



Report on the  
**5<sup>th</sup> Tana**  
**High-Level Forum**  
**on Security in Africa**



**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES**  
**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
TANA FORUM SECRETARIAT

16-17 April 2016  
Bahir Dar, Ethiopia



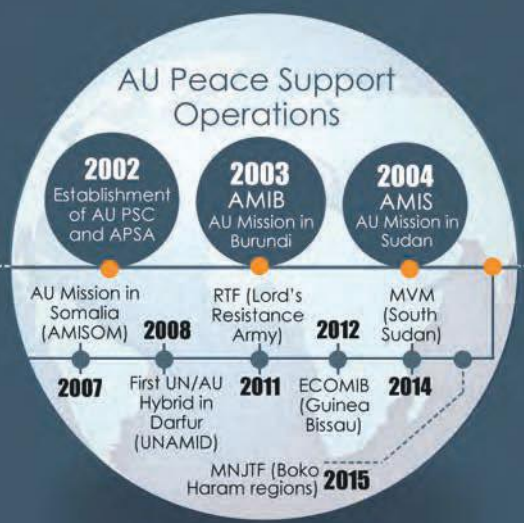
*“Wisdom is like a Baobab tree; no  
one individual can embrace it.”*

Akan and Ewe proverb (Benin, Ghana and Togo)



**AU Political Missions**

<b>2013</b> MISAHEL (Mali)	<b>2014</b> MISAC (CAR)
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**UN**

**16**

Peacekeeping Operations

# AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY AGENDA

## Tana 2016

Tana High-Level Forum  
on Security in Africa



**UNSC**

United Nations  
Security Council

First UN  
Secretary  
General  
from Africa

**1992**  
**EGYPT**

2004-2014

**53%** of **678** UNSC  
Resolutions were  
Related to African  
Issues (ACCORD, 2015)

**3** non-Permanent  
Members: **Angola,**  
**Egypt, Senegal**  
in 2015

### UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

Current  
peacekeeping  
operations



**1960**

First UN  
peacekeeping  
operation in Africa

**12** Out of top  
**20** UN Troop  
Contributing  
Countries are African

### Peace vs. Development

Natural resources cause or finance  
**14** conflicts in fragile states in Africa

**250** Africans are affected by  
Million fragility (AfDB, 2014)

**SDG 16:** Peace, Justice and  
Strong Institutions



Recognition of Peace as a Priority  
Issue

**\$1.3** Cost of corruption, bribery,  
Trillion theft and tax evasion in Africa  
(WB, 2013)





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H.E. Dr. Pedro Adharam

Chong Guan



# 5<sup>th</sup> Tana

## High-Level Forum on Security in Africa

Forum de sécurité en

أفريقيا

Fórum de Segurança e





## Message from the Chairperson



This year marks the 5th anniversary of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, a truly significant achievement for this continental platform. I am honoured to welcome you all to this memorable celebration. This year we have selected no lesser topic than that of “Africa in the Global Security Agenda”.

For us to be able to explore Africa’s standing in the international security architecture, we have to ask ourselves critical questions such as how we perceive ourselves as Africans and how others perceive us. As we know, Africa’s (self) perception is multi-fold:

- Africa, a continent, 54 states, five regions, with numerous bilateral and multilateral ties to the international community.
- Africa, a continent with the fastest economic growth the world has seen in the new millennium.
- Africa, a continent with more than 20 on-going conflicts, whose consequences affect several countries beyond its shores.
- Africa, a continent with currently 25 internationally-mandated peace operations and political missions.
- Africa, a continent with an abundance of natural resources that determine the



direction of international geo-politics.

- Africa, a continent whose unified voice still needs to be found and strongly positioned within the international security realm.

Let us therefore use this opportunity to bring together both African and non-African partners to openly discuss Africa's present role and the role we aspire it to play in our interconnected world. As Africa faces increasing security challenges, so does the rest of the world. The continent is well-placed to provide innovative solutions to these security challenges.

I would like to thank the Government of Ethiopia, without whom we would not be gathered here this weekend. We must also pay gratitude to the Institute for Peace and Security Studies of Addis Ababa University, the seat of the Tana Forum Secretariat since its inception in 2012. You have nurtured us, supported us and above all, carried the flag of the Tana Forum and its mandate vibrantly and successfully.

Finally, I also wish to express my gratitude to our partners and friends, in particular

the German Federal Government through GIZ, who believed in this initiative and provided us with institutional support, support that has increased over the years. Today, the Forum also benefits from the support of the African Union, the Bahir Dar Regional Administration, the Dangote Foundation, the Governments of Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, China, Norway and Austria, the Brenthurst Foundation, the Munich Security Conference, Ethiopian Airlines, the Sheraton Hotel and the Blue Nile Resort Hotel. We are honoured to have both the public and private sector contribute to our cause.

On this note I welcome you once more to the shores of Lake Tana, the source of the Blue Nile River in the city of Bahir Dar. I wish you a fruitful deliberation and impactful outcomes on (re)defining Africa's role in the international security arena.

*H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo*

*Former President of the Republic of Nigeria  
and Chairperson of the Tana High-Level  
Forum on Security in Africa*



## Message from the Deputy Chairperson



On the occasion of the 5th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, I welcome you all to Bahir Dar for what promises to be a landmark event. Five years ago we embarked on a journey to transform the African debate on peace and security. Today, after four successful Forums with participation from the highest levels of government, civil society, academia and the private sector, I am confident to say that we have achieved that goal.

Over the past five years, we have strived to establish the Forum as a go-to platform for frank dialogue by differentiating it from other meetings where diplomatic niceties are the order of the day. The Forum ensures candid discussions by bringing together not only political leaders, but

also other experts and professionals who, in their individual capacities, play a vital role in contributing to peace and security in Africa as well as global prosperity.

One of the Forum's strengths is in the convening of sitting and former political leaders. With the added benefit of hindsight, former leaders are able to speak from experience without the burden of being in political office. While the Forum does not aim to produce tangible results in the form of recommendations or plans of action, its true value lies in its ability to provide a platform for brainstorming the contemporary developmental, social, and peace and security issues affecting the continent of Africa. This in itself is a remarkable achievement!





Africa is habitually regarded as a theatre for experimenting and propagating foreign ideologies. However, Africans themselves should question why, more than half a century after independence, the continent continues to remain vulnerable to external threats and externally driven solutions. We should also question the role of our institutions and why they are unable to contain or prevent externally instigated conflicts. We must boldly confront the status quo and critically assess the capacity of these institutions to resolve conflicts once they start or even before they start.

We can all agree that many will seek credit for a success, yet few will accept responsibility for its failure. For example, South Sudan's independence in 2011 received international praise with seemingly no end in political and financial support. However, a mere two years later when the state crumbled into civil war, its greatest supporters had altered their tune. We must learn how to ensure continuous

engagement in order to avoid relapsing into conflict, as delivering peace alone does not guarantee long-term stability or prosperity. This ties in directly to this year's theme on Africa in the Global Security Agenda.

In closing, I encourage you all to openly and courageously contribute to the discussions over the next two days. I hope you will all be inspired to share your experiences and thoughts on how to manage issues of insecurity and collaborate on practical solutions towards a more prosperous Africa. I wish you fruitful deliberations and a rewarding experience.

*Professor Andreas Esheté*

*Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia with the Rank of a Minister and*

*Deputy Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board*



## Board

The Tana Forum is an independent initiative of eminent African personalities with an Advisory Board whose function is to provide strategic insight and oversight. Members of the Board are distinguished figures in the fields of politics, policy, and academia. They have been selected for their outstanding contribution to the realisation of Africa-centred solutions.



**Chairperson**

**H.E. Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo**

Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria



**Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Algeria



**Deputy Chairperson**

**H.E. Prof. Andreas Eshete**

Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia with the rank of a Minister



**H.E. Ms. Betty Bigombe**

Director for Fragility, Conflict and Violence at the World Bank, USA



**H.E. Mr. Thabo Mbeki**

Former President of the Republic of South Africa



**Prof. Ndioro Ndiaye**

President of Alliance for Migration, Leadership and Development



**H.E. Mr. Pierre Buyoya**

Former President of the Republic of Burundi



**Prof. Mahmood Mamdani**

Professor and Director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research, Uganda



**H.E. Dr. Tedros Adhanom**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia



**Prof. Funmi Olonisakin**

Founding Director of the African Leadership Centre, Kings College London



## Technical Committee

The Technical Committee advises the Tana Secretariat on the organisation of the Forum. In particular, the Technical Committee aims to advise the Secretariat on procedure and content to strengthen the Forum's capacity to generate fruitful discussions and give participants a meaningful experience.

