



Liaison, Dialogue and Research

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The Southern African Liaison Office (NPC)

Liesbeek House, River Park,
Gloucester Road, Mowbray, Cape Town 7700

Tel: +27 (021) 680 5306

Email: info@salo.org.za

www.salo.org.za

[@salo_info](https://twitter.com/salo_info)

Policy Brief

19 August 2021, Zoom Platform

SALO Women's Month Regional Public Dialogue

**SALO REGIONAL PUBLIC
MULTI-STAKEHOLDER
WOMEN'S MONTH DIALOGUE**

**THURSDAY 19 AUGUST
11:00 TO 13:00 (CAT)**

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LIVESTREAM:
facebook.com/saloinfo



ROSHAN DADOO
COORDINATOR OF SA BDS
COALITION AND FORMER
DIRECTOR OF CORMSA
SOUTH AFRICA



COLANI B. HLATJWAKO
AFRICA REGIONAL
COORDINATOR, ONE
BILLION RISING CAMPAIGN
ESWATINI



JESTINA MUKOKO
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
ZPP
ZIMBABWE



Executive Summary

SALO hosted a regional Women's Month Public Dialogue on 19 August 2021. This dialogue explored recent developments as well as deep-seated structural problems from women's perspectives and experiences in Zimbabwe, South Africa, and eSwatini. The speakers highlighted issues of migrant women, the political exclusion of women, gendered political violence, and gender-based violence. Speakers included **Jestina Mukoko** (Zimbabwe; Director of the Zimbabwe Peace Project), **Roshan Dadoo** (South Africa; Coordinator of SA BDS Coalition and former director of CoRMSA), and **Colani B. Hlatjwako** (eSwatini; Africa Regional Coordinator of the One Billion Rising Campaign).

Context/Importance of the Problem

SALO held this dialogue in the context of Women's Month which takes place in August in South Africa. It is intended to pay tribute to the more than 20 000 women who, on the 9th of August 1956, marched to the Union Buildings to protest the Apartheid regime's extension of the pass laws to women. August was declared by the South African government as Women's Month, and August 9th is celebrated as Women's Day. This year's theme was: *"The year of Charlotte Manny Maxeke: Realising Women's Rights"*.

According to the South African government,

*"Women's Month allows us to gauge how far we have come in transforming society, particularly the transformation of unequal power relations between women and men, while also focusing on and addressing gender oppression, patriarchy, sexism, racism, ageism, structural oppression, and creating a conducive environment which enables women to take control of their lives."*¹

SALO believes that amplifying women's voices in South Africa and across the region is important to deepen the understanding of women's lived experiences and the issues that they face across the region. This is a stepping stone to reaching regional and ultimately global equality for women.

¹ South African Government. 2021. Women's Month. Available: <https://www.gov.za/WomensMonth2021> [insert date]

The political exclusion of women in eSwatini

eSwatini's political system

Colani B. Hlatjwako focused her address on the political exclusion of women in eSwatini as a structural mechanism of keeping women out of decision-making processes. She started by giving an overview of the political system in eSwatini. She explained that eSwatini is ruled under the Tinkhundla system of governance, which is a system based on traditional administrative divisions. Currently, eSwatini has 59 constituencies, which are also called Tinkhundla, in the four districts of the country. Political parties were banned in 1973.

She continued to explain that eSwatini has ratified several key international and regional protocols that are aimed at promoting equality and advancing women in eSwatini, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). eSwatini is also party to the African Charter on Women's Rights, known as the Maputo protocol, and to the SADC Protocol on gender and development. At the national level, the Swati Constitution provides for a 30% quota of women representation, which is below the SADC Protocol commitment of 50%. The Constitution also provides an equality clause/policy of non-discrimination of men and women in all spheres.

The discrimination of women at all levels

However, women in eSwatini are discriminated against at all levels, including participation in decision-making processes, which is key in the governance of the country. She stressed how eSwatini has experienced a regression in women's participation in recent years.

This underrepresentation is concerning for the development of the country:

"It has also partly contributed to the serious political unrest we are facing in the country. It has contributed to the crumbling economy, the health and education crisis, the high level of poverty, the high unemployment rate, and the increase in gender-based violence, just to mention a few."

