

**POLICY RESEARCH AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

**WORKSHOP REPORT**

**IZEKO SLAVE LODGE, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, 1-2  
DECEMBER 2005**

**Hosted By The Southern Africa Human Security Program of  
The Institute of Security Studies**



<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	
Acknowledgements	3
About the Organisers	3
Executive Summary	4
1. Human Security in Southern Africa: Methodological and Conceptual Issues	6
2.SADC: Identifying Areas for Policy Research and Capacity Building	10
3. Democracy, Development, and Security in Southern Africa	15
4. Key Country Challenges	22
5. Conclusion	27
6. Annexure A: List of Participants	31
Annexure B: Workshop Programme	37

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Several people contributed to making this workshop a success. We would like to acknowledge the Government of Denmark, the major donor of the Southern Africa Human Security Program. We would also like to thank Nobuntu Mtwana for her time and effort in assisting with the logistics for the workshop. The managers of the Izeke Slave Lodge who afforded us the opportunity to use their historic facility, the ISS (Cape Town office) interns, Jenny Clover and Mari-Lise de Preez for taking notes and those who stepped in to help with the décor. Without the participants this workshop would not have taken place. We thank them for their enthusiastic response to our call and for their excellent inputs.

## **ABOUT THE ORGANISERS**

The Institute for Security Studies is an applied policy research institute founded in 1992. It has offices in Tshwane, Cape Town, Nairobi and Addis Abba. Its vision is to work towards a stable and peaceful Africa characterised by sustainable development, human rights, the rule of law, democracy and collaborative security. The ISS has seven programmes, one of which is the Southern Africa Human Security Program (SAHSP).



Dr. Cheryl Hendricks serves as the programme head. SAHSP purpose is to produce policy research on Human Security in Southern Africa, promote policy advisory dialogues with, and collaboration between, civil society organizations, policy-makers, practitioners and researchers. The overall aim is to assist in developing the region into a space in which both the citizens and state enjoy security, stability and growth.

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The civil wars that punctuated and defined the Southern African socio-political landscapes have largely ended, but a “positive peace”, defined by changed structural conditions and changed power relations, remains elusive. The root causes of conflict have not been adequately engaged, nor have the different manifestations of violence that has led to increased vulnerability been sufficiently captured, problematised and addressed. Peace and security under these conditions will inevitably be fragile. There is a manifest need for scholars, practitioners and policy makers, to critically analyze the policies and practices envisioned and implemented to date, to identify pertinent issues inhibiting human security in the region, re-think the dominant peace, security and development paradigms, elicit lessons learnt and to promote alternative approaches that are informed by the complexity and specificity of the region and its constitutive parts. Moreover, it is necessary for these actors to jointly strategise where policy research needs to be focused, the appropriate methodologies, capacity building needs and corrective measures, and the building of partnerships to achieve desired ends. Accordingly, the Southern Africa Human Security Program hosted a one and a half day policy research and capacity building planning workshop in Cape Town on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 2005. The specific aims of the workshop were:

- a) To bring researchers, practitioners and policy makers together for constructive and collaborative dialogue;
- b) To identify the critical challenges for peace and security in the region;
- c) To collaboratively identify where policy research and capacity building is needed;

- d) To pose the hard questions, challenge received paradigms in the light of African realities and to begin to suggest alternative epistemologies and research methodologies;
- e) To identify ways in which policy research can be more efficiently produced and utilised to inform policy formulation and implementation;
- f) To strengthen collaborative research networks.

There were 30 participants at the workshop inclusive of representatives of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Defence Force, NEPAD, regional academic and policy research institutions, and civil society organisations. Participants were asked to speak directly to the major challenges in the region and to translate these concerns into foci for policy research and capacity building. Find the list of participants attached as Annexure "A" and the Programme as Annexure "B".

The workshop emphasised the need to centralise gender into our analysis and policy formulation; to rethink economic policies; to concentrate on creating reliable state institutions that protect citizens; to research mechanism that will realise the vision of civil society participation in governing structures at all levels; to concentrate on managing scarce natural resources and research the conflicts generated by this scarcity; to rethink regional integration and the structuring of the institutions created for its advancement and to identify new roles for the military that would enhance human security in the region. Participants recommended that we consolidate and broaden our research networks and produce practical intervention strategies that can make a sustained impact on peace, security and development in the region.



**Workshop Participants**

## **1. HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES**

The Human Security approach seeks to fundamentally question and alter whom we protect and how that protection is afforded. It broadens our conceptualization of security from a narrow state-centric perspective to a people-centred perspective that recognizes the diverse threats to security and the need for holistic long-term measures of redress. The approach represents an epistemological improvement to previous conceptualizations of peace and security, hence its currency.

Participants unpacked the divergent political and ideological influences and contexts that have shaped the human security discourse. They contended that though the discourse had

transformative potential, it was vulnerable to states and multi-lateral policy-making that often set limits on which freedoms were important for human security, i.e., it could also be appropriated to further conservative agendas. A human security approach requires fundamental changes in power relations, changes in the ways in which decision-making takes place and changed perceptions by citizens of their own responsibilities. Though many governments claim to adopt a human security approach little change transpires in those domains that are key to the approach.

An analysis of gender mainstreaming revealed this limitation. The incorporation of gender into both peace and security analysis and policy making is largely formulaic and ad hoc. Yet, gender based violence, participants argued, undermines the most basic of security needs, that is, personal and bodily integrity. When we centralize gender into our analysis we are forced to rethink the contexts, practices, concepts and relationships that undermine security. For example, mention was made that the home has become a site of profound insecurity for many women, yet danger is still associated primarily with public spaces. One of the conclusions emerging from this discussion is that if we are to succeed in mainstreaming gender into peace-building we have to transform our institutional and organisational cultures from their present masculinist forms that promote hierarchisation, competitiveness and aggression.

