

**IS HIV/AIDS A THREAT TO POLITICAL STABILITY IN AFRICA?**

**September 16-18, 2002 Nairobi, Kenya.**

Organized by

African Academy of Sciences (AAS) & Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

**WORKSHOP SUMMARY**

## **Table of Contents**

Abbreviations	3
Forward	3
Objectives	4
Methodology	5
Background; Does HIV/AIDS pose a Political Risk in Africa?	6
Assumptions	8
Summary of Presentations;	9
Session 1: Individual Behavior	9
Session 2: Institutional Development	12
Session 3: Social Development	14
Session 4: Economic Development	16
Session 5: Electoral Process	19
Public Forum	21
Strategy for Engagement	21
Statement of Workshop	22
Appendix 1: Papers Presented	24
Appendix 2; List of Participants	25

**Abbreviations**

<b>AAS</b>	African Academy of Sciences
<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>CBO</b>	Community Based Organizations
<b>FES</b>	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
<b>HIV/AIDS</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>NEPAD</b>	New Partnership for Africa's Development
<b>NGO</b>	Non Governmental Organization
<b>STD</b>	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
<b>SSA</b>	sub-Saharan Africa
<b>UNAIDS</b>	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Education Fund

**Forward**

## **Objectives**

The African Academy of Sciences (AAS) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) organized a three-day workshop on the theme “Is HIV/AIDS a Threat to Political Stability in Africa? The workshop brought together a panel of experts from the Southern and Eastern Africa region researching on HIV/AIDS and its probable impact (on political stability) from a sectoral and geographical dimension.

The **major objectives** of the workshop was to:

- Provide an opportunity for sharing of country-specific information on HIV/AIDS as an initial step in coming to grips with the threat it poses to political stability.
- To generate proposals, which could be used in raising awareness among the main institutions, involved in African development.
- Set a research agenda in a collaborative and consultative format whose findings and recommendations could be widely disseminated within and outside Africa.

The workshop had its roots on a background paper that focused on five sub-themes starting from the behavior of individuals who are HIV positive to HIV/AIDS impact on institutional development, social development, economic development and the electoral process. As reflected in its title, the meeting asked complex and provocative questions and did not lay claim in addressing all the issues nor provide definitive answers to all questions. The main objective was to envision Africa’s new development initiative (NEPAD) with guarded optimism if HIV/AIDS is not accorded serious political attention.

## **Methodology**

The general consensus was, Yes, HIV/AIDS does pose a threat to political stability in Africa both as an underlying and direct threat. This consensus was arrived at from the methodology of the workshop that allowed for extensive interaction among the small group of experts. A number of approaches were used to come to this consensus and thus achieve the workshops goals and objectives:

- The Introductory Remarks and Keynote Address provided the appropriate background through a review of the HIV/AIDS inventory and how it threatens to further confine the African continent to a vicious cycle of underdevelopment, conflicts and untold human suffering in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- Thematic Papers drawing on country-specific experiences but classified as topics under individual behavior, institutional development, social development, economic development and the electoral process were presented in each session. These presentations delved deep into the impact of the pandemic in cultic groups, non-governmental and community-based organizations (NGOs and CBOs), military institutions, the agricultural sector of Sub-Saharan Africa and the overall economy of certain countries.
- Lead Discussants Comments: Each presentation was followed by a lead discussant who provided additional intellectual input drawn on their own experiences and knowledge to stimulate thinking and discussion based on the issues highlighted in the presentation.
- Plenary Discussion: Debate was then allowed for the remainder of the panel seeking clarifications and charting common ways to deal with the problems identified. Comments and questions to enhance the presentations were also made.

**Background; Does HIV/AIDS pose a Political Risk in Africa?**

In order to establish whether HIV/AIDS poses a political risk in Africa, it is prudent to analyze political risk by an appropriate disaggregation between different conventionally known causes such as riots, civil strife and war. From the preliminary investigation, it is apparently clear that the paucity of substantive data and primary research on the link between HIV/AIDS and factors that contribute to political stability has created the misconception that HIV/AIDS is essentially a health problem albeit in pandemic proportions. Therefore, pending empirical verification of the threat to political stability, it is safe to assume premises on risks linked to individual behavior, social development and economic growth that such a threat exists.

The distinction by level of risk is considered important, as it is better understood enabling the design of appropriate policy responses. In practice many shocks such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic have both idiosyncratic and covariant parts but unfortunately the covariance is believed to extend only to the community (meso) level. A recent World Bank study titled "Attacking Poverty" classifies AIDS as being a health issue posing a danger at the micro (household) level and meso (community) level but is silent on risks to political stability. This would rank it (HIV/AIDS risk) at the macro (national) level together with political default on social programmes. From this simple analysis, the perception that HIV/AIDS is a health risk creates an information gap and needs to be investigated.

