Cape Town, South Africa

Concept Paper
For a
Policy Advisory Group Meeting on

“SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty First Century”

The Centre for Conflict Resolution
Cape Town, South Africa

February 2007
Introduction
The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), at the University of Cape Town, plans to hold a policy advisory group meeting in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania in April 2007 on the theme of “SADC: Building an Effective Security and Governance Architecture for the Twenty First Century”. The main aim of the meeting will be to convene a group of regional experts to assist the South African Development Community (SADC) Executive Secretary, Dr Tomaz Augusto Salomão, develop his four year vision for the organisation. The seminar also seeks to enhance the efforts of the SADC troika – South Africa, Namibia and Tanzania – to advance security, governance and development initiatives in the sub-region.¹

Between 2004 and 2007, CCR has held five policy seminars in South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho and Botswana which focused on issues related to SADC. These included: South Africa’s role in Africa; the South African and Namibian chairs of the SADC Security Organ; HIV/AIDS and militaries in Southern Africa; and civil society’s contributions to security and governance in Southern Africa. Four reports and one book have been produced from this work.² These seminars brought together policymakers, civil society actors and academics and set out to provide a forum for discussion and policy suggestions for SADC’s future development.

The first CCR meeting held in Tshwane in November 2004 addressed South Africa’s role as chair of the SADC Organ between 2004 and 2005. The second meeting held in Cape Town in June 2005 set out to generate policy proposals and to track progress in strengthening the role of SADC through the restructuring of the SADC secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana, and South Africa’s progress in implementing SADC’s Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ for Politics Defence and Security (SIPO) of 2004 within the broader context of strengthening conflict management and peacebuilding efforts in Southern Africa. In October 2005, CCR also organised a third policy seminar on “The Peacebuilding Role of Civil Society in Southern Africa” in Maseru, Lesotho with civil society actors from across the SADC region.³

Key recommendations from these CCR meetings on Southern Africa included: the need to promote co-ordination within SADC structures and the closer integration of human and state security as being mutually supportive. In the Southern African context, “non traditional” issues of security such as HIV/AIDS; poverty; land reform-related conflicts; democracy; food security; governance; and gender inequities were seen as primary

¹SADC’s member states are Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
concerns. SADC was also encouraged to follow up the broad plans in the SIPO with specific strategies to address these issues. The meetings resulted in policy reports which have been launched in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Windhoek, Namibia, and these reports have also been sent to the SADC secretariat in Botswana and other SADC countries.

Seminar Themes

The CCR will host a meeting on SADC’s security and governance issues in Dar-es Salaam, Tanzania, in April 2007 which aims to bring together the SADC Executive Secretary, Dr Tomaz Augusto Salomão; Namibia’s Defence Minister, Major General Charles Namoloh; Tanzania’s Defence Minister, Professor Juma Kapuya; and South African Defence Minister, Mosiuoa Lekota; with about thirty scholars, civil society activists and policymakers from the region. The objective of this policy meeting is to build on the findings of the previous meetings and to generate policy proposals in order to develop effective strategies in the following six areas, the first four of which Dr Salomão has identified as his key priorities:

- SADC’s Governance Challenges: Democratisation and Elections;
- The Role of SADC in Addressing Regional Peace and Security Concerns;
- Tackling HIV/AIDS Challenges in Southern Africa;
- Exploring Issues of Food Security in the Southern African Region;
- Peacebuilding in the SADC Region; and
- SADC, Gender and Peacebuilding.

Objectives

The Southern African Development Community has recorded some achievements in promoting regional integration since its creation in 1992. The organisation, however, faces a number of challenges ranging from limited financial and human resources to the challenges posed by being an association of sovereign governments with differing political and security agendas. The primary goal of the Dar-es-Salaam policy meeting will be to identify ways of strengthening the capacity of SADC in developing security, governance and development initiatives for the region. The seminar also intends to provide the SADC secretariat with relevant knowledge, skills and insights in its key areas of work.

Background

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was launched in 1980 by Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania,
Zambia and Zimbabwe. Its aim was to co-ordinate development assistance and projects for the region, in order to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa. Following the end of apartheid and the consequent shift in regional concerns, SADCC became the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992. At this point, the original nine SADCC members had been joined by Namibia. South Africa also joined in 1994 and subsequently Mauritius and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) became members, with Madagascar joining in 2005, and Seychelles leaving the organisation. SADC’s stated objectives include: promoting development, poverty reduction and economic growth through regional integration; consolidating, defending and maintaining democracy, peace, security and stability; and promoting common political values and institutions which are democratic, legitimate and effective.