Many participants raised the difficulties in operationalising human security. What does it mean, for example, for the ways in which the armed forces function? What are the indicators and the monitoring mechanism for human security? Concern was also raised about the implications of the renewed focus on terrorism, that is, whether this signals the return to traditional state centred definitions of security.

Participants felt that this shift was indeed taking place and needed to be countered.

**Alioune Sall, African Futures Institute**



Although the Human Security paradigm shifts our attention to individuals and communities the state remains a key factor in both the creation of instability and in

restoring peace and security. The discussion on the restructuring of the state yielded a broad consensus that a minimalist state is not appropriate for the region and that culture is an important element to consider in state reconstruction. The strengthening of the state vs the strengthening of society was deemed as posing false dichotomies as both need to be bolstered for human security to prevail: it is the forms of institutional and cultural restructuring that are the salient issues.

States have to become more efficient and accountable: an inculcation of good governance and leadership training can assist in effecting this. We also require much more social and political dialogue between the state and non-state actors to produce a shared vision of our future. And, our institutions need to be reconfigured to make them more sustainable and more people-centred.

### **Policy Research and Capacity Building:**

Participants in this session identified the following areas of research and capacity building as important for the region:

- Δ There is a need for national long-term empirically based studies on the state as there is a growing gap between our theories of the African state and the empirical evidence in the new neo-liberal context, i.e., studies that capture the changing nature of state institutions, intergovernmental relations, and state-civil society relations.
- Δ We need longitudinal studies on the impact of globalisation on the region, both the opportunities it presents and the threats it poses.
- Δ Analyses on the micro-levels of power and the diverse ways in which power is reproduced will enable us to more fully confront the everyday experiences of oppression and fear.
- Δ Research on the stumbling blocks for co-operation between the various sectors (intra and inter governmental and government and civil society) and ways of effectively managing these tensions can serve as a basis to improve the functioning of the state.
- Δ We need to discern the processes of decision making, especially with respect to peace and security, delineate what informs those decisions and the consequences of these decisions.
- Δ A crucial part of policy formulation is the feed back loop. Policy researchers should analyse the monitoring and evaluation systems that are in place in the region, the results emanating from these systems and how, if at all, the results feed into decision-making.
- Δ Following on the often argued point that there are divergent interests and foci in SADC, we require studies on how these

interests are being managed. How do differing interests affect implementation? How do we move (or should we be moving) towards greater consensus on issues – Zimbabwe and Swaziland could serve as case studies in this regard.

- Δ We should conduct skills audits to determine, which skills exist, where the shortages are, and the type of training required. There are skills in the region, these must be identified and more effectively utilised.

An underlying point for this session, therefore, is the need for more complex, critical analytical perspectives on the understanding and application of human security in the region.

## **2. SADC: IDENTIFYING AREAS FOR POLICY RESEARCH AND CAPACITY BUILDING**

The Southern African region has been transformed from a site of intense anti-colonial struggles and civil wars to one which is relatively peaceful and politically stable, with notable exceptions such as Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The liberation of South Africa, changed international environment and the restructuring of the OAU into the AU, prompted institutional and policy changes in SADC. SADC shifted from its previous decentralised sectoral approach to a more centralised programmatic approach, establishing five Directorates in its Secretariat in Gaborone. On the socio-economic front, it developed the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) as its strategic framework for promoting development through regional integration. SADC's security architecture was also restructured giving birth to the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC). The Organ adopted Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO), in August 2003, as its guiding document: a plan that explicitly links

democracy and development to peace and security. This restructuring is in accordance with the new African Agenda that emphasises regional organizations as the building blocks for peace, security and development on the continent. Overall, SADC has substantially achieved in its attempts to reform itself, foster greater co-operation and lay the foundation for regional development. The organisation, however, faces major constraints in implementing adopted protocols and strategic frameworks highlighting a need for closer scrutiny and prioritisation of the objectives, identification of, and resolutions to, the causes of the constraints, complimented with capacity building initiatives.



**Sivuyile Bam, SA Defence Force and Ayesha Kagee, SAIIA**

Participants in this session addressed some of the challenges, contending that progress was primarily hindered by the lack of human and financial resources. The lack of OPDSC's integration into SADC as a whole may also be the cause of the slow implementation of SIPO. Participants pointed out that the formation of SADC structures, like the organ, have never been debated nationally

pointing to the need for greater public awareness initiatives to inform citizens of the existence and functioning of these institutions. SADC also has to find more meaningful ways in which to include civil society and opposition parties. It was claimed that the organisation largely operates under a false assumption that present ruling parties will govern indefinitely. It therefore does not take succession into account – through, for example, including opposition parties in its deliberations. This may ultimately contribute to a lack of continuity in the organisation.

Addressing the issue of conflict resolution and peacekeeping, a key discussion point was the fact that Southern Africa rarely requires a military response for its conflicts are primarily related to issues of democratisation and governance. This necessitates structural and ideological changes and it is questionable whether SADC has the institutional capability to respond to these crises. Its preferred response has been “conflict resolution by delegation,” i.e., dispatching high-level delegations to persuade ruling elites to modify their behaviour: this strategy has rarely yielded tangible results.

