



REPORT ON THE TANA HIGH-LEVEL FORUM ON SECURITY IN AFRICA

14-15 April 2012
Bahir Dar, Ethiopia



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I. Preface

This Forum Report contains an overview of the speeches, remarks and main discussion topics from the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, held on 14-15 April, 2012 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. Discussion notes on the two selected themes – Managing Diversity and State Fragility – are also included as annexes in this report.

The Forum sought to provide African key stakeholders with a platform to work towards effective African-led solutions to the continent's most pressing security challenges. The Forum promoted proactive management of African issues related to peace and security while advocating for greater ownership of Africans on their issues. The Forum also provided a unique opportunity for participants to exchange experiences and insights on peace and security issues, to explore common approaches, and to take home practical lessons learned from an event that strived to foster the African voice in both African and global security discourse.

Current and former Heads of State and Government, distinguished leaders of regional and sub-regional bodies, representatives from the private sector, concerned civil society from Africa, eminent personalities from politics and media, representatives of African and non-African multi-lateral bodies, and important partners attended the Forum.

The Forum was organised by the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University. IPSS devoted much time and effort towards making the Forum an opportunity for participants to exchange practical and useful information. Additional information about the Forum and resource materials can be obtained by visiting our website.

IPSS is a premier institute of higher education for peace and security studies in the region. Its mission is to promote peace and security in Ethiopia and Africa at large through education, research and professional development. The Institute produces skilled professionals in conflict prevention, management, resolution as well as in peace building, and promotes the values of a democratic and peaceful society.



II. Purpose and Goals

In the African Union's Declaration on the Elimination of Conflicts and the Promotion of Sustainable Peace in Africa (Tripoli Declaration, August 2009), African Heads of State and Government designated peace and security as a collective "intellectual challenge" and called for the elaboration of "African-centred solutions" to take it on. The Tana Forum was organised by the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University in response to this call.

The Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa complements recurrent formal meetings of African leaders in a collaborative manner. In the spirit of gatherings taking place under the Baobab, the Forum offers room and space for panel discussions, interaction with the floor, and bilateral talks to share views and experiences in a time-efficient, results-oriented and open manner.



One of the main objectives of the Forum is to work towards effective African-led solutions to the continent's most pressing security challenges through both agenda-setting and the provision of a platform for discussion is one of the main objectives of the Forum. It promotes a strategic and pro-active management of African peace and security issues, driven by the interest to contribute to a stronger ownership of, and a larger constituency for such African-led solutions.



The unique opportunity given to the participants — decision-making leaders, the private sector and various institutions — consists of the exchange of experiences and insights that is set against a background of minimal formalities and a pragmatic limitation to an inclusive dialogue in a spirit of problem-solving. African political decision-makers get to interact and consult with an African broad-based constituency as well as with key global actors within a substantive African open debate on peace and security issues that are of key strategic importance to the continent, its regional institutions and African Union member states.





III. Programme

SATURDAY 14th		
Time	Session 1	
11.00 – 12.00	Opening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Hesphina Rukato • Prof. Andreas Eshete • H.E. Prime Minister Meles Zenawi • Mrs. Graça Machel • H.E. Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo 	
12.00 – 14.30	Lunch Break	
Time	Session 2	
14.30 – 17.00	Panel 1: Managing Diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prof. Andreas Eshete (Chair) Panellists <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Francis Deng • Ms. Bineta Diop • Prof. Mahmood Mamdani • H.E. Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo 	1 hour for panellists 1 hour discussion 30 minutes wrap up by panellists
SUNDAY 15th		
Time	Session 3	
09.00 – 11.30	Panel 2: State Fragility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Funmi Olonisakin (Chair) Panellists <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • H.E. Ms. Luisa Diogo • Dr. Abdalla A. Hamdok • H.E. Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra • H.E. Mr. Thabo Mbeki 	1 hour for panellists 1 hour discussion 30 minutes wrap up by panellists
11.30 - 12.00	Tea Break	
Time	Session 4	
12.00 - 13.00	Closing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • H.E. Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo (Chair) 	
13.00 – 14.30	Lunch	
16.30	Departure by plane to Addis	



Welcome Address by H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo Chairperson of the Tana-High Level Forum on Security in Africa

Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Ambassadors, distinguished guests, the youth, ladies and gentlemen, let me welcome you to the first gathering of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa.



Last year, our continent of Africa faced many challenges among them the Arab Spring and the events in Libya. Currently, the situation in Mali, which is being resolved, and now the situation in Guinea Bissau must give us a cause for concern. The situation with Ethiopia's neighbour, Somalia and we are happy to welcome the president of Somalia, he will of course give us food for thought, all these highlight the necessity for a meeting of this kind. And as the prime minister said, it is not meant to duplicate, it is meant to reinforce, it is meant to compliment and it is meant to help in finding solutions to the issues of peace and security which appear intractable in our continent.

It gives me great pleasure, therefore to welcome you to Bahir Dar for the first Tana-High Level Forum on Security in Africa. This inaugural Forum is significant for a number of reasons:

First is the unique historical and beautiful setting. Bahir Dar is the capital city of the State of Amhara. The region, and indeed the city, form part of the rich Ethiopian history, which is well documented in the booklet we have shared to you. It is both interesting and exciting that this maiden Tana High-Level Forum is held against the backdrop of such history and such beauty.

Second, this is the first time in the history of Africa that a distinguished group of leading multi-stakeholder personalities are meeting in an informal setting to discuss strategic peace and security challenges facing our continent. Rarely in the African development and peace and security process do we have civil society, the private sector, think tanks, scholars, diplomats, government and intergovernmental organisations, as well as former and current Heads of State and Government sitting together to discuss issues of peace and security and to find appropriate steps and measures to strengthen peace and security on the continent.



Third, the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa is designed to be an annual event, whereby stakeholders will rub minds and discuss realistic ideas and relevant actions to prevent, manage and resolve issues of conflict and security in Africa.

Why create the Tana Forum on Security in Africa? Some of you may ask. Perhaps the establishment of the Tana Forum is an indication of the achievements made by the African Union (and the OAU before it) over the years in opening up spaces for citizen participation in peace and security matters of the continent. The AU's adoption of Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa in 2002, and the Constitutive Act of the AU, as well as the African Peace and Security Architecture, are all signs of success and the long road we have walked in our efforts in trying to attain peace and security in Africa. We are all aware of the ongoing sterling efforts of the AU and the AU Commission, Regional Economic Communities and Member States to resolve ongoing peace and security challenges on the continent. Yes, so much has been done, but so much is left to be done. In fact, so much is unpredictable in our circumstances. Again, the unpredictability is underlined by the event in Guinea Bissau.

The recent events in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya have shown that more than ever before, Africans need to speak with a common and strong voice. We also need to enhance our capability to address unpredictable situations of conflict and insecurity. To effectively deal with the threats that Africa faces now and in the future, there is a need to practically translate our common vision to complement the legal instruments and institutional mechanisms. This includes building a common spirit, a common language and common motivations among all citizens in order to confront the present challenges as they emerge. Security and peace are the foundation of any democracy, good governance, economic development, growth, social cohesion and progress.

When, in August 2011, Dr. Rukato and Mr. Mulugeta from the Institute for Peace and Security Studies came to see me in Ogun State with a letter requesting me to take the Chair of the first Forum, it was not difficult to see the potential of their idea. I accepted, and I am grateful to Professor Andreas for embracing this initiative and seeing it through to its realisation which we witness today.

I am particularly indebted to Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who offered to host the first Forum in Ethiopia. Ethiopia, by the virtue of its status as a host of the African Union is the right place for the seat of this forum.



The Institute for Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University has heartily accepted to organise this first forum and the subsequent ones until it becomes part of our annual calendar.