In September 2006, Namibia handed over the Chair of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC) to Tanzania. In order to recognise and address the challenges that may be faced by SADC in the twenty-first century, the Dar-es-Salaam policy meeting will examine both traditional security and governance issues in Southern Africa, as well as the pressing matters of food security and HIV/AIDS in the region. It will also explore issues of peacebuilding in the region and, in particular, gender and peacebuilding concerns.

1. SADC’s Governance Challenges: Democratisation and Elections

In the last two decades, Southern Africa has generally experienced a wave of transitions from protracted civil wars and colonial rule to peace and more democratic rule characterised by political pluralism and the holding of regular elections. This wave of transitions has, however, not been without its challenges, not least the nurturing of peace through democratic consolidation. Democratic consolidation, which largely depends on the political will of leaders, has been uneven in the sub-region, with some countries clearly on their way to strengthening democracy and governance and others not performing as well, despite SADC’s strategy to promote good governance in Southern Africa of 2003.

The Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections in SADC were adopted in August 2004. These guidelines, building on the AU election principles of 2000, fall within the broad mandate of the SADC Security Organ, and outline common practices to be followed during democratic elections. This initiative by SADC was preceded by two other complementary instruments: the SADC Parliamentary Forum Norms and Standards initiated by SADC parliamentarians in 2001; and the 2003 Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)/Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF)-Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO): a largely civil society initiative.

---


5 Seychelles became a member of SADC in 1997 but withdrew in 2004. I has since applied to rejoin the organisation in 2007.
Poor governance not only affects societies but also undermines regional security and stability. In a number of Southern African countries the effective participation of civil society has been constrained. SADC governments should recognise that civil society has become a critical actor in fostering democratic governance. Southern Africa has a strong civil society network which shares the interest of policymakers in the development of the region and has demonstrated expertise on diverse issues impacting on democracy and “good governance”. Free and fair elections, which have become a common feature in the democratisation process of Southern African countries, are a necessary but sometimes unrealised requirement for democratic consolidation processes.

Another key component of democratic governance is the strengthening of public institutions for the effective delivery of services to citizens. These include public sector reform as well as the management of public finance and institutional capacity-building, particularly within the civil service. This is vital for strengthening checks and balances within and outside the state through empowering parliaments; ensuring the independence of the judiciary; and safeguarding the autonomy of oversight institutions such as anti-corruption commissions, human rights commissions, auditing institutions and ombudsmen.

Outside the realm of the state, civil society is playing an increasingly important role in governance issues across Southern Africa. Governments as well as regional organisations therefore need to create space for the effective participation of civil society actors in governance issues. In this context, gender parity remains a key goal for SADC countries, particularly in relation to the inclusion of women in national parliaments. The SADC Declaration on Gender and Development of 1997 called on states to ensure that 30 percent of their parliamentarians are women. Persistent lobbying by women’s groups led SADC policymakers to increase the quota for women representatives in political office from 30 to 50 percent in August 2005 - although to date only South Africa and Mozambique have exceeded the 30 percent quota.

2. SADC’s Regional Peace and Security Concerns

Since SADC’s establishment in 1992, a comprehensive and ambitious security project has unfolded. This new “security architecture” in the region provides for collaborative security, collective security, and collective self-defence. SADC’s Organ on Politics, Defence and Security was established in 1996, and a protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation was signed in 2001. Its objective was to establish policies to both streamline the foreign policies of SADC states and to implement peace and security initiatives that addressed conflict prevention, and peacebuilding. The protocol also established a mechanism in the form of a one-year revolving chair of the Organ. This system – known as “the troika” - is comprised of three member states which are supported by the SADC secretariat: an outgoing Chair; a serving Chair; and an incoming Chair. The current troika is composed of South Africa (2004–2005), Namibia (2005–2006) and Tanzania (2006 – 2007).
In 2004, SADC consolidated its peace and security plan through its Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Security and Defence Co-operation. SIPO has devised strategies for development in four broad sectors: politics; defence; state security; and public security. SIPO is described by the organisation as an “enabling instrument for the implementation of the SADC developmental agenda”. As part of its framework, a regional early-warning centre has been established, and a Strategic Analysis Unit, responsible for managing a Situation Room, has also been set up. SIPO envisages cooperation among member states to address a number of other defence and security issues in the region, including combating terrorist activities; countering trafficking in small arms; protecting strategic infrastructure; combating stock theft; protecting wildlife; streamlining immigration legislation between member states; and addressing refugee issues; law enforcement at sea; and joint border control.