In a discussion on SADC’s Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections and Observation Missions, a number of problems were pointed out, namely: there was no adequate consultation with the citizens in drafting this document; it is subject to national laws (which in some instances may be manipulated to achieve undemocratic outcomes); there is little harmonization with other SADC frameworks; the guidelines are not easily translated into action; there are other parallel principles, norms and standards; there is no enforcement of the mechanisms; little is said

on the composition of observer missions, and it is weak on post-election conflict transformation.



**Princess Tabata, Theodore Kamwimbi and Rindai Chifunde**

### **Policy Research and Capacity Building**

- Δ SADC set itself the objective of establishing a Free Trade Area by 2008. Research aimed at developing enhanced rural productivity, the uplifting of the urban poor, and improving small business development, so that they can enjoy the benefits of integration, should be undertaken.
- Δ The implications of cross membership of states in SADC, EAC and COMESA requires closer examination.
- Δ Research examining confidence building measures, for example, in relation to the SADC component of the African Standby Force (the SADC Brigade), with the aim of enhancing these, should be undertaken.
- Δ The different interpretations of security prevalent in SADC should be unpacked and the implications of these differences elicited.

- Δ We need to assess the need for a common defence and security policy framework and a common conflict management and prevention framework for the region.
- Δ We need to revisit current institutional structuring and, for example, assess whether the SADC OPDSC needs a strong secretariat that runs with institutional agendas alongside a weak Troika system or a robust effective secretariat that manages the day-to day activities of the institution, coupled with an enhanced Troika system that informs and directs the activities that enable SADC OPDSC to meet its objectives. What are the effects of the current organisational/relational structure between the OPDSC and other SADC structures and how could restructuring be effected for greater efficiency?
- Δ Policy research on how the SADC OPDSC should incorporate bring civil society actors to enhance the agenda for peace, security and democracy should be undertaken? We can, for example, document the process through which the African Standby Force is attempting to incorporate these actors.
- Δ The development and/or strengthening of an early warning system is a necessity and policy research aimed at achieving this is essential.
- Δ SADC has established an Intra-Regional Skills Development Programme and there is a Centre of Specialisation in Public Administration and Management. We need to develop mechanisms to strengthen these programmes and institutions.
- Δ The Principles and Guidelines Governing Elections and Observation Missions document must be translated into local languages and distributed as widely as possible. We should also be lobbying for a review of the guidelines and for a SADC Electoral Tribunal.

Δ A SADC elections expert data-base should be set up.

The analysis emerging from this session points to an urgent need to assist SADC to meet its objectives for the benefit of the region as a whole. The appropriate channels through which this can be effected, and possible contributions that can be made, needs to be identified. Promoting peace and security is a collective effort requiring active critical engagement rather than arm-chair critiquing.

### **3. DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

Democracy, Development and Security are three key objectives found in most continental, regional and national policy documents. There were two session devoted to this theme. The first examined the conceptual links between the three concepts, teased out conceptions of the role of traditional institutions within current development paradigms and analysed the prospects and challenges of implementing Nepad in Southern Africa. The second session provided an overview of the role of the armed forces in democratisation and development, highlighted the critical issues around regional integration, unpacked the extent of crime and corruption, and identified policy research and capacity building areas which emanate from the key environmental challenges in the region.



**Patrick Molutsi, Tertiary Educational Council, Botswana**

Participants identified the key cross-cutting concern of democracy, development and security as that of empowerment of individuals and communities. The challenge, it was argued, is for states and other actors to create the conditions necessary for this empowerment. The assertion was made that empowerment “requires that people have equal rights to participate in the political society, in the economic society and in setting collective social and cultural standards that will, amongst other, cushion them against the erosive effects of globalization.” This requires an assessment of the extent to which our governments, civil society groups, donors, employers and the global economy are facilitating the empowerment of ordinary citizens. The key questions we should be asking are: Is democracy as currently practiced in the region empowering the citizens of individual Southern African countries? What are the indicators of such empowerment? Are the current economies and development strategies likely to empower the majority of the people? Are current development strategies sustainable in terms of use of resources? Are our leadership inculcating values of responsibility, accountability and preparedness amongst the peoples of Southern Africa? Are our approaches to

security likely to engender collective and personal security as opposed to merely state security? Are states spending too much focus on developing state apparatus and less on policies and programs addressing broader human security issues?<sup>1</sup>

In problematising development and democracy participants pointed to a political and sociological obsession with modernity, partly manifested in the continued dichotomization between the modern and the traditional: largely propagated by western scholars in the sixties, but thoroughly debunked since then. Consequently, democratic analyses place little emphasis on traditional institutions, even though it is these institutions which govern the day to day lives of the majority of citizens in the region. These institutions, which should not be reduced to chiefs, can frustrate or benefit democracy. We require empirical data on the current role they are playing in our societies, and how they can be utilised for democracy, development and conflict resolution.



**Kwezi Mnqibisa, ACCORD and Cunningham Ngcukana, NEPAD.**

---

<sup>1</sup> See P. Molutsi's think piece titled "Democracy, Development and Security in Southern Africa: Conceptual Linkages, Implementation Problems" presented at the ISS Policy Research and Capacity Building in Southern Africa Workshop, Cape Town, 1-2 December, 2005.

In a discussion on the challenges facing NEPAD in Southern Africa, it was noted that the role of the NEPAD secretariat is not to implement projects, but to facilitate, advocate, mobilize resources and create partnerships. There has been some progress in the areas of governance, peace and security. Nepad assisted with the mobilisation of resources for the creation of a African Standby Force and the ARPM is operative. A co-ordination meeting between Nepad and SADC was held to align the objectives of the two organizations. The key challenges, however, are capacity building, the structure of SADC (i.e. it requires that all member states approve before implementation), the mobilisation of resources, private sector support and creating space for civil society participation – there is a lack of creativity and some resistance.

