



SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

POLICY ADVISORY GROUP SEMINAR REPORT

8 - 10 JUNE 2008, QUATERMAIN HOTEL, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



Republic of Austria
Federal Ministry for European
and International Affairs

POLICY ADVISORY GROUP SEMINAR REPORT

THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA; THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC);
AND THE CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION (CCR), CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

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CHRIS SAUNDERS AND DAWN NAGAR

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Acknowledgements

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, South Africa, would like to thank the Republic of Austria's Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs for its generous support of the seminar, "Security and Development in Southern Africa", held from 8 - 10 June 2008 at the Quatermain Hotel, Johannesburg, South Africa. CCR would also like to thank additional funders of its Africa Programme for their support: the governments of Denmark, the Netherlands, and Sweden, as well as the United Kingdom's (UK) Department for International Development (DFID).

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) is affiliated to the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa. Established in 1968, the organisation has wide-ranging experience of 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 the United Nations' (UN) role in Africa; South Africa's role in Africa; African Union (AU)/New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) relations; and HIV/AIDS and Human Security.

The Rapporteurs

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Executive Summary

The Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of the Republic of Austria; the Southern African Development Community (SADC); and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), based in Cape Town, South Africa, co-hosted a two-day policy seminar from 8 - 10 June 2008.

The seminar took place at the Quatermain Hotel in Johannesburg, South Africa, on the theme: "Security and Development in Southern Africa". The meeting was attended by citizens of 12 of the 14 countries constituting the Southern African Development Community (SADC); representatives of Angola (the current SADC Chair of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security); the Foreign Minister of Swaziland (the incoming chair of the SADC Organ); Austria's Secretary of State for European and International Affairs; the European Union (EU) Representative to the African Union (AU); and civil society activists from across southern Africa.

In recent years, the African Union; its socio-economic programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); and Africa's regional economic communities (RECs) - the Southern African Development Community (SADC); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) - have increasingly recognised that peace, security and democratic governance are the preconditions for sustainable development. The AU's protocol relating to its 15-member Peace and Security Council (PSC) - established in 2004 - and the security mechanisms of the RECs advocate the creation of a more robust, Africa-wide system of peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. The need for the adoption of such a comprehensive strategy led NEPAD and the AU to develop post-conflict reconstruction frameworks in June 2005 and July 2006, respectively. The AU's framework emphasises the links between the peace, security, humanitarian and development dimensions of peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and suggests that individual countries should develop peacebuilding strategies in response to their particular situations. A critical question that was asked at the Johannesburg seminar was whether the AU should focus on peacemaking and peacekeeping, and leave peacebuilding to the better-resourced and more experienced United Nations (UN).

With the adoption of a new Africa-EU joint strategy by the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon, Portugal, in December 2007, a long-term framework for future co-operation between the EU and Africa was established. To reach the joint objectives, four strategic priority areas have been defined: (a) peace and security (b) governance and human rights (c) trade and regional integration and (d) key development issues. In order for SADC to achieve its desired success in the region's human security areas, greater synergy with the African Union and Africa's RECs needs further to be cultivated. SADC also needs to work with the UN, the EU, and other key actors to achieve the goals of its Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO) on Politics, Defence and Security of 2004, and its Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) of 2001. SADC also faces challenges of threats to human security, such as the eradication of poverty, particularly in terms of the UN Millennium Developmental Goals' aims of halving poverty by 2015; violence against women and children globally; and effective regional economic integration.

With respect to UN peace operations, African governments can expect to bear an increasing responsibility for future operations on the continent. It is important to examine particularly the economic impact of such

operations on development, both from the aspect of those countries contributing and on the country in which the operation takes place. The institutional reflection of this trend is evidenced by the AU's peacekeeping engagements in Burundi, Sudan's Darfur region and Somalia, which have involved SADC countries like South Africa and Mozambique as peacekeepers. Military interventions often require sustained and durable funding, and without UN, EU and other western funding, the AU and SADC would probably not be able to undertake peacekeeping missions. The AU's deployment of peacekeepers – and that of SADC countries – has exposed the logistical and financial weaknesses of the continent's security architecture. The development of an African Standby Force (ASF) by 2010, based on five sub-regional brigades, is therefore an attempt to overcome these shortcomings.

Several southern African states have been involved in UN peacekeeping operations, while two sub-regional interventions were launched in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Lesotho in 1998. Since Africa's regional armies will face increasing challenges as they engage in multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations, SADC should engage more effectively in strengthening regional participation in UN and AU peace operations. The organisation is establishing a Southern African Standby Brigade (SADCBRIG) as part of the African Standby Force, 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 secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana. SADC members have also committed the requisite 3,500 troops to the brigade, and have agreed on a peace support doctrine for the region.

Notwithstanding these commitments, recent experiences raise questions about the ability of the sub-regional body to administer peacekeeping missions without support from the UN. While there is a commitment to a SADC peacekeeping mandate based on a shared sense of solidarity during liberation struggles, the subsequent operationalisation of this mandate has frequently been obstructed by political and resource constraints. Interventions, such as those in the DRC and Lesotho, have lacked the widespread political consensus, training, equipment and resources needed for effectiveness. They have also been driven by a handful of interested states rather than by SADC as a collective.

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. The sub-regional body has developed two key policy instruments: the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan of 2001 and the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security of 2004. Both initiatives aim to promote security and development 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 in the region. In these initiatives, SADC can benefit from closer collaboration with the AU and similar sub-regional organisations such as ECOWAS and IGAD, which have developed more elaborate early-warning systems than SADC.

Peacebuilding refers to the medium to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected communities that have emerged from a period of conflict through identifying and supporting structures to consolidate peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Attempts to assist with the rebuilding of post-war economies, however, need to be context-specific. For example, 40 years of instability and war in the DRC debilitated the formal economy and allowed the plundering of natural resources by both local and international actors. The UN has played a peacebuilding role in the case of three SADC members: the DRC, Mozambique and Angola, and established

a Peacebuilding Commission in 2005 to mobilise resources for post-conflict peacebuilding and to co-ordinate UN efforts in this critical area. The Johannesburg seminar examined two cases of peacebuilding in the SADC region: Namibia and the DRC. In Namibia from 1989 to 1990, after decades of conflict, there was a relatively peaceful and orderly process leading to the country's independence. Peacebuilding efforts by SADC and the UN in the DRC were said to have succeeded in calming a civil war in a country the size of Western Europe. The importance of land issues as part of post-conflict peacebuilding efforts was also emphasised. The issue retains great importance in countries like Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

SADC has acknowledged the gender dimensions of human and political insecurity in southern Africa by identifying gender as a key issue cutting across its programmes. Gender issues are addressed in several SADC instruments, including the 1992 SADC Declaration and Treaty; the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development; the 1998 Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children; and the RISDP of 2001. SADC member states are also party to a range of international agreements that highlight the importance of human rights and gender equality. Yet SADC peacekeepers, militaries, mission leaders, negotiators and police officers in southern Africa appear to have limited capacity to address gender issues in their activities, and knowledge is generally poor of international and continental obligations, such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000 on Women and Security. There is a need for more action and leadership on gender issues within SADC's politics, defence and security sectors.

Major challenges remain on gender inequality and, in particular, violence against women in Africa. Women are vulnerable to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and account for half of the estimated three million infections. Human trafficking is also still on the increase, with major inroads on this illicit trade yet to be made within SADC member states. In light of the Beijing conference in 1995 and its comprehensive plan of action on women in peace and security, and notwithstanding the many policies such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325, the UN felt compelled to reaffirm its commitment to the area of women and security through UN Security Council Resolution 1820 of June 2008.

It was also recognised that peace and security are essential prerequisites for development, and that a holistic approach to security and development should be adopted. As the goal of policymaking is to promote the welfare of citizens, this was felt to be important, given the limited human and financial resources available. Such instruments as have been drawn up in the areas of security and development should be implemented. The gap between what is on paper and the situation on the ground should be narrowed. Less time should be spent on drawing up often complex protocols and conventions, and more time spent taking practical measures. Mandates must be related closely to resources and steps should be taken to move from words to action, to be more proactive in order to overcome constraints to promoting security and development in southern Africa.

