



**CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION
AND PEACEBUILDING
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:**
CIVIL SOCIETY, GOVERNMENTS, AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS



CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

POLICY SEMINAR REPORT

19 AND 20 MAY 2008, KOPANONG HOTEL, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND PEACEBUILDING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

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A POLICY SEMINAR HOSTED BY
CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA
KOPANONG HOTEL, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA
19 AND 20 MAY 2008
SEMINAR REPORT

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DESIGN: KULT CREATIVE, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

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PHOTOGRAPHS: MATHEWS BALOYI, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

Acknowledgements

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, would like to thank the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC) for supporting this policy seminar which took place at the Kopanong Hotel and Conference Centre, Johannesburg, South Africa, on 19 and 20 May 2008.

The Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

The Centre for Conflict Resolution is affiliated to the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa. 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 South Africa's role in Africa; the United Nations' (UN) role in Africa; African Union (AU)/New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) relations; and HIV/AIDS and Security.

The Rapporteurs

Ms Noria Mashumba and Dr Mireille Affa'a Mindzie are Senior Project Officers at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa.

Executive Summary

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, South Africa, held a two-day policy seminar on 19 and 20 May 2008 at Kopanong Hotel and Conference Centre in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The meeting provided a platform for participants from Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe to share experiences and insights on CCR's sustained intervention initiatives implemented in the three countries since 2002. These interventions were partly informed by CCR's work in the Western Cape, with a central focus on building conflict transformation skills of key local actors and mediating societal and political conflicts.

The experiences and lessons at the local level in South Africa became a vital building block to expand interventions to the rest of southern Africa, beginning in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. CCR selected the three countries to inform interventions at the regional level on the basis of a shared common history and similar governance challenges following transitions to democracy. The Centre's work aims to bring together key actors to resolve conflict utilising constructive approaches. To this end, CCR has sought to engage key actors in government and civil society in long-term capacity and skills-building exercises in order to enhance their knowledge and practice of constructive conflict management approaches while simultaneously building trust and confidence between polarised groups. Ultimately, this approach seeks to create opportunities for political and social dialogue between diverse groups.

The expansion of these initiatives to the rest of southern Africa was timely as a number of countries faced governance challenges linked to efforts to consolidate democracy and governance following the demise of colonial rule in the sub-region. In Swaziland and Zimbabwe, issues such as human rights violations, violent elections and land disputes, poverty, and social exclusion have contributed to economic and political instability. In turn, this has fuelled tension between groups with divergent interests in society. Civil society organisations advocating democratic change have clashed with governments seeking to safeguard the status quo, particularly on the issue of elections.

Most countries in southern Africa have provisions for holding regular presidential and parliamentary elections and, intermittently, local government elections. In recent years, elections in a majority of these countries, most notably Zimbabwe, have been marred by violence and fraud and can no longer be used as an indicator for democracy and "good governance". There is an increasing need for reforms to improve electoral processes, in particular, through the strengthening of institutions at the core of promoting democratic elections, such as independent electoral bodies and national judiciaries. Furthermore, these efforts should address issues central to democracy and development such as corruption and poverty.

In Lesotho, decentralisation of local government to promote democratic participation at community level was implemented without establishing relevant infrastructure to support these changes. Consequently, the creation of local government authorities without clear mandates and responsibilities, while simultaneously operating within the same jurisdiction with long-established and respected traditional institutions of governance, led to conflict between the two authorities. The challenge for Lesotho has been to create a balance between local government - established to build bridges between central government and local population - and traditional institutions, that have retained a significant role in society.

Traditional authorities are often active players in conflict resolution and development at the local level and are still considered by many citizens to be custodians of customary law and a source of social cohesion. These traditional governance structures represent some of the oldest institutions of governance in Africa. Historically, these entities have played a central role in governance issues in local communities. Besides acting as the executive, political, and military arms of government in the past, traditional leaders have often played a leading role in conflict resolution issues in Africa, and have sometimes been the custodians of moral principles and cultural values, as well as constituting a powerful force for social cohesion. Traditional structures have also been criticised for promoting socially conservative, undemocratic and gender discriminatory policies.

Following independence from colonial rule in Africa, most countries with a history of traditional institutions of governance in southern Africa such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, and Botswana, have incorporated traditional leaders into the constitutional government structures inherited from western colonial powers. Depending on the legislative requirements of a specific country, these functions have varied from playing an advisory role to government, to providing a vital bridge for governments in promoting democratic processes and development at the local level. The lack of clarity on the roles of the two institutions at the local level has invariably led to overlap and conflict over resources and responsibilities. This has sometimes led to tensions between traditional authorities and elected local government officials, which has, in turn, sometimes impacted negatively on democracy and development. The Centre for Conflict Resolution has been working with local government and traditional leaders to develop their skills and capacity to manage conflict constructively and to promote democratic participation and peacebuilding at the local level. The experiences and lessons from Lesotho and Swaziland provided valuable insights and aim to contribute to building best practice in southern Africa.

The Johannesburg policy seminar explored the following nine broad themes:

1. Democratic Governance in Southern Africa: Opportunities and Challenges for Constructive Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

Following the demise of colonial rule by the 1990s, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region has embraced the culture of multiparty elections with countries committing to holding regular presidential and parliamentary elections and intermittent elections at the local government level. While elections have contributed to peace and stability in countries such as Mauritius, in some countries, such as Zimbabwe and Angola, elections have resulted in violence and instability. Voting has therefore not contributed to consolidating democracy in some southern African countries. Possible interventions to overcome the “electoral deficit” in the sub-region include: transparent electoral rules and procedures that will ensure respect of electoral outcomes; the observation of elections by the international community to enhance transparency; and the independence of national elections management bodies.

2. Peacemaking: Reflections on CCR’s Methodology in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe from 1994 to 2003

For the first 25 years of its existence after 1968, CCR was primarily a South African institution. The Centre started to receive invitations from southern African countries in the region to share its experiences after the 1994 political transition in South Africa. From 1994 to 2003, CCR responded to invitations from government,

civil society actors, and the United Nations (UN) in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe and conducted a series of “track two” interventions aimed at strategically equipping a critical mass of actors from government, civil society and traditional leadership structures with skills proactively to lead conflict transformation initiatives in their respective communities. The interventions in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe demonstrated that “track two processes” can complement and pave the way for more formalised “track one” events. The strength of “track two processes” rests in their non-threatening, inclusive approach; their focus on trust, confidence and relationship-building; their enhancing the skills of local actors, thus ensuring the transference and institutionalisation of skills to local communities; their inclusive approach to addressing the root causes of conflicts; and their promotion of local ownership of peacebuilding processes.

3. Lesotho: Promoting Constructive Dialogue as a Tool for Enhancing Democratic Participation in Local Governance

CCR has been working in Lesotho since 1998 in collaboration with local partners such as the Lesotho Council of NGOs (LCN); Transformation Resource Centre (TRC); the National University of Lesotho (NUL); Development for Peace Education (DPE); and the Lesotho Network for Conflict Management (LNCM). The main focus of this work has been on building skills in conflict transformation and peacebuilding through training workshops targeting civil society and senior government officials. Since July 2006, CCR has expanded this work to include local government and traditional leaders in an effort to address conflicts arising from the decentralisation of local government after the country’s 1998 crisis in which a military coup d’état was narrowly averted.

4. Swaziland: Building Civil Society and Government Conflict Transformation Skills and Capacities to Promote Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding

In Swaziland, democratic reforms led to the adoption of a written constitution in 2005, which was met with mixed reactions in the country. Pro-democracy groups co-ordinated by the Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations (SCCCO) have consistently criticised the lack of a consultative process during the drafting and adoption of the constitution, arguing that the document was not inclusive of all stakeholders. Since 2003, CCR has engaged - formally and informally - key players in civil society, the King’s Advisory Council, and the government, to promote constructive dialogue aimed at addressing the political conflict among key players, while at the same time building relationships among polarised groups in Swaziland.

5. Zimbabwe: Engaging Civil Society in Political Dialogue, Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

CCR’s work in Zimbabwe dates back to 2002 and was initiated as a response to the country’s political and governance challenges, particularly following the referendum of 2000 and the land invasions of the same period. In collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), CCR implemented activities aimed at promoting political dialogue among polarised groups in government and the main opposition political party; and building the conflict transformation skills and capacities of local civil society actors such as Silveira House and Churches in Manicaland.

6. The Evolving Relationship between Traditional Institutions and Local Government in Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

Traditional authorities represent some of the oldest institutions of governance in Africa. Historically, these entities have played a central role in governance and conflict resolution issues and sometimes remain the custodians of moral principles and cultural values in African societies. The end of colonial rule in Africa has brought with it profound political and democratic changes that have challenged the traditional role, responsibilities, and existence of traditional authorities. Constitutional provisions in many countries have not sufficiently outlined the evolving role and responsibilities of traditional leaders and local government authorities. This has sometimes led to tensions between traditional authorities and elected local government officials and, in turn, impacted negatively on democracy and development in these countries.

