



**TANA 2020  
REPORT**





# **TANA 2020 REPORT**

**9th Tana High-Level Forum  
on Security in Africa**

[www.tanaforum.org](http://www.tanaforum.org)



**IPSS**

Tana Forum  
Secretariat

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# A SPACE FOR ALTERNATIVE VIEWS AND VOICES



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# INTRODUCTION

**THE AfCFTA PROVIDES STAKEHOLDERS ACROSS VARIOUS INDUSTRIES WITH THE OPPORTUNITY FOR LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION AND ACCESS TO CONTINENTAL MARKET INPUTS BOTH IN TERMS OF NATURAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES.**

The 9th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa which ran from the 19th to 24th of October 2020 was, for the first time, held in a hybrid format consisting of both face-to-face and virtual interactions. The customary convention of the Forum in Bahir Dar, in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia had to be forgone in deference to travel, health and safety restrictions necessitated by the Coronavirus pandemic. The hybrid setting was designed to facilitate greater participation from around the world while maintaining the unique feature of the Forum as a high-level networking event. Accordingly, most participants joined virtually and the sessions were live streamed on social media. In addition, participants were physically present at the Sheraton Addis Hotel in Addis Ababa as per the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and COVID-19 social distancing guidelines.

This year, the theme of the Tana Forum was “The AfCFTA: Revitalising Pan-Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa”. This was in recognition that the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is an unprecedented initiative that is expected to generate vast economies of scale on an intra-continental basis, principally by eliminating 90 per cent of tariffs on goods and significantly reducing non-tariff barriers (NTBs) on merchandise and services, such as differences in licensing regimes and regulatory standards. The AfCFTA provides stakeholders across various industries with the opportunity for large-scale production and access to continental market inputs both in terms of natural and human resources. Through the coordination and facilitation of trade policies and instruments across RECs and across Africa in general, the Agreement aims to promote and expedite regional and continental integration processes both in economic and socio- cultural terms.

Parallel Tana Forum activities inter alia; the Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series paid tribute to the late former President of the Republic of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa; peacemaker and pan-African advocate, as well as Professor Thandika Mkandawire; Malawian economist and intellectual giant.



# BACKGROUND TO THE FORUM

**THE TANA FORUM HAS EMERGED AS AN INDEPENDENT AND INFORMAL GATHERING OF AFRICAN DECISION-MAKERS, LEADERS OF THOUGHT, STAKEHOLDER GROUPS AND THEIR LARGER CONSTITUENCIES FOR AN OPEN DISCUSSION ON THE PRESSING PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FACING THE CONTINENT.**



## Introduction to the Forum

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University convenes the annual flagship security conference called the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, now popularly known as the Tana Forum. This initiative plays a crucial role in contributing to continuous dialogue on sustainable peace and supporting the implementation of the African Union Tripoli Declaration of August 2009 that appeals for “African-centred solutions” and the treatment of peace and security as a collective “intellectual challenge.”

Since it was first initiated in 2012 with the collaboration of eminent African personalities, including Meles Zenawi, the late Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the Tana Forum has emerged as an independent and informal gathering of African decision-makers, thought leaders, stakeholder groups and their larger constituencies for an open discussion on the pressing peace and security issues and challenges facing the continent.

## Forum objectives

The overall objective of the Tana Forum was to serve as a platform where African peace and security issues are discussed in order to allow high-level decision-makers within and outside the continent to develop new and innovative solutions to the myriad peace and security situations confronting the continent.

Specifically, the Forum aimed at:

1. Providing opportunities for decision-making leaders and institutions to exchange experiences and insights on peace and security issues among themselves with a view to gaining new perspectives required to resolve critical peace and security problems;
2. Giving opportunities to political decision-makers to interact and consult with a critical mass of African constituency and key global actors in the peace, security and development sectors;
3. Contributing to an open and substantive debate on peace and security issues of strategic importance to the continent vis-à-vis the rest of the world;
4. Communicating with and listening to “profound African voices on the ground” on various dimensions and components of peace and security concerns across the continent, thus facilitating much-desired inclusive dialogue among governments and other African security stakeholders;
5. Sensitising and mobilising a broad spectrum of actors and stakeholders to promote awareness of, and the imperative for African ownership of peace and security solutions.

## Expected results

In achieving these objectives, the Forum was expected to result in:

1. Continuous conceptualisation and projection of the peace and security issues affecting the continent from the perspective of African citizens and governments. In that regard, substantial attention would be given to the emerging body of “home-grown” African approaches to peace and security challenges and prospects;
2. The building of a vibrant and broad-based constituency on peace and security issues through the establishment of non-threatening platforms for dialogue, networking and exchange of information between policy-makers, researchers and practitioners. To sustain such platforms, a cross-section of leaders from different sectors would be called upon to act as interlocutors and champions with a view to mobilising “top-down” as well as “bottom-up” African voices on the peace and security priorities the continent should be pursuing;
3. Progressive engagement of Africa in the strategic and pro-active management of peace and security in the continent. Key to that effort would be the development of foresight capacities throughout relevant national, regional and continental organizations across the public, private and civil society sectors.



**THE FORUM WAS  
PRINCIPALLY  
INTERACTIVE PANEL  
DISCUSSIONS THAT  
ACTIVELY INCLUDED  
AND INVOLVED ALL  
PARTICIPANTS.**

## **Forum formulation**

The Forum brought together high-level decision-makers on peace and security drawn from the governmental spheres (HoSGs, AU organs and RECs); non-African regional institutions (UN, EU); the African private sector and civil society networks as well as scholars and practitioners of peace and security. This approach contributes to a continuous dialogue among top African leaders and various stakeholder groups. It enables leaders to explore options for innovative and joint action in peace and security. The Forum also allows for trust-building among key players who would often only meet in mediated settings and/or constrained by diplomatic protocol.

Discussions were designed to: (i) facilitate a seamless exchange of views and experiences in an open, informal and independent manner, (ii) be action-oriented and forward looking, and (iii) maintain its very essence as a consultative, rather than decision-making. The format of the Forum was principally interactive panel discussions that actively included and involved all participants.

## **Forum outline**

The 9th Tana Forum consisted of interactive conversations around various aspects of the 2020 theme emanating from the opening statements, main sessions, presentations, as well as side events. The remarks delivered in the opening session by H.E. Sahle-Work Zewde, President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; the then Foreign Affairs Minister, H.E. Gedu Andargachew, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; the keynote address by H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, African Union Commission Chairperson, a reflection on the State of Peace and Security in Africa read on behalf of H.E. John Dramani Mahama, Former President of Ghana and Chairperson Tana Forum Board and an overview of the UN75 Initiative and the future of AU-UN cooperation by H.E. USG Fabrizio Hochschild Drummond, Special Advisor to the Secretary-General, United Nations provided a clear framework for discussions.

These high-level submissions were subsequently supplemented by a High-Level Panel on the AfCFTA, and its role in Revitalising Pan-Africanism and Integration and complemented by critical discussions that reflected on:

1. Rebuilding After COVID-19 and the Lessons for Effective Governance and Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa;
2. Accelerating the AfCFTA in the Context of Global Governance and COVID- 19;
3. Feminist Considerations for the implementation of the AfCFTA;
4. The role of the AfCFTA in Conflict Transformation;
5. Peace and Stability as ingredients in the recipe for the successful implementation of AfCFTA
6. Making the AfCFTA Work

A closed session that discussed Illicit Financial Flows and COVID-19 as the other pandemic was also held generating vital recommendations for security sector actors. In addition, Forum events included the Annual Book Launch, the Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture, African University Essay Competition Winners and interviews that profiled Voices from TANA reinforced the context and content of the 6-day meeting.



# FORUM OUTCOMES & TAKEAWAY MESSAGES

1. The AfCFTA is balanced between consensus and contention; It remains an agreement in principle requiring significant interventions in order to sufficiently animate it.
2. Accelerate integration but protect identity; The implementation of the AfCFTA should be structured to promote integration whilst safeguarding the unique culture and characteristics of African regions.
3. Multilateralism works; The coordinated regional responses initiated by African countries and RECs in 2020 to transnational challenges need to be replicated in the implementation of the AfCFTA.
4. The AfCFTA should be people-centred; Putting women and the youth first. For the successful implementation of the AfCFTA, it is critical to simultaneously address the political, social and economic obstacles affecting vulnerable groups, eroding peace and hindering development.
5. Make AfCFTA green – The expansion of free trade in Africa should not contribute to environmental degradation and increased ecological fragility.
6. Make AfCFTA debt-neutral - The immediate fiscal and monetary cost of implementing the continental free trade agreement should not outweigh the benefits “this cure to poverty should not be worse than the disease”.
7. The AfCFTA cannot advance without free movement of people: African states, the AU and RECs must invest proportionally in ensuring that free movement of persons is advanced.

**54 OUT OF 55 COUNTRIES (98%) HAVE SIGNED UP TO THE AGREEMENT, 34 COUNTRIES (62%) HAVE SATISFIED THE PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS FOR DOMESTICATING THE AGREEMENT AND 29 COUNTRIES (53%) HAVE DEPOSITED THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION WITH THE AU.**

1. The AfCFTA is delicately balanced between consensus and contention, stalked by the risk of regressing into inertia. This has significant implications for the objective of revitalising Pan-Africanism, as well as the prospects for peace and the pace of development on the continent.