The challenge that faces SADC is, however, whether it can implement the numerous and ambitious activities outlined in SIPO, given the reality of limited financial and human resources at its disposal. There is still a need for a more integrated plan of action and a streamlined list of priorities. SIPO and other key policy instruments such as the 2001 Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation and the SADC Mutual Defence Pact need to be further developed from policy into coherent programmes of implementation and monitoring. This must be done before the Organ can deliver on its demanding mandate.

While the SADC secretariat is, in theory, expected to provide secretarial services to the Organ, the reality is that technical and operational support and responsibility for implementation are largely dependent on the capacity and energy of the country that holds the Chair. The office of the chairperson in less well-resourced states should have direct support from the SADC secretariat in Gaborone. In addition, policy and management must be built in all relevant departments of SADC countries, not just in defence, but also in foreign affairs, public security and intelligence agencies. On resource mobilisation, SIPO provides for a framework to guide relations with donors. Such relations need to be strategically managed in the interest of SADC. Furthermore, given the sectors covered in SIPO, regional security (both in terms of state and human security) could be significantly enhanced through effective community policing and reform of the sub-regional justice and intelligence systems. Security sector reform, too, should form an important part of this process.

Other peace and security initiatives by SADC include the establishment of a Standby Brigade (SADCBRIG) and its civilian component as part of the African Standby Force (ASF) to be established by 2010. SADC, along with four other African regional economic communities (RECs) - the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) - aims to increase its capacity for sub-regional peace support. In September

---

6 See African Union, Roadmap for the Operationalisation of the African Standby Force; Experts’ meeting on the relationship between the AU and the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management
2005, the organisation reported that it had established an interim planning unit for the SADC brigade which would be incorporated into the Gaborone secretariat as its planning centre (PLANELM) by December 2006. SADC states have also committed the requisite 6,000 troops to the force and agreed on a peace support doctrine.

While SADC has called for the participation of civil society in the peace and security arena, this has yet to happen. During a civil society meeting organised by the SADC-Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (SADC-NGO) on the margins of the SADC summit in Lesotho in August 2005, civil society organisations noted the challenges of contributing to SADC’s evolving peace and security agenda. They urged the establishment of more frequent opportunities for interaction between SADC and civil society such as knowledge-exchanges, workshops, and consultations. Civil society has expertise and capacity in research and policy development as well as in humanitarian, conflict management and HIV/AIDS mitigation. Such expertise could benefit the SADC secretariat and the sub-region’s governments as they address current peace and security concerns. SIPO gives an explicit mandate to civil society groups to work with SADC in this area.

3. Food Security in the Southern African Region

SADC’s regional food security situation is currently unpredictable, and member states including Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe have problems ensuring sustainable supplies of food for their populations. A series of food crises in Southern Africa have been compounded by frequent droughts and floods and reduced investments in agriculture. Consequently, the import of food and food aid to Southern Africa has almost doubled over the last 15 years. Currently 40 percent of SADC’s population are living below the poverty line. According to SADC, if regional cereal production is used as an indicator of food security, while production has remained static since 1990, the region’s population increased by nearly 40 percent in the same period.

SADC’s Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) of 2001 has sought to tackle common issues of food security in the region with the objective of achieving access to adequate food at all times for all 14 member states. According to SADC, the origins of food insecurity in the region relate to such factors as: insufficient investment in agriculture; poor access to agricultural inputs and markets; inadequate technological development; and insufficient preparedness for disasters such as droughts and floods. In order to address some of these concerns, the RISDP has identified as a priority the need to establish early warning information networks and vulnerability assessments at the national and regional levels in order to be prepared for food shortages. SADC has taken a number of steps to realise this goal including the creation of a Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee (RVAC) in 1999. The organisation has also discussed the need to establish both a physical and financial Regional Strategic Food Reserve in order to

prepare the region for future natural disasters. In order to facilitate this goal, the World Bank was called on to assist in 2004.

SADC’s strategy to tackle food insecurity has five key pillars. First, is the need to improve access to food through promoting employment and developing safety nets for vulnerable groups. Second, is the need to improve general nutrition. Third, is the need to develop effective forecasting and early warning systems for disasters such as droughts and floods. Fourth, is the desire to build capacity for implementing food security programmes. Finally, interventions in food security must take sufficient account of gender issues. Rural women play a primary role in agricultural production in Southern Africa, producing between 60 to 80 percent of the food in the sub-region. Despite the multiple roles of women in ensuring household food security, limited access to land; lack of control over agricultural output; labour demands; and household responsibilities make women particularly vulnerable to food insecurity.

