

Concept Note | Joint Post-Tana Regional Multi-Stakeholder Forum

‘The Content and Shape of the Peace and Security Agenda in the Post-Reform Era: Reflections from the 7th Tana Forum’

18-19 July, 2018 | Gaborone International Conference Centre (GICC) | Gaborone, Botswana

I. Introduction

IPSS, Tana Forum, USIP and ISS will jointly host a two-day workshop on the topic ‘The Content and Shape of the Peace and Security Agenda in the Post-Reform Era: Reflections from the 7th Tana Forum’ from July 18-19, 2018 in Gaborone, Botswana at Gaborone International Conference Centre (GICC). This concept note is intended to guide the preparation of the Post-Forum.

II. Background

A. Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University (AAU) serves as the Secretariat for the annual Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, also known as Tana Forum. Parallel to hosting the Forum Secretariat, IPSS also runs the Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), a joint project with the African Union (AU) that aims to build African capacities to develop and implement African-led solutions in peace and security in Africa. In this context, the outcomes of the Tana Forum inform the Institute’s activities in education, research and policy dialogues. This further contributes to the creation of a platform where ideas and synergies on African-centred solutions in peace and security can converge with wider objectives to inform decision-making, policy formulation and implementation at the AU, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and Regional Mechanisms (RMs) levels.

B. Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa /The Tana Forum/

The Tana Forum is an independent initiative that seeks to provide an informal platform for African Heads of State/Government to engage in open and frank discussions with a wide spectrum of non-state stakeholders on the most pressing peace and security issues confronting the continent. The informal nature of the Tana Forum lends a different approach to discussing security issues on the continent. The Forum is not intended to deliver “official declarations”, instead, it is stimulated by the desire to engage in fresh, candid and in-depth discussions on pressing peace and security issues to produce innovative ideas, in addition to opening new windows of opportunities for solutions.

C. United States Institute of Peace (USIP)

The United States Institute of Peace/USIP/ is an independent national institute founded by congress and dedicated to the proposition that a world without violent conflict is possible, practical and essential for U.S. and global security. It promotes national security and global stability by reducing violent conflicts abroad. USIP pursues this vision on the ground in conflict zones, working with local partners to prevent conflicts from turning to bloodshed and to end it when they do. In addition, it guides peace talks and advice government, train police and religious leaders and support community groups opposing extremism to help troubled countries solve their own conflicts peacefully. Besides that, USIP delivers on the ground skills training, education, grants and research with local and international partners to reduce conflict, improve governance and curb violence extremism.

D. Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) is a leading Pan-African Organisation that enhances human security to enable sustainable development and economic prosperity in Africa. Established in 1991, the ISS is now the continent’s preeminent organisation on human security. It employs around 100 staff in its regional offices in East, West and Southern Africa, and in Addis Ababa where the African Union (AU) is based.

The ISS conducts authoritative research, provides expert policy advice, and delivers training and technical assistance across the continent. It has established a niche in Africa where it provides a unique package of services to governments and civil society by combining independent research with an ability to convene key decision makers to discuss policy and partner in capacity building.

III. Rationale for the Post-Forum

The 7th Tana Forum took place in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia from 21-22 April, 2018 on the theme **‘Ownership of Africa’s Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union’**. From these two days forum, a range of topics emerged that requires deeper reflections and discussions so as to come up with recommendations for interventions that can help influence peace and security policies, their subsequent implementation and impact on the continent.

One such topic is **Africa’s Ownership of its Peace and Security Agenda**. The application of the principles of ownership in the field of peace and security remains difficult. The African peace and security sector is often crowded by external stakeholders who often times make it hard for local stakeholders to claim its ownership. This is often the reality in peace building and state-building ventures. Understanding ownership helps to strategically examine the roles and functions of external actors in the goals of peace building and state-building. Ownership has acute political significance when presented in the context of relationships between those exercising power and those receiving it, between developed and developing countries. In this regard, the role of the AU is particularly central in claiming African ownership in peace and security. In a rapidly, changing global policy environment, there is a clear need for more powerful and effective AU institutions that have the capacity to assume strong ownership on continental and global matters.¹ This is especially relevant in the context of ongoing reforms of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)² where the modalities of the financing of AU Peace

¹ In *A Wind of Change, The Institutional Reform of the African Union and Africa’s Security Provision*, in 2018 Tana Papers, A Collection of Policy Briefs editor in chief, Dr. Pamela Mbabazi, Associate Editor, Dr. Mercy Fekadu, Grace Atuthraie, Michelle Mendi Muita and Zeynya Shikur,

² the reform encompasses five key issues; categories of membership, the questions of the veto held by the five permanent members, regional representation, the size of an enlarged council and its working methods, and the security council-general assembly relationship

Support operations authorized under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter still remain contested.³