On one hand, the AfCFTA is a significant achievement with massive transformational potential for Africa. The realisation of this agreement in just 5 years debunks the myth that political will is lacking in Africa.

54 out of 55 countries (98%) have signed up to the agreement, 34 countries (62%) have satisfied the preliminary conditions for domesticating the Agreement and 29 countries (53%) have deposited their instruments of ratification with the AU. This is a testament to the collective determination of the leadership of the continent to make the next great leap forward.

On the other hand, the AfCFTA remains an agreement in principle and it requires significant interventions in order to sufficiently animate it. The essential, enabling conditions for the implementation of the Agreement are still inadequate.

In particular, the continental protocol on free movement of persons which has been ratified by only 4 countries (7%): Rwanda, Niger, Mali and Sao Tome and Principe. The Protocol requires 15 ratifications to enter into force. This is a critical indicator of how far

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BORDER AREAS  
WHERE CONFLICT  
HOTSPOTS TEND TO  
BE CONCENTRATED.**

**A CLEAR NEED  
TO ACCURATELY  
DEFINE WHAT  
“SOVEREIGNTY”  
MEANS AND UNPACK  
THE DIFFERENT  
ASPECTS OF  
SOVEREIGNTY IN THE  
CONTEXT OF THE  
AfCFTA EMERGED  
FROM THIS MEETING.**

the continent has to go towards implementing the AfCFTA.

Similarly, the requisite levels of peace, security and stability for the desired five-fold growth in intra-continental trade from the current 15% in Africa to a comparable 67% in Europe are also lacking. African nations do not feature at all in the top 40 ranking of countries in the 2020 Global Peace Index but account for over 40% of nations in the bottom ranking of 163 countries.

Whilst a majority of conflict and instability in African countries have taken on an internal dimension, there are still a significant number of active state conflicts in Africa. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) as well as the diffusion of radical ideologies and violent extremism have elevated relatively benign inter-communal conflicts into high-voltage engagements.

This, coupled with the attendant humanitarian crises, state fragility, instability and conflict have a deflationary effect on trade development and could significantly affect the implementation schedule of the AfCFTA. The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic in catalysing economic instability and social unrest cannot be discounted at this time.

On the other hand, trade and economic interdependence has also been touted as an avenue to conflict reduction, mitigation and prevention. Greater attention needs to be paid to redressing youth unemployment and mainstreaming informal commerce especially in remote cross-border areas where conflict hotspots tend to be concentrated.

The level of infrastructural integration and development required for successful implementation of the AfCFTA is also significant. Although energy and infrastructure constitute over 50% of recent investments in Africa, the rate at which infrastructure and energy sector development is happening is less than ideal. Many of these development projects are still “extraction-oriented” targeting to ease access to raw commodities rather than “diversification-oriented” to facilitate value-addition to primary goods.

2. Policy leaders should endeavour to structure the AfCFTA to accelerate integration, without the loss of identity (“the Benjamin Mkapa model of development”). A clear need to accurately define what “sovereignty” means and unpack its different aspects in the context of the AfCFTA emerged from this meeting.

It was evident that AfCFTA will have a transformative impact on trade configurations, the cultural identity and the social fabric of the continent, and these “soft/intangible” aspects of peace and development demand the close attention of policymakers going forward.

Cybersecurity and intellectual property came in for particular scrutiny as the latest iterations in the lexicon of “self-determination”. The meeting leaned towards re-defining the conventional appreciation of sovereignty and re-casting freedom and liberty to further embrace a definition more rooted in improved material conditions.

There was a predisposition for a greater inclination towards “enlightened self-interest” where states are encouraged to engage in a trade-off when faced with the dilemma between independence and free trade that would ultimately deliver better conditions for the citizenry.

3. There was universal consensus at the Forum that multilateralism works. Bilateral engagements have utility up to the point where the challenges to peace and development assume a complex and transnational identity. Nowhere is this maxim more applicable in 2020 than the Greater Horn of Africa.

The triple-threat of the Coronavirus pandemic with its devastating effects on lives and livelihoods in the region; the worst desert locust invasion in over 20 years that threatened the food security and nutrition status of over 50.4 million people; and widespread flooding that killed hundreds tested the limits of the coping, response and resilience capacity of the region. The lessons drawn from the coordinated regional response by both Member States and RECs to these challenges need to be replicated in the implementation of the AfCFTA for peace and development.

There was ample proof that protectionist and isolationist policies are at best, ineffectual and at worst counter-productive responses to crises that know no borders. There was a clarion call for Africa to continue opening up even as the rest of the world continued shutting down. Enhanced inter-REC coordination was highlighted as one of the principal mechanisms to accelerate, entrench and safeguard the multilateralist approach on the continent.

Coordination among the eight RECs of the AU provides the essential scaffolding required to enable complementarity of trade and development policy, currency harmonisation, collective responses to peace & security such as the AU initiative to “silence the guns by 2020” and affirmative action for post-conflict countries.

The Forum recognised that the AfCFTA's potential to unify Africa for collective trade negotiation would make it the second largest trading bloc representing 1.3 billion people on earth after the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). This would level the playing field with major trade partners such as China which has approximately the same population as well as Europe and the United States which have four to six times smaller populations but economies that are four to six times larger than Africa's.

4. For the AfCFTA to effectively act as a catalyst to Pan-Africanism and inoculate the continent against conflict and underdevelopment, it is critical to methodically address political, social and economic obstacles eroding peace and hindering development in Africa.

The Forum emphasised that the AfCFTA should be people-centred; prioritising women and the youth first. These sections of the population are simultaneously the most vulnerable

to conflict and socio-economic exclusion and at the same time have a central role to play as principal drivers and beneficiaries of peace, stability and development. In addition, it is indispensable to simultaneously implement AfCFTA from both above, at the macro-level and below, at the micro-level in order to maximise synergies and guarantee the equitable distribution of trade benefits through all socio-economic stratifications.

The Forum posited that the link between peace and development is forged in the transformation of voice outside government into influence inside government. In other words, there is a correlation between the “porousness” of policy spaces and levels of peace and development. This viewpoint was influenced and reinforced by the works of the late Prof. Thandika Mkandawire who mapped the relationship between democracy and development in his concept of the “democratic developmental state”.

For these reasons, continuous consultation, deliberate inclusion and systematic prioritisation of the aspirations of women and youth is obligatory in the roll-out of the AfCFTA. Strengthening the participation of civil society and the private sector in this endeavour was proposed as one of the most effective and time-tested strategies to realising this objective.

The meeting further emphasised on the centrality of investments in health, education, food and nutrition security particularly for the youth. The meeting took note that the objective of successful implementation of the AfCFTA is only 43 years away, in other words in less than 1 generation. This means that the incoming stewards of the process are now in their youth and the first-batch of beneficiaries of the successful realisation of the AfCFTA are now in their infancy.

To this end, there was consensus on the importance of strengthening and supporting Pan-African institutions that promote political, economic and social cooperation, for instance, the Economic and Social Commission for Africa (ECOSOC).

5. Make AfCFTA green. Participants at the meeting counselled that the expansion of free trade on the continent should not be to the detriment of environmental degradation and increased ecological fragility. A collective call was placed to policymakers and practitioners to calibrate free trade interventions to have a net neutral or positive impact on the environment. Investments in renewable and green energies, agro-forestation enterprises and technologies that reduce or eliminate the carbon impact of manufacturing and industrialisation processes altogether are to be preferred.

With analysis of existing conflicts in Africa clearly indicating that access to natural resources is one of the principal causes, trigger and driver on the continent. The ecological impact of enhanced trade activity on the continent was a theme that recurred uniformly throughout the six days of the Forum. Furthermore, projections from conflict indicate that the situation is bound to get worse before it gets better as the negative effects of long-term climate change and extreme weather variability in the short-term make themselves manifest on the continent.



Conflict over water, arable land, rangelands and even maritime resources are on the rise with many of them occurring along borderland areas. This exacerbates the likelihood of inter-state conflict thereby undermining effective implementation of the AfCFTA and pushing the dividends of peace and development farther out of reach, particularly for communities in the periphery of the state.

6. Make AfCFTA debt-neutral. Rolling concerns were raised at the Forum on the immediate fiscal and monetary implications of implementing the continental free trade agreement. It was underscored that this much vaunted “cure to poverty should not be worse than the disease”.

Forum participants reflected on the most appropriate revenue-compensation policies and mechanisms that should be considered for the AfCFTA to be effectively rolled out. It was observed that already there was a corresponding increase in various commerce-related taxes across African Member States to offset the recorded losses in revenue from the trade tariffs that were being revoked.

The collateralisation of national assets to underwrite debt-driven development was also a recurring theme in the discussions at the Forum. Mortgaging the economic future of African states in pursuit of a conventional path to industrialisation was frowned upon. Instead, discussants explored alternative approaches to peace and prosperity that were less likely to result in bankruptcy before states are optimally positioned to recoup investments in development.

