



SOUTHERN AFRICA:
BUILDING AN EFFECTIVE SECURITY AND GOVERNANCE
ARCHITECTURE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY



CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

POLICY ADVISORY GROUP SEMINAR REPORT
29 AND 30 MAY 2007, WHITE SANDS HOTEL, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

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POLICY ADVISORY GROUP SEMINAR

WHITE SANDS HOTEL, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

29 AND 30 MAY 2007

ORGANISED BY THE CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

SEMINAR REPORT

RAPPORTEURS

ANGELA NDINGA-MUVUMBA AND ROBYN PHAROAH

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DESIGN: KULT CREATIVE, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

EDITOR: YAZEED FAKIER, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

PHOTOGRAPHS: ANDREW GOZBET, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

Acknowledgements

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, would like to thank the governments of Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland; the United Kingdom's (UK) Department for International Development (DFID); and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF) for their generous support that made possible the holding of the policy seminar in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on 29 and 30 May 2007.

About the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR)

The Centre for Conflict Resolution is affiliated with the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa. Established in 1968, the organisation has wide-ranging experience in conflict interventions in the Western Cape and southern Africa and is working increasingly on a pan-continental basis to strengthen the conflict management capacity of Africa's regional organisations, as well as on policy research on South Africa's role in Africa; the United Nations' (UN) role in Africa; African Union (AU)/New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) relations; and HIV/AIDS and Security.

The Rapporteurs

Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa. Ms Robyn Pharoah is a former researcher at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Tshwane (Pretoria), and a consultant based in Cape Town, South Africa.

Executive Summary

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, a pan-African research and training institution affiliated with the University of Cape Town (UCT), held a policy advisory group seminar in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on 29 and 30 May 2007 on the theme “SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century”.

The main objective of the meeting was to convene a group of regional experts to assist the South African Development Community (SADC) Executive Secretary, Tomaz Augusto Salomão, in further developing his four-year vision for the organisation. The seminar also sought to enhance the efforts of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC) troika – Namibia, Tanzania, and Angola – to advance security, governance and development initiatives in the sub-region. The meeting involved the government of Tanzania as the chair of the SADC Organ between 2006 and 2007.

SADC and its member states have already established policy, institutional and programmatic measures to address many of its complex human and conventional security challenges. Given the importance of its facilitative role, maintaining and strengthening the Gaborone-based secretariat's capacity will be critical to making progress in the implementation of SADC's governance, security and development commitments. In 2001, SADC began restructuring its secretariat in order to enhance its institutional capacity and to streamline its bureaucracy. Since then, the secretariat has shifted its focus from project management to policy formulation and harmonisation through a centralised structure in four directorates: Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment (TIFI); Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR); Infrastructure and Services (IS); and Social and Human Development, and Special Programmes (SHD). The secretariat also houses specialist units in policy and strategic planning, legal affairs, finance and gender.

These reforms were designed to facilitate southern Africa's policy development, implementation and evaluation. Yet, despite these strategic steps, the SADC secretariat must still address human and financial resource constraints in order fully to be able to operationalise its activities. Finally, since co-operation will be central to harnessing and enhancing SADC's resources, the secretariat must improve its co-ordination with development partners and civil society actors.

The Dar es Salaam policy advisory seminar brought together SADC's Executive Secretary, Tomaz Augusto Salomão, and senior staff from the SADC secretariat; Bernard Membe, the Foreign Minister of Tanzania; and Major-General Charles Namoloh, the Defence Minister of Namibia; with about 30 senior policymakers, scholars, and representatives of civil society from the SADC region.

The policy advisory group addressed six key issues:

1. SADC's Governance Challenges: Democratisation and Elections;
2. The Role of SADC in Addressing Regional Peace and Security Concerns;
3. Peacemaking and Peacebuilding in the SADC Region;
4. SADC, Gender and Peacebuilding;
5. Food Security in Southern Africa; and
6. Tackling HIV/AIDS Challenges in Southern Africa.

1. SADC's Governance Challenges: Democratisation and Elections

In the last two decades, southern African countries have made great strides in achieving more democratic modes of governance. However, the democratic systems in many SADC countries face several governance challenges such as weak institutional capacity; poor quality of elections that adhere to democratic principles only superficially; inadequate participation in democratic processes, particularly by civil society; weak service delivery; and corruption in the public sector. There is therefore a need to move beyond focusing simply on elections as an indicator of democracy, to nurturing political cultures that are capable of addressing governance as well as development issues – particularly poverty.

Several existing SADC policy instruments provide a sound platform for improving governance, such as the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO) on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation of 2004; the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) of 2003; the 2004 Principles and Guidelines for Governing Democratic Elections adopted by SADC; and the Parliamentary Forum Norms and Standards established by SADC parliamentarians in 2001. The capacity to operationalise such instruments, however, remains limited, and implementation by member states is poor. The SADC secretariat can contribute to improved governance in the sub-region by advancing the policy prescriptions set out in the RISDP and SIPO, while enabling institutions such as the SADC National Commissions to engage more effectively with member states around the value of democratic principles.

2. The Role of SADC in Addressing Regional Peace and Security Concerns

The establishment of SADC's Standby Brigade (SADCBRIG) and its civilian component for the AU's African Standby Force (ASF) to be established by 2010 – in addition to the prospect of greater SADC involvement in Pan-African and international peace support operations – requires that southern African countries both meet the United Nations' (UN) requirements for troop-contributing countries, and grapple with the multi-dimensional nature of modern peace operations. In addition to mechanisms to support co-ordinated action in regional policy on peace and security issues, SADC will need to put in place and strengthen its security instruments to ensure consistent and judicious decision-making on the part of its member states. SIPO and other key policy instruments, such as the 2001 Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation and the 2003 SADC Mutual Defence Pact, also need to be further developed from policy into coherent programmes of implementation and monitoring. Finally, measures need to be taken to build the policy and management capacity of member states' departments of defence, foreign affairs, public security and intelligence, as well as to ensure that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation has sufficient resources and capacity to drive the consolidation, implementation and monitoring of SADC's instruments on peace and security.

3. Peacemaking and Peacebuilding in the SADC Region

Peacekeeping is expensive and complicated, and SADC should thus play a more pro-active role in preventing conflicts, which is much cheaper in the long run. As stated in the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ, SADC should invest in conflict earlywarning and monitoring infrastructure and expertise. The SADC secretariat has a pivotal role to play in promoting a conflict earlywarning system, as well as identifying and harnessing the necessary skills, networks and resources. It should also put in place measures to strengthen conflict resolution mechanisms, particularly the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation, and build the capacity of mediators and other actors to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts more effectively.

Peacebuilding – which includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of societies emerging from conflict – is becoming increasingly important to both global and African agendas, and it is important that SADC invest resources in this area. The UN established a Peacebuilding Commission in 2006 and the AU formulated a Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework in the same year, both of which stress the link between peace and security and the humanitarian and developmental dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. In order to strengthen southern African ownership of peacebuilding processes, the SADC secretariat has a crucial role to play in supporting both of these initiatives.

4. SADC, Gender and Peacebuilding

SADC has identified gender as a key cross-cutting issue in its programmes. Gender issues are addressed in several SADC instruments, including Article 6(2) of the 1992 SADC Declaration and Treaty; the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development; its 1998 Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children; and the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. However, while the RISDP views gender equality as a prerequisite for reducing poverty, improving quality of life and stemming the spread of HIV/AIDS, SIPO does not mention gender. SADC peacekeepers, militaries, mission leaders, negotiators and police officers appear to have limited capacity to address gender issues in their activities, and knowledge of international and continental obligations, such as UN Resolution 1325 of 2000 on women and security, is generally poor. There is a need for more action and leadership on gender issues within SADC's politics, defence and security sectors.

5. Food Security in Southern Africa

SADC's regional food security situation is currently unpredictable, and member states including Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe have experienced difficulties in ensuring a sustainable supply of food for their populations. The last decade and a half has seen the stagnation, and, in some cases, the decline, of cereal production figures for the sub-region, while the population has grown by approximately 40 per cent over the same period to reach about 125 million, suggesting that the demand for food is outstripping supply. Reversing the trend of growing food insecurity requires closer regional co-operation in this critical sector. The SADC secretariat has a key role to play in helping to translate policy commitments into action. Most importantly, SADC should promote and support a rights-based approach to food security, which views food security not simply as a developmental goal, but as a basic human right. Nutrition must also be regarded as a food security issue. Such a paradigm shift would help to support far-reaching measures to address fundamental causes of food insecurity, such as land tenure reforms and lack of equitable social protection systems.

6. Tackling the Challenge of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa

While initially seen as primarily a medical crisis, it is clear that the implications of the HIV/AIDS epidemic extend well beyond the public health sector. Of particular relevance are the ramifications of the disease for food security in southern Africa – the epicentre of the global AIDS epidemic with 37 per cent of global cases. People living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) require up to 50 per cent more protein, 15 per cent more energy and more vitamins and minerals than HIV-negative individuals, yet households affected by HIV/AIDS have less access to nutritionally diverse food. The SADC secretariat has developed a five-year business plan to guide the implementation of the commitments agreed to at the landmark 2003 Maseru SADC Summit on HIV/AIDS.

Frameworks and tools to monitor progress on this issue have been developed, and a Regional Fund for HIV and AIDS is being operationalised. The SADC secretariat can further strengthen its activities to address the epidemic by strengthening the position of its HIV/AIDS focal points and by encouraging member states to use the monitoring and evaluation tools developed to track the progress made in implementing policy commitments in the sub-region. Beyond these general measures, SADC should also urgently address the implications of the epidemic for traditional security concerns. While the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ recognises that HIV/AIDS poses a challenge to security, it does not prescribe a policy response. Finally, southern African militaries have implemented a broad range of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programmes that could form the basis for a common SADC policy on HIV/AIDS management in the military sector.

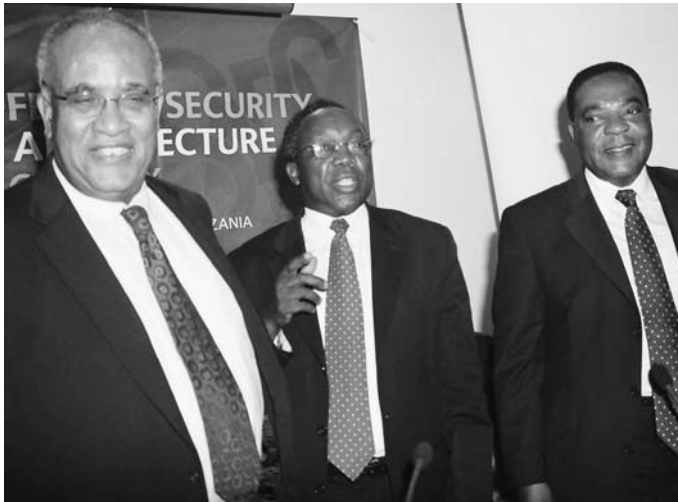
Policy Recommendations

The discussions at the Dar es Salaam seminar resulted in the following six key policy recommendations:

1. *Measures to strengthen democracy and governance in the region:* Southern African states need to move beyond viewing elections as an indicator of democracy to deepening the perceived value of democracy and the quality and reach of democratic processes. The SADC secretariat should support and empower existing regional electoral monitoring processes; strengthen oversight mechanisms; promote the use of existing tools such as the regional guidelines on holding democratic elections; and support and guide governments, civil society actors and regional mechanisms in participatory democratic processes.
2. *Measures to enhance the capacity of the region to address peace and security concerns:* Measures need to be put in place to ensure that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation has sufficient resources and capacity to drive the consolidation, implementation and monitoring of southern Africa's instruments on peace and security. The secretariat should also support and increase training initiatives in order to build the capacity of SADC member states to engage in complex, multi-dimensional peace operations in Africa both within the context of the African Standby Force and the UN.
3. *Measures to enhance the capacity to prevent conflict and build peace:* SADC's member states, its Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation; and the SADC secretariat should promote and mobilise the resources to support the development and implementation of a conflict earlywarning system in the sub-region; and put in place measures to build the capacity of mediators and other actors to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. In addition, the SADC secretariat should facilitate the organisation's engagement with the activities of the UN Peacebuilding Commission and the AU's Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework.
4. *Enhance and support the mainstreaming of gender issues:* Gender issues should be integrated into SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan and its Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ in order to ensure greater synergy and to facilitate the mainstreaming of gender issues into existing and future peace and security instruments. The SADC secretariat should develop a gender-mainstreaming checklist to assist the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation in integrating measures to achieve gender equity in all its programmes; facilitate greater participation of women in formal and informal negotiation processes; and build capacity on gender issues among key peace and security actors.

