timely information on the defence budget of the USDF before being presented. Budget speeches delivered by the Minister of Finance to Parliament are silent on defence despite the high proportion of the budget that goes to the defence sector. The sector received E890 million (6% of the national budget) but no analysis on defence appeared in the budget speech presented to Parliament.

*Defence policy:* The work of parliament is to supervise, guide and approves defence policy. Generally, in democracies, parliament's role is to ensure that the people's aspirations are embodied in state policies and, accordingly, oversee that the said policies are implemented. This holds equally, if not more so, for defence policy. In this regard, "it is important to be explicit about what is meant by 'parliamentary oversight'. Does it mean control, consultation or accountability? In most cases in the West, actual control by parliament only occurs in limited areas. In practice, 'parliamentary oversight' does not mean that every aspect of military policy is directed by parliament but, more crucially, that policy is transparent and that policy-makers can be held to account if necessary".<sup>568</sup> The formulation and writing of defence policy is thoroughly scrutinised and supervised by parliament. Indeed, policy is to be contrasted with actual operations.

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<sup>568</sup> T Modise, Parliamentary Oversight of the South African Department of Defence: 1994 to 2003, in L. Le Roux et al (ed.), *Guarding the Guardians: Parliamentary Oversight and Civil-Military Relations: The Challenges for SADC*, Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, (2004), p 5.

“Convention holds that MPs should not interfere in operational matters. There is obviously an acceptable line between policy and operational practice. When elected civilians do not extend or exercise their oversight and control far enough, human rights and other abuses may occur”.<sup>569</sup> Therefore, parliament enjoys the prerogative to assess the implementation of defence policy. In other words, it determines whether the ‘roles and functions ‘of the armed forces are in accordance with the defence and national security policy. In the case of Swaziland such a policy is not in practice since the USDF formulates its policies without the involvement of the MP’s.<sup>570</sup> There is nonetheless a Parliamentary Portfolio Committee for the Ministry of Defence that reviews the budgets and performance reports of the Ministry. While there is no website for the Defence Committee (Swaziland is a small developing country with a little over 1 million people), the activities are commented upon by the country's media. Interviewees have raised concerns over the effectiveness of this Committee however. For example, while legislators may raise concerns over the defence budget and its size, the budget is approved without amendment.

Public debate is held back by lack of information on the defence sector - on the government's website, for instance, there is no page specifically for the Ministry of Defence. Participation by the government is generally defensive, with limited information provided. When the local media reported the government's attempt to purchase arms from a British weapons manufacturer in 2011, the government had to deny they were for use against the public. The government's press secretary has also remarked in the past that they do not comment on issues of the army and they are not normally discussed for security reasons according to the Times of Swaziland.<sup>571</sup> The local media have voiced public concerns over corruption in the army. In 2011, a letter from the public published in the Times of Swaziland, the only daily newspaper not state-owned, came with the title

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<sup>569</sup> T Modise, Parliamentary Oversight of the South African Department of Defence: 1994 to 2003, in L Le Roux et al (ed.), *Guarding the Guardians: Parliamentary Oversight and Civil-Military Relations: The Challenges for SADC*, Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, (2004), pp. 5-6

<sup>570</sup> Interview Former Brigadier F. Dube ,Ludzidzini 26 June ,(2016)

<sup>571</sup> Times of Swaziland, April 13, 2013, accessed July 12, 2018, <http://www.times.co.sz/letters/96531-do-we-need-the-army.html>

“Corruption goes unchecked in the army”.<sup>572</sup> There is no known Code of Conduct for military and civilian personnel that is available to the public. It is possible the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force Order, 1977, which is not in the public domain, provides some guidance though its usefulness for anti-corruption and vital issues are likely to be very limited given it was written nearly forty years ago. The Constitution contains a Code of Conduct that extends to the Army Commander and Deputy Army Commander only. According to this Code of Conduct, these officers should not engage in conduct that is likely to lead to corruption in public affairs or likely to compromise the honesty, impartiality and integrity of officer.<sup>573</sup>

