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Policy Dialogue Report No: 24

Shaping the Post-2015 Development Agenda

Identifying opportunities for a renewed focus on peace and security as preconditions for sustainable development in Africa

Date: Thursday 27 February 2014
Time: Registration: 8.30 am, 9.00 am to 1.00 pm
Venue: Burgers Park Hotel, 424 Lillian Ngoyi St, Pretoria

Welcome – **Dr. Showers Mawowa** – Research and Development Manager, SALO

Session One: 9:00am - 10:45am

Moderator: Richard Smith, SALO Board Member

Ambassador Lindiwe Zulu - International Relations Advisor in the Office of the President
Ranji Reddy - Chief Director of Women Empowerment and Gender Equality in the Presidency
Dr. Zacarias Agostinho - United Nations Development Programme, Resident Representative

Questions and comments from the floor

Session Two: 11:15am - 1:00pm

Moderator: Robert Parker - Director of Policy and Communications, Saferworld

Ambassador Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko - Deputy Director General, Multilateral, Department of International Relations and Cooperation
Professor Wendy Ngoma - Former Director, Wits Business School
Michelle Ndiaye Ntab - Director of the Africa Peace and Security Programme, AU Institute for Peace and Security Studies

Questions, comments and discussion

Summary and the Way Forward – Richard Smith, SALO Board

Introduction

The 22nd Ordinary Session of the African Union Summit adopted the Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, thus building momentum behind the assertion that Africa should lead the international debate on the Post-2015 Framework. The UN High Level Panel of Eminent Persons, established by the UN Secretary General (then Kofi Annan) to make recommendations on the Agenda, is co-chaired by Liberian President H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the Indonesian President Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the United Kingdom Prime Minister, Mr David Cameron. In addition, the involvement of H.E. President Jacob Zuma and Benin President, H.E. Thomas Yayi Boni in the Special Event held on the side of the UN General Assembly in September 2013, tasked with assessing progress towards the achievement of the MDGs, opened up further opportunities for African influence on the global agenda.

SALO hosted a policy dialogue discussion focused on the challenges of the MDGs, the current status of the Post-2015 Development Agenda, and the opportunities for building momentum behind an African agenda to shape and influence the Post-2015 framework. As an influential member state of the African Union and the United Nations, South Africa has a key role to play within this process. Speakers from the South African Government and the international community provided a foundation for the discussion that followed.

South Africa will be an influential actor in defining the shape and content of the Post-2015 process, including if and how to include peace, security and stability concerns in the new framework. This policy dialogue event, hosted by SALO, in partnership with Saferworld, forms part of a collective effort to build momentum in support of the Common African Position. In order to inform and catalyse debate about these issues within the South African policy community, SALO and Saferworld collaborated with three other leading South African organizations, namely ACCORD, IGD, and ISS, and compiled a series of short papers on how these issues affect South Africa and the wider continent.¹

FIRST SESSION



Moderator: Richard Smith, SALO

Richard Smith introduced the panel for the first session, which focused on a common vision for Africa; the gender dimension including some of the key components within the developmental debate that affect women in particular; and a broad overview of the discussions that are taking place at the level of the UN.

Ambassador Lindiwe Zulu

Ambassador Zulu termed Post-2015 'the next best thing'. She stated that peace, security and stability are integral elements in relation to development and that they need to be scrutinised and discussed in order to be fully incorporated into the discussions that are related to the Post-2015 Development Agenda. She mentioned that Africa has been grappling with these issues of peace and security and stability for a very long time. Answering her own question, the Ambassador said that compared to twenty years ago, Africa had come a long way in the sense that there has been progress in development and an end to violent conflict. However, there was still a long way to go to ensure sustainable development and definitively manage security issues. She said, *"Where do Africans want to be...? We might, in relation particularly to the issues of sustainable development, conclude that we are still very far away from ensuring that there's peace, security and stability in the entire continent . . . and therefore, repackaging the issues of peace and security are very important."*



¹ Saferworld Briefing Paper, *Conflict and the Post-2015 Development Agenda – Perspectives from South Africa*, 2014.