# PROCEEDINGS



# DAY 1

19 October 2020





## Annual Book Launch

PRE-FORUM EVENT

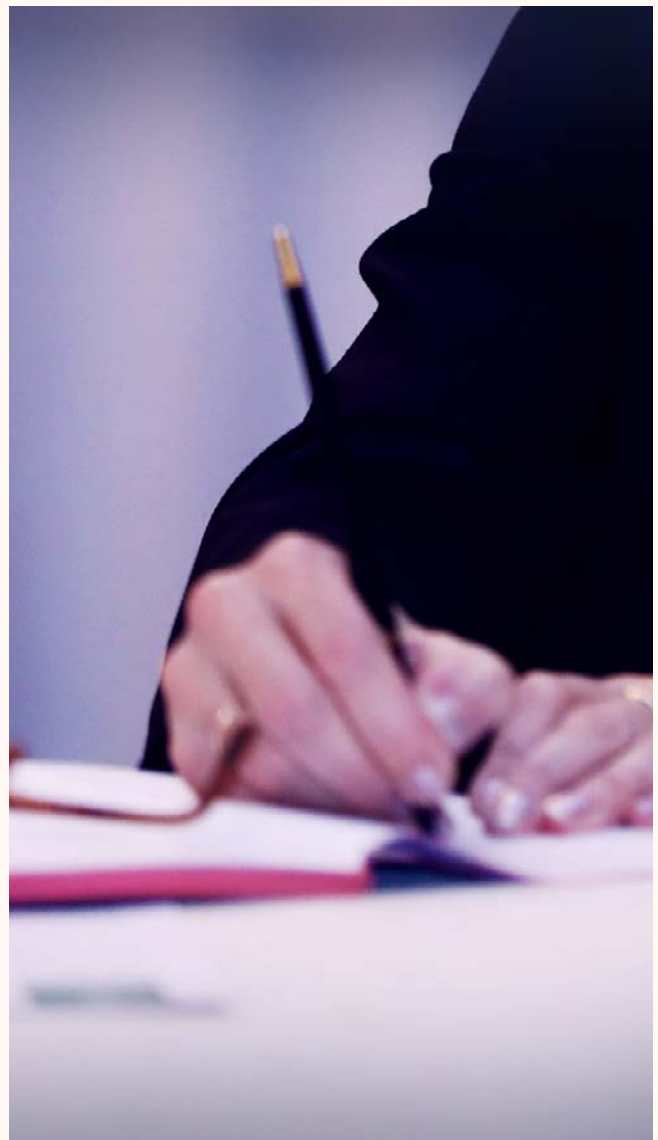
**“THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AFCFTA CAN MAKE A SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE IN AFRICA, BUT I AM SOMEHOW RELUCTANT TO PUT IN PLACE THESE KINDS OF SUPERSTRUCTURES WITHOUT FULFILLING THE BASICS”**

**“AS AFRICANS WE SHOULD FOCUS ON GETTING THE BASICS RIGHT (EDUCATION, HEALTH, WATER, SANITATION, SUSTAINABLE ENERGY TO GRASSROOTS COMMUNITIES) FIRST AND FOREMOST TO IMPULSE ITS GROWTH.”**



What stops Africa, with its abundant natural resources, from capitalising on its boundless potential? Well-known Africa analyst Jakkie Cilliers uses 11 scenarios to unpack, in concrete terms, how the continent can ignite a growth revolution that will take millions out of poverty and into employment.

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Authored by Jakkie Cilliers, “Africa First”: Igniting a Growth Revolution presents and explores 11 factors and their impact and contribution towards a sustainable improvement in African livelihoods. The book essentially argues that Africa’s growth trajectory is different to that of the rest of the world because of slow pace on-boarding African states onto the “manufacturing escalator”.

The author observes that Africa is 50 years away from reaping the benefits of its demographic dividend and must grow three times the current rate in order to maximise on the potential of its young population and urges for investment in an enabling environment for a manufacturing sector that will engage young people and unleash a growth revolution. The main areas of focus for these investments should be in education, health, good governance, food security, export-orientation, value-addition for agricultural commodities and diversification from agricultural to service-driven economies.

## Meles Zenawi Lecture Series

### PRE-FORUM EVENT



**Tribute to**  
**BENJAMIN WILLIAM**  
**MKAPA**  
**1938 – 2020**

*By Dr. Adebayo Olukoshi*

President Mkapa assumed office in the context of uncertainty, marked by a political transition to a multi-party system and a severe economic crisis.

During his term in office, he shepherded Tanzania through a perilous economic restructuring programme while at the same time striving to preserve Tanzanian values.

His leadership style was characterised by accessibility, openness to continuous dialogue with adversaries and tolerance for criticism.



**Tribute to**  
**PROF. THANDIKA**  
**MKANDAWIRE**  
**1940 – 2020**

*By Dr. Adebayo Olukoshi*

Prof. Mkandawire was a pioneer of African intellectual unity and founding father of intellectual foundations on the continent.

He revolutionised conventional perceptions of African economics by drawing attention to distorted markets and called them to 'bring prices right', a move endorsed by international institutions without due recognition to him.

Prof. Mkandawire established the inextricable link between governance and politics in Africa, as well as the relationship between democracy and development through the "concept of the democratic developmental state".

He nurtured promising young African intellectuals to reverse the dominance of non-indigenous intellectuals on the continent.

His initiatives matured into the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (ODESRIA).

## Rebuilding After COVID-19: Lessons for Effective Governance and Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa.

### SIDE EVENT 1

#### EVENT PANELLISTS

##### **H.E. Dr. Workneh Gebeyehu**

Executive Secretary, IGAD

##### **Professor Eddy Maloka**

CEO, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

##### **Dr Raji Tajudeen**

Head, Division of Public Health Institutes and Research, Africa CDC

##### **Reverend Dr. Fidon Mwombeki**

General Secretary, AACC

##### **Dr. Gilles Yabi**

Founder, WATHI Citizen Think Tank  
Senegal

This session reviewed the health, socio-economic and political impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in Africa and sought to draw out lessons learnt and best practices for effective governance approaches that would deliver sustainable peace and development amidst this crisis.

The panellists sketched out the impact of COVID-19 noting that infection rates have steadily been on the rise hinting at a second wave. It was observed that the countries of the Greater Horn of Africa were projected to have a collective economic contraction of -5% in 2020/2021 as a result of COVID-19 exacerbating existing inequalities, increasing food insecurity and driving soaring unemployment especially among the youth, all of which are likely to have implications on peace and security in the region. Discussants also shared that the IGAD region specifically was simultaneously grappling with a locust invasion and displacement-inducing flooding.

The panellists submitted that with regard to effective governance, COVID-19 and similar transnational crises underscored the continuing need for multilateral responses and regional coordination particularly in the strengthening of disaster prediction and response capacities. Strengthening national health systems and capacity for vaccine development and administration was highlighted. The utility of preventive diplomacy in regional peacebuilding was also highlighted and a call for debt cancellation for the most vulnerable African countries was made.

From the discussions among the speakers and interactions with the audience, it was concluded that many disaster prediction, response and management agencies were compelled to recalibrate their tools to deal with this crisis. The Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction for instance, needed to be upgraded to accommodate new manifestations of disaster such as health epidemics. It was proposed that disaster response be integrated to the public education curriculum and national budgeting systems. The discussants added that it was important to ensure that disaster response adheres to the rule of law and emergencies are not politicised. The spotlight was thrown on instances of “COVID-corruption”, xenophobic attitudes and isolationist tendencies. At the same



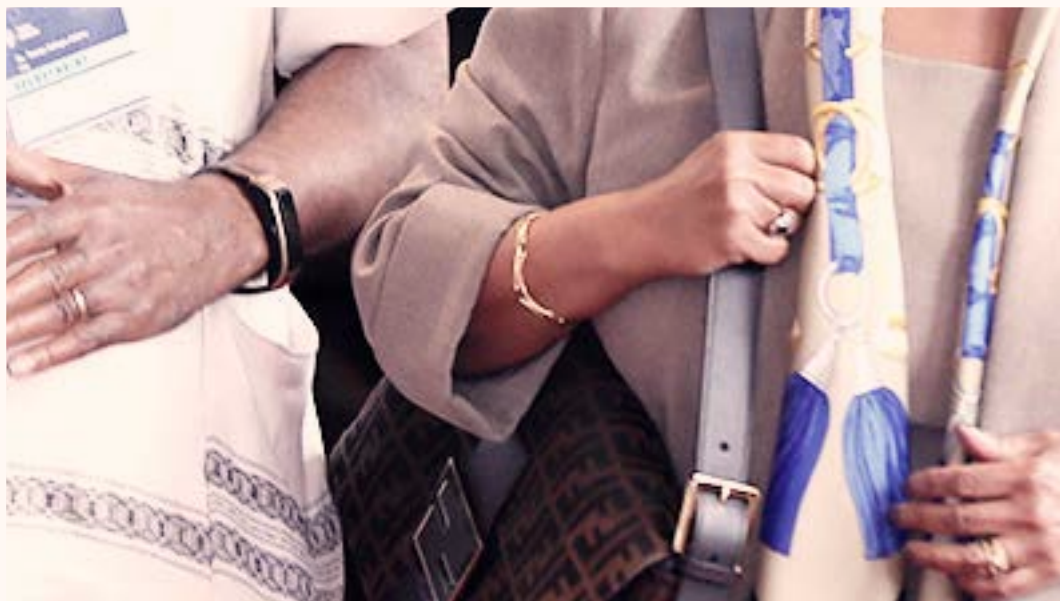
time, African ingenuity and innovation in response to the vagaries of the pandemic particularly in the manufacture of PPE's and fabrication of emergency medical equipment was acknowledged.