**Mr. El-Ghassim Wane** (Chair), Assistant Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations, Mauritania

**Prof. Alioune Sall**, Founder and Executive Director, African Futures Institute, Sénégal

**Dr. Baylie Damtie**, President, Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia

**Dr. Cedric de Coning**, Senior Research Fellow, Peace Operations Research Group, NUPI and Peacekeeping & Peacebuilding Advisor, ACCORD, South Africa

**Dr. Martha Mutisi**, Lecturer, Institute of Peace, Leadership & Governance, Zimbabwe

**Dr. Melvis Mbinohonyui**, Assistant Professor (Lecturer), Department of International Law International Relations Institute of Cameroon, IRIC - University of Yaoundé II

**Ms. Raheemat Momodu**, Head of the Liaison Office to the African Union, ECOWAS

**Dr. Solomon Dersso**, Senior Analyst, Peace and Security Commissioner, African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR)

**Dr. Tassew Woldehanna**, Vice President for Research and Technology Transfer, Addis Ababa University

**Ms. Theo Sawa**, CEO, African Women's Development Fund, Ghana

**Ms. Michelle Ndiaye** (ex-officio), Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme, IPSS and Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat





## Secretariat



**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES**  
**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
TANA FORUM SECRETARIAT

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University (AAU) serves as the Forum's Secretariat.

IPSS is a premiere institute for education, research, and policy dialogue on peace and security in Africa. Established in 2007, it is among the top 50 think-tanks and teaching institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is also one of the Centres of

Excellence of AAU. IPSS is mandated by the African Union's Executive Council to take up the intellectual challenge of finding African-led solutions to peace and security in Africa through its Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), a joint initiative with the African Union.



**Dr. Kidane Kiros**  
Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University



**Michelle Ndiaye**  
Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University / Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat





## Programme

### 2016 Forum Chairperson: Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Member of the Tana Forum Board

### Chief Rapporteur: Prof. Charles Ukeje

Senior Advisor, Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS), Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia

TIME	FRIDAY, 15 APRIL 2016
9.00 – 18.00	Arrival of participants and registration at the Grand Hotel
17.00 – 18.30	<p><b>Public lecture on: “The Developmental State in Africa: The Rwandan Experience”</b></p> <p>Pre-forum event (in collaboration with Bahir Dar University)</p> <p><b>Chair:</b> H.E. Mr. Joaquim Chissano, Former President of the Republic of Mozambique</p>
	<p><b>Speaker:</b> H.E. Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Republic of Rwanda</p> <p><b>Remarks by:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Prof. Andreas Eshete, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia and Deputy Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board;</li> <li>-Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Executive Director, Africa and the Middle East, IDEA International.</li> </ul>
19.30 – 21.30	Welcome reception at Blue Nile
	SATURDAY, 16 APRIL 2016
08.00 – 10.30	Arrival of participants and registration at the Grand Hotel
10.45 – 12.30	<p><b>Special Event: The 2016 Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series</b></p> <p><b>“Leadership in Africa: Reflections on the Legacy of Patrice Lumumba”</b></p>
	<p><b>Chair:</b> Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center, USA</p> <p><b>Speaker:</b></p> <p>Prof. Elikia M’Bokolo, Director, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, France</p>



**12.30 – 13.30 Lunch**

	<b>OPENING SESSION</b>
<b>13.45 - 15.30</b>	<b>Chair:</b> H.E. Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus Minister of Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Member of the Tana Forum Board

**14.00 – 14.10 Introductory Video: “Tana Forum 5 years later”**

<b>14.10 – 14.30</b>	<b>Welcome Address</b> by H.E. Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum
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<b>14.30 – 14.45</b>	<b>Tana Forum 5th year anniversary: “The Spirit of Tana”</b> by Prof. Andreas Eshete, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia and Deputy Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board
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<b>14.45 – 15.10</b>	<b>“The State of Peace and Security in Africa 2016”</b> by H.E. Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board
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**15.10 – 15.35 Break**

	<b>SESSION I: “Africa’s Role in the International Security Realm”</b>
<b>15.40 – 17.45</b>	<b>Chair:</b> H.E. Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Thabo Mbeki Foundation and Former President of South Africa  <b>Format:</b> Keynote address followed by discussants’ inputs and debates

<b>15.40 – 16.10</b>	<b>Keynote address</b> by Mr. Kofi Annan, Chairman of the Kofi Annan Foundation, Former Secretary General of the United Nations and Nobel Prize Laureate
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<b>16.10 – 17.00</b>	<b>Panellists:</b> - Dr. Carlos Lopes, Under-Secretary General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA); - Amb. Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairperson of the Munich Security Conference, Germany; - H.E. Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Republic of Rwanda; - Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Executive Director, Africa and the Middle East, IDEA International.
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17.00 - 17.45	<b>Discussions</b>
17.45 - 18.00	<b>Summary of day one and setting the stage for day two</b> by Dr. Charles Ukeje, 2016 Chief Rapporteur
18.00	<b>End of day one</b>
18.00 - 19.30	<b>Networking, Bi-laterals, Media Interviews</b>
18.00 - 19.30	<p><b>HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATION: "The African Union and its leadership towards 2063"</b></p> <p><b>Chair:</b> H.E. Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum</p> <p>(by invitation only)</p>
19.30 - 22.00	<b>5th Anniversary Gala Dinner hosted by the Amhara Regional Government</b>
<b>SUNDAY, 17 APRIL 2016</b>	
07.30 - 8.30	Networking Breakfast
08.00 - 8.30	<b>Tree planting at the Tana Forum Park by Heads of State/ Government</b>
08.30 - 9.30	<p><b>HEADS OF STATE PANEL</b></p> <p><b>Chair:</b> Dr. Eleni Gabre-Madhin, CEO, Eleni LLC</p> <p><b>Panellists:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia</li> <li>- Omar Al-Bashir, President of the Republic of Sudan</li> <li>- Hassan Mohammed, President of the Federal Republic of Somalia</li> <li>- Festus Mogae, former President of the Republic of Botswana</li> </ul>
09.35 - 11.10	<p><b>SESSION II: "Peace Support Operations in Africa: New Paradigms, new Models"</b></p> <p><b>Chair:</b> H.E. Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta, Nobel Prize Laureate, Former President of Timor-Leste, and Chair of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations</p>



<p>09.35 – 10.15</p>	<p><b>Format: Panel Discussion with an introductory video on peacekeeping in Africa</b></p> <p><b>Panellists:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- H.E. Mr. Pierre Buyoya, Special Representative of the AU; Chairperson/Head of the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA), Former President of Burundi, and Member of the Tana Forum Board;</li> <li>- General Martin Agwai, Former Deputy Force Commander of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone and Force Commander of the African Union - United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur</li> <li>- General Babacar Gaye, Former Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) and (MONUC) in DRC;</li> <li>- Dr. Cedric de Coning, Senior Research Fellow, Peace and Conflict Research Group, NUPI, Norway, and Member of the Tana Forum Technical Committee.</li> </ul>
<p>10.15 – 11.00</p>	<p><b>Q&amp;A Session with Plenary</b></p>
<p>11.00 – 11.10</p>	<p><b>Break (in meeting room)</b></p>
<p>11.10 – 12.15</p>	<p><b>SESSION III: “Conflict Prevention, Building Peace Infrastructures, and Sustaining Peace”</b></p> <p><b>Chair:</b> Amb. Fatuma Ndangiza, Former Chairperson of the APR Panel of Eminent Persons</p>
<p>11.10 – 11.40</p>	<p><b>Format:</b> Panel Discussion</p> <p><b>Panellists:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Amb. Ahmad Allam-Mi, General Secretary of the ECCAS;</li> <li>- Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno, President, International Crisis Group, Belgium</li> <li>- Dr. Nkosana Moyo, Executive Chairman of the Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS), South Africa;</li> <li>- Amb. Amedou Ould Abdallah, President of Centre for Strategy and Security; Member of the 2016 UN Peacebuilding Panel, Mauritania;</li> <li>- Mr. Sekou Toure Otondi, University of Nairobi, Winner of the Tana Forum Annual African Universities’ Essay Competition.</li> </ul>



11.40 – 12.15	<b>Q&amp;A Session with Plenary</b>
	<b>CLOSING CEREMONY</b>
12.20 – 13.30	<b>Chair:</b> Ms. Betty Bigombe, Senior Director for Fragility, Conflict and Violence, the World Bank, USA and Former Minister for Water Management, Uganda
12.20 – 12.40	<b>Reflections on the Forum:</b> - Amb. Smail Chergui, Commissioner for Peace and Security, African Union Commission; - Amb. Susan Page, U.S. Chargé d’Affaires to the African Union.
12.40 – 13.05	<b>Remarks and vote of thanks</b> by H.E. Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board
13.05 – 13.20	<b>Tana Forum: the way forward and closing remarks</b> by H.E. Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum
13.30	<b>End of the 5th Tana Forum and lunch</b>
14.30	<b>Press Conference - Tana Forum Board</b>
17.00	<b>Departure to Addis Ababa</b>



## Outcomes Document



Panellists discussing Peace Support Operations in Africa

### A. Introduction

The 5<sup>th</sup> Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, also known as the “Tana Forum,” took place on 16-17 April 2016, in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, on the theme: Africa in the Global Security Agenda. It is gratifying that in less than half a decade, the Tana Forum has established itself as a platform for frank, rigorous, informal, constructive and ‘no-holds-barred’ dialogue on common security challenges in Africa, and how best to sustainably address them in the short, medium and long terms.