5. *Enhance national and regional capacity to anticipate, prevent and respond to food insecurity:* The SADC secretariat should promote and support a rights-based approach to food security, which sees food security as a basic human right and views nutrition as a food security issue. The existing SADC food security framework, including the Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee and National Vulnerability Assessment Committee, should be strengthened and adapted to meet the sub-region's rapidly changing food security needs. Both gender and HIV/AIDS should be mainstreamed into all instruments and policies designed to address food insecurity, and HIV/AIDS epidemic-sensitive indicators should be integrated into SADC's monitoring and earlywarning tools and processes.

6. *Strengthen measures to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic:* SADC must help to articulate the HIV/AIDS epidemic's potential implications for safety and security in the sub-region, and the secretariat should examine and debate ways of promoting and harmonising the response of member states to HIV/AIDS within militaries in the sub-region which typically have between 20 - 60 per cent infection rates. As in other intervention areas, measures should incorporate relevant gender issues. The SADC secretariat should enhance the capacity of its HIV/AIDS focal points to drive and monitor interventions aimed at combating the epidemic; strengthen regional resource networks and partnerships; promote the harmonisation of regional protocols, policies, frameworks and guidelines; and facilitate improved monitoring by member states of their progress in implementing their policy commitments. The secretariat should also collate and disseminate best practices and lessons learned over the past two decades in combating HIV/AIDS, and strengthen the collection and use of comprehensive health sector data for policy planning and implementation purposes.



ABOVE: Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, African Union Special Envoy for Darfur and former Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity; Mr Felix Moshia, Africa Dialogue Centre for Conflict Management and Development Issues, Arusha; and Ambassador Augustine Mahiga, Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the United Nations, New York

RIGHT: Dr Sarah Kaschula, Rhodes University, Grahamstown

FAR RIGHT: Ms Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone



BELOW: Dr Sheila Bunwaree, University of Mauritius, Reduit



1. Introduction

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, a Pan-African research and training institution affiliated with the University of Cape Town, held a policy advisory group seminar in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on 29 and 30 May 2007 on the theme “SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century”.

The main objective of the meeting was to convene a group of regional experts to assist the Southern African Development Community (SADC)¹ Executive Secretary, Tomaz Salomão, in further developing his four-year vision for the organisation. The seminar also sought to enhance the efforts of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC) troika – Namibia, Tanzania, and Angola – to advance security, governance and development initiatives in southern Africa. In addition, the meeting involved the government of Tanzania as the chair of the SADC Organ between 2006 and 2007.

Between 2004 and 2007, CCR held five policy seminars in South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho and Botswana, which addressed issues related to SADC. These meetings focused on:

- South Africa’s role in Africa;
- The South African and Namibian chairs of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation;
- HIV/AIDS and Militaries in Southern Africa; and
- Civil society’s contributions to security and governance in Southern Africa.

These seminars brought together policymakers, civil society actors and academics, and aimed to strengthen the capacity of the Chair of the SADC Organ and the SADC secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana, to implement the organisation’s peace and security initiatives more effectively.²

The first CCR meeting held in Tshwane, South Africa, in November 2004 addressed South Africa’s role as Chair of the SADC Organ between 2004 and 2005. The second meeting held in Cape Town in June 2005 set out to track progress in strengthening SADC’s role through the restructuring of its secretariat. The policy seminar also examined South Africa’s progress in implementing SADC’s Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO) of 2004³ within the broader context of strengthening conflict management and peacebuilding efforts in southern Africa. The third meeting, in October 2005 in Maseru, Lesotho, brought together civil society actors

1 The Southern African Development Community’s member states are: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

2 Four reports and a book were produced from these meetings: Adekeye Adebajo, Adebayo Adedeji and Chris Landsberg (eds.), *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Decade* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007); Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Decade*, report of a seminar in Stellenbosch, Western Cape, 29 July - 1 August 2004; *Whither SADC? An Agenda for Southern Africa’s Post-Apartheid Security*, report of a seminar in Cape Town, South Africa, 18 and 19 June 2005; *The Peacebuilding Role of Civil Society in Southern Africa*, report of a seminar in Maseru, Lesotho, 14 and 15 October 2005; CCR and the University of Namibia (UNAM), *HIV/AIDS and Militaries in Southern Africa*, report of a seminar in Windhoek, Namibia, 9 and 10 February 2006. (All CCR reports are available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>)

3 SADC, *The Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation*, August 2004 (available at <http://www.sadc.int>; accessed 31 March 2006).



From left: Dr Tomaz Augusto Salomão, Executive Secretary of the Southern African Development Community, Gaborone; Honorable Bernard Kamillius Membe, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam; and Major-General Charles Namoloh, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek

from across the SADC region and examined their contributions to the sub-region's governance, security and development architecture. In November 2005, a fourth meeting, organised with the University of Namibia (UNAM), examined ways of supporting the government of Namibia's role as Chair of the SADC Organ between 2005 and 2006. Finally, in February 2006, CCR and UNAM convened a policy advisory group meeting in Windhoek, Namibia – at the request of the Namibian Defence Minister, Major-General Charles Namoloh – in order to generate proposals for a southern African HIV/AIDS and security policy.

Key recommendations from these CCR meetings included: the need to promote co-ordination within SADC structures and the importance of closer conceptual integration of human and state security as mutually supportive policy goals. In the southern African context, “non-traditional” issues of security such as HIV/AIDS; poverty; land-related conflicts; democracy; food security; governance; and gender inequality were regarded as primary concerns. SADC was also encouraged to follow up the broad plans in the SIPO and the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) of 2001 with specific strategies to address these issues.⁴

⁴ SADC, *The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)*, March 2001 (available at <http://www.sadc.int>; accessed 31 March 2006).

Seminar Themes

Building on this ongoing policy development process, the Dar es Salaam seminar in May 2007 generated policy proposals to guide and support effective strategies for achieving human and military security in southern Africa. SADC has recorded achievements in promoting regional integration since its creation in 1992, but faces a number of challenges, ranging from limited financial and human resources, to the complexities of building consensus among sovereign governments, which sometimes have differing political and security agendas. The primary goal of the Dar es Salaam policy meeting was therefore to identify ways of strengthening the capacity of SADC in developing security, governance and development initiatives for the sub-region. The policy seminar also sought to provide the SADC secretariat with relevant knowledge, skills and insights in its key areas of work. The meeting brought together SADC Executive Secretary, Tomaz Salomão, and senior staff from the SADC secretariat; Bernard Membe, the Foreign Minister of Tanzania; Major-General Charles Namoloh, Defence Minister of Namibia; Salim Ahmed Salim, former Executive Secretary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU) Special Envoy for Darfur; Kaire Mbuende, former SADC Executive Secretary and Namibia's permanent representative to the UN; Augustine Mahiga, Tanzania's permanent representative to the UN; and General Louis Fisher, former head of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF); with about 30 senior policymakers, scholars, and representatives of civil society from the continent. The policy advisory group explored the following six issues:

1. SADC's Governance Challenges: Democratisation and Elections;
2. The Role of SADC in addressing Regional Peace and Security Concerns;
3. Peacemaking and Peacebuilding in the SADC Region;
4. SADC, Gender and Peacebuilding;
5. Food Security in Southern Africa; and
6. Tackling HIV/AIDS Challenges in Southern Africa.

This report examines southern Africa's evolving security and governance architecture and summarises the discussions and recommendations from the Dar es Salaam policy advisory group meeting, as well as the additional issues addressed in papers presented at the meeting.

2. Southern Africa's Security and Governance Architecture

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was launched in 1980 by Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.⁵ The organisation aimed to mobilise and co-ordinate development assistance for the sub-region in order to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa, and to respond to politico-military threats, primarily from South Africa.⁶

In response to economic globalisation and its emphasis on liberalisation and trade bloc formation, as well as the changes in the sub-regional political landscape brought about by the demise of both apartheid and the Cold War, SADCC was transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992.⁷ By 2005, the original nine SADCC members had been joined by Namibia, South Africa, Mauritius, Madagascar and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Seychelles joined SADC in 1997, but withdrew in 2004.⁸

SADC exists within a complex regional and global political, economic and social environment. Southern Africa is grappling with persistent poverty and the spread and effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, crime and natural disasters. Globalisation, electronic communication and the growing movement of people and goods across borders are rapidly reducing the salience of national boundaries, rendering co-operation between states more critical than ever before. Rather than bringing peace, the end of the Cold War has instead seen a revival of inter and intra-state conflicts, which have resulted in large numbers of displaced people and refugees, and profound levels of poverty, hunger and social problems, underscoring the need not only for peacekeeping but also for conflict prevention and peacebuilding.⁹ Southern Africa also faces ongoing governance challenges, including often shallow democracies, weak electoral and oversight processes, and tensions around political power-sharing. With mounting expectations to curb levels of political violence and nurture participatory politics so as to facilitate socio-economic development, SADC must further confront questions about how it should respond to crises, as well as its role in mediating internal dialogue.

In this context, the organisation has taken on the role of seeking to contribute to stability in southern Africa, while at the same time providing a framework for a holistic, comprehensive approach to building human security, strengthening democratic governance and fostering economic integration in the sub-region.

5 See Mwesiga Baregu and Christopher Landsberg (eds.), *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).

6 See SADC, *Declaration and Treaty*, Windhoek, Namibia, August 1992. See also Jan Isaksen, *Restructuring SADC: Progress and Problems*, Michelsen Institute Report, 2002, p.15 (available at <http://www.cmi.no/publications/publication.cfm?pubid=788> ; accessed 18 July 2006).

7 Hendrick Masemola, "An Analysis and Appraisal of Restructuring in SADCC/SADC Since 1990", unpublished Masters thesis, University of South Africa, 2006 (available at <http://etd.unisa.ac.za/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-III52005-I03657/unrestricted/dissertation.pdf> ; accessed 19 June 2007).

8 Seychelles applied to rejoin the organisation in 2007.

9 Major-General (Ret.) Charles Namoloh, "Opening Session Address", CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

These goals are to be achieved through two key policy instruments: the SIPO of 2004 and the RISDP of 2001 which both aim to maintain stability in southern Africa, while at the same time providing a framework for a comprehensive, holistic approach to building human security, strengthening democratic governance and fostering economic integration. SIPO seeks to promote democratic values and regional co-operation in the evolution of common political values and institutions; to control cross-border crime through co-operation in intelligence and law enforcement; to establish earlywarning and common indicators for conflict prevention; and to develop sub-regional capacity to prevent aggression and engage in peacekeeping. The RISDP focuses on managing and mitigating HIV/AIDS and other health problems; maintaining and creating food security (including measures to strengthen preparedness and early response); addressing social policies; creating an enabling environment for development; and addressing both inequality and gender disparities.