## KEY MESSAGES

1. There is a continuing need for multilateral responses and regional coordination particularly in the strengthening of disaster prediction and response capacities.
2. It is vital to strengthen national health systems and ramp up capacity for vaccine development and administration.
3. Preventive diplomacy is an important tool for regional peacebuilding.
4. Debt cancellation will unlock vital resources for emergency response in the most vulnerable African countries.
5. Upgrade the Sendai Framework to accommodate new forms of disaster such as health epidemics.
6. Integrate disaster response awareness and training into public education, public finance and budgeting systems.
7. Emergencies are not a political instrument; State-centric disaster responses must adhere to the rule of law -"COVID-corruption", xenophobic attitudes and isolationist tendencies must be discouraged.
8. Africa has displayed remarkable ingenuity and innovation in response to the Coronavirus pandemic which should be replicated.

# DAY2

20 October 2020



## Opening Session

### MAIN EVENT

#### WELCOME ADDRESS

##### H.E. Gedu Andargachew

Foreign Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

In the opening session of the Forum, H.E. Gedu Andargachew, Foreign Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia recognised the importance of the Tana Forum which has continued to be the premier event for intellectual engagement while providing a platform for much-needed frank discussion especially now against the background of the COVID-19 pandemic that had crippled the global efforts at international cooperation on peace and development.

##### H.E. Sahle-Wwork Zewde

President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

**“THE TANA FORUM IS INDEED A PLATFORM THAT STRIVES TO MEET THE INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE FOR AFRICAN-LED DISCUSSIONS AND SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING OUR CONTINENT.”**

*H.E. Sahle-Work Zewde*

H.E. Sahle-Work Zewde, President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia reflected on the theme of the year “AfCFTA: Revitalising Pan Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa”. In her remarks, she noted that this year’s theme befits the Tana Forum given the launch of the AfCFTA, making long-awaited continental aspirations a reality. More importantly, she added that the discussions of Tana 2020 were a critical reflection point for additional continental agendas necessary to deliver on the CFTA for instance the AU initiative on Silencing the Guns and the AU Protocol on Free Movement.



**KEYNOTE ADDRESS****H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat**

AU Commission Chairperson

**“THE AFCTA IS SPIRIT OF PPAN-AAFRICANISM MADE FLESH. IT IS THE NATURAL EVOLUTION OF THE CONTINENTAL DRIVE TO INTEGRATE AND REALISE THE IDEAL OF A BORDERLESS AFRICA.”**

*H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat*

In his remarks, H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson of the AU Commission reiterated that the role of the AUC is supporting the continent realise the CFTA. The Chair of the Commission reflected on crucial deliverables necessary to realise the CFTA for instance infrastructure development, free movement of goods and capital – all the while preparing the continent for potential investors in addition to moving towards a borderless continent.

**STATE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA**

**As delivered by Mr. Brian Kagoro on behalf of H.E. John Dramani Mahama**

Former President of Ghana, Chairperson, Tana Forum Board

**“THE CFTA MAY NOT BE THE MAGICAL WAND THAT WILL BRING EVERLASTING PEACE, STABILITY, DEVELOPMENT, BUT IT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS THE RESET BUTTON AND SET NEW GOALS.”**

*H.E. John Dramani Mahama*

In the address delivered on his behalf, H.E. John Dramani Mahama, Former President of Ghana and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board delivered the State of Peace and Security Report highlighting noteworthy trends and emerging issues in the security and governance landscape. President Mahama’s reflections, also spoke on the impact of COVID-19 on peace, security and development across the continent and also cautioned of the possible shortcomings of a haphazard implementation of the CFTA, noting that it could lead to a rise in inter-state conflict and promote competition over cooperation if not properly managed.

**UN75 INITIATIVE AND THE FUTURE OF AU-UN COOPERATION****H.E. USG Fabrizio Hochschild Drummond**

Special Advisor to the Secretary-General, United Nations

**“RIGHT NOW, WE FACE A PLETHORA OF MULTILATERAL CHALLENGES YET A BROAD, GNAWING AND GROWING SENSE OF MULTILATERAL FATIGUE BUT NEVERTHELESS, THE UNITY OF OUR SHARED ASPIRATIONS BELIES NARRATIVES OF DIVISION.”**

*Fabrizio Hochschild Drummond*

H.E. USG Fabrizio Hochschild Drummond, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General capitalised on the Tana Forum as an opportunity to revisit the CFTA, UN-AU engagement as well as the current state of multilateralism. ASG reflected on the outcomes of the system-wide consultations ahead of the UN75 celebrations which captured a number of emerging trends as well as structural concerns echoed in the State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) report. In particular, climate change as an emerging security risk, rise in nationalism, misuse of social media to spread propaganda and hate speech were noted as issues of continued concern. Structural issues like transnational crimes, electoral violence as well as gross violation of human rights were also noted as a growing concern for all humankind.

## The Other Pandemic; Illicit Financial Flows and COVID-19

**Side Event 2 (CLOSED SESSION)**

As COVID-19 spreads across the world, massive funds are being mobilised to meet urgent health security needs and to tackle economic, financial and humanitarian crises ensuing from the pandemic. Trillions of USD are being infused into the global economy. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) alone is making available about USD 250 billion for lending. At the same time, institutions are severely restricted in their abilities to monitor these financial outflows, both by the sheer size of these funds and reduced personnel capacities. This opens up vast opportunities for fraud and corruption that threaten to divert vital resources from their intended goals and strengthen criminal actors.

African economies in particular have long been weakened by illicit financial flows (IFFs) and they are expected to grow even more in the future. For example, as trading in the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is set to start in January 2021, it will increase not only those very welcome licit flows but also their illicit counterparts. A recent study by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development's (UNCTAD) estimates that illicit capital flight from Africa already amounts to almost USD 89 billion per year, making the continent a "net creditor to the world". Hence, a further COVID-19-induced increase of illicit financial flows could pose a severe threat to sustainable development and security in Africa.





# DAY3

21 October 2020





## The AfCFTA, Revitalizing Pan-Africanism and Integration

### HIGH-LEVEL PANEL

#### EVENT PANELLISTS

##### **H.E. Hailemariam Dessalegn**

Former Prime Minister of Ethiopia

##### **Hon. Vincent Biruta**

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Rwanda

##### **Dr. Stephen Karingi**

Director, Regional Integration and Trade Division, Economic Commission for Africa.

#### MODERATED BY

##### **Amb. Abdoulaye Diop**

Chief of Staff, African Union Commission

Discussions in this session focused on the role that the AfCFTA would play in re-uniting Africa and reviving the Pan-Africanist spirit of the 1960's were structured around three framework questions;

1. Why and how does the AfCFTA revitalise the concept of Pan-Africanism and transform continental integration in the pursuit of peace and security?
2. What kind of economic development and growth does the AfCFTA foresee and how does that square with the developmental outlook of Pan-Africanism?
3. What concrete steps can Member States undertake to accelerate AfCFTA in a post COVID-19 Africa order?

In his responses, H.E. Hailemariam Dessalegn, Former Prime Minister of Ethiopia opined by stating that the AfCFTA was one of the most important decisions taken in the history of the AU – next to the establishment of the OAU and the AU. However, he lamented that Africa still remained balkanised and fragmented with the AfCFTA offering a unique opportunity to reverse this reality. The Former Prime Minister added that the need for aggressive and proactive leadership on revitalising Pan- Africanism requires concerted efforts from all leaders, African citizens, private sector and partners to get behind the AfCFTA as the unifying vehicle.

He urged for a focus on the formulation of realistic implementation plans with clear milestones and tracking frameworks to measure progress and stressed on the inclusive participation of the people noting that marginalisation and exclusion are the root causes of insecurity and conflict. He traced the relationship between peace and security and economic transformation supporting this assertion with evidence from regions where communal violence and protests are linked to marginalisation and disenfranchisement of the population. H.E. Hailemariam Dessalegn advocated for sustainable livelihood opportunities through trade as a panacea to this challenge, with the caveat that sustainable regional trade required robust governance

systems and institutions to continuously address underlying structural problems.

Hon. Vincent Biruta, Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation on his part echoed the need for realistic implementation plans for the AfCFTA in key sectors of the economy such as industry, manufacturing, supply chains, infrastructure and logistics. He cautioned that COVID-19 was a wakeup call to the continent on the capacity of "unknown-unknowns" to delay and otherwise negatively affect continental development programmes. He called for the completion of the ratification process as well as the promotion and the launch of a continental sensitisation programme on the benefits of CFTA at all levels. In addition, young people needed to be adequately mobilised, socialised, skilled and equipped to not only capitalise on the opportunities of the CFTA, but also take up the mantle of leadership in its implementation.

Steven Karingi, Director, Regional Integration and Trade Division, Economic Commission for Africa confirmed the widely-held view at the Forum that the AfCFTA is rooted in the core principles of Pan- Africanism. He harkened to a new spirit of independence and self-reliance where the continent would wean itself of the crippling dependence on aid by enhancing intra-African trade to levels that would exceed foreign direct investment (FDI), remittances and development support combined.

He offered an alternative take on Pan-Africanism that eschewed the state-centric approach and instead put people first, especially women and youth in the driving seat of the actions needed to make the AfCFTA work. He pointed to the AfCFTA national strategies and implementation plans as a natural entry point for this type of continuous stakeholder engagement with the target constituencies of this trade and commerce framework.

Mr. Karingi speculated that a lack of contravening evidence may be the cause behind the slow pace of ratification of the free movement protocol. This absence of data could be

fuelling sensitivities, and misapprehensions about security in some countries and cited examples from Rwanda and Ethiopia which have facilitated visa on arrival for all African citizens and there is myth-busting evidence showing that free movement is not equated with increased insecurity. However, he did acknowledge that cybersecurity was a genuine concern and this was partially addressed by the Malabo Convention. Nevertheless, the African continent ought to embrace the cost-minimisation potential of digitisation to facilitate the movement of persons, services, commodities and capital.