The food crisis in Southern Africa in 2002 and 2003, which affected over 15.2 million people, led to considerable controversy over the introduction of genetically modified (GM) food aid from the US. Zambia insisted on the provision of only non-GM maize aid, voicing concern that the food may be harmful to both health and the environment. After initially refusing to accept the aid, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique eventually accepted milled GM grain. These events prompted SADC to set up a team of scientists to investigate the safety of GM food in 2003, who advised countries in the region to welcome the biotechnology due to its ability to boost agricultural output. Their findings were later accepted by SADC. In contrast, Zambia’s own team of scientists who examined the risks of GM food noted that it poses a potential threat to human health and biodiversity in the region. The acceptance of GM crops may have a significant impact on regional food security with some arguing its merits, while others argue the likelihood of the biotechnology further to entrench dependence on western countries and increase the insecurity of small farmers in Southern Africa.

SADC faces a number of significant challenges in order to ensure food security. These include: increasing agricultural productivity; eliminating food deficits; and developing trade in agricultural products both within and beyond the region. Nonetheless, agriculture still remains considerably under-funded and underdeveloped in the sub-region. One potential area for the growth of food security is to utilise the many natural resources in the region such as water, fisheries, forest and wildlife. However, SADC is also hampered by its lack of resources to enable such agricultural development. The current deadlock in the Doha Trade round at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in which western countries have refused to set a deadline for eliminating harmful agricultural subsidies, does not augur well for regional food security. This theme will also explore some of the land issues in Southern Africa that are critical for conflict resolution. This theme will also explore some of the land issues in Southern Africa that are critical for conflict resolution.

4. Peacebuilding in the SADC Region

Peacebuilding was popularised by the first African UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s publication of *The Agenda for Peace* in 1992. This landmark report defined peacebuilding as the medium to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected
communities through identifying and supporting structures to consolidate peace in order to avoid a relapse of conflict. Over time, the definition of peacebuilding has gradually expanded to refer to integrated approaches to addressing violent conflict at different phases of the conflict cycle. Peacebuilding currently includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of societies emerging from conflict, including addressing the root causes of conflicts and promoting socio-economic justice. The concept also involves putting in place political structures of governance and the rule of law in order to consolidate reconciliation, reconstruction and development. Peacebuilding further involves demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) as well as security sector reform.

The UN established a Peacebuilding Commission in September 2005, which could prove critical for the SADC region. The body comprises a core 31-member Organisational Committee, to which two SADC countries - Tanzania and Angola - were elected in May 2006. The Permanent Representative of Angola to the UN, Ambassador Ismael Abraão Gaspar Martins, is currently chair of the Organisational Committee. Furthermore, in 2006, the African Union established its own Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework which stresses the link between the peace, security, humanitarian and development dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. There are currently a number of SADC members who are war-affected or emerging from conflict such as Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Mozambique which makes it critical to focus on peacebuilding in the region.

5. SADC, Gender and Peacebuilding

Gender and peacebuilding is an evolving field in Africa. CCR has played an increasing role in ensuring that women’s issues are incorporated into peacebuilding initiatives across the continent. The Centre’s expertise in this area has focused on building the capacity of women in leadership positions across the continent. This has included training women’s groups in Lesotho and Swaziland as well as the SADC gender unit. Armed conflicts and gender-based violence are proving to be major impediments to the achievement of sustainable development and human security in Africa. Recent conflicts on the continent have witnessed civilian populations being entangled in conflict or even being deliberately targeted by parties to conflict. Women and children are disproportionately targets and constitute the majority of all victims of contemporary armed conflicts. Violence against women - especially sexual violence - is increasingly used as a tactic during armed conflict. According to the UN Under Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, rape was so widespread during the DRC conflict that he compared it to “a cancer in the Congolese society”.

Refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced

---

persons (IDPs) are also victims of armed conflict and the majority of these are women and children.\textsuperscript{11}

In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed the historic Resolution 1325: the first official acknowledgement of the links between gender and conflict by the most important international body dealing with peace and security issues. The resolution proposed a legal framework to address women’s peace and security concerns at the local, regional and international levels.\textsuperscript{12} CCR’s review of the implementation of the resolution in Africa at a policy seminar in Cape Town in October 2005 revealed that, while 1325 provides an opportunity to recognise gender concerns within conflict management, it has been civil society - rather than national governments - that has been the principal proponent of 1325’s implementation. Nevertheless, the SADC Gender Unit is working more closely with civil society to strengthen the regional and national implementation of 1325 and this could potentially increase awareness of the resolution in the region. The need to address gender issues in post conflict reconstruction strategies is also vital in countries such as Mozambique and Angola. Thus, developing a gender and peacebuilding strategy is thus critical for SADC’s effective security and governance architecture.