TOP: Ms Robyn Pharoah, Independent Consultant, Cape Town; and Lieutenant-General (Ret.) Louis Fisher, Former Chief of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF)
 ABOVE: Professor Jonathan Kaunda, Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, Gaborone
 RIGHT: Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, African Union Special Envoy for Darfur and former Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity; and Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

3. Southern Africa's Governance Challenges: Democratisation and Elections

In the last two decades, southern African countries have made great strides in achieving more democratic modes of governance. Several have made the transition from protracted civil wars and colonial rule to peace and more democratic rule characterised by political pluralism and regular elections. While still often weak and poorly organised, an increasingly vocal civil society, and a critical media, have emerged in many parts of southern Africa. Democratic institutions such as parliaments, electoral bodies and judiciaries are increasingly asserting their independence and challenging domestic abuses of power.¹⁰

Despite these achievements, the quality of electoral governance in southern Africa varies widely. While some countries have achieved mature, stable democratic regimes, democratic systems in several countries remain fragile and, in a number of countries, governments continue to struggle with the processes of transition and consolidation despite SADC's goal of promoting democratic governance in the sub-region. The challenges of consolidating democratic institutions in southern Africa remain critical. Four common governance challenges in the SADC region include:

- *First, weak institutional capacity:* While most southern African countries hold regular multi-party elections, political institutions are often weak, and parties are often incapable of representing diverse interests, embedding supremacy and the rule of law or constraining executive authority.¹¹ Opposition parties, in particular, are often weak and increasingly distrusted by voters. This is accentuated by a lack of adequate resources either to sustain opposition parties as institutions of democracy or to mount effective campaigns during elections, which diminishes their ability to provide political oversight;
- *Second, poor election quality:* While necessary for democracy, regular elections are not in themselves synonymous with democracy, and in many countries in the sub-region elections only superficially adhere to democratic principles.¹² Appeals to voters frequently take place along clientelist, personalised and populous lines. Elections tend to be fractious, poorly managed, are sometimes violent and are sometimes subject to rigging, electoral irregularities and weak independent electoral oversight.¹³ These conditions encourage post-election conflict, which sometimes undermines both development and democracy.
- *Third, poor participation:* Governance is not the responsibility of government alone, and should involve civil society groups such as non-governmental actors and organised community-based groups. Yet,

10 Garth le Pere, "Challenges to Governance in Southern Africa: The Country-SADC Interface", unpublished paper presented at CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

11 Le Pere, "Challenges to Governance in Southern Africa".

12 Khabele Matlosa, "Governance in SADC: Challenges and Policy Responses", unpublished paper presented at CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

13 Le Pere, "Challenges to Governance in Southern Africa".

governance agendas, from the regional to local government level, tend to marginalise civil society in many countries. Despite growing interaction and co-operation among civil society organisations and networks, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in southern Africa have also often not been sufficiently proactive in claiming their rightful political space in governance processes. Equal gender representation is also frequently limited,¹⁴ and

- *Finally, poorly delivering states:* In most countries, the transition to more democratic regimes has not translated into substantive improvements in the lives of ordinary people. This highlights a disconnect between the values of development within the democratic context and the capacity and will of states to engender development. Several SADC governments are plagued by corruption, and remain incapable of delivering basic social services and infrastructure.¹⁵ This failure to address pressing socio-economic issues manifests in various ways, including voter apathy, mass protests, public cynicism, and withdrawal from policy implementation by citizens. Despite more than a decade of political and socio-economic reforms, many southern African governments are yet to ensure an enabling regulatory and growth environment that facilitates business and investment. Many SADC governments have also been unable to control the over-exploitation of natural resources.¹⁶

This suggests the need to move beyond focusing simply on elections as an indicator of democracy, to putting in place mechanisms which can ensure that democratic principles are entrenched at all levels of society. This requires not only strong democratic institutions but also a supportive political culture capable of shaping appropriate policy responses to address development issues, particularly poverty. Achieving these objectives will require co-operation on the part of SADC, its member states and southern Africa's civil society. The discussions at the Dar es Salaam seminar suggest that SADC can help to strengthen the state of democracy and governance in four key areas:

- *First, strengthening public institutions:* SADC can help to strengthen public sector institutions to deliver basic services more effectively by supporting public sector reform, and improved management of public finances and institutional capacity-building, particularly within the civil services of member states;
- *Second, strengthening and deepening democracy:* SADC should promote and put in place mechanisms to ensure free and fair elections, local-level democracy and a democratic culture in which opposition parties are respected and tolerated. Its member states should be encouraged to embark continuously on electoral reforms to improve the quality of elections in southern Africa. Mechanisms should also be put in place constructively to manage election-related tensions throughout the electoral cycle, and to ensure that the recommendations emanating from observation processes are applied. Post-election audits could provide a useful tool to monitor the implementation of these recommendations;
- *Third, strengthening checks and balances within and outside states:* SADC should promote and support measures to empower parliaments, ensure the independence of judiciaries and safeguard the autonomy of oversight institutions such as anti-corruption bodies, human rights commissions, auditing

14 Matlosa, "Governance in SADC: Challenges and Policy Responses".

15 Le Pere, "Challenges to Governance in Southern Africa".

16 Ibid.

institutions and ombudsmen. Outside government, there must be more support for civil society organisations concerned with governance, human rights and media freedom. The media should also be engaged more effectively to report on the lives and realities of marginalised and vulnerable groups that are most in need of effective service delivery; and

- *Finally, promoting public participation in electoral processes:* Civil society has a key role to play in embedding and supporting democracy in southern Africa, and more space needs to be created by governments for non-governmental actors to participate effectively in democratic processes. Gender parity should remain a key goal, particularly the representative inclusion of women in national parliaments. SADC has called for half of all political representatives in office to be women, but the involvement of women in public life must move beyond fulfilling quotas to ensuring that gender issues are meaningfully addressed.¹⁷

Existing SADC policy instruments provide a basis for achieving many of these objectives. In addition to the SIPO and the RISDP, SADC adopted Principles and Guidelines for Governing Democratic Elections in southern Africa in August 2004. These guidelines build on the African Union's Constitutive Act of 2000¹⁸, and outline common practices to be followed during democratic elections. The guidelines are complemented by two earlier instruments: the SADC Parliamentary Forum Norms and Standards initiated by SADC parliamentarians in 2001,¹⁹ and the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO) developed by the Johannesburg-based Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) and the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) of SADC countries in 2003.²⁰ However, while these tools provide a sound platform for improving governance in southern Africa, the capacity to operationalise such instruments is frequently limited, and implementation by member states is often poor.

The SADC secretariat should, therefore, focus on advancing the Business Plan of the RISDP and SIPO's strategic objectives. Existing structures, such as the SADC National Commissions, should also be harnessed to engage more effectively with member states around the values of democratic principles. Their capacity should also be strengthened to monitor and support governments in the implementation of SADC's policy instruments.

17 See SADC, *Declaration on Gender and Development*, Blantyre, Malawi, September 1997 (available at http://www.sardc.net/widsaa/wid_genderdec.htm ; accessed 21 November 2007). The declaration called on states to ensure that 30 per cent of their parliamentarians were women. Persistent lobbying by women's groups led SADC policymakers to increase the quota of women from 30 to 50 per cent in August 2005, although, to date, only South Africa and Mozambique have exceeded the 30 per cent quota.

18 African Union, *Constitutive Act of the African Union*, Lomé, Togo, July 2000.

19 The SADC Parliamentary Forum was established in accordance with the SADC Declaration and Treaty (1992) as an autonomous institution of SADC and as a regional inter-parliamentary body composed of 12 parliaments representing parliamentarians in the SADC region. These member parliaments are: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The forum has observed elections in Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Mauritius, and Tanzania and, based on these activities, developed and adopted Electoral Norms and Standards for the SADC region in 2001. See SADC Parliamentary Forum, *Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region*, Windhoek, Namibia, March 2001 (available at <http://www.eisa.org.za/PDF/sadcpf.pdf> ; accessed 21 November 2001).

20 Electoral Institute of Southern Africa and the Electoral Commission Forum, *Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC Region*, Johannesburg, South Africa, November 2003 (available at http://www.justiceinitiative.org/db/resource2?res_id=102238&preprint=1 ; accessed 21 November 2007).

4. The Role of SADC in Addressing Regional Peace and Security Concerns

SADC's security architecture provides for collaborative security and collective self-defence. Its Organ on Politics, Defence and Security was established in 1996, while the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation was adopted in 2001²¹ in order to establish policies both to streamline the foreign policies of its member states and to implement peace and security initiatives in the areas of conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

The SADC protocol also established a mechanism to support its peace and security objectives in the form of a one-year revolving chair of its security Organ. This system – known as “the troika” – comprises three member states supported by the SADC secretariat: an outgoing Chair; a serving Chair; and an incoming Chair. The current troika is composed of Namibia (2005-2006), Tanzania (2006-2007), and Angola (2007-2008).

In 2004, SADC consolidated its peace and security plan through SIPO, which it describes as an “enabling instrument for the implementation of the SADC developmental agenda”.²² SIPO envisages co-operation among member states in the areas of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. It also establishes a platform for co-operation to address a number of other defence and security issues, including: combating terrorist activities; countering trafficking in small arms; protecting strategic infrastructure; combating stock theft; protecting wildlife; streamlining immigration legislation between member states; addressing refugee issues; enhancing law enforcement at sea; and providing joint border controls.

However, despite the existence of SIPO and its associated institutions, southern African states are still grappling with identifying and defining common threats facing the sub-region. SADC member states should explicitly identify and define common threats to southern Africa. The authority and mandate of actors to address common threats have strategic implications. Such processes determine, for example, how SADC governments allocate funds for defence in their national budgets; how the organisation positions itself in relation to global powers; and how governments interact with external actors in bilateral and multilateral fora. This suggests that SADC should spearhead participatory processes to articulate security priorities for the sub-region and how these are to be addressed.

Given the reality of limited financial and human resources, it is open to question whether SADC can implement the numerous and ambitious activities outlined in SIPO, let alone take on additional responsibilities in this important area. SIPO's aims and other SADC objectives need to be linked more closely to an integrated plan of action and a streamlined list of priorities. SIPO and other key policy instruments, such as the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation of 2001 and the SADC Mutual Defence Pact of 2003²³, also need to be further developed into coherent programmes of implementation and monitoring.

21 SADC, *Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation*, Blantyre, Malawi, August 2001 (available at <http://www.sadc.int/english/documents/legal/protocols/politics.php> ; accessed 21 November 2007).

22 SADC, *SIPO*, p.5.

23 SADC, *Mutual Defence Pact*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, August 2003 (available at http://www.iss.co.za/Af/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/sadc/defpact.pdf ; accessed 21 November 2007).

Measures must further be put in place to ensure that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security has sufficient resources and capacity to drive the consolidation, implementation and monitoring of the sub-regional body's instruments on peace and security. While the SADC secretariat is, in theory, expected to provide secretarial services to the Organ, the reality is that technical and operational support and responsibility for implementation depend largely on the capacity and energy of the country that holds the rotating Chair of SADC's security Organ. The SADC secretariat should put in place measures to support poorly resourced states in fulfilling the mandate of the Organ. It should also solicit support for the policy development capacity of not just the defence departments of member states, but also their foreign affairs, public security, and intelligence institutions. Regional security (both in terms of state and human security) would also benefit from measures to enhance community-level policing, security sector reform and the improvement of sub-regional justice and intelligence systems. In line with the framework established by SIPO, the SADC secretariat should also help to manage member states' relations with donors strategically in order to address SADC's interests more effectively.

African governments must engage in global debates and policy processes relating to security issues since many of these security issues are often rooted in global geo-political dynamics and interests, thus requiring better co-ordination and more assertive African engagement. African countries, for example, need to advocate and engage in discussions about weapons of mass destruction and nuclear arms proliferation. The SADC secretariat can play a vital role in strengthening the capacity of southern African countries to negotiate, and advocate, on these and other issues in multilateral fora.

“SADC should spearhead participatory processes to articulate security priorities for the sub-region and how these are to be addressed.”

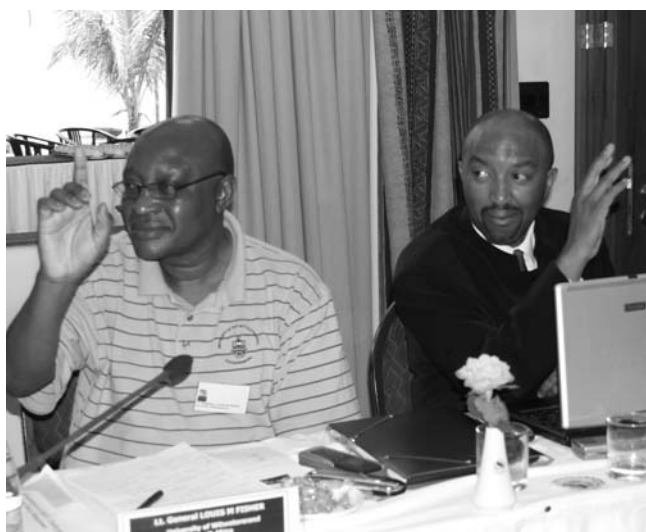
Since Africa's regional armies may face increasing challenges as they engage in multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations, SADC should engage more effectively in strengthening regional participation in United Nations (UN) and AU peace operations. SADC is already establishing a Southern Africa Standby Brigade (SADCBRIG) and its civilian component as part of the African Standby Force (ASF) to be operationalised by 2010. The organisation thus seeks to increase its capacity for sub-regional peace support operations.²⁴ The ASF will consist of standby brigades in Southern, Central, Eastern, North, and West Africa, and will undertake traditional peacekeeping operations, as well as observer missions, and peacebuilding activities. SADC is in the process of establishing an interim planning unit for the Southern Africa brigade within its Gaborone secretariat. SADC states have also committed the requisite 3,500 troops to the brigade, and have agreed on a peace support doctrine for the sub-region.