Globally, there has been widespread speculation that HIV/AIDS is essentially a regional problem confined to Africa receiving less attention than wars and conflict. Yet it is proving more destabilizing than the wars currently raging in the continent with more than ten times more people dying from AIDS than wars. While attention has focused on SSA as carrying the greatest burden, evidence is mounting that infection rates have doubled in India, China and Eastern Europe in the past two years. And the consequences of non-action by political leaders in these regions could pose a much more serious threat to political stability and by extension global security. Investigating the threat in an African context provides a pioneering opportunity for extending the effort to the rest of the world.

HIV transmission remains largely unabated in Africa because of a number of problems, which include the high cost of anti retroviral drugs, unimpressive behavioral change aggravated by widespread poverty, cultural practices and lack of a strong political will. Corruption and diversion of resources from priority areas like health and education to the military also contribute indirectly.

There are more than 60 million people affected by the HIV/AIDS worldwide and most of these are in Africa. According to UNAIDS, more than 36 million people are living with AIDS and 70% of these live in SSA. Life expectancy has reduced. The pandemic has adversely affected the socio-economic set ups, the agricultural sectors, and food security situation, the skilled workforce, the economically and politically active age groups (15-50 years) and the development of education in Africa. The millions of orphans left behind are already placing a heavy demand on the weak economies in the region.

The tragedy of HIV and its ugly manifestations can be exemplified better by an observation that in Botswana, in particular, and across most sub-Saharan Africa in general, there will be less adults in their 40s and 50s than adults between the age of 60s and 70s in 20 years time. In some countries over one third of children currently 15 years old is expected to die of HIV/AIDS within the next 10-15 years.

Funding for HIV/AIDS research, treatment and prevention should take center stage as a major developmental issue as its impacts are bound to neutralize all efforts at development. In the long run, the cost (consequences) of inadequate funding will be far greater than taking necessary measures now to contain and eventually eradicate the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

### Assumptions

Though most literature on HIV/AIDS as a threat to political stability are theoretical or conceptual pieces that speculate with varying degrees of expertise, these variations should not be a cause for dispute, but rather highlight the need for more systematic research in this area. To this end, a number of assumptions have been made in order to abstract the fundamental relationship between HIV/AIDS and political stability from the complex socio-

political environment. Some of these assumptions (illustrative but not exhaustive) are considered below;

- The response of individuals whose status is HIV positive is one of personal shock making them vulnerable and insecure as a result of a sudden decline in their well being leading to despondency and indifference to legitimate socio-political issues.
- The cumulative impact of HIV/AIDS threatens social cohesion by decimating household income and assets, increases gender inequality, social stratification and poverty traps. Reverses social gains in reduced life expectancy and declining enrolment in education. Provides fertile ground for the formation of anti-social organizations like cults, rebel groups and even terrorist cells thus posing a threat to political stability.
- HIV/AIDS erodes the governance capacity of African nations by weakening the nation's institutional structures, decision-making process and implementation capacity through a reduction in the number of skilled and experienced public figures. Three main components of governance that is political representation, institutional development and economic and corporate governance are exposed which could directly or indirectly pose a political risk.
- When the endogenous growth model is applied in reverse, economic implications of the high prevalence rates on GDP points to losses in capital accumulation both human and physical, dysfunctional institutions, decreasing returns to generations, reduced rates of savings and investment and the loss of knowledge. This could lead to a substantial contraction of base economic sub-sectors like agriculture and industry causing a major strain to the fiscal position.
- Envisioning political stability as the empowerment of citizens not just to influence the outcome of elections periodically, but through the ability of minorities by gender or class to congregate and force policy changes that improve their status.

To provide the needed familiarity with each assumption, attempts were made to link them to reality from a summary of presentations based on sub-themes on the background paper prepared earlier.

The presentations tried to elucidate this evidence both indirectly and directly. In depth details of the summaries can be obtained through references in the appendix and from papers at the AAS library.

### **Summary of Presentations:**

#### **Session 1- Individual Behavior**

On the assumption that individuals whose HIV status is positive are vulnerable and insecure how does this impact on their behavior individually and socially? This theme was thus intended to describe the health risks facing the individual and the response to this personal shock, and pose questions on the depth of their insecurity. It was further intended to investigate how vulnerable they become as a result of the possibility of a decline in their well-being. Does despondency and indifference to national issues such as participating in elections set in?

The main presentation in session 1 centered on an emerging cultic phenomenon as a substitute for the apparent breakdown in social cohesion, which can be exploited by charismatic leaders intent on self-gain. It was postulated that cults being secretive and exploitative, becomes an attractive alternative to insecure, stigmatized and vulnerable individuals who have been ignored by formal social or state institutions.

#### Emerging Issues

- Since AIDS is not selective in its affliction, many educated and powerful persons are HIV positive but remain secretive about their status. The behavior of such individuals preoccupied with their well-being and social status could be resorting to more ruthless or corrupt methods to consolidate their 'vulnerable' positions.
- Most African countries are ruled by a small elite consisting of a group of persons from the same generation, alumni or comrades in an armed struggle whose primordial interest is to hang on to power at all costs. HIV/AIDS threatens this elite domination when it depletes its ranks. The incentive to hold on to power is therefore increased through ethnic exclusivism an acclaimed reason for political instability.