Given the range, salience and seriousness of the issues discussed, as well as the sheer diversity of participants, the Tana Forum is quickly maturing into an authentic African brand, with the requisite intellectual credentials to interrogate some of the most pressing peace and security challenges facing Africa, and by extension, the world. It offers a pan-African platform that is truly plural and enriching. Once again, this year’s Forum attracted eminent participants from different countries, sectors, and institutions across Africa and beyond. With eleven incumbent and former African Heads of State in attendance, and the first non-African former President of Timor-Leste, H.E. Jose Ramos-Horta. This year’s event also featured a keynote address from the Chair of the Kofi Annan Foundation and former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan.

The theme for the 5<sup>th</sup> Tana Forum, Africa in the Global Security Agenda, was set against the backdrop that as much as three-quarters of today’s global peace support operations are located in Africa. In all cases, these operations - and wider aspects of the continent’s



role in the global security arena - often take a heavy toll in terms of human, material and fiscal investments and incur high costs on the countries hosting - or affected - them. To paraphrase the Chair of the Tana Forum Board and former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, in comparison with other regions of the world, Africa alone is both disproportionately responsible for the largest number of mostly intra-state conflicts and peace operations, often with far-reaching cross-border spillover effects.

Despite the size, scope and heavy costs of peace support operations in Africa, the continent's immense contributions to global peace and security are mostly underrated, disparaged and/or completely ignored. The theme for this year therefore recognises Africa's extensive involvement in keeping the peace within itself - and around the world - over the past six decades while pointing to the need for a commensurate and corresponding amplification of the continent's voice and agency, in the global security arena.

Specifically, the 5th Tana Forum recognised the urgent need to reverse the marginalisation or outright exclusion of Africa within the pinnacles of decision-making on global security issues, particularly in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), where issues relating to the continent security interests, priorities and alternative futures are discussed and determined. Today, the debate on peace operations has changed considerably but so too have the complexities of actors and institutions involved, and the broad ramifications of their engagements.

The 5th Tana Forum therefore sought to harvest diverse perspectives as to "why" Africa's role in agenda setting on global peace and security is still minuscule, stifled, and far-fetched; "what" the key features of Africa's engagements within the existing global security architecture should be; and finally, "how" the continent should meaningfully input into the conception, design and implementation of the global security agenda. The deliberations, over two days of sessions, produced the following far-reaching conclusions:



H.E. Joyce Banda, Former President of Malawi greets H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board





Panelists at the 5th Tana Forum discussing Peace Support Operations in Africa

## B. Emerging issues/conclusions

1. Participants recognised that Africa has enormous potential - and that it continues to make significant developmental strides despite the odds it faces. How well, and quickly, these challenges are addressed would depend on the extent to which African governments prioritise human security which prioritises well-being, access to subsidised socio-economic and political opportunities, and the safety and security of citizens over and above regime security. To continue to do otherwise, invariably creates an incentive for disenfranchised segments of the population, most particularly the youth, to embrace the types of violence that commonly lead to the collapse of public order;
2. Participants recognised that when governments spend less on, or pay miniscule attention to, key social sectors as is the case in many African countries, they inadvertently leave governance gaps that encourage the incubation of prolonged social tensions, civil strife and instability; with several implications for national, regional, continental and global security. Moreover, the same considerations and constraints that make African governments give limited priority to tackling poverty and a myriad of other forms of socio-economic inequalities also plays out in their lack of political will to meet commitments relating to collective security imperatives at the regional, continental and global levels;



## C. Africa's unifying voice in the global security agenda

3. A lot was said, rightly so, about the need for Africa to have a greater voice and more established presence at the pinnacle of the global security order; particularly in terms of permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). However, this quest is currently being met with bemusement, perfunctory endorsement or derision by major global players and by the P5 members of the UNSC. Even at that, participants noted that the rhetoric around the reform of the Council will not happen unless African governments make a bold and collective move rather than be drowned by the pursuit of enlightened national interests;

4. Participants were of the strong opinion that Africa's clamour for a greater role in global governance should begin, first and foremost, with reforming and repositioning its own institutions, especially the AU, to exercise greater leverage and effective leadership on security issues affecting the continent; and also how the rest of the world responds to the continent's myriad security concerns;

**If we cannot first develop and implement Ethiopian, Nigerian, Egyptian, Kenyan, Rwandese solutions and institutions, how come we expect to develop and deploy African solutions and institutions?**

**- H.E. Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn**

5. Participants recognised the existence of a direct and causal linkage between Africa's role in the global security arena and making sure that the key pillars of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) are fully functional and responsive in terms of conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution, and also tackling the challenges of post-war reconstruction and development (PCRD);

6. Participants recognised that institutions are as strong, important and useful as their member states want or make them. African institutions at the forefront of defining, mobilising and harmonising Africa's security interests, particularly the African Union, must be empowered by member states before they can fully, and successfully, take up the challenge of unifying and amplifying an African voice or position across all issues;

## D. Sovereignty versus strong institutions

7. Participants insisted that the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), in particular, must be in a position to undertake the current and possibly expanded future mandate of coordinating African positions but also ensuring that member states faithfully comply with the conditions of their membership;

8. Participants recognised that in order for the AU to genuinely function as a veritable focal point and unifying force for the pan-African agenda on peace, security and development, the consensus building power of the AU has to increase in qualitative

and numerical terms; with African Heads of States championing an ever closer and unified Union. At the heart of the current inability to mobilise one voice on Africa's role in the global security agenda, or indeed, on broader developmental issues, is the reluctance of African governments to pool, hand over, or cede some authority to the African Union while expecting it to act in a determined manner. The time has come for African states to reconsider the rigid interpretation of state sovereignty and agree to cede or transfer more power and authority to the AU, to allow it deliver a more robust and effective peace and security regime;



Ethiopian Foreign Minister Dr. Tedros Adhanom (left) with Rwandan Foreign Minister Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo

9. Participants warned that there is sufficient - but often discounted - grounds to believe that the most important decision on peace and security by Africa's regional and continental institutions are either routinely ignored or breached by member states. This situation, in turn, sends the wrong signal - especially to outsiders - that African governments and institutions cannot (or should not) be taken seriously;

10. Member states should show greater commitment to decisions of the AU by ratifying and domesticating them; especially but not limited to those on democracy, elections, and governance given the growing realisation that some of the disturbing threats to peace and security in Africa mostly come from within the continent rather than from outside. This imperative requires closing the gaps between governance and security; and by extension, enhancing the synergies and complementarities inherent in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Governance Architecture (AGA);

11. African governments (and the institutions they have created to serve broad and specific purposes) should see and treat themselves in complementary terms rather than engaging, as has become quite often, in unhealthy competition and rivalries that lead to the dissipation of limited resources, and generally puts the continent at a disadvantage in global governance;



## E. The need for internal funding mobilisation to foster African ownership

12. Participants were unanimous that one of the most intractable - but also avoidable - problems facing Africa's inter-governmental institutions, in varying degrees, relate to the dearth of political will by member states to adequately fund or resources them. There is a clear disconnect between the commitments freely laid down by African governments and what they actually contribute. To achieve ownership and autonomy in policy responses, African governments and their institutions should look inwards to fund, and resource, peace operations rather than overly relying on external actors to meet their basic needs;