Scholars have argued that civilian control is not the only issue in civil-military relations.<sup>574</sup> It also include the degree to which the military is able to achieve the goals assigned to it by political leaders (effectiveness) and the cost of lives and resources necessary to do so (efficiency) .<sup>575</sup> The effective civilian control implies both effectiveness and efficiency in civil-military relations.<sup>576</sup> In a good governance in the security sector, it simply ensures that civilians are responsible for political decision-making.<sup>577</sup> The idea of civilian control is the assignment role of the military as defending the society and not defining it.<sup>578</sup> It is though that it does not gives us the assumption

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<sup>572</sup> Times of Swaziland, November 26, 2011, accessed July 13, 2018, <http://www.times.co.sz/index.php?news=71075&vote=5&aid=71075&Vote=Vote>

<sup>573</sup> The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act no.1, 2005, (2005)

<sup>574</sup> Peter. D. Feaver. “The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control,” *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 23, no. 2, (1996), pp. 149–178.

<sup>575</sup>Thomas C. Bruneau and Richard B. Goetze JR. “Ministries of Defense and Democratic Control.” *In Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*, edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Scott D. Tollefson, 169-229. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press. (2006).

<sup>576</sup> Thomas C. Bruneau and Richard B. Goetze JR. “Ministries of Defense and Democratic Control.” *In Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations*. Edited by Thomas C. Bruneau and Scott D. Tollefson, 169-229. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press. (2006).

<sup>577</sup> Harold. A. Trinkunas. *Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela: A Comparative Perspective*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. (2005) .See also Thomas C. Bruneau and Harold A. Trinkunas. *Global Politics of Defense Reform*. 1<sup>st</sup> (ed), Initiatives in Strategic Studies Issues and Policies. New York: Palgrave Macmillan,(2008)

<sup>578</sup> Richard H. Kohn. “How Democracies Control the Military.” *Journal of Democracy* 8 (4), (1997),pp.140-153

that it is an apolitical military. Swaziland's Armed Forces in its relatively young track record has been deemed as professional, and these traits has been the reason for certain parts of the Swazi society to think that with the USDF to act as the fourth branch would make Swaziland free from corruption, more developed and prosper. Again this sparks a big debate. The legislature and MOD, the media has failed to develop expertise in military affairs and this has translated into a less well-informed public on military issues. The political culture in Swaziland has significantly separated the military from the general public and this has affected the roles that civil society can play in the military oversight.

In civil military relations there are guidelines that can be used in coming up with a better civil military relationship .They include Transforming the military to Professionalism. The first step to be taken to achieve civilian supremacy is transforming the military professionalism. This requires transforming the qualifications needed for membership in the armed forces (that is requiring training for membership).The USDF military education began to be held in Kenya tasked solely for the training of officers.

Modifying the system for promotion (especially the selection of high level military leadership should be based on professional merits), controlling the organization of the military training) and changing the quality of life of the military corps is the first step towards achieving political neutrality. Personnel promoted through an objective and merit would include promotion boards outside that of the command chain, with a strong formal appraisal processes, and independent oversight. In the case of the USDF it is characterised by a lack of transparency and no independent oversight. The local media has reported on a number of occasions bribes being paid for a job or promotion in the Defence Force.<sup>579</sup> The appointment system for the selection of military personnel at middle and top management level depends mostly on being loyal to the political setup if you are to hold a middle and top management position in the army. The King appoints the Army Commander and other senior commanders; the basis for that has little transparency. In 2013, the

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<sup>579</sup> Timothy Simelane. Aspirant soldier 'refunded bribe'. Times of Swaziland, December 16, 2013, accessed July 13, 2018, <http://www.times.co.sz/news/94287-aspirant-soldier-%E2%80%98refunded-bribe%E2%80%99.html>

Army Commander, Sobantu Dlamini, was re-appointed as Army Commander, despite reaching the mandatory retirement age of 60.<sup>580</sup>

The political culture in Swaziland has significantly separated the military from the general public and this has affected the roles that civil society can play in the military oversight. It is, therefore, incredible for civil society to play any role in the military oversight in Swaziland. With these dysfunctional institutions (executive, legislature and civil-society) the Swazi Defense Force has been involved in some roles which are typical police functions, and has performed them in accordance with principles of democratic civilian control.