We chose the city of Bahir Dar for relaxation, peace, quiet, security and informality, while doing serious brainstorming and rubbing of minds. We have chosen the Baobab tree as a symbol of the Tana High-Level Forum; indeed we are going to talk under the tree here in the hall, in the best of African traditions. The tree symbolizes the importance of dialogue as a key aspect of conflict resolution and instituting peace and security. Meeting under the tree stands for the traditional values of love and brotherhood, hospitality and communalism of Africa. It also stands for the ethical principles of justice, reciprocity, equity, integrity and honesty. The Tana Forum challenges us to become ever more steadfast in pursuing these values and virtues.

We will talk today about the fragility of states and the prospects for peace in Africa. We want to talk about weak states, and what makes our states weak, and what ingredients or factors are necessary to make states strong? Even states that we call strong, how strong are they?

Our second topic is the governance or management of diversity and its implications for peace and security. There is no country in Africa that has not got diversity as an issue or as a challenge. I do not see it as a problem; instead, it is an opportunity we should cherish. Most of our countries would be miniscule if we had no diversity in religion, culture, ethnicity, language or social group. The question is, how do we manage diversity? It is mostly a problem when there is no equity, fairness and justice. Diversity itself is not a problem; the problem is normally its poor management or total neglect of its management.

Last year, we witnessed the creation of a 54th African country, the Republic of South Sudan. A third important topic to be discussed at this Forum is the building of a new nation: in South Sudan and its relation to the Sudan. This is in response to urgent needs and issues. At the same time, Sudan and South Sudan will serve as instructive cases for the other topics, fragility and diversity.

What do we expect from this forum? We expect for this forum on security in Africa to be an annual event. We are going to put it on our calendar of



key annual events on the continent. So that annually, we know when it is taking place and of course where it is taking place. Dr. Rukato said if you are invited, even if you are not invited, you may attain to come and if you seek entry and you are permitted, you are welcome.



There can never be too much of what we do in our part, to bring about peace, stability and security to our continent.

Finally, I would like to offer my thanks to Prof. Andreas Eshete and to the Institute for Peace and Security Studies of the Addis Ababa University for their diligent efforts over the past year in the planning and organisation of the Tana Forum. They have done an excellent job.

Thank you.



Welcome Address by H.E. Meles Zenawi Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia



Your Excellencies, President Yoweri Museveni;
President Ismail Omar Guelleh; President Sheikh
Sharif Sheikh Ahmed,

Your Excellencies former presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Thabo Mbeki;
Excellencies, Ministers, Dear participants,

It gives me pleasure to welcome you all to Bahir Dar for the inaugural meeting of the Tana security conference. And to do so on behalf not only of the people and government of Ethiopia, but also on behalf of the people and government of the Amhara Region and the city of Bahir Dar. I hope the citizens of Bahir Dar won't mind for the fact that this meeting has coincided with Easter.

I am grateful to you all for making time in the context of your busy schedule to attend this meeting. In this regard my special thanks go to the current and former heads of states who have honoured us with their presence.

I wish to also thank Professor Andreas Eshete and his colleagues for conceiving and organising this meeting on a shoe string budget, in particular young people who are engaged in the organisation of this conference from across the continent. Thank you very much.

But I hope the young people won't mind when I say none of these would have happened had my brother president Obasanjo not agreed to shoulder the responsibility of chairing the board of directors of the Tana peace conference. So, thank you chief for your leadership and contribution.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I am sure many of you are wondering why we need the Tana peace conference when we have many institutions and mechanisms designed to address insecurity in our continent. The Tana peace conference is not intended to duplicate or replace the work of our already existing



institutions, but to supplement and reinforce them. Unlike most, if not all of our institutions, the conference is conducted in an informal setting. It involves not only political leaders, but also army and security officials, academics and businessmen. It gathers all stakeholders in the security of our continent. These, I believe will be one of its unique characteristics which will enable it to have a unique perspective that could inform and reinforce the efforts of other institutions.

The Tana peace conference doesn't make decisions or issue statements on African security issues. It limits itself to an open and varied discussion on these matters without the inhibitions posed by the need to reach consensus in order to issue a statement or make a decision. There are no winners and losers here, just people gathered for an uninhibited discussion on matters of human security in our continent. That too, I believe, is a unique characteristic of this conference that will enable it to supplement the institutions that we already have.

The Tana peace conference will combine academics and thinkers with generals and diplomats and other practitioners; businessmen with political leaders. This will allow it to have a deeper understanding of issues selected for discussion without tipping over debates and discussion. I think this is another added advantage of the conference.

Last but certainly not least, the conference will give key stakeholders in the renaissance of our continent, a unique opportunity to establish contacts and network, to exchange notes, and get to know each other well. I would suggest that this alone would justify the establishment of the Tana peace conference as one more institution on the list of security related institutions of our continent.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

This conference is intended to be a once a year gathering. The hope and expectation is that this new institution will grow from strength to strength every year to rival and even surpass the only similar institution that I know of, the Munich Security Conference. But that cannot happen without the full support and engagement of everyone here and our colleagues who are unable to join us today. I am sure I can count on your support and advocacy for the Tana peace conference so that it will become an institution that we are all proud of.

I thank you for your kind attention.



Welcome Address by Professor Andreas Eshete CEO of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa



Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, friends,

First, my warm welcome and my deep thanks to all of you, for taking the trouble to join this novel gathering on rather short notice.

The Tana Forum is a departure from familiar meetings on Africa. First, the deliberations are unfettered by national and institutional mandates or commitments and the formal trappings of agenda, addresses and expected outcomes such as resolutions or declarations.

Second, the range of interlocutors here is much wider than those usually taking part in formal meetings. Together with African heads of state and government, leaders of continental and regional organisations, present today are scholars, prominent representatives of the private sector and civil society as well as African youth preparing themselves for the responsibilities of citizenship and leadership.

Invitations to all were personal to ensure both that participants will, by and large, speak for themselves and also that there will be sufficient representation of differing or even clashing views on the subject under discussion.

The hope is that the freedom from formal constraints and the wide ranging array of participants will enable free, vigorous and rigorous examination of the problems.

The Forum is an opportunity to interrogate, or even stretch, the limits of legitimate public deliberation on African public policy on matters of peace and security. In the light of Africa's intractable and swiftly changing problems of peace and security, the reflective search for unexplored options and fresh perspectives is a matter of urgency. This Forum may help to advance this quest and thereby contribute to the vital work of institutions such as the African Union. Moreover, global and regional norms of justice and peace appeal and apply to individuals and groups who are not members of a single state. So it is entirely fitting that citizens are concerned about the norms and practices of



global and regional institutions. Finally, to advance the cause of peace in Africa, we must look beyond the norms and practices of states and intergovernmental institutions. The existence of an ethos upholding a culture of peace among ordinary citizens is essential if intercommunal violence and the all too common unspeakable abuses of children and women in Africa's wars is to be checked. For this, too, fora such as this engaging leaders and ordinary citizens in reflective conversation on peace are vital.

A distinctive, inclusive African voice on peace could also, over time, shape global policy and action. A forceful non-western voice in the world affairs is not without precedent. In the mid-twentieth century, many in Latin America had enshrined social democracy in their constitutions. Moreover, they pressed the 1945 meeting to found the UN, in San Francisco to condemn colonial racism and to affirm human rights. Panama and Chile supplied draft charters on which the universal declaration was based. Representatives from Chile urged economic and social rights. The Dominican Republic and Mexico pressed for rights of sexual equality. Thus, progressive voices for peace and other abiding causes of humanity can once again issue from people outside the west.

Thank you.





Welcome Address by Dr. Hesphina Rukato Coordinator of the Tana High Level Forum on Security in Africa



Introduction

Excellencies, ladies and gentleman,

I am welcoming you, and speaking to you as the coordinator of the team at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies – IPSS – at Addis Ababa University, which has been working on the Tana High-Level Conference for more than a year.

Today marks the realisation of a dream shared not just by the organising team, but also by many Africans who have, and continue to work for the maintenance of peace and security on the continent.

What was the dream?

The dream was to create a forum for Africans who work in peace and security to come together, to share their experiences, and to discuss what works and what does not work in peace and security.

It was to bring together current and former Heads of State and Government, ministers, representatives from African and global institutions, and eminent persons from civil society and the private sector.