13. Participants converged on the point that more than any other time in the past, it is now an urgent imperative that African governments implement decisions wilfully endorsed on financing the AU and other inter-governmental institutions. Member states, both large and small, have a responsibility to follow-up their commitments with adequate funding and by taking general responsibility. Participants questioned, with substantial justification, whether a model of African solutions to African problems can emerge where others have to pay for it, even as they also recognised that the narrative of African solutions to African problems might provide an excuse for key partners to leave the continent in the lurch;

14. While the perennial challenge of a paucity of funding for a variety of peace operations persists, it is by no means the only factor undermining Africa's capacity to stand firm, act alone, or play a lead role in the global security agenda. Much would also depend on the continent's capacity to define, determine and pursue clear and coherent mandates;

15. If the continent, through the African Union, is to serve as a credible interlocutor for the continent in the global security arena, it would have to tackle constraints linked to funding, absence of clear and coherent mandates, and those related to the coordination and harmonisation of diverse interests and priorities;



Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Regional Director, Africa and the Middle East, IDEA International speaking during a session on "Africa's Role in the International Security Realm"



## F. Divergent interests versus strong positions by partners

16. Participants stressed the urgent imperative to deepen and also broaden coordination among African stakeholders: first, between the AU and the African Group in New York; and second, of necessity, insist on greater coordination, synergy as well as compliance by African members of the UN Security Council (A3) with the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State of the AU. Doing so would generally help to bridge the current disconnect between the AU in Addis Ababa and the UN in New York, and also promote the continent's position in the global security arena;

15. Prior to engagements with New York, Brussels and other major global capitals, Africans must identify, mobilise and forge unified positions. The time is now for the AU, through the African Group in the UN, to insist on the operationalization of Article 109 of the UN Charter without the possibility of a veto from the P5 members of the UNSC. Although the P5 will not accept this without a pushback, Africa must be resolute;

16. Participants recognised that the widening gap in the current relationship between and among African governments, inter-governmental institutions and civil society organisations (CSOs) working on peace and security issues, should be quickly closed. It is imperative for all stakeholders to work much more closely and concertedly in order to successfully mobilise an authentic and credible African voice on key peace, security and development issues;

You cannot have peace and security without inclusive development, the rule of law and the respect for human rights.

- Kofi Annan

## G. Emerging African PSOs as a mechanism for asserting Africa's voice in the global security agenda

17. Participants recognised that Africa needs to develop/adopt a clear and coherent set of doctrines to guide and shape its response to myriad global security imperatives rather than pursue ad-hoc, knee-jerk and often disjointed responses. Although the continent has made impressive and enduring contributions to global security, it has so far failed to put in place any coherent or substantive doctrinal guidelines, rules of engagement, or to mobilise an overarching narrative to guide current and future interventions. One immediate implication of this is that Africa's role in global peace and security is either haphazard or limited to the provision of troops, as if her men and women in uniform are mere cannon folders. In creating an overarching doctrine or narrative therefore, there is need to reflect on the peculiar and changing nature of conflicts in Africa, coupled with a recognition that the continent must, to varying degrees, work with a range of external actors. ■



## Reflections on the 5th Tana Forum

By Prof. Charles Ukeje

### Public Lecture at Bahir Dar University



H.E. Louise Mushikiwabo, Foreign Minister, Rwanda, delivering the public lecture at Bahir Dar University

The public lecture on *The Developmental State in Africa: The Rwandan Experience* was delivered by H.E. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Rwanda and chaired by H.E. Joaquim Chissano, former President of the Republic of Mozambique. It focused on how the current composition of the African state, along with its changing character, both constrain and creates opportunity for the continent to deliver on basic promises of peace, security and development. The public lecture, and the robust debate that followed, offered refreshing perspectives on how Rwanda, a country that witnessed its lowest moments during the genocide in 1994 has now become an African symbol of sustainable development. Similar to other African countries, Rwanda has experienced some of the worst forms of violent conflict, having to make difficult but inevitable choices around inclusion and consensus building to accommodate different constituencies.

The lecture flagged a number of key and interrelated issues, including the pressing imperative to: (1) put citizens (and their aspirations) at the centre of governance; (2) place a premium on local content and ownership in the conception, design and implementation of home-grown solutions that align with traditional practices and belief systems; (3) accord voice, recognition and agency to different socio-political constituencies, especially women and youth; (4) embrace and manage diversity beyond the usual rhetoric amongst heterogeneous national constituencies and with regional actors; (5) insist on zero tolerance for corruption and ensure strict adherence to the rule of law; and (6) recognise the transformative role that leadership can play in creating, mobilising and advancing collective national visions or priorities. While there seemed to be a consensus that leadership is critical to coupling these ingredients together, it is debatable if indeed it is a one-size-fits-



all magical wand to resolving Africa's myriad peace, security and developmental challenges. Yet, experiences within Africa - and beyond - point unequivocally to the fact that when countries typically take the wrong turn, the reasons are much closer to a leadership deficit than anything else.

The remarks by the two discussants, Professors Andreas Esheté and Adebayo Olukoshi, and those from the general audience, reinforced several of the views expressed by H.E. Louise Mushikiwabo. Clearly, the first major issue that is also conceptual in nature, relates to the very notion of the 'developmental state'; and whether such a state could co-exist with democracy or otherwise. This point was resolved with the acknowledgement that democracy and development are two sides of the same coin; that because both are mutually reinforcing, no developmental

state can thrive without democracy. Even at that, the debate unfortunately could still not fully resolve the notion around whether or not 'democracy is domestic'.

The centrality, or role, of leadership in agenda setting as well as in giving broad direction consistent with development during periods and processes of change, was revisited. Speakers argued that when visions of leadership and the state converge, the usual pathologies associated with excessive reliance on donors or partners become easier to manage. Even if those two key factors could be guaranteed, managing old and new fault-lines they produce would still likely pose serious challenges for any state, from within and outside. This is perhaps where African countries must, first and foremost, learn from one another in order to better engage with the rest of the world. ■



Participants in the Public Lecture



## Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture on Leadership in Africa



Professor Elikia M'Bokolo, Director of Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, France

The debate around leadership, unsettled from the previous day, again resurfaced during the annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series on “Leadership in Africa: Reflections on the Legacy of Patrice Lumumba”. The lecture was presented by Professor Elikia M'Bokolo, the Director of Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, France, and chaired by Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington D.C., USA. Professor M'Bokolo's point of departure was that leadership should not necessarily be cast in terms of a binary distinction between 'good' or 'bad', not the least because many 'good' leaders all too often exhibit serious leadership deficits that ultimately rob citizens of their livelihoods, safety and security. He warned, time and again,

that leaders as human beings are not enamoured from mistakes.

For him, then, it is not how long a leader has stayed in power that matters but the legacies left behind; and such legacies are best measured in real and qualitative terms by the lives of citizens touched. Regardless of the circumstances and material condition in any given society, clarity of vision is one of the tangible and irreducible qualities necessary in exercising meaningful leadership. Rather than clothe themselves in ideological robes, even when their actions lack a human face, key principles held lofty by African leaders must be understood by and explained to their citizens.



Although sometimes outside the control of leaders, a deep and nuanced appreciation of the environment in which they function is crucial to the success of whatever they set out to do, or even how they do them. Patrice Lumumba and several other African leaders past and present, perhaps underrated, misread or simply did not take cognizance of their environment that they eventually had to pay the supreme price. It was obvious from the lecture that leaders are not infallible, even when they have the best of intentions.

Leadership is not just central to and crucial in understanding Africa's contrasting developmental pathways but also a recurrent missing link in resolving the continent's myriad peace and security challenges. It was therefore useful - and sobering - to hear some of Lumumba's failures; including his naivety in misreading the inherent dangers near and far that eventually consumed him. The main point of the lecture was not necessarily to spite Lumumba's memory but to highlight them with the hope that a few lessons in leadership could be learned. It was obvious that any effort to 'rehabilitate' Lumumba, and other leaders of his generation, should require us to interrogate their thoughts and actions even if the essence of leadership can not be excised from the time and material circumstances in which they lived.