The AU and NEPAD promote regional integration as the best form of advancing development in Africa. SADC's *raison d'etra*, too, is regional integration. Participants pointed out that while the region is becoming more integrated we need to keep in mind why we are engaged in the process and what is meant by regional integration, that is, what kind of socio-economic space do we want to create through these regional initiatives? Presently regional integration is largely reduced to state led integration. The private sector and other actors are all engaged in regional integration and their activities also need to be documented. We require a better understanding of these different processes. Moreover, we need to identify which sectors are more suitable for integration, rather than attempting to integrate that which is not readily amenable at this stage, for example, trade integration. Here, we need to take a historical reading of regional integration initiatives and build on the success stories. Once again, the challenge of overlapping membership was noted, for every agreement signed brings a set of

legal and institutional implications. The lack of institutional capacity was also re-stated.

Participants identified crime and corruption as cross-cutting issues retarding development in the region and one estimate put the cost of corruption to Africa at approximately \$148 billion. Public Procurement was listed as a high-risk area for grand corruption in Southern Africa for it impacts on service delivery, poverty alleviation and democratic consolidation. Bribes paid by multi-national companies constituted a large chunk of the corruption figures. This raised the question of whether or not there is a need for the AU to have a regulatory framework for multi-national companies.



**Jenny Clover, ISS**

In the discussion on environmental challenges an argument was made for a conceptual rethink on the environment, that is, to

centrally posit humans as a part of the environment. The environment is a central cause of poverty and of conflict: it is resource scarcity that generates many of the internal conflicts in the region. For Southern Africa, the challenges are the unequal distribution of land, soil erosion, deforestation, high population to land ratios, and unclear and overlapping land rights. Water scarcity and food security are key human security issues that need to be addressed, especially since the region is still primarily agro-based.

There is little good data on the above, a requirement to effect better policy formulation and implementation.

The military has traditionally not been seen as part of the democratic machinery. Indeed, military coups have undermined democracy, ostensibly in the name of combating corruption or development. But, as democratic processes consolidate in the region we are seeing a transformation in civil-military relations. Participants stressed the need to strengthen parliamentary oversight and/or military accountability. But, for this to be effective there needs to be a greater familiarity by democratically elected representatives of military structures and procedures, pointing to an area where training should be taking place. In addition, it was argued, that the military can play, and is increasingly doing so, a vital role in creating the necessary climate for development and democracy. In areas of conflict, its role is largely to restore peace and stability, but when this is in place, it can assist with other non-conventional military activities, such as crime prevention, humanitarian relief, the building of infrastructure, combating disease, etc. This would be in line with a human security approach but goes against much traditional thinking on the role of the armed forces.



**Alioune Sall, Trudi Hartzenberg, Patrick Molutsi, Jennifer Clover and Sagaren Naidoo**

### **Policy Research and Capacity Building**

- Δ The ideological shift to liberal democracy and the implementation of neo-liberalism has had both positive and negative outcomes in the region. Knowledge production aimed at teasing out areas of concern and ways of appropriately domesticating the policies and principles that follow from the application of these paradigms is required. For example, there should be research focussing on strategic state economic reform programs to protect and empower the disempowered sections of the populace.
- Δ Policy research that points to ways of sanctioning SADC's member states for non-compliance (or alternatively put, inducing compliance), should be conducted.
- Δ Research determining the ways in which civil society currently contributes to regional integration, and their possible roles in this regard, is required.
- Δ There should be long-term development of a robust institutional capacity, i.e., there is a need to link individual and institutional capacity. In addition, we must internalise this capacity in institutions, not only in individuals who then leave.
- Δ We need research on the nature and extent of private sector corruption and measures to prevent this, monitoring of the implementation of the corruption protocol and an analyses of the gaps in the regulations.
- Δ A free and lively civil society needs to be strengthened and there is a need for policy research to address constraints to political competition.
- Δ A participatory and institutionalised economic society should be cultivated and there should be investment in human capital development through education and training, especially at tertiary level.

Δ Parliamentary oversight of the military must be strengthened and more creative thinking around the deployment of the Defence Forces in development contexts generated.

#### 4. KEY COUNTRY CHALLENGES



**Iraê Baptista Lundin, Joao Baptista Nzatuzola, Jennifer Chiriga, David Sebudubudu, and Suren Pillay**

Southern Africa has successfully completed the transformation from colonialism to post-colonialism, but it has yet to make the transition to creating a space in which its peoples are treated as citizens, with all the rights and responsibilities that this confers. This session confronted the key challenges faced by countries, and their citizens, in the region. Participants made a distinction between “political life” and “biological life.” In some countries, notably South Africa and Mozambique political life was on track, but in all countries, the sphere of biological life (health, housing, food, safety, etc) was wanting. Personal security and physical integrity are, as previously mentioned, key to human security. Its profound absence amongst

the majority of the people perpetuates structural violence and makes the human security agenda an imperative.

For all the countries, poverty, high unemployment rates, and an unequal distribution of resources were common. Many of the countries are endowed with an abundance of resources – lootable ones in Angola and the DRC – which are mismanaged, or appropriated by a few. Listening to the rendition of problems in the respective countries it became clear that current economic policies, were not yielding their expected results and that it may be time to rethink our development paradigm. The need to go back to basics asking those important questions of who, what, why, how and when was clearly evident and an articulation of short, medium and long term public policy that reflects the lives of individuals and communities in the rural and urban areas urgently required. In countries like South Africa, there are government policies in place to address poverty, but critics are concerned with their sustainability.