7. Navigating the Challenges: Opportunities and Challenges for Co-existence between Traditional Authorities and Local Government in Democratic Governance

Traditional leadership is provided for in most constitutions in southern Africa. What is still to be settled is the question of whether to include these actors in other areas of governance beyond their conventional traditional activities. Both traditional and local government institutions are critical in ensuring democratic participation at the local level. However, as long as this relationship remains antagonistic, the participation of local communities in governance will be negatively affected. Traditional leaders are often in touch with local communities and understand their cultures, traditions and dynamics. Local government can offer resources and expertise, but often needs the support of traditional leaders to implement its activities effectively. There is therefore an urgent need to harmonise more closely the functions of the two institutions despite these challenges.

8. Strengthening Partnerships to Promote Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding: What can be Done?

Traditional leaders and local government have a complementary role to play in promoting democracy and development at community level, in particular, in rural areas. While legislation may be necessary to bring clarity to the issue of the respective mandates and the relationship between traditional leaders and local government, these ties will need to be complemented by other practical initiatives, in particular, efforts to enhance collaboration through building constructive relationships between the two institutions.

9. The Role of Civic Organisations in Enhancing Collaboration between Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities

Civic organisations have a critical role to play in ensuring that people's rights to participate in local governance are protected and to ensure that citizens are actively involved in local projects that impact their lives. Where local government and traditional authorities are in conflict over specific issues, civil society organisations can play a role in mediating between the two authorities to ensure that democracy and development are not negatively affected. The experiences of civil society actors in countries such as Lesotho in seeking to transform constructively conflictual relationships between local government and traditional leaders can be enhanced to develop ideas that can respond effectively to specific contexts.

Policy Recommendations

The seminar participants made the following five key policy recommendations:

- First, transparent electoral rules and procedures should be developed in southern Africa, and there should be a commitment at the policy level to effective implementation of rules to ensure respect of electoral outcomes;
- Second, there is a need to explore practical ways of harmonising and integrating locally and home-grown governance systems with African democratic processes. Specifically, this should include transformation of electoral systems towards proportionality and away from the “winner-takes-all” models that currently exists in most countries in southern Africa, and have sometimes contributed to disputes over election results;
- Third, while traditional authorities have been excluded from participating in other issues of governance reserved for central government, there is value in maintaining their role in judicial matters at the local level, in particular, in preserving traditional norms and practices of resolving disputes; traditional medicine; management of mineral resources; and culture could also be used to advance development, while both institutions should acknowledge their capacity limitations and develop shared decision-making processes towards the constructive resolution of disputes;
- Fourth, the experiences in conflict transformation from Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe can be used to build systems that respond to particular contexts. Sharing of lessons learned and challenges involved in implementing non-violent activities to address political and social conflicts in the different countries should therefore become an annual activity to maximise on experiences and good practices; and
- Finally, traditional leaders are generally patriarchal, often marginalising the voices of vulnerable groups such as women and the youth. Traditional leaders must therefore include in their mandates issues such as human rights and gender equality, which are often not priorities in many traditional settings.

1. Introduction

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, South Africa, hosted a two-day policy seminar on conflict transformation and peacebuilding in southern Africa at Kopanong Hotel and Conference Centre in Johannesburg, South Africa, on 19 and 20 May 2008.

The seminar, held on the theme, “Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding in Southern Africa: Civil Society, Government And Traditional Leadership”, brought together about 30 key players from civil society, government and traditional leadership institutions from Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa to share their practical experiences, lessons and challenges in efforts to promote democratic participation and peacebuilding through constructive conflict transformation. The objective of the seminar was to enhance CCR’s sustained interventions in Lesotho and Swaziland by reviewing and drawing lessons from similar activities implemented in the two countries, as well as in Zimbabwe, since 2002.¹

1.1 Background

In Lesotho, CCR has been working closely with a number of key actors since 1998. The partners include: the Lesotho Council of NGOs (LCN); the National University of Lesotho (NUL); Development for Peace Education (DPE); and the Lesotho Network for Conflict Management (LNCM). The main focus of the work has been on developing skills in conflict transformation and peacebuilding, targeting key actors in civil society, senior government officials and traditional leaders who have been at the centre of conflicts emanating from the decentralisation of government in Lesotho since the late 1990s. The new local government structures created by Lesotho’s Local Government Act of 1998 lack clearly defined roles and mandates, and are operating in the same jurisdictions with traditional authorities and, in some cases, duplicating the functions of traditional leaders. This situation has sometimes led to conflict between local councillors and traditional leaders. In 2007 and 2008, CCR’s sustained interventions focused on working in partnership with local civil society organisations in Lesotho to develop the skills of these actors to use constructive dialogue to address some of these conflicts.

In Swaziland, democratic reforms led to the adoption of a written constitution in 2005² that received mixed reactions from different groups in the country. Pro-democracy groups under the umbrella of the Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations (SCCCO) consistently criticised the process leading to the drafting and adoption of the constitution on the basis that it was not inclusive of all stakeholders in Swaziland. These constitutional processes led to deep divisions in the country’s political landscape. Since 2003, the Centre for Conflict Resolution has worked closely with key players in civil society, the King’s Advisory Council, and other sectors of government to promote constructive dialogue processes aimed at addressing the political conflict among the key players, while at the same time building the skills of a critical mass of actors to drive future peacebuilding initiatives. The consistent interaction between CCR and the key actors in Swaziland through formal and informal meetings and conflict transformation training workshops, has led to a gradual shift in

1 See “The Peacebuilding Role of Civil Society in Southern Africa”, CCR Policy Seminar Report, October, 2005, Maseru, Lesotho; “Southern Africa: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the 21st Century”, CCR Policy Advisory Group Seminar Report, May 2007, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; “Security and Development in Southern Africa”, CCR Policy Advisory Group Seminar Report, June 2008, Johannesburg, South Africa; and *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era*, Adekeye Adebajo, Adebayo Adedeji and Chris Landsberg (eds), (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2007).

2 The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act of 2005 (available at <http://www.gov.sz/>; accessed 28 February 2008).

attitudes among some SCCCO members at two levels - at the first level, building of relationships between the different organisations participating in SCCCO-driven activities that have included faith-based organisations; women's groups; the youth; non-governmental organisations (NGOs); labour unions; employer's organisations; and political formations; and at a second level, to expand options for civil society to move from pursuing an adversarial approach to engaging key players in government to considering possible scenarios for constructive approaches to resolving the political impasse in the country. On the government side, some actors are open to constructive engagement, although there is still a general lack of trust in working with civil society. While much remains to be done, the progress made with the key groups provides a sound framework for strengthening constructive dialogue processes in the country.

In Zimbabwe, CCR's work in the country dates back to 2002 and was initiated as a response to political and governance challenges, particularly following the referendum on the 2000 draft constitution and the land invasions that took place during the same period. CCR collaborated with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office in Zimbabwe to promote dialogue as a constructive conflict management approach for parliamentarians from government and the opposition, women, and civil society groups. The Centre also worked with local churches through the Churches in Manicaland (CiM) and Silveira House to build local capacity in conflict transformation. Though CCR discontinued major activities in Zimbabwe in 2005, organisations in the country such as CiM have continued to participate in the Centre's initiatives.

CCR's sustained interventions in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe are based on the premise that there is not a "one-size-fits-all" approach to tackling each country's challenges, but that each country will need to develop solutions and strategies that address identified local needs over a sustained period of time. While these three countries were identified on the basis of sharing a common history, culture and political context, it is anticipated that the experiences from these pilot projects can be utilised to develop systems that can be adapted to the needs of other countries in Africa and beyond.

1.2 Objectives

The Johannesburg policy seminar of May 2008 aimed to provide a platform for civil society, government and traditional leaders across southern Africa to share experiences, lessons and challenges in employing conflict transformation and political dialogue as approaches to resolving political and social conflict. It was anticipated that the deliberations would generate concrete recommendations, build sustainable partnerships to transform conflict constructively in local communities, and craft solutions that could be employed in other countries in southern Africa and beyond. The meeting had three key objectives:

- First, to provide a platform for sharing of experiences, lessons and challenges in conflict transformation initiatives from civil society, governments and traditional leaders;
- Second, to explore the evolving role and contribution of traditional institutions and local government authorities in democratic governance and conflict transformation efforts in southern Africa; and
- Third, to develop concrete recommendations for building sustainable partnerships to transform conflicts in local communities constructively and to craft solutions that can be used in other countries in southern Africa and beyond.

1.3 Seminar Themes

The policy seminar focused on seven key themes:

- Democratic Governance in Southern Africa: Opportunities and Challenges for Constructive Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding;
- Swaziland: Building Civil Society and Government Conflict Transformation Skills and Sharing of Experiences;
- Lesotho: Promoting Constructive Dialogue as a Tool for Enhancing Democratic Participation in Local Governance;
- Zimbabwe: Engaging Civil Society in Social and Conflict Transformation;
- The Evolving Relationship between Traditional Institutions and Local Government in Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding;
- Navigating the Challenges: Opportunities and Challenges for Co-existence Between Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities in Promoting Democratic Governance; and
- Strengthening Partnerships to Promote Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding: What Can Be Done?