Political will is often lacking for the implementation of agreements and, in this regard, principles of "good governance" are critical. SADC member states should govern with integrity, and communication between the elite and ordinary citizens should be improved. Goals set are often not communicated beyond each SADC country's leadership and the more SADC citizens become part of the governance process, the more likely it is that goals set will, in fact, be realised.

The involvement of international and regional actors in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in Africa has created the conditions for an integrated approach to developing a continental peace and security architecture.

The term “human security”, first used in a 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, encompasses economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. On the other hand, the AU’s African Common Defence Pact of 2004 defines human security as the social, political, economic, military and cultural conditions that protect and promote human life and dignity. Whichever approach is adopted, the concept of human security represents a shift in focus from the protection of states and regimes to the protection of individuals and communities. A human security perspective towards development therefore incorporates not only states, but also regional and international structures, as well as local and individual actors.

Policy Recommendations

The following 11 key policy recommendations were put forward at the Johannesburg seminar:

1. The SADC Organ’s early warning system should be urgently operationalised, lessons should be drawn from those of ECOWAS and IGAD, and integrated into the AU system;
2. SADC should strengthen the capacity of the incoming Chair of its Security Organ – Swaziland – with lessons learned from the experiences of the outgoing chair, Angola;
3. The AU, the EU and the UN should work together in peacekeeping operations. Given the diverse nature of peacekeeping missions, and the fact that they often draw on personnel with different levels of training and speaking different languages, measures should be adopted to overcome difficulties that arise from this diversity. Pre-deployment training should be prioritised;
4. Relations among SADC members, Africa’s RECs, and the AU need to be urgently improved. Peacekeeping missions should be executed under the auspices of the RECs, the AU and the UN in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter of 1945. There should, however, be a clearer division of labour among these actors to avoid overlapping responsibilities. The work of the liaison offices established in Addis Ababa between the RECs and the AU should be continued and expanded;
5. Regional peacekeeping missions should not be undertaken unless these are adequately funded. The UN has the primary responsibility of ensuring peace and security globally, and the AU should pursue the establishment by the UN of a “support fund” for peacekeeping. To help resolve funding problems, SADC should work closely with the AU’s 15-member Peace and Security Council in securing the authorisation and mandate of the 15-member UN Security Council for peace support operations in southern Africa;
6. Formal relationships should be established between the UN Peacebuilding Commission and the AU, and between the UN Peacebuilding Commission and sub-regional bodies such as SADC. Civil society and the media in southern Africa should play a leading role in peacebuilding. Strong political parties are also essential; weak ones tend to lead to instability and threaten peace. Land reform and transitional justice issues should be essential aspects of post-conflict peacebuilding in southern Africa, and the regional interdependence of security (involving issues such as refugees and arms flows) must be considered;

7. An integrated plan of action is needed, along with a streamlined list of priorities in respect of human security. SIPO, the RISDP, and other key policy instruments such as SADC's 2001 Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation, and the SADC Mutual Defence Pact of 2004 need to be developed into more coherent programmes of implementation and monitoring;
 8. Climate change should be a priority for action in southern Africa, especially as it can affect the most vulnerable sectors of society through problems of drought and food security that have negatively affected the region in recent years. Early warning systems or strategies should be established to lower the risk of the impact of climate change;
 9. The various facets of SADC – political, economic, social, cultural, and especially its human security dimensions – should be incorporated within the national school curriculum, as well as at institutions of higher learning, so that support is built for the organisation within the broader southern Africa community;
 10. SADC should adopt a checklist to assess whether Resolution 1325 is being implemented. The internal capacity of the SADC gender unit should be strengthened, as well as its linkages with member state structures, for the promotion of gender inclusive democratic developmental states. Gender biases in economic policy should be removed, and the SADC gender protocol should be urgently adopted, as discriminatory mechanisms and/or cultural practices can exacerbate poverty and retard development; and
- II. Finally, steps should be taken to halt the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) throughout southern Africa. Those SADC countries that have yet to ratify the 2001 Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms should be encouraged to do so. SADC members should also participate actively in the biennial meeting of states to review progress on the implementation of the UN Programme of Action against the illicit trade in SALW. Reports on national implementation of the UN Programme of Action should be submitted before each meeting.



FROM LEFT: Ambassador Manuel Gomes dos Santos, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Relations, Luanda, Angola; H.E. Moses Mathendele Dlamini, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mbabane, Swaziland; H.E. Dr Hans Winkler, Secretary of State for European and International Affairs of Austria/Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria; Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

1. Introduction

The Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of the Republic of Austria; the Southern African Development Community (SADC)¹; and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), based in Cape Town, South Africa, co-hosted a two-day policy seminar from 8 - 10 June 2008. The seminar took place at the Quatermain Hotel in Johannesburg, South Africa, on the theme: “Security and Development in Southern Africa”.

The policy seminar was attended by citizens of 12 of 14 SADC countries; representatives of Angola, the current SADC Chair of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security; the Foreign Minister of Swaziland, the incoming chair of the SADC Organ; Austria’s Secretary of State for European and International Affairs; the European Union (EU) Representative to the AU; and civil society activists from across southern Africa.

Objectives and Outcomes

The primary goal of the Johannesburg seminar was to bring together a group of experts – policymakers, academics and civil society actors – to identify ways of strengthening SADC’s capacity to develop security and development initiatives for southern Africa. These experts discussed the security and development challenges facing the region, and considered integrated initiatives to strengthen conflict management and peacebuilding efforts in southern Africa. The seminar generated policy proposals and tracked progress in the following five key areas:

1. Progress towards an integrated African peace architecture through the strengthening of inter-agency collaboration;
2. The relationship between security and development in southern Africa through effective conflict prevention and early warning mechanisms;
3. Women’s issues in the challenging context of security and development in southern Africa;
4. Experiences of peacebuilding efforts in southern Africa and identifying lessons to be learned and incorporated into the work of the actors implementing these strategies; and
5. Strengthening SADC’s potential to engage effectively in peacekeeping operations in the region.

2. An African Peace Architecture: The AU, SADC, the EU and the UN

In recent years, the African Union (AU), its socio-economic programme, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), as well as Africa’s regional economic communities (RECs) – the Southern African Development Community; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); and

¹ The 14 SADC countries are: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Seychelles rejoined SADC in 2008.

the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) – have increasingly recognised that peace, security and democratic governance are the preconditions for sustainable development.² The AU's protocol relating to its 15-member Peace and Security Council – established in 2004 – and the security mechanisms of Africa's RECs all advocate the creation of a more robust, Africa-wide system of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The need for the adoption of such a comprehensive peacebuilding strategy led NEPAD and the AU, separately, to develop post-conflict reconstruction frameworks in June 2005 and July 2006, respectively.³ The AU's framework emphasises the link between the peace, security, humanitarian and development dimensions of peacebuilding and peacekeeping. Moreover, it allows individual countries to develop a peacebuilding strategy that responds to their own particular context. Questions have, however, been raised as to whether the AU should focus on peacemaking and peacekeeping, and leave peacebuilding to the better-resourced and more experienced UN, which created a Peacebuilding Commission in 2005.

In the AU's evolving security architecture, sub-regional organisations such as SADC are building blocks and pillars for future co-operation, particularly in the establishment of the African Standby Force (ASF), scheduled to become operational by 2010. Since SADC's establishment in 1992 (its precursor, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, had been established in 1980), a comprehensive and ambitious security project has unfolded, its security architecture providing for collaborative security, collective security, and collective self-defence. An Organ on Politics, Defence and Security was established in 1996, while the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation was adopted in 2001⁴ to develop strategies both to streamline the foreign policies of the 14 SADC member states and to implement peace and security initiatives in the areas of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The protocol also established a mechanism to support SADC's peace and security objectives in the form of a one-year rotating chair of its security Organ acting in a "troika" format (currently Angola, Tanzania and Swaziland) supported by the SADC secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana. In 2004, SADC consolidated its peace and security plan through its Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) on Politics, Security and Defence Co-operation. SIPO has devised strategies for development in four broad sectors: politics; defence; state security; and public security.