The Peace Fund timeframe and implementation challenges by Member States (MS) is another topic worthy of deeper discussion. In his address at the Tana Forum, Chairperson Moussafaki Mahamat commended the progress made in the number of MS that were implementing the 0.2% levy. In 2018, 20 had started its implementation, with 13 levying close to \$ 41.6 out of the needed \$ 65 million into the Peace Fund⁴. Nevertheless despite such commendable progresses, challenges remain with regards to the implementation of the levy at national levels and the meeting of set deadlines by the institutional body. One such challenge is the lack of some MS commitment resulting from delays in process bureaucracies of putting in place domestic legislation to implement the funding decision. The other challenge is the weak revenue generating agencies and unsophisticated financial institutions of some MS. This not only delays the process of identifying appropriate financial institutions responsible for assessment and collection of the required levy but also sets back the AU in meeting its financing scheme deadlines. Moreover, corruption still remains pervasive in many African countries: Sub-Saharan Africa still remained one of the least performing region in the world in 2017⁵. Finally, there are challenges pertaining to the technical implementation of the 0.2% levy that clash with existing tax levy schemes at regional levels such as the one in the ECOWAS region; international levels such as the World Trade Organization(WTO)'s rules and obligations, or even other trade agreements entered into by AU member states.⁶ Such challenges are likely to raise the cost of importing goods into the continent which may have an impact on the livelihoods of importers and consumers.

In relation to above, a topic of continental and global interest is the **Free Movement of People on the continent that poses the debate on regional integration and security imperatives**. One of the guiding principles of the protocol which states respect for laws on the protection of national security pauses major obstacle to the implementation of the

³ Cedric de Coning, How will AU reforms impact on relationships with Key Partners, in A Wind of Change, The Institutional Reform of the African Union and Africa's Security Provision, in 2018 Tana Papers, A Collection of Policy Briefs editor in chief, Dr. Pamela Mbabazi, Associate Editor, Dr. Mercy Fekadu, Grace Atuthraie, Michelle Mendi Muita and Zeynya Shikur, p.86

⁴ Statement Of The Chairperson Of The Commission Of The African Union, H.E. Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat, On The Occasion Of The Opening Of The High Level Tana Forum On Security In Africa, April 21,2018, p.4

⁵ Transparency International , 2018, Corruption Perceptions Index 2017 Shows High Corruption Burden In More Than Two-Thirds Of Countries

⁶ Philip Kasaija, AU Financial Reform; Compliance and Implementation Bottlenecks by Member States, A Wind of Change, The Institutional Reform of the African Union and Africa's Security Provision, in 2018 Tana Papers, A Collection of Policy Briefs editor in chief, Dr. Pamela Mbabazi, Associate Editor, Dr. Mercy Fekadu, Grace Atuthraie, Michelle Mendi Muita and Zeynya Shikur p. 102-103

protocol. The fact that, the characterizations of ‘public order’ and ‘national security’, may vary considerably from one country or region to another makes addressing security risks resulting from free movement challenging. Even though there is no consensus on the benefit of free movement and evaluation of past PSC decisions reveal positive and negative dimension on the implementation of the protocol, there is still the need to clearly identify the security challenges of implementation of the protocol. One instance where implementation will be difficult is borders that are heavily militarized. In this case, there is no question that the protocol on free movement cannot be implemented in the near future. Another instance is porous borders where there is no state presence, the free movement of people can result in the free exercise of terrorism and other criminal activities. This is already the situation in various parts of the continent: in the Sahelian strip, the Lake Chad basin and the Great Lakes region. This pauses the question of how strong border governance should be while implementing the free movement of people. In addition states with bags of insecurity with an almost non-existent border control in many remote areas illustrate the challenge of establishing free movement of people on a continent. The protocol on free movement had already been signed by 31 member states by early May exceeding half of the AU membership, none of the top contributors to the AU budget – Algeria, Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt and Morocco have signed except Angola. The Northern Region is the only region where none of the member states has signed the protocol and out of the 15 current PSC member states, 12 have signed the protocol.⁷

The demand for **inclusion of Women and the Youth in decision making processes as well as Mediation efforts, financing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation** thereof also remained amongst the dominant topics tabled at the Tana Forum. Despite the existence of a number of legal documents and initiatives that call, promote and create the grounds for the inclusion of women and youth, more is still needed to be done. The Solemn Declaration of 2009, the UNSC Resolution 1325 and the African Network of Women Mediators in Africa (FemWise-Africa) in 2017 are some of the milestone pillars to guarantee women equitable participation and capacity building in the peace and security sphere. Yet, more still remains to be done. This is still the case with regards to the Youth. The median age in 2018 in Africa stands at 19.4⁸ with close to 77% of the population under the age of 35.⁹ The AU has adopted several normative frameworks to