It is only by interrogating the life and work of Africa's leaders - and heroes - that a better understanding of the continent's

past, present and future might become clearer. In doing this, however, Dr. Muyangwa warned that we must not allow ourselves to fall into the "danger of paralysis", which typically comes from the failure to engage in critical and continuous self-introspection on the essence of leadership. For her, this explains why independence remains distant as long as African citizens are content with the symbolism associated with independence rather than its content in terms of the well being of African peoples. In the final analysis, the unchallenged point seemed to be that Patrice Lumumba and a few from his generation may have been idealistic, yet they left a message that continues to resonate to date: we can achieve more working together than at cross-purposes. ■



Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center







## Opening Ceremony



Dr. Carlos Lopes, Under Secretary-General and Executive Secretary, UNECA, Ethiopia

The opening ceremony provided another sneak preview into the essence of leadership, but also what to expect during the key plenary sessions. Anchored by H.E. Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia and Board Member of the Tana Forum, the session highlights included a short introductory video cataloguing the progressive growth of the Tana Forum over 5 years. This was followed by a welcome address delivered by H.E. Mr. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum; an exposé titled “The Spirit of Tana” by Professor Andreas Esheté, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia and Deputy Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board; and the definitive “State of Peace and Security in Africa 2016” delivered by H.E. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board.

A number of critical perspectives on the search for creative solutions can be distilled from the speeches and discussions during the opening session. The session started with a wrap up of the previous day’s events as well as set the tone around the key issues surrounding the main theme: Africa in the Global Security Agenda. The session’s deliberations began with the recognition that the security threats facing Africa are myriad, fluid and constantly changing. As the security challenges that daily confront Africa grow in number, frequency and intensity, there is a corresponding and even compelling need to mobilise new ideas and strategies for constructive dialogue and innovative ideas to respond to emerging threats. It was both necessary and expedient to capture the backdrops, nature, texture and trajectories of contemporary threats and explore creative ways in which those threats define and determine for “good or





Left to right: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn, Mr. Kofi Annan, and H.E. Thabo Mbeki

bad”, Africa’s place in the global security agenda; the range of resources required - and from what sources - to put Africa on a more formidable pedestal to allow it to shape the evolving global security order; and finally, the key lessons the continent might (un)learn as it mobilises creative responses to changing global security imperatives.

Participants seemed to be cautiously optimistic about whether Africa has truly come of age and ready to take on its destiny. They also recognised that the way forward if the continent is to make meaningful and sustained contributions to (re)shaping the global security agenda would be to look inwards. There was nonetheless an acute recognition that the role of external interlocutors cannot

be discounted, even as the continent is being called upon to take the lead in tackling its own myriad security threats. Repositioning Africa in the global security agenda, therefore, would require contemplating and deploying African-centered solutions; even if we still need to unpack what such solutions might mean or entail in the short-, medium- and long-term.

There was broad consensus that one-size-fits-all approaches are typically not suitable in managing Africa’s complex peace and security challenges, implying that whatever solutions are eventually deployed must be nuanced and context specific. While some participants argued quite persuasively for African-centered solutions, this should not necessarily

minimise or exclude the pivotal role that non-African actors should play in identifying and tackling peace and security challenges. After all, seemingly isolated or localised peace and security challenges from time-to-time have complex global ramifications, and vice versa. Further, there was some unanimity that Africa must go beyond solutions alone and place greater premium on their quality and sustainability. One point that was not lost is that when African solutions are not quickly identified and deployed, or where they fail for what ever reason, undesirable windows of opportunity may open for outsiders to intervene on the basis of enlightened self-interest.

Across the board, it was difficult to miss the debate on the role of the state (or national institutions); either as the critical point of departure in envisioning creative solutions to Africa's myriad security problems or as part of the problem in and by itself. The reality was therefore not lost that even as national platforms are either too fragmented or less responsive to African security imperatives, a broader architecture of responses that acknowledges and goes beyond the state may be necessary, if not sufficient. ■



Amb. Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference and H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of Ethiopia



## State of Peace and Security in Africa 2016



In his annual State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) address, President Obasanjo was equivocal in his insistence that Africa is increasingly claiming its rightful place in the global security arena; despite facing the persistence of 'old' or 'traditional' conflicts linked to marginalisation, exclusion, inequality, uneven development, youth exclusion, gender inequality and religious bigotry as well as new and devastating ones witnessed in Libya, Mali, Burkina Faso, Burundi, CAR, DRC, South Sudan, Somalia, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Zambia, etc.

Regardless of their currency, the SPSA address highlighted the fact that old and new conflicts alike are placing a huge strain on peace seeking, peace keeping and peace building institutions. These are

separate from non-conventional security threats, such as the collapse of public health systems in several countries. Even where such threats are not overt, they are triggered or exacerbated by decades of missed development opportunities that leave large populations, especially the vast majority of young people, without any form of social protection or safety net. This reality would suggest that solutions only lie in policies and programmes that are not only based in Africa but also involve the painstaking mobilisation of external actors and resources. Once again, the point returned: whatever direction Africa wishes to take regarding peace and security issues, the type of leadership capable of recognising the opportunities and challenges facing the continent in the short and long-run is pivotal. ■







## Keynote address

by Kofi Annan

The first plenary session on day one, Africa's Role in the International Security Realm, featured a keynote address by Mr. Kofi Annan, Chairman of the Kofi Annan Foundation, Former Secretary General of the United Nations and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. The session was not only chaired by H.E. Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Thabo Mbeki Foundation and former President of South Africa, but also attracted commentaries from four distinguished discussants: Dr. Carlos Lopes, Under-Secretary General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA); Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairperson of the Munich Security Conference, Germany; H.E. Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Rwanda; and Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Executive Director, Africa and the Middle East, IDEA International.

The first session focused on the "how" and "why" a consistent, credible and audible African voice or narrative is yet to be fully mobilised and mainstreamed in global debates and decisions; including, rather disturbingly, those focusing on major peace and security issues directly affecting the continent. The session not only drew critical attention to how global configurations of power put Africa at a major disadvantage, but also how the frequent inability of African governments to forge consensus when it matters most undermines the continent's capacity to set agendas, build partnerships and claim ownership of the processes or mechanisms

of peacemaking on her own terms. In light of the above, some of the key issues explored during the session include: the current status of Africa's representation and participation in global security affairs; an understanding of how African security is framed in global discourse; the opportunities and challenges Africa faces whenever it seeks to exercise autonomous agency or amplify its voice in the global security agenda; and finally, an interrogation of what principles and considerations should determine Africa's cooperation with external actors, states and non-states alike.



Amb. Berhane Gebre-Christos, Special Envoy to the Prime Minister, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

In many ways, the keynote address by Mr. Annan, and the critical discussions that followed, provided rich and contrasting insights into why Africa is only slowly asserting itself in the global security agenda. For him, times have changed considerably in qualitative and irreversible ways from the Cold War era when the major powers exercised politico-diplomatic leverage for and on behalf of the continent. The contemporary world is not only far more complex but one in which Africa is not able to fully inoculate itself from myriad security threats. It has indeed been a mixed bag of good - but also ugly - news. Contemporary Africa generally faces: a smaller risk of armed conflict (than say traffic accidents) and by extension, an environment for rapid economic growth over the past decade-and-a-half; a drop in extreme poverty by 40% since 1990; growth induced as much by global demand for commodities as by domestic demands in various sectors occasioned by an improved macro-economic environment; a decline in the spread of communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and associated deaths; and despite occasional hiccups, the fostering of democracy.

The flipside, of course, is also a burden: progress remains uneven to the extent that inequality gaps are widening among populations and between countries; insurgent/terrorist movements are pitching tent and thriving in remote and impoverished locations where the writ of the state is either lean or non-existent; local extremist groups are not only forging deadly linkages amongst themselves and across international borders but also becoming allies of global terrorist franchises such as Al Qaeda, and so on. Invariably, the answer does not lie in a purely military response (which does not tackle the root causes of disaffection and violence) but in pursuing three pillars of intervention, namely inclusive development, the rule of law and the respect for human rights. At the heart of the contradictions that modern Africa faces is how leadership deficits continue to blossom - across the board, from local to national, regional and continent levels. Instructively, Mr. Annan and each lead discussant took turns to acknowledge how leadership deficits have become an established and cross-cutting factor accounting for the continent's challenges. To quote him, "[Leaders] who hang on to power indefinitely by gaming elections and suppressing criticism and opposition are sowing the seeds of violence and instability. African leaders, like leaders elsewhere, must remember that they are at the service of their citizens, and not the other way around".



Participants at the 2016 Tana Forum

Looking forward and by way of recommendations, Mr. Annan's keynote address identified five critical challenges as the continent begins to contemplate a more commensurate, credible and consistent role in the global security





order. These include: (1) the need for Africa to have not just a strong and consistent voice at the pinnacle of the international security architecture by way of a dedicated permanent seat in the UN Security Council but also ensuring that issues that concern the continent are carefully identified, coordinated and presented; (2) the need to applaud and fully support, especially with adequate self-generated and self-sustaining funding, the work of continental and regional organisations engaged in peace operations; (3) the need to create jobs for the teeming population of youth at the national level; (4) the need to build confidence in the integrity of the electoral process by making elections the “vehicle for popular choice in which the winner does not take all and the loser does not lose all”; and (5) the need to ensure the quality of national security forces by making them fully accountable as they carry out their duties in protecting the lives and properties of citizens.