The King as the Commander-in-Chief of the Ubutfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF), outlines defence policy in Swaziland with support from commanders and officials appointed by him. According to a former defence official, there is no national defence policy document and there are regulations governing the Defence Force (for instance The Ubutfo Swaziland Defence Force Order, 1977), they are not publicly available. Media articles offer examples of Government officials citing national security considerations to justify the lack of transparency on defence policy. The Government's Press Secretary, Percy Simelane stated that they do not comment on issues of the army in any way.<sup>581</sup>

The Constitution contains a few details on defence policy. Paragraph (2) of Article 191 states that the primary objective of the USDF is to defend and protect the sovereignty and integrity and people

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<sup>580</sup> The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act, 2005 (Act No. 1 of 2005) See also Lunga Masuku. "Sobantu gets three more years in army". Times of Swaziland, June 16, 2013, [accessed 14 July, 2018] <http://www.times.co.sz/news/88444-sobantu-gets-three-more-years-in-army.html>

<sup>581</sup> Interview. Former Defence official Brigadier F. Dube, 18 July (2016), Ludzidzini. Linda Jele. USDF fortifies its arsenal. See also. Times of Swaziland, June 28, 2013, accessed July 12, 2018, <http://www.times.co.sz/news/88871-usdf-fortifies-its-arsenal.html> See also The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act no.1, ( 2005)

of the Kingdom of Swaziland in accordance with the Constitution and the principles of international law regulating the use of force.<sup>582</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Although the formal institutions necessary for good civil-military relations are in place, such as the legislative committee on defense and security, these have been, to a great extent, non-functional. The national assembly should, therefore, take the necessary steps to empower itself and play a significant role in military oversight by making a thorough scrutiny of the defense budget and make sure it is viable for the national security of the country. It must also follow through on the budget passed. The fact that the legislative body is not involved in the confirmation of the defense force commander has made the National Assembly miss the opportunity for an effective oversight of the armed forces.

Civil society should be incorporated in civil-military relations issues in the country in order to fill the gap in legislative shortfalls and act as a source of pressure on the executive to change when the legislature fails to do so. Through this institutionalization, trust and cooperation among political actors will increase and build a political culture of democracy and enhanced legitimacy of the democratic system and civil-military relations.

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<sup>582</sup> The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act No 1, (2005)

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

The study has begun by analysing the background of the Kingdom of Swaziland. It went on to show how in 1968 Swaziland became independent from the British. The departure of the British in 1968 following the country's independence meant that the country was now responsible for its own security. It was events after the 1967 general elections which were won by the Imbokodvo National Movement (INM) which paved a way for the establishment of the army. King Sobhuza II was did not like the system of government which brought about disrespect, people who were not content on the system could challenge the king. Between 1968 and 1972, the new government practiced a democratic, multi-party system of government for the first time in the Swazi nation's history. The prominence of undertaking this study lay in covering the existing knowledge gap in the historiography of the Swaziland Umbutfo Defence Force. The study recognised USDF's contribution to the shaping of the country's establishment of the modern army. Without this study, USDF's history would have continued to remain relatively unknown. It argues that, at the time of its independence, Swaziland was surrounded by hostile minority regimes in both South Africa and Mozambique. Amidst this complex regional political climate, Swaziland had no standing army of its own to manage the turbulent regional situation as its police force was too small to provide the needed security. The country also had its own internal security problems which called for the establishment of an army to protect the monarchy from those opposition parties had made it clear that they were prepared to fight for their own political space. Whereas the monarchy felt the opposition had gone too far in their demands and were a source of instability and political insecurity, the opposition viewed the monarchy as too conservative and resisting the introduction of democratic rule.

Sobhuza II proceeded to assume absolute power in the Swazi kingdom. On the 15 March 1973, he passed a decree establishing the Royal Swaziland Defence Force, a name that was later indigenized to be Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force. Independent African states were motivated by numerous dynamics to build standing armies as security institutions. While these dynamics varied from country to country and they were all to a larger or lesser degree influenced by external and internal

threats. It is of historical significance to unveil some of the dynamics that motivate leaders of different countries to establish standing armies. Such an analysis would enable us to better understand the development of the societies in which such armies were established. A critical analysis of the dynamics that led to the establishment and development of the Swazi army was made. The study also explored both the internal and regional circumstances that played an important role in the formation of the army in the country.