Despite the constitutional and legislative provisions to have at least 30% women in Parliament, this figure has dropped from 22% to 18% in the 2018 elections, which means that eSwatini has not attained the 30% that is enshrined in the Constitution. Women's representation in local government has also dropped from 18% to 14%. Clearly, there is a continued disregard of the Constitution and the laws that are aimed at promoting women's participation by the government and those in authority.

The election of women members to the House of Assembly Act prescribes that half of the members appointed by the King must be women. The law also provides that if the women

in the House of Assembly failed to reach the 30% mark, the House will form itself into an electoral college and nominate no more than four women for the four regional administrative districts. However, in the 2018 elections, only two women were voted into Parliament from the Tinkhundla or constituencies, and in line with the law, the House of Assembly nominated four women. The King only appointed one woman, which resulted in just seven women obtaining the seats. Altogether, women comprise 40% of senators. Overall, they constitute 18% of the total, which is below the 30% quota and well below the 50% target of the SADC protocol.

Women's political exclusion

Colani went on to explain that the women in Parliament are often constrained in their abilities because there are no terms of reference on how they will work.

“A question then is asked, is that not an exclusion of these women in decision-making? When we talk about women's participation, it is not only about being there, it is also about contributing to change. In this case, these four women were just there and unable to contribute to change because they don't have terms of reference.”

Another method of political exclusion of women are hindrances in the electoral process. Elections in eSwatini are based on individual representation, not a group such as in multiparty democracy countries. In a system where there is a multiparty democracy, women are in a place where they can get groomed for national leadership positions at a lower level and grow to compete for a leadership position at a higher level. This does not exist eSwatini, which puts women at a disadvantage.

Secondly, the negative cultural practices and traditions are a hindrance to women. eSwatini is deeply rooted in culture and traditions. The chiefs at the community level, who are footstools to the King and custodians of culture, strongly emphasise cultural and traditional beliefs. Under the Tinkhundla system, the constituencies where these Members of Parliament are elected are within the chiefdoms. The negative cultural practices in eSwatini perpetuate gender inequality. For example, the custom of *ubuzila* or mourning for when a woman's husband dies is a hindrance to the inclusion of women in decision-making. After one of the female minister's husband died, she was unable to carry out her duties as she was in the mourning period.

A study conducted by Women in Law in Southern Africa eSwatini in 2018 revealed that socialisation is the root cause of the perceptions and stereotypes that people have in eSwatini against women being in decision-making positions. Although Swatis believe that society has been enlightened, there are still reservations when it comes to certain positions such as the Prime Minister. It has always been a male appointed as Prime Minister.

Violence against women

In eSwatini, violence against women is used as a destructive tool to discourage women from participating in the political sphere. Often, when a woman is nominated for a political position, her husband will chastise her for standing for a position without his permission. The patriarchal nature of society allows for this type of behaviour to be accepted. Sometimes when a male relative of a woman in politics is nominated, she is forced to step down. Furthermore, if a woman stands for election, it is assumed that she is there to sleep with all the men in Parliament, and there is a notion that women's politics is a dirty game.

Migrant Women in South Africa

The History of Women's Month and the Pass Laws in South Africa

Roshan Dadoo started her address by reflecting on the history of Women's Month in South Africa. In 1956, 20 000 women self-organised under the banner of the Federation of South African Women to protest the extension of pass laws to women. The march went to the Union Buildings and bundles of petitions were left on Prime Minister Strydom's doorstep as he refused to meet the women or look at the petitions.

However, this was not the first time that women had organised against pass laws. Attempts have been made as far back as 1913 in the Orange Free State to force black women to carry passes. The government then decided that women working in urban areas must have passes that would be renewed monthly to enable them to continue working. The reaction to this included protests, petitions, marches and civil disobedience, and many women went to prison. In the end, the government gave up. It was only in the 1950s that the apartheid regime revisited the idea of getting women to carry passes and to implement influx control over women, particularly those moving to urban areas.

Roshan added that it is interesting that the issuing of permits began in the Western Cape, which the government had designated a 'coloured preference area' within the boundaries established by the government. No African workers could be hired unless the Department of Labour determined that coloured workers were not available. 'Foreign Africans', as they were called, would be removed from the area altogether.