It was also to open the way for an open discussion, carried by a spirit of communality. It was to establish a new way of contributing to new, forward-looking and profoundly African approaches and solutions to addressing the challenges of peace and security on the continent.

In summary, we wanted to create a different type of gathering, more a retreat than a conference, and with the wide participation of people who are concerned and open to sharing their experience and concerns. I am so glad to now see this dream coming true, and I am thankful for this opportunity to contribute to the establishment of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa.



Our CEO of the Forum, Professor Andreas Eshete and the Forum's Chairperson His Excellency Olusegun Obasanjo, will introduce you to the themes that have been selected for this year's discussion.

I will introduce you to your neighbours and fellow participants for these two days.

I hope that you will take this opportunity to go beyond the introduction, and network and engage with them - during the panel discussions, as well as during the tea, lunch and dinner breaks. After all, networking is one of the objectives of the Tana Forum.

So, who do we have here? We have:

- 4 Heads of State and Government
- 3 Former Heads of State and Government
- 7 Ministers
- 1 State Governor
- 6 Representatives of African Multilateral Organisations
- 10 Global Security Actors
- 30 Experts
- 6 Civil Society Organisations Representatives
- 13 Partners
- 4 Others

All five African regions are represented

Some partner countries are also represented.

We are also delighted that the team that organised the conference was a true reflection of Africa in its diversity: culture, region, language, age. A photo of the IPSS Forum team is included at the back of the booklet-please create time to network with them over the course of the Forum. They are also here to support you.

Also important to highlight is the "Acknowledgements" and "Thank You" message by the Director of the IPSS, Mr. Mulugeta, to all those who have worked and contributed to making this Forum a reality, especially the Government of Ethiopia, the Amhara Regional Government as well as Mr. Sheikh Mohammed Al Amoudi, who has contributed significantly to make this Forum a reality.



The booklet

To make it easy for us to get to know each other, and also have something to remind us of this maiden Tana High-Level Forum, we have put together a booklet, with photos and names of all participants. For those whose confirmations we received late, we apologise that we were not able to include your photos, but promise to do so in the next Forum. We have created space for you at the back of the booklet for you to take notes.



Conclusion

Since the intention of the Forum is also to set the agenda for discussion beyond the Forum duration, and not to find solutions or answers to all the questions being raised in the Forum, if you can leave Bahir Dar with more questions than answers, it means that we would have succeeded in creating sustained debates on the themes, which will live on beyond this gathering, hopefully until the next Forum when we pick themes on burning issues of the day.

It is now up to you to generate the energy and dynamism required to sustain the Forum.

Thank you.



Message from Mrs. Graça Machel President and Founder Graça Machel Trust



Let me begin by apologising for not being able to take part in this meeting in person. However, because security issues in Africa are of particular interest to my work, I deemed it important to contribute to the discussions through this statement. I know that each one of us here is determined to help our continent arrive at a place, sooner rather than later, where everyone can live free from fear in stable communities, nations and Africa wide.

But the reality in which we live tells us that tens of thousands, indeed hundreds of thousands of women and girls on the continent, find themselves carrying in silence the wounds and scars of their torn dignity. Massive and repeated orgies of rape have been consistently reported in the Eastern DRC.

Since 2010, I have been unsuccessfully trying to engage African Union bodies to take a stand, to acknowledge the plight of these women and girls, and to investigate and bring the perpetrators to justice. I approached the African Commission for Human Rights, and they directly listened to accounts of women who have been personally affected by these atrocities. We demanded that the Commission take this issue to the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

We provided training to commissioners to enable them to undertake their first hand investigations in places where alleged perpetrators had been broadly identified. To our dismay, up until now this issue is lost in bureaucracy and technicalities.

Only three days ago, a group of women from the DRC came to remind us that atrocities are still taking place, and no one seems to be taking action.

The fact that so far no African government, no regional body, not even the African Union itself has ever stood to claim the dignity, protection and rehabilitation of these women is profoundly disturbing to our consciousness.



This is a highly empowered gathering whose voice can shake institutions. I therefore submit that this forum take peace and security beyond the absence of internal, violent conflict or cross border conflict. I submit that rape as a weapon of war be vigorously addressed by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union to stop impunity and bring state and non-state armies, or even individuals to account for their crimes.



I consider that peace and security must mean that women and children live free from fear in stable communities, nations and Africa wide.

I remain fully engaged with this forum in my modest capacity to work together for peace and security for all in Africa, especially for women and children caught up in violent conflict.



V. Biographies

Professor Andreas Esheté Tana Forum CEO



Andreas Esheté studied philosophy at Williams College and Yale University. He has taught philosophy at a number of American universities, among them: Brown, UCLA, UC-Berkeley and Pennsylvania. He has published work on moral and political philosophy. Outside philosophy, he has written extensively on Ethiopia.

Positions in public service include: Chair, Interim Board of the African Union Human Rights Memorial Project (2011- present). Chair, Panel of Experts, Federalism Forum - a biennial international conference of all federative countries held in Africa for the first time in December 2011, hosted by Ethiopia (2009-2011). Chair, Association for the Return of the Maqdala Ethiopia Treasures (1998-present); Chair, National Committee for Commemoration of the Centennial of the Battle of Adwa (1995-1996); Coordinator for Constitutional and Governance Issues, Inter-Africa Group (1992-1995). President of Addis Ababa University (2003-2011).

Andreas is Professor of Law and Philosophy, UNESCO Chair for Human Rights, Peace and Democracy (AAU), and now Advisor to the Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia with the rank of a minister.



Dr. Francis Deng

Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide United Nations



UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced, on 29 May 2007, the appointment of Mr. Francis Deng of Sudan as the new Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, succeeding Mr. Juan Méndez of Argentina. Mr. Deng took up his position on 1 August 2007 at the level of Under-Secretary-General on a full-time basis.

From 2006 to 2007, Mr. Deng served as Director of the Sudan Peace Support Project based at the United States Institute of Peace. He was also a Wilhelm Fellow at the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and a Research Professor of International Politics, Law and Society at Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Before joining MIT, Mr. Deng was a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the John Kluge Center of the Library of Congress.

Mr. Deng served as Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons from 1992 to 2004, and from 2002 to 2003 was also a Senior Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. Mr. Deng served as Human Rights Officer in the UN secretariat from 1967 to 1972 and as the Ambassador of Sudan to Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the United States. He also served as Sudan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. After leaving his country's service, he was appointed the first Rockefeller Brothers Fund Distinguished Fellow. He was at the Woodrow Wilson International Center first as a Guest Scholar and then as a Senior Research Associate, after which he joined The Brookings Institution as a Senior Fellow, where he founded and directed the Africa Project for 12 years. He was then appointed Distinguished Professor at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York before joining Johns Hopkins University.

Among his numerous awards in his country and abroad, Mr. Deng is co-recipient with Roberta Cohen of the 2005 Grawemeyer Award for 'Ideas Improving World Order' and the 2007 Merage Foundation American



Dream Leadership Award. In 2000, Mr. Deng also received the Rome Prize for Peace and Humanitarian Action. Mr. Deng holds an LL.B from Khartoum University and an LL.M and a J.S.D. from Yale University and has authored and edited over 30 books in the fields of law, conflict resolution, internal displacement, human rights, anthropology, folklore, history and politics and has also written two novels on the theme of the crisis of national identity in the Sudan.



H.E. Luisa Dias Diogo

Former Prime Minister of Mozambique (2004 – 2010)



Luisa Dias Diogo (born 1958) was Prime Minister of Mozambique from 2004 to 2010. She was appointed Minister of Planning and Finance (2000) after a career of 20 years in the public sector, serving as an Officer at the Department of Economics and Investment (1980), Head of the Budget Department (1986), Deputy National Budget Director (1989), National Budget Director (1991) and Deputy Minister of Planning and Finance (1999).

In the period between 1993 and 1994 she was Program Officer at the World Bank. Luisa Diogo served as Minister of Planning and Finance and Prime Minister from 2004 to 2005. She was re-appointed to the position of Prime Minister in 2005. She was selected as a World Top Leader by Time Magazine in 2004.

