

The Tswalu Dialogues





THE TSWALU DIALOGUES provide African decision-makers and other stakeholders with a unique opportunity to discuss issues of concern to continental development and security in an informal setting.

Held in May every year in a game reserve in the remote Kalahari, the Dialogues are attended by invited policy-makers, diplomats, policy analysts, military strategists, academics, journalists, and business people. Previously prepared discussion papers are presented, followed by relaxed but intensive discussions. The papers and the event itself may be cited, but the discussions are off the record.

The Tswalu Dialogues began in 2002 as an initiative of Jennifer and Jonathan Oppenheimer in conjunction with the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). In 2004, SAIIA invited the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI) to join it as organising partner. The newly established Brenthurst Foundation became involved in 2005. Since then, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), the Rajaratnam School

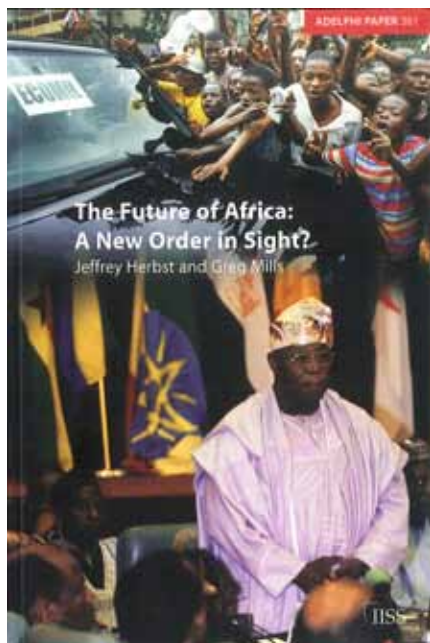
of International Studies (RSIS), the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), Business Leadership South Africa, the Moshe Dayan Centre, and the Gulf Reservoir Center (GRC) joined in this endeavour.

The Tswalu Dialogues held thus far have reinforced the value of forging consensus among diverse stakeholders in quiet, informal settings, where vested positions yield more easily to the recognition of shared interests and mutual respect. They have focused on the following themes:

- 2002: The logic of stability and prosperity in Africa
- 2003: Africa's big states
- 2004: The impact on Africa of the war in Iraq
- 2005: The relationship between trade, development and security
- 2006: Differentiating Africa
- 2007: The African military in the 21st century
- 2008: Global lessons from conflict resolution
- 2009: The think-tank and advisory business

2002-3

The future of Africa: a new order in sight?



**The Future of Africa:
A New Order in Sight?**

Dr Greg Mills and
Professor Jeffrey Herbst

International Institute for Strategic Studies
and Oxford University Press, 2005

MAY 2005 SAW the publication of *The Future of Africa: A New Order in Sight?* (International Institute for Strategic Studies and Oxford University Press), by Dr Greg Mills and Professor Jeffrey Herbst.

Loosely based on earlier Tswalu Dialogues, it assesses events in Africa in recent years, and charts the continent's development trajectory. It reviews the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Union, posits that African development is increasingly characterised by differentiation between states, and suggests what must be done for African countries to improve their growth and security fortunes.