"I think this history is important because I'm sure we can all see – and it's not comfortable to see – how these colonial, and later apartheid divisions, classifications, and restrictions on movement placed on the different categories of persons still plays out in our contemporary fractures in our society... many of the ways in which we classify people, and the ways in which we then view ourselves and others, have not really disappeared, sadly."

It is important to highlight and remember the spirit of resistance of South Africa's women against pass laws and the history of South African women standing up for what is right and rejecting discrimination.

South Africa's Preoccupation with Documentation

Roshan continued by pointing out the history of the preoccupation of documentation in South Africa and that these sentiments have not yet disappeared. The COVID-19 pandemic is a topical way of looking at the issue of documentation:

“Of course, it's wonderful that the vaccine rollout has finally got going, that we have the vaccines, that they are being given for free at the point of need at both public and private facilities; but why do we need to put an ID number in to register? Immediately, this means all people who are undocumented, which includes a large number of South Africans as well as non-nationals, can't register.”

Although the South African government has indicated that everyone in the country can be vaccinated, the requirement to register creates confusion. This can also create fear in some people who are undocumented as they are reluctant to make this known to the authorities, which means they will not receive the vaccine. This is a problem, as the virus will be more easily transmitted when a large part of those living in South Africa are unvaccinated. Documentation, in this sense, hinders population immunity and is unnecessary.

These requirements, as well as falsehoods often stated by government officials, converges the idea of the ‘*South Africans First*’ movement which starts from the assumption that there are undeserving others in our midst who are taking things from South Africans, or using up services, meaning there are less for citizens.

“So, in this sense, I don't think we have overcome the mentality of the pass laws [or] seeing documentation as a means to discriminate rather than to ensure access for all. Although our ID system did in many ways make us a unitary nation, and of course, we no longer have a race group stipulated in our IDs, it's still frequently used to discriminate against migrants.”

Gendered Political Violence in Zimbabwe

Jestina Mukoko structured her address around the gendered nature of political violence in Zimbabwe. She added that this is particularly important as Zimbabwe has less than 24 months before the next elections, where instances of political violence usually skyrocket.

“Violence against women in politics is pervasive in Zimbabwe. It's actually a thorn in the flesh, especially at elections, where the road to political office and the simple exercise of one's rights as a woman is riddled with pitfalls.”

Zimbabwe's Constitution

Zimbabwe's Constitution is clear when it comes to the required participation of women. Section 17 provides for equal representation of both genders in all institutions and agencies of government at every level. Section 56 states that women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural, and social spheres. Section 80 states that every woman has full and equal dignity of the person and this includes equal opportunities in political, economic, and social activities. This includes marginalised women, such as those that are living with disabilities.

These constitutional requirements are lacking when it comes to implementation:

“When we are looking at how all these provisions are made practical, we recognise that there is some kind of a logjam, as women are far from enjoying these rights which could broaden and facilitate their participation in politics.”

As the Constitution stands, nothing stops women from participating, but provisions are not being enforced and those violating them are not held accountable. Furthermore, the individual constitutions of political parties have voluntary quotas for women's participation, which makes it difficult for women to claim equal representation in the political parties that they are members of. Social norms are also prohibiting women from participation. Women often explain that it is seen as taboo for them to be in the constituencies, as men perceive this as them wanting to overtake them. When women are in constituencies and are elected to Parliament, they are blamed for getting a free ride due to the quota system.

The culture of Violence in Zimbabwean Politics

Women are both directly and indirectly victims of violence in politics. This includes physical violence such as murder when they or their partners try to climb the political ladder, abduction, severe torture, sexual assault, and rape. Male political opponents have turned Zimbabwean women's bodies into battlegrounds:

“When I'm talking about their bodies being made into a battleground, you will find that political enemies will get back at each other... Let's say the one has fled violence, and he has left his homestead. When the opponent comes to the homestead... they get back at their opponent by indecently assaulting the wife or the girl child within the homestead... or they could be gang-raped as a result of their husbands being involved in politics.”

In Zimbabwe, those who are supposed to assist and defend women against the violence that they experience are complicit in the perpetration of violence, owing largely in this case to the thin line between the state and the ruling party. Furthermore, women often do

not report their cases and will suffer trauma as they do not have anywhere safe to report because they will not be taken seriously or prioritised by the police.