With the adoption of a new Africa-EU joint strategy by the EU-Africa summit in Lisbon, Portugal, in December 2007, a long-term framework for future co-operation between the EU and Africa was established. The approach was designed to guide interaction between the EU and pan-African institutions such as the AU, regional organisations and African countries. Four main objectives aim to reinforce and elevate the Africa-EU political partnership: to strengthen and promote peace, security, democratic governance and human rights; fundamental freedoms; gender equality; sustainable economic development, including industrialisation, and regional and continental integration in Africa; to ensure that all the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are met in all African countries by 2015; to address global challenges and common concerns; and to facilitate and promote a broad-based and wide-ranging people-centred partnership. To reach these objectives, four strategic priority areas have been defined: peace and security; governance and human rights; trade and regional integration; and key development issues.

2 AU Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State, Durban, South Africa, 9 July 2002.

3 New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), African Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework (Midrand: NEPAD Secretariat, June 2005); and African Union, Policy Framework on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development in Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, July 2006.

4 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>). SADC should work with the EU on issues such as food security, and take joint initiatives in international fora to help meet increasing challenges in this area.

Africa-EU Partnership on Peace and Security (Excerpt)

Priority Action 1: Enhance dialogue on challenges to peace and security

Objective

- Reach common positions and implement common approaches on challenges to peace and security in Africa, Europe and globally.

Expected outcomes

- Deepened common understanding on the causes of conflicts and their resolution;
- Strengthened co-operation on conflict prevention, management and resolution, including long-term post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding;
- Improved co-ordination of continent-wide and regional approaches and initiatives; and
- Increased EU and African co-operation and influence in international and global fora.

Activities

- Hold a systematic and regular dialogue on all issues related to peace and security, at technical, senior official and political level in the most effective format. This dialogue could also include innovative tools such as conflict sensitivity analysis;
- Enhance capacity-building, networking, co-operation and exchange of information on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW),

Explosive Remnants of War (ERW) and Anti-Personnel Landmines (APM), as well as fight against illicit trafficking;

- Enhance the sharing of analyses and reports on crisis and conflict situations, including on their root causes, and put in place the required security arrangements for the exchange of sensitive information;
- Raise awareness through campaigning involving African and European NGOs on mainstreaming human rights, gender issues, and children affected by armed conflict;
- Undertake joint assessment missions to conflict and post-conflict areas, and launch joint initiatives when appropriate;
- Facilitate exchange of experience and lessons learned between EU and African mediators; and
- Strengthen co-operation and enhance dialogue on issues relating to the security/development nexus, including on the identification and the use of best practices.

Actors

- Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention; and
- Research centres, training centres, think tanks and relevant civil society actors.

Priority Action 2: Full operationalisation of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

Expected outcomes

- Full operationalisation of the various components of the APSA, in particular, the Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise, and the African Standby Force; and
- Enhanced capacities of AU and the regional mechanisms.



Mr Joao Machatine Laimone Ndlovu, Deputy Director, SADC, Foreign Ministry, Maputo, Mozambique



Ambassador Gerhard Ziegler, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Austria to Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe; *left*: Mr Tanki J. Mothae, Director: Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, SADC Secretariat, Gaborone, Botswana

Although Europe as a bloc has recently been more active in international crisis situations – developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) – the EU’s conflict management role has so far focused on working largely through regional organisations. One central goal of the new EU Strategy for Africa is to step up Europe’s efforts at all stages of the conflict cycle and to support the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), with the AU and its Peace and Security Council at its core. Despite the creation of an African Peace Support Facility (APSF) with an initial budget of €250 million in 2003 and an additional pledge of €300 million in early 2006, it remains to be seen if the resources, as well as the political will, can be found in both Africa and Europe, to achieve the ambitious goals set out in this strategy.

The involvement of international and regional actors in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in Africa has created the conditions for an integrated approach to developing a continental peace and security architecture. For example, by developing close ties with the AU, SADC can align its peace and security initiatives with the UN’s security framework. The sub-regional body can then utilise these opportunities to maximise access to resources through the UN.

The Johannesburg seminar focused on articulating the relationship between these actors to assist them in developing an integrated and sustainable African peace architecture. It was agreed that the creation of the AU peace architecture since 2002 represents a major step forward, but is still a work in progress. The concern was expressed that too much is being taken on by the AU and SADC, given the limited capacity and financial constraints of both organisations.

In the wake of the EU/Africa Lisbon summit in December 2007, renewed attention needs to be given to the evolving relationship between the AU and the EU and how to deal with common concerns and challenges. The present conjuncture is an important one for the relationship between Africa and Europe to be redefined, given the new leadership in the AU and the recent enlargement of the EU to 27 members, which does not necessarily mean less involvement by Brussels in Africa, but could actually signify greater involvement. An EU representative has been deployed to the African Union in Addis Ababa, and Special Representatives operate in Sudan’s Darfur region and the Great Lakes region. While AU/EU relations have sometimes been complicated by France

playing a leading military role especially in its former colonies like Chad and Central African Republic (CAR), this is not a major factor in the SADC area.

With the duplication of work between the AU and SADC, it was recognised that there is a real need to strengthen both the AU Peace and Security Council and the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. But the relationship between the AU and SADC is not as good as it could be, and there is a need for closer collaboration between the AU PSC and the SADC Organ. It is positive that liaison offices, funded by the EU, are being established in Addis Ababa to provide better links between the AU and the RECs, including SADC.

Relations between SADC and the EU should also be strengthened. There has been more dialogue between the EU and ECOWAS than between Brussels and SADC. The EU and its member states can, through fora like the Johannesburg seminar, offer useful ideas to strengthen capacity-building in southern Africa. A plea was made for the EU and its member states to continue to help in financing regional activities. It was pointed out, however, that individual EU states such as France and Britain have entered bilateral and multilateral partnerships to help set up an African Standby Force, and that a more coherent approach by the EU would be preferable. Instead of bilateral relations between individual countries, there should be partnerships between the EU and SADC as a whole.

The UN has the primary responsibility for global peacekeeping which the AU, the RECs and the EU should not erode. Peacekeeping should be left largely to the UN, though the AU and the UN can work together in peacekeeping, as in Darfur. Lessons should be drawn from previous experiences of UN peacekeeping missions such as in Namibia, Mozambique and Angola. It was emphasised, however, that serious problems of both human and financial capacity remain. In southern Africa, there are several weak states with few resources, and with the food crisis and the dramatic increase in oil prices, these resources are likely to be even more stretched in future than they are today.



ABOVE: From left: Brigadier-General Lancaster Bottoman, Chief of Staff, SADC Brigade, Gaborone, Botswana; Mr Tanki J Mothae, Director, Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, SADC Secretariat, Gaborone, Botswana; General Louis M Fisher, former Chief of Staff of the Botswana Army

TOP RIGHT: Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa; left; Dr Garth le Pere, Executive Director, Institute for Global Dialogue, Midrand, South Africa

RIGHT: From left: Dr Musifiky Mwanasali, Senior Political Affairs Division Officer, United Nations Mission in Sudan, Khartoum; Ms Lucy Shule, Centre for Foreign Relations, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Professor Gilbert Khadiagala, Head of Department of International Relations, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

3. Peace Operations and Development in Southern Africa

With respect to UN peace operations, African governments can expect to bear an increasing responsibility for future operations on the continent. It is important to examine particularly the economic impact of such operations on development, both from the aspect of those countries contributing and the country in which the operation takes place.