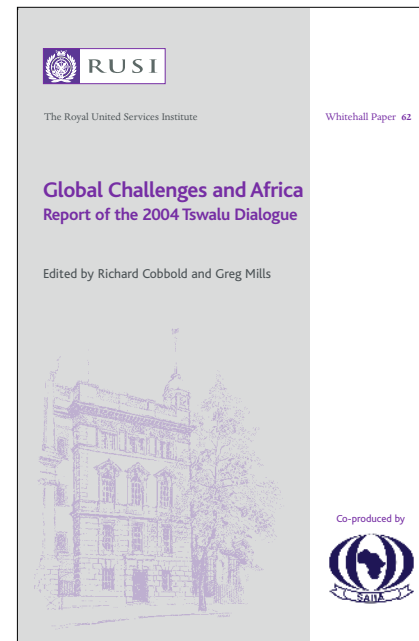
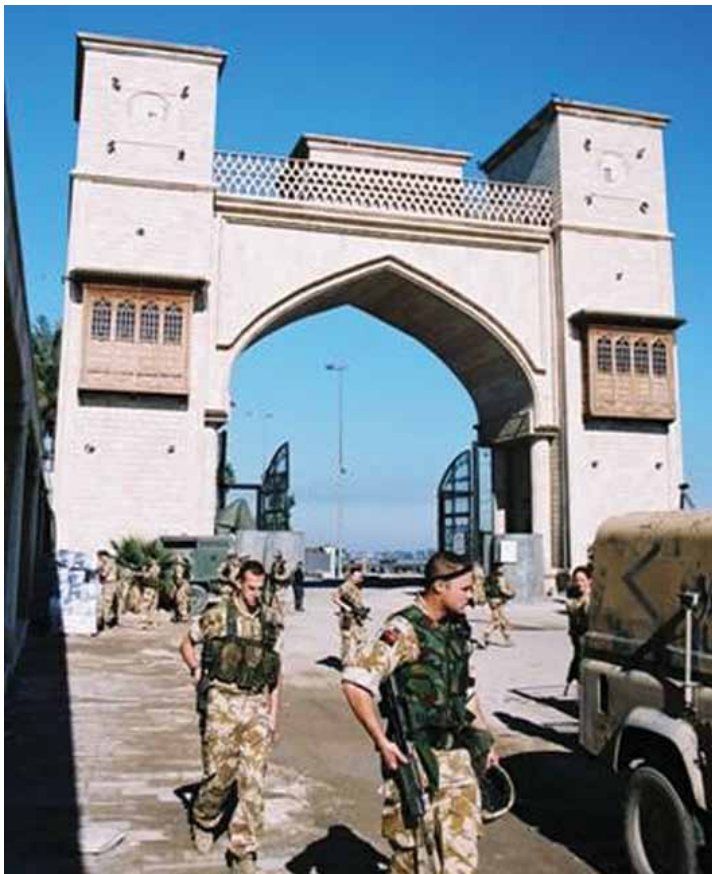
2004

The impact on Africa of the war in Iraq

THIS THEME WAS chosen in response to the deepening crisis in Iraq and the Middle East, as well as growing concerns about Western perceptions of Africa and African perceptions of the West.

In order to examine recent models of external intervention in African conflicts, and explore new international policy responses to crises on the continent, the Dialogue sought greater participation from top military officials and non-state actors, including business leaders.

Papers were presented on democratisation in Africa; African security challenges and responses; and the impact of global developments on the continent.



Global Challenges and Africa: Bridging Divides, Dealing with Perceptions, Rebuilding Societies

Edited by Richard Cobbold
and Greg Mills

Whitehall Paper no 62
The Royal United Services Institute
25 August 2004



2005

Trade, development and security in Africa

THE 2005 TSWALU Dialogue was held some two months before the opening of the G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, on 6 July 2005, which focused on African development.

Discussions at the summit centred on how to accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goals, especially in Africa, which has the furthest to go to achieve these targets by 2015.

African leaders attending the summit set out their personal commitments to drive plans to promote economic growth, strengthen good governance, strengthen democratic institutions and processes, act against corruption, remove obstacles to intra-African trade, and bring about lasting peace and security across the continent. In return, the G8 agreed on a comprehensive plan to support Africa's progress.

In anticipation, the fourth Tswalu Dialogue considered the imperative for Africa of the three interconnected strands of global diplomacy: trade, development, and security. In 15 prepared papers and subsequent discussions, participants focused on the commitments, conditions, and capacity needed for delivering stability, security, and development in Africa.