24 Two other African regional economic communities (RECs) are establishing standby brigades of the African Standby Force: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa (ECOWASBRIG) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in Central Africa (ECCASBRIG). The North Africa regional brigade (NASBRIG) and the Eastern Africa brigade (EASTBRIG) are also being organised through regional co-operation in North Africa and Eastern Africa. The United Nations' (UN) peacekeeping operations in January 2007 were in Western Sahara; Liberia; Côte d'Ivoire; the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC); Ethiopia/Eritrea; and Sudan.

With respect to UN peace operations, about 70 per cent of UN peacekeepers were deployed in Africa in 2007, with six of the organisation's 18 current peacekeeping missions operating on the continent. It is possible that African governments can expect to bear an increasing responsibility for future operations in Africa. The institutional reflection of this trend is evidenced by the AU's peacekeeping engagements in Burundi, Sudan's Darfur region, and Somalia. However, southern African states have been involved in UN peacekeeping operations on a limited scale, and peace operations in Africa have tended to be fragmented, with SADC and the UN operating largely independently of each another.

The prospect of both greater peace support responsibilities and involvement in pan-African and international peace operations presents southern African countries with the challenge of meeting the UN's standard requirements for deploying troops, and requires that SADC states grapple with the multi-dimensional nature of modern peace operations. This suggests the need for SADC's Executive Secretary, Tomaz Salomão, to develop and strengthen institutions and processes for training in complex peace support operations. Inter-operative training should be strengthened and implemented as a critical tool for peacekeeping preparedness. Specific knowledge areas to be addressed should include: information and intelligence analysis; negotiation skills; legal issues such as human rights and humanitarian law; and post-conflict governance issues. This would not only strengthen co-operation between SADC, the AU and the UN, but would also benefit the inter-operability of SADC's standby brigades. Civil society institutions in southern Africa can contribute significant skills and experience in areas such as research and policy development, as well as in early warning, humanitarian, conflict management and HIV/AIDS mitigation in military settings. These skills would greatly benefit both the SADC secretariat and sub-regional governments, as they address current peace and security concerns. Wherever possible, civil society actors should be involved in training initiatives for peacekeepers.

“It is possible that African governments can expect to bear an increasing responsibility for future (peacekeeping) operations in Africa.”



ABOVE: Dr Antonica Hembe, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone
LEFT: Lieutenant-General (Ret.) Louis Fisher, Former Chief of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF); and Mr Tsepe Motumi, Department of Defence of South Africa, Tshwane

5. Peacemaking and Peacebuilding in the SADC Region

Recent experiences raise questions about southern African countries' ownership of an African conflict management mandate and their commitment and ability to administer peacekeeping missions in the sub-region.

While there is an ideological and rhetorical commitment to a SADC peacekeeping mandate based on a shared sense of solidarity during liberation struggles, operationalising this mandate is frequently constrained by a lack of political will actively to intervene and allocate the resources needed to support peacekeeping missions. Sub-regional interventions, such as those in the DRC and Lesotho, have often been poorly organised and have lacked the training, equipment and resources needed to be effective. They have also tended to be driven by a handful of interested states rather than SADC as a collective, which has sometimes undermined their credibility in the eyes of both host countries and the international community.

If SADC is to engage effectively in peacekeeping, it is imperative that decisions are taken collectively, and that, if the organisation chooses to undertake missions, member countries commit the resources needed to fulfil their responsibilities. While many governments face legitimate resource constraints, the more pertinent issue is that of political will. With sufficient political leadership from all SADC member states, this challenge can be overcome. Better use should be made of the existing skills and experience within southern Africa's militaries. In addition to mechanisms to support co-ordinated action, the SADC secretariat should also promote and put in place measures to ensure consistent and judicious decision-making on the part of its member states. Without such mechanisms, southern African states will continue to rely on external actors to mediate conflicts in the sub-region.

Peacekeeping is expensive and complicated. The SADC secretariat and its members should thus play a more proactive role in preventing conflicts. As discussed in the SIPO document, SADC should invest in conflict earlywarning and monitoring infrastructure and expertise. Two other African regional economic communities – the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) – have already established earlywarning systems, while the AU is in the process of developing a continent-wide system. The SADC secretariat has a pivotal role to play in promoting a southern African conflict earlywarning system, as well as identifying and harnessing the necessary skills, networks and resources. Earlywarning must be linked to preventive action. As in the case of peacekeeping, the SADC secretariat can help to ensure that member states act collectively and consistently in order to lend appropriate authority to preventive diplomacy initiatives. It should also put in place measures to strengthen conflict resolution mechanisms, particularly the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation, and to build the capacity of mediators and other actors to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts.²⁵

²⁵ CCR, *United Nations Mediation Experience in Africa, report of a seminar in Cape Town, South Africa*, 16 and 17 October 2006; and CCR and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), *West Africa's Evolving Security Architecture: Looking Back to the Future*, report of a seminar in Accra, Ghana, 30 and 31 October 2006 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

Peacebuilding in the wake of armed conflicts is equally important. The notion of peacebuilding was popularised by the first African UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, with the publication of *An Agenda for Peace* in 1992.²⁶ This landmark report defined peacebuilding as the medium to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected communities through identifying and supporting structures to consolidate peace in order to avoid a return to conflict. Over time, the definition of peacebuilding has gradually expanded to refer to integrated approaches for addressing violent conflict at different points in the conflict cycle. Peacebuilding currently includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of societies emerging from conflict, including addressing the root causes of conflicts and promoting socio-economic justice. The concept involves putting in place responsive governance institutions and embedding the rule of law in order to consolidate reconciliation, reconstruction and development. It also involves demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programmes, as well as security sector reform.

Peacebuilding is becoming increasingly important on both the African and global agendas, and it is important that SADC engages actively with this issue. In September 2005, the UN established a Peacebuilding Commission. The body comprises a core 31-member Organisational Committee, to which two SADC countries – Tanzania and Angola – were elected in May 2006. The Permanent Representative of Angola to the UN, Ambassador Ismael Abraão Gaspar Martins, was the first chair of the Organisational Committee. The central objectives of the Commission are to sustain international attention on post-conflict countries; marshal resources; and help to develop strategies for effective peacebuilding. In 2006, the AU established its own Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework which stresses the link between the peace and security, and the humanitarian and developmental dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.²⁷ The SADC secretariat has a crucial role to play in supporting both initiatives. It also has a vital role to play in marshalling resources and helping countries in the sub-region to devise strategies that give them more ownership of peacebuilding processes.

While peacekeeping missions may take place over a few months or, more often, years, meaningful peacebuilding may take a decade or more to succeed. SADC must be prepared to engage in post-conflict reconstruction in the long-term. Preventing a country from returning to conflict involves not only ensuring the implementation of peace agreements, but also capacity-building to improve governance, security sector reform (including strategies for dealing with demobilised troops) and transitional justice, including truth commissions and war crimes tribunals.²⁸ Reconstruction also involves human security aspects: affording citizens a stake in health, education and the economy; embedding human rights; addressing the return of refugees; and drawing women and children into the peacebuilding process. The human security components of peacebuilding are particularly important in establishing durable peace, but are often overshadowed by more traditional security aspects.

26 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (New York: United Nations, 1992).

27 AU, *Policy Framework on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development in Africa*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, July 2006.

28 CCR, *Peace versus Justice? Truth and Reconciliation Commissions and War Crimes Tribunals in Africa*, report of a seminar in Cape Town, South Africa, 17 and 18 May 2007 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

6. SADC, Gender and Peacebuilding

Human and political insecurity in the SADC region have gender dimensions.²⁹ The last few decades have seen a general feminisation of poverty both in Africa and globally. Gender-based violence remains a major issue that cuts across geographical, ethnic and socio-economic lines. As a result, SADC has identified gender as a key cross-cutting issue.

Gender issues are addressed in several SADC instruments, including Article 6(2) of the 1992 SADC Declaration and Treaty; the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development; its 1998 Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children; and the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan.³⁰ SADC member states are party to a range of international agreements that highlight the importance of human rights and gender equality. However, the SADC secretariat needs to ensure that the involvement of women goes beyond simply fulfilling quotas in decision-making roles. Addressing the gendered dimension of security, governance and development requires meaningful engagement around gender issues. Both governmental and non-governmental actors working on gender; peace and security; governance; and development issues should be supported and involved in taskforces and committees constituted by the SADC secretariat and its member states.

Women and children have been disproportionately targeted during recent African conflicts, and they constitute the majority of the victims in contemporary armed conflicts.³¹ Wars frequently expose women and children to higher levels of gender-based violence.³² Sexual violence against women and children, in particular, is increasingly used as a tactic of war. Rape was so widespread during the DRC conflict, where an estimated three million people have died since 1997, that the former UN Under-Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, compared it to “a cancer in the Congolese society”.³³ The majority of refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the country are women and children.³⁴ The loss of livelihoods as a result of displacement has encouraged higher levels of prostitution, while the collapse of healthcare infrastructure is associated with rising levels of illness and death, particularly among the very young, the elderly and pregnant women. These features also make the conflict and post-conflict environment highly conducive to the spread of HIV, with women and young girls generally being more vulnerable to infection than men and boys.³⁵ The disruption of social networks and support systems also shifts a greater burden of care onto women and children. Finally, experiences over the last two decades show that as much as conflicts have impacted negatively on women, they have also provided opportunities for women to transform their lives in ways that have sometimes redefined prevailing gender relations. In 2005, for example, Liberia elected the first African woman president, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, while 49 per cent of Rwanda’s post-genocide parliament consists of women – the highest percentage in the world.³⁶

29 Gender refers to the social and cultural construction of female and male identities, roles and responsibilities, while sex refers to biological characteristics that define females and males. The biological characteristics are universal, but gender identities may shift across geographical and cultural space.

30 SADC, *Declaration and Treaty; Declaration on Gender and Development; and the Addendum to the 1997 Declaration on Gender and Development: The Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children*, Grand Bay, Mauritius, September 1998 (available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/treaty/SADC_GenderDecl_Add.pdf; accessed 21 November 2007); and SADC, *The RISDP*.

31 UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security*, S/2002/1154, (2002) p.2.

32 *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*, seminar report by the CCR and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Cape Town, South Africa, 27 and 28 October 2005; and CCR *Children and Armed Conflicts*, seminar report, 12 and 13 April 2007, Johannesburg (available at <http://ccrweb.ccruct.ac.za>).

33 Chris McGreal, ‘Hundreds of Thousands Raped in Congo Wars’, *The Guardian* (London), 13 November 2006.

34 Francis Deng, ‘The International Challenges of State Failure and Internal Displacement’, in Adekeye Adebajo and Helen Scanlon (eds.), *A Dialogue of the Deaf: Essays on Africa and the United Nations* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2006), p.113.

35 Michael Fleshman, ‘AIDS Prevention in the Ranks: UN Targets Peacekeepers, Combatants in War Against Disease’, *Africa Recovery*, 15(1-2), June 2001, p.16.

36 Ibid.

In October 2000, the UN Security Council recognised the links between gender and conflict when the world's most powerful organ passed its historic Resolution 1325 on women and security.³⁷ The resolution proposed a legal framework to address women's peace and security concerns at the local, regional and international levels.³⁸ However, a review of the resolution's implementation in Africa at a policy seminar in Cape Town in October 2005, revealed that while Resolution 1325 provides a framework for introducing gender concerns into conflict management processes, it has been civil society – rather than national governments – that has been primarily active in promoting the resolution which remains largely unknown in many parts of Africa.