### Mozambique

has experienced economic recovery, but the trickle down effect has yet to take place. Foreign investment accounts for much of the economic growth but produces a new challenge, i.e., that of moving away

### **Iraê Baptista Lundin**

from foreign-funded mega projects to devising ways of constructing broad-based wealth. Participants were positive about the ability of the government of Mozambique to engage in broad based

consultation in developing its second PRSP and pointed to the need to assess the process for possible replication in other countries. In the case of South Africa, it was argued that the controlling apartheid state seems to have given way to an increasingly absent state – this would be the case for most African countries. State absence gives rise to weak service delivery. A key policy research question would therefore revolve around how to create a just and sustainable peace.

For those countries that relied on the migrant labour system, we need long-term assessment impacts of the practice and its consequent decline in the post-apartheid era. Specifically for Angola, we need to unpack the linkage between the military, politics and business.



Issues relating to “good governance” permeated most of the country studies, i.e., poor financial discipline, lack of transparency and accountability, corruption, weak separation of powers, donor dependency,

**Joao Baptista Lundin**

suppression of human rights, weak civil society and opposition movements, and the lack of civil society participation and/or a civic culture. There should be more compelling empirically based research on how to strengthen civil society, what prevents the consolidation of civil society and opposition movements, and how to effect civil society participation in national, regional and continental structures.



**Nomthetho Simelane, Ayesha Kajee, Princess Tabata and Brian Raftopolous.**

In Swaziland, democratic transformation is yet to occur. Swaziland has been shielded for a long time because of its role in the liberation struggle. It has a polarized society and is therefore in need of processes of reconciliation, democratisation and participation. This raises the question of how should the AU and SADC intervene in Swaziland?



Participants contended that Zimbabwe is emblematic of a state in deep crisis. The point was made that the state has successfully used an anti-imperialist and pan Africanist

**Brian Raftopolous and Princess Tabata**

discourse to keep the region on its side and this has resulted in the dualism of "outward radicals and inward oppressors." Ironically, the country appears to be more vulnerable than ever to imperialism. Also of note is the implosion of opposition politics that has served to

strengthen the hand of the ruling party. The stale mate in Zimbabwe points to a lack of alternative policies and a clear need for a national dialogue.

The relevant research questions raised in the light of the Zimbabwean experience are:

- 1) Is there a tendency for authoritarian regimes to emerge, or consolidate themselves, in the face of national opposition and global neo-liberalism?
- 2) What is the alternative to SADC diplomatic solidarity with authoritarian states in relation to the "New Imperialisms"?
- 3) Can civic forces in the region develop more democratic forms of anti-imperialist solidarity that seek to confront both "empire" and national repression?
- 4) What are the alternatives to destructive land occupations as a form of colonial redress and as an alternative development strategy?
- 5) What forms of opposition are emerging in the region and do they represent a substantive alternative to existing regimes? Moreover, what spaces are available for such opposition movements to confront incumbent parties through peaceful means?<sup>2</sup>

Droughts leading to water scarcity and food security issues were major challenges for the region, but especially pertinent for Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. Participants noted poor land management and the lack of implementation of food policies, for example in the case of Malawi, as key contributing factors. We therefore require more effective policy formulation utilising primary field data produced by researchers and an integrated early warning system.

---

<sup>2</sup> Points elaborated upon by Brian Raftopolous in his think piece titled "Prospects for National Dialogue in Zimbabwe" presented at the Policy Research and Capacity Building in Southern Africa Workshop, Cape Town, 1-2 December, 2005.

HIV/AIDS and other poverty related diseases were major problems throughout Southern Africa. HIV/AIDS, a health issue, impacts on all the other sectors, i.e., economy, politics and social relations. Southern Africa has to produce a common strategy for dealing with the pandemic. In countries like Angola there was no reliable data available on the number of people infected and affected which retards the ability to treat patients and control the spread of the disease.

In Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo the problems commonly associated with post-conflict reconstruction are evident: i.e., internally displaced persons, land mines, demobilisation, disarmament, reintegration and effecting justice and reconciliation. We need comparative studies of post-conflict reconstruction implementation in the region to draw out policy implications. Crime and drug trafficking were also sighted as major issues threatening human security in many of the countries in the region.

## **5. CONCLUSION**

This workshop set out to collaboratively identify the critical challenges for peace and security in the region, to locate where policy research and capacity building is required, suggest alternative epistemologies and strengthen collaborative research networks. It has succeeded in these aspects by raising a number of key issues, grouped thematically, and by suggesting ways of continuing this form of engagement.

- 1) Epistemologically, we need to think and rethink the ideas and application of a human security perspective and especially incorporate a gender lens.