The institutional reflection of this trend is evidenced by the AU's peacekeeping engagements in Burundi, Sudan's Darfur region and Somalia. Military interventions often require sustained and durable funding, and without UN, EU and other Western funding, the AU and SADC would probably not be able to undertake peacekeeping missions. The AU's deployment of peacekeepers has exposed the logistical and financial weaknesses of the continent's security architecture. The development of an African Standby Force by 2010, based on five sub-regional brigades, is an attempt to overcome these shortcomings. Several southern African states have been involved in UN peacekeeping operations, while regional interventions were launched into the DRC and Lesotho in 1998. Since Africa's regional armies will face increasing challenges as they engage in multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations, SADC should engage more effectively in strengthening regional participation in UN and AU peace operations. SADC is establishing a southern Africa Standby Brigade (SADBRIG) as part of the AU's Standby Force. The organisation is therefore seeking to increase its capacity for peace support operations.⁵ 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 secretariat in Gaborone. SADC members have also committed the requisite 3,500 troops to the brigade, and have agreed on a peace support doctrine for the region.⁶

Effective strides have been undertaken in the implementation of SADBRIG,⁷ though the developmental efforts towards the establishment of an African peacekeeping force by 2010 is yet to be operationalised. Previous missions undertaken by, for example, African peacekeepers in Lesotho and the DRC, in particular, have many lessons that seem beneficial and fitting to provide the SADC Brigade with the necessary experiences and rules of engagement for similar operations in future. The challenges facing Africa's peacekeeping efforts are still daunting. Peacekeeping missions are now seen in a different light compared to missions a few years ago. In places like Namibia, Mozambique and the DRC, peacekeeping missions have changed into highly complex multi-dimensional mandates involving peacebuilding issues such as security sector reform and repatriating refugees. Peacekeepers involved in such missions are often logistically ill-equipped and poorly financed. Recent experience also raises questions about the ability of sub-regional bodies like SADC to conduct peacekeeping missions without support from the UN. While there is a commitment to a SADC peacekeeping mandate based on a shared sense of solidarity during liberation struggles, operationalising this mandate is frequently obstructed by political and resource constraints. Interventions such as those in the DRC and Lesotho – both in 1998 – have lacked the political consensus, training, equipment and resources needed to be effective. They were driven by a handful of states rather than SADC as a collective. SADC should take advantage of the skills and experiences that exist within southern Africa's militaries to build an effective SADBRIG.

5 Four other African RECs are establishing standby brigades of the African Standby Force: ECOWAS in West Africa (ECOWASBRIG) and 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.

6 The African Union, "Roadmap for the Operationalization of the African Standby Force", Experts' Meeting on the Relationship between the AU and the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution; Addis Ababa, 22 and 23 March 2005. EXP/AU-Recs/ASF/4(I).

7 The 4th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council meeting in Addis Ababa in March 2004 elected the 15 members of the PSC and adopted the Rules of Procedure of the new Organ. The PSC has since held more than 20 meetings on conflict situations on the continent. See www.africa-union.org

4. Peacebuilding, State-building, and Development in Southern Africa

Peacebuilding, a relatively recent concept, refers to the medium to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected communities that have emerged from a period of conflict, through identifying and supporting structures to consolidate peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.

Over time, the definition of peacebuilding has gradually expanded to refer to integrated approaches to addressing violent conflict at different phases of the conflict cycle. Peacebuilding has become a multifaceted concept that includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, and socio-economic dimensions of societies emerging from conflict. It also involves addressing the root causes of conflicts and promoting social and economic justice, as well as putting in place political structures of governance and the rule of law to help consolidate peacebuilding, reconciliation and development. Concrete peacebuilding efforts involve humanitarian relief; demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR); as well as long-term development efforts such as security sector reform.

In addition, the creation of favourable conditions for economic recovery is deemed critical to any successful peacebuilding initiative in Africa encompassing the rule of the law, institution building, and financial resources. Ineffective post-conflict transitions in countries such as Liberia and Guinea-Bissau were largely a result of the lack of adequate resources necessary for successful reconstruction. Resources often tend to dry up three to seven years after a war or crisis when state capacity still remains weak. Nonetheless, building state capacity is a

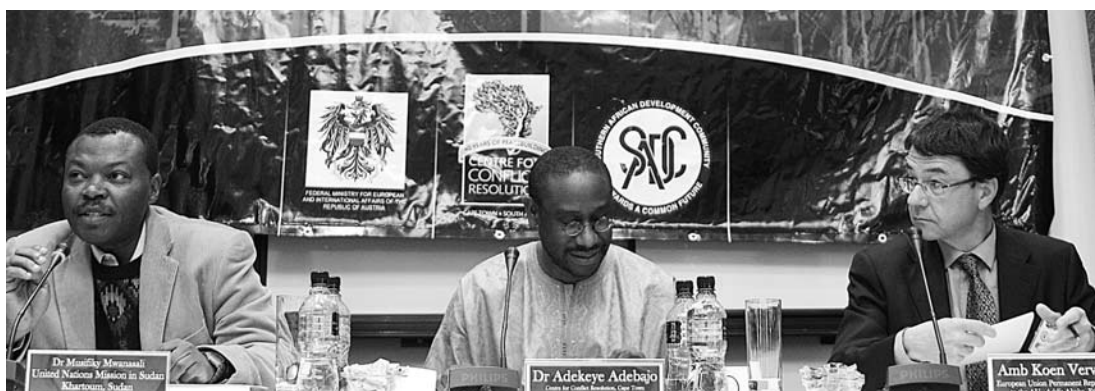


TOP: From left: Professor Gilbert Khadiagala, Head of Department of International Relations, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; Dr Garth Le Pere, Executive Director, Institute for Global Dialogue, Midrand, South Africa; Ambassador Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York, United States

LEFT: Ambassador Georg Lennkh, Special Envoy for Africa, Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria; left; H.E. Dr Hans Winkler, Secretary of State for European and International Affairs of Austria / Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria

prerequisite for the delivery of security; law and order; education; and critical infrastructure. This process requires the proper establishment of state institutions to raise revenue, particularly through effective control of resource exploitation and employment-creation. Furthermore, the legacy of violent conflict in terms of both direct and often incalculable indirect costs, needs to be acknowledged in implementing peacebuilding strategies. Attempts to assist with the rebuilding of post-war economies therefore need to be context-specific. For example, 40 years of instability and war in the DRC debilitated the formal economy and allowed the plundering of natural resources by both local and international actors.

The first post-Cold War effort to reform the UN in order to address the issue of peacebuilding more effectively was undertaken by the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the first African to occupy the post. In his landmark, *An Agenda for Peace*, published in 1992, Boutros-Ghali set out an international strategy for conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding.⁸ Peacebuilding has therefore become part of the lexicon of reconstructing war-affected communities for nearly two decades. The end of the Cold War also increased incidents of intra-state conflicts which further complicated peacebuilding efforts. In southern Africa, major challenges were faced in rebuilding war-torn countries. The UN played a peacebuilding role in the case



TOP: From left: Dr Musifiky Mwanasali, Senior Political Affairs Division Officer, United Nations Mission in Sudan, Khartoum; Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa; Ambassador Koen Vervaeke, European Union Special Representative to the African Union, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ABOVE: Professor Gavin Cawthra, Director of the Centre for Defence and Security Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; Professor Elizabeth Delport, Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria, Tshwane, South Africa

RIGHT: Brigadier General Lancaster Bottoman, Chief of Staff, SADC Brigade, Gaborone, Botswana

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

of three SADC members: Mozambique, Angola, and the DRC. The UN Peacebuilding Commission, formally established in December 2005 to act as an advisory and subsidiary organ of both the 192-member UN General Assembly and the 15-member Security Council, has the express mandate to assist countries emerging from conflicts in developing integrated strategies for post-conflict reconstruction, institution-building, and sustainable development. The Commission could prove critical, in partnership with Africa's regional organisations, in enabling Africa's war-affected societies to consolidate peace and to promote sustainable reconstruction.

The creation of the Peacebuilding Commission has, however, raised a number of concerns in Africa: there are structural, institutional, strategic and ideological issues that could impact on the body's effectiveness. Central to these concerns is the need to prevent the under-resourced and under-capacitated Commission from becoming yet another failed, well-intentioned initiative by the UN. This concern also flows from the Commission's status as an advisory body without a secure and consistent source of funding. Contributions are voluntary rather than assessed. Despite these limitations, the Commission could have particular significance for Africa, since Africa is the most war-affected region in the world. Nearly half of the 51 UN peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era have been in Africa. The continent currently hosts seven of the 17 UN peacekeeping missions in the world – one of which is currently in a SADC member state, the DRC – and around 80 per cent of peacekeepers deployed globally are in Africa. Furthermore, the Peacebuilding Commission comprises a core 31-member Organisational Committee, to which two SADC countries – Tanzania and Angola – were elected. As a consequence, there is a vast repository of knowledge that exists on how to conduct peacebuilding operations on the continent. The first countries in which the UN Commission chose to work were Burundi and Sierra Leone. Despite the intense involvement of international and regional bodies in post-conflict peacebuilding efforts in Africa, formal relationships have not yet been established between these actors.