Gender has yet to be included in peace and security instruments and processes. While SADC's RISDP of 2001 regards gender equality as a prerequisite for reducing poverty; improving quality of life; and stemming the spread of HIV in Southern Africa, SIPO makes no mention of gender. Moreover, while SADC's socio-economic and political agendas – embodied in the RISDP and SIPO respectively – should be implemented jointly, they have often operated independently of each other.³⁹ SADC peacekeepers, militaries, mission leaders, negotiators and police officers appear to have limited capacity to address gender issues, while their knowledge of international and continental obligations, such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325, is generally poor.⁴⁰ Furthermore, while it is increasingly recognised that women and girls are active participants in conflicts and have an essential role to play in peacebuilding efforts, they remain largely excluded from both peace negotiation and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration processes. Similarly, reconstruction programmes seldom recognise or prioritise gender-based differences in access to basic social services and democratic processes.⁴¹

“SADC's Gender Unit should also facilitate the mainstreaming of gender issues into existing and future peace and security instruments and action plans.”

This suggests the need for more leadership and action on gender issues within SADC's politics, defence and security infrastructure. The SADC Gender Unit, based at its Gaborone secretariat, is working closely with civil society actors to strengthen the regional and national implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325.⁴² This may increase awareness of the resolution in southern Africa, but the secretariat should also provide leadership on gender issues, and educate and promote attention to gender issues at the regional and national levels. In addition to supporting the implementation of the gender aspects of the RISDP, this initiative and SIPO should be harmonised to ensure greater synergy between their socio-economic and political objectives. SADC's Gender Unit should also facilitate the mainstreaming of gender issues into existing and future peace and security instruments and action plans. The SADC secretariat should develop a gender-mainstreaming checklist to assist the Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation to integrate measures for

37 UN Resolution 1325, UN Security Council, S/RES/1325 (2000).

38 CCR and UNIFEM, *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*.

39 Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela, "Gender, Peace and Security in SADC", presentation at the CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

40 Ibid.

41 Yaliwe Clarke, "Gender and Peacebuilding in Africa", presentation delivered at the CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

42 Mathiba-Madibela, "Gender, Peace and Security in SADC".

achieving gender equity into all its programmes. In addition, the SADC Gender Unit should encourage member states to put in place and uphold laws and policies to protect their citizens from abuse and harm during and after conflicts.

At the programmatic level, SADC officials, security technocrats, peacekeepers and other stakeholders responsible for implementing its security and governance agendas must be sensitised to the importance of gender issues and trained on gender mainstreaming. The SADC secretariat should provide for the incorporation of a sustainable gender training programme into existing sub-regional peacekeeping training curricula; facilitate the meaningful participation of women in both formal and informal conflict mediation and negotiation processes; and ensure that the particular needs of women and girls are addressed in DDR and reconstruction and development processes. SADC member states must uphold their commitments to ensure that women are equally represented in all political and decision-making positions, particularly in its peace and security structures.



ABOVE: Dr Sarah Kaschula, Rhodes University, Grahamstown; Ms Marilyn Josefsson, Swedish/Norwegian HIV/AIDS Team for Africa, Embassy of Sweden, Lusaka; and Ms Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone

LEFT: Dr Sheila Bunwaree, University of Mauritius, Reduit, *left*; and Major-General Charles Namoloh, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek

FAR LEFT: Professor Andre du Pisani, University of Namibia, Windhoek, *left*; and Mr Felix Moshia, Africa Dialogue Centre for Conflict Management and Development Issues, Arusha

7. Food Security in Southern Africa

SADC's regional food security situation is currently unpredictable, and its member states, particularly Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, have experienced continuing problems in ensuring a sustainable supply of food for their populations.

The last decade and a half has seen the stagnation, and, in some cases, the decline, of cereal production figures for the sub-region, while SADC's population has grown by approximately 40 per cent over the same period to reach 125 million, suggesting that the demand for food is outstripping supply.⁴³ The level of food insecurity in the SADC region is high and rising. The UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) estimates that between 1990-92 and 1997-99, the number of undernourished people in southern Africa rose from 52.7 million to 77.2 million, or from 42 per cent to 51 per cent of the sub-region's entire population. Although there have been improvements in a small number of countries, average per capita dietary energy and protein intake is approximately 2,160 kilocalorie (kcal) per day: below the recommended level of 2,700 kcal per day.⁴⁴ The importation of food and food aid to southern Africa has almost doubled over the last 15 years.⁴⁵ Despite increased food production after 2005, the World Food Programme (WFP) estimated that its southern African regional operation teams would have to provide food for 4.3 million people in 2007.⁴⁶

The drivers of food insecurity in the SADC region vary between and within countries, reflecting diverse economic, environmental, social and political situations. In addition to food production, reserves, imports, and demand trends – which are influenced by national and international resource, trade and macro-economic factors – food insecurity in the sub-region is mediated by ten key factors:

1. Inappropriate national agricultural and food policies;
2. Insufficient government investment in agriculture;
3. Inadequate technological development;
4. The poor access of farmers to agricultural inputs, support and markets, particularly on the part of women;
5. Inequitable land distribution;
6. Low soil fertility and land degradation;
7. Insufficient preparedness for disasters such as droughts and floods;
8. Inadequate social protection policies and strategies;
9. Over-reliance on food aid; and
10. Models of humanitarian response that undermine local livelihood bases and systems.⁴⁷

Food security in southern Africa is also increasingly influenced by a number of emerging issues, including weaknesses in governance systems; the seasonal variability and shifting ecological patterns associated with

43 Sue Mbaya, "Food Security in the SADC Region: Challenges and Opportunities", presentation delivered at the CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007. See also CCR, *Whither SADC?*, p.12.

44 SADC, *The RISDP*.

45 Mbaya, "Food Security in the SADC Region: Challenges and Opportunities".

46 James Morris, Report to the Secretary-General: Mission of the Special Envoy for Humanitarian Needs in Southern Africa, New York, 7-15 December 2006 (available at http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0002307/SE_Report_SA_Dec2006.pdf; accessed 30 November 2007).

47 SADC, *The RISDP*.

global climate change; the implications of the sub-region's HIV/AIDS epidemic; the commercialisation of agriculture at the expense of food and subsistence agriculture; and, related to this, the potential increase in the use of food crops such as maize for bio-fuels.⁴⁸

Reversing the trend towards growing food insecurity will require urgent sub-regional collaborative action. In facilitating this, the SADC secretariat should focus on specific strategies that increase durable and sustainable food supplies; reinforce human security; and address vulnerability through social protection and pro-poor policies. Mozambique, for example, has enhanced the food security of its population by putting in place wide-ranging social policies that reduce poverty and vulnerability, and increase the ability of citizens to purchase both food and agricultural inputs.

A policy framework to address these issues already exists. The Dar es Salaam Declaration and Plan of Action on Agriculture and Food Security in the SADC Region of 2004⁴⁹ constitutes a pro-active agricultural development strategy to address food security on a sustainable and regional basis. It commits SADC leaders to promoting agriculture as a central pillar in national and regional development strategies and programmes. Key action areas include: improving access to agricultural inputs; better management and control of crop and animal diseases; development of the agro-industrial sectors; investment in water management technology for agricultural development and improved management of livestock and fisheries; investing in and reforming extension services; and training and organising farmers.

The Dar es Salaam policy commitments also call on SADC member states to establish a Regional Strategic Food Reserve to serve as a buffer against food production shortfalls, and to allocate at least ten per cent of their national budgets to developing the agricultural sector. The RISDP focuses on more general measures to achieve sustainable access to safe and adequate food for southern Africa's citizens. SADC's strategy to tackle food insecurity has five key pillars:

1. Improved access to food through job-creation and the development of safety nets for vulnerable groups;
2. Improved levels of nutrition;
3. Improved forecasting and earlywarning systems for hazards such as droughts and floods, as well as activities aimed at preventing, mitigating and recovering from their effects;
4. Building the capacity for implementing food security programmes; and
5. Addressing the gendered aspects of food insecurity.

An institutional architecture to implement these measures is also in place. A multi-sectoral Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee (RVAC) was established in 1999. This is tasked with strengthening national and regional vulnerability analysis and promoting and supporting national Vulnerability Assessment Committees (VAC) within each SADC member state. The sub-regional body's Land Reform Facility constitutes a learning and support facility for land reform, while its Directorate of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR) provides a co-ordinating mechanism for sub-regional food security work. The SADC National Committees are also responsible for implementing and monitoring these programmes, including the goals of

48 Mbaya, "Food Security in the SADC Region: Challenges and Opportunities".

49 SADC, *Dar es Salaam Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security*, August 2004 (available at www.tanzania.go.tz/budgetspeech/2004/kilimotable/KIAMBATISHO%20Na%20I.htm ; accessed 29 June, 2007).

the RISDP at the national level. However, these national committees are frequently little more than institutional shells and have been of limited value in driving and monitoring the implementation of SADC's objectives.⁵⁰

There remains a gap between policy and implementation, and the SADC secretariat has a key role to play in helping to translate policy commitments into action. Most importantly, the secretariat and its members must promote and support a rights-based approach to food security, which sees food security not simply as a developmental goal, but as a basic human right. Nutrition must also be seen as a food security issue. Such a paradigm shift would help to support far-reaching measures to address fundamental causes of food insecurity, such as land tenure reform and equitable social protection systems within SADC. Only Malawi was said to have met its obligation to allocate at least ten per cent of its national budget to agriculture.⁵¹



ABOVE: From left: Ambassador Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York; Major-General Charles Namoloh, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek; and Professor Mwesiga Baregu, University of Dar es Salaam
RIGHT: Ms Chantal Uwimana, TrustAfrica, Dakar; and Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, African Union Special Envoy for Darfur and former Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity



50 Le Pere, "Challenges to Governance in Southern Africa: The Country-SADC interface".

51 Paul Jere, "Food Security in SADC: Is the Ship Floating or Sinking?", presentation delivered at the CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

The SADC secretariat must encourage member states to meet this target. While the secretariat should support the implementation of all the measures established in the Dar es Salaam Declaration and the RISDP, it should prioritise national commitments in five key areas:

- *First, improve the availability of food* by increasing agricultural production and productivity; increasing farmers' access to timely and affordable agricultural inputs such as high quality seed and fertiliser, as well as land and labour saving technologies; promoting the sustainable use of natural resources; and promoting more effective food storage methods and better management of national food stores;
- *Second, improve access to food* by adopting a multi-sectoral approach to food security that addresses the political, social, economic, and physiological drivers of food insecurity; defining and investing in more proactive and sustainable social protection systems; diversifying rural income sources; creating an enabling environment conducive to the development of local markets; and addressing existing barriers to equitable global and regional trade;
- *Third, improve food utilisation* by improving the nutritional value of food through better processing techniques; promoting better feeding practices through nutrition education; promoting food safety and quality standards; promoting food preservation; and minimising food losses;
- *Fourth, improve forecasting and earlywarning systems* by developing the capacity to predict and manage the effects of hazards like drought and flooding, including linking and supporting the activities of national and regional Vulnerability Assessment Committees, and expanding their mandate to include ongoing monitoring of a range of vulnerability indicators; improving disaster prevention, preparedness and response capacity; and raising awareness about the dangers of climate change; and
- *Finally, develop institutional capacity to drive implementation* by promoting and supporting capacity-building within existing institutions, including that of national implementation committees; strengthening and co-ordinating resource mobilisation capacity; documenting and scaling up sustainable and innovative responses; and investing in infrastructure.

All sub-regional measures to address food insecurity must integrate gender issues into their objectives and activities. Rural women play a primary role in agricultural production in southern Africa (as they do throughout the continent), ensuring sufficient food for their families. Yet, despite the multiple roles of women in ensuring household food security, women in southern Africa still have limited access to land; lack control over agricultural output; and by virtue of their household and labour responsibilities, frequently suffer acute malnutrition and food insecurity. Gender concerns must be mainstreamed, and interventions to improve food security in the sub-region must incorporate specific measures to improve women's access to, and control over, resources and agricultural inputs and outputs; address the gender aspects of market access and the commercialisation of agriculture; and promote women's well-being and health.