She then quoted Ambassador Mxakato-Diseko who had said that *“Africa needs to know what it wants; it also needs to know how (what) it is going to do to get to the place of what it wants; and how Africa fits in the global picture of development, but in particular in the bigger picture of the post-2015 development agenda”*.

She stated that it is never easy for Africa to come up with a common position because of diverse levels of development, diverse political interests and the diverse interests of international partners. The Ambassador partly responded to her own questions on the Post-2015 dialogue, though it was apparent that the questions left much unanswered. She pointed out the route towards the Common African Position as proof that Africa could have a unified voice, but acknowledged the complex web of reasons for the failure of the MDGs in Africa as demonstrating how states differed on the continent. She highlighted how difficulties for African states included the fact that they were at different levels of development and that the states faced different obstacles. She found, however, that several institutional structures such as the African Union (AU) were able to draw on the lessons of the MDGs and by so doing contributed to the creation of the Common African Position and assistance to individual states in moving forward.

With regards to the ability of African states to push through the African Agenda, Ambassador Zulu argued that the fifth government pillar - which is on partnering and finance – was most critical. She said that the AU would be able to aid states in harnessing their resources in order to promote their own projects. This meant that states would not need to consider external interests to the extent they had to do previously, in turn strengthening the voice of African states on the Post-2015 agenda. Looking at the domestic context of African states, the Ambassador queried whether internally states had institutions to take the agenda forward. She considered the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the facilitation of these goals as a critical factor in local success. Despite the gap between government and NGOs on the ground, African leaders have acknowledged that without peace and security sustainable development for all stakeholders is not possible. In addition to security obstacles, poverty and inequality remained the greatest social problems that needed to be addressed in order to achieve sustainable development. Thus the Ambassador believes that key goals that need explicit expression included the matters of peace and security, women empowerment and gender equality, and the bridging of government and NGOs in the pursuit of the Post-2015 agenda. In her conclusion, the Ambassador referred in anticipation to the ‘sherpa’s’ meeting in N'Djamena, Chad, and the pending release of a document on the Common African Position. She asserted,

... (I)t will be important for SALO to really trace the process from now on until it is finalised at the UN . . . But the biggest challenge for us however is always the implementation of those decisions . . . The challenge (is) creating a conducive environment within the continent to make sure that those decisions are implemented and I’m hopeful (for) this particular issue of peace, security and stability, because of its importance in laying a level playing field for the African continent.”

Dr Ranji Reddy



Dr Reddy began by discussing on the MDGs, stating that the UN Millennium Declaration was adopted by 189 Heads of State of member countries in September 2000. It held a global vision to eradicate poverty, foster peace and security, protect the environment and most notably, it expressed the importance of achieving human rights and democracy whilst protecting the most vulnerable populations. In line with Dr Reddy’s role in women empowerment and gender equality, she highlighted that the MDGs encapsulated the fundamental value of equal rights and opportunities for women. In so doing, they reaffirm global commitments to combat all forms of violence against women. She said, *“Since the introduction of the MDGs there*

has been broad consensus that the achievement of gender equality is not only a goal in itself but it is critical to the achievement of all the other goals as well."

Dr Ranji pointed out that significant progress has been made with regards to poverty, increasing people's access to improved sources of water and access to primary education. However, the MDGs with the worst records were those most closely linked to gender inequality. As examples, she used MDG 5 on maternal health, to show that the MDG framework had been unsuccessful in many ways in addressing underlying structural causes of inequality, especially gender inequality and the multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination experienced by women and girls globally. In addition, several priority concerns for women were not included in the MDG framework, such as the scourge of violence against women and girls including the issue of violence in conflict and post-conflict times. Moreover, women have been heavily impacted since the MDGs were established by recent global crises, such as the economic and financial crisis, climate change and the food and fuel crisis. *"Thus a Post-2015 Development Agenda must be transparent and it must be underpinned by a clear accountability framework that seeks to address pressing and emerging issues for women that require urgent attention, she said.*