Discrimination is further gendered when it comes to food and other aid that are distributed. Women who attempt to enter public office and other positions in their communities are often deliberately prohibited from accessing aid. This subjects women to violence in their homes as they fail to guarantee food security for the family. The distribution of food and other aid has also seen women suffering or facing the demand for sexual favours in return for securing food.

Another issue is cyberbullying. With the advent of social media and digital spaces, women in politics have been subjected to ridicule, threats, and harassment. Obscenities are often hailed at women on digital platforms. Women in politics' pasts are often dragged into the public domain, yet the same is not done for men. Some women have complained of waking up one day and realising that they have been removed from the WhatsApp groups of their respective political parties.

A further issue for women in Zimbabwe is that of undocumented women who do not have identity cards. This problem begins with them not having birth certificates. If a woman does not have an identity document, she cannot register with the nomination court to be elected to office, and she is also disenfranchised during elections as she will not be able to vote without documentation. This is a huge problem that needs to be dealt with that prevents women from participating in politics.

Jestina also shared a story of a 14-year-old girl called Memory Machaya who died in childbirth in Zimbabwe and how this incident points out a systematic problem:

“... we have had Memory Machayas in the past. As women and citizens in Zimbabwe, we are saying we have had it and we are not going to tolerate any more victims in the manner that we have lost Memory Machaya. These religious and cultural old men just need to recognise that they cannot be raping our girls. We want our girls to go to school. We want them to be able to play as children.”

Questions and Comments from the Participants

- **Question from Facebook:** *“On Ms Dadoo's presentation regarding documentation as a form of discrimination in an environment where the political landscape has changed significantly post-apartheid; how do we reconfigure strategies of activism to institute meaningful change for migrants or for the undeserving others?”*
- **Ineke Stemmet, SALO:** *“The political violence that [Jestina] was speaking about is [informed by] stereotypical ways of looking at women... Political violence then*

also informs more stereotypes. So, I was just wondering, how do we break free from this cycle of stereotypes which then reinforces gender inequality?”

- **Pamhidzai Thaka:** “My question is for Colani. She talked about when [a woman's] husband dies, and [she is] in Parliament, they are forced to step down. How long is the mourning period, or [are they] automatically removed from Parliament? I thought that was very discriminatory, what do you think can be done?” **and**
- “[In Zimbabwe] a lot is happening lately because of COVID-19. I’m scared. Jestina is saying you don't know how things are going to be, because given the fact that the lockdowns keep [being extended], the degree of gender-based violence is increasing. So, I think she mentioned that we need a multistakeholder approach; that would actually help us to [address] all these [issues]. I’m scared myself during this current lockdown. How is it [going to be] in the next electoral cycle?”
- **Question from Facebook:** “Both eSwatini and Zimbabwe have elections coming up respectively. What are the strides being taken to ensure women’s participation and involvement in these pivotal moments?”
- **Ambassador Fionnoula Gilsenan:** “...a number of us who are providing resources, particularly in Zimbabwe and also here in South Africa, tend to do that through organisations and projects. Sometimes I just wonder to what degree we're really supporting the broader process and the broader women's movement if you like. Just thinking about the run-up to elections, whether it's local elections here in South Africa or the elections in Zimbabwe, how are we part of a broader strategy around ensuring women's representation at the local [and] national level so that these projects or organisations that we invest in add up to something more than simply the sum of their parts? So again, how do we work to provide protection of rights and secure women's rights in these situations?”
- **Lily Manoim, SALO:** “It's very clear that there are a lot of issues facing women all around the region. A lot of them are very similar. There's a clear need for solidarity among women, but how do we make that possible? What does regional solidarity amongst women look like, and how could it be possible to make it happen?”
- **Rindai Kahimbaara:** “I would like to kind of get an idea of what the thoughts are around getting the government in the different countries to implement quotas that are [there] because the law does provide for it and it's still not happening. So, what can we do, and what should we be doing to make sure that those quotas are met, and women are going to be put in those positions of power?”
- **Jordan Dittmar, SALO:** “Something that stood out to me that Jestina said was that the people that are supposed to be upholding representation for women and implementing it are actually those that sometimes are committing violations against women. I think we've seen this specifically in eSwatini, with the police – their actions against the youth. I just wanted to ask; how do we solve that problem?”