The study looked at the key concepts of the military and its establishment were defined, described and analysed. Concepts that relate to the idea of military establishments and its evolution were examined. Subsequently a theoretical framework employed by the study on the birth and evolution of the army was discussed. The thesis therefore presented an overview of two theories used and state how they were used in understanding the birth of the independent Swazi army and its evolution. The study was guided by two theories, namely the New Institutionalism theories and Historical Institutionalism. History is important in understanding the Swazi regime and the undemocratic culture it espouses. Historical institutionalism has assisted in providing an understanding of institutions genesis, reproduction and change. The application of HI in the birth of the independent Swazi army could be explained by considering the historical evolution of institution through informal that is the way things were generally done and formal (laws, rule sets) interaction, and by examining their establishment, performance and change over time.

The study also examined the historical circumstances that necessitated for the formation of a modern Swazi Army in 1973. A configuration of factors necessitated the establishment of Swazi armed forces. Swaziland became independent in 1968 without armed forces to ensure its security. The withdrawal of the British following the independence of Swaziland meant that the country had to assume her own security. Without this study, Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force's history would have continued to remain relatively unknown. This has been done from a theoretical point of view through a review of the literature.

The history of the Swazi armed force since 1968 is understandably rooted in the traditional system, to which it remains wedded even today. When the British colonialists left Swaziland there was no formidable army except for a paramilitary capacity. This was a regular army with a mandate and responsibility for internal and external defence thus it had to be created from scratch. The establishment of the USDF was clearly a reaction to the deteriorating regional security situation in the 1970s. Multipartyism was perceived as a threat to the survival of the monarchy thus necessitated the need for the formation of an army. The king started contemplating to establish a military force for purposes of maintaining the peace which he felt was being threatened by the opposition.

In a bid to attain military professionalism, In 1974 Swaziland government sent six cadet officers for training in Kenya. Others were sent to Europe, the United States and elsewhere for further training.

An understanding of the evolution of the USDF can only make coherence if it is attached with an understanding of the regional and national circumstances that gave rise to its creation. The country has enjoyed political peace in a region that has encountered conflict and internal struggle. In a bid to attain military professionalism, Swaziland government in 1974 sent six cadet officers for training in Kenya. Others were sent to Europe, the United States and elsewhere for further training. In the same year an army code was introduced and it aimed at improving the quality of army recruits. The admission of women into the USDF has been an important step in the history of Swaziland, the region and for women in particular. It has brought the military in line with the social transformation whereby the roles of women have dramatically changed over the years.

The achievement of gender equality is a constitutional imperative, based in particular on Section 9 of the Constitution, which entrenches the right to substantive equality. Gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself, but a strategy; an approach, and a means to achieve the goal of gender equality that the Department of Defence, and in particular the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force, has undoubtedly made visible progress with gender transformation and mainstreaming in its policy processes to enhance the integration of women in the military since the advent of independence.

Although progress has been made with regards to transformation in the advancement of women in areas of the Department of Defence (DOD) that were traditionally perceived to be preserved for men. Women had to ensure that they were not found wanting when opportunities were presented and that the implementation of government strategies and policies with regards to the advancement and recruitment of women are implemented and frequently monitored. Women worked hard against the differences, conforming to the military way, and finding ways to be successful and respected soldiers. In order for them to gain perceived respect they pushed themselves to meet higher standards of physical training and displayed their toughness. They felt exceeding female standards was the only way to gain respect from superior officers and men soldiers. The history, customs, and courtesies of being in the military was taught along with an intense physical fitness regimen. Basic training was much more of a mental game than the physical one due to the intensity of the psychological training that went with the physical training. The intensity and structure of units was the foundation of shaping and shifting of sense of self as a part of the military to work as a team. It made them to take part in group and think collectively.