From left: Ms Roshnee Narrandes, Policy and Advocacy Manager, Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa, Johannesburg; Bishop Meshack Mabuza, Anglican Bishop of Swaziland Council of Churches, Swaziland; Ms Annamarie Minder, Resident Director, Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation; Mr Ephrem Tadesse, Programme Manager, Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation

2. Democratic Governance in Southern Africa: Opportunities and Challenges for Constructive Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

2.1 Elections and Conflict Transformation in Southern Africa

In Africa over the last four decades, one of the main issues on the political agenda has been the need to move away from the one-party state to adopting multiparty democracy. The 14-member Southern African Development Community (SADC) region³ has embraced the culture of multiparty elections, with countries committing to regular presidential, parliamentary and intermittent local government elections. Countries emerging from violent conflict, such as Zimbabwe and Angola, conducted elections in 1980 and 1992 respectively as part of transitional processes. Elections were planned in Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Angola in 2008; and in South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Namibia and Mozambique in 2009.

While elections have contributed to peace and stability in countries such as Mauritius, in some countries, including Zimbabwe and Swaziland, periodic elections have perpetuated the status quo of dominant party rule and have thus not contributed meaningfully to consolidating democracy. Forthcoming elections raise further concerns in countries like South Africa, where the upsurge of xenophobia in May 2008 can be seen as a warning sign to the political elite of the social and structural problems that still need to be urgently tackled in the country. In Botswana, despite the prevailing stability, citizens are increasingly questioning the process for selecting the country's president. Thus, the role and quality of regular elections and processes in southern Africa are being questioned in many countries.

The holding of regular elections in the sub-region have brought with them legitimacy and electoral democracy crises in many of these countries. These crises manifest themselves through factors such as electoral authoritarianism marked by the retreat of liberal democracy; the development of illiberal democracies that limit the provision and protection of civil liberties; political intrigue over the contestation of state power; and the absence of avenues for political compromise. In most of these countries, the state is seen as a resource for the elite, and access to government positions has often become the key to the accumulation of personal wealth.

Other causes of electoral crises in southern Africa include: the contradictions between procedural uncertainty and certainty of electoral outcomes; the ineffective management of elections; and lack of effective mechanisms for constructive management of election-related conflicts. In addition, several countries in southern Africa manifest structural inequality and social crises; the development of "winner-takes-all" electoral systems, and political cultures; militarisation of politics; and politicisation of the military all have implications for sustainable peace in southern Africa. Consequently, regional states are increasingly confronted by voter apathy and loss of public trust in democratic institutions. Political instability has further resulted in a loss of lives; destabilisation of the social fabric of countries; and a decline in economic growth and development in the sub-region.

³ 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.

Possible interventions to overcome the electoral crisis in southern Africa include: transparent electoral rules and procedures that will enhance electoral outcomes; the observation of elections by the international community to improve transparency; and strengthening the independence of national election management bodies. Furthermore, the transformation of electoral systems towards proportionality and away from “winner-takes-all” models was suggested as a possible strategy. In addition, southern Africa should promote and enhance the capacity and effectiveness of key democratic institutions, including independent judiciaries, parliaments, and civil society organisations; and the de-politicisation and professionalisation of militaries.

Acknowledging that elections, in some instances, advance peace and democracy, but, in other instances, have contributed to undermining democracy, there is a need for practical solutions to harmonise and integrate local and home-grown governance systems with African democratic processes. Concern was expressed about the role that external actors have sometimes played in creating pessimism in the results of elections, thereby undermining the credibility of election outcomes and exacerbating the non-acceptance of results. To address the issue of contestation of elections, it will be important to protect the independence of judiciaries and to reinforce this through the establishment of regional electoral courts. The role of civil society in elections and democracy-building in the SADC region should also be strengthened.

2.2 Track Two Peacemaking: Reflections on CCR’s Methodology in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe from 1994 to 2003

For the first 25 years of its existence after 1968, the Centre for Conflict Resolution was primarily a South African institution. The Centre started to receive invitations from southern African countries to share its experiences after the 1994 political transition in South Africa. The context of CCR’s interventions in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe during this period was characterised by increased involvement of non-governmental actors in conflict prevention and peacemaking efforts. Key theoretical and methodological assumptions of CCR’s interventions illustrated John Burton’s theory, which considers force or coercion as an inappropriate and, ultimately, a counter-productive way of responding to deep-rooted conflicts.⁴ This theory stresses the importance of addressing the basic needs of people in order to handle such conflicts effectively.

Furthermore, CCR’s interventions were also based on the assumption that any conflict can be transformed and solutions found, as was the case in the South African and Mozambican transitions from conflict to democracy in the 1990s through the engagement of all actors in a non-judgemental approach. In Mozambique, a group of Italian catholic priests from Sant’ Egidio played a central role in bringing the two main groups, the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) and the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO), to the negotiating table.

Conflict resolution approaches advocated by CCR between 1994 and 2003 emphasised a need to address the psycho-political dynamics of conflicts, recognising that conflict is not only about political issues but also about

⁴ See John Burton, *Resolving Deep-rooted Conflict: A Handbook* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987); *Conflict Resolution as a Political System*, Working Paper I, Centre for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, Virginia (1988); and the edited volumes, *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), and *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990).

feelings of anger, fear, resentment, or anxiety, all of which affect the way issues and processes are grappled with. The strategy adopted by CCR was non-directive, and characterised by neutrality towards the conflicting parties. The parties involved were empowered to solve their own problems through self-knowledge encouraged by a facilitator, with an emphasis on restoring relationships. The practical implications of such a methodology included a high premium on trust-building; the importance of responding to invitations from credible partners and to add value to their efforts; and the deliberate but difficult decision to desist from condemning human rights violations. The challenges of reconciling the peace-builder role with the need to raise concern where human rights are violated was a main subject of debate.

CCR's methodology during this period included using workshops as a primary tool at three levels: enhancing conceptual and practical skills in conflict resolution; contributing to actual informal dialogue among the protagonists; and building momentum of peace processes through appropriate holding of workshops. Practical examples include events in Lesotho where a three-day workshop involving leaders of political parties, including the Prime Minister, Ntsu Mokhehle, resulted in a peace process in 1997. Currently in Swaziland, workshops and formal and informal meetings between civil society and the King's Advisory Council are contributing to building trust and confidence, and may pave the way for more formalised and inclusive dialogue processes between these groups. CCR's interventions in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe between 1994 and 2003 highlighted that "track two processes" can complement and pave the way for more formalised "track one" events. The strength of "track two processes" rests in their non-threatening, inclusive approach; their focus on trust, confidence and relationship building; enhancing the skills of local actors, thus ensuring transference and institutionalisation of skills in local communities for sustainability; an inclusive approach to addressing the root causes of conflicts; and the promotion of local ownership of peacebuilding processes.



TOP : Dr Andries Odendaal, Consultant, Cape Town, South Africa
ABOVE: Mr Deprose Muchena, Manager, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Johannesburg
RIGHT : Mr Muzi Masuku, Programme Manager, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Swaziland, *right*; Mr Katleho Pefole, Programme Manager, Transformation Resource Centre, Maseru, Lesotho

3. Swaziland: Building Civil Society and Government Conflict Transformation Skills and Sharing Experiences

Swaziland is a country that has experienced political, social and economic crises. Yet, as some of the participants highlighted, these issues remain closed and isolated from the outside world, ultimately supporting the misconception, according to them, that this is a peaceful country.⁵

The adoption of a written constitution in Swaziland in 2005 was said to have exacerbated the country's political crisis.⁶ The document received mixed reactions from different groups in the country. Pro-democracy activists under the umbrella of the Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations have consistently criticised the lack of a consultative process leading to the drafting and adoption of the constitution on the basis that it was not inclusive of all stakeholders. These constitutional processes resulted in deep divisions in the country's political landscape, and were aggravated by other existing structural challenges that include high levels of poverty, with 69 per cent of the nearly one million Swazi citizens surviving on less than \$2 per day; 10 per cent of the population enjoying 40 per cent of Swaziland's national wealth; 40 per cent of the population being unemployed; a high HIV-prevalence rate estimated to be 40 per cent among the most economically active population in the 15 to 49 age group, as well as the existence of 80,000 AIDS orphans; a deeply patriarchal society, marginalising women; and tensions between the traditional and constitutional governance structures. The country loses an estimated 40 million Emalangeni (Rand 40 million) per month to corruption, while 600,000 of the country's population is dependent on food aid.⁷

The constitution has introduced some innovative changes to the Swaziland political landscape. This includes a Bill of Rights protecting the rights to freedom of expression, assembly and association; some protection to women in a deeply patriarchal society; and an apparent separation of powers between the judiciary, the legislature and the executive to provide for checks and balances within the political system. Notwithstanding these seemingly democratic principles, the Swazi constitution is at the core of the political crisis in the country. It has been criticised by civil society groups on the basis that it has done very little to move the country from the King's Proclamation of 1973 since, according to critics, all executive power still resides with the monarch who remains above the law. The Bill of Rights, it has been argued, has serious drawback clauses, which take away from the protections provided. Interest groups in Swazi society are divided on the document, with more moderate actors proposing working with the document as it stands and to build on it, and the more radical calling for its outright rejection.⁸

5 Alice Kanengoni, Editorial, *Open Space: The Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa and the University of Botswana*, 2007, p.4.