6. Tackling the HIV/AIDS Challenges in Southern Africa

Between 2005 and 2006, CCR held three policy seminars with the government of Namibia which focused on HIV/AIDS and Security.\textsuperscript{13} All three meetings were led by Namibia’s Defence Minister, Major General Charles Namoloh. The SADC Executive Secretary, Dr Tomaz Augusto Salomão; the head of the HIV/AIDS Unit in the SADC secretariat Antonica Hembre; and military officials form Namibia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and South Africa also attended. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has affected the SADC region more severely than any other sub-region in the world. Southern Africa contains more than 30 percent of the 40 million people worldwide living with the disease: over 14 million adults and children are living with HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa.\textsuperscript{14}

The socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS on sub-Saharan Africa has human security consequences, and the pandemic is currently posing more than a health crisis. The 14 SADC countries are attempting to promote deeper integration through the signing of the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons in 2005.\textsuperscript{15} This protocol and other efforts to standardise trade; to enhance transportation infrastructure; and to connect economies, seek to increase the movement of people across Southern Africa. However,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} See CCR and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), \textit{Women and Peacebuilding in Africa}, (report of a seminar in Cape Town, 27 and 28 October 2005).
\item \textsuperscript{13} See CCR, \textit{HIV/AIDS and Militaries in Southern Africa} (report of a seminar in Windhoek, Namibia, 9 and 10 February 2006).
\item \textsuperscript{14} The Southern African Development Community (SADC), \textit{HIV and AIDS in SADC}, Gaborone, Botswana. (Available at www.sadc.int/english/hiv_aids/factsheets/aids.pdf : accessed on 7 May 2006).
\end{itemize}
analysts have noted that mobile populations such as migrants facilitate the spread of HIV/AIDS. According to the UNAIDS 2006 Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic, the rates of HIV infection are growing fastest in those areas linked by major transport routes to Malawi, South Africa and Zimbabwe: the areas with a high degree of migrancy. Thus, the accelerated integration of Southern Africa may actually increase the chances of spreading HIV and thus poses a unique human security challenge.

A summit of SADC heads of state and government on HIV/AIDS held in Maseru, Lesotho, on 4 July 2003 saw the adoption of the SADC HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework and Plan of Action: 2003-2007. This Framework aims not only to enhance existing efforts to address HIV/AIDS, but also to tackle the various social, economic and political effects of the pandemic. SADC’s Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan of 2001 provides further clarity on the organisation’s strategy for combating HIV/AIDS. The RISDP identifies that acute poverty among child-headed or elderly-headed households in Southern Africa is increasing due to the AIDS pandemic. The RIDSP also reiterates the outcome of the Maseru summit, where it was agreed that an HIV/AIDS Unit be established within the secretariat’s Department of Strategic Planning, Gender and Policy Harmonisation.

Human security and traditional state security are now increasingly viewed as complementary and mutually dependent. A weakened military can potentially compromise the territorial integrity of the state, as well as draw on resources for care, support and treatment of its rank and file. Some of the estimates of infection rates in SADC armies range from 20-60 percent. HIV/AIDS could lead to resource competition between civil and military institutions, adversely affecting other sectors such as the economy and social goods such as health and education. In turn, HIV/AIDS can exacerbate poverty. SADC policymakers have acknowledged the multi-dimensional effects of the pandemic, particularly its capacity to decimate human resources and the implications of this on the sub-region’s development agenda. SIPO has also recognised that the HIV/AIDS pandemic poses a challenge to SADC and to the objectives of the Organ.

Though these responses are encouraging, they have not been adequately translated into the SIPO document. While this document acknowledges that HIV/AIDS poses a serious challenge to the realisation of SADC’s political, defence, state and public sectors, it fails to articulate what these challenges are. The Maseru Declaration of 2003 also identifies the need for the harmonisation of national policies. To date, a number of Southern African militaries such as South Africa, Botswana, Tanzania, and Zambia have implemented a broad range of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programmes which

---

18 SADC, The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan.
could potentially form the basis for a common SADC policy on HIV/AIDS management. These and other issues require further debate to assist the future development of SADC policies in this important area.

**Dissemination Strategies**

The proceedings of the Dar-es-Salaam policy seminar will be documented in the form of a policy report. The findings will be widely disseminated by CCR both within and outside Southern Africa. Follow-up activities will take place to implement the recommendations of the policy seminar including meetings with SADC and key policymakers to discuss ways in which these recommendations can be incorporated into their current work.