- Charismatic individuals who are HIV positive could exploit the widening chasm between the privileged minority and the voiceless majority leading to the formation of cultic movements or rebel causes by taking advantage of their plight. A leader of a cultic movement in Uganda was thought to be HIV positive. It's therefore compelling to investigate this link.
- A carefully thought political process to make HIV/AIDS a political issue to minimize the vulnerability of sufferers is necessary. It's quite plausible that individuals faced with imminent death may be so desperate or reckless that they are not amenable to rational thought. The possibility of young army officers living with HIV/AIDS becoming bitter enough to stage a coup is a frightening prospect and calls for rigorous studies on individual behavior. In Sierra Leone, some young RUF fighters justified their highly violent and anti-social behavior on the grounds that "we are all going to die of AIDS anyway". AIDS was symbolic of the sense of fatalism and worthlessness felt by the young men in the country.
- Voicelessness and apathy is evident among the rural majority especially the young with little knowledge about the scourge, so they rarely ask questions. But it's essential to know what the young people of Africa are thinking and their outlook on the future. An understanding of their beliefs and perception will help inform on the epidemics political-economic impact, threats to political stability and appropriate programmes for mitigation.

More studies in the coercive psychological processes and the vulnerability factors that are at play in a cultic situation should be carried out. These psychologically manipulative processes and the associated vulnerability factors that appear to put large sections of the population at risk not only of purely religious cults but the more destructive religio-political cults need to be investigated further. However, it can be safely said that a multiplicity of global factors including democracy, freedom of worship made it possible for cultists in Uganda to thrive.

Generally, apathy disenfranchises hundreds of thousands of people, as they focus on their own survival and longevity. Indeed being diagnosed HIV positive may decrease or eliminate the desire for involvement in political life.

The concern increasingly grows for self – for personal health and comfort and for prolonging life; for social acceptance; for forgiveness; for peace; for future and well being of the family; for financial security. This increasing concern for self, in turn reduces the time and resources available to get involved in the political process.

### Recommendations

- More rigorous evidence should be collated that desperation drives people to join organizations that would create political instability.
- Adult literacy programmes need to be encouraged as part of the mitigation efforts and information dissemination.
- Psychological support systems and economic empowerment for those affected by HIV/AIDS ought to be developed to reduce stigmatization and isolation.
- It's important to re-orientate the thinking on HIV/AIDS from being a health issue to a political issue (mainstreaming).
- Research organizations should coordinate their activities with advocacy groups and policy makers.

### Session 2: **Institutional Development**

Presentations and discussions on the theme of individual behavior converged on withdrawal and a major preoccupation with self on the knowledge of a positive status. Yet at the core of well functioning institutions are individuals whose morale, ambitions and well being contribute to institutional effectiveness. If good and democratic governance is predicated on institutional development as a core component, is there compelling evidence that HIV/AIDS will erode institutional capacity through increased AIDS related mortalities on core personnel? Could institutional collapse be a harbinger to political instability? A presentation on military institutions tried to elucidate this evidence, which however could be replicated for other institutions like the ministries, parliament, schools, private sector and civil society.

The implications of high infection levels within African Armed Forces in regard to operational effectiveness were highlighted, and the impact this epidemic has on future peacekeeping and humanitarian aid missions. The question, of when a threat becomes a national security issue, “depends not just on the type of threat it is, and how the recipient state perceives it, but also on the intensity within which the threat operates. The main factors affecting the intensity of a threat are the specificity of its identity, its nearness in space and time, the probability of it occurring, the weight of its consequences and whether or not perceptions of the threat are amplified from historic circumstances.

### Emerging Issues

- The unabated spread of HIV/AIDS in the military has a corrosive effect in terms of preparedness and indirectly calls for scrutiny potential threats to political instability through coups. Those who have “nothing to lose” may not be deterred by institutional rules that govern their conduct or the country’s judicial system.
- In some African countries, armed forces report HIV/AIDS infection figures between 40% and 80% linked to sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and HIV infection. Armed forces prevalence rates are sometimes 2-5 times higher than civilian populations. As at 1998 Congolese and Angolan armed forces had infection rates of at least 50%. Uganda was 66%, Malawi 75% and Zimbabwe 80%. In Botswana one in three members of the armed forces tested HIV positive. HIV/AIDS infection in South Africa’s military is estimated at 40% and is as high as 90% in some military units in KwaZulu Natal.
- HIV/AIDS negatively impacts on the military’s ability by undermining procurement & professionalism of the force; force preparation and discipline, given the specialized nature of the military’s training; hollowing out of middle management; force deployment thus compromising their ability to respond to calls for service; force sustenance; especially with soaring medical expenses.
- There is no empirical evidence on how HIV/AIDS affects female & male behavior in the military. The compulsory HIV/AIDS education has not acted as deterrence enough to prevent new infections. Trace studies, as part of the research is essential to corroborate the emerging linkages on this pattern of behavior.