It is important that the new Post-2015 Development framework include a set of goals, targets and indicators that are gender sensitive and mainstreamed across all other development goals. Such a goal set must take on board the following issues: a focussed attention to gender parity at all levels of education, including up to tertiary level, and to ensure that a positive environment is created for girls in schools and women in the sector. It must look at enhancing women's occupational mobility and eliminating gender-based wage inequalities; at increasing women's right to access to and control over land and other productive resources, including housing; and at including women's access to credit and extension services, and at improving women's access to skills development and mentoring. It must focus on access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights, and must look at eliminating gender-based violence, including harmful practises such as early marriages and female genital mutilation (FGM). It must look at eliminating gender-based discrimination in political and decision-making processes as well as ensuring peace and security for women and girls. This policy dialogue is therefore a critical element in the overall discussions of the Post-2015 Development Agenda. *"Peace, security and political stability are the lynch-pins for socio-economic development", she said.*

She continued that a number of international conventions and United Nations Security Council resolutions and other legal instruments exist to promote the seriousness of the role of women in peace and security issues and development. In line with these global instruments, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, Article 28, commits the equal representation of women and their participation in key decision-making positions in conflict resolution and peace-building activities by 2015 (this in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325), and also during times of armed and other conflict. It commits to take such measures as is necessary to prevent and eliminate the incidence of human rights abuse, especially of women and children, and to ensure that the perpetrators of such abuse are brought to justice before a court of competent jurisdiction. Dr. Reddy expressed her hope that the Post-2015 Agenda will be developed for Africa and will include concrete measures and solutions to these inhumane acts of violence and abuse. She then called for more robust inputs into the Post-2015 Agenda to promote the role of women in peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building efforts, as well as advocating for their active participation in all levels of the decision-making. Supporting this, she pointed out that *"(r)esearch has validated that involving women in negotiations strengthens prospects for conflict prevention and resolution, as history reveals."*

Concluding, she reported that the AU Ministers for Women's Affairs or Gender Equality had met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from the 6th to the 8th of February 2014 for an AU Ministerial Meeting. The meeting was concerned that the Common African Position (CAP) as it stands is gender neutral and that the CAP should mainstream women's issues into the Post-2015 Agenda. *"In addition, they have proposed that women's empowerment, gender equality and women's rights become a self-standing pillar, which they are calling Pillar 6 in the current CAP," she said.*

Dr Agostinho Zacarias

Dr Zacarias stated that he thought that *“there is sufficient evidence of the linkages between peace and security and the advantages of refocussing on peace and security as preconditions for sustainable development.”*

He expressed his belief that the ‘Africa Boom’ is due to the fact that a great deal of issues regarding peace and security have been dealt with, even though Africa has not addressed the issues of insecurity entirely. He mentioned that the continent is still faced with fragile peace in many countries, characterised by threats of returning civil wars and post-election violence. Moreover, the ‘resource curse’, along with an unstable system of governance, prevents development in many countries. Service delivery protests are also characteristic amid claims that there has been insufficient economic empowerment. All this is in addition to incidents of crime and porous borders allowing for gun-running, drug-trafficking as well as terrorist activities. Beyond treating these insecurities, establishing peace is further challenged by inadequate political and development education. Dr Zacarias recognised that there is a crisis of leadership in Africa, and in order to address these matters he emphasised the importance of creating legislative frameworks and developing notions of rights that should underpin the development of politics.