6 The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act of 2005 (available at <http://www.gov.sz/>; accessed 28 February 2008).

7 Z Mabuza, *The Swaziland Economy, Open Space: A Digest of The Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa and the University of Botswana*, 2007, p.18.

8 Muzi Masuku, *Engaging the Contents of the New Swazi Constitution, Open Space: The Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa and the University of Botswana*, 2007, p.6.

Since 2003, CCR has worked closely with key players in civil society, the King's Advisory Council, and other sectors of the government focusing on gradually building conflict transformation skills of these groups, while at the same time building relationships with the objective of ultimately bringing the key actors to dialogue on the contentious issues confronting the country. The strategy adopted has been to run parallel processes with civil society and government through formal and informal meetings and training workshops for civil society actors. It is anticipated that as relationships are nurtured and as attitudes are gradually transformed, polarised groups can work towards reaching a common agenda and identify a core group that can meet on one platform to dialogue and address conflicts in Swaziland.



ABOVE: *From left:* Mr Musa Hlope, Co-ordinator, Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations, Mbabane, Swaziland; Mr Sofonea Shale, Co-ordinator, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho; Mr Muzi Masuku, Programme Manager, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Swaziland

RIGHT: Ms Mapuseletso Ntabe, National Animator, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho



The consistent interaction between CCR and the key actors in Swaziland through formal and informal meetings and conflict transformation training workshops has led to a gradual shift in attitudes among some SCCCCO members at two levels: at the first level, through the building of relationships between the different organisations participating in SCCCCO-driven activities that include faith-based organisations, women's groups, the youth, NGOs, labour unions, employer's organisations and political formations; and at the second level, through expanding options for civil society actors from pursuing an adversarial approach to engaging key players in government through constructive approaches to conflict management. Civil society in Swaziland is now working with the labour unions and opposition political parties, two groups that have traditionally advocated an adversarial approach to addressing the governance challenges in the country.

As co-ordinator, SCCCCO is looking to strengthen relationships with the various civil society groups and to include the Swazi Diaspora in working towards a united front with a common agenda and strategy for engaging the government and the monarchy. The presence of representatives from the King's Advisory Council at the Johannesburg seminar marked additional steps towards building partnership between civil society and the leadership of the country. The King's Advisory Council is an effective entry point for civil society since it reports directly to, and advises, the King, Mswati III. Two main challenges remain for Swazi civil society. The first is how to make conflict transformation initiatives more participatory by bringing in local communities and the top leadership. Currently, middle-level leadership has been driving peace initiatives in Swaziland, with little participation from the general population or the top leadership of civil society organisations. The second challenge is how to strengthen the evolving relationship between civil society and the King's Advisory Council, which holds the key to accessing and engaging the highest authority in the country.

As far as the Swazi government is concerned, some sections of society are open to constructive engagement, even while there remains a general lack of trust to work with civil society. The Johannesburg seminar provided a safe space for civil society actors from Swaziland to engage constructively with representatives from the King's Advisory Council. The discussions provided useful insights for overcoming the fears and concerns of the traditional leadership. At the root of these concerns is the fear of an uncertain future, in particular, the fate of the traditional authorities, should the monarchy be replaced by a new dispensation that limits the powers of this institution. For some participants from Swaziland, this was the first time that they had engaged constructively with representatives of traditional governance structures and there was consensus among both civil society and the King's Advisory Council that more opportunities for the two groups to interact in a safe environment to share and exchange ideas and views on the possibilities of finding common ground to the challenges of Swaziland would be useful.

While much remains to be done, the parties in Swaziland must continue to seek ways of building on the work already begun to find common ground and to avert violent conflict in their country. On the part of civil society, there has been a gradual shift among SCCCCO members from resisting engagement with government to the opening of possible avenues for constructive engagement. Additionally, civil society as well as political formations in the country and the labour movement are painstakingly charting a way towards a more co-ordinated and common approach to addressing the conflicts in the country constructively.

4. Lesotho: Promoting Constructive Dialogue as a Tool for Enhancing Democratic Participation in Local Governance

In Lesotho, the new local government structures created by Lesotho's Local Government Act of 1998 do not have clearly defined roles and mandates, but are working in the same jurisdictions with traditional authorities and, in most cases, duplicating the functions of these authorities.

This situation has sometimes led to conflict among local councillors, local government authorities and traditional leaders. CCR's sustained interventions in Lesotho since 1998 focused on working in partnership with local civil society organisations to build their skills for constructive dialogue to address conflicts linked to the government's decentralisation initiatives. The strategy included long-term engagement of actors in key local civil society institutions such as the Lesotho Council of NGOs; the National University of Lesotho; Development for Peace Education; Transformation Resource Centre; the Lesotho Network for Conflict Management; and local government and traditional authorities in conflict transformation and peacebuilding efforts. Through strategic formal and informal meetings and conflict transformation training workshops, CCR has provided a non-threatening environment for Lesotho's key civil society actors, local government, and traditional authorities to dialogue and work through their conflicts.

As a result of interactions with CCR, a number of dialogue sessions have been conducted in some of the districts in Lesotho such as Maseru and Mohale's Hoek as part of collaborative efforts between civil society organisations, local government and local communities. Relationships and co-ordination in particular efforts to share information and resources among the different civil society organisations involved in the initiatives have been strengthened. These groups have shared experiences in conducting dialogue sessions and through consistent interactions in strategic planning meetings. Civil society organisations in Lesotho have acknowledged and recognised the need to involve the relevant local government authorities in ensuring the sustainability and legitimacy of these processes. The dialogue sessions that have been conducted to date have also contributed



ABOVE: Dr Nomusa Ndiela, Deputy Director, Local Government and Traditional Affairs, Durban, South Africa
RIGHT: Mr Sofonea Shale, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho, *left*; Ms Roshnee Narrandes, Policy and Advocacy Manager, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Johannesburg

to: clarifying the roles of local government and traditional leaders; helping local government authorities to understand their mandates more clearly and to become more open to working with civil society and traditional authorities; strengthening democratic participation at community level; and providing a safe space for parties to dialogue on an equal footing to craft long-term and sustainable solutions to conflicts.

Since this is a long-term process seeking to restore relationships between local community leaders and local government actors, it is anticipated that the groups receiving training in conflict transformation and skills in dialogue will eventually assume leadership of the processes and transfer these skills to other sections of the community. Despite the progress made, the participants highlighted some challenges that have impacted negatively on implementation. These include: the movement of skilled staff from these institutions and a lack of sufficient financial resources for the institutions to continue this conflict transformation work on their own. This could negatively affect the long-term institutionalisation of conflict transformation approaches in the different organisations involved.



ABOVE: *From left:* Ms Mapuseletso Ntabe, National Animator, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho; Bishop Meshack Mabuzza, Anglican Bishop of Swaziland Council of Churches, Mbabane, Swaziland; Mr Tsikoane Peshoane, Commissioner, Democracy and Human Rights Commission, Maseru, Lesotho

LEFT: Mr Patrick Rankhumise, Research Specialist, Africa Institute of South Africa, Tshwane, South Africa, *left*; Ms Noria Mashumba, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

5. Zimbabwe: Engaging Civil Society in Social and Conflict Transformation

CCR's work in Zimbabwe dates back to 2002 and was initiated as a response to the country's political and governance challenges, particularly following the referendum of 2000 and the land invasions of the same period.

The Centre focused on promoting political dialogue among the polarised groups in civil society, government, and the main opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC); to build the conflict transformation capacity of local actors; and to institutionalise conflict transformation processes within the institutions with which CCR was collaborating. During this period, CCR collaborated with the UNDP office in Zimbabwe to promote dialogue as a constructive conflict management approach for parliamentarians from the government and the opposition, as well as women, and civil society groups. The major thrust of the initiatives was to build the skills and capacities of key government players and civil society actors through participatory engagement, while at the same time providing opportunities for restoring relationships among the different groups through consistent interaction.⁹ A major lesson learned from the initiatives is the strategic involvement of a civic organisation (CCR) from outside Zimbabwe in collaboration with the UNDP - both neutral parties - in a bid to improve the highly polarised relationships among the different key players, thus creating a conducive environment for promoting confidence and trust.