The Johannesburg seminar drew on the examples of Namibia and the DRC, to highlight lessons learnt to help in the context of dealing with weak or emerging states or in the face of the inability to perform state functions. In Namibia from 1989 to 1990, after decades of conflict, there was a relatively peaceful and orderly process leading to the country's independence. The Constituent Assembly elected in 1989 was not dominated by any one party, as none had over two-thirds of its members, and there was therefore negotiation in the drawing up of the constitution, which constituted a historic compromise.

The UN intervention in the DRC – in which SADC members South Africa, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia played major roles – was said to have succeeded in calming a civil war in a country the size of Western Europe. A decade ago, many had feared that the DRC would be dismembered or become a "failed state". Though there have been attempts at reconciliation within the country, the process has taken place in a volatile area, the Great Lakes region, and this has complicated peacebuilding efforts. The importance of addressing land issues in post-conflict situations was also highlighted, with Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa being singled out for attention.⁹

⁹ See, for example, Sam Moyo and Ruth Hall, "Conflict and Land Reform in Southern Africa: How exceptional is South Africa?", in Adekeye Adebajo, Adebayo Adedeji, and Chris Landsberg (eds), *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006).

5. Women, Security and Development in Southern Africa

The ratification of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of October 2000 has elevated the grave concerns and the importance of addressing and eradicating violence against women. The adoption of Resolution 1325 prioritised a legal framework to address the peace and security concerns of women at the local, regional and external levels.

Similarly, the AU policy on gender equality and women's rights was identified as a useful instrument to measure progress.¹⁰ Major challenges remain on gender inequality and, in particular, violence against women, who are particularly vulnerable to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and constitute half of the estimated three million infections in southern Africa. Human trafficking was also seen to be on the increase, with major inroads on this illicit trade yet to be made by SADC member states. Armed conflicts and gender-based violence are proving to be major impediments to the achievement of sustainable development and human security in Africa. Recent conflicts on the continent have witnessed civilian populations becoming embroiled in conflict or even being deliberately targeted by parties to a conflict. Women and children are disproportionately targeted and constitute the majority of the victims in contemporary armed conflicts.¹¹ Wars frequently expose women and children to higher levels of gender-based violence, as violence against women and children – especially sexual violence – is increasingly used as a tactic during armed conflicts. Rape has been widespread during the DRC conflict, where an estimated three million people have died since 1997. Refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons (IDPs) have also been victims of armed conflict, and the majority of these are women and children.¹²

The loss of livelihoods as a result of displacement has also often encouraged higher levels of prostitution, while the collapse of healthcare infrastructure has led to rising levels of illness and death, particularly among the very young, the elderly and pregnant women. Such 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. The disruption of social networks and support systems also places a greater burden of care on 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 female African president, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, while 49 per cent of Rwanda's post-genocide parliament consists of women – the highest percentage in the world. In the SADC region, South Africa also has a high proportion of women represented in its cabinet and parliament; while both South Africa and Zimbabwe had female deputy presidents in July 2008. At the global level, the UN Security Council recognised the links between gender and conflict when it passed Resolution 1325 on

10 The AU Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA). In the Declaration, African Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their commitment to the principle of gender equality as enshrined in Article 4 (I) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as well as other existing commitments, principles, goals and actions set out in the various regional, continental and international instruments on human and women's rights. At the first AU Conference of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs and Gender in Dakar, Senegal, in October 2005, two documents were adopted, namely, the Implementation Framework of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, and the Guidelines for Reporting gender equality in Africa (available at: <http://aumission-ny.org/genderissues.htm>).

11 UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security (16 October 2002), S/2002/1154, p. 2 (available at: <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/UN1325/sgreport.pdf>); "Women and Peacebuilding in Africa", seminar report by Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Cape Town, South Africa, 27 and 28 October 2005; and "Women in Post-Conflict Societies in Africa", seminar report by CCR and UNIFEM, Johannesburg, South Africa, 6 and 7 November 2006 (both available at: <http://www.ccr.uct.ac.za>).

12 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.

Women and Security in October 2000.¹³ The resolution proposed a legal framework to address women's peace and security concerns at the local, regional and international level. However, a review of the resolution's implementation in Africa 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 the principal proponent of its implementation. The resolution, however, remains a high priority on the political agenda and the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1820 in June 2008 to reaffirm the commitment made in Resolution 1325. At the regional level, SADC has acknowledged the gender dimensions of human and political insecurity in the region by identifying gender as a key issue cutting across 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; the 1998 Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children; and the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan of the Organ of 2001.¹⁴ SADC member states are also party to a range of international agreements that highlight the importance of human rights and gender equality. 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 mentions gender only marginally. 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 Resolution 1325, is generally poor. There is therefore a need for more action and leadership on gender issues within SADC's politics, defence and security sectors. SADC's Gender and Development Protocol has a clear design outlining how it envisages incorporating gender issues into its work and overcoming the gender imbalance in the implementation of SADC's human security architecture. At a conference in Malawi in 2008, Malawi's Foreign Minister, Joyce Banda, noted that, of all the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the third MDG relating to gender equality had achieved the least progress.¹⁵

The Johannesburg seminar also focused on the gender aspect of peace and security instruments and processes, especially regarding the implementation of SADC's RISDP and SIPO. The seminar examined ways of improving the capacity of SADC personnel to address gender issues and considered the important role that women, as active participants in conflicts, could play in peacebuilding efforts.



From left: Professor Elizabeth Delpont, Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria, Tshwane, South Africa; H.E. Dr Hans Winkler, Secretary of State for European and International Affairs of Austria / Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria; Ambassador Irene Freudenschuss-Reichl, Director-General for Development Co-operation, Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria

13 UN Resolution 1325, adopted by the UN Security Council at its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000).

14 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, Mauritius, September 1998 (available at: http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/treaty/SADC_GenderDecl_Add.pdf); and SADC, The RISDP.

15 Sheila Bunwaree, "Crafting Human Security in an Insecure Southern Africa: A Gender Perspective", paper prepared for the SADC policy seminar from 8-10 June 2008.

6. Human Security and Development in Southern Africa

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the strong links that exist between development and security. There is now a widespread recognition that there can be no sustainable development without stability and security.

The term “human security”, first used in a 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, encompasses economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. The AU’s African Common Defence Pact of 2004 defines human security as the social, political, economic, military and cultural conditions that protect and promote human life and dignity.¹⁶ Human security differs from traditional or state-centric security because it places the safety of individuals, rather than the state, at the core of security. This reworking of priorities is not a total denunciation of state-centric security, but represents a more coherent articulation of the state’s responsibility to protect and to promote the rights of people. Human security, however, is a contested concept. Experts often make the distinction between narrow and broad definitions of the term. Narrowly, human security is centred on violent threats such as wars, genocide, terrorism, human rights abuses and political repression. Broader conceptualisations extend the concept to include non-violent threats like hunger, disease, environmental degradation, poverty, social exclusion and inequality. Whatever the approach adopted, the concept of human security represents a shift in focus from the protection of states and regimes to the protection of individuals and communities. A human security perspective towards development therefore incorporates not only states, but also regional and international structures, as well as local and individual actors.

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, thus rendering co-operation between states more critical than ever before. With the end of the Cold War, there was a revival of inter and intra-state conflicts in parts of the continent, 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.¹⁷ While Mozambique’s conflict ended with the end of the Cold War, major wars were fought in Angola and the DRC after the end of the Cold War. Today, southern Africa faces ongoing governance challenges, including the need to consolidate democracy, weak electoral and oversight processes in some instances, and tensions around political powersharing.

In this context, SADC has developed two key policy instruments, the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan of 2001 and the SIPO of 2004. Both aim to promote security and development in southern Africa and to provide a framework for a comprehensive, holistic approach to building human security; strengthening democratic governance; and fostering economic integration in the region. SIPO seeks to

¹⁶ See Human Security Report 2005: *War and Peace in the 21st Century*, published by the Human Security Centre and the Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia (London and Vancouver: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.viii; and Draft Text of the Common African Defence and Security Policy adopted at the AU Heads of State and Government Summit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 7-9 July 2004.