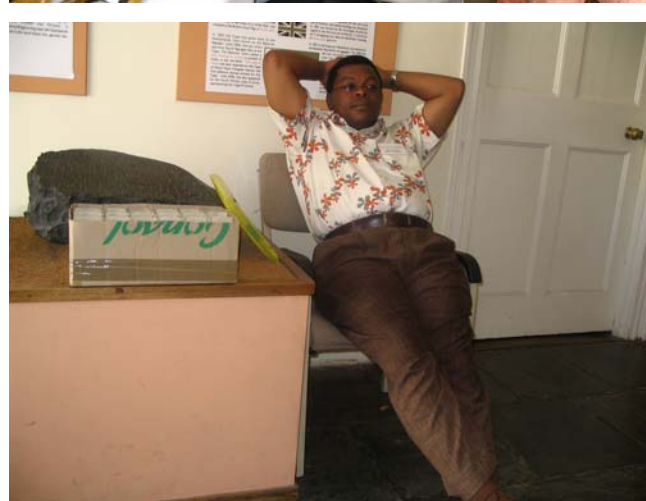
- 2) There were a series of questions raised around the economy and the crisis of social reproduction that it has generated. The need for empirical based studies on the impact of structural adjustment policies on state structures and effective service delivery and ways to mitigate the effects is a policy research priority for the region. Institutional erosion and state failure featured in all the session pointing to the need to create reliable institutions to protect citizens. There appears to be a gap between our theories and the empirical world that needs to be bridged – we therefore need studies that illustrate how states operate in the neo-liberal context and alternatives in this regard.
- 3) The crises around natural resources also constitute a threat in want of innovative management solutions. Ecological issues must become a central concern of economics for they pose new challenges with political economy implications.
- 4) There were a series of questions around civic involvement indicating a gap in research on the state of our civil society, ways to strengthen these actors and on mechanisms to ensure their meaningful participation in governance.
- 5) The military has become a central part of restructuring our states. We need empirical based research on their current role and we should identify other spheres in which they can be of assistance and mechanisms for effecting this.
- 6) Problems related to regional integration forces us to rethink what we want to achieve by regional integration, who should be involved and what sectors should we concentrate on. SADC, as the organisation fostering regional integration, faces a series of challenges related to financial and human resource constraints, institutional structuring and policy implementation. More policy research and capacity building

initiatives must be conducted if the organisation is to succeed in fulfilling its objectives.

- 8) The HIV/AIDS pandemic and migration makes demography a crucial area for policy research.
- 9) Southern Africa's history has made it a cultural melting pot – we need to view this as an asset and not a liability.

The main recommendations emanating from the workshop were:

- \* That we continue with these kinds of forums, but that we broaden participation to include, for example, more government representatives. We must also make a concerted effort to link up with grassroots organizations, i.e., we need to expand our networks.
- \* We need to shift from our present trend of working in silos and begin to pool our limited resources.
- \* Our meetings should come up with practical intervention strategies implying that we need to think through the kind of processes that can be instituted, and policy research questions to be addressed, to increase our input and impact.
- \* We need to identify 2-3 key strands in each of the above themes for possible collaborative research.
- \* We need to develop processes for information sharing: a website and newsletters were suggested.



ON THE LIGHTER  
SIDE OF THINGS

## 6. ANNEXURE A

### List of Participants

1. Ms. Yazini April  
Chief Researcher  
Africa Institute of Southern Africa  
PH: 27 12 3049700  
Fax 27 12 326 1785  
Email - [yazinia@ai.org.za](mailto:yazinia@ai.org.za)
2. Mr. Sivuyile Bam  
Director, Research and Analysis  
Department of Defence, SA  
Ph: 27 12 355 5570  
Fax:27 12 3556268  
Email - [sivuyilebam@hotmail.com](mailto:sivuyilebam@hotmail.com)
3. Ms. Jennifer Chiriga  
Unit Co-ordinator: Globalisation and Alternatives  
Alternative Information and Development Centre  
Ph: 27 21 4475770  
Fax: 27 21 447 5884  
Email - [Jennifer@aidc.org.za](mailto:Jennifer@aidc.org.za)
4. Ms. Rindai Chipfunde  
National Director  
Zimbabwe Election Support Network  
Ph:2634 250 736/703956  
Fax: 2634 250 736/735  
Email - [zezn@africaonline.co.zw](mailto:zezn@africaonline.co.zw)
5. Ms. Jennifer Clover  
Institute for Security Studies  
Ph: 27 12 3469500/02

Fax: 27 12 4600998

Email - [Jclover@issafrica.org](mailto:Jclover@issafrica.org)

6. Dr. Somadoda Fikeni

Chief Operations Officer, National Heritage Council, SA

Cell: 27 822021096

Email - [somadodafikeni@yahoo.com](mailto:somadodafikeni@yahoo.com)

7. Mr. Charles Goredema

Institute for Security Studies (Cape Town)

Senior Research Fellow

Ph: 27 21 4617211

Fax: 27 21 4617213

Email - [cgoredema@issafrica.org](mailto:cgoredema@issafrica.org)

8. Ms. Mary Hames

Director

Gender Equity Unit

University of the Western cape

PH:27 21 9592812/3

Fax:27 21 9591314

Email- [mhames@uwc.ac.za](mailto:mhames@uwc.ac.za)

9. Dr. Trudi Hartzenberg

Executive Director

Trade Law Centre

Ph: 27 21 8832208

Fax: 27 21 8838292

Email- [trudi@tralac.org](mailto:trudi@tralac.org)

10. Dr. Cheryl Hendricks

Head of Southern Africa Human Security Program

Institute for Security Studies

Ph: 27 12 3469500/02

Fax: 27 12 4600998

Email - [chendricks@issafrica.org](mailto:chendricks@issafrica.org) or [chendricks@mweb.co.za](mailto:chendricks@mweb.co.za)

11. Ms. Ayesha Kajee

Researcher: Democracy and Political Party Systems in Africa

South African Institute of International Relations

PH: 27 11 3392021

Fax: 27 11 3392154

Email- [kajeeai@saiia.wits.ac.za](mailto:kajeeai@saiia.wits.ac.za)

12. Mr. Theodore Kasonga Kamwimbi

Fellows Program Officer

Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

Ph: 27 21 6597133

Fax: 27 21 6597138

Email- [tkamwimbi@ijr.org.za](mailto:tkamwimbi@ijr.org.za)