## KEY MESSAGES

1. The AfCFTA offers a unique opportunity to reverse the balkanisation and fragmentation of Africa.
2. It is imperative to formulate a realistic implementation plan for the AfCFTA with clear milestones and tracking frameworks to measure progress.
3. The inclusive participation of the people in the AfCFTA is imperative - marginalisation and disenfranchisement is a precursor to conflict and violence.
4. It is important to launch a continental sensitisation programme targeting grassroots communities on the benefits of the AfCFTA – Particularly women and the youth.
5. COVID-19 is a wake-up call to the continent on the capacity of external factors to delay and negatively affect continental development programmes.
6. Emerging evidence shows that free movement does not necessarily result in increased insecurity.
7. African leaders and Member States should focus on putting in place the necessary conditions for effective implementation of the AfCFTA.
8. Promotion of regional trade is not only an economic imperative, but also a security imperative.

Exchanges with the audience catalysed consensus that African leaders and Member States should increasingly focus on putting in place the necessary conditions for effective implementation of the AfCFTA and especially physical connectivity including digital connectivity. Furthermore, the promotion of regional trade is not only an economic imperative, but also a security imperative with regard to the generation of legitimate livelihood options for the youth.



# DAY4

22 October 2020



# African University Essay Competition Winners

## MAIN EVENT

### Winners

The Tana Forum Annual Essay Competition is aimed at obtaining views from the youth on various peace and security challenges faced across the continent. The competition is open to African nationals enrolled in higher education institutions based in Africa and in the diaspora.

#### 1st Place

##### Darlington Tshuma

Ph.D. candidate in the Peacebuilding Programme at the Durban University of Technology (South Africa) specialising in Peace & onflict Studies

#### 1st Runner-Up

##### Nnamani hikezie Nchedo

Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Biology at the Federal University of Technology (Nigeria)

#### 2nd Runner-Up

##### Segni Getu Sori

MA, Bahir Dar University, Faculty of Social Science, Department of Peace & onflict Studies (Ethiopia)





## Accelerating the AfCFTA in the context of Global Governance and COVID-19

### SESSION 1

#### EVENT PANELLISTS

##### **Dr. Yonas Adaye, Director**

Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

##### **Chris Maroleng**

Executive Director, Good Governance Africa

##### **Caroline Aluoch Obure**

Regional Integration Consultant

##### **Dr. Frannier Leautier**

Partner, CEO of SouthBridge Investment, Kigali

##### **Dr. Taffere Tesfachew**

Director, UNCTAD Africa Division

##### **Berhane Demissie**

Co-Founder and Managing Partner, Cepheus Growth Capital

The debate in this session explored the feasibility of jump-starting the AfCFTA was organised within a four-point field of enquiry;

1. How do international organisations working around COVID-19 contribute to the acceleration of the AfCFTA?
2. What challenges do global governance institutions face and must address; and what are the links to peace and security?
3. What linkages can be developed with the private sector to accelerate the AfCFTA?
4. How are country-level implementation plans adapted in the COVID era?

It was noted that COVID-19 had severely disrupted global supply chains and inadvertently, activated local resilience and response mechanisms. For instance, it was observed that institutions and enterprises that transacted on e-commerce and using mobile money platforms during this crisis had been less affected and in fact some had thrived. Similarly, online education platforms had expanded exponentially allowing learning to continue. This signalled for the important role the AfCFTA has to play in promoting value addition, stimulating economic diversification, strengthening trade facilitation and aiding the continent to navigate the COVID crisis.

Private sector relations across the continent were seen to be weak as African companies tend to trade with external partners. A need was identified to build value-chain relations with other businesses in the continent so as to capitalise on proximate synergies and leverage economies of scale. The role of government more as a facilitator than a regulator of commerce was extensively discussed. The conclusion was that governments should roll back punitive taxation policies for local enterprises and also make targeted investments that are designed to promote intra-continental trade.



The 2013 Economic Development in Africa Report that recommended developmental regionalism modelled on experiences from South East Asia was revisited with discussions on how the current dynamics around AfCFTA either converges or diverges from the foregoing analysis and recommendations. Discussants concluded that at the very outset, the private sector in Africa must first endeavor to ensure that its products are globally competitive. The panel also agreed that in the current context, reliance on export-led industrialisation as driven by global value chains would be a problematic development strategy for Africa.

The role that academia has to play in facilitating the implementation of AfCFTA was highlighted with the gauntlet being thrown to intellectuals on the continent to deliberately set about injecting the concept of Pan-Africanism in the minds of the continental student body. It was emphasised that intellectuals should integrate knowledge and skills regarding the unification of Africa in everyday learning and inculcate the common position that creating African free trade area is not a matter of choice, but of necessity.

## KEY MESSAGES

1. COVID-19 has activated local resilience and response mechanisms which AfCFTA can capitalise upon for faster implementation.
2. Private sector relations and engagement in the AfCFTA is weak and needs to be strengthened.
3. Government should take up a bigger role as a facilitator than a regulator of commerce; rolling back punitive taxation policies for local enterprises is a step in the right direction.
4. Private sector in Africa must first and foremost endeavor to produce goods and services that are globally competitive.
5. Reliance on export-led industrialisation as driven by global value chains is not the best development strategy for Africa.
6. The academic community on the continent should deliberately inculcate the concept of Pan-Africanism in the minds of the continental student body.
7. Academic programs should integrate knowledge and skills regarding the unification of Africa in everyday learning.

# DAY5

22 October 2020



## Towards the Pan-African Dream? African Feminist Considerations for the AfCFTA

### SIDE EVENT

### EVENT PANELLISTS

#### Memory Kachambwa

Director, FEMNET

#### Chenai Mukumba

Policy Research & Advocacy Manager, Tax Justice Network, Africa

#### Fatimah Kelleher

International Women's Rights Strategist/Adviser

The engagement during this session investigated how trade policies affect women differently both directly and indirectly. The finding was that at the macro level, women's participation in the economy is still narrow considering that the vast majority of women work in the informal sector. The argument put forward was that while the AfCFTA may contribute to the creation of more jobs for women, the quality and dignity of this employment is not guaranteed.

The Forum was also informed that challenges to female participation in the economy, including women's unpaid care work were three to four times higher compared to men, a key consideration that is often not calculated within economic planning and policy-making. In order to remedy this shortcoming, a number of critical considerations and areas of impact were put forward for the consideration of participants and policymakers;

1. Resourcing models for the essential care and social services sector in which women and girls are disproportionately reliant when liberalisation policies begin to squeeze domestic revenue envelope, for instance decreased tariff revenues which may not be proportionally offset by growth;
2. The impact of AfCFTA on food systems and nutrition security as commercial agriculture takes root and affects the differentiated role and reliance of women on the agricultural sector;
3. Availability and design of social safety net mechanisms to protect women and other groups through the transition and adjustments in the implementation of the AfCFTA; the estimated USD 40 billion that AfCFTA implementation will cost does not currently factor in externalities including the additional resources for social protection schemes.



4. Addressing systemic and structural issues that create existing gender inequalities within various sectors to ensure women's full participation and benefit from the AfCFTA.

In response to these challenges, a suggestion of a continental fund to support Member States in implementing measures and the establishment of an African Trade Observatory that would factor in a women's rights framework in data collection and analysis was tabled. However, it was noted that the speed of the AfCFTA implementation schedule may outpace the rate of establishing mitigation measures as well as mobilising the necessary resources to prevent the perpetuation of existing gender inequalities.

Participants also expressed concerns that the continental trade regime may not benefit cross-border traders, the majority of whom are women, as intended due to externalities such as corruption and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). As a consequence, safeguarding the benefits of the AfCFTA for the most marginalised sections of the population required additional interventions designed to ameliorate this risk.

As part of this conversation, discussants urged African feminists to deepen levels of engagement with the AfCFTA process in an effort to shift the prevailing narrative that women are confined to the micro-economy and facilitate greater participation and engagement in macro-level policy formulation and practices. The Forum was enlightened that the African Feminist Economist Academy is one such institution that is seeking to break this mold by supporting knowledge generation and establishing linkages to strategically drive gender-sensitive and gender-transformative macro-level economic policy through analysis of the gendered implications of AfCFTA implementation. This session concluded with a resolution that there is a need for in-depth analysis to inform targeted policymaking and allocation of additional resource to cushion women against gender-sensitive economic shocks.

## KEY MESSAGES

1. Female participation in macro-economic issues and AfCFTA is still limited and needs to be enhanced – there needs to be a shift in the prevailing narrative that women are confined to the micro-economy and facilitate greater participation and engagement in macro-level policy formulation and practices.
2. Challenges to female participation in the economy are 3 to 4 times higher compared to men.
3. Establish a continental fund to support Member States in implementing measures that enhance female participation in the formal economy.
4. Establish an African Trade Observatory that would also factor in a women's rights framework in data collection and analysis.
5. Structure the implementation of AfCFTA to benefit informal cross border traders, majority of whom are women.
6. Conduct in-depth analysis to inform gender-sensitive policymaking and allocation of additional resource allocations to cushion women against gendered economic shocks.