¹⁷ General Charles Namoloh, Minister of Defence of Namibia, “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.

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 early-warning and common indicators for conflict prevention; and to develop regional capacity to prevent conflict and to 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. Through these initiatives, SADC can derive enormous benefit from closer collaboration with the AU and other sub-regional organisations such as ECOWAS and IGAD, which have developed more elaborate early-warning systems.

Participants at the Johannesburg seminar asked whether SADC could implement the numerous and ambitious activities outlined in SIPO, given the reality of limited financial and human resources. They called for a more integrated plan of action and a streamlined list of priorities. SIPO and other key policy instruments such as the 2001 Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation and the SADC Mutual Defence Pact of 2004 also need to be developed into coherent programmes of implementation and monitoring.

Finally, on the issue of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) it was emphasised that the problem of dealing with such weapons should not be seen in isolation. Tackling the problem will involve focusing on issues of migration, the environment and the social context in which these weapons are supplied. It is important to consider both supply and demand issues. Supply from Europe is no longer as important as it was, for most SALWs now come from elsewhere. The measures currently being put in place to try to address the problem were outlined. A UN conference in 2001 adopted a Programme of Action against the illicit trade in SALW. The 2001 Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms has been ratified by most SADC countries, but five countries still need to ratify it. Also, not all SADC countries have established National Focal Points as required by the SADC Firearms Protocol of 2002. These countries were encouraged to take these measures.



ABOVE : *From left :* Ms Lucy Shule, Centre for Foreign Relations, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Professor Gavin Cawthra, Director of the Centre for Defence and Security Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; Mr Noel Stött, Senior Research Fellow: Arms Management Programme, Institute for Security Studies, Tshwane, South Africa
FAR LEFT : Dr Gerald Hainzl, National Defence Academy Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, Vienna, Austria
CENTRE : Ambassador Georg Lennkh, Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria

Policy Recommendations

The following 11 key policy recommendations were put forward at the Johannesburg seminar:

1. The SADC Organ's early warning system should be urgently operationalised, lessons should be drawn from those of ECOWAS and IGAD, and integrated into the AU system;
2. SADC should strengthen the capacity of the incoming Chair of its Security Organ, Swaziland, with lessons learned from the experiences of the outgoing chair, Angola;
3. The AU, the EU and the UN should work together in peacekeeping operations. Given the diverse nature of peacekeeping missions, and the fact that they often draw on personnel with different levels of training and speaking different languages, measures should be adopted to overcome difficulties that arise from this diversity. Pre-deployment training should be prioritised;
4. Relations among SADC members, Africa's RECs, and the AU need to be improved urgently. Peacekeeping missions should be executed under the auspices of the RECs, the AU and the UN in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter of 1945. There should, however, be a clearer division of labour among these actors to avoid overlapping responsibilities. The work of the liaison offices that have been established in Addis Ababa between the RECs and the AU should be continued and expanded;
5. Regional peacekeeping missions should not be undertaken unless these are adequately funded. The UN has the primary responsibility of ensuring peace and security globally, and the AU should pursue the establishment by the UN of a "support fund" for peacekeeping. To help resolve funding problems, SADC should work closely with the AU's 15-member Peace and Security Council in securing the authorisation and mandate of the 15-member UN Security Council for peace support operations in southern Africa;
6. Formal relationships should be established between the UN Peacebuilding Commission and the AU, and between the UN Peacebuilding Commission and sub-regional bodies such as SADC. Civil society and the media in southern Africa should play a leading role in peacebuilding. Strong political parties are also essential; weak ones tend to lead to instability and threaten peace. Land reform and transitional justice issues should be essential aspects of post-conflict peacebuilding in southern Africa, and the regional interdependence of security (involving issues such as refugees and arms flows) must be considered;
7. An integrated plan of action is needed, along with a streamlined list of priorities in respect of human security. SIPO, the RISDP, and other key policy instruments such as SADC's 2001 Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation, and the SADC Mutual Defence Pact of 2004 need to be developed into more coherent programmes of implementation and monitoring;
8. Climate change should be a priority for action in southern Africa, especially as it can affect the most vulnerable sectors of society through problems of drought and food security that have negatively affected the region in recent years. Early warning systems or strategies should be established to lower the risk of the impact of climate change;

9. The various facets of SADC – political, economic, social, cultural, and especially its human security dimensions – should be incorporated within the national school curriculum, as well as at institutions of higher learning, so that support is built for the organisation within the broader southern Africa community;
 10. SADC should adopt a checklist to assess whether Resolution 1325 is being implemented. The internal capacity of the SADC gender unit should be strengthened, as well as its linkages with member state structures, for the promotion of gender inclusive democratic developmental states. Gender biases in economic policy should be removed, and the SADC gender protocol should be urgently adopted, as discriminatory mechanisms and/or cultural practices can exacerbate poverty and retard development; and
- ii. Finally, steps should be taken to halt the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) throughout southern Africa. Those SADC countries that have yet to ratify the 2001 Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms should be encouraged to do so. SADC members should also participate actively in the biennial meeting of states to review progress on the implementation of the UN Programme of Action against the illicit trade in SALW. Reports on national implementation of the UN Programme of Action should be submitted before each meeting.



Participants of the seminar, "Security and Development in Southern Africa", held from 8-10 June 2008 at the Quatermain Hotel in Sandton, Johannesburg, South Africa

Annex I

Agenda

Sunday 8 June 2008

18h30 Welcome Reception

19h30 Dinner

Day One: Monday 9 June 2007

9h00 – 10h30 Welcome and Opening Addresses

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

H.E. Dr. Hans Winkler, Secretary of State for European and international Affairs of Austria, Vienna

H.E. Minister Moses Mathendele Dlamini, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Swaziland

Mr. Manuel Gomes dos Santos, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Relations, Angola

10h30 – 10h45 Coffee Break

10h45 – 12h30 Session I: An African Peace Architecture: The AU, SADC, the EU, and the UN

Chair: Dr. Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town

Speakers: Dr. Musifiky Mwanasali, Senior Political Affairs Officer, UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), Khartoum
Ambassador Koen Vervaeke, EU Permanent Representative to the AU, Addis Ababa

12h30 – 13h30 Lunch

13h30 – 15h00 Session II: Peace Operations and Development in Southern Africa: African Peacebuilding

Chair: Mr. Tanki J. Mothae, Director, Organ, SADC Secretariat, Gaborone

Speakers: General Lancaster Bottoman, Head of the Planning Element of the SADC Brigade, Gaborone
General Louis M Fisher, former Commander of the Botswana Defence Force, Gaborone

15h00– 15h15 Coffee Break

15h15 – 16h45 Session III: Women, Security And Development in Southern Africa

Chair: H.E. Dr Hans Winkler, Secretary of State for European and International Affairs of Austria, Vienna

Speakers: Ambassador Irene Freudenschuss-Reichl, Director-General for Development Co-operation, Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, Austria

Professor Elizabeth Delport, Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria, Tshwane

Day Two Tuesday 10 June 200

9h00 – 10h30 Session IV: Peacebuilding, State Building and Development in Southern Africa

Chair: Dr. Garth le Pere, Director, Institute for Global Dialogue, Midrand

Speakers: H.E. Kaire Mbuende, Permanent Representative of Namibia to the United Nations, New York, and Former SADC Executive Secretary

Professor Gilbert Khadiagala, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

10h30 – 10h45 Coffee Break

10h45 – 12h15 Session V: Human Security and Development in Southern Africa

Chair: Professor Gavin Cawthra, Director, Centre for Defence and Security Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Speakers: Mr. Noel Stött, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Security Studies, Tshwane
Ms Lucy Shule, Assistant Lecturer, Centre for Foreign Relations, Dar es Salaam

12h15 – 12h45 Completion of Evaluation Forms and Coffee Break

12h45 – 13h30 Session VI: Rapporteurs Report and Way Forward

Chair: Dr. Gerald Hainzl, National Defence Academy, Vienna, Austria

Rapporteurs: Professor Chris Saunders, Department of Historical Studies, University of Cape Town
Ms Dawn Nagar, Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

13h30 – 14h30 Lunch

Annex II

Opening Statement of the Secretary of State of the Federal Republic of Austria Dr Hans Winkler 9 May 2008

Your Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Swaziland and incoming Chair of the Ministerial Committee of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation of SADC, Moses Mathendele Dlamini, The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for External Relations of Angola, Manuel Gomes Dos Santos, Mr. Tanki J. Mothae, Director, Organ, SADC Secretariat, Dr. Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates of the SADC Member States,

Together with my previous speakers, I warmly welcome all representatives of the SADC Member States, of multilateral organizations and of academia to this Policy Seminar. Let me also thank the SADC Secretariat and the Centre for Conflict Prevention for all their efforts during the last months to make this Seminar happen.