Discussants and other participants took turns to reflect on the salient issues raised in the keynote address. A major strand was that Africa must begin to free itself from a number of contradictions whereby reduced conflict activity is replaced by brutality. At a more systemic level, the paradox that the international community faces today is that the world will not be in a meaningful position to tackle global challenges without Africa, and vice versa. In order to achieve the mandate of an integrated, peaceful and prosperous continent as envisaged in Agenda 2063 of the African Union, Africa will not need strong men but strong constitutions, strong institutions, strong women, the rule of law and respect for human rights.



Dr. Wilmot Godfrey, Member/Official opposition's spokesperson on health, South African Parliament

It was also not lost on discussants and participants that Africa urgently needs to put to effective use her best human and material resources in order to be in any better shape or position to negotiate more favourable deals with the rest of the world. Doing so would imply, among others, that Africa must speak with a united and assertive voice at the level of the African Union (AU) and in strategic locations from Addis Ababa to Brussels, Washington, Beijing or New York. As desirable as it might seem, there was recognition that claiming a permanent seat or two in the UN Security Council, is necessary but not sufficient to make the continent a major global interlocutor on peace and security matters. At the barest minimum, achieving such a herculean task would also require mobilising a new pan-African consciousness, from below; the type that allows citizens of the continent to feel and have a true sense of belonging, identity and a shared future. ■

## Heads of State Panel



Heads of State Panel in session

The Heads of State Panel on Day 2 (Sunday, 17 April 2016) has become an established feature since the Tana Forum began in 2012. The panel was developed in part out of the need to give high-level African political leaders an informal platform, devoid of constraining official protocols, to exchange views with participants around the annual theme. This year, the Heads of State Panel was tasked with unpacking issues surrounding Africa's role in setting security agendas, how they see the issue of partnerships or subsidiarity in peace operations, and interrogating the far-reaching implications of the continent's high level of financial dependence on external actors vis-à-vis the question of ownership of peace operations. It was important, in specific terms, to engage the Heads of State on what they understand by the term "African ownership" in peace interventions, and how best such ownership can be

achieved in concrete terms; to reflect on whether or not Africa is capable of speaking with one voice, and the implications of not doing so; to share the key lessons arising from the multiplicity of contemporary security threats at the national, regional, continental and global levels; and finally, to examine the role of different domestic, and external constituencies, in the debate around how to manage security threats and challenges.

The session, chaired by Dr. Eleni Gabre-Madhin, invited comments from Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn (Ethiopia), President Omar Al-Bashir (Sudan), President Hassan Mohammed (Somalia), and the former President of Botswana, Festus Mogae. The first question posed to Prime Minister Desalegn was how Africa might gain and retain ownership of her security priorities, and how to push such priorities between Addis and New York; the seats of the African Union and the United





Dr. Eleni Gabre-Madhin, CEO, Eleni LLC, Ethiopia

Nations respectively. The Prime Minister remarked that first and foremost, there is a need to discuss African security issues 'in-house'; within, between and among African leaders in order to be able to speak with one voice at the UN, or in other international platforms. The challenge, he argued, includes how to involve and consult local actors at the sub-national levels in decision-making processes. Another limitation arises from the inability of the AU to speak with one voice due to its fractionalization into colonial and regional blocs.

In order for Africa to present a unified position on key security issues, the continent's position on issues must be based on merit - not the enlightened self-interest of politico-diplomatic permutations of its constituents. There is, of course, the issue of a clear disconnect between Africa's representation in New

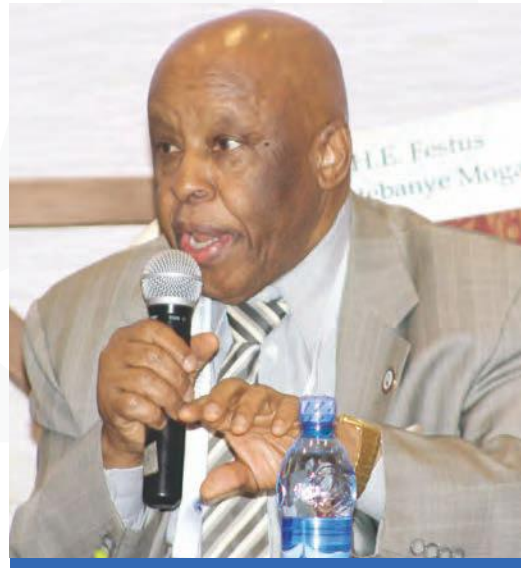
York, the seat of the United Nations, and what might be the unified position Africa should aspire for. For the umpteenth time, then, the role of African leadership should be to take the lead in providing guidance on how to mobilise and present a unified voice on all matters.

The question posed to President Omar Al-Bashir (Sudan) related to how a seamless alignment might be made that links grassroots concerns within the continent vis-à-vis Africa's politico-diplomatic representations in New York; and, following this, how to forge unified African positions on key issues despite the continent's plurality and diversity. President Bashir's intervention took as a point of departure the urgent need for Africa to purge unwholesome relics of imperialism and colonialism as the first step to taking charge of its destiny. The fact that Africa continues to look up to outsiders to solve its problems, is fraught with hurdles since external interlocutors are more likely than not to pursue their own enlightened national interests and agendas than to commit meaningfully to an agenda of political, security, diplomatic, social and economic emancipation and development of the continent. He warned that the continued reliance on foreign governments is an anomaly given that the AU was formed precisely to take the lead and responsibility for solving the myriad problems facing the continent. The AU has still not been able to achieve a desirable and consistent degree of consensus building in which its decisions reflect the interests of African citizens, and supra-nationality, in which decisions are binding on member states irrespective of the bloc or alliances they forge.

Regarding some of the internal issues that contribute to Africa's current security challenges, President Hassan Mohammed argued that African countries have made tremendous progress, even though there are still many proverbial rivers to cross in terms of addressing festering developmental and security challenges. He shared how his country, Somalia, presents a unique model in which other African countries see the pressing need to assist a sister country in achieving peace, security and development. For him, the Somali example reveals that African countries - with the right mix of support and a unified voice from within and outside the continent - can slowly overcome current myriad challenges. What African countries need to attract the dividends of development are strong institutions - not strong leaders. Beyond strong institutions, however, attention should be paid to broadening access to subsidized socio-economic and political opportunities by African citizens, especially the teeming youth population. Decades of slowed or missed developmental interventions have not only failed to mainstream African youth in development but actually led to further alienate and drive them towards extremist and insurgent groups.

On the question of how to link the involvement and participation of all actors - CSOs, private sector, parliament and government - to Africa's economic and security agenda, former President of Botswana Festus Mogae insisted that because contemporary threats are increasingly from within national boundaries they do not need

the conventional army to curb them. Furthermore, because threats are diverse or diffused, a multi-pronged approach that goes beyond simply engaging national security apparatuses becomes expedient; a reality that has now made the engagement of a plethora of actors and sectors imperative. Today's security challenges are multi-layered and cross-cutting, leaving the state alone to tackle them and risk negative outcomes.



H.E. Festus G. Mogae, Former President of Botswana

In his final analysis, President Mogae proposed a number of solutions that are inescapably linked to Africa exercising a measure of political autonomy on security and development issues. This can be done, according to him, by taking a number of steps: (1) forging regular and robust engagements with actors and sectors within the continent to take a unified position in security challenges before engaging with foreign actors; (2) stopping excessive financial dependency on outside support



to tackle Africa's own problems, bearing in mind that Africa can afford to take care of its own challenges using its vast resources; (3) deepening knowledge and good understanding of security issues to be able to come up with workable solutions and mitigation factors; and (4) recognising that strong institutions are essential and must be put in place to manage Africa's myriad and changing security threats.

The commentaries offered by the Heads of State Panel, in my view, highlight a number of takeaways that are important in repositioning Africa; not just in being able to exercise a credible voice in peace and security matters but also to take the initiative as and when the need arises. There is no doubt, for instance, that Africa must first be in a position to mobilise its own resources in human and material resources before it can play a frontline role in tackling its own security challenges. One paradox that resonated during the panel was that while Africa has sufficient resources to meet its pressing commitments, including to the African Union, corruption is the root cause of the fiscal haemorrhage that many African countries face. As Prime Minister Desalegn rightly noted, the money African leaders divert into private accounts at home and abroad far exceeds their meagre contributions to the AU.