From 2005 to 2009 she was Chair of the National Council of the Fight Against HIV/AIDS (CNSC). In 2006, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed Diogo as Co-Chair of the High-level Panel on UN System-wide coherence in the Areas of Development, Humanitarian Assistance, and the Environment. In 2007, Diogo ranked 89th on the Forbes 100 Most Powerful Women List and in 2008, she was distinguished with The Global Women's Leadership Award. In the same year, she was appointed Member of the Africa Commission settled by the Prime Minister of Denmark.

In 2010, she became a member of the Advisory Board of The Brenthurst Foundation, and the President of the African Union Commission appointed Diogo as a member of the Advisory Council for Peace and Security. Also in the same year, the UN Secretary General, Ban ki-Moon appointed Diogo as a Member of the High-level Panel on Global Sustainability (GSP) and she also became a Member of the Club de Madrid.



Ms. Bineta Diop

Founder and Chair of the Executive Board
Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS)



Ms. Bineta Diop of Senegal is the Founder and Chair of the Executive Board of Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS). She has led numerous peacebuilding programmes, including a women, peace and security initiative that resulted in the creation of a strong West African women's movement, the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET), which was awarded the United Nations General Assembly Prize in Human Rights in December 2003.

Ms. Diop has led teams to observe elections in post-conflict countries such as Liberia and solidarity missions to women in crisis situations, as in the case of Guinea. She has facilitated peace talks among women, particularly during the Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) peace negotiations. Ms. Diop played an instrumental role in achieving gender parity within the African Union Commission in 2003, which culminated in the election of five female Commissioners, and the adoption of the African Charter on Women and Peoples' Rights (Maputo Protocol) and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa.

Ms. Diop has been elected President of the African Union ECOSOC Gender Cluster. She is involved in various NGO Working Groups that monitor United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. Ms. Diop is a member of the Global Agenda Council on Conflict Prevention at the World Economic Forum, and previously served in the 6th Advisory Group of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and as a member of the Board of Directors of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. In March 2010, she co-chaired the high-level Civil Society Advisory Group on resolution 1325 with H.E. Mary Robinson.

Ms. Diop has received numerous honours and awards and in 2011 was named by TIME magazine as one of the 100 Most Influential People in the World.

Presently, Ms. Diop is completing her Ph.D. in International Relations and Diplomacy.



Dr. Abdalla Hamdok

Deputy Executive Secretary
UNECA



Abdalla Hamdok is the Deputy Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Hamdok has twenty five years' experience in addressing development challenges in Africa at the national, sub-regional and continent-wide levels. Over the years he has developed an interest in policy-oriented research and analysis, focusing on issues of Governance, Institutional Analysis, Public Sector Reforms, Regional Integration and Resource Management. Hamdok has authored many publications on Africa development challenges including governance and other related issues.

Prior to his appointment in 2011, Hamdok served as Director of the Governance and Public Administration Division at UNECA. During his expansive career, Dr. Hamdok has also held various roles with the African Development Bank, International IDEA, the government of Sudan and various United Nations agencies. He holds a PhD and MA (Econ) in Economics, School of Economic Studies, University of Manchester, UK and a BSc. (Honours) University of Khartoum, Sudan.



Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra

Commissioner for Peace and Security African Union



Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra is the Commissioner for Peace and Security of the African Union (AU) since 2008. In this capacity, he is involved in mediation efforts and in the management and resolution of conflicts in Africa. He also supervised the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), working closely with the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Panel of the Wise and the Regional Economic Communities (REC's), as well as with Member States and partners.

Before his election as AU Commissioner, he was Secretary-General of the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005–2007), Ambassador to Portugal (2004–2005), Ambassador to the USA (1996–1999), Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the UN in New York (1993–1996), Ambassador to the Republic of Austria, and Permanent Representative to the UN Office, IAEA and UNIDO in Vienna (1992–1993), Ambassador to Ethiopia and to Djibouti, and Permanent Representative to the OAU and to the UNECA (1989–1991). Ambassador Lamamra graduated from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Diplomatic Section, Algiers, in 1976.



Prof. Mahmood Mamdani

Director
Makerere Institute of Social Research



Mahmood Mamdani is Professor and Director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) at Makerere University Kampala, Uganda, and Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University, New York. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1974 and specializes in the study of African and international politics, colonialism and post-colonialism, and the politics of knowledge production. His works explore the intersection between politics and culture, a comparative study of colonialism since 1452, the history of civil war and genocide in Africa, the Cold War and the War on Terror, and the history and theory of human rights. Prior to taking the directorship of MISR in 2010 and joining the Columbia faculty in 1999, Mamdani was a professor at the University of Dar-es-Salaam (1973 - 79), Makerere University (1980-1993), and the University of Cape Town (1996 - 1999). He has received numerous awards and recognitions, including being listed as one of the “Top 20 Public Intellectuals” globally by Foreign Policy (US) and Prospect (UK) magazine in 2008. He received honorary doctorates from Addis Ababa University and the University of Johannesburg, both in 2010. From 1998 to 2002 he served as President of CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa). His essays have appeared in the London Review of Books, among other journals.

Mamdani’s books include *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror* (2009); *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror* (2004); *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and Genocide in Rwanda* (2001); 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (1996), which was awarded the Herskovitz Prize of the African Studies Association; *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (1976); *From Citizen to Refugee* (1973); and *The Myth of Population Control: Family, Class and Caste in an Indian Village* (1972).



H.E. Thabo Mbeki

Former President of the Republic of South Africa



Mr. Thabo Mbeki is a thought leader who remains close to visible leadership. His profile as an intellectual, policy shaper and mediator has been built over a lifetime. He is an avid reader who dabbles in poetry, his speech 'I am an African' being one example of his use of poetry to deliver a very strong message. He was born in Idutywa, Transkei, in June 1942. He sat for matriculation examinations at St. John's High School, Umtata in 1959. He spent his early years in exile studying in Britain. There he completed British 'A' level examinations (1960 and 1961) and obtained a Master of Economics degree at the University of Sussex in 1966. In recognition of his contribution to society, Mr. Mbeki has received honorary degrees from South African and foreign universities, awards from various organisations, orders and decorations from local public and private institutions alike. UNISA awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1996.

Mr. Mbeki has served the ANC in various capacities. He joined the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in 1956. He was elected Secretary of the African Students Association in 1961 and went into exile in 1962. While in England, he headed the London ANC Youth Section and mobilised the international student community against apartheid. In the 1980s he led ANC delegations to meet with Afrikaner leaders in the United Kingdom, leading to secret talks from 1988 which culminated in the negotiations for a democratic South Africa that took place under the auspices of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa – CODESA. He served as the second President of post-apartheid South Africa from 14 June 1999 to 24 September 2008.

While in government, Mr. Mbeki made serious strides in ensuring that women's empowerment and gender equality took centre stage in democratic South Africa. He also helped steer the longest economic growth period in the history of South Africa since the Second World War. Amongst other initiatives, he actively participated in the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) and conceptualizing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a vision and strategic framework for Africa's renewal. Mr. Mbeki attracted the bulk of Africa's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)



and made South Africa the focal point of African growth. He also oversaw the successful building of economic bridges to BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) nations with the eventual formation of the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Dialogue Forum to 'further political consultation and co-ordination as well as strengthening sectoral cooperation, and economic relations.'

Mr. Mbeki mediated in complex conflicts on the African continent, including Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Ivory Coast, and some important peace agreements, like in Zimbabwe. Soon after leaving government, the AU asked him to chair the AU High Level Panel on Darfur (AUDP) to investigate how best to expedite peace, justice and reconciliation in Darfur, Sudan. The AUDP submitted its report to the AU Peace and Security Council Heads of State Summit in Abuja, Nigeria early in November 2009. The report was unanimously adopted and has been hailed as one of the AU's historic interventions in conflict resolution on the African continent. The AUPD was replaced by the African Union High Level Implementation Panel for Sudan, chaired by Mr. Mbeki. Its mandate was extended for another year to assist the people of Sudan in the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the democratisation of Sudan.