As elsewhere, SADC member states must also grapple with the issue of genetically modified (GM) crops. The food crisis in southern Africa in 2002 and 2003, which affected more than 152 million people, led to considerable controversy over the introduction of GM food aid from the United States. Zambia insisted on the provision of only non-GM maize from external donors, voicing the concern that the food could be harmful to both the health of people and the environment. After initially refusing to accept the aid, Zimbabwe, Malawi,

Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique eventually accepted milled GM grain. The controversy surrounding GM food aid and crops, however, continues. While SADC has now accepted the findings of an expert panel that the biotechnology could significantly boost agricultural output in the sub-region, Zambia's own team of scientists felt that GM crops pose a potential threat to human health and biodiversity in southern Africa.⁵² Several other civil society groups in the sub-region also oppose the introduction of GM crops. They argue that not only are increased yields short-term, but that GM crops threaten local livelihoods by undermining farmers' independence and their right to save seeds.⁵³

There is still too little information available to predict the long-term implications of GM products on agriculture in southern Africa, and there is a need for additional research into the health, environmental and social impacts of introducing GM crops and foods. Beyond this, SADC and national governments should, at a minimum, put in place policies and regulations to ensure the safety of food and to protect both rural livelihoods and biodiversity. SADC governments should have the right to make an informed choice about whether or not to use or consume GM products, and both the SADC secretariat and member states must ensure transparency in the sale and use of GM products in compliance with existing national and sub-regional legislation. The SADC secretariat can play a key role in promoting and supporting appropriate labelling of products, as well as the gathering and dissemination of information on GM crops.



ABOVE : Ms Robyn Pharoah, Independent Consultant, Cape Town; Major-General Charles Namoloh, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek

RIGHT : Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, African Union Special Envoy for Darfur and former Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity; Mr Felix Moshia, Africa Dialogue Centre for Conflict Management and Development Issues, Arusha; and Ambassador Augustine Mahiga, Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the United Nations, New York

BELOW RIGHT : Dr Khabele Matlosa, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Johannesburg; Lieutenant-General (Ret.) Louis Fisher, Former Chief of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF); and Dr Garth le Pere, Institute for Global Dialogue, Midrand



52 Institute for Security Studies (ISS), South Africa, *Situation Report: Genetically Modified Foods in the African Context: Behind the Smokescreen of the Current Debate*, ISS Situation Report, October 2002 (available at <http://www.iss.co.za/af/current/GMOReportASAP.html> ; accessed 21 November 2007).

53 See, for example, Elfreida Pschorn-Strauss and Rachel Wynberg, *Six Reasons Why Africa is Concerned with Genetically Modified Crops*, briefing document prepared by BioWatch South Africa (available at www.biowatch.org.za/pubs/briefings/2004/briefing06.pdf ; accessed 28 June, 2007).

8. Tackling the Challenge of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa

By the end of 2003, an estimated 25 million people had died of AIDS – more lives than had been claimed by any other epidemic in recorded history.⁵⁴ In mid-2006, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) estimated that there were 40 million people living with the disease worldwide.

Southern Africa is at the epicentre of the epidemic: only three-and-a-half per cent of the world's population live in southern Africa, yet southern Africans bear 37 per cent of the global AIDS disease burden. While prevalence rates vary widely between countries, the latest estimates suggest that there are well over 14 million adults and children living with HIV/AIDS in the SADC region.⁵⁵ It is estimated that approximately 2.7 million people contracted HIV in 2005; half of these infections were among women, while 40 per cent were among young people between the ages of 15 and 24. Rising HIV/AIDS prevalence levels have been associated with increasing levels of tuberculosis, and it is thought that as many as 40 per cent of all people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in the sub-region are co-infected with tuberculosis.⁵⁶

While initially seen as primarily a medical problem, it is clear that the implications of the HIV/AIDS epidemic extend well beyond the public health sector. HIV/AIDS has implications for traditional security and human security. It is reversing many of the health, social and economic gains achieved in southern Africa over the last 50 years, reducing life expectancy, increasing levels of poverty, and reducing the reach and resilience of government institutions into societies. By increasing poverty and vulnerability; widening the gap between rich and poor; and corroding the credibility and operational effectiveness of government institutions, HIV/AIDS could undermine development and democracy in southern Africa.⁵⁷ The pandemic also has wide-ranging policy implications for the sub-region. For example, while SADC member states are attempting to promote deeper integration through the signing of the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons in 2005, and adopting other measures to facilitate the movement of people and goods in the sub-region,⁵⁸ increased mobility may serve to spread the virus. According to the 2006 UNAIDS *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*, the rates of HIV infection are growing fastest in those areas linked by major transport routes to Malawi, South Africa and Zimbabwe – the countries with a high degree of migrancy.⁵⁹

Of particular relevance are the ramifications of the HIV/AIDS epidemic for food security in the sub-region. Research and experience from across southern Africa suggest that AIDS-related illness and death undermines food security in a variety of ways. People living with HIV/AIDS require up to 50 per cent more protein, 15 per

54 *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*, published by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), UNAIDS/06.20E, May 2006, p.19.

55 SADC, *HIV and AIDS in SADC*, Gaborone, Botswana (available at www.sadc.int/english/hiv_aids/factsheets/aids.pdf; accessed 7 May 2006).

56 Antonica Hembe, "The HIV/AIDS Situation in the SADC Region: Progress and Challenges", presentation delivered at the CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

57 See CCR and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF), *AIDS and Society in South Africa: Building a Community of Practice*, report based on a policy research seminar, Cape Town, South Africa, 27 and 28 March 2006; and CCR, *HIV/AIDS and Human Security in South Africa*, report of a policy seminar, Cape Town, South Africa, 26 and 27 June 2006 (both reports available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

58 SADC, *Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons*, Gaborone, Botswana, August 2005 (available at <http://www.sadc.int>; accessed 8 May 2006).

59 UNAIDS, *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*.

cent more energy and more vitamins and minerals than HIV-negative individuals, yet households frequently have access to less nutritionally diverse food. Drivers of food insecurity include: the loss of labour, knowledge and skills; and the diversion of savings and the liquidation of productive assets, as families lose breadwinners, face the costs of prolonged illness, and bury their dead. Other factors also include: the loss of social connections and supports as a result of the stigma attached to the disease, as well as land-grabbing from widows and orphans. A 2002 assessment by Swaziland's Vulnerable Assessment Committee found households affected by HIV/AIDS were more likely than other households to reduce the amount of land under cultivation, experience lower yields and change their cropping patterns in favour of less resource-intensive crops. The study further found that their cultivation of maize dropped by over half (54 per cent), while the number of cattle owned dropped by a little under one third (30 per cent).⁶⁰

Current food security monitoring mechanisms in the SADC region are oriented towards measuring poverty on an annual or bi-annual basis. Assessing the effects of the epidemic will require specific epidemic-sensitive measures that capture the social and economic effects of HIV/AIDS. These must be sensitive to both the multi-year nature of the shocks associated with the epidemic, as well as the aggregate effect of AIDS-related illness and death at the community and national levels.⁶¹ The SADC secretariat has a crucial role to play in promoting the integration of HIV/AIDS issues into the food security agenda, and can help to marshal the financial and intellectual resources required to achieve an HIV/AIDS-sensitive monitoring infrastructure. Several international organisations such as CARE International, the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation, and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), have developed tools and indicators to capture such trends, and could provide useful partnerships in achieving these objectives. A 2003 study of HIV-affected rural households in Namibia found that 43 per cent of all households surveyed had experienced food shortages and that the death of a mother in the home usually resulted in a 50 per cent reduction in harvesting.⁶²

As noted earlier, it is important that measures and programmes take cognisance of gender issues. Research in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape provinces has found evidence that the long-term impact of AIDS-related illness and death is most severe where they involve adult women. These findings suggest that female-headed households are often more food secure as women are more likely than men to spend available income on food.⁶³ However, the UN estimated in 2004 that, for every ten men infected with HIV in sub-Saharan Africa, there are on average 13 women living with HIV.⁶⁴ This suggests that even without direct impact on income and agricultural production and productivity, the HIV/AIDS epidemic stands to undermine food security significantly in the sub-region by disproportionately affecting women. This underscores the need to link food security to broader measures to prevent and manage HIV infection among both men and women, and to facilitate and support women's access to land and other productive resources.

60 See Sarah Kaschula, 'HIV/AIDS and Food Security', presentation delivered at the CCR seminar on *SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty-First Century*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007.

61 Ibid.

62 Africa Institutional Management Services, 'The Impacts of HIV/AIDS on the Agricultural Sector and Rural Livelihoods in Northern Namibia', report published by the Integrated Support to Sustainable Development and Food Security Programme and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, Rome, October 2003, pp.17 and 18 (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/sd/SDW/SDWW/namibia_hiv_aids_survey_2003.pdf; accessed 30 November 2007).

63 Ibid.

A 2003 study of HIV-affected rural households in Namibia found that 43 per cent of all households surveyed had experienced food shortages.



Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town; Ms Sue Mbaya, Southern African Regional Poverty Network, Tshwane; and Mr Paul Knorr Jere, PJ Development Consulting Company, Lilongwe

SADC has a policy framework in place to support measures that seek to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic. A summit of its heads of state and government on HIV/AIDS held in Maseru, Lesotho, in July 2003 saw the adoption of the SADC HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework and Plan of Action: 2003-2007.⁶⁵ This framework aims not only to enhance existing efforts to address HIV/AIDS, but also to tackle the various social, economic and political effects of the pandemic. Key focus areas include: prevention and social mobilisation; care, treatment and support; socio-economic development and mitigation of the epidemic's effects; and resource mobilisation to support programmes to combat the virus. The RISDP of 2001 also recognised that HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases undermine development, and the programme identified HIV/AIDS as the single greatest developmental and public health challenge facing southern Africa.⁶⁶ The RISDP further identified HIV/AIDS as a cross-cutting intervention area, and called for the mainstreaming of the pandemic across all sectors. SADC member states are also party to international initiatives, including commitments to achieving the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of halving poverty by 2015; the Declaration of Commitment stemming from the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on AIDS (UNGASS) of 2001; the AU's 2001 Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS; and the developmental goals established in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) of 2001.

The SADC secretariat has developed a five-year business plan to guide the implementation of the commitments made by governments at the Maseru Summit in 2003. There has been significant progress in fulfilling these commitments. Frameworks and tools to monitor progress have been developed; an annual forum for National AIDS authorities has been established; measures have been taken to improve media reporting of HIV/AIDS; a Regional Fund for HIV and AIDS is being operationalised; and member states have successfully

64 *AIDS Epidemic Update*, published by UNAIDS and the World Health Organisation (WHO), UNAIDS/04.E, December 2004, pp.4 and 21.

65 SADC, *Maseru Declaration on HIV/AIDS*, July 2003 (available at http://www.sadc.int/key_documents/declarations/hivandaids.php ; accessed June 2007).

66 SADC, *The RISDP and SIPO*.

obtained resources from international institutions such as the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM) to accelerate their response to the epidemic. However, eight key challenges remain in this battle:

- Translating political commitment to combating the epidemic into concrete programmes of action;
- Enforcing legislation to prevent gender-based violence and putting in place multi-sectoral measures to prevent and manage violence against women and children;
- Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS across all sectors;
- Consolidating policies and programmes;
- Finding sufficient qualified personnel and the physical infrastructure to drive and implement HIV/AIDS programming, prevention, care, support and treatment;
- Procuring and producing anti-retroviral drugs;
- Increasing accessible services to vulnerable groups such as orphaned and vulnerable children, refugees, IDPs and migrants; and
- Collecting and disseminating accurate data for planning, monitoring and evaluation.⁶⁷

The SADC secretariat can further bolster its efforts to address HIV/AIDS by strengthening the position of its HIV/AIDS focal points through ensuring that they have sufficient personnel, material and political resources; improving regional resource networks and partnerships; promoting the harmonisation of regional protocols, policies, frameworks and guidelines; and encouraging member states to use the monitoring and evaluation tools developed to track the progress made in implementing policy commitments in the sub-region. The SADC secretariat should also consult with member states to review targets and identify and address constraints to implementation. It must further collate and disseminate best practices and lessons learned over the past two decades in combating the virus, and strengthen the collection and use of comprehensive health sector data for policy planning and implementation purposes.