There is a need for serious conversation at the highest levels regarding how to bridge the gap between Africa's rich resource endowments and the paltry, often erratic, contributions that Member States make to the AU. It is necessary to take on board the key recommendations of the panel led by the former President of Nigeria,

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, on resource mobilisation for the AU. In President Mogae's opinion, the challenges facing Africa are caused by systemic governance failures, not just at the level of member states but also in inter-governmental institutions such as the AU, which largely mirrors the same accountability deficits as its constituent members. Accountability, after all, should go beyond how the AU spends what it receives but also to the extent that the Union is able to translate the lofty commitments solemnly made at its Summits into concrete action.

It is important to recognise that strong institutions are not only desirable at the country level but also within continental platforms such as the AU. This is significant in view of the debate around how much authority member states should willingly cede to regional and continental institutions, and what elbow room inter-governmental institutions such as the AU should have in terms of responding to the peace and security challenges facing Africa. Finally, it is perhaps necessary to assume that an AU that is fully resourced by its member states would be in a better position to advance the continent's security interests. President Al-Bashir warned that as long as African countries are still dependent on foreign resources, their ability to claim or exercise policy autonomy will remain circumspect. Ultimately, if Africa is to secure and guarantee ownership of peace interventions on the continent, it must have a seat at the table where and when issues are discussed rather than waiting downstream at the receiving end. ■









## Session II: Peace Support Operations (PSOs) in Africa: New Paradigms, New Models



H.E. Jose Ramos-Horta, Nobel Prize Laureate, Former President of Timor-Leste

The chair of the session was H.E. Jose Ramos-Horta, Nobel Prize Laureate, Former President of Timor-Leste, and appropriately so, Chair of the UN High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO). The distinguished panel comprised of the following personalities: H.E. President Pierre Buyoya, former President of Burundi, Special Representative of the AU to Mali and the Sahel and member of the Tana Forum Board; General Martin Agwai, Former Deputy Force Commander of the UN Mission in Sierra Leone and Force Commander of the AU-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur; General Babacar Gaye, Former Special Representative and Head of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA); and Professor Cedric de Coning,

Senior Research Fellow, Peace and Conflict Research Group at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, NUPI, and chair of the Tana Forum Technical Committee.

The impulse behind Session II arose from the fact that one of the greatest manifestations of Africa's engagement within the global security architecture lies in the area of peace support operations (PSOs); one in which the continent currently accounts for the highest number of conflicts, personnel deployment and the largest share of financial allocation to operations. The fact that Africa hosts a multitude of peace support operations not only implies that it is a net contributor to and recipient of global peace and security mandates, but also that the continent faces a compelling need to find an appropriate niche for itself in responding to new demands. In



this regard, the session sought to closely interrogate the growing call on member states of the AU to focus more on conflict prevention and early action rather than wait for costlier (in human and material terms) conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction and development interventions where there are obvious comparative disadvantages.

The panel aimed to: identify and probe emerging models of African PSOs on the continent since the end of the Cold War with particular emphasis on their distinguishing characteristics; identify the lessons learned from recent transitions from AU- to UN-led operations in diverse places from the Central African Republic (CAR) to Mali; solicit ways through which different models of relationships and partnerships critical for the success of African PSOs could be strengthened; reflect on the challenges, constraints, capacities and resource deficits that determine the success or failure of missions; compare and contrast the qualitative differences in the approaches taken by the AU and regional frameworks when it comes to tackling regional conflicts; and finally, explain how best to strengthen the linkages between politics, development, governance and peace - building in the context of PSOs in Africa.

Despite Africa's hosting of a disproportionately large number of global PSOs, the continent's contributions have mostly been underrated, berated or ignored. After a brief exposé by H.E. Jose Ramos-Horta on the key lessons from Timor-Leste, the distinguished panel of experts who each played leading roles in past and on-going peace operations, shared

their perspectives on the changing nature and growing demands of PSOs. Today, the debate around PSOs has not only changed in substantive and quantitative terms but also due to the terrain, requirements, actors, institutions and outcomes. All of these have introduced new complexities and complications. First and foremost, what these changes imply is that while general guidelines or rules of engagement might either already exist (even if they are not codified and holistic) or that new ones should be created, soliciting a one-size-fits-all template for managing all interventions in Africa is likely to be counterproductive.



Mr. Adama Gaye, CEO, Newforce Africa, Sénégal

There was a clear consensus that the blossoming of PSOs in Africa should translate into the conception and implementation of new paradigms of intervention. This argument was borne out of the understanding that what is perhaps





Prof. Funmi Olonisakin, Founding Director of the African Leadership Centre and Tana Forum Board member

missing in contemporary interventions is the absence of overarching normative and policy frameworks; or simply a set of guidelines on the mobilisation, deployment or exit of peace operations. In my view, what was perhaps missing in the debate was that the consensus did not go further in terms of presenting a set of innovative prescriptions on what the content or shape of such new norms or paradigms should be. A 'new' doctrine must reflect, in my view, the fact that the continent must work with a wider range of actors, from within and from without, with some times less than altruistic intentions.

The second aspect the session acknowledged was that to mainstream

Africa's involvement in the global security arena, all of the five pillars of the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) must, first and foremost, be operationalized in equal measures. This recognition was the basis of a clarion call to place emphasis on the upstream pillars of APSA like the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and the Panel of the Wise (PoW) as tools for conflict prevention and early action, as much as the current fixation with the Peace and Security Council (PSC) and the African Standby Force (ASF) that become active only when conflict breaks out.

The third strand of the debate centred on what the presence of a multiplicity of state and non-state actors involved in





African PSOs might mean and how their involvements, for good or bad, determine the trajectories and outcomes of PSOs. Because several state, institutional and non-state actors are involved in PSOs, issues relating to what each does, when, and how often, have to be acknowledged and tackled given their far-reaching implications. A corollary to this strand is related to the relationship between the UN, on the one hand, and African institutions such as the African Union and regional communities or mechanisms on the other. The panel recognised that whereas the UN Security Council takes the lead on global peace and security issues, and by extension, recent developments have now made it imperative for the global body to work with the AU and regional frameworks in a less condescending manner. Indeed, the three tiers (global, continental and regional) must work on the basis of partnership, complementarity and subsidiarity. Bearing in mind some of the salient doctrinal differences - especially regarding intervention on the basis of whether or not there is peace to keep - better partnerships, coordination and cooperation between the UN and the AU would go a long way in reshaping Africa's narratives on, and involvements in, PSOs.

The fourth issue that gained prominence throughout the discussion on African PSOs was related to the challenge of their funding. While an aspect of the debate centred on whether or not Africa is capable of funding its own PSOs without recourse to outsiders, resourcing PSOs is by no means only about money. Evidence would in fact suggest that even with the best intentions and all the funding or resources required, Africa might still not

be in a position to implement robust, credible and continuous oversights in PSOs. Beyond resourcing PSOs, a task that should be led by Africans themselves, much would depend on the continent's capacity to clearly define its mandate and interest at every stage. Finally, looking forward, is simply the fact that the African state (and the inter-governmental institutions that collectively act on peace and security) must live up to the aspirations of their citizens by first and foremost creating and expanding access to subsidised socio-economic opportunities. If there is any profoundly disturbing lesson that decades of protracted violent conflicts in Africa should teach, it must be that the need for PSOs only presents itself because governments have abdicated the most sacrosanct *raison d'être* of state: to provide for and secure their citizens. ■



Dr. Cedric de Coning, Senior Researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and a Senior Advisor on Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding for ACCORD







## Session III: Conflict Prevention, Building Peace Infrastructure and Sustaining Peace



Amb. Fatuma Ndangiza, Former Chairperson of the African Peer Review Panel of Eminent Persons

The final session was moderated by the former Chairperson of the African Peer Review Panel of Eminent Persons, Ambassador Fatuma Ndangiza. Members of the panel included Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno, President of the International Crisis Group; Dr. Nkosana Moyo, Executive Chairman of the Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS); Ambassador Amedou Ould Abdallah, President of Centre for Strategy and Security and member of the 2016 UN Peacebuilding Panel; and the winner of the Tana Forum Annual African Universities' Essay Competition, Mr. Sekou Toure Otondi of the University of Nairobi, Kenya.