From 2002 to 2005, CCR engaged faith-based organisations in Zimbabwe through the Churches in Manicaland and Silveira House to build local capacity for conflict transformation and peacebuilding. CiM is a loose ecumenical network and inter-denominational body comprising different churches from the Manicaland Province in Zimbabwe. These include churches, both mainstream (Catholic and Anglican, for example), and Pentecostal. Silveira House is a Jesuit institution that provides vocational skills and skills-training courses. Though CCR discontinued major activities in Zimbabwe in 2005, organisations in the country such as the CiM have continued to participate in CCR initiatives. From these interactions, Silveira House developed a fully-fledged peace training and mediation programme at community level.



ABOVE: From left: Ms Doreen Mutsa Nyamukapa, Programme Officer, UNDP Zimbabwe Country Office, Harare, Zimbabwe; Mr Tsikoane Peshoane, Commissioner, Democracy and Human Rights Commission, Maseru, Lesotho; Ms Gertrude Chimange, Churches of Manicaland, Mutare, Zimbabwe
RIGHT: Dr Mireille Affa'a Mindzie, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

⁹ Doreen Mutsa Nyamukapa, "Conflict Transformation Initiatives: A United Nations Development Programme Perspective" (unpublished Paper) 2008, presented at the Johannesburg Policy Seminar.

6. The Evolving Relationship between Traditional Institutions and Local Government in Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

6.1 The Place of Traditional Authorities in Modern Democracies

Historically, the institution of traditional authorities emerged in a context of domination by certain individuals who had the ability to protect the community and instil leadership principles and social cohesion. With roles and responsibilities defined in terms of gender and age, patriarchal societies also emerged which discriminated against women and youth.

During the colonial era, traditional authorities were often accused of remaining passive while colonisers took over control of land and other resources. In some instances, the colonial authorities - in order to uphold the dominance of the colonial government over that of the black majority population - manipulated traditional leaders. In the post-independence era from the early 1960s, newly-established local governance authorities assumed some of the functions of traditional leaders. In most southern African countries, legislation was enacted to define the role of the new local government structures that included overseeing implementation of projects in local communities, the provision of basic services, and acting as “guardians of peace”. All these functions were previously the mandate of traditional authorities. These new democratic arrangements often created confusion and tensions between traditional authorities and the new local government structures.

Notwithstanding these significant changes in most rural communities in southern Africa, the role of the traditional leader has often remained central. In some communities, in addition to maintaining his or her traditional role, the traditional leader has also become the conduit between government and local communities. In such cases, government policies and projects have been implemented in collaboration with traditional leadership, thus providing the buy-in at local level that is so critical to the success of such projects. Where these partnerships have been successful, traditional leaders are seen to be promoting and enhancing popular participation. The role that traditional leaders can play in conflict transformation initiatives, especially at grassroots level, to support and co-ordinate conflict transformation activities in local communities, is therefore important.

The conflict transformation initiatives in some of the districts in Lesotho that have sought to clarify and strengthen the roles and functions of local government and traditional authorities can be used as a possible system to address similar challenges in other countries in southern Africa. Acknowledging the relevance of traditional authorities in modern democracies can also help to address perceptions of exclusion and marginalisation often raised by these actors following the establishment of local government structures in southern Africa.

In South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, traditional leadership institutions are recognised by national constitutions. In South Africa, the House of Traditional Leaders, established in all provinces except Gauteng, Northern Cape and Western Cape, was created to harmonise relationships between traditional authorities and modern government structures. In Swaziland, the King’s Advisory Council is recognised in the 2005 Constitution as advisers to the King on boundary disputes, appointment of chiefs and any other matter brought to the Council

by the King.¹⁰ The chiefs are the “footstool” of the King and are responsible for local governance issues guided by traditional norms and customs.¹¹ In Zimbabwe, traditional authorities are also recognised by the country’s Constitution.¹² During colonial rule, some traditional leaders were used to buttress colonial governance, while others rallied communities to oppose the colonial regime. In post-independence Zimbabwe, traditional authorities have maintained some of their conventional functions, but have increasingly been viewed to be promoting the undemocratic policies of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party.

6.2 The Case of Botswana

In Botswana, there are divergent opinions on the roles and functions of chiefs or *Kgosi*. Traditional leaders have been retained in and integrated into the modern administrative system through various Parliamentary Acts.¹³ Chiefs are considered to be civil servants with specified conditions of service, including salary, leave and retirement age. Their powers were significantly reduced after the country attained independence in 1966 following the introduction of elected local authorities. This has often created conflict at two levels; first, between local structures such as local councils and boards, district commissioners and tribal administrators and central government; and second, between central and local government and traditional leaders.

A number of mechanisms and strategies have been established and adopted to handle these conflicts. Besides acknowledging the supremacy of the modern institutions of government, these mechanisms take into consideration the establishment of structures for co-ordination and harmonisation and the establishment of a House of Traditional Leaders. This structure does not have much power and authority, but is a forum for chiefs to articulate matters of interest to them. The Chiefs, though recognised by the Constitution, have lost most of the authority they held before independence. This prevents traditional chiefs from effectively challenging the central government in Gaborone. Other strategies employed to handle tensions between the central government and traditional leaders include: maintaining the role of chiefs in the administration of justice under customary law; retaining their role as custodians of the public interest; granting them the freedom to choose to join political parties; and promoting gender equity in the appointment of chiefs.

In light of these strategies, Botswana was viewed as a country that has successfully worked towards harmonising relationships between traditional and modern structures. Though much remains to be done, the experiences of Botswana can be used to contribute towards addressing issues related to other countries. Swaziland, for example, presents bigger challenges in this sector, as traditional chiefs in that country derive their authority, and are inseparable, from the monarch. Modernisation of the institution of traditional chiefs would therefore invariably mean modernisation of the monarchy itself. While the majority of Swazi nationals were said to support the continued existence of the monarchy, it has been argued that this should only be as a symbol of Swazi culture and tradition, and the monarchy should, according to this view, be more of a ceremonial head of the nation than the seat of absolute power.

10 The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act of 2005 (available at <http://www.gov.sz/> ; accessed 28 February 2008).

11 The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

12 Draft White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Governance, 2002 (available at <http://www.info.gov.za/gazette/whitepaper/2002/23984.pdf> ; accessed 8 September 2008).

13 KC Sharma, *Role of Traditional Structures in Local Governance for Local Development: The Case of Botswana*, research commissioned by the World Bank Institute, World Bank, Washington, 2005 (available at <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/153055/BOTSWANA.pdf> ; accessed 8 September 2008).

In responding to the question of whether traditional authorities still had relevance in modern democracies, it was noted that traditional leaders remained relevant in contemporary democracies. However, these institutions need to be transformed to respond to the challenges of modern democracies. Since traditional authorities are central to promoting democracy at the local level, they need to be sensitised on issues at the core of democratic governance such as human rights, gender equality, and promoting alternative and constructive dispute resolution approaches. Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms play a critical role in promoting and ensuring justice, particularly at the local community level where access to justice in the conventional courts often poses a challenge to such groups.



TOP: Mr Musa Hlope, Co-ordinator, Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations (SCCCO), Mbabane, Swaziland, *left*; Dr Khabele Matlosa, Research Director, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa
ABOVE: Mr Katleho Pefole, Programme Manager, Transformation Resource Centre, Maseru, Lesotho
RIGHT: Mr Joe Mavuso, Manager, Local Government Unit, Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa, Tshwane, South Africa, *right*; Mr Sofonea Shale, Co-ordinator, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho

7. Navigating the Challenges: Opportunities and Challenges for Co-existence between Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities in Promoting Democratic Participation

7.1 Challenges for Co-existence between Traditional Leaders and Local Government in Democratic Governance

Institutions of traditional leadership are an old form of governance that, in the past, held administrative, executive and judicial functions. During the colonial era, traditional leadership institutions in southern Africa were eroded, as some traditional leaders were co-opted into the governance structures of colonial governments and became associated with the oppression and injustices of these regimes. Thus, at the time of transition from colonial rule to democracy, traditional leaders were subjected to scrutiny by their constituencies. Disparate views were expressed about the traditional system of governance: from those who argued that it was an institution that had been subject to manipulation and distortion by colonialism and advocated for it to be reformed, to those who wanted the institution to be abolished in its entirety for being inherently undemocratic. In some countries, such as Tanzania, traditional leadership institutions were actually abolished.

In South Africa in the 1980s, traditional leaders challenged the government for increased political space. During the negotiations for the country's transition to democracy after 1990, traditional leaders expressed their dissent on issues of customary law, for instance, having gender issues being provided for in the Bill of Rights. In South Africa's new political dispensation, traditional leaders are recognised by the government and a specific ministry for traditional leaders was established. Their functions are clearly spelt out in areas such as integrated development plans, indigenous knowledge, customary law, as well as land administration, health and welfare. However, the question of including traditional leaders in other areas of governance persists, and their role still needs to be clearly defined.