13. Dr. Desiree Lewis

Independent Consultant

Cell 0729262544

Email – [deslewis@iafrica.com](mailto:deslewis@iafrica.com)

14. Prof. Iraê Baptista Lundin

Head of Department: Socio-Political and Cultural Studies

Centre for Strategic and International Studies

Mozambique

PH: 258 21492134

Fax: 258 21493213

Email- [ilundin@tvcabo.co.mz](mailto:ilundin@tvcabo.co.mz)

15. Prof. Francis Mako

Department of Political Science and Administrative Studies

National University of Lesotho

Ph: 266 22340601

Fax: 266 22340000

Email: [fk.makoa@nul.ls](mailto:fk.makoa@nul.ls) or [t.khalanyane@nul.ls](mailto:t.khalanyane@nul.ls)

16. Dr. Eddy Maloka

Executive Director

Africa Institute of South Africa

PH: 27 12 3286970/3049700

Fax: 27 12 3238153

Email: [ceo.pa@ai.org.za](mailto:ceo.pa@ai.org.za) or [elder@ai.org.za](mailto:elder@ai.org.za)

17. Mr. Siviwe Mdoda  
Co-ordinator – Land Rights Programme  
Trust for Community Outreach and Education, Sustainable  
Integrated Rural Development  
PH: 27 21 6853033  
Fax: 27 21 6853087  
Email – [siviwe@tcoe.org.za](mailto:siviwe@tcoe.org.za)
18. Mr. Kwezi Mgqibisa  
ACCORD (Durban)  
Ph: 27 315023908  
Fax: 27 315024160  
Email: [Kwezi@accord.org.za](mailto:Kwezi@accord.org.za)
19. Dr. Patrick Molutsi  
Executive Secretary  
Tertiary Education Council  
Ph: 267 3900679/3190557  
Fax: 267 3901481  
Email - [pmolutsi@tec.org.bw](mailto:pmolutsi@tec.org.bw)
20. Mr. Bheki Moyo  
Africa Institute for South Africa  
Ph: 27 12 3386970  
Fax: 27 12 3238153  
Email- [bheki@ai.org.za](mailto:bheki@ai.org.za)
21. Mr. Sagaren Naidoo  
Deputy Director: Research and Analysis  
Dept. of Defence, SA  
Email- [sagaren22@hotmail.com](mailto:sagaren22@hotmail.com)
22. Mr. Cunningham Ngcukana  
Deputy Executive Director  
Nepad

Ph: 27 11 3133986

Fax: 27 11 31335483

Email- [dixiek@nepad.org](mailto:dixiek@nepad.org)

23. Prof. Joao Baptista Nzatusola

Jubilee 2000

Angola

PH: 244 923506896

Email- [lukombojoabaptista@yahoo.com.br](mailto:lukombojoabaptista@yahoo.com.br)

24. Mr. Suren Pillay

Department of Political Science

University of the Western Cape

PH:27 21 9593228

Email – [spillay@uwc.ac.za](mailto:spillay@uwc.ac.za)

25. Prof. Brian Raftopolous

Director

Institute for Development Studies

University of Zimbabwe

Ph: 263 4 576245

Fax: 263 4 333345

Email – [raftop@mweb.co.zw](mailto:raftop@mweb.co.zw) or [mafela5@mweb.co.za](mailto:mafela5@mweb.co.za)

26. Alioune Sall

Executive Director

African Futures Institute

P.O Box 13953 - The Tramshed

Pretoria 0126 - South Africa

Ph: 27- 12 352 4071 /352 4107

Fax : 27 12 322 66 99

Email – [ifutures@africanfutures.org](mailto:ifutures@africanfutures.org)

27. Prof. Nomthetho Simelane

University of Swaziland

Email – [nomteto@uniswacc.uniswa.sz](mailto:nomteto@uniswacc.uniswa.sz)

28. Dr. David Sebudubudu

Lecturer  
Faculty of Social Science  
University of Botswana  
Ph: 267 355 2740  
Fax: 267 31 70706  
Email – [sebudubu@mopipi.ub.bw](mailto:sebudubu@mopipi.ub.bw)

29. Ms Princess Tabata  
Deputy Director: Policy Research Unit  
Department of Foreign Affairs, SA  
PH: 27 12 3018663  
Fax: 27 12 3230303  
Email – [tabatap@foreign.gov.za](mailto:tabatap@foreign.gov.za)

30. Mr. Hennie Van Vuuren  
Senior Researcher  
Institute for Security Studies  
Ph: 27 21 4617211  
Fax: 27 21 4617213  
Email – [Hvanvuuren@issafrica.org](mailto:Hvanvuuren@issafrica.org)

## **ANNEXURE B**

### **SOUTHERN AFRICA HUMAN SECURITY PROGRAMME**

#### **SOUTHERN AFRICA: POLICY RESEARCH AND CAPACITY PLANNING WORKSHOP**

**IZIKO MUSEUM (Slave Lodge), 49 Adderley Street,  
Cape Town, South Africa  
1 – 2 December 2005**

#### **PROGRAMME**

#### **DAY ONE : Thursday, 1 December**

**08h00 – 08h30**

**Registration**

**08h30-08h45**

**Opening and Welcoming remarks**  
Cheryl Hendricks – Programme Head, SAHSP,  
ISS

#### **Session I: Human Security in Southern Africa: Methodological and Conceptual Issues**

**Chairperson:**

**Iraê Baptista Lundin**  
Chair, Centre for Strategic and International  
Studies, Mozambique

**08h45-10h00**

**From State Security to Human Security in  
Southern Africa: Implications for a Policy  
Research and Capacity Building Agenda**