Mr. Mbeki is Patron of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI), a partnership between the Thabo Mbeki Foundation and Unisa. He is married to Mrs. Zanele Mbeki.



H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo

Tana Forum Chairperson
Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria



Olusegun Mathew Okikiola Aremu Obasanjo served as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from 1999 until 2007. Upon leaving office, he oversaw the first civilian handover of power in Nigeria from one democratically elected leader to another.

Obasanjo has played a pivotal role in the regeneration and repositioning of the African Union with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). He has consistently supported the deepening and widening of regional cooperation through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Co-prosperity Alliance Zone.

He has at different times served as Chairman of the Group of 77, Chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Chairman of the African Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee on NEPAD, and today serves on the African Progress Panel to monitor and promote Africa's development. He was also involved in international mediation efforts in Namibia, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Burundi. In 2008, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Obasanjo as his Special Envoy on the Great Lakes. Obasanjo was born on March 5, 1937 in Abeokuta, Ogun State, South Western Nigeria. He attended Baptist Boys High School, Abeokuta after which he worked as a teacher before enlisting in the Nigerian Army in 1958.



Dr. Funmi Olonisakin

Director
The African Leadership Centre



Dr. 'Funmi Olonisakin is the founding Director of the African Leadership Centre, which aims to build the next generation of African leaders in the fields of peace, security and development. She has also served as the Director of the Conflict, Security and Development Group at King's College London since 2003. Prior to this, she worked in the Office of the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict as Adviser on Africa. In this role, she facilitated the establishment of the National Commission for War Affected Children in Sierra Leone and the Child Protection Unit in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). She previously held research positions in the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London, where she co-Directed the African Security Unit; the Institute for Strategic Studies in the University of Pretoria, South Africa; and the Department of Political Science, University of Lagos Nigeria.

Trained in Political Science (Bsc. Ife, Nigeria) and War Studies (PhD, King's College London), Olonisakin has positioned her work to serve as a bridge between academia and the world of policy and practice. Her academic research and writing has contributed to strategic thinking in post-conflict contexts and in the work of regional organizations such as ECOWAS and the African Union. She has a keen interest in contributing to efforts to tackle the structural roots of armed conflict. As such, she has devoted particular attention to the governance of security actors as well as the narratives that entrench the marginalization of women and youth in security and development processes in Africa. She is the West African Regional Coordinator of the African Security Sector Network (ASSN), a member of the Technical Committee of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation's Governance Index, and she serves on the International Advisory Board of the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and on the Board of International Alert.

Her most recent publications include: *Women and the Governance of Security governance in Africa*, (co-edited with Awino Okech) Pambazuka Press, 2011; *Security Sector Transformation in Africa* (co-edited with Alan Bryden), Lit Verlag, 2010; *Women, Peace and*



Security: Translating Policy into Practice (co-edited with Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe), Routledge, 2010; The Challenges of Security Sector Governance in West Africa (co-edited with Alan Bryden and Boubacar N'diaye), Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2008; Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: The Story of UNAMSIL, Lynne Reinner, 2008; and Global Development and Human Security, (co-authored with Robert Picciotto and Michael Clarke), Transaction, 2007.



VI. Discussion Panels

Theme 1: Managing Diversity



Introductory Remarks by Professor Andreas Eshete

Welcome to the first session on Managing Diversity (see discussion note in Annex I). Despite Africa's rich legacy of diversity, there is disinclination in much of Africa in giving either a political face or a public voice or space to culture and cultural identity. This is puzzling but of course such puzzles are not uncommon. An analogy I might mention briefly is a question that arises about Britain among historians. Britain is the first industrial nation, and one with a working class majority, but curiously, persistently, un-revolutionary. And people have tried to explain why this is so, and I try to do the same briefly for diversity in Africa, and its political distancing, its distancing from public life. In effect my conjecture is that its abuse under empire; particularly under white supremacist regimes. The fact that the acknowledgement or fostering of differences was used by Imperial powers as a way of putting subjects in their place, resentment of this accounts for the reluctance in much of Africa to give public recognition or a political face as I say to cultures and cultural identities. Also I mentioned the fact that in the national struggle, the importance of mobilisation required inclusive nationality as did nation building subsequently.



Despite this there is no doubt that we have paid dearly for neglecting diversity in Africa. The numbers of costly secessionist wars, the inter-communal violence that we have witnessed in many part of Africa around ethnic cleavages and ethnic inequalities are well known. So by putting it aside, in my mind, there is little we have gained and I conclude by looking at Ethiopia's own history and how much in the way of civil war, in the way of looming disintegration we paid for the suppression of national sentiments in Ethiopia. The recent willingness to recognise collective rights of Ethiopia's diverse cultural communities and the institution of federalism, I say, has done some good; I indicate what this is briefly. I don't of course want to put it as an example to be emulated by everyone but as an example that might show that there is something solitary but coming to terms with diversity in African governance.





Discussion Contributors

Panel 1
14 April,
2012

- Professor Andreas Eshete
- Dr. Francis Deng
- Professor Mahmood Mamdani
- Ms. Bineta Diop
- Former President Olusegun Obasanjo
- Prime Minister Meles Zenawi
- President Yoweri Museveni
- Professor Ndioro Ndiaye
- Mrs. Louise Mushikiwabo
- Former President Thabo Mbeki
- Mr. Hamud Mohamed Mashey
- Mr. Paulos Tesfagiorgis
- Ambassador Xie Xiaoyan
- Dr. Kayode Fayemi
- Mr. Abdoulie Janneh
- Amb. Samson K. Onger

Chair

- Professor Andreas Eshete

Panellists

- Dr. Francis Deng
- Ms. Bineta Diop
- Professor Mahmood Mamdani
- President Olusegun Obasanjo



Theme 2: State Fragility



Introductory Remarks by Dr. Funmi Olonisakin

It is very difficult to dispute the fact that Africa has been the guinea pig for the last two decades or so for the rest of the world for very obvious reasons. When it comes to trying to define matters of international security, we have externally driven notions of what security is, what human security is, what a fragile state is. We are not short of labels or language to describe what African states are in a sense. I think it is important to have an internal conversation, to interrogate some of these notions. I think we have a setting in which we can do so, a perfect setting in which to do so today. So, what are fragile states? Typically, there are four things that the World Bank and the rest of the world and most of us who have tried to critic these would see;

1. States that do not really efficiently or equitably deliver services
2. States that are not monopolizing the means of violence
3. States that are not sufficiently democratic
4. States that rely on patronage systems and are highly corrupt.

These are some of the things you hear in those definitions. And that is not all, I just wanted to highlight those four. When we have proposed solutions, you have your booklets in front of you, we know that the World Bank Report last year was on conflict, security and development. Some of the proposals that have been offered typically follow a certain set of norms.



First, let us try and strengthen legitimate institutions. Second, we talk about elite bargains a lot. And many people would tell you what we need is an inclusive, elite bargain. But what is an inclusive elite bargain?

I would ask us this morning to move away from trying to define what state fragility is or is not, because we may use most of our time this morning doing that. But what I want to underscore are few questions to kick start the conversation which I know that our capable and eminent panel will be able to respond to concretely. Whatever the label or the remedy that is being proposed, I think we, as Africans, need to ask ourselves the following questions, among others of course.



Are states fragile only because there is conflict, open conflict? Should we also talk about situations that are not of open conflict? We have heard that armed conflict has decreased significantly and yes, they have, but we have seen states retreat to a situation of no war no peace. I think we really need to reflect on that. Why do we have more than a few African countries, I would say a substantial number of African countries who face crises of authority and legitimacy. Why do I say that? It is because in some places, you have formal civic state institutions who are struggling to command the loyalty and commitment of their



citizens. That is the case and I think that is the question we need to put on the table. Why is that the case? Why therefore do we have many non-state systems that are able to purchase the loyalty of citizens and populations? Why do we have that situation?