## The AfCFTA and Conflict Transformation

### SESSION 2

#### EVENT PANELLISTS

##### **H.E. SRSG Hanna Tetteh**

Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the African Union and Head of the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU)

##### **H.E. SRSG Mankeur Ndiaye**

Special Representative and Head of MINUSCA

##### **USG. Cristina Duarte**

Special Advisor on Africa to the UN Secretary General

##### **H.E. Remi Marechaux**

Ambassador of France to Ethiopia and the AU

The session sought to explore the nexus between conflict, peacebuilding and the implementation of the CFTA and explored the role of the international community in supporting the peacebuilding dimensions of the AfCFTA. This was important considering that over 50% of UN Peacekeeping operations are on the continent. There was an acknowledgement that conflict the world over is multi-dimensional in nature and a further remark was made that the linkages between CFTA and conflict need to be similarly multi-level with analysis and responses pitched at the continental, regional and sub-regional levels. Additionally, a thoroughgoing examination of the root causes of conflict and inter-communal violence is needed if effective long-term peace interventions in support of the CFTA are to be crafted.

The ECOWAS experience showed that the desired level of integration advanced in the AfCFTA requires the highest level of political will. Trade development was said to be more crucial in countries that are emerging from conflict and for this reason, international development agencies needed to integrate the AfCFTA in the portfolio of peacebuilding interventions. By the same measure, RECs as the building blocks of trade, development and investment need to be strong and stable. More importantly, RECs provide a foundation for the interconnected humanitarian, peace and security and development pillars thereby making ongoing reform and restructuring processes of RECs more crucial than ever.

The inherent weaknesses of African Member States were discussed dispassionately with discussants and participants agreeing that African countries are yet to attain the requisite capacity to implement a “Made in Africa” policy. It was also argued that African states are narrowly focused on performing 2 principal functions namely, revenue collection and maintenance of social order. In other words, there is limited investment in human development and economic transformation.

A secondary set of threats was identified looking at the potential trade disputes that may arise among African countries, particularly affecting landlocked nations thereby

necessitating the need to have strong dispute resolution institutions and mechanisms. The EU experience showed that it was necessary for states to surrender portions of their sovereignty for the continental vision to work. The discourse turned to the need to introduce a new set of tools that would be better structured to support these new models of sovereignty and facilitate the AfCFTA mandate on building reciprocal continent-to-continent partnerships for development.

The discussions concluded that strong states were an imperative for the successful implementation of the CFTA. In the same vein, strong RECs were essential to cover the coordination gap between continental and national engagements. Towards this ideal, discussants concurred that the AU Silencing the Guns agenda (STG) is a crucial element to attaining the CFTA as envisioned but raised the alarm that the realisation of STG objectives was being overshadowed by growing security concerns on the continent in areas like Mali, Guinea and Cameroon. The panel also expressed fears that the impact of COVID-19 would serve to further destabilise the security of the continent.



## KEY MESSAGES

1. Implementation of the AfCFTA requires the highest level of political will.
2. It is vital to develop integrated multilevel conflict prediction, detection, prevention, mitigation and resolution mechanisms at continental, regional, national and sub-national levels that facilitate implementation of the AfCFTA.
3. International development agencies need to integrate the AfCFTA in the portfolio of existing and planned peacebuilding interventions.
4. There are potential trade disputes that may arise among Africa countries, particularly affecting landlocked nations thereby necessitating the need to have strong dispute resolution institutions and mechanisms.
5. RECs are essential to cover the coordination gap between continental and national implementation of the AfCFTA.
6. COVID-19 could further destabilise security conditions on the continent.



## Peace and Stability: A Recipe for Successful AfCFTA Implementation

### SIDE EVENT

### EVENT PANELLISTS

#### **Yemisrach Kebede**

Horn of Africa Regional Programme (HARP) Manager,  
Life & Peace Institute Manager

#### **Rehema Mussanzi**

Centre for Resolution of Conflicts

#### **Désiré Assogbavi**

International Law Specialist

#### **Fatima Yerima Askira**

Executive Director, Borno Women Development  
Initiative

#### **Dr. Jide Okeke**

Africa Regional Programme Coordinator, UNDP

This side-event sought to generate insights on approaches to successful implementation of the AfCFTA in the current context of peace and security in Africa. It was noted that the central principle of the AfCFTA is inclusive trade, but the current peace and security context in Africa made it difficult to roll out these objectives in a timely manner. Panelists illustrated the inverse correlation between the trade volumes and diversity as plotted against the fragility index. Illustrations were also tabled in the negative impact of insecurity on trade to GDP ratios. Selected economic sectors such as mining, were singled out for the contribution they have made to conflict economies on the continent.

From the findings of these assessments, the panel attempted to persuade the meeting that implementation of the AfCFTA may not be optimal in fragile regions such as the Horn of Africa and the increasingly unstable Maghreb. The complexity of the security profile in these regions demanded structural interventions to comprehensively address challenges to both national and human security. The youth bulge was universally identified as both a liability for peace and security in its capacity as a source of combatants but conversely as an asset for stabilisation and development in its guise as a source of human capital. The consensus was that it is vital to address sources of instability in order to advance AfCFTA implementation, and curb the mutation of localised conflicts into regional spaces.

A strong case was made for collaborative and community-influenced, “bottom-up policymaking.” Innovative localised trade frameworks especially in conflict-affected regions. The IGAD policy framework on informal cross-border trade was cited as one such example of a trade instrument that simultaneously tackles security governance and the cross-border trade nexus, essentially bridging hard and soft issues and tackling multi-faceted security challenges in remote borderland areas while at the same time, delivering economic benefits to the most vulnerable communities.

Additional evidence was adduced from interventions in Ituri, DRC that support ex-combatants who have been collectivised in artisanal cooperatives to ethically mine gold and this has in turn enhanced social cohesion, improved the sustainability of incomes and established peace in affected communities. An overview was provided of the stabilisation facility managed by UNDP which is working to open trade corridors and provide basic infrastructure alongside the activities of the Africa Borderland Centre to facilitate trade among the most vulnerable social groupings.

The panel advocated for a re-examination of shared Pan-African values and called for a push towards a revitalised AUC that is bequeathed with executive authority and enforcement capacity to ensure Member States' adherence and accountability to these values. In addition, the need to redress extreme inequalities and promote active citizenship was also mooted as a strategy to support AfCFTA implementation in conflict-affected spaces.

# DAY6

24 October 2020



## Voices from TANA (Pre-recorded Interviews)



**H.E. Hailemariam  
Desalegn**

Former Prime Minister  
Federal Democratic  
Republic of Ethiopia

### **Q - What are the benefits of AfCFTA for Africa?**

- ▶ Africa can use its comparative advantage to create jobs by enhancing entrepreneurial capacities of young people. Africa has advantage of the age structure and needs to create jobs for its young population.
- ▶ Through integration, Africa can maximize on economies of scale and will be able to compete with other continents.

### **Q - How do you see Africa evolving as a result of COVID – 19?**

- ▶ COVID 19 has exposed weaknesses of the economic structure in Africa. With lock downs countries who import food items and capital goods found it difficult to cope. The tourism sector had dwindled with many losing jobs.
- ▶ Going forward Africa needs to diversify its economies, and learn from these lean times.

### **Q - How do you see Tana Forum solving peace and security challenges in Africa?**

- ▶ The decision of Africa leaders was to have African solutions to African problems, this was the objective to which Tana Forum was formed. Africa has the sole responsibility with support of external actors to solve its own problems with African means and African ways and African understanding.
- ▶ Tana forum is a premier and a flagship forum whereby it has created awareness, innovative ideas, concrete measures that has helped those who participate, and those who have come across Tana Forum decisions and discourses.
- ▶ Tana Forum should continue. This is its 9th edition. It is a Pan African Institution for Africa and it needs to be nurtured.
- ▶ Tana Forum has contributed a lot to resolving security problems in Africa. Leaders involved in Tana processes have benefited a lot from the discussions and the policy prescriptions that have come out of it.



**Rev. Dr. Fidon**

**Mwombeki**

General Secretary  
All Africa Conference  
of Churches (AACC)

**Q - What has been the impact of COVID 19 for African people?**

- ▶ Grateful and thankful to God. God has spared Africa from the worst as was being predicted - comparable to other continents especially those of the West.
- ▶ Many countries have implemented very strict containment measures which have brought difficulties and pain to millions of people.
- ▶ Many people have lost employment due to containment measures. As global economies suffered African economies have also suffered.
- ▶ Some governments have used COVID -19 to suppress peoples' rights, and curtail freedom of assembly, and freedom of expression. It has exposed weaknesses in governments in terms of justice and anti-corruption measures. There has been cases of COVID – 19 response corruption related to misuse of grants and donations.

**Q - What has been the impact of COVID 19 on peace and security in Africa?**

- ▶ COVID 19 has not brought problems between countries but mainly within countries. An example here is suppression of freedom, and excessive use of force.
- ▶ Related to AfCFTA, COVID 19 has revealed the innovative nature and spirit of Africans. Africa was forced to create of its own. There has been a lot of ingenuity in Africa. COVID 19 has shown that Africa can produce and even process its own food, medicine and vaccines, manufacturing ventilators, making beds and producing PPEs among others. This is the potential the AfCFTA can help to accelerate.