How do we make sure that the people that are supposed to be helping and representing women are doing so?"

- **Dr Janet Munakamwe:** *"I always ask myself, [what] about those women who are running away from religious practices such as the one that has taken a toll on many young girls like Memory in Zimbabwe? Would the asylum system allow applications based on gender-based violence, and of course, religious practices? How best could we collaborate with women in Zimbabwe and [eSwatini], where we know all these atrocities [are] taking place? South Africa, of course, being a constitutional democracy where we have the privilege and luxury to protest against this; how do we leverage our strength as a united force to [deal with] the atrocities against women in Botswana, [eSwatini], Zimbabwe, Lesotho, [or] Mozambique, [and so on]?"*

Responses from Panelists

Roshan Dadoo

Answering the question on **strategies for activism:**

"This sort of regional dialogue, seeing ourselves as all together facing similar issues, and the way that impacts on us travelling between the countries in our region, is really good. I did think that the campaigning around public health responses, whether it was HIV/AIDS or malaria, where the message was: 'mosquitoes don't stop at the border - it doesn't make sense to have a health program that is just one side of the border when the mosquitoes are buzzing between'; those sorts of things make us realise that we're actually all facing similar challenges, and we all, therefore, should have access to, for instance, healthcare, whether we're on this side of a colonial border or that side. It's something we need to keep revisiting, how do we try to change our mindsets around the fact that some people are deserving of certain things and rights, and others aren't because they're somehow so different? I think that we need to challenge ourselves as South Africans."

and

"We do need to think back to the women's march to Pretoria. Maybe we need to be out on the streets again. What would be brilliant – and I think it did happen a little bit with eSwatini – is if we went to the borders with Zimbabwe and we had a protest on both sides as women saying we've had enough of the patriarchy, we've had enough of gender-based violence everywhere. Maybe that's what we need to think of doing as women, coming together around these issues and saying, it's not

to do with whether we're in this country or that country, this is something that's affecting us all."

Jestina Mukoko

In order to break the **cycle of violence**,

"There need to be efforts in terms of our leaders. When I was talking about hate language, we recognise that they [the leaders] are the ones who are the culprits. What we have recognised in Zimbabwe is that people perpetrate violence without consequences. I'm sure that if there are sanctions that are costly [for] people [who] continue to perpetuate violence, we will see this disappearing. [Instead], we have a situation where others [are not] made to account for their actions, and there is this selective application of the law. If the laws applied to all Zimbabweans in the same way, I'm sure that we would be able to break this cycle of political violence."

In terms of what **strides are being made**,

"I am aware of colleagues that [are currently] campaigning for 50-50 to ensure that women are there in public office, that they participate in decision making, and that they are elected to office. We are fully rallying behind those campaigns to say that we need to get more women coming in and participating in politics and getting as many women as possible who will be able to exercise their right to vote. In this case, I'm also looking at young people who need to be making that inroad in terms of them exercising their rights."

Answering the questions of the **quota of women's implementation and solidarity**:

"In Zimbabwe, there are organisations that have taken the matter of representation of women in different institutions to the courts. I am not sure where that case is at, but it's something that has been taken up to ensure that provisions of the Constitution are abided by. So, I'm sure that's an avenue that we could use."

"I think in terms of the issue of solidarity, it's something we have seen that I think is common across a lot of the countries, especially in the SADC region. I'm sure that women could rally around each other to assist each other raise and advocate for the participation of women. I believe that this presentation here is also contributing to [building] solidarity around the issues of ensuring that women participate in politics and that they are not elbowed out, because I think a lot of constitutions and international protocols are also in support of having more women participate in politics, exercise their rights in the manner that they see fit, and exercise their right to vote."

In response to Ambassador Gilseman:

“The other challenge that we are facing in Zimbabwe is the closing of civic space for all of us who are involved in human rights work – NGOs, CBOs [etc.] I think the walls are caving in on us, and it makes it very difficult for us to work around some of the arrangements that we wanted to make ...ahead of the elections.”

Answering the question about **police complicity in violence**:

“Our call is that the police and other institutions need to go back to their mandate that is stipulated in the Constitution, that says that they are supposed to protect life and property. When it is selective application of the law, it defeats the purpose.”