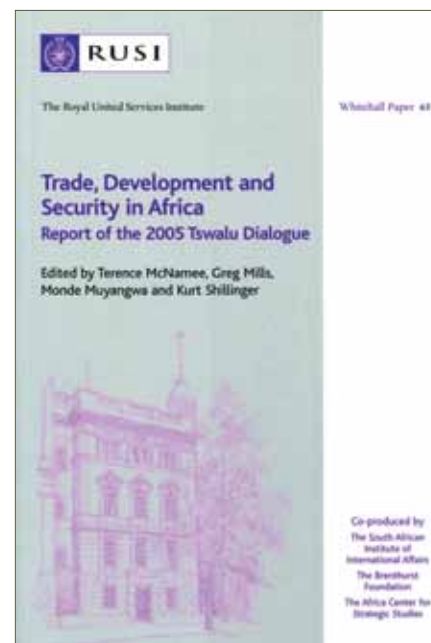
Overall the Dialogue reflected the growing international consensus around Africa's developmental challenges. Areas of agreement included:

Africa must take the lead in solving its own problems.

The cornerstone of progress is good governance.

National, regional and continental institutions will not necessarily solve Africa's problems.

While the integration of post-apartheid South Africa with the rest of the continent had led to a proliferation of continental structures, they must now be made to function effectively.



Trade, Development and Security in Africa

Report of the 2005 Tswalu Dialogue

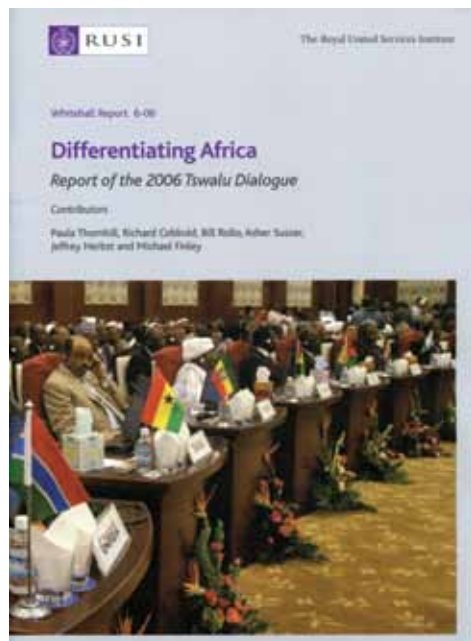
Edited by Terence McNamee, Greg Mills,
Monde Muyangwa and Kurt Shillinger

Whitehall Paper 65

The Royal United Services Institute, 2005

2006

Differentiating Africa



Differentiating Africa

Report of the 2006 Tswalu Dialogue

Contributors: Paula Thornhill,
Richard Cobbold, Bill Rollo, Asher Susser,
Jeffrey Herbst and Michael Finley

Whitehall Report 6-06
The Royal United Services Institute, 2006

AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS need to recognise that regional institutions are no substitute for strong states.

The theme for 2006 braided together local and external concerns in identifying strategies for stability, recovery and development, and learning from past successes and failures. Many external strategies for African engagement take sweeping views of Africa, rather than the more differentiated perspectives that are demanded by the varying situations of African states.

Participants considered the means required to reinforce the success of those African states that have successfully pursued reforms, and identified the lessons from the recovery; examined the past record of Western policy engagement with Africa; considered some of the lessons from Asia and elsewhere in this context; and established what can be done about those African countries considered to be weak, failing, or failed states. Finally, they considered strategies for successful reform.

Recommendations

Strengthen links with the diaspora, including the creation of special investment vehicles.

Create an African efficiency index, including the time taken to ship and transport imports and exports, and the time and costs associated with the movement of skilled people.

Mobilise domestic capital by expanding the range of financial instruments.

Employ technology to reduce customs and border formalities and costs.

Set a timetable and work plan to achieve a continent-wide free trade area by 2012.

2007

The African military in the 21st century

THE 2007 DIALOGUE focused on the roles, shape and structure of the African military of the 21st century. This topic was regarded as important for several reasons.