- The main drawback is the difficulty in verifying all the above. Little information is available to show that an infected military officer can make certain costly decision on the battlefield because of his status. However in many armies, soldiers who are HIV positive are not permitted to fly aircraft or handle heavy weapons, because of the fear of what a soldier living with HIV might be impelled to do with a weapon of destruction.

Recommendations:

- More research on the link between HIV/AIDS & political instability on institutions such as the military, police force is desirable.
- Incorporate HIV/AIDS into training programmes of institutions not as an add-on component, but as an integral part in the planning stages.
- Explore the level of institutional functionality by analyzing for example health-related costs as a percentage of the overall institutional budgets.
- Research on case studies & empirical evidence of the effects of HIV/AIDS on political stability on institutions of governance and democracy like parliament and ministries.
- Encourage general research in the armed forces nationally and regionally and break the silence surrounding the HIV/AIDS in the military.

**Session 3- Social Development**

In the social domain, HIV/AIDS is considered as a risk in pandemic proportions with a devastating impact on the poor and their social development. HIV/AIDS can contribute to social fragmentation and become a basis for competition for political power and access to material resources leading to conflict. Papers in this theme drew on experiences from Zambia and Kwa Zulu Natal. The latter presentation was however broad-based touching on all issues related to political stability

### Emerging Issues

- There is need for clarity on the perception of the HIV/AIDS epidemic by the political leadership and the existence of linkage between the spiral of development & AIDS in terms of access to land, sanitation, education and other opportunities.
- Assessment of the extent in which there are lapses between rhetoric and action, and mechanisms instituted to hold the government accountable. Lack of political commitment evident with the declaration of HIV/AIDS a national disaster long after the emergence of the scourge in most of the SSA countries.
- Little appreciation of the effect of the epidemic has led to social degradation. The case in Africa as in Zambia is of political leadership that thrives on misfortune of others. This could precipitate a political crisis.
- The spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa and its impact on social development are fuelled by bad government practices. Declaration of the scourge as a national disaster is meant to gain political mileage and control of donor funding, as there is no corresponding action for mitigation.
- The civil society is weak in Zambia, and so is the partnership between the civil society and the national AIDS council.
- The protracted situation of chronic and severe deprivation faced by a majority of the populace (80%) alongside a small minority (20%) living in affluence is not conducive to social and political stability.
- HIV/AIDS is not seen as a threat to political stability because the problem is silent as people nurse their ailing relatives quietly at home, and most African governments do not see cause for alarm.
- South Africa has the highest number of infections in SSA, projected at 10- 15% of the country's population. Greatest impact on mortality is among adults. A lot of geographical difference exists. Increased burden of children orphaned by AIDS on extended families. Additional cost of their care does not fall directly on the state but the economic and social cost is placed on the society.
- The high prevalence rate undermines governing and service delivery. AIDS related absenteeism and low turnover is evident amidst a declining revenue base. Also evident is diversion of funds to hard hit sectors, reduction in public participation and a drain in human capacity.

- There is need to model along the lines of skilled versus unskilled workers to measure reduced productivity and draw the inferences from the results.

#### Recommendations:

- It's important to distinguish and measure the AIDS effects from the non-AIDS related deaths.
- Engage in trace research to corroborate the emerging linkages between HIV/AIDS and local level democracy in community based and non-governmental organizations (CBOs and NGOs).
- Explore the links between HIV/AIDS and the demographic trends.
- Develop a plan, time frame and proper monitoring to evaluate interventions.
- Establish the political stability benchmark in the research agenda.
- Encourage the political leadership in playing a central role in managing the epidemic.
- That more research on the role of activism is essential.

#### Session 4- **Economic Development**

The impact of HIV/AIDS on adult longevity influences economic rationality on expectations of the future. Because the epidemic reduces life expectancy, the incentive for individual savings and investment may be reduced. This implies that current strategies to increase sub-Saharan Africa's savings and investments are most likely to be unsuccessful and instead rising healthcare costs will erode whatever little is left.

Assuming the robust endogenous economic growth model is run in reverse by halving life expectancy will predictions on economic deterioration hold? Thus this session focused on declining economic output and the increasing prevalence rate. The presentations tried to highlight the extent in which the cumulative impact of HIV/AIDS can trigger a macroeconomic crisis by affecting agricultural, industrial, health sectors, and national security.

The presentations explored whether high costs from treating AIDS patients and prevention measures, deprives other sectors of the economy of scarce government resources. A way forward in finding the answer to the pandemic was through a presentation on modalities for mitigation of its effects in important sectors of the economy like agriculture.

Presentations on this theme came from Botswana examining the general deterioration of the country arising from the high prevalence rate that has generated increased incidences of xenophobia and tribalism. The sugar sub-sector in Kenya was also presented as a case study where AIDS driven needs had led to a decline in earnings for farmers and contributed to local unrest.