To explain what peace meant as a pillar, he referred to Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali (former United Nations Secretary-General, elected in 1991) who introduced the Agenda for Peace with its three steps: firstly, peace-making, requiring consideration of how to create peace through negotiations and encouraging countries to reach fair settlements in order to create a basis for future development; secondly, peace-keeping, where an interposition force is deployed to keep the peace, which would be possible only if the parties agreed that they wanted that force to be interposed between themselves; and thirdly, peace-building, regarded as an essential component because it entails day-to-day activities of governance and other policy implementations and measures needed. Dr Zacarias concluded by referring to the 1998 Report of the then UN Secretary-General Kofi Anan on the Root Causes of Conflict and Conditions for Durable Peace for further aspects of peace-building considerations.

Responses from the Panel to Questions

Ambassador Zulu

Ambassador Zulu stated that it is important for leaders in government to understand the Human Rights Charter and other instruments in order for them to have the necessary political commitment to protect these values. She pointed to the successes of South African institutions due in no small measure to the fact that civil society is involved with the protection and understanding of the constitution, so giving people responsibility for their own country. She emphasised that it is therefore vital that Africans strengthen their own institutions in their own countries. The Ambassador argued that without a legislative role, the African Parliament too was not as useful as it could be, and encouraged the audience to push for a platform to be opened to discuss this.

Ranji Reddy

As proof of gender mainstreaming, Dr Reddy stated that forty percent of the South African Police Services who were deployed on peace-keeping missions four years ago were women. The police had received training and were able to cope with the situation on the ground. With regards to so-called ‘western’ terminology on concepts such as genocide, Reddy said that the African Judge Navi Pillay, who served on the ICC and now holds the position of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, defined rape during times of conflict as an active war crime. This example shows there are possibilities for Africans to define concepts and they must use this space. A question on the LGBTI community prompted Dr Reddy to talk about the



accepted norm, in South African foreign policy, of sovereignty in the creation of legislation. She stated that thirty-four countries in Africa do not recognise gay rights. However South Africa tries to make sure that the issues of the LGBTI sector are included from a gender perspective. This all depends on the negotiation of language to allow for dialogue on the violation of these 'vulnerable groups' or – another term used - 'marginalised groups,' in order not to have the whole clause thrown out by Africa.

Dr Zacarias Agostinho

Dr Agostinho stated that all peace-keepers would undergo inductions but that some countries take the training more seriously than others. He added that the UN has issued some guidelines on what qualities people who are going to be deployed should have. The AU has a stand-by force intended, *inter alia*, to ensure that training can take place in advance to prepare peace-keepers to perform their function. He indicated that there are countries that have good constitutions that they do not respect and then there are countries that don't have constitutions but are nonetheless doing very well. He considered that what is important for a country is to have the culture, values, principles, traditions and customs that guide the society, more so than a written document. On the issue of the term 'genocide', he stated that there is a convention against genocide and it defines quite clearly what constitutes, and what does not constitute, genocide. The process of compiling evidence to demonstrate how an event constitutes genocide is so accurately defined since it sometimes takes years to prove.

Ambassador Zulu

Ambassador Zulu added her hope that the AU, through its own structures, can find how it prioritises issues of peace and security, since any instability prevents development. The Ambassador felt that of utmost importance was the problem of terrorism. The daily situations before Africans made clear the need to agree on a definition and prioritise their dealings with it.

SECOND SESSION

The second session focused on the ideas of peace, security and conflict and how it might be introduced into the Post-2015 development debate. It sought a deeper understanding of the relationship between peace and development and of what opportunities there are to introduce elements and indicators related to peace and security into what that development agenda is going to look like.

Ambassador Nozipho Mxakata-Diseko

The Ambassador stated that first and foremost it is important to answer the following questions:

- Why are Africans engaged in the construction of the Common African Position (CAP) on the Post-2015 Development Agenda?
- Where does the issue of the Post-2015 Development Agenda come from?
- Where is it going?

The Ambassador recognised that Africa had made improvements but still had far to go. She reiterated the need for the negotiating position to be finalised in order for African needs identified by Africans to be taken seriously by the world in order to promote development on the continent. *"Economists tell us that Africa is turning a corner but it is not at the tipping point"*, she said.