Two more questions before I turn over to the panel. If we accept the argument that the solution is to build legitimate institutions, are we saying we ought to be building legitimate non-state institutions that are able to command the loyalty of the citizens?

And lastly, it's being said that, African states rely on patronage a lot and they are corrupt. But can we challenge this? Is patronage necessarily a bad thing? Can we efficiently and effectively use it as a starting point to rebuild the systems and legitimacy, or at least build the loyalty and commitment of citizens?

These are the questions we need to look at.

Discussion Contributors

Panel 2
15 April,
2012

- Dr. Funmi Olonisakin
- Mrs. Luisa Diogo
- Dr. Abdalla Hamdok
- Amb. Ramtane Lamamra
- Former President Thabo Mbeki
- Prime Minister Meles Zenawi
- Amb. Michael A. Battle
- Mr. Daniel Adugna
- President Sheik Ahmed
- Mr. Abd-el Naceur Belaid
- Former President Olusegun Obasanjo
- Mr. Abdoulie Janneh
- Mr. Musa Soko
- Mr. Zachary Muburi-Muita
- Professor Ndioro Ndiaye
- Dr. Nkosana D. Moyo
- Dr. Jean Bosco Butera

Chair

- Dr. Funmi Olonisakin

Panellists

- H.E. Luisa Diogo
- Amb. Ramtane Lamamra
- Former President Thabo Mbeki







VII. Closing

H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo

I would like to make some announcements, before we close.

We will have a board for this forum. We have been putting our heads together, and since we haven't finished our consultation, I will not make any announcement now. But, we will formally inform you after we finalize the necessary consultation. In addition to the board, we believe to have those who we refer to as Friends of the Forum, who will be able to help us in raising awareness, and popularizing what we are trying to do as a forum and also in giving us ideas. Of course, we all have a copy of the evaluation form. I kindly request you to fill the evaluation form. After we have informed those who would be the board members, I hope to have the first inaugural board meeting within the next three months.

As I told you yesterday, this will be an annual event. Since it has taken place in April this year, we think there is nothing wrong with coming together during the first half of April every year.

Let me once again thank our leaders, who have been with us throughout this forum. President Museveni, President Ahmed, President Guelleh of Djibouti, who had to leave because of other demanding engagements. Prime Minister, we can't thank you enough. Not only due to the resources you devoted for this, and for giving all of us the opportunity to be here. I know how much you have to sacrifice, particularly this, today being your Easter. We appreciate. But you can take delight and satisfaction, the fact that this first outing has been a good outing. It remains to me to thank my brother President Thabo Mbeki. We thank you for coming. We thank you for your contribution. And we hope we will see you again. Inshallah!

Professor Andreas, thank you. Dr. Rukato, thank you and I thank all those collaborators for the success that we have been able to achieve. I thank you all for coming. But before you go, let me say that, when we came here yesterday, I did not know how it would go. But we were hopeful that it would go well. Because this is new, and even for somebody like President Thabo Mbeki, who is well known for diplomacy, he put diplomacy aside. I am very happy that the informality we wanted has been achieved.



If in another forum, you have mentioned a name of a country in bad light, somebody will come up and ask for point of order and say, we have not come to learn anything new from the representative of that country. There is nothing like that in here. We are all here to learn, and I have learnt, and I was happy to even to find out that our brothers who are supposed to be teaching us, also claimed they have learnt something here. I believe to that extent – it has been a success.

I will not go over the issues that we have discussed, but I have to assure you that we have captured the discussion.

I want to thank the President of Somalia again for giving us a chance to hear Somalia's perspective and the Foreign Minister of South Sudan for the perspective he gave us.

Well, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, for me it has been a wonderful experience.

This is the first outing and we will be improving on our performance as we go along. Let me say to you, if you have any suggestion, any idea we can incorporate for improvement in the future, please give such a suggestion or idea. Safe journey and see you next year.

Thank you.





VIII. List of Participants



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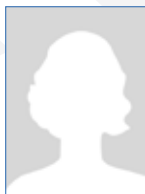
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Acknowledgements from the Director of IPSS

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- Prof. Andreas Eshete, UNESCO Chair for Human Rights and Democracy, Adviser to the Prime Minister with the Rank of a Minister, Ethiopia
- His Excellency, Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Republic of Nigeria
- The Ethiopian Government
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - Ministry of Transport and Communication
 - Civil Aviation Authority
 - Ethiopian Airport Enterprise
 - National Intelligence and Security Services
 - Government Communications Affairs Office
 - Ministry of Health
 - City Government of Addis Ababa Fire and Emergency Prevention and Risk Agency



- The Federal Police
- Addis Ababa Traffic Police
- The Amhara Regional Government
- Ethiopian Airlines
- The German Federal Foreign Office/German International Cooperation (GIZ)
- Avanti Blue Nile Hotel, Bahir Dar
- Sheraton Addis
- Bahir Dar City
- Kuriftu Resort

Last but not least I would like to thank the wonderful team at IPSS, who worked tirelessly for over one year to make this conference happen. It has been an honour for me to work with this team and have the opportunity of organising the first Tana High-Level Forum.

The Tana Forum Secretariat



(From left-right, top row: Seid Negash, Dawit Yohannes, Dalaya Ashenafi, Medhanit Kidanekal, Alioune Diop, Billene Seyoum, Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, Mercy Fekadu, Hespina Rukato, Demelash Fesehagiorgis, Mahlet Bisrat, Beakal Legesse, Markus Koerner; bottom row: Mikias Yitbarek, Michelle Muita, Karoline Klose, Aichatou Tamba, Helen Yosef Hailu, Seble Mulugeta)



IX. Annex I

Discussion Note on Managing Diversity to Promote Peace and Security

14-15 April 2012
Bahir Dar, Ethiopia

Despite our matchless heritage of rich cultural diversity, it is a surprise that the political landscape of most African states does not display a determination to find a hospitable political space for pluralism in cultural communities and identities. There are no doubt reasons of history to explain why African political communities sought to keep diversity at a distance from public life. First, as is widely known, under white supremacist regimes – colonial, apartheid and the like – cultural diversity was cynically and effectively deployed as a divisive means of repressive rule. Second, during the struggle for independence, mass mobilization of the populace, often wantonly cobbled together by an imperial power, liberation movements tended to draw upon inclusive nationalism in order to build a force capable of winning freedom from a Western power in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds.

In accommodating diversity as well as in securing peace and stability, independence, as with much else, was a pyrrhic victory. In contrast to the chief contending powers, who enjoyed a period of comparative peace during the Cold War, the contest embroiled African states in proxy wars, wars led largely by African strongmen that enjoyed the support of a given power and were, in turn, at liberty to infringe on the freedom of citizens and the autonomy of communities. Beyond the Cold War, postcolonial Africa did not furnish fertile ground for diversity to flourish. To cite an example close to home, on the eve of the end of Italian colonial rule and British administration in Eritrea, there were strong forces, both in Ethiopia and Eritrea, pushing and pulling the two communities to come together. Ethiopia and Eritrea eventually united – first, in a federation and soon thereafter in a union. In the meantime, the Ethiopian empire forcibly suppressed public expression of Eritrea's distinctive cultural identity as well as Eritrea's nascent democratic freedoms such as those of the press and association. Thus, Eritrea was swiftly and fully assimilated into the cultural and political norms governing imperial Ethiopia. These highhanded measures fuelled a civil war that lasted for three decades. Similarly, millions of Africans paid an exacting cost in loss of peace and other essential public goods because African states were prone to be in denial about cultural



diversity, and widespread cultural cleavage, rivalry and subordination – a crippling legacy of empire. Besides the case of Eritrea, Africa has witnessed many conflicts motivated by secessionist aspirations, among them: Comoros Islands (Anjouan), Malawi, Niger (Touregs), Nigeria (Biafra), Senegal (Casamance), Sudan (Southern Sudan). Moreover the genocide in Rwanda, whatever its ultimate causes, centred on deep and deadly cultural division and rivalry. Besides these extremes, the failure to extend political recognition to cultural diversity has caused strife in many parts of Africa. For instance, in Kenya in spite of the lame invocation of ethnic harmony, as in the slogan Harambee, interethnic communal conflict has intermittently broken out, particularly during electoral contests. There are, of late, growing signs that religious differences and identities are becoming serious sources of political contention and violent confrontation. In addition to Nigeria, the freewheeling movement for democracy by citizens in the Arab Uprising has aroused communal tensions and violent clashes between religious communities – say, between Muslims and Copts in Egypt or between rival Muslim sects in Syria – as well as far-flung, sharp divisions between secularists and political movements or parties with religious political agendas.