**Q - What is the role of CSOs in CFTA implementation?**

- ▶ CSOs such as churches deal with people on a daily basis, not only when there are elections. CSOs see the impact of poverty and the impact of promises that are never implemented.
- ▶ It is CSOs role to call out on the governments to be accountable even in countries where CSOs role is being curtailed and space restricted.
- ▶ CSOs can educate citizens and popularize the CFTA, and hold governments to their commitments to the AfCFTA, including other AU commitments currently lagging behind such as silencing the guns by 2020, visa free travel in Africa by 2018 etc.



**Q - This year's TANA forum so far as hybrid as it is, your feeling?**

- It is good but limited. Personal interactions are important. With virtual meetings it is impossible to shake hands or hug with a computer since most people are not physically present. It's all about relationship building.

**Semiha Abdulmehik**

Tana Forum Technical  
Committee Member  
and Governance and  
Gender consultant

**Q - Which opportunities does the AfCFTA bring for women in Africa?**

- We need to acknowledge that the benefits of the AfCFTA, especially for women, are not automatic and that our national and regional economies currently display many inequalities. The amount of work that has so far gone into analyzing the gender dimension of the free trade agreement is remarkable. Yet, we need to look further into how we can support member states in strengthening the role of women, particularly women entrepreneurs.
- In many countries, the bulk of women in the private sector work in small and medium enterprises. These have their own dynamics and challenges such as issues of financing, scale, efficiency and access to technology. If we manage to unpack all these factors, women in the private sector will be able to benefit from the continental agreement.
- The broader opportunities for women are to expand their businesses outside of the national scope and to get access to financing and wider reach. But it will take a lot of concerted effort on the side of the MS and RECs to follow a gendered approach to the AfCFTA's implementation and address the existing challenges female entrepreneurs face.

**Q - Sub-Saharan Africa faces multidimensional security risks in the 21st century such as rapid population growth and urbanization, ethnic tensions, environmental degradation and climate change. So what are African women's involvement in solving these problems and what could be done better to be more gender-inclusive?**

- The role women have played in terms of addressing certain security threats such as climate insecurity and violence against women is first of all bringing visibility to them. Women have been at the forefront of highlighting such human security threats, which are not macro-security threats, but really have a huge impact on the lives of African citizens. States have tended to either shy away from addressing those or have less of a focus on. Women have really been pushing and doing advocacy to get those threats acknowledged as legitimate security threats.

- ▶ Secondly, women have played a huge role in mediation and conflict resolution, primarily at the community and local level and through informal networks. In order to make such processes more gender-inclusive initiatives and platforms of women peacebuilders really need to be integrated into formal and state peacebuilding initiatives. The main challenge for us is to ensure that moving forward the capacities women have to bring policy attention to such issues as well as resolve security issues, get integrated into formal processes. Yet, formal peace and conflict-resolution processes are largely male-dominated and not inclusive. The biggest challenge therefore is not the lack of capacity or a lack of understanding of issues on the side of women, but how we can bring the formal and informal processes together.

**Q - How do you see the role of East African women in the role of implementing the AfCFTA in their countries?**

- ▶ The AfCFTA is all about expanding our economies beyond the national scope and creating regional economies. Women in East Africa as well as in other African regions, already have been mobilizing across country lines. They have been mobilizing on issues of cross-border trade, peace and security, violence against women and girls. They have tremendous capacity to network transnationally and across sectors. It is this capacity that women in East Africa and other regions can bring to the table. We need to leverage those networks and platforms and ensure there is adequate communication on the AfCFTA to grassroot communities and there is advocacy to governments to ensure that implementation is gender-sensitive and that the benefits of the agreement are inclusive. So it is basically a question of how the networks and platforms built by East African women can be used for this communication and advocacy, but also for monitoring the impact and implementation of the AfCFTA and making sure that it is actually delivering for women and girls.



**Dr. Carlos Lopes**

Former Executive  
Secretary  
United Nations  
Economic Commission  
for Africa

There are two types of illicit trade: the illicit trade that is the consequence of informality and unaccounted transactions, which serves to explain why intra-African trade is often underestimated. And there is the illicit trade that is the result of very complex, sophisticated, organized crime, which is also preventing public resources from being collected and is not beneficial for the common good.

We need formalization as well as facilitation of trade through easing procedures and providing instruments for trade facilitation so as to create a stronger basis for countries' cross-border operations and for value chains to be established. Yet, right now, illicit trade and illicit financial flows are thriving, because despite all the arguments about security, and closed borders and the other reasons those opposed to AfCFTA normally put on the table, the reality is exactly the opposite. It is because we do not have the easiness of doing trade through the regular channels and because we do not provide the basis for the establishment of predictable forms of economic transactions that we see these kinds of illicit operations on the rise, which are undermining our regional integration.

Curbing illicit flows is about making sure that we put in place the tools and instruments and the policies that are regulating our transactions more. But this is not just an African problem; it is a global problem, which needs global solutions. We need more than just goodwill on the part of African leaders, governments and interlocutors. We have to do our part. What Africa can do is to put in place regulatory schemes that are much more stringent and better capable of catching illicit operations. This is the same philosophy as behind the AfCFTA. The AfCFTA needs to have protocols, it needs to have a dispute settlement mechanism, it needs to understand exactly what the consequences of determining intellectual property regimes are. It needs to make predictability part of the operations; it needs a trade observatory that is going to inform people about the best practices. All of these tools and mechanisms are very similar to the type of policies that are required for tackling the issues of illicit financial flows. So if we solve one of the problems, we can solve the other."

Trade negotiations are very complex. There are a lot of technical details that are to be sorted out. If you look into the speed under which the current negotiations have been mastering the signing and the ratification of protocols and so on, we can be satisfied that there is momentum. Of course, COVID has perturbed the calendar of everything including the AfCFTA that was about to enter into force and was going to have a special summit under the South African presidency and all of that has been postponed. Still, Africans have demonstrated their will by making the opening of the secretariat a reality, even during a pandemic. They have continued the negotiations remotely. These are indications that there is a changed agency on the part of African countries. And let us not forget that our negotiations with our largest trading partner block, the EU, have also continued at pace and that we have now definitely reached an understanding amongst Africans that we need to defend our interests. So some of the postponements are not necessarily bad.

We need to understand that negotiations for trade agreements can be slow. It is not to be expected that the AfCFTA will be understood and implemented in detail by a border guard until three years down the line. So let us not rush on things that require substantiation and sophistication and that will provide the basis for a free market.



**Dr. Yonas Adaye**

**Adeto**

Director

Institute for Peace and  
Security Studies

Addis Ababa University

**Q - What is the Tana Forum for you and why is it so important?**

- ▶ IPSS has four pillars: peace education, peace research, community engagement and policy dialogue. The pillar of community endearment is realized through the Tana Forum, which is a forum of exchange on knowledge and research on peace and security in Africa and beyond. Tana serves as a podium, where ideas can be generated and tested by leaders coming together under the Baobab three.

**Tell us about the 2020 Tana Forum theme and why it was chosen for this year:**

- ▶ IPSS as a pan-African institution has deliberately chosen the theme of the AfCFTA due to its potential to revive pan-Africanism. The free trade agreement is such a promising endeavor and has been signed by the majority of countries. We hope it will also be ratified by many and put into practice.
- ▶ IPSS' vision is to have a united Africa. We want to support the building of the Africa we want and realize the Agenda 2063. We have chosen the theme deliberately because we have to walk the talk of creating a united and prosperous Africa. 2020 is quite different with the pandemic gripping the whole world and reflecting on the AfCFTA showed us what is meant with pan-Africanism and what coming together means in a new and hybrid format, where we blend actual and virtual coming together.

**What role does the Tana Forum play to advocate for and promote the AfCFTA?**

- ▶ The role of Tana in this regard is to raise the questions of what the AfCFTA means for ordinary Africans. We may discuss it at the political and African Union level, at the academic level, but what does this really mean for the everyday life of an ordinary African? This needs to be debated and discussed and then translated into policies and implemented on the policy level, but also on the grassroots level. So how can we make the spirit of pan-Africanism work for Africans?

## Making the AfCFTA Work

### SESSION 3

#### EVENT PANELLISTS

##### **H.E Albert M. Muchanga**

Commissioner for Trade and Industry, AU  
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##### **H.E. Amb. Stephan Auer**

Ambassador of Germany to Ethiopia

##### **Maureen Achieng**

IOM Chief of Mission to Ethiopia and Representative  
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##### **Emmanuel K. Bensah**

Jr. Deputy Executive Director- AfCFTA Policy Network

The guiding questions for the penultimate session of the Forum was convened to examine the policy options available to Africa to accelerate free trade. Specifically, the panellists debated approaches to harnessing and enhancing the capabilities of youth to drive the AfCFTA; the role of the AfCFTA Secretariat in mobilising multi-sectoral approaches to implementation; and the role international partnerships play in accelerating the implementation of the AfCFTA.

Discussions were premised on the common understanding that implementation of the AfCFTA requires coordination across institutions, sectors and borders. Discussions advanced from the perspective that integration was already in progress on the continent and therefore sought to explore what critical lessons can be banked from preceding and current practices as well as how actors at all levels, can collaborate to drive implementation.

A critical explanation to address underlying fears was offered at this session where it was clarified that a free movement regime does not mean unregulated borders, but rather ensuring that border management agencies re-orient themselves to promote safe, orderly and regular migration in line with the principles of international law.

The challenge was made to re-examine the veracity of the prevailing myth-driven narrative on migration in African countries and re-craft it with data, incontrovertible facts and statistics that support the finding that by and large, managed migration and legal mobility is an engine for sustainable development, and not the threat it is made out to be.