This session was situated in the context of how a growing number of African states are confronted with a convergence of intra-state conflicts occurring side-by-side with the proliferation of security threats linked to transnational criminal and terrorism networks, health epidemics, forced migration and religious extremism, to name a few. The session therefore placed a premium on key questions aimed at identifying the forces and factors that shape accounting for the emergence and exacerbation of new threats; the type and quality of conflict prevention and peace building infrastructures already in place; the synergies and complementarities needed to be created and nurtured in conflict prevention and peace-building at different levels; how and to what extent non-state African actors, including the





private sector and civil society, should invest in and support local ownership of peace-building processes; and finally, the ingredients as well as the long-term prospects for the structural prevention of conflicts, including which actors and institutions should play a lead role.

The chair of the session set the tone by identifying a clear nexus between conflict prevention and tackling emerging threats to peace and security in Africa; including those increasingly linked to terrorism and insurgency activities. Members of the panel and the audience commented on a number of issues that could be summarised as follows: (1) that in view of the heavy costs in human and material terms associated with managing full-blown and mostly protracted violent conflicts, establishing and nurturing a robust conflict prevention architecture should be the top priority in contemporary Africa; (2) that beyond Africa's widening fiscal gaps, mitigating its capacity to mobilise adequate conflict prevention and early action mechanisms, the continent needs confidence in itself but also better coordination amongst its currently disconnected constituencies; (3) that whereas the notion of African solutions might provide an overarching - or even philosophical - guide for the continent to take the lead in conflict prevention, management and resolution, it could also inadvertently create the opposite: a situation in which key external interlocutors in a position to complement the continent's efforts use it as an excuse for non-engagement; (4) that when it comes to conflict prevention, building peace infrastructure and sustaining peace, different levels of relationships between Africa and non-African constituencies must be revisited and clearly defined;

and (5) that even though there is clear evidence of the primacy of politics in the entire spectrum of peace interventions, from conflict prevention to building peace, a more sustainable paradigm or pathway must begin from below by recognising and empowering local grassroots constituencies, including the private sector playing greater and more meaningful roles. The point of emphasis, in the final analysis, is for the continent to prioritise and amplify the 'agency of local constituencies' in sustainable peace - building in Africa beyond the primacy of top-down politics that favours the external. ■



Mr. Sekou Toure Otondi, Winner of the 2016 Tana Forum Annual African Universities Essay Competition, University of Nairobi, Kenya







## Closing Ceremony



H.E. Amb. Smail Chergui, AU Commissioner for Peace and Security

The closing ceremony was chaired by Ms. Betty Bigombe, Senior Director for Fragility, Conflict and Violence at the World Bank and former Minister for Water Management, Uganda, with further reflections by Ambassador Smail Chergui, Commissioner for Peace and Security at the African Union Commission and Ambassador Susan Page, U.S. Chargé d’Affaires to the African Union. It was followed by a vote of thanks given by H.E. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as well as the way forward and closing remarks by H.E. Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn of Ethiopia.

By way of reflections on the key discussions over the two-day Tana Forum, the closing session reiterated a number of salient but recurrent points throughout the event: the need for purposeful leadership (both individual and institutional) at different

levels, including leadership that puts the welfare and interest of citizens first; the desire to see decisions and common positions of the AU faithfully advanced by the Africa Group at the UN Headquarters in New York, as well as in other major global platforms; the need to recognise the immense contributions of women and youth to African peace and security, and the imperative to protect them in fragile situations; the need to give concrete expression to the quest for the free movement of people, goods and services across Africa to address the current substantive and uneven development. Further, given the centrality of the UN Security Council in managing continental (and global) peace and security, Africa should go beyond merely asking for permanent seats but instead mount a decisive and determined demand for them. Even at that, some of the conditions and circumstances capable of derailing





Africa's long-standing ambition for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council were acknowledged, including the resilience of colonial divisions.

By the time the concluding remarks were given by Chief Obasanjo and Prime Minister Desalegn, it was clear that the fifth Anniversary of the Tana Forum had once again lived up to its billing as a platform for critical - yet informal - discussions on pressing peace and security challenges facing Africa. Indeed, the Tana Forum is developing into an authentic African brand in view of the type, seriousness and timeliness of the issues it takes on. It was therefore a fitting drawing of the curtain when Prime Minister Desalegn announced the transfiguration of the Tana Forum into a full-fledged pan-African foundation, to be known as the "Tana Foundation". With this new designation, the bar has been raised, not only to take its enviable place alongside comparable institutions around the world but also to further boost the core mandate of promoting authentic pan-African dialogue and exchanges that would ordinarily not be possible in more established official settings within or outside the continent. ■



H.E. Ms. Betty Bigombe, Senior Director for Fragility, Conflict and Violence World Bank and Tana Forum Board Member

# THEMES



## Managing Diversity and State Fragility

2012

2013

## Security and Organised Crime in Africa







**Keynote Speaker**

**Kofi Annan**

Former Secretary-General of the United Nations

### Illicit Financial Flows

### Africa in the Global Security Agenda

2014

2015

2016

### Secularism and Politicised Faith





## Pre-Forum Activities

### Ambassadors' briefing and press conference

The ambassadors' briefing is organised with the aim of involving the diplomatic community in the activities of the Forum. This briefing outlined the procedures and preparations for the Tana Forum. The briefing was attended by 32 African ambassadors, dignitaries, and members of the international community working in the area of peace and security in Africa. The ambassadors were briefed by the Former President of Nigeria and Tana Board Chairperson, H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo; Dr. Tedros Adhanom, Ethiopia's Minister of Foreign Affairs; Prof. Andreas Esheté, Adviser to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia with a Rank of a Minister and Tana Board Deputy Chairperson; and H.E. Mr. Legesse Geremew, Director General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia. ■



Prof. Funmi Olonisakin, Founding Director of the African Leadership Centre, King's College London and Tana Forum Board member



Ambassadors' briefing, March 2016





## 2016 essay competition

The 2016 essay competition intended to stimulate debate on why Africa's security challenges attract substantial global attention whereas the continent's own experience and articulation of its issues has yet to obtain commensurate global recognition, acceptance and significance. The competition was open to MA and PhD students from 17 African universities.

The authors of the top three essays won a complimentary trip to Bahir Dar, Ethiopia to attend the 5th Tana Forum. Mr. Sekou Toure Otondi, a PhD candidate at the University of Nairobi, was selected as the winner of the 2016 essay competition. He participated in a panel discussion on 'Conflict Prevention, Building Peace Infrastructures, and Sustaining Peace'. ■

The poster for the 2016 Tana Forum Annual Essay Competition features the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa logo and a blue feather graphic. It lists three questions: 'Are you an African youth concerned about peace and security on the continent?', 'Do you believe your future is, in any way, affected by current peace and security challenges in Africa?', and 'Do you want your voice to be heard on this issue? Do you have a passion for writing?'. The theme is 'Africa in the Global Security Agenda'. It states that 17 participating universities are involved and that the top three authors will win a complimentary trip and a chance to participate in the 2016 Tana High-Level Forum in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. The deadline is 29 February 2016. A 'Learn More' link points to [tanaforum.org/competition](http://tanaforum.org/competition).

## Tweet chats

We organised 3 tweetchats to create awareness on the theme for the year and connect notable personalities with African youth. We hosted Dr. Carlos Lopes, Under Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA); Dr. Tedros Adhanom, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopia and Michelle Ndiaye, Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat. ■

## Pre-Tana Forum expert meeting

Held on 14-15 December 2015, the expert meeting provided a platform for a small group of experts conversant with the overall theme to identify, articulate, debate, and come up with specific sub-themes for the different sessions.

The output of the meeting was submitted to the Tana Forum Secretariat to help outline the agenda for the year's Forum. ■



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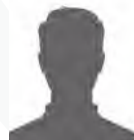
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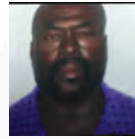
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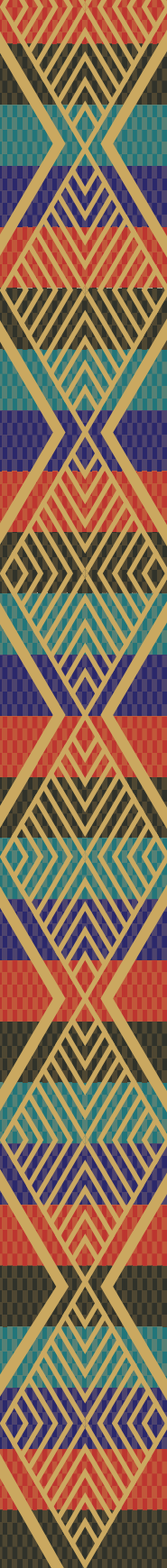
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