As you know, the Seminar intends to bring together leading capacities of foreign ministries and their counterparts in the academic world as well as other eminent experts from the SADC Region, the African and the European Union, and the UN. The main goal of the two days is to engage in a critical review of experiences and sharing knowledge and reflection.

The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ursula Plassnik, highlighted the overarching goal that Austria has in intensifying its relationships with Africa at a meeting with all African Ambassadors accredited to Vienna in January this year. She emphasized that the new partnership consecrated by the Lisbon Summit is grounded on the assumption that Europe and Africa are neighbours in a globalized environment and that there is potential to fight common challenges together, challenges such as threats to security, climate change or migration.

Building on the outcomes of the Lisbon Summit, it is of particular relevance for us to strengthen relations with regional organizations, as we learned it within the European Union. As a matter of fact, on my way to Johannesburg I had occasion to discuss with the Executive Secretary of the International Conference of the Great Lakes, Ambassador Liberata Mulamula, about peace and security and development in the Great Lakes Region.

This meeting is designed to build relations at high officials' level with the SADC Secretariat and the SADC Member States. It is for us a very valuable opportunity to listen to the SADC Secretariat and to SADC Member States' views and perspectives on their region and to form a clearer view of their priorities and concerns. The outcome will feed into the Ministerial Troika under the French Presidency of the EU in the fall of 2008.

Austria participated actively in the recent SADC Conference on Poverty and Development in Mauritius in April 2008. I should like to pay tribute to the SADC Secretariat and the SADC Member States who were represented

at the highest level for the substantial proceedings and the consensually adopted Declaration. Priority areas along the Summit Declaration – achieving food security, enhancing resilience in the face of climate change, boosting the renewable energies, accelerating regional integration, investing in human capabilities as well as setting up and maintaining infrastructure – are both demanding and ambitious. In the two days of this Seminar we will discuss a number of these issues.

In working with SADC, Austria has thus far mainly focused on the thematic working group on infrastructure, including energy. A Memorandum of Understanding with SADC about to be signed reflects the priorities for the infrastructure sector (energy and transport) as well as good governance, including women's rights.

At the level of the follow-up to the Lisbon Summit, Austria together with Germany is taking the lead in a so-called EU implementation team designed to give concrete content to the Lisbon partnership on energy. We believe that the successful implementation of the partnerships will require the active involvement of regional organisations such as SADC as well as the involvement of particularly interested member States.

We are currently also actively considering taking a more pro-active role in the area of conflict prevention and security. I trust that this seminar will help us to prepare for getting involved more actively, possibly contributing to kick-starting proceedings of a thematic group.

One important discussion area during our seminar is the issue of women's rights and participation in all processes of development and security. This is an area of particular relevance to the Austrian Foreign Minister Ursula Plassnik. It is also a cross-cutting issue in all Austrian development activities. Roughly two weeks ago I presented a study to the Ministers for Development Cooperation of the European Union at a meeting of the GAERC on "Enhancing the EU Response to Women in Armed Conflict". We are planning to follow-up on the recommendations of this study, most likely in a first step through a Round Table, in close collaboration with interested partners in Africa and elsewhere.

This Seminar is on security and development in the region of Southern Africa. Under this general umbrella we are – inter alia - interested in exploring the question as to how complex international missions can contribute to economic development of the country or region to which they are deployed. The single most important impact of a mission, of course, is to enhance peace and security, necessary prerequisites for any economic development and social progress. But we know also that complex missions have an impact through the procurement for the mission, the national salaries, the allowances of the international staff. That impact can mean increased inflation, a sort of internal brain drain towards the mission; but it also means opportunities for economic development. We would be interested in exploring – perhaps by looking at concrete examples of relevance to the region, such as MONUC and the mission in Burundi - what it would take to maximize the economic benefits of complex missions for the respective populations. We believe that to the degree that African organisations and African States are getting more directly involved in peace building missions on their continent, this question will gain relevance.

As I am about to conclude let me emphasize that we come to this seminar aware that we share the same values as expressed in the human rights and fundamental freedoms. We also come convinced that the approach of human security - emphasized in the Outcome Document of the 2005 UN Reform Summit - is a very important one. That same document also captured the emerging consensus on the "responsibility to protect".

In the actual discourse on human security in development the following axes have been emphasised:

- Ensuring protection and physical safety to individuals and communities with an emphasis on the most vulnerable in our societies;
- Supporting the development of a viable culture of democratic governance including the fight against horizontal inequalities;
- Strengthening the capacity for rule of law-streamlined public institutions, by way of state building in the follow up of peace building.

In the light of the human security concept we are indeed responsible for each other. In order to cope with our responsibility we will need new answers and strategies. Strengthening SADC's capacity in fostering security and development in the region will definitely be a regional answer to unfold its impact at global level.

I wish you all the best for a vivid discussion in a constructive atmosphere.

Thank you.

Annex III

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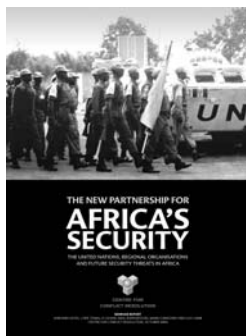
Annex III

List of Acronyms

AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APM	Anti-Personnel Landmines
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
APSF	African Peace Support Facility
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
DDR	Demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERW	Explosive Remnants of War
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
PSC	Peace and Security Council
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCBRIG	Southern African Standby Brigade
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (on Politics, Defence and Security)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Other publications in this series

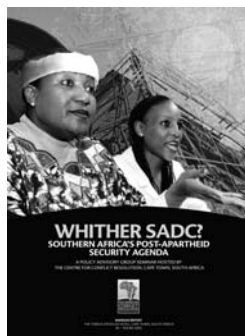
(available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>)



VOLUME 1 THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S SECURITY

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

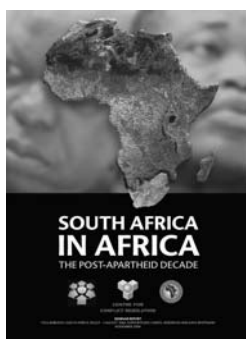
The inter-related and vexing issues of political instability in Africa and international security within the framework of UN reform were the focus of this policy seminar, held from 21 - 23 May 2004 in Claremont, Cape Town.



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

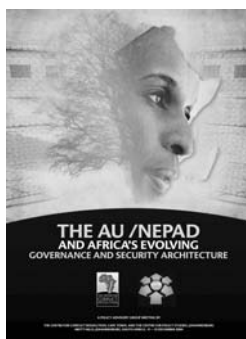
The role that South Africa has played on the African continent and the challenges that persist in South Africa's domestic transformation 10 years into democracy were assessed at this meeting in Stellenbosch, Cape Town, from 29 July - 1 August 2004.



VOLUME 6 HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN SECURITY:

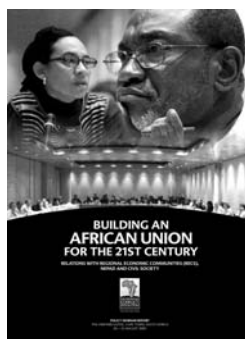
AN AGENDA FOR AFRICA

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

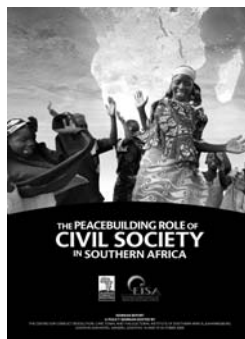
This seminar in Cape Town from 20 - 22 August 2005 made policy recommendations on how the AU's institutions, including NEPAD, could achieve their aims and objectives.