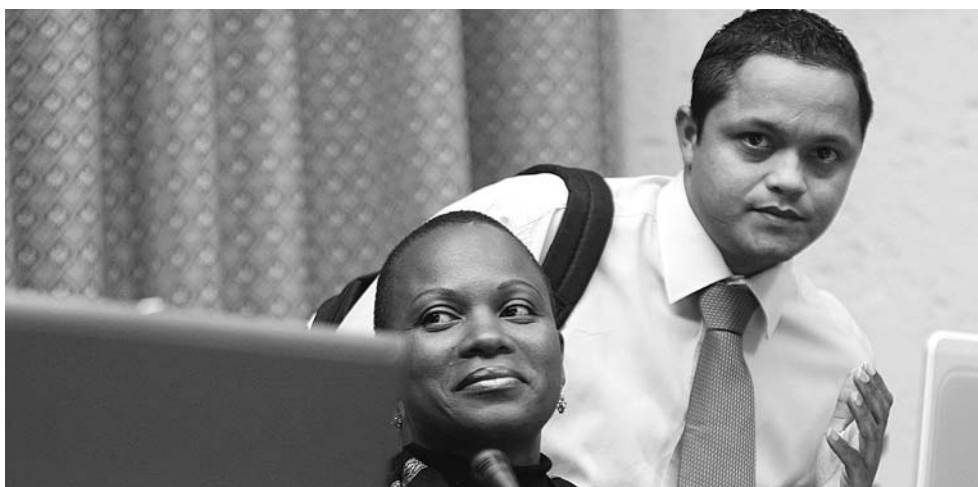
Efforts to strengthen collaboration between the old traditional leadership institutions and the new local government structures are often hampered by the adversarial relationship between the two institutions. In addition, an analysis of this relationship tends to focus solely on traditional leaders, with less attention being paid to the shortcomings of local government authorities. This is often reinforced by disputes among, and the lack of accountability of, traditional leaders. Other challenges identified include: the lack of political space for proactive action by traditional leaders; and lack of commitment by central government to empower and enhance the authority of traditional leaders through legislation.

In considering prospects for harmonisation of traditional leadership institutions and local government structures, there is a need to focus on the positive aspects of the relationship between the two institutions rather than on their competing interests. The two institutions need to acknowledge their capacity limitations and should seek to maximise more on the areas of their competencies. For example, traditional leaders have long-standing experience and expertise in areas of traditional medicine, as well as management of mineral resources, culture and tradition, which could be maximised to promote socio-economic development.

It is also important not to romanticise traditional leadership institutions, and appointments are made in most cases according to family lineage at the expense of competence; maintenance of some of these institutions often drains the national fiscus; and traditional leaders are generally deeply patriarchal, marginalising the voices of vulnerable groups such as women and the youth. Traditional leaders must include in their mandates issues such as human rights and gender equality, which are often not a priority in the traditional context. Women and the youth are powerful constituencies that traditional leaders need to mobilise, particularly as women are increasingly being appointed to positions of authority in central government and in traditional settings.

7.2 Positive Collaboration: The Complementary Roles of Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities in Enhancing Democratic Governance in Southern Africa

Generally in Africa, a chief or a King was typically the political head of the ethnic group responsible for administration, public affairs and all governance matters. In modern settings, traditional leaders are expected to be apolitical. However, the reality is different, as traditional leaders are increasingly involved in politics, in particular, in promoting the policies of the ruling parties in rural settings, as is the case in Zimbabwe. In South



TOP: Ms Noria Mashumba, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa, *left*; Mr Joshua Arnoldus, Senior Administrative Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa
ABOVE: Councillor Bheka Mabuzza, King's Advisory Council, Mbabane, Swaziland, *left*; Professor Keshav Chandra Sharma, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana
RIGHT: Mr Thami Ngwenya, Director, Centre for Public Participation, Durban, South Africa, *left*; Ms Doreen Mutsa Nyamukapa, Programme Officer, UNDP Zimbabwe Country Office, Harare, Zimbabwe

Africa, this is illustrated by the close affiliation of traditional leaders from the KwaZulu-Natal province to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Since about 60-70 per cent of African's population of 800 million still lives in rural areas, traditional leaders can play a significant role in shaping the political landscape of groups contesting political power in a particular country. Despite potential political rivalry, the collaboration between traditional leadership structures and local government institutions cannot be avoided. As the rural areas are the least developed and marginalised in Africa, traditional leaders and local government need to collaborate to maximise on their comparative strengths to improve socio-economic development and service delivery to these populations.

There were diverse views on the issue of whether traditional leaders should be involved in politics. Some expressed the view that traditional leaders should remain apolitical and focus on their more conventional roles such as promoting culture, customs and medicinal spaces. It was further argued that most traditional authorities inherit their office or are appointed by central governments. There is therefore a risk of manipulation by those in power, as was the case during colonial rule. In some post-independence states, traditional authorities appointed to office often have to align themselves with those who elected them, thus compromising their presumed apolitical positions. Others argued for the participation of traditional leaders in politics. During colonial rule, some traditional leaders played a prominent role in the liberation struggle in some countries, for example, Chief Rekayi Tangwena of Manicaland¹⁴ who mobilised his constituency to rebel against the British colonial government in Zimbabwe; King Moshoeshoe¹⁵ of Lesotho; and Seretse Khama of Botswana, all engaged in similar endeavours.¹⁶ In post-colonial governments, some traditional leaders, especially those appointed to office, have continued to play a significant role in securing the support of ruling parties through mobilising the support of local populations. If traditional leaders decide to become involved in politics, they should be transparent on their political affiliations and, critically, this should not be done at the expense of the needs of local populations. The political inclination of traditional rulers should also not be used as a political tool to intimidate local populations or to coerce vulnerable groups to support one or other party.

In reality, traditional leaders and local government institutions have complementary roles to play, such as, for instance, in service delivery to local communities. Traditional leaders remain closely connected to, and are trusted by, local communities. Traditional authorities are therefore important for mobilising support and ensuring ownership of projects by local populations. In addition, traditional leaders can provide guidance to local governments on various policy issues at the community level. At the local level, traditional chiefs often intervene in matters such as housing; land distribution; providing support to obtain identity documents to confirm proof of residence for bank services; applications for social grants; and other basic government services. Furthermore, some specific activities of traditional leaders can be considered democratic. One example is the institution of *Izimbizos*,¹⁷ which illustrate a culture of consultation and consensus.

A study undertaken in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province¹⁸ highlighted the importance of synergy between local government and traditional leadership structures to ensure effective service delivery in rural areas.

14 G. Nyarota, *Against the Grain: Memoirs of a Zimbabwean Newsmen* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2006), (available at <http://books.google.co.za> ; accessed 8 September 2008).

15 J. Olivier, *Basotho in Lesotho*, 2005 (available at <http://www.sesotho.web.za/lesotho.htm> ; accessed 8 September 2008). (Website publication.)

16 Thomas Tlou, Neil Parsons, and Willie Henderson, *Seretse Khama, 1921-1980* (Braamfontein: Macmillan, 1995).

17 *Imbizo* is a forum for enhancing dialogue between government and the people (available at <http://www.info.gov.za/issues/imbizo/index/html> ; accessed 8 September 2008).

18 See Traditional Leaders, A KwaZulu-Natal Study 1999 - 2001, Independent Projects Trust Publications (available at: <http://www.ipt.co.za/tradleadbookasp> ; accessed 8 July 2008).

Acknowledging that the role and contribution of traditional leaders to local governance are still largely unclear and that legislation alone cannot change the status quo to improve collaboration between the two institutions, specific interventions, and, in particular, direct intervention by the government, were recommended by the study. In addition, improved collaboration between traditional leadership and local government structures also called for investment in technical skills and capacity-building for both institutions, as well as equitable allocation of resources to address resource-related conflicts. In addition, shared decision-making processes between the two institutions in working towards constructive resolution of their differences are also important.



TOP: Professor Keshav Chandra Sharma, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana, *left*; Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa
ABOVE: *From left:* Mr David Ntshabele, Researcher, Tshwane University of Technology, Tshwane, South Africa; Mr Katleho Pefole, Programme Manager, Transformation Resource Centre, Maseru, Lesotho; Dr Nomusa Ndlela, Deputy Director, Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs, Durban, South Africa
LEFT: Bishop Meshack Mabuza, Anglican Bishop of Swaziland Council of Churches, Swaziland

8. Strengthening Partnerships to Promote Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding: What can be Done?

8.1 The Role of Civic Organisations in Enhancing Collaboration between Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities

The Johannesburg seminar acknowledged the role that civic organisations can play in ensuring protection of people's rights to participate in local governance, and to be actively involved in local projects that impact on their lives. Where local government and traditional authorities are in conflict over specific issues, civil society organisations can sometimes play a role in mediating between the two authorities to ensure that democracy and development is enhanced.