However, alongside this dispiriting record of miscarriage and misery, there is a Counter-current seeking to make public acknowledgement of diversity integral to decent African governance. Moving or turning variously against the prevailing current are countries such as Nigeria and, more recently, South Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Somalia. They all seem to agree that being burdened by a marginalized or denigrated cultural community and identity is to be alienated or uprooted in the very place where one belongs. Put differently, amid diversity the need for a home of one's own may well be a basic good of equal and free citizenship. Perhaps the boldest experiment in this this counter-current is that championed by Ethiopia, where the right to self-determination, including secession, is a fundamental constitutional right, and a federative arrangement conferring robust rights of cultural and political self-government is constitutionally entrenched. It is, of course, too early to tell if the experiment has taken. For instance, it is a sad fact that Ethiopia's valiant consent to Eritrea's independence has not yielded peace between the two amicably separated political communities, communities that share enduring cultural, economic and historical bonds. Still, Ethiopia's resolve to uphold the collective rights of self-determination and federalism has already engendered a great deal that is of lasting value. First, we now know that there is little to be gained and nothing to be lost by giving up the longstanding effort



to shoehorn our varied cultures into some supposed single, inclusive or privileged culture: Are there any cogent reasons of principle why all our cultures should not bloom? Second, federalism has succeeded in concluding nationalist strife that had consumed the country's assets for decades; it has, moreover, averted the attendant looming threat of national disintegration. Third, federalism has checked a persistent propensity to look for uniform, centralized rule by a remote, ill-informed authority, an authority that not only stifles the citizenry's initiative, public participation and free association but also thwarts flexibility in the formulation and execution of public policy. Fourth, federalism opens the possibility of limiting and separating the powers of public authority. Finally, federalism encourages equitable distribution of national income and the emergent fruits of development – a significant achievement, particularly for historically neglected cultural communities. Thus, federalism may well serve to foster political pluralism and social equality – worthy public goals that are notoriously elusive even in mature democracies. In respect to these and other aspects of Ethiopia's new venture, it is obviously premature to pronounce a triumphant culmination. Given the unforeseeable ups and downs of public life, it suffices to claim the advent of Ethiopia's novel vision and the promising beginnings of its realization. In the pursuit of worthwhile public aspirations, African citizens and leaders, who doggedly strive for a brighter future for the peoples of the continent, can do worse than to adopt Samuel Beckett's famous, negative aesthetic credo: "Ever tried. Ever failed. No matter. Try again. Fail again. Fail better."



X. Annex II

Discussion Note on State Fragility and the Prospects for Peace in Africa

14-15 April 2012
Bahir Dar, Ethiopia

Political scientists define a ‘fragile state’ as a deviation from a developmental norm, i.e. by what it is not. Scholarly and policymaking interest in such a state is restricted to building institutions and putting it ‘back’ on a developmental path. A fine example of this is the World Bank’s World Development Report 2011 ‘Conflict, Security and Development.’ The WDR’s central message is the need to strengthen legitimate institutions, and although it insists that such institutions need not be based on a western model, it implies that only exceptionally will they deviate.

A ‘fragile state’ can also be described as one in which state institutions are subordinated to tactical political bargaining among a national elite. This bargaining is focused on loyalty to the ruler, and is structured around personal or kinship relations, material rewards, or physical protection. Where control over the state is the main mechanism for allocating national wealth, bargaining over state power takes on a life-and-death character, and may become violent.

Meanwhile, globalization changes the dynamics of political bargaining. Political aspirants can obtain resources from regional and global networks (such as neighbouring states, aid donors and diaspora groups) which puts extra pressure on rulers and their limited budgets. This helps explain the increasing difficulties faced by African governments as they try to build political institutions, and why international state-building efforts so frequently disappoint.

Africa policies towards with ‘fragile’ states should be reassessed, with greater emphasis on pragmatic African practices. Peace-building should prioritize brokering inclusive bargains among elites, rather than the establishment of formal institutions – which will take a long time. The business sector should be brought to the table in the process of building inclusive coalitions. Regional and international coordination should assist in regulating political competition, so that resources can be devoted to consolidating post-conflict stability and shifting towards economic growth.



XII. Annex III

Host City: Bahir Dar

An Essay by Professor Richard Pankhurst



Photo: © Chester Higgins Jr

Bahir Dar is one of the leading tourist attractions in Ethiopia, situated along the shores of Lake Tana, Ethiopia's largest lake and the source of the Blue Nile. Other than the breath-taking view of Lake Tana, the city gets its beauty from the avenues lined with palm trees and a variety of colourful flowers.

Bahir Dar is a rich part of Ethiopian history. This history has been well captured by the distinguished Ethiopian historian, Professor Richard Pankhurst. The following essay offers a brief historical background on the venue of the Tana Forum.

Ethiopia and the Nile Threats, Discoveries and Disputes

The Nile, a mighty river, whose waters flowed from Ethiopia to Egypt, irrevocably linked the two countries and civilisations throughout the ages.



Inter-Dependency

This relationship between the two countries, by the dawn of the Christian era, involved a major element of inter-dependency. Egypt was dependent on the Ethiopian interior that provided the Egyptian River Nile with the bulk of its water. Ethiopia for her part was dependent on Egypt for her *Abun*, the Head of her Church, who was for centuries recruited from among the Christian monks of Egypt.

Mutual dependency of this kind, on one side material (the water, known in Ethiopia as the Abbay) and on the other spiritual (the *Abun*), might at first sight seem beneficial in providing a workable formula for co-existence. This in the long run, however, was not always the case because the supposed mutual relationship was not inherently stable. The water flowing down the Nile to Egypt varied significantly from year to year. The coming of the *Abun* to Ethiopia was likewise far from regular - for it depended on all sorts of political and other circumstances.

Variations in Nile Flow

The earliest recorded difficulties with the Nile would seem to be reported in the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*. It states that, because of the “wickedness” of the Ethiopian people during the time of the Coptic Patriarchs Joseph (831-849) and Gabriel (1131-1149) God “restrained the Heavens” so that “it would not rain”.

An even more serious problem arose in 1089-1090 when, according to the Arab historian al-Makin, the Nile waters failed to reach Egypt. The then Egyptian ruler Sultan Mustanir accordingly despatched an embassy to the king of Ethiopia (whose name is not recorded) asking him to restore the flood of water, which he reportedly did.

Ethiopian Control over the Nile?

This incident appears to have been significant in giving rise to the long-held myth that the Ethiopians could somehow or other control the flow of Nile water reaching Egypt. This belief, though unsubstantiated, was naturally convenient to the rulers of Ethiopia in their negotiations with the Egyptians, who would otherwise have been much the stronger party.

Power over the Nile was accordingly voiced by a succession of no fewer than seven medieval Ethiopian monarchs: Lalibela (1185-1225?), Na’akuto La’ab (1203-1250?), ‘Amda Seyon I (1312-1342), Sayfa Ar’ad, Dawit I (1380-1409), Zar’a Yaqob (1433-1468) and Lebna Dengel (1508-1540).



Scrutiny of their history shows, however, that not one of the above rulers ever took any action to deviate the flow of the Nile, or indeed had the ability to do so. Ethiopian threats were in effect no more than negotiating gambits, i.e. empty threats.

This view is supported by the archaeological record which suggests that no excavations in the vicinity of the Nile or of any of its major tributaries, as would be required to deviate the flow of these rivers, was ever undertaken. However, the Egyptians, living far down the Nile, and for the Ethiopians in their highland fastnesses, the threat seemed real enough.