HIV/AIDS is a serious issue not just in the workplace but even in the communities. It deserves the same attention as any chronic disease. Soldiers are not just part of the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force; they form part of the country as well. When HIV/AIDS intervention measures are not applied in the workplace then it escalates to communities and countries where Swaziland is involved in peace keeping operations. Part of management duties is to keep his/her subordinates well informed about some of the external dangers that they can encounter besides being the enemy in combat operations. Officers highlighted the importance of HIV testing as the basis for the diagnosis of HIV, and therefore a gateway to accessing care. Acceptance of the test result facilitated adherence to ARVs. Being aware of the HIV prevalence in Swaziland and knowing that protected sex was not 100 percent sure, most people lived under constant fear of not knowing if they carried the virus or not.

On another note the study has analysed ways which hindered the progress of the army through corruption. The military like most other government organs is composed of pots of vicious people who rely on bribery, corruption and intimidation to get their interests met at the expense of security.

These top echelons carry out nefarious deeds by granting dubious deals like uniform deal where they reap millions of emalangen. This has brought mistrust within the military and even from the local citizens who came to know of such occurrences. It also affected their operations in the field since the effects from this trickles down. Their image as a professional and respected army has been distorted both nationally and internationally.

The thesis also looked at the different types of corruption that exist in the country. There is an emerging vocal consensus that combating corruption is one of Swaziland's most critical governance and developmental challenges. It must be noted, however, that corruption cannot be eradicated quickly and permanently. Where personal risk and punishment were minimal, acts of corruption were likely to naturally increase. The military like most other government organs is composed of pots of vicious people who rely on bribery, corruption and intimidation to get their interests met at the expense of security. Former minister of finance, Majozi Sithole, stated that bribery and corruption have become the order of the day in the country, the economy was dying gradually because of this practice, and the citizens were placed under a heavy yoke. His statement highlighted that Swaziland's economy was being undermined by corrupt activities. The Prime Minister also publicly stated that corruption remained a challenge and that the government needed the cooperation of the public, business, the media and the international community to effectively combat it. Also to highlight on how corruption has hindered progress in the country was the king when he indicated the manifestation of corruption in Swaziland. The army commander mentioned that following an outcry from the public and from Members of Parliament (MPs) concerning the irregularities in the recruitment exercise, he established a Commission of inquiry into the recruitment exercise. The commission of inquiry was set up and it comprised of senior army personnel. This was after the commission found that there was a lot of corruption by senior army officials who were mandated to conduct the exercise. It was found that instead of conducting the recruitment exercise as per the order of the Commander-in- Chief), Simelane and the other senior officials allegedly decided to recruit their relatives and ignored the eligible candidates. After the conclusion of the enquiry these officers were relieved of their duties due to their bad conduct.

Combating corruption was one of Swaziland's most critical governance and developmental challenges. It was noted, however, that corruption cannot be eradicated quickly and permanently. The study has illustrated the state of affairs in the country the undemocratic rule that exist in resulted in many problems which ranged from economic issues, to social and political issues. There has been mismanagement of finances, corruption, lack of accountability, poor allocation of resources, inefficiency, lack of service delivery to the public, embezzlement of funds, lack of humanity on the part of leaders, weak administrative institutions, no basic human rights, restriction of reporting by the media, failure to attract foreign investors. The above outline the multiple problems faced by Swaziland, resulting from the lack of democracy. The opposition has tried to raise these issues, but it is always treated with disdain by the political elites in that country. The economy will continue to suffer unless something drastic is done to redirect the country's political trajectory.

It has been very hard to uproot corruption in the Swazi Army and it has been caused by the fact that the country has failed to be democratic. Governance is about the rules of collective decision-making in settings where there are a plurality of actors or organisations and where no formal control system can dictate the terms of the relationship between these actors and organisations.

The study further discussed how the military was in no exception like most other government organs which composed of pots of vicious people who rely on bribery, corruption and intimidation to get their interests met at the expense of security. These top echelons carry out nefarious deeds by granting dubious deals like uniform deal where they reap millions of emalangeni. This has brought mistrust within the military and even from the local citizens who came to know of such occurrences. It also affected their operations in the field since the effects from this trickles down. Their image as a professional and respected army. Recruits that bribe to be in the army have tarnished the image of the defence force and compromised the quality of the soldiering aspect.