Indicating that the new AU Commissioner is also in the process of galvanising the Continent to create a Vision 2063, the Ambassador described how a tight position would give Africans a clear negotiating position. She indicated that the question is how to craft a pure CAP that embodies the aspirations of the people. The African Union is not seen as an entity with negotiating status. Pointing out the different strategies, she said that African negotiations tend to be about economic survival and also about holding on to development and the ability to chart Africa's destiny, while for developed countries it is about



reconfiguring comparative advantage. Citing an example to illustrate the extent of external interests involved in AU negotiations, the Ambassador said that when there is an AU summit, external stakeholders use their resources to influence decisions. She supported AU Chair Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma who had spoken out about this interference, and she commended Saferworld for producing a document on the Common African Position that listed this interference as a risk to the integrity of the position. The Ambassador urged Africans to realise how Africans needed to solve the continent's issues on their own through internal dialogue.

On the MDGs, the Ambassador felt it was important to highlight that development is a continuum. She felt society was aware that the MDGs are not a perfect blueprint for development but they served a very useful purpose of rallying the international community. She encouraged Africans to identify a path of development. The MDGs enabled institutions in Africa to re-focus and for new ones to arise. Civil society plays a vital role in contributing to dialogue on the MDGs in order that they hold leaders accountable, even if this is only possible in the form of dialogues. She also cautioned that the Common African Position must not include negotiating tricks, like those of the politics of language. The Common African Position would most likely be different from those of other institutions if it stayed true to itself.

She added that African leaders must be held accountable for development by the people. The people in turn must coach leaders to pace development and align themselves to realistic plans to accomplish them. She asked, *"So then for Africa (what) will peace and security look like (and) those things that we need for support in stabilising the continent?"* In the same vein, the Ambassador contextualised MDG peace and security goals as a matter of development and explained how donors of the African Peace and Security Organ had prevented any African action into Libya in 2011.

Posing the question of how Africans could seek to solve the conflict in CAR, the Ambassador asserted that Africans must take charge of the consolidation of peace and clear up unresolved issues while human rights are honoured. She showed how the developed countries favoured civil and political rights but explained that in South Africa, prioritisation of certain rights over others was impossible as the Constitution treated all rights equally. Socio-economic rights, she stressed, are a pre-condition for peace, which in turn reinforced the importance of the tangible goals that the MDGs provided. In addition, in order to improve its capacity, Africa must demand to have a predisposition globally; though it attempts to gain access to decision-making mechanisms of international bodies, this process is difficult due to a lack of finance.

The Ambassador reminded the participants of the workshop that development is no longer a charity but is a necessity for sustained recovery. The necessary transfer of technology required for women to enhance and build on some of the freedoms they have and also to wage even more struggle, can no longer be regarded as charity; It must included as a tangible goal under the means of implementation, building on the MDGs. Concluding she said that, since September 2015 was fast approaching, the UN Secretary-General was now preparing a report that would feed into this process, which member states would consider and decide what must go into the package of goals.

Professor Wendy Ngoma



Professor Ngoma commented on the role of the private sector in the context of education. She stated that part of the same coin was the issue of peace and stability as well as development, and that what this meant had to be defined by Africans. She indicated that she was inspired by the late president Nelson Mandela who had said, *"I dream of an Africa which is at peace with itself."* However, she reiterated the need for this wish to be extended to the world since there were so many conflicts occurring on the globe.

The role of the private sector has in the past been characterised by the 'pit to pot strategy'. The side effects of

the strategy have been violations of human rights, neglect of the environment and poor business ethics. She stated that she concurred with the UN Global Compact statement that says that *“(c)ompanies must realise that their ability to prosper and grow depends on the existence of a prosperous and sustainable society, and that social deprivation and ecological destruction can have negative material impacts on supply chain flows and employee productivity.”* The Professor added that productivity and sustainability were key elements in peace and stability.