In this regard, experiences from countries such as Lesotho and Swaziland where civil society actors have been at the forefront of working to transform conflictual relationships between government, civil society and traditional authorities provide useful lessons from which others countries in southern Africa and beyond can draw. In Lesotho, consistent interaction and constructive dialogue between local government authorities and traditional leaders facilitated by civil society organisations in a safe environment has assisted the mitigation of conflict between the two institutions and also in clarifying the roles of both groups in local communities. In Swaziland, regular interaction between civil society groups and the King's Advisory Council has provided opportunities to dialogue and to begin to understand how each party can develop possible strategies to work together in constructively resolving the socio-political challenges facing the country. This strategy worked well in Lesotho and Swaziland, and is contributing to developing a shared understanding of conflict transformation processes as a way of addressing existing tensions and building capacity through training interventions. Though much remains to be done, these examples demonstrate the possibilities and opportunities that civil society can harness to build constructive relationships between local government authorities and traditional authorities, and between civil society and the two groups.



Participants of the seminar, "Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding in Southern Africa: Civil Society, Governments, and Traditional Leaders", held on 19 and 20 May 2008 at the Kopanong Hotel, Johannesburg, South Africa

9. Conclusion

The conflict transformation initiatives pioneered by CCR in Swaziland, Lesotho and Zimbabwe have not yet been shared extensively. Yet, such approaches are increasingly relevant as African countries continue to experience violent intra-state conflicts.

The value of non-violent approaches to resolving conflicts rests in the opportunities they provide to prevent the escalation of conflicts into violence; building skills of the parties concerned, thus empowering them to resolve their own conflicts; remoulding negative attitudes on conflict; providing opportunities for the parties involved to explore and confront the root causes of conflicts while at the same time creating an environment that promotes the rebuilding of broken relationships. As African countries continue to face governance challenges similar to those in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, their experiences and lessons in building constructive partnerships to address political and social conflict can be used to inform the development of appropriate models for other conflict-ridden countries.

Policy Recommendations

The seminar participants made the following five key policy recommendations:

- First, transparent electoral rules and procedures should be developed in southern Africa, and there should be a commitment at the policy level to effective implementation of rules to ensure respect of electoral outcomes;
- Second, there is a need to explore practical ways of harmonising and integrating locally and home-grown governance systems with African democratic processes. Specifically, this should include transformation of electoral systems towards proportionality and away from the “winner-takes-all” models that currently exists in most countries in southern Africa, and have sometimes contributed to disputes over election results;
- Third, while traditional authorities have been excluded from participating in other issues of governance reserved for central government, there is value in maintaining their role in judicial matters at the local level, in particular, in preserving traditional norms and practices of resolving disputes; traditional medicine; management of mineral resources; and culture could also be used to advance development, while both institutions should acknowledge their capacity limitations and develop shared decision-making processes towards the constructive resolution of disputes;
- Fourth, the experiences in conflict transformation from Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe can be used to build systems that respond to particular contexts. Sharing of lessons learned and challenges involved in implementing non-violent activities to address political and social conflicts in the different countries should therefore become an annual activity to maximise on experiences and good practices; and
- Finally, traditional leaders are generally patriarchal, often marginalising the voices of vulnerable groups such as women and the youth. Traditional leaders must therefore include in their mandates issues such as human rights and gender equality, which are often not priorities in many traditional settings.

Annex I

Agenda

Day One: Monday 19 May 2008

9h00 - 9h30 Welcome and Opening

Speakers: Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

Ms Noria Mashumba, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

9h30 - 11h00 **Session I: Democratic Governance in Southern Africa: Opportunities and Challenges for Constructive Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding**

Chair: Mr Musa Hlope, Co-ordinator, Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations, Mbabane, Swaziland

Speakers: Dr Khabele Matlosa, Research Director, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa, "Democratic Governance in Southern Africa"

Dr Andries Odendaal, Independent Consultant, Cape Town, South Africa, "The Centre for Conflict Resolution in Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe: Lessons Learned"

11h00 - 11h15 Coffee Break

11h15 - 12h45 **Session II: Swaziland: Building Civil Society/Government Conflict Transformation Skills**

Chair: Mr Sofonea Shale, Director, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho

Speakers: Mr Muzi Masuku, Programme Manager, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Mbabane, Swaziland, "The Swaziland Constitution and Opportunities for Promoting Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding in Swaziland"

Mr Musa Hlope, Co-ordinator, Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations, Mbabane, Swaziland, "Civil Society/Government Collaborations in Conflict Transformation in Swaziland"

12h45 - 13h45 Lunch

13h45 - 15h15 **Session III: Lesotho: Promoting Constructive Dialogue as a Tool for Enhancing Democratic Participation in Local Governance**

Chair: **Bishop Meshack Mabuza**, Anglican Bishop of Swaziland, Council of Churches, Anglican Church, Mbabane, Swaziland

Speakers: **Ms Mapuseletso Ntabe**, National Animator, Development for Peace Education, Maseru, Lesotho, "Constructive Dialogue as a Tool for Enhancing Democratic Participation in Local Governance"

Mr Tsikoane Peshoane, Commissioner for Democracy and Human Rights, Lesotho Council of NGOs, Maseru, Lesotho, "Constructive Dialogue as a Tool for Promoting Democratic Governance: Local Government Perspectives"

15h15-15h30 Coffee Break

15h30 – 17h00 **Session IV: Zimbabwe: Engaging Civil Society in Social and Conflict Transformation**

Chair: **Mr Tsikoane Peshoane**, Commissioner for Democracy and Human Rights, Lesotho Council of NGOs, Maseru, Lesotho

Speakers: **Ms Gertrude Chimange**, Diocesan Co-ordinator, Churches of Manicaland, Mutare, Zimbabwe, "Building Civil Society Skills for Conflict Transformation: Experiences from Manicaland"

Ms Doreen Nyamukapa, Programme Officer, United Nations Development Programme, Harare, Zimbabwe, "Conflict Transformation Initiatives: A UNDP Perspective"

Day Two: Tuesday 20 May 2008

9h00 - 10h00 Session V: The Evolving Relationship between Traditional Institutions and Local Government in Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

Chair: Councillor Bheka Mabuza, Councillor, King's Advisory Council, Mbabane, Swaziland

Speakers: Mr Patrick Rankhumise, Research Specialist, Africa Institute of South Africa, Tshwane, South Africa, "Traditional Authorities in Modern, Western-inspired Democracies: Do they still have a place?"

Professor K.C. Sharma, University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana, "The Evolving Role of Traditional Authorities and Local Government in Modern Democracies"

10h00 - 10h15 Coffee Break

10h15 - 11h45 Session VI: Navigating the Challenges: Opportunities and Challenges for Co-existence between Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities in Promoting Democratic Governance

Chair: Mr Katleho Pefole, Programme Manager, Transformation Resource Centre, Maseru, Lesotho

Speaker: Dr Nomusa Ndlela, Acting Deputy Director-General, Provincial and Local Government, Tshwane, South Africa, "Positive Collaboration: The Complementary Roles of Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities in Enhancing Democratic Governance in Southern Africa"

11h45 - 13h00 Session VII: Sharing Experiences from Southern African Countries

Chair: Mr Musa Hlope, Co-ordinator, Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations, Mbabane, Swaziland

Speaker: Councillor Bheka Mabuza, King's Advisory Council, Mbabane, Swaziland

13h00 - 14h00 Lunch

14h00 - 15h30 **Session VIII: Strengthening Partnerships to Promote Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding: What can be Done?**

Chair: **Ms Noria Mashumba**, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

Speakers: **Mr Thami Ngwenya**, Director, Centre for Public Participation, Durban, South Africa, “The Role of Civic Organisations in Enhancing Collaboration between Traditional Leaders and Local Government Authorities”

Mr David Ntshabele, Researcher, Tshwane University of Technology, Tshwane, South Africa, “Strengthening Partnerships to Promote Democratic Governance and Peacebuilding”

15h30 - 16h00 Coffee Break and Completion of Evaluation Forms

16h00 - 16h30 **Session IX: Rapporteurs' Report and Way Forward**

Chair: **Mr Musa Hlope**, Co-ordinator, Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations, Mbabane, Swaziland

Speakers: **Ms Noria Mashumba**, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

Dr Mireille Affa'a Mindzie, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, South Africa

Annex II

List of Participants

1. Dr Adekeye Adebajo
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Centre for Conflict Resolution
Cape Town, South Africa
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Co-ordinator
Churches of Manicaland
Manicaland, Zimbabwe
3. Mr Musa Hlope
Co-ordinator
Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic
Organisations
Mbabane, Swaziland
4. Councillor Bheka Mabuza
King's Advisory Council
Mbabane, Swaziland
5. Bishop Meshack Mabuza
Anglican Bishop of Swaziland
Council of Churches, Anglican Church
Mbabane, Swaziland
6. Ms Noria Mashumba
Senior Project Officer
Centre for Conflict Resolution
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7. Mr Muzi Masuku
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Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
Johannesburg, South Africa
9. Mr Joe Mavuso
Local Government Unit
Institute for Democracy in South Africa
Tshwane, South Africa
10. Ms Annamarie Minder
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Swiss Agency for Development and Co-
operation (SDC)
Tshwane, South Africa
11. Dr Mireille Affa'a Mindzie
Senior Project Officer
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12. Mr Sami Modiba
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13. Mr Deprose Muchena
Economic Justice Programme Manager
Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
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14. Ms Roshnee Narrandes
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Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
Johannesburg