VOLUME 4 A MORE SECURE CONTINENT

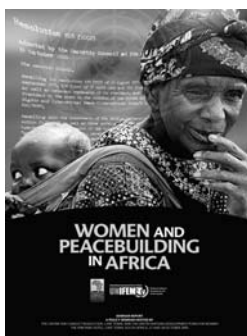
AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UN HIGH-LEVEL PANEL REPORT, A MORE SECURE WORLD: OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

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.



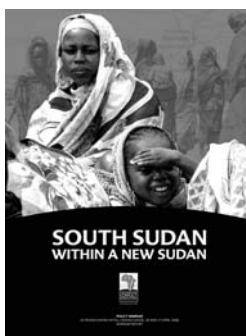
VOLUME 8 THE PEACEBUILDING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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.



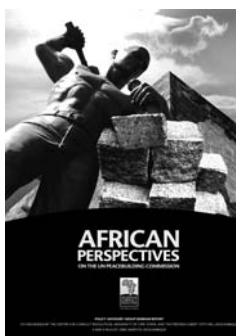
**VOLUME 13
SOUTH SUDAN WITHIN
A NEW SUDAN**

This policy advisory group seminar on 20 and 21 April 2006 in Franschoek, 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).



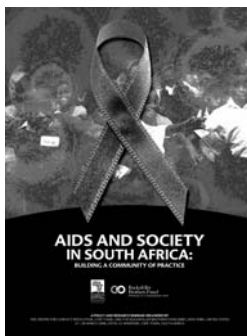
**VOLUME 10
HIV/AIDS AND
MILITARIES IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

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**

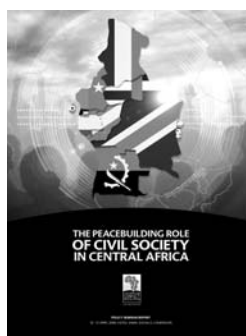
This meeting, in Maputo, Mozambique, on 3 and 4 August 2006, analysed the relevance for Africa of the creation, in December 2005, of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, and examined how countries emerging from conflict could benefit from its establishment.



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

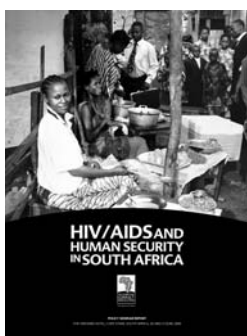
BUILDING A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

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.



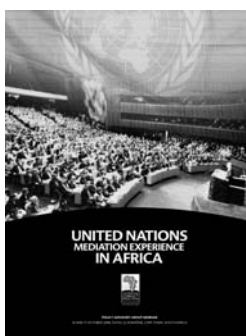
**VOLUME 15
THE PEACEBUILDING
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY
IN CENTRAL AFRICA**

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.



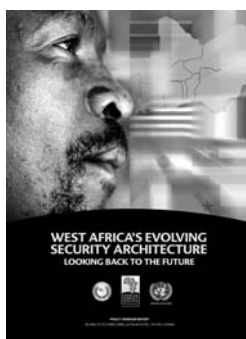
**VOLUME 12
HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN
SECURITY IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

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**

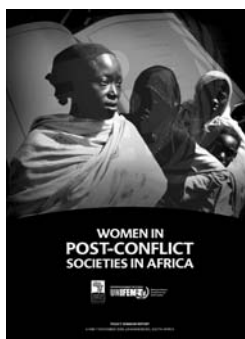
This seminar, held in Cape Town on 16 and 17 October 2006, sought to draw out key lessons from mediation and conflict resolution experiences in Africa, and to identify gaps in mediation support while exploring how best to fill them. It was the first regional consultation on the United Nations' newly-established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



VOLUME 17
WEST AFRICA'S
EVOLVING SECURITY
ARCHITECTURE

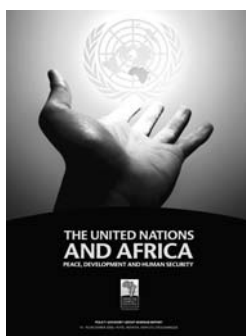
LOOKING BACK TO THE FUTURE

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 20
WOMEN IN POST-
CONFLICT SOCIETIES IN
AFRICA

The objective of the 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.



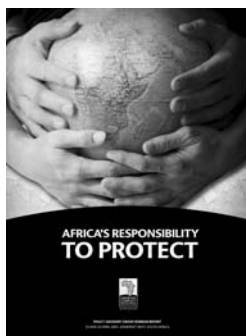
VOLUME 18
THE UNITED NATIONS
AND AFRICA: PEACE,
DEVELOPMENT AND
HUMAN SECURITY

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.



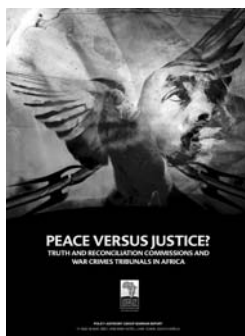
VOLUME 21
AFRICA'S EVOLVING
HUMAN RIGHTS
ARCHITECTURE

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 19
AFRICA'S
RESPONSIBILITY TO
PROTECT

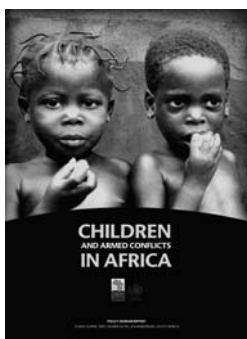
This policy seminar, held in Somerset West, South Africa, on 23 and 24 April 2007, interrogated issues around humanitarian intervention in Africa and the responsibility of regional governments and the international community in the face of humanitarian crises.



VOLUME 22
PEACE VERSUS JUSTICE?

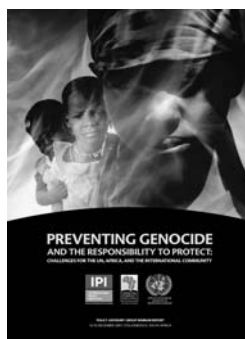
TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONS AND WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS IN AFRICA

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 23
CHILDREN AND ARMED
CONFLICTS IN AFRICA**

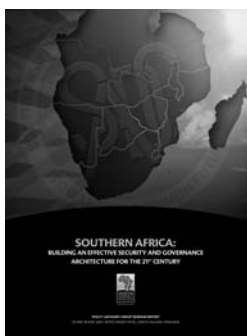
This report, based on a policy advisory group seminar held on 12 and 13 April 2007 in Johannesburg, South Africa, examines the role of various African Union (AU) organs in monitoring the rights of children in conflict and post-conflict situations.



**VOLUME 25
PREVENTING GENOCIDE
AND THE RESPONSIBILITY
TO PROTECT:**

CHALLENGES FOR THE UN, AFRICA, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

This policy advisory group meeting was held from 13-15 December 2007 in Stellenbosch, South Africa, and focused on six African, Asian and European case studies. These highlighted inter-related issues of concern regarding populations threatened by genocide, war crimes, "ethnic cleansing" or crimes against humanity.



**VOLUME 24
SOUTHERN AFRICA:
BUILDING AN EFFECTIVE SECURITY AND
GOVERNANCE ARCHITECTURE FOR THE 21ST
CENTURY**

This report is based on a seminar, held in Tanzania on 29 and 30 May 2007, that sought to enhance the efforts of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to advance security, governance and development initiatives in the sub-region.



**VOLUME 26
EURAFRIQUE?
AFRICA AND EUROPE IN A NEW CENTURY**

This seminar, held from 31 October to 1 November 2007 in Cape Town, South Africa, examined the relationship between Africa and Europe in the 21st Century, exploring the unfolding economic relationship (trade, aid and debt); peacekeeping and military co-operation; and migration.

Notes

Notes

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Development Cooperation

In recent years, the African Union (AU); its socio-economic programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); and Africa's regional economic communities (RECs) have increasingly recognised that peace, security and democratic governance are preconditions for sustainable development in southern Africa. Should the AU focus on peacemaking and peacekeeping, and leave peacebuilding to the better-resourced and more experienced United Nations (UN)? This is one of the critical questions addressed at the seminar on which this report is based.



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