First, security and stability is an essential prerequisite for development. Second, numerous African countries still face short- or medium-term security threats. Third, the African Union has undertaken to perform a range of security-related tasks on the continent, including diplomacy, peace support operations, and humanitarian assistance. These responsibilities will grow as western militaries are unlikely to provide even a small percentage of the peacekeepers the continent will need.

Fourth, the number of democracies in Africa has increased substantially in recent years, creating new challenges in respect of civil-military relations. Finally, there are concerns about the ability of African militaries to deal with 21st century security issues – notably countering terrorism and rebuilding failed states – and employ appropriate technological tools.

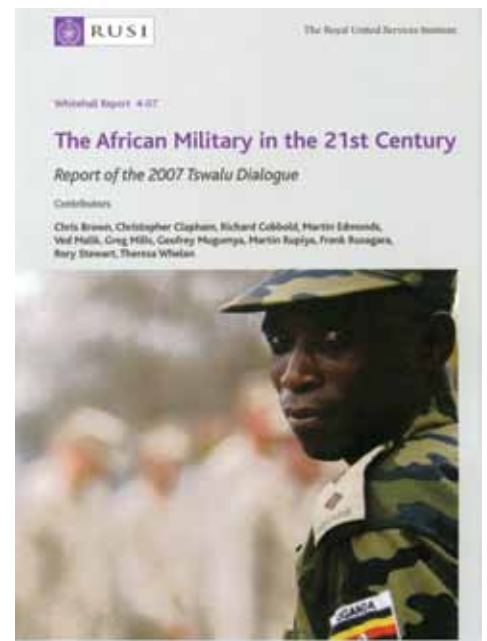
Insights

Policy-makers and others must be realistic about what the military can achieve, especially with regard to peace-building missions.

There is a growing role for technology, especially in gathering intelligence, but technology cannot replace boots on the ground.

To deal with anti-military sentiment, the management of perceptions is crucial.

It is important to distinguish between tactical and strategic issues facing African militaries in multinational operations; between questions of tactics, training, equipment, communications on the one hand, and the wider questions of mandate and the political and diplomatic goals of military interventions on the other.



The African Military in the 21st Century

Report of the 2007 Tswalu Dialogue

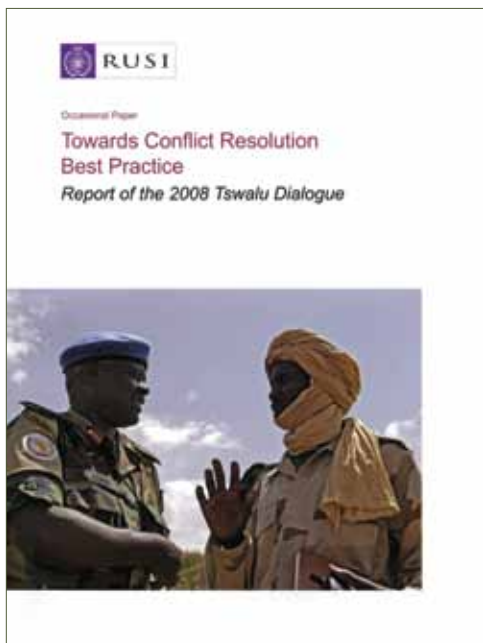
Contributors: Chris Brown, Christopher Clapham, Richard Cobbod, Martin Edmonds, Ved Malik, Greg Mills, Geoffrey Mugumya, Martin Rupiya, Frank Rupiya, Frank Rusagara, Rory Stewart, Theresa Whelan

Whitehall Report 4-07

The Royal United Services Institute, 2007

2008

Towards conflict resolution best practice



Towards Conflict Resolution Best Practice

Report of the 2008 Tswalu Dialogue

RUSI Occasional Paper

The Royal United Services Institute, 2008

THE 2008 DIALOGUE examined a range of international case studies relevant to developing best practice in respect of conflict resolution and management.