Additionally, a theoretical but illuminating and holistic presentation focused on three major regressive processes of governance (*political representation, institutional capacity and economic and corporate governance*) of demographic transition triggered by HIV/AIDS. The presentation underscored the limitations of current linear and non-linear models as the basis of analysis on demographic and economic data. This approach can lead to spurious conclusions upon which policy and action are formulated with adverse implications.

The paper titled “Modelling the Governance Implications of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Africa” posits that by examining the possible impacts of severely reduced adult life expectancy, incentives for savings is reduced substituted by opportunistic behaviour including corruption. Higher education and training viewed in the shortened time frontier will contribute to low level of skills and low returns to capital. The manufacturing sector will be hard hit by structural changes in the economy arising from the demographic transition. Institutional capacity will suffer leading to a shift to simpler organisational models.

A model-based-approach is considered a much more superior method that permits (multiple) plausible scenarios to be simulated to highlight the real impact of the epidemic for better mitigation efforts. The presentation underscored the importance of collaborative research underpinned by the rigors of modeling as a critical starting point in laying the conceptual framework for teasing out the AIDS/Political stability link in the light of declining life expectancy.

### Emerging Issues

- The Botswana Contradiction; it has been seen as an African miracle with one of the most successful economies and politically stable in the continent, yet at the same time with one of the highest HIV/AIDS infections in the world.
- HIV/AIDS is exacerbating ethnic & racial tensions in Botswana. In the privatization programs, there is fear that the enterprises will be bought by the foreigners, as Botswana's bourgeois do not have the capacity to buy stakes in these enterprises, creating the impression that Botswana will belong to foreigners.
- Expatriates from other African countries run the civil service e.g. hospitals, and when patients do not get proper treatment due to unavailability of essential drugs, the citizens blame foreigners for denying them access to crucial medication.
- Botswana is an appropriate case study in a pre and post HIV/AIDS era because of the high prevalence rate, which now threatens political stability. The hypothesis and assumptions based on the sub-themes should be tested.
- Investigate poverty-related issues, HIV/AIDS nexus in the sugar sector in Kenya, and further research whether this (poverty) is the cause of the high prevalence in the sugar-belt.
- Examine the factors accounting for powerlessness of the sugarcane farmers. Can this lead to local level civil strife, which could cascade to other sub-sectors in agriculture and ultimately to the national level?
- Of necessity, develop and identify entry points for HIV/AIDS mitigation in all sectors so that economic gains may be salvaged despite a drastic reduction in life expectancy.

Overall the efforts must identify those who will be integrating HIV/AIDS mitigation activities with on-going economic activities and answer the questions regarding the capacities that they need to effectively implement the work.

### Recommendations

- Design and flexibility of allowing integration of HIV/AIDS mitigation work along existing general development project objectives and activities.
- Reconsider some of the stated assumptions in economics that while increased adult longevity in developed countries entail major structural transformations, halving of adult lifespan in sub-Saharan Africa calls for similar changes and questions the viability of following existing models for economic development.
- Ease of accessibility of resources (human and financial) for HIV/AIDS for effective mitigation. Assess current requirements and suitability of human resource capacities.
- Identify clear opportunities for mitigation since the solutions offered in the management of the effects of HIV/AIDS may be the only possible option to offer long-term solution to challenges of development in families and communities heavily affected by HIV/AIDS.

### Session 5- **Electoral Process**

The final session of the closed meeting was to look at the electoral process or practice mirrored on the perception that AIDS stricken individuals and societies lack interest, power or a sense of power leading to the prevalent pattern of non-participation in politics. A presentation on political systems in Africa portrayed political stability not just in terms of the absence of civil strife but the empowerment of citizens in the electoral process with the outcome of changing the contours of politics. Further still, the less episodic forms of political participation such as the congregation of AIDS victims to force the hand of government from mere activism to a more effective response to their plight should be seen as a better benchmark of political stability than the outcome of an election.

### Emerging Issues

- Political stability is attendant on legitimacy, which is determined by the electorate. If the voting public believes that adequate political attention is being given to the AIDS problem that will improve their welfare economically and socially then the threat is minimal and avoidable.
- Political risk depends on the quality of leadership at the national or local level. A leadership that fails to acknowledge the gravity of the pandemic may in the short term create a false sense of stability but when reality sets in, the credibility of leadership will face a severe test leading to political unrest.
- Long-term political stability is conditional on generating public confidence by an explicit acknowledgment of the actual crises and policies put in place to effectively alleviate it.

### Recommendations

- Reduce individual insecurity caused by AIDS to consolidate the broader political process.
- Integrate AIDS sufferers into the political process by special representation in institutions of governance.
- Empower citizens to hold governments accountable through participation and decentralization.
- Investigate the credibility of governments with regard to information flows on AIDS by a comparison of democratic and regime type governments.

### **Public Forum**

The public forum offered an opportunity for stakeholders from Kenya to interact with the panel of experts and from experiences in their work places compare notes in a balanced and comprehensive discussion. NEPAD also had the chance to present its development and programme of action and facilitate dialogue through a participatory process.