Beyond these general measures, SADC should also urgently address the implications of the HIV/AIDS epidemic for traditional security concerns. It is estimated that infection rates within some militaries in the region could be between 20 and 60 per cent,⁶⁸ and it is recognised that personnel losses to AIDS could compromise the operational effectiveness of national defence and police forces, and encourage resource competition between civil and military institutions. This could adversely affect national economies, as well as the provision of social goods such as health and education.

Yet, while SIPO recognises that HIV/AIDS poses a challenge to security in southern Africa and to the objectives of the SADC Organ,⁶⁹ the document neither articulates the precise challenges faced by SADC's political, defence, state and public sectors, nor describes measures to address them. This gap needs to be filled urgently, and the SADC secretariat is only just beginning to examine ways of promoting and harmonising its member states' responses to HIV/AIDS within their militaries. A number of southern African militaries such as South Africa, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Zambia have already implemented a broad range of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programmes for a number of years. These national strategies could form the basis for a common SADC policy on HIV/AIDS management in the military sector.⁷⁰

67 Hembe, 'The HIV/AIDS Situation in the SADC Region: Progress and Challenges'.

68 See Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Centre, *Impact of HIV/AIDS on Military Forces: Sub-Saharan Africa*, DH817-2-00 (Washington DC: Defence Intelligence Agency, 2000), cited in Laurie Garrett, *HIV and National Security: Where are the Links?* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2005), p28.

69 SADC, *The RISDP*.

70 CCR and the University of Namibia, *HIV/AIDS and Militaries in Southern Africa*, report based on a seminar, Windhoek, Namibia, 9 and 10 February 2006 (available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

9. Conclusion

In summary, the SADC region is confronted with a range of human and conventional security challenges, including the complexities of promoting and consolidating “good governance” practices and democracy; preventing conflicts and supporting both peacekeeping and peacebuilding in southern Africa, the African continent and globally; engendering the sub-region’s peace and security infrastructure, as well as its development processes; ensuring ongoing food security for all; and putting in place measures to combat the spread and effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The SADC secretariat and its member states have already established policy, institutional and programmatic measures to address many of these complex, multi-faceted issues, and have made considerable progress in achieving a more peaceful and secure southern Africa. However, there remain areas in which the secretariat can act to facilitate, guide and support more effective strategies for promoting human and military security in the SADC region.

Given the importance of its facilitative role, maintaining and strengthening the Gaborone-based secretariat’s capacity will be critical to making progress in the implementation of SADC’s governance, security and development commitments. In 2001, SADC began restructuring its secretariat in order to enhance its institutional capacity and to streamline its bureaucracy. The secretariat has since shifted its focus from project management to policy formulation and harmonisation, establishing planning, policy formulation and administrative functions under four centralised directorates: Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment (TIFI); Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR); Infrastructure and Services (IS); and Social and Human Development, and Special Programmes (SHD). The SADC secretariat also houses specialist units in policy and strategic planning, legal affairs, finance and gender.

These innovations could potentially lend themselves to the task of facilitating policy development, implementation and evaluation in southern Africa. Yet, despite these strategic steps, the secretariat still needs to address its continuing human and financial resource constraints in order to be able to operationalise its activities effectively. Finally, since sub-regional co-operation will be central to harnessing and enhancing resources, the SADC secretariat must improve its co-ordination with its development partners and civil society actors.



Ms Sue Mbaya, Southern African Regional Poverty Network, Tshwane; Dr Sheila Bunwaree, University of Mauritius, Reduit; and Mr Paul Knorr Jere, PJ Development Consulting Company, Lilongwe

Policy Recommendations

The discussions at the Dar es Salaam seminar resulted in the following six key policy recommendations:

1. *Measures to strengthen democracy and governance in the region:* Southern African states need to move beyond viewing elections as an indicator of democracy to deepening the perceived value of democracy and the quality and reach of democratic processes. The SADC secretariat should support and empower existing regional electoral monitoring processes; strengthen oversight mechanisms; promote the use of existing tools such as the regional guidelines on holding democratic elections; and support and guide governments, civil society actors and regional mechanisms in participatory democratic processes.
2. *Measures to enhance the capacity of the region to address peace and security concerns:* Measures need to be put in place to ensure that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation has sufficient resources and capacity to drive the consolidation, implementation and monitoring of southern Africa's instruments on peace and security. The secretariat should also support and increase training initiatives in order to build the capacity of SADC member states to engage in complex, multi-dimensional peace operations in Africa both within the context of the African Standby Force and the UN.
3. *Measures to enhance the capacity to prevent conflict and build peace:* SADC's member states, its Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation; and the SADC secretariat should promote and mobilise the resources to support the development and implementation of a conflict earlywarning system in the sub-region; and put in place measures to build the capacity of mediators and other actors to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. In addition, the SADC secretariat should facilitate the organisation's engagement with the activities of the UN Peacebuilding Commission and the AU's Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework.
4. *Enhance and support the mainstreaming of gender issues:* Gender issues should be integrated into SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan and its Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ in order to ensure greater synergy and to facilitate the mainstreaming of gender issues into existing and future peace and security instruments. The SADC secretariat should develop a gender-mainstreaming checklist to assist the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation in integrating measures to achieve gender equity in all its programmes; facilitate greater participation of women in formal and informal negotiation processes; and build capacity on gender issues among key peace and security actors.
5. *Enhance national and regional capacity to anticipate, prevent and respond to food insecurity:* The SADC secretariat should promote and support a rights-based approach to food security, which sees food security as a basic human right and views nutrition as a food security issue. The existing SADC food security framework, including the Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee and National Vulnerability Assessment Committee, should be strengthened and adapted to meet the sub-region's rapidly changing food security needs. Both gender and HIV/AIDS should be mainstreamed into all instruments and policies designed to address food insecurity, and HIV/AIDS epidemic-sensitive indicators should be integrated into SADC's monitoring and earlywarning tools and processes.

6. *Strengthen measures to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic:* SADC must help to articulate the HIV/AIDS epidemic's potential implications for safety and security in the sub-region, and the secretariat should examine and debate ways of promoting and harmonising the response of member states to HIV/AIDS within militaries in the sub-region which typically have between 20 - 60 per cent infection rates. As in other intervention areas, measures should incorporate relevant gender issues. The SADC secretariat should enhance the capacity of its HIV/AIDS focal points to drive and monitor interventions aimed at combating the epidemic; strengthen regional resource networks and partnerships; promote the harmonisation of regional protocols, policies, frameworks and guidelines; and facilitate improved monitoring by member states of their progress in implementing their policy commitments. The secretariat should also collate and disseminate best practices and lessons learned over the past two decades in combating HIV/AIDS, and strengthen the collection and use of comprehensive health sector data for policy planning and implementation purposes.



Participants of the CCR seminar, SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the 21st Century, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 29 and 30 May 2007

Annex I

Agenda

Day One: Tuesday 29 May 2007

9h00–9h15 Welcome and Opening

Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa

9h15–10h30 Opening Session

Chair and Speaker: **Hon Bernard Membe**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam

Speakers: **Hon Major-General (Ret.) Charles Namoloh**, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek

Dr Tomaz Salomão, Executive Secretary, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone, Botswana

10h30–10h45 Coffee Break

10h45–12h15 Session I: Military Security: Progress and Prospects

Chair: **Hon Major-General (Ret.) Charles Namoloh**, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek

Speakers: **Ambassador Kaire Mbuende**, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York, and former SADC Executive Secretary

Professor Mwesiga Baregu, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

12h15–13h15 Lunch

13h15–14h45 Session II: Governance

Chair: **Lt-General (Ret.) Louis Fisher**, Centre for Defence and Security Management, Johannesburg, South Africa, and former Chief of the Botswana Defence Force

Speakers: **Dr Khabele Matlosa**, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa

Dr Garth le Pere, Institute for Global Dialogue, Midrand, South Africa

14h45–16h15 Session III: Peacemaking and Peacebuilding

Chair: **Mr Felix Mosha**, Executive Director, Africa Dialogue Centre for Management and Development, Arusha, Tanzania

Speakers: **Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim**, African Union Special Envoy for Darfur and former Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity

Ambassador Augustine Mahiga, Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the United Nations, New York

16h15–16h30 Coffee Break

16h30–18h00 Session IV: Food Security

Chair: **Dr Sheila Bunwaree**, University of Mauritius, Reduit, Mauritius

Speakers: **Mr Paul Knorr Jere**, Consultant, PJ Development Consultancy Company, Lilongwe, Malawi

Ms Sue Mbaya, Director, Southern African Regional Poverty Network, Tshwane, South Africa

Day Two: **Wednesday 30 May 2007**

09h00–10h30 Session V: Gender

Chair: **Professor Andre Du Pisani**, University of Namibia, Windhoek

Speakers: **Ms Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela**, Head, Gender Unit, Southern African Development Community

Ms Yaliwe Clarke, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

10h30–10h45 Coffee Break

10h45–12h00 Session VI: HIV/AIDS

Chair: **Mr Tsepe Motumi**, Deputy Director-General, Department of Defence, Tshwane, South Africa

Speakers: **Dr Antonica Hembe**, Head, HIV/AIDS Unit, Southern African Development Community, Gaborone, Botswana

Dr Sarah Kaschula, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa

12h00–13h00 Lunch

13h00–14h30 Session VII: Launch of CCR Policy Reports on HIV/AIDS and Security

Chair: Hon Major-General (Ret.) Charles Namoloh, Minister of Defence of Namibia, Windhoek

Speakers: Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

Ms Robyn Pharaoh, Independent Consultant, Cape Town, South Africa

14h30–14h45 Filling out of evaluation forms

14h45–15h45 Session VIII: Rapporteurs' Report and the Way Forward

Chair: Ambassador Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York, and former SADC Executive Secretary

Speakers: Ms Angela Ndinga-Muvumba, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

Ms Robyn Pharaoh, Independent Consultant, Cape Town, South Africa

Annex II

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10. Professor Andre du Pisani
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17. Dr Sarah Kaschula
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18. Professor Jonathan Kaunda
Botswana Institute for Development Policy
Analysis
Gaborone, Botswana
19. Dr Garth le Pere
Institute for Global Dialogue
Midrand, South Africa
20. Ms Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela
Southern African Development Community
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21. Ambassador Augustine Mahiga
Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the
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New York, US
22. Mr Zakaria J Masanja
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-
operation
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25. Ambassador Kaire Mbuende
Permanent Representative of Namibia to the
United Nations
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26. Honorable Bernard Kamillius Membe
Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-
operation of Tanzania
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
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Africa Dialogue Centre for Conflict
Management and Development Issues
Arusha, Tanzania
28. Mr Tanki Mothae
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29. Mr Tsepe Motumi
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30. Ambassador Herbert Mrango
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operation
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32. Ambassador Emmanuel A Mwambulukutu
High Commissioner of Tanzania to South Africa
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33. Major-General Charles Namoloh
Minister of Defence of Namibia
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37. Dr Salim Ahmed Salim
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former Secretary-General of the Organisation
of African Unity

38. Dr Tomaz Augusto Salomão
Executive Secretary of the Southern African
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Gaborone, Botswana

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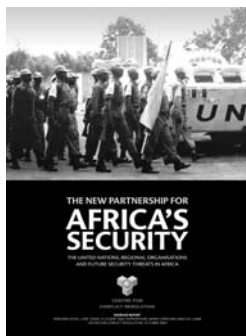
Annex III

Acronyms

ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
DDR	Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECF	Electoral Commissions Forum
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EISA	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
FANR	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (SADC Directorate)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GFATM	Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
GM	Genetically Modified
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IS	Infrastructure and Services (SADC Directorate)
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
OPDSC	Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Co-operation (SADC)
PEMMO	Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation
PLWHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
RBF	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (SADC)
RVAC	Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee (SADC)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCBRIG	Southern African Standby Brigade
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SHDSP	Social and Human Development, and Special Programmes (SADC Directorate)
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SADC)
TIFI	Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment (SADC Directorate)
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNAM	University of Namibia
UNGASS	United Nations Assembly Special Session on AIDS
VAC	Vulnerability Assessment Committees
WFP	World Food Programme

Other publications in this series

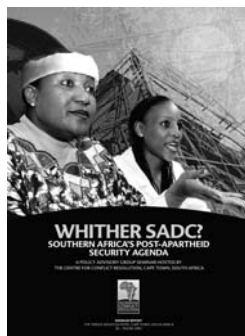
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VOLUME 1 THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S SECURITY

THE UNITED NATIONS, REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND FUTURE SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA

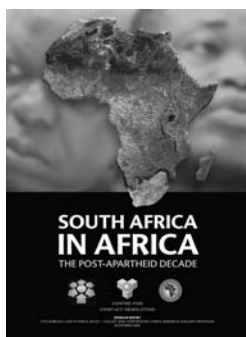
The inter-related and vexing issues of political instability in Africa and international security within the framework of UN reform were specifically focused on at this policy seminar, held from 21 – 23 May 2004 in Claremont, Cape Town.