The study has examined the nature of civil-military relations in Swaziland and how civil control of the armed forces has contributed to peace and stability since the establishment of the army in

the country. It has also discussed the institutional obstacles to good civil-military relations in Swaziland. The formal institutions necessary for good civil-military relations are in place, such as the legislative committee on defense and security, these have been, to a great extent, non-functional. The national assembly should, therefore, take the necessary steps to empower itself and play a significant role in military oversight by making a thorough scrutiny of the defense budget and make sure it is viable for the national security of the country. It must also follow through on the budget passed. The fact that the legislative body is not involved in the confirmation of the defense force commander has made the National Assembly miss the opportunity for an effective oversight of the armed forces. The King as the Commander-in-Chief of the Ubutfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF), outlines defence policy in Swaziland with support from commanders and officials appointed by him. According to a former defence official, there is no national defence policy document and there are regulations governing the Defence Force (for instance The Ubutfo Swaziland Defence Force Order), they are not publicly available. Media articles offer examples of Government officials citing national security considerations to justify the lack of transparency on defence policy.

Swaziland's political landscape has been characterised by tension since the independence in 1968, and in particular the issuing of the 1973 decree which banned political parties and vested all executive, judicial, and legislative authority to the King. The 2005 Constitution sought to address these political tensions by putting an end to rule by decree, and providing a new political framework. Although some progress has been made in some areas, political parties remain banned and the Constitution has been criticised for maintaining the status quo. Security forces had been used to crush domestic political opposition through intimidation and absolute physical force.

## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1**

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. What were the socio-political and economic reasons that led to the formation of the Swazi army?
2. How is the Swazi military involved in the political setting of the Swazi state?
3. In what way is the Swazi army democratised to be able to offer security to all citizens?
4. How has the Swazi army improved in the recruitment of women in the army to meet gender equity?
5. Describe the evolution that has taken place in the army since inception to current.
6. What are the main challenges in the Army?
7. How has the Army addressed the issue of HIV N AIDS?
8. How has the army controlled and curb corrupt acts by its members?
9. What has been the major problems in eradicating corruption?
10. How has the army been involved in peace keeping and how the army has benefited from such?

## **Imibuto Letobutwa Labatikabanti Ngekusungulwa kwema Sotja KaNgwane**

1. Yini leyenta live lakaNgwane lisukumele etulu ekwakheni umbutfo wema sotja?
2. Umbutfo waka Ngwane utimbandzakanya njani netindzaba telive?
3. Engabe live lenta taba tini ekucinisekeni kutsi wonkhe muntfu utivela avikelekile nekutsi umbutfo wemphi uvumelekile yini kutsi utimbadzakanye ekwenteni tincumo ngelive ngekukhululeka?
4. Umbutfo wemphi sewuhambe kanganani ekucinisekeni kutsi linani labomake labangena emasotjeni liyenyuka?
5. Yini tintfo letinhle naletimbi letentekile kukhomba kutfutfuka kwalombutfo soloku wasungulwa?
6. Yini tingcinamba umbutfo lohlangabetane nato soloku wasungulwa?
7. Umbutfo sewuhambe kanganani ekukhutsatseni emasotja kutsi ativikele aphindze abe nelwati mayelana neligciwane lembulalave?
8. Umbutfo ingabe wente timiso tini tekwehlisa bucala ngekutsiemasotja atikhandze ambandzakanye nekuthola imali ngetindlela letingekho emngomeni wemasotja?
9. Imbangela ingabe yini leyenta kutsi lesihlava lesilukhuni kanjena singakweshiseki kulombutfo?
10. Njengoba sewukhule kangaka Umbutfo wemphi, uye utimbadzakanye yini nalamanye emave lapho kugcinwa khona kuthula? Umbutfo usitakele kanganani kuloko?

## **Appendix 2**

**Report on King Sobhuza II Vision of a modern army stated at the end of Incwala at Lozitha Residence, 9 January 1976**

His Majesty King Sobhuza II outlined his reasons for setting up the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force about three years ago. The king gave his reasons when he addressed the regiments at Lozitha Royal Residence on Tuesday at the completion of weeding of the Imfabantfu (People they die) and other household fields and also to officially mark the end of the Incwala ceremony. He told the regiments that the idea of establishing an Army crossed his mind after he had discussions with ex-servicemen who had enlightened him about the role an army could play in the development of a country.