15. Dr Nomusa Ndlela
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17. Ms Mapuseletso Ntabe
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20. Mr Katleho Pefole
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21. Dr Andries Odendaal
Independent Consultant
Cape Town, South Africa
22. Mr Tsikoane Peshoane
Commissioner for Democracy
and Human Rights
Lesotho Council of NGOs
Maseru, Lesotho
23. Mr Patrick Rankhumise
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Africa Institute of South Africa
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24. Mr Sofonea Shale
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25. Professor Keshav C Sharma
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Gaborone, Botswana
26. Mr Ephrem Tadesse
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Swiss Co-operation Office for Southern Africa
Tshwane, South Africa
- Conference Team**
27. Mr Joshua Arnoldus
Senior Administrator
Centre for Conflict Resolution
Cape Town, South Africa
28. Ms Fiona Lunda
Senior Administrator
Centre for Conflict Resolution
Cape Town, South Africa

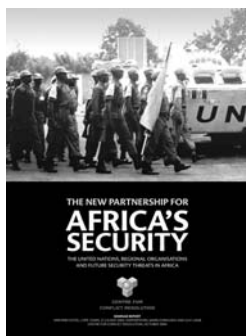
Annex III

Acronyms

CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CiM	Churches in Manicaland
DPE	Development for Peace Education
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
LCN	Lesotho Council of NGOs
LNCM	Lesotho Network for Conflict Management
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NUL	National University of Lesotho
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SCCCO	Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civic Organisations
TRC	Transformation Resource Centre
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Other publications in this series

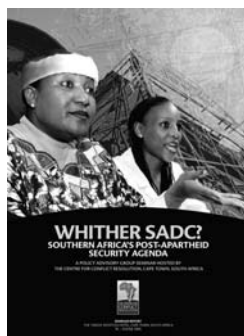
(available at <http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za>)



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

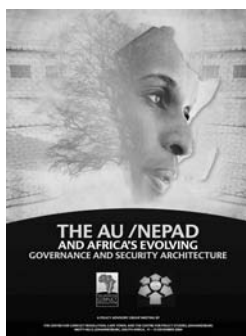
The role that South Africa has played on the African continent and the challenges that persist in South Africa's domestic transformation 10 years into democracy were assessed at this meeting in Stellenbosch, Cape Town, from 29 July - 1 August 2004.



VOLUME 6 HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN SECURITY:

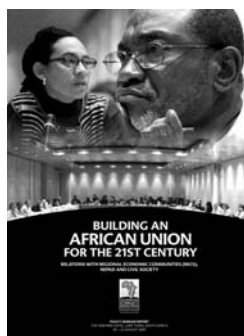
AN AGENDA FOR AFRICA

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

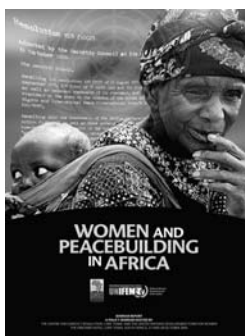
AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UN HIGH-LEVEL PANEL REPORT, A MORE SECURE WORLD: OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

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.



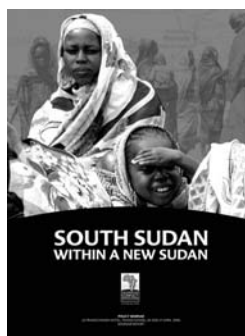
VOLUME 8 THE PEACEBUILDING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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.



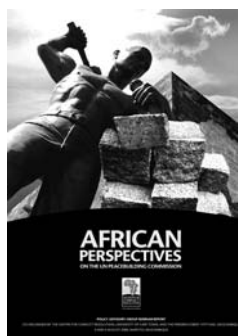
**VOLUME 13
SOUTH SUDAN WITHIN
A NEW SUDAN**

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



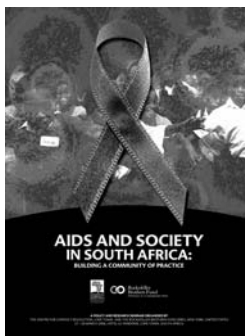
**VOLUME 10
HIV/AIDS AND
MILITARIES IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

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



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

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



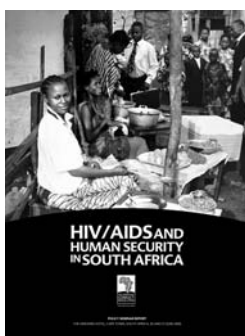
**VOLUME 11
AIDS AND SOCIETY
IN SOUTH AFRICA:
BUILDING A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE**

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



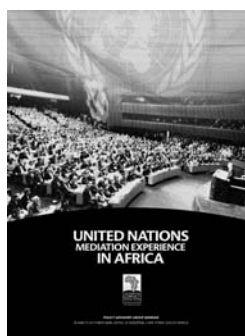
**VOLUME 15
THE PEACEBUILDING
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY
IN CENTRAL AFRICA**

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



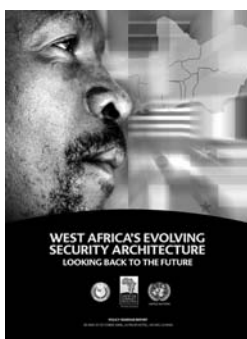
**VOLUME 12
HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN
SECURITY IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

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



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

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



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

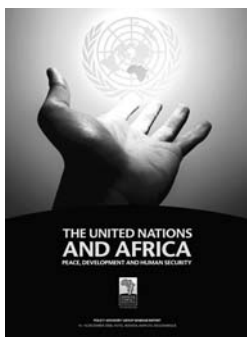
LOOKING BACK TO THE FUTURE

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



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

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



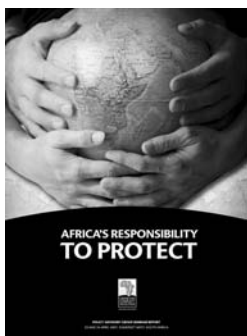
**VOLUME 18
THE UNITED NATIONS
AND AFRICA: PEACE,
DEVELOPMENT AND
HUMAN SECURITY**

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



**VOLUME 22
PEACE VERSUS JUSTICE?
TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONS
AND WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS IN AFRICA**

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



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

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



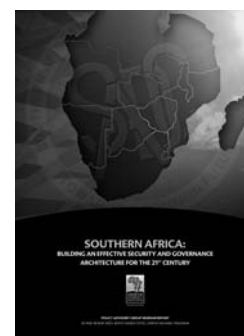
**VOLUME 23
CHILDREN AND ARMED
CONFLICTS IN AFRICA**

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



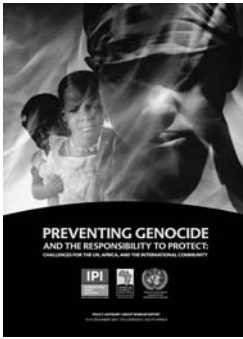
**VOLUME 20
WOMEN IN POST-
CONFLICT SOCIETIES IN
AFRICA**

The objective of 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 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 25
PREVENTING GENOCIDE
AND THE RESPONSIBILITY
TO PROTECT**

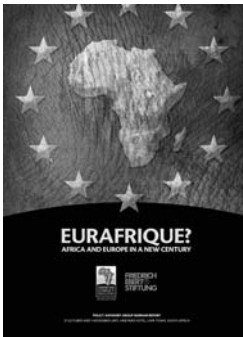
CHALLENGES FOR THE UN, AFRICA, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

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 27
SECURITY AND
DEVELOPMENT IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

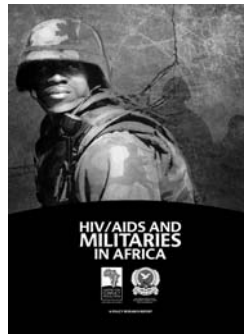
This seminar, held in Johannesburg, South Africa, from 8-10 June 2008, brought together a group of experts – policymakers, academics and civil society actors – to identify ways of strengthening the capacity of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to formulate security and development initiatives for southern Africa.



**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.



**VOLUME 28
HIV/AIDS AND
MILITARIES IN AFRICA**

This policy research report addresses prospects for an effective response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic within the context of African peacekeeping and regional peace and security. It is based on three regional advisory group seminars that took place in Windhoek, Namibia (February 2006); Cairo, Egypt (September 2007); and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (November 2007).

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Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

**Swiss Agency for Development
and Cooperation SDC**

The meeting documented in this report provided a platform for participants from Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe to share experiences and insights on sustained intervention initiatives implemented by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, in the three countries since 2002. These interventions were partly informed by CCR's work in the Western Cape, with a central focus on building the conflict transformation skills of key local actors and mediating societal and political conflicts. The experiences and lessons at the local level in South Africa became a vital building block in expanding CCR interventions to the rest of southern Africa.



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