In order to make the AfCFTA work, there was consensus that a number of key elements need to be put in place inter alia; formulation of S.M.A.R.T national implementation strategies and attendant action plans. For this aspect in particular, predictable financing of implementation activities would be a critical success factor for the AfCFTA.

Additional factors for the success of the AfCFTA included resolution of currency incompatibility as well as the mapping, targeting and strategic allocation of comparative advantages to Member States in order to minimise unhealthy competition and trade disputes.

The strengthening of democratic governance, peace and security through the AU's Governance Architecture and the AU's Peace and Security Architecture was identified as an imperative to building investor confidence. Knowledge levels on the AfCFTA were seen to be low and as a consequence, a demystification programme of effective communication, sensitisation, popularisation and dissemination to African citizens at all levels is essential.

Discussants highlighted the fact that the green aspects of the AfCFTA implementation should not be forgotten. The impact and effects of climate change and how it affects natural resources and cross border movement in search of economic opportunities should be mainstreamed in ongoing conversations and discussions on how to promote the AfCFTA.





## KEY MESSAGES

1. A free movement regime does not mean unregulated borders, but rather ensuring that border management agencies re-orient themselves to promote safe, orderly and regular migration.
2. Managed migration and legal mobility is not a threat but an engine for sustainable development.
3. Predictable financing of implementation activities is a critical success factor for the AfCFTA.
4. Strengthening of democratic governance is an imperative to building investor confidence for successful implementation of the AfCFTA.
5. It is essential to demystify and popularise the AfCFTA to African citizens at all levels.
6. Prioritise greening AfCFTA implementation and make it environmentally sustainable

## Closing Session & Conclusion

The conclusion of the 9th Tana Forum was moderated by Mr Chris Maroleng, Executive Director, Good Governance Africa and graced by H.E. Gedu Andargachew, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The Forum Rapporteur tabled the summary of the 7 major Key Takeaways as reflected in Section 2 of this report. These were subsequently subjected to further interrogation by Ms. Bogolo Joy Kenewendo, Former Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry Republic of Botswana.

The Former Minister of Trade underscored both the challenges and opportunities posed by the AfCFTA emphasising on the call to make the continental trade instrument people-centred if it is to succeed. She also added that private sector participation in the design and implementation of the AfCFTA was a sine qua non for the effective realisation of AfCFTA objectives and zeroed in on its ability to continue driving the digital revolution that had become the lifeline of the continent and indeed the world during the coronavirus crisis. The Former Minister called upon governments to build upon their designated role as enablers of trade by repealing discriminatory regulatory regimes and replacing them with trade-friendly policy, regulatory, administrative architecture complemented by corresponding physical infrastructure to accelerate commerce on the continent, propel prosperity and reduce poverty for the most vulnerable sections of society.

The meeting concluded with a ceremony that recognised, honoured and paid tribute to Tana Forum veterans notably the former Director of Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP) and the Tana Forum Secretariat Head, Michelle Ndiaye, who served between 2012 and 2018. A final vote of thanks was extended to H.E. John Dramani Mahama, Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board the organisers of Tana Forum and Forum Partners, for the successful organisation of the 9th Tana Forum and looked forward to a 10th Tana Forum in 2021 devoid of pandemic restrictions.



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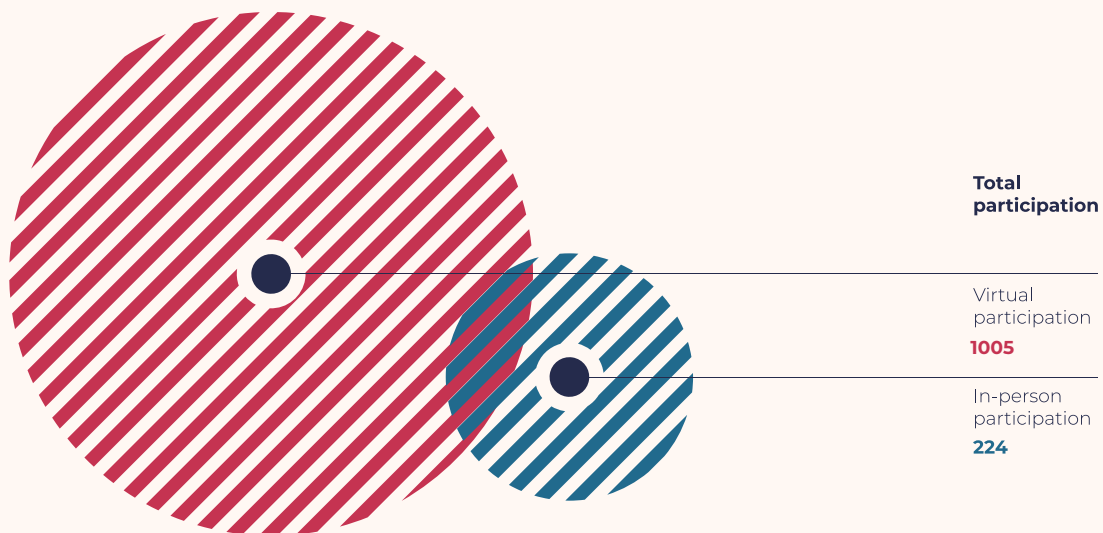
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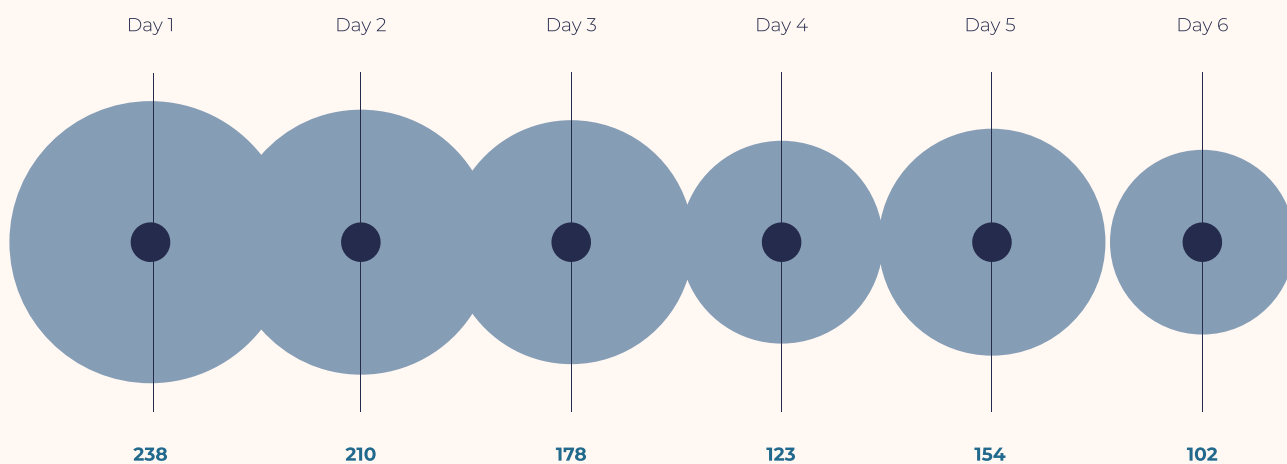
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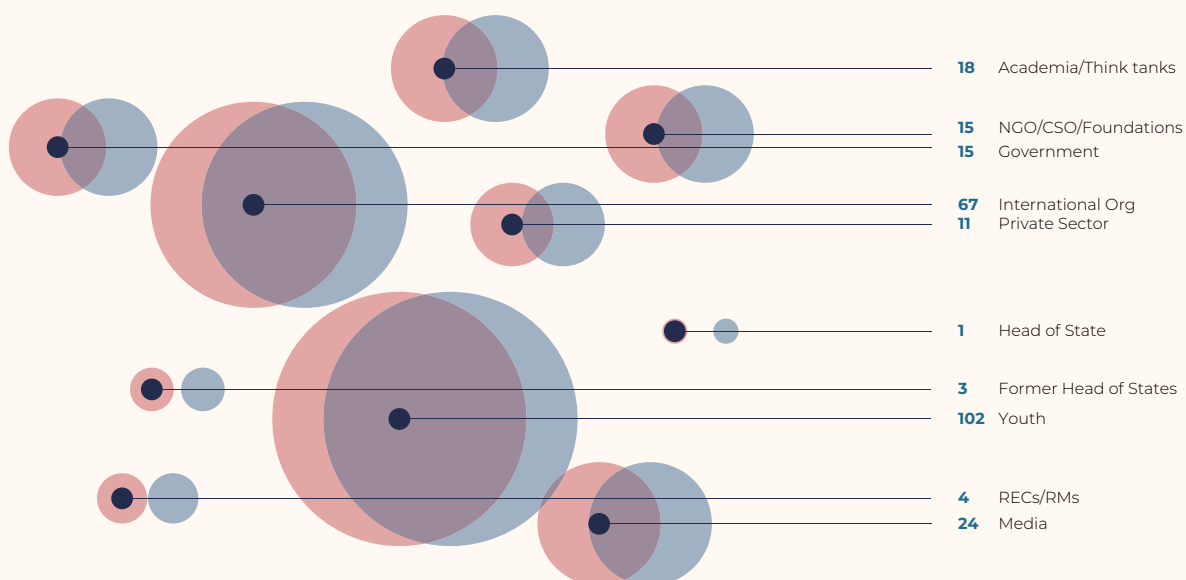