As a first step towards the permanent force, the king said he set up “Tinkundla Centers” (regional) all over the country, with a view of stepping up development in Swaziland. The army was finally set up early in 1972 and started functioning in 1973. Now that the army has been fully established, he expressed confidence that time has also come when they would make their contribution to the development of the country.

King Sobhuza expressed hope that with the Army playing a full part in the development of the country, Swaziland will become a prosperous state like any other developed country in the world. The development of any country, he stated that it depended upon the efforts and self-determination on the entire population of that country.

**Source:** *Times of Swaziland, 9 January 1976*

# Appendix 3

**UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND  
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**  
(Reg No: UZREC 171110-030)



**RESEARCH & INNOVATION**

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## ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGD 2017/172			
Project Title	The birth and evolution of the military in independent Swaziland 1973-2013			
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	P Sihlongonyane			
Supervisor and Co-supervisor	Prof HS Simelane			
Department	History			
Faculty	Arts			
Type of Risk	Medium Risk – Data Collection from people			
Nature of Project	Honours/4 <sup>th</sup> Year	Master's	Doctoral	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Departmental

The University of Zululand's Research Ethics Committee (UZREC) hereby gives ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project. The Researcher may therefore commence with data collection as from the date of this Certificate, using the certificate number indicated above.

- Special conditions:
- (1) This certificate is valid for 3 years from the date of issue.
  - (2) Principal researcher must provide an annual report to the UZREC in the prescribed format [due date-01 July 2018]
  - (3) Principal researcher must submit a report at the end of project in respect of ethical compliance.
  - (4) The UZREC must be informed immediately of any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the meeting.

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting research.

Professor Gideon De Wet  
Chairperson: University Research Ethics Committee  
Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research & Innovation  
12 July 2017

<p><b>CHAIRPERSON</b> UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (UZREC) REG NO: UZREC 171110-30</p> <p>12 -07- 2017</p> <p><b>RESEARCH &amp; INNOVATION OFFICE</b></p>
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#### **ORAL INTERVIEWS**

##### **Anonymous Interviewees**

A number of prominent interviewees were interviewed on the subject of the integration of women in the army, how they felt to be part of the military and those who were HIV positive. They contributed valuable information regarding the evolution of the Swazi military and their wish was that they should not be exposed and I have adhered to their request.

##### **Dube Fonono Gideon**

He was interviewed at Ludzinini Royal Residence on the 10 June 2017. He is 89 years old. He is a retired soldier and the first Swazi to reach the title of Brigadier General in the Army. Currently he works with the Border Restoration of Swaziland. He was among the pioneer recruits of the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force and he joined the army at the age of 45 years'. He was among the first Cadets to be trained in Kenya.

##### **Dlamini Nkosinathi**

He was interviewed at the Army Headquarters' at Nokwane on the 14 June 2017. He holds the office of being the Army's Public Relations Officer.

##### **Fakudze Moses, Director Legal Lt General**

He was interviewed at the Army Headquarters' at Nokwane on the 30 June, 2017. Brigadier Fakudze, holds the office of being the Army's Legal Adviser.

### **Hlophe Tsenjiwe Samuel Warrant Officer II**

He was interviewed at Matsapha on the 15 July 2017. He is 61 years old and he was the first USDF officer to declare his HIV status public and has motivated a number of soldiers to know their HIV status.

### **Kenneth Masuku, Corporal**

He was interviewed at USDF Head Quarters at Nokwane on the 20<sup>th</sup> February, 2019. He works under the Health Department as an educator. He also declared his status.

### **Tsembeni Magongo, Deputy Commander Lt General**

She was interviewed at USDF Head Quarters at Nokwane on the 29 July. In 1978 Magongo joined the army as a recruit and she was among the first group of females to be recruited in the army. She has served the army with diligence and she is the first female to reach such a high position in the Swazi army. Currently she is the Deputy army Commander.

### **Tshabalala Jeffery Sipho, Deputy Commander Lt General**

He was interviewed at USDF Head Quarters at Nokwane on the 16 July 2017. In 1979 he joined the infantry school at Mbuluzi. Tshabalala is the current Deputy Army Commander Lt General. He was trained in Kenya.

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