Photo: © Michael Tsegaye

The Crusaders and the Diffusion of an Idea

Report of the Ethiopian ability to control the Nile duly reached the European Crusaders - Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen and others. From them it spread to other “experts” on the East, where it was adopted, into Accepted Wisdom. The Italian poet Ariosto thus has the hero of his epic *Orlando Furioso*, of 1516, declare that Prester John, i.e. ruler of Ethiopia, had the power to cut off the waters of the Nile and thereby reduce the inhabitants of Cairo and its vicinity to famine. Such ideas, by then perhaps a quarter of a millennium old, were soon to be challenged, and overthrown, by the advance of “discovery”, i.e. geographical investigation.



“Discovery” of the Source of the Nile

Any discussion of “discovering” the Source of the Nile, or any other geographical feature, should be qualified by the understanding that what is reported to have been “discovered” by foreign “explorers” was in all probably known to the local inhabitants since time immemorial.

The honour of “discovering”, i.e. first describing, the Source of the Abbay, belongs to the early 17th century Portuguese and Spanish Jesuit travellers to Ethiopia, and, more specifically to the Spaniard Jerónimo Lobo, who visited the country in 1618.

Lobo’s report on his Ethiopian travels, including his visit to the Source of the Nile, is couched in a matter-of-fact manner, but conforms so fully to later descriptions of the area that it can only be accepted as genuine. Its veracity was, however, later challenged by the Scottish traveller James Bruce, who dismissed Lobo as “the greatest liar of the Jesuits”. He did so, we can only assume, because he wanted to be acclaimed the first “discoverer” of the Source.

The Source

Before looking in detail at Lobo’s description of the Source (or in fact two sources) of the river we should recall that, both are situated on marshy land, south-west of Lake Tana. From these the water trickles into the Small Abbay, a little river that runs into Lake Tana from the west. Fed during the rainy season by water carrying with it much silt it is then very muddy and can be identified for a considerable distance as it flows south-eastwards across the lake towards the town of Bahr Dar. Not far from it the river emerges from the lake as the Large Abbay, having lost much of its earlier silt, and makes its way to the Sudan, Egypt and beyond.

There are indications that the Small Abbay area was venerated in the past, not so much as the Source of the mighty Nile, as Bruce may have thought, but rather on account of the nearby presence of the lake and the river – both of which were in the popular mind endowed with holy significance.

Lobo’s Account

Lobo’s account, to which we must now turn, though brief gives a seemingly accurate picture which could have been based only on personal observation. He describes “two circular pools or wells of water”, which, he says, could more appropriately be called “pits”. Four



spans in width and separated from each other by a distance of a stone's throw, they differed significantly in depth.

Lobo goes on to observe that the whole nearby plain, and especially the part near the sources, seemed "a subterranean lake" because the ground was "so swollen and undermined with water that it appears to bubble up when a person walks on it, which is seen more clearly when there are large rainfalls for then the ground yields and goes down at any step one takes on it, and the reason it does not swallow up anyone who walks on it is that, since all the land is green and this part had many various grasses and herbs, the roots are so intertwined that, with the little soil that holds them together, they can support anyone who walks on the field, which at its widest point can be crossed by a stone's throw, but only if shot by a sling".

The second source, which he says, lay to the east of the first, was "so deep that with a measure of more than twenty spans the bottom could not be found".



Photo: © Chester Higgins Jr

Jesuits such as Lobo, with his first hand knowledge of the Sources, played an important part in Nile history, for they rejected the age-old belief that the rulers of Ethiopia could control the flow of Nile water. One of the most prominent of their number, Baltazar Tellez,



emphatically dismissed any such suggestion, declaring that the river, with its immense mass of water could not be re-directed over the vast area suggested, as so much of it was occupied by steep and rugged mountains.

James Bruce, Luigi Balugani, and Empress Mentuwab

James Bruce undertook his famous and self-publicised travels to the Lake Tana area, as he claims, “to discover the Source of the Nile”, and presents this as the great achievement of his life. To enhance his reputation he was apparently not above “doctoring” the historical record: ignoring or caricaturing the earlier travels of the Jesuits; and falsifying the date of his Italian draftsman Luigi Balugani’s death (and totally omitting any reference to him in his published work) to make it appear that he, James Bruce, had been alone in reaching the Source of the Nile.

Bruce’s single-minded interest in the Source of the Nile struck the powerful Empress Mentuwab, and drew from her the following memorable comment:

“You have come from Jerusalem, through hot unwholesome climates, to see a river and a bog, no part of which you can carry away, were it ever so valuable... and you take it ill when I discourage you from the pursuit of this fancy, in which you are likely to perish without your friends at home ever hearing when or where the accident happened. While I, the mother of Kings, who have sat on the Throne of this country more than thirty years, have for my only wish, night and day, that after giving up everything in the world I could be conveyed to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and beg alms for my subsistence all my life after, if only I could be buried in the street within sight of that temple where Our Blessed Saviour once lay”.

And all the while the question of possible Ethiopian control over the Nile was not finally resolved.

The Uncertainties of Hiob Ludolf

The verdict of Tellez and the Jesuits notwithstanding, one voice was raised in possible support of the old Control of the Nile idea. This was that of Hiob Ludolf, the founder of Ethiopian studies in Germany. Clearly hoping that some means of obtaining such control might be found, he closely questioned his Ethiopian friend and informant, Abba Gorgoreyos, about such a possibility. When the good Ethiopian scholar



replied in the negative, dashing such hopes, Ludolf commented that if the Ethiopians had possessed such powers they would surely have used them to obtain from the Turks and Egyptians better facilities for their trade through the Red Sea coast.

The European Scramble for Africa

The politics of the Blue Nile, like those of the continent as a whole, were transformed by the European Scramble for Africa. It began, in this part of the continent at least, with the allegedly “temporary” British occupation of Egypt, which started in 1882 – and was to endure for many more decades than the term “temporary” would have led contemporaries to expect.



Photo: © Michael Tsegaye

The Scramble, which was facilitated by such innovations as the steam-engine, the gun-boat, and the Maxim Gun, was governed by the General Act of Berlin, signed by the Colonial Powers on 26 February 1885. Though primarily concerned with Africa there was not a single African signatory to this Act.

While the General Act was concerned with the continent as a whole, the situation in various areas was determined by more specific regional agreements, likewise concluded between the Colonial Powers, with little or no African participation.



As far as the Blue Nile was concerned the Ethiopian ruler Emperor Menelik, who had only six years earlier overcome an Italian attempt to establish a Protectorate over his country by force, felt it necessary to establish amicable relations with the British. They were pressing him to conclude, on 15 May 1902, what was clearly an “Unequal Treaty” – a term used for treaties imposed by the European Powers in China, for example. Article 3 stated that he engaged “not to construct or allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tana, or the Sobat [river] which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile, except in agreement with the governments of Great Britain and the Sudan”, i.e. the governments of Egypt and Sudan both under British occupation. Menelik could perhaps afford to agree to this Unequal Treaty because Ethiopia, at that stage of her economic development, had no immediate need for dams or other works on the Blue Nile, Lake Tana or Sobat. It was obvious, however, that as the country developed it would in all probability require more Nile water for irrigation, hydroelectric power etc.– hence the restriction imposed upon it by the 1902 treaty. That treaty was detrimental to Ethiopian interests as it imposed a restriction on the country’s development – a restriction which would become increasingly serious as her economic progress advanced.

A Changing World

The founding of the United Nations and of the African Union, the dawn of the Arab Spring, and other developments of the present, such as Ethiopia’s recent achievement of swift economic growth. It is now increasingly agreed that the Nile region should be ruled by its own people, rather than by foreign leaders in far-off capitals. The waters of the Nile must henceforward belong, without any restriction, to all the African inhabitants of the countries where this water originates or through which it flows.

Management of the Nile must henceforth provide a basis of scientific cooperation and friendship; no longer of rivalry, enmity and mistrust.









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