She further mentioned that the role of business in the Post-2015 Agenda would be to promote sustainable development by including considerations such as inclusive growth, social equity and progress as well as environmental protection. An issue however, was that business schools do not contribute to the discussion of global issues and she believed that business education must change this position and include corporate values. Since profit is the main ideal upon which business education rests, it takes a lot of effort to introduce into the MBA programme a course on principles for education for responsible management that contextualises corporate values.

She indicated her hope that the private sector be encouraged to be more involved in discussions of this nature in order to change the current reigning attitudes and practises globally. In order for the private sector to be influenced in this direction, the Professor indicated that using the pool of human capital in one’s own region to partake in advocacy will bring about engagement of individuals on key issues and eventually form multi-sector and multi-stakeholder forums that can legitimise the principles that we think are relevant for our context and our continent.

Michelle Ndiayi Ntab

Ms Ntab asserted that for her, the Post-2015 Development Agenda debate symbolises the end of an era and the need to look forward. She said the MDGs had not been fully met and this had opened a window of opportunity for Africa to drive this process and look at a more inclusive development framework. In particular, Ntab recommended that Africa re-orientate unclear goals of democracy to suit an African vision.

She continued by posing questions on Agenda 2063 and highlighting the need to discuss what a ‘prosperous Africa’ would look like by rethinking the African Peace and Security Architecture and its ability to manage peace and security on the continent. She also indicated that Africa has fewer inter-conflicts than intra-conflicts, using the DRC, Somalia and other African states to highlight her point. She concluded by encouraging SADC-CNGO to come up with ideas for the way forward.



Responses from the Panel

Ambassador Mxakato-Diseko

Ambassador Mxakato-Diseko emphasised that illicit financial flows is not new for Africa. In the 1960s, African heads of state, development writers and others were pointing out that there was problem, in the sense that Africa was losing income because of the operations of the Multi National Corporations. Concerns voiced at the time were that if one were to deal with it, inward investment would decline. She queried how Africa could support growth and finance peace-building mechanisms in a way that benefits Africans. She reiterated the role of the United Nations Security Council as the primary instrument establishing peace.

Michelle Ndiaye Ntab

Ms Ntab asserted that civil society need not be given power, but needed to recognise the need to consider issues of justice in order for opportunities of peace and development to open up. She indicated that most

NGO and INGO funding is from overseas and that is why community-based organisations and NGOs/INGOs are often accused of driving someone else's agenda.

Professor Wendy Ngoma

Professor Ngoma asserted that human resource development is a multi-pronged strategy and that organs of society need to be clear about the needs of a country. All kinds of institutions are able to respond to the economic needs of a country and they should be given space to do so.

Ambassador Mxakato-Diseko

Ambassador Mxakato-Diseko quoted a 2063 letter from Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma written as if to Kwame Nkrumah, that said: *"After we've done our work, there's freedom of movement, we are thriving, we are prospering, and children are educated."* She then stated that there is one Africa, and indicated that with norms and standards, such as the African Peer Review Mechanism, in place more and more people are beginning to speak a common language on governance. She concluded by posing a question of how Africa can pull together with civil society; holding to the ideal and pushing governments to achieve those ideals while advocating policy choices.

Conclusion

Richard Smith, SALO

Mr Smith summarised all the speeches and thanked all the speakers as well as the supporters of SALO including Irish Aid, the Norwegian Embassy and Denmark, and appreciated the partnership established with Saferworld.

The analysis and recommendations included in this Policy Dialogue Report do not necessarily reflect the view of SALO or any of the donors or conference participants, but rather draw upon the major strands of discussion put forward at the event. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this document. The contents of the report are the sole responsibility of SALO, and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the donors who provided financial assistance for this policy dialogue session.

About the Southern African Liaison Office:

The Southern African Liaison Office (SALO) is a South African-based not-for-profit civil society organisation which, through advocacy, dialogue, policy consensus and in-depth research and analysis, influences the current thinking and debates on foreign policy especially regarding African crises and conflicts.

This event forms part of the SALO Policy Dialogue Series.

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