Feedback from the selected presentations endorsed the political stability focus as prioritizing the AIDS problem in the political realm. Research without action was deemed as futile and was emphasized by all stakeholders.

In closing and charting the way forward, political leaders were called upon to be more committed in combating HIV/AIDS by embracing good governance, equitable distribution of resources and that NEPAD play a leading role towards this effort.

### **Strategy for Engagement**

Presentations from the NEPAD Secretariat had also noted that any research initiative in this dimension must a priori have the full backing of the political establishment. “Visible and effective leadership, especially from the Heads of State contributes to a nation tackling the epidemic and its effects in greater unison and harmony and with greater political stability”.

For the research effort to be responsive and proactive, a strategic approach to this end would be to employ NEPAD’s influential role at the Head of State level to lock in a commitment by governments in terms of resources, access to information and the elimination of beauracracic hurdles. Additionally, logistical and operational issues favour the relocation of coordination activities to the NEPAD Secretariat once a firm commitment by governments has been established. And since the southern cone of Africa can be considered a leading light in HIV/AIDS research, it’s only logical that further research activity be centered there.

### **Statement of the Workshop**

**Is HIV/AIDS a threat to Political Stability in Africa?** The participants in the workshop recognized that HIV/AIDS poses a threat to political stability in Africa. Research in this field has been very limited. Therefore, investigating the dimensions of this threat must be a priority to scholars and researchers across the African continent, to enable governments, the international community and all stakeholders respond effectively.

Among the research priorities identified are the relationship between HIV/AIDS, Politics and:

- Individual Behavior;
- Gender relations;

- Institutional capacity and good governance;
- Economic development;
- Poverty and food insecurity;
- Public service provision, including health and education;
- Trade unions and business;
- The functioning of the security forces;
- International relations, peace and security;
- Political participation and civil society;
- State crises, disempowerment, social division and conflict

Research should be interdisciplinary, collaborative, results-oriented and practical. It should include case studies at regional, national and local levels, comparative research and the development and testing of new models for the impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on political development. Research should be made available and accessible to all stakeholders. This would positively contribute to policy formulation and action.

A small team of researchers (Task Force/Steering Committee) was constituted as a first step in investigating the political dimensions of the HIV/AIDS threat. The team was mandated to formulate the research and implementation programme in the areas indicated above.

Moving into next phase, a follow up workshop is necessary that should examine modalities of an extended research programme through the preparation of background papers, the responsibility for which is distributed among identified collaborating institutions. After this workshop, a briefing seminar organized under the auspices of NEPAD for Heads of States or their representatives is highly desirable as part of NEPADS partnership/ownership policy and lock-in mechanism. A plan of action from background paper preparations to policy articulation should be drawn in the follow up workshop.

## Appendix 1

### Papers presented at the workshop

**Buch, E.** “Is AIDS a Threat to Political Stability in Africa: A Perspective from the NEPAD Secretariat”

**Heinecken, L.** “HIV/AIDS The Military and the Impact on National, Regional and International Security” *Society in Transition*, Vol. 32(1) 2001:120-147

**Kinyanda, E.** “The Role of HIV/AIDS in Religious Cultic Phenomenon- A Case Study of The Church for The Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God in S-Western Uganda”.

**Manning, R. E.** “Is HIV/AIDS a Threat to Local-Level (Grassroots Democracy)? *An Exploration of the Impact on Civil Society and Local Government in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.*

**Munsanje, J.** “Social Degradation and Leadership Lapses: Real Threats to Political Stability in Africa”

**Mupawaenda, C. Anna** “The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Africa’s Political Systems

**Nyon’go, D.** “Is it Possible that Individual Behaviour may Impact Negatively on Political Stability in Kenya?”

**Ochola, S.** “Impact of AIDS on the Sugar Sector in Kenya: The Implication to Political Stability”

**Taylor, I.** “The HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Botswana: Implications for the African Miracle”

**Tumushabe, J.** “Modalities for Mitigation of the effects of HIV/AIDS in Agricultural Development Programmes of Eastern and Southern Africa”.

**Waal, A.** “Modeling the Governance Implications of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Africa: First Thoughts”. *Justice Africa: Aids and Governance Discussion paper No. 2*

**Waal, A.** “AIDS-Related National Crises; An Agenda for Governance, Early-Warning and Development Partnership”. *Justice Africa. Aids and Governance Issue paper NO. 1*