Presenter: Cheryl Hendricks  
Institute for Security Studies, SA

**Reflections on Conventional Paradigms and Methodologies for Peace, Security and Development in the Region**

Presenter: Alioune Sall  
Director, African Futures, SA

**Rethinking Violence, Conflict and Human Security: The Implications of 'Gender Mainstreaming'**

Presenter: Desiree Lewis  
Independent Consultant, SA

**Globalization and Human Security in Southern Africa: Prospects, Challenges and Implications for a Policy Research Agenda in Southern Africa**

Presenter Bheki Moyo  
Africa Institute of South Africa, SA

***Questions and Discussion***

10h00-10h20

Tea/coffee break

**Session II: SADC: Identifying Areas for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Chairperson:

**Eddy Maloka**  
Director, Africa Institute of Southern Africa

10h20-11h45

**Elaborating a Policy Research and Capacity Building Agenda for SADC: Issues and Requirements**

Presenter: Princess Tabata  
Deputy Director, Policy Research Unit, Department of Foreign Affairs, SA

**SADC's Security Architecture: Key Challenges and Issues for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Presenter: Sivuyile Bam  
Director, Research and Analysis, Department of Defence, SA

**Evaluating SADC's Guidelines for Elections and Election Observation Missions: Implications for Policy Research**

Presenter: Rindai Chipfunde  
Director, Zimbabwe Election Support Network

**Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in the Region: Lessons Learnt, Implications for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Presenter: Kwezi Mnqgibisi  
ACCORD, SA

***Questions and Discussion***

**Session III: Democracy, Development, and Security in Southern Africa**

**Chairperson:**

**Charles Goredema**  
Institute for Security Studies, SA

**11h45-13h15**

**Democracy, Development and Security in Southern Africa: Conceptual Linkages, Implementation Problems**

Presenter: Patrick Molutsi  
Executive Secretary, Tertiary Educational Council, Botswana

**Implementing Nepad in Southern Africa: Prospects, Challenges and Implications for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Presenter: Cunningham Ngcukana  
Deputy Executive Director, NEPAD Secretariat, SA

**Traditional Institutions and the Struggles over Land in South Africa: Conceptual, Methodological and Policy Issues**

Presenter: Somadoda Fikeni  
Chief Operations Officer, National Heritage Council, SA

***Questions and Discussion***

**13h15 – 14h15**

**LUNCH**

**Session IV: Key Country Challenges**

**Chairperson:**

**Jennifer Chiriga**

**Alternative Information and Development**

**Centre**

**14h15 – 15h45**

**Key Policy Research and Capacity Building  
Issues for Human Security in Angola**

Presenter: Joao Baptista Nzatuzola  
Jubilee 2000, Angola

**Key Policy Research and Capacity Building  
Issues for Human Security in Mozambique**

Presenter: Iraê Baptista Lundin  
Mozambique

**Human Security Challenges in South Africa:  
Mapping a Policy Research and Capacity  
Building Agenda**

Presenter: Suren Pillay  
University of the Western Cape, SA

**Key Challenges for Human Security in  
Botswana**

Presenter: David Sebudubu  
University of Botswana, Botswana

***Questions and Discussions***

**15H45-16h00**

**Afternoon Refreshments**

19h00

**COCKTAIL**  
Best Western Suites

**DAY TWO: Friday 2 December 2005**

**Session V: Key Policy Research and Capacity Building Issues for Southern Africa**

08h00-9h45

**Chairperson: Patrick Molutsi**

**Regional Integration in SADC: Critical Issues and Areas for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Presenter: Trudi Hartzenburg  
Director, Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa, SA

**The Role of the Army in Democratization and Development: Areas for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Presenter: S. Naidoo  
Deputy Director, Department of Defence – SA

**Crime and Corruption as Threats to Human Security in Southern Africa: Implications for Policy Research and Capacity Building**

Presenter: Hennie Van Vuuren  
Institute for Security Studies

**Environmentalism and Human Security in Southern Africa: Conceptual Linkages and Key Policy Research**

Jenny Clover  
Institute for Security Studies

*Questions and Discussion*

**Session VI: Key Country Challenges**

**9h45 – 11h00**

**Chairperson**      **Princess Tabata**  
Department of Foreign Affairs

**The Prospects for National Dialogue in Zimbabwe**

Presenter: Brian Raftopolous  
University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe

**Key Challenges for Human Security in Swaziland**

Presenters: Joshua Mzizi and Nomtetho Simelane  
University of Swaziland, Swaziland

**Key Challenges for Human Security in Malawi –  
Mapping a Policy Research and Capacity Building  
Agenda**

Presenter: Ayesha Kajee  
South African Institute of International Affairs, SA

*Questions and Discussion*

**11h00 – 11h15**      **Mid morning Tea**

**Session VII: Key Country Challenges Continued**

**Chairperson:**      **Rindai Chipfunde**

**11h15 -12h30**

**Key Challenges for Human Security in Lesotho**

Presenter: Francis Makoa  
National University of Lesotho, Lesotho

**DRC: Key Development and Security Concerns:  
Challenges for Policy Research and Capacity  
Building**

Presenter: Yazini April  
Africa Institute of Southern Africa, SA

**DRC: Key Policy Research and Capacity Building  
issues for Justice and Reconciliation**

Presenter: Theodore Kamwimbi  
Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

***Questions and discussion***

**12h30-13h00**

**Session VIII: *Drawing out the conclusions and the way forward***

**14h00**

**Tour of Cape Town**