VOLUME 5 WHITHER SADC?

SOUTHERN AFRICA'S POST-APARTHEID SECURITY AGENDA

The role and capacity of the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS) were focused on at this meeting in Oudekraal, Cape Town, on 18 and 19 June 2005.



VOLUME 2 SOUTH AFRICA IN AFRICA

THE POST-APARTHEID DECADE

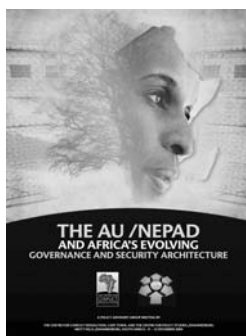
The role that South Africa has played on the African continent and the challenges that persist in South Africa's domestic transformation 10 years into democracy were assessed at this meeting in Stellenbosch, Cape Town, from 29 July - 1 August 2004.



VOLUME 6 HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN SECURITY:

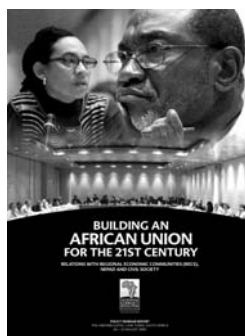
AN AGENDA FOR AFRICA

The links between human security and the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa, and the potential role of African leadership and the African Union in addressing this crisis were analysed at this policy advisory group meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 9 and 10 September 2005.



VOLUME 3 THE AU/NEPAD AND AFRICA'S EVOLVING GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

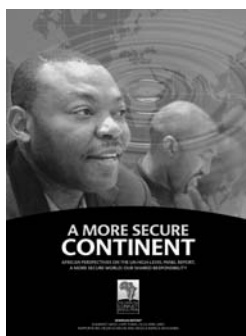
The state of governance and security in Africa under the AU and NEPAD were analysed and assessed at this policy advisory group meeting in Misty Hills, Johannesburg, on 11 and 12 December 2004.



VOLUME 7 BUILDING AN AFRICAN UNION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES (RECS), NEPAD AND CIVIL SOCIETY

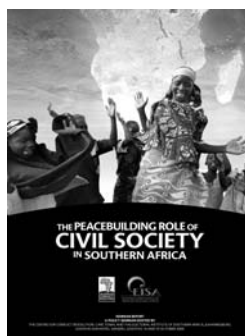
This seminar in Cape Town from 20 – 22 August 2005 made policy recommendations on how the AU's institutions, including NEPAD, could achieve their aims and objectives.



VOLUME 4 A MORE SECURE CONTINENT

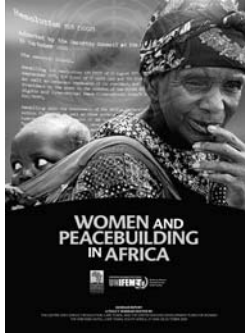
AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UN HIGH-LEVEL PANEL REPORT, A MORE SECURE WORLD: OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

African perspectives on the United Nations' (UN) High-Level Panel report on Threats, Challenges and Change were considered at this policy advisory group meeting in Somerset West, Cape Town, on 23 and 24 April 2005.



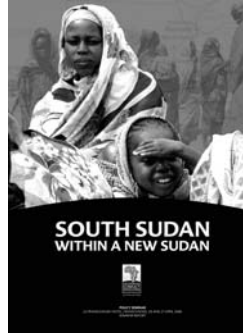
VOLUME 8 THE PEACEBUILDING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

This meeting, held in Maseru, Lesotho, on 14 and 15 October 2005, explores civil society's role in relation to southern Africa, democratic governance, its nexus with government, and draws on comparative experiences in peacebuilding.



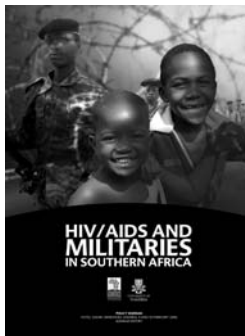
**VOLUME 9
WOMEN AND
PEACEBUILDING IN
AFRICA**

This meeting, held in Cape Town on 27 and 28 October 2005, reviewed the progress of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peacebuilding in Africa in the five years since its adoption by the United Nations in 2000.



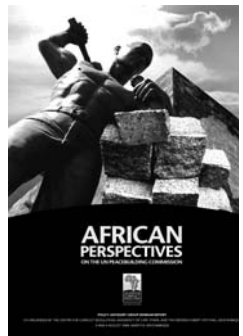
**VOLUME 13
SOUTH SUDAN WITHIN
A NEW SUDAN**

This policy advisory group seminar on 20 and 21 April 2006 in Franschhoek, Western Cape, assessed the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in January 2005 by the Government of the Republic of the Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/A).



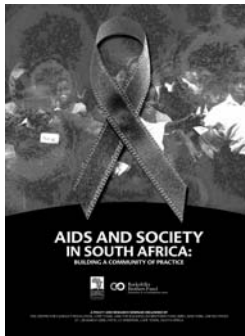
**VOLUME 10
HIV/AIDS AND
MILITARIES IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

This two-day policy advisory group seminar in Windhoek, Namibia, on 9 and 10 February 2006 examined issues of HIV/AIDS and militaries in southern Africa.



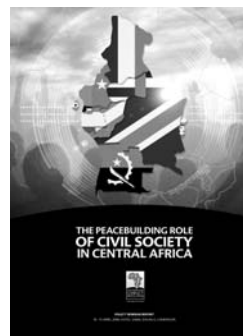
**VOLUME 14
AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES
ON THE UN
PEACEBUILDING
COMMISSION**

This meeting, in Maputo, Mozambique, on 3 and 4 August 2006, analysed the relevance for Africa of the creation, in December 2005, of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, and examined how countries emerging from conflict could benefit from its establishment.



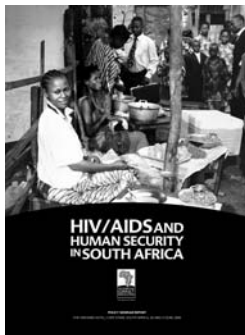
**VOLUME 11
AIDS AND SOCIETY
IN SOUTH AFRICA:
BUILDING A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE**

This policy and research seminar, held in Cape Town on 27 and 28 March 2006, developed and disseminated new knowledge on the impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa in the three key areas of: democratic practice; sustainable development; and peace and security.



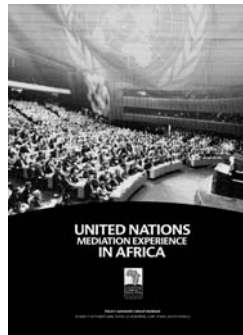
**VOLUME 15
THE PEACEBUILDING
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY
IN CENTRAL AFRICA**

This sub-regional seminar, held from 10 to 12 April 2006 in Douala, Cameroon, provided an opportunity for civil society actors, representatives of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the United Nations (UN) and other relevant players to analyse and understand the causes and consequences of conflict in central Africa.



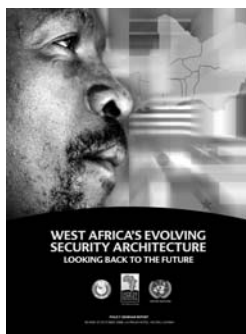
**VOLUME 12
HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN
SECURITY IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

This two-day policy seminar on 26 and 27 June 2006 took place in Cape Town and examined the scope and response to HIV/AIDS in South Africa and southern Africa from a human security perspective.



**VOLUME 16
UNITED NATIONS
MEDIATION EXPERIENCE
IN AFRICA**

This seminar, held in Cape Town on 16 and 17 October 2006, sought to draw out key lessons from mediation and conflict resolution experiences in Africa, and to identify gaps in mediation support while exploring how best to fill them. It was the first regional consultation on the United Nations' newly-established Mediation Support Unit (MSU).



**VOLUME 17
WEST AFRICA'S
EVOLVING SECURITY
ARCHITECTURE**

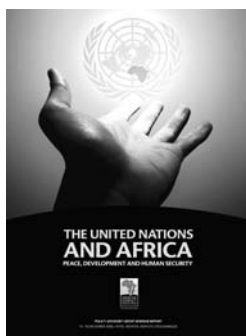
LOOKING BACK TO THE FUTURE

The conflict management challenges facing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the areas of governance, development, and security reform and post-conflict peacebuilding formed the basis of this policy seminar in Accra, Ghana, on 30 and 31 October 2006.



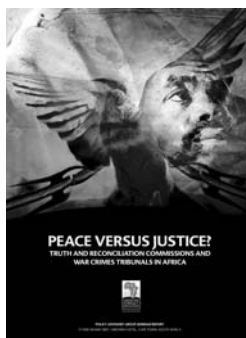
**VOLUME 21
AFRICA'S EVOLVING
HUMAN RIGHTS
ARCHITECTURE**

The experiences and lessons from a number of human rights actors and institutions on the African continent were reviewed and analysed at this policy advisory group meeting held on 28 and 29 June 2007 in Cape Town, South Africa.



**VOLUME 18
THE UNITED NATIONS
AND AFRICA: PEACE,
DEVELOPMENT AND
HUMAN SECURITY**

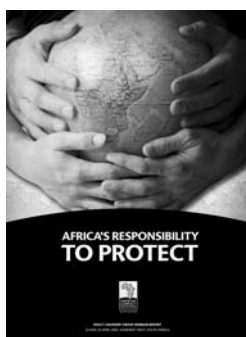
This policy advisory group meeting, held in Maputo, Mozambique, from 14 to 16 December 2006, set out to assess the role of the principal organs and the specialised agencies of the UN in Africa.



**VOLUME 22
PEACE VERSUS JUSTICE?**

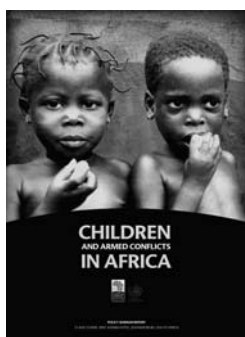
TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONS AND WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS IN AFRICA

The primary goal of this policy meeting, held in Cape Town, South Africa, on 17 and 18 May 2007, was to address the relative strengths and weaknesses of "prosecution versus amnesty" for past human rights abuses in countries transitioning from conflict to peace.



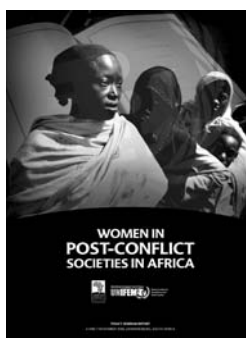
**VOLUME 19
AFRICA'S
RESPONSIBILITY TO
PROTECT**

This policy seminar, held in Somerset West, South Africa, on 23 and 24 April 2007, interrogated issues around humanitarian intervention in Africa and the responsibility of regional governments and the international community in the face of humanitarian crises.



**VOLUME 23
CHILDREN AND ARMED
CONFLICTS IN AFRICA**

This report, based on a policy advisory group seminar held on 12 and 13 April 2007 in Johannesburg, South Africa, examines the role of various African Union (AU) organs in monitoring the rights of children in conflict and post-conflict situations.



**VOLUME 20
WOMEN IN POST-
CONFLICT SOCIETIES IN
AFRICA**

The objective of this seminar, held in Johannesburg, South Africa, on 6 and 7 November 2006, was to discuss and identify concrete ways of engendering reconstruction and peace processes in African societies emerging from conflict.

Southern African countries have made great strides in achieving security and more democratic modes of governance. The democratic and security systems in many countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, however, face severe challenges, including, for example, weak institutional capacity. The seminar on which this report is based sought to enhance the efforts of SADC's Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation to advance security, governance and development initiatives in the sub-region.



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