Policy critiques

- Despite eSwatini being party to the SADC Protocol for gender and development, which commits to a 50% representation of women, the Swati Constitution only provides for a 30% quota of women representation.
- Women elected to eSwatini’s Parliament have no terms of reference of how they should conduct their duties.
- eSwatini’s lack of multiparty democracy and banning of political parties disadvantages women who attempt to participate in politics.
- Traditions in eSwatini, such as the *ubuzila* mourning period, disadvantage women’s participation in politics.
- South Africa’s vaccine registration policy creates confusion among migrants and undocumented people and will inhibit people from getting their vaccinations.
- Child marriage in Zimbabwe is very harmful to girls’ well-being and futures.
- Security structures and police in Zimbabwe do not take women’s cases seriously.

Policy Recommendations

The Way Forward

There is a proposal from Colani’s organisation, One Billion Rising, in solidarity with other movements, organisations, and stakeholders that proposes the following:

1. eSwatini needs a multiparty democracy. This would ensure a pluralistic state which allows the freedom of choice in political contestation and activity.
2. eSwatini needs a new democratic Constitution that, among other things, will enforce gender parity and youth participation at all levels.
3. There is also a need to have legislation that will enforce a 50-50 representation and makes provisions for other marginalised groups.
4. There is a need for a total unbanning of political parties.

5. eSwatini should declare gender-based violence as a national emergency.
6. There is a need for an all-inclusive political dialogue where women and all other groups and sectors must be included. Women should build consensus on what they would like these discussions to achieve to speak with one strong voice.
7. More young women should be trained on conflict resolution and mediation in eSwatini.

Jestina had the following recommendations for how to deal with the political exclusion of women in Zimbabwe:

1. Political parties must be clear and firm about their commitment to ensuring that women participate in politics.
2. The cost of political violence should be high and perpetrators should account for their actions.
3. Political party quota systems should move from being voluntary and should be reinforced when candidates register with the nomination court.
4. Provisions of the Constitution should be adhered to and those who breach them should be made to account.
5. Women must be supported to ensure that they have all the necessary documents that they require to be able to register to be voted into office, and for them to exercise their right to vote.
6. Institutions that have been set up to promote the participation of women should be sincere and have the political will to ensure that more women participate in politics. It should not be a question of simply ticking boxes.
7. As the country heads towards elections, it should prioritise women and other citizens to receive registration documents

Roshan ended her input in the following way:

“To end, [let us] look back at the amazing mobilisation of women as early as 1913, and then again in the 1950s when women came together collectively to protest the pass laws. Let's not be like Strydom, [who did not even bother] to collect the petition, scared to address the thousands of women outside his office. Let's be the country that we fought for. One that does not stop ... at colonial borders, as we heard about the situation for women in eSwatini. Let's be inspired by our mothers, our grandmothers, and maybe even if the younger people here had great, great, great grandmothers, for their determination and courage. Let's continue to fight for South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it.”

Conclusion

The dialogue reiterated the need to continue efforts to amplify women's voices and commit resources to push for meaningful access, opportunities, and political reach for

women. There is a long way to go to ensure meaningful participation for women in politics beyond nominal representation through quotas. Although legislation has been ratified, as in eSwatini and Zimbabwe and other countries in the region, there is a lack of implementation at the national level. At a grassroots level, women's participation in politics is even direr. Culturally, women are also restricted and oftentimes forced to step down from political forums or engaging in political life. Systematically, it can also be argued that women's political agency is often tied to that of men, and again, that repeatedly, their political participation is viewed from a very sexist and patriarchal lens, which can be seen as a means to tightly control their ability to engage in the space and enact change, but also, sometimes it can manifest in physical violence – and women's and girls' bodies become sites of violence.

The speakers highlighted that there is very little space for recourse, accountability, and justice when women's rights are violated. People that are engaging in violence against women should be held accountable. South Africa and the region have a rich history and tradition of women's mobilisation to access rights for all, as far as 1913, and likely even before then. To move away from unfair legal practices and processes of inclusion, we need to continue that tradition and move away from the notion of the undeserving others.

The analysis and recommendations included in this Policy Brief 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 brief 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.

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