## Appendix 2

### List of Participants

<b>Name</b>	<b>Title/Position</b>	<b>Organization and Country</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Telephone</b>	<b>Fax</b>	<b>Email</b>
Dr. Nicholas Alipui	Representative	UNICEF	UNICEF Kenya Country Office, Block D210, UN Compound, Gigiri, Nairobi	254-2-622143/4		<a href="mailto:nalipui@unicef.org">nalipui@unicef.org</a>
Ms. Sheryl Stumbras	Director, Office of Democracy and Governance	USAID-Kenya		254-2-862400		<a href="mailto:sstumbras@USAID.GOV">sstumbras@USAID.GOV</a>
Martin Omondi Ocholla	Executive Chairman	Citizens Empowerment and Democracy (CEDE)-Kenya	P. O. Box 536, 00600 Nairobi	0733-714432	254-2-861894	<a href="mailto:martinocholla@yahoo.com">martinocholla@yahoo.com</a>
Okech-Owiti	Senior Lecturer	University of Nairobi	P. O. Box 28472 Nairobi	254-2-2729050	254-2-2729050	<a href="mailto:clean@nbnet.co.ke">clean@nbnet.co.ke</a>
Joshua Olewe Nyunya	Associate Professor of Political Sciences and Director of Institute of Diplomacy and Intl Studies	University of Nairobi	Institute of Diplomacy and Intl Studies, University of Nairobi, P. O. Box 30197, Nairobi	254-2-339014	254-2-339014	<a href="mailto:jonyunya@yahoo.com">jonyunya@yahoo.com</a>
Lindelwa Myataza	Senior Research Specialist	NEPAD Secretariat	NEPAD Secretariat, 1258 Lever Road, Halfway House Midrand, South Africa	+27-11-313.3625	+27-11-313.3450	<a href="mailto:lindelwa@nepad.org">lindelwa@nepad.org</a>
Alice A. Ochanda	Programme Officer	UNESCO – Nairobi Office	P. O. Box 30592 Nairobi, UN Gigiri Complex	254-2-622086	254-2-622750	<a href="mailto:Alice.ochanda@unesco.unon.org">Alice.ochanda@unesco.unon.org</a>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Title/Position</b>	<b>Organization and Country</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Telephone</b>	<b>Fax</b>	<b>Email</b>
Alex De Waal	Special Representative	Justice Africa	33 Ishington High St. London, N1 9LH UK	20-7837-7888	20-7837-8919	<a href="mailto:Alex_de_waal@compuserve.com">Alex_de_waal@compuserve.com</a>
Christine Stegling	Director	Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS (BONELA)	P. O. Box 402958, Gaborone, Botswana	267-3932516	267-3932517	<a href="mailto:bonela@botsnet.bw">bonela@botsnet.bw</a>
Eric Buch	Prof. Of Health Policy and Management, NEPAD Health Advisor	University of Pretoria	School of Health Systems and Public Health, P. O. Box 667 Pretoria 0001, South Africa	27128413215	27128413328	<a href="mailto:ebuch@med.up.ac.za">ebuch@med.up.ac.za</a>
Anna Mapuwaenda	Consultant/Administrator	Institute of Development Studies, University of Zimbabwe	P. O. Box 880, Harare, or Box MP 167 Mt. Pleasant, Harare	263-4-307908	263-4-333345	<a href="mailto:amupawaenda@yahoo.co.uk">amupawaenda@yahoo.co.uk</a>
Tumushabe Joseph	Lecturer/Researcher	Makerere University	Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (ISAE), P. O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda	256-77-630481 256-41-543953	256-41-543954	<a href="mailto:jouganda@hotmail.com">jouganda@hotmail.com</a>
Shem O. Ochola	Researcher/Consultant and Trade Development Officer	SUCAM Pakistan High Commission	P. O. Box 67983, Nairobi	254-2-4443911/2 or 4447170 0733-824543	254-2-4443803	<a href="mailto:Ocholasj6@yahoo.com">Ocholasj6@yahoo.com</a>
Ian Taylor	Lecturer	University of Botswana	Political and Admin. Studies Private Bag 0022 Gaborone Botswana	353848 3555018		<a href="mailto:tayloric@mopipi.ub.bw">tayloric@mopipi.ub.bw</a>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Title/Position</b>	<b>Organization and Country</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Telephone</b>	<b>Fax</b>	<b>Email</b>
John Ngambela Munsanje	Project Manager	Family Health Trust-Zambia	Private Bag E243 Lusaka, Plot No. 5232 Makishi Road, Fairview	223589	222834	<a href="mailto:fht@zamnet.zm">fht@zamnet.zm</a>
Ryann Manning	Researcher	Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division, University of Natal	University of Natal Durban, South Africa 4001	27.31.240.2905	27.31.260.2587	<a href="mailto:manningr@nu.ac.za">manningr@nu.ac.za</a>