⁷ The dilemma of free movement of people on an insecure continent published online on 18 May 2018
https://issafrica.org/pscreport/on-the-agenda/the-dilemma-of-free-movement-of-people-on-an-insecure-continent?utm_source=BenchmarkEmail&utm_campaign=PSC_Report&utm_medium=email

⁸ <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/africa-population/>

⁹ <http://www.dw.com/en/the-77-percent-join-the-debate/a-42097864>

guarantee the protection and promotion of the rights of young people. The African Governance Architecture Youth Engagement Strategy (AGA-YES) is one such framework with the aim of fostering participatory and active engagement of young Africans in governance and democratic processes in their respective MS. Thus, 77% of today's Africa offer a 'demographic window of opportunity' for MS if harnessed through enabling of the youth at all levels and the strengthening of platforms for youth capacity building, employment, participation and representation. MS should thus not only align National Youth Policies with recommendations forwarded by the AU Reforms if they are to make the most of the continent's youth bulge but also accordingly review and implement laws, rules and regulations at national, regional and continental levels.¹⁰

IV. Objectives

a. Overall Objective

The main objective of the joint post-forum is to review, discuss, and provide further thoughts, deeper reflections and impetus on the identified four themes. This is with the dual purpose of influencing enabling new policies, providing recommendations for interventions on existing ones and initiating plans of action and implementation.

b. Specific Objectives

In line with the above, the planned joint workshop will discuss and recommend ways forward on the below specific topics under each theme:

- Further discuss the four topics based on stakeholders' consensus;
- What are the factors (positive and negative) influencing achievements of desired results on all the four topics?
- Initiate discussions on alternative approaches/recommendations to support MS efforts using existing policies/frameworks and new ones.

¹⁰ George Mukundi Wachira and Joseph Muuo Kilonzo, AU Institutional Reforms: Legal Implications for the Member States in 2018 Tana Papers, A Collection of Policy Briefs editor in chief, Dr. Pamela Mbabazi, Associate Editor, Dr. Mercy Fekadu, Grace Atuthraie, Michelle Mendi Muita and Zeynya Shikur,

V. Guiding Focus Themes and Questions

In line with the above mentioned rationale for having this joint post forum and general and specific objectives, a total of four themes have been identified to be the focus of the two days' workshop. The following questions have been designed to guide the discussion under the four focus themes.

Topic 1: Africa's Ownership of its Peace and Security Agenda

- a. Reforming of the Union: between an inward looking Global North and a financially demanding African Peace and Security Landscape;
- b. Reform of the UNSC: when and what does it entail for the African Peace and Security Landscape?

Topic 2: The Peace Fund timeframe and implementation challenges by Member States (MS)

- c. Collection of the AU Peace Fund: what does it mean for Member States (MS) and how much has been collected so far?
- d. Disbursement of the AU Peace Fund: How are priorities set and who sets them?

Topic 3: Free Movement of People on the continent: the debate on regional integration and security imperatives

- e. How can the gains be leveraged despite the emerging security imperatives on the continent?
- f. Success stories: what are the lessons to be learnt from Ghana, Nigeria, and Rwanda?

Topic 4: Inclusion of Women and the Youth in decision-making processes and Mediation efforts

- g. How do we go forward with Fem-Wise: What is working and how can the network be made more effective?
- h. What further steps should MS put in place to address women empowerment, inclusion and full participation in democratic governance, socio-economic policymaking as well as peace, security and implementation processes?
- i. Increased role of youth in conflict prevention: when is it time to involve them?
- j. How may the youth be supported to harness their full potential?

VI. Participation

A total of 50 experts will take part in the Post-Forum. They will be key stakeholders and policymakers from the AU, RECs/RMs, MS, as well as think tanks, international organizations, the diplomatic community, youth as well as women led Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and development partners alongside representatives from USIP, ISS, IPSS and Tana Secretariat respectively.

VII. Expected Outcomes

- Bringing together leading thinkers and experts to input on identified themes;
- Encouraging policymakers to move from norm-setting to implementation (“from policy to practice”);
- Strengthening the peace and security network in Africa through improved common understanding of the challenges and opportunities of the AU Reforms;
- Policy recommendations that will impact policies and programmes with regards to
 - a reformed AU that fully finances its peace and security ventures while also focusing on reducing them;
 - a reformed AU operating with a united voice in the era of a reformed UNSC;
 - how priorities on the disbursement of the AU peace fund should be set;
 - how the Fem-Wise network and young people’s role in preventing and managing conflict can be better leveraged;

VIII. Expected Outputs

- An outcomes document of the joint Post-Forum for online publication and dissemination;
- A policy brief to communicate the discussions and recommendations from the Post-Forum. The brief will be distributed to key decision and policy-making stakeholders;
- Consolidated list of experts on the topic;
- Social media engagement and the distribution of a media advisory and press release.

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