In a keynote address, Terrence Lyons examined lessons from conflict in Africa and studies of conflict resolution. He observed that there is no type of conflict unique to Africa – that is, global comparisons are always possible. However, Africa can be set apart because of its relatively new state system, and because the process of state-building itself tends to be violent. Factors likely to have an impact on conflict resolution in Africa include inter-ethnic rivalry, the competition for resources, and the nature of third-party involvement, which could have a positive or negative effect.

Insights

There has to be a real basis for an internal settlement. All parties should realise that they face the same problems, that they want peace rather than war, and that they are therefore prepared to compromise rather than continue the conflict.

United and relatively peaceful international and regional communities are necessary in which different outside parties can bring pressure to bear on rival domestic parties. A region at war is unlikely to produce a state at peace.

External actors should offer follow-up resources, notably in respect of peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building.

While external facilitators or mediators can play an important role, local talent should be developed, and local solutions pursued. Without a clear role, and the necessary skills, external mediators can move from offering assistance to becoming part of the problem.

Political programmes should be accompanied by plans for demobilising and integrating the armed forces, and rebuilding the local economy, to give everyone a real stake in peace.

Solutions should be as inclusive as possible. Therefore, democracy is a preferred mode of government, but is not the only model, and can have unintended (and violent) consequences.

2009

The think tank and advisory business in Africa

THE PROSPECT OF African development depends on responsible and responsive governments and effective and skilled administrations. While recent increases in aid will help to provide some of the necessary finance, civil society has an important role to play in helping governments to formulate and implement effective policies that will stabilise their societies and stimulate economic growth.

Against this background, the 2009 Tswalu Dialogue focused on the role of think-tanks and other advisory institutions in Africa and elsewhere, in a number of different sectors: peace and security, foreign affairs, economic development, conflict resolution, and trade. Representatives of think-tanks, individual consultants and advisors, and their clients (governments, civil society, media, and business) were asked to identify areas and approaches where there have been particular successes and failures, and the benefits of certain methods and the weaknesses of others.

Participants then sought to identify best practice for think-tanks and advisory businesses in Africa.

Insights

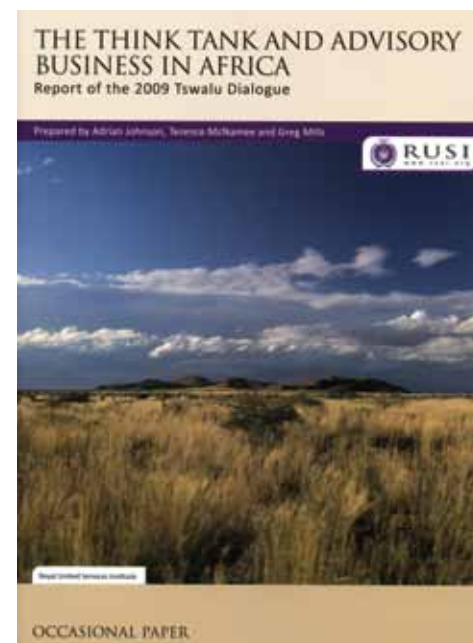
Donor funding for think-tanks has become a key element of aid strategy. This also provides a soft form of good governance conditionality. Good data and analysis are essential, as hard statistics are lacking in Africa.

Think-tanks should forge linkages among governments, multilateral organisations, business, and academia.

Think-tanks should cultivate personal entrances into policy corridors, but should retain a critical distance. They should be close to government, but not too close.

Think-tanks should differentiate their activities and products from those of others, and their reports should be clear, concise, and action-oriented.

Participants noted that utilising international networks and expertise can redress the intellectual gap between African government ministries and international organisations. African civil servants cannot compete with the vast analytical resources of foreign organisations such as the World Bank. Harnessing outside resources and capability can therefore mitigate this asymmetry in negotiations.



The Think Tank and Advisory Business in Africa

Report of the 2009 Tswalu Dialogue

Prepared by Adrian Johnson,
Terence McNamee and Greg Mills

RUSI Occasional Paper

The Royal United Services Institute, 2009