Lindy Heinecken	Deputy Director	Centre for Military Studies, S.A. Military Academy, University of Stellenbosch	Private Bab x2, Saldanba 7395, South Africa	27.22.7023093	27.22.7023060	<a href="mailto:lindy@ma2.sun.dc.za">lindy@ma2.sun.dc.za</a>
Dorothy Nyong'o	Director/Editor	Noel Creative Media Ltd	P. O. Box 5874. 00100 Nairobi	2729906/10		<a href="mailto:don@wananchi.com">don@wananchi.com</a> or <a href="mailto:lumbama@nbnet.co.ke">lumbama@nbnet.co.ke</a>
Kinyanda Eugene	Coordinator and Researcher	African Psycare Research Organization	P. O. Box 5183 Kampala, Uganda	256-77-410285		<a href="mailto:ekinyanda@hotmail.com">ekinyanda@hotmail.com</a>
Manase Mwanja Musyoka	Administrator - CPA	Christian Police Association of Kenya	Kenya Police Headquarters, C.P.A. Office, P. O. Box 30083, Nairobi	254-2-335124 Extr: 58154		
Mike Mwaniki	Journalist	Nation Newspapers	P. O. Box 49010, Nairobi	254-2-221222 254-2-337710	254-2-213946	<a href="mailto:mmwaniki@nation.co.ke">mmwaniki@nation.co.ke</a>
Caroline Wayeta Wafula	Reporter	People Newspapers	P. O. Box 10290 00100 Nairobi Union Towers, 5 <sup>th</sup> floor, Moi Ave.	0722-622924		<a href="mailto:cwafula@yahoo.com">cwafula@yahoo.com</a>
Suzette Chivusia	Senior Legal Counsel	FIDA - Kenya	Box 46324, Nairobi	254-2-714629		<a href="mailto:fida@africaonline.co.ke">fida@africaonline.co.ke</a>
Fredrick	Human Resource Admin.	British American	Box 1123, Thika	0722-2766475	254-2-21344	<a href="mailto:Fred_Nyawade@bat.com">Fred_Nyawade@bat.com</a>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Title/Position</b>	<b>Organization and Country</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Telephone</b>	<b>Fax</b>	<b>Email</b>
Nyaware	Manager	Tobacco, Kenya				
Monica Marachi Mwadime	Senior Programme Co-ordinator (HIV/AIDS)	Teachers Service Commission	Private Bag, Nairobi	254-2-331144		
Sara M. Irungu	Chief Programme Co-ordinator (HIV/AIDS)	Teachers Service Commission	Private Bag, Nairobi	254-2-331144	254-2-211818	<a href="mailto:smuthoni@hotmail.com">smuthoni@hotmail.com</a>
Alfred K'Ombudo	Coordinator	African Youth Parliament	Box 67369, City Square, Nairobi	0733-951927		<a href="mailto:ombudo@ayparliament.org">ombudo@ayparliament.org</a>
Shem Oduor Okelo	Member	African Youth Parliament	Box 67369, City Square, Nairobi	0733-951927		<a href="mailto:ombudo@ayparliament.org">ombudo@ayparliament.org</a>
Alexander N. Kariavu	National Executive Officer	Kenya National Teachers Union	Box 30407, Nairobi	254-2-334674	254-2-222701	<a href="mailto:knut@nbnet.co.ke">knut@nbnet.co.ke</a>
David O. Sira	Project Coordinator	Kenya Aids and Drugs Alliance (KADA)	Box 1876 0200 Nairobi	254-2-315524		<a href="mailto:davidswaza@yahoo.co.uk">davidswaza@yahoo.co.uk</a>
Christopher John Chacha-Ogwe	Commissioner	Teachers Service Commission	Private Bag, Nairobi	254-2-331144	254-2-211818	
Roland Schwartz	Resident Director	Freidrich Ebert Stiftung	Peponi Plaza, Off Peponi Road, Westlands, Box 59947, Nairobi	254-2-376992		<a href="mailto:Kenya@fes.de">Kenya@fes.de</a>
Anyang' Nyongo	Project Manager	African Academy of Sciences	Box 0800 14798, Nairobi	254-2-884401	254-2-884406	<a href="mailto:aas@africaonline.co.ke">aas@africaonline.co.ke</a>
Collins Odote	Coordinator	Freidrich Ebert Stiftung	Peponi Plaza, Off Peponi Road, Westlands, Box 59947, Nairobi	254-2-376992		<a href="mailto:Kenya@fes.de">Kenya@fes.de</a>
Jane Kinga	Secretary	Freidrich Ebert Stiftung	Peponi Plaza, Off Peponi Road,	254-2-376992		<a href="mailto:Kenya@fes.de">Kenya@fes.de</a>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Title/Position</b>	<b>Organization and Country</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Telephone</b>	<b>Fax</b>	<b>Email</b>
			Westlands, Box 59947, Nairobi			
Prof. G. B. A. Okelo	Secretary General and Ag. Executive Director	African Academy of Sciences	Box 0800 14798, Nairobi	254-2-884401	254-2-884406	<a href="mailto:aas@africaonline.co.ke">aas@africaonline.co.ke</a>
Caleb Opon	Coordinator	African Academy of Sciences	Box 0800 14798, Nairobi	254-2-884401	254-2-884406	<a href="mailto:aas@africaonline.co.ke">aas@africaonline.co.ke</a>
Jackie Olang	Secretary	African Academy of Sciences	Box 0800 14798, Nairobi	254-2-884401	254-2-884406	<a href="mailto:aas@africaonline.co.ke">aas@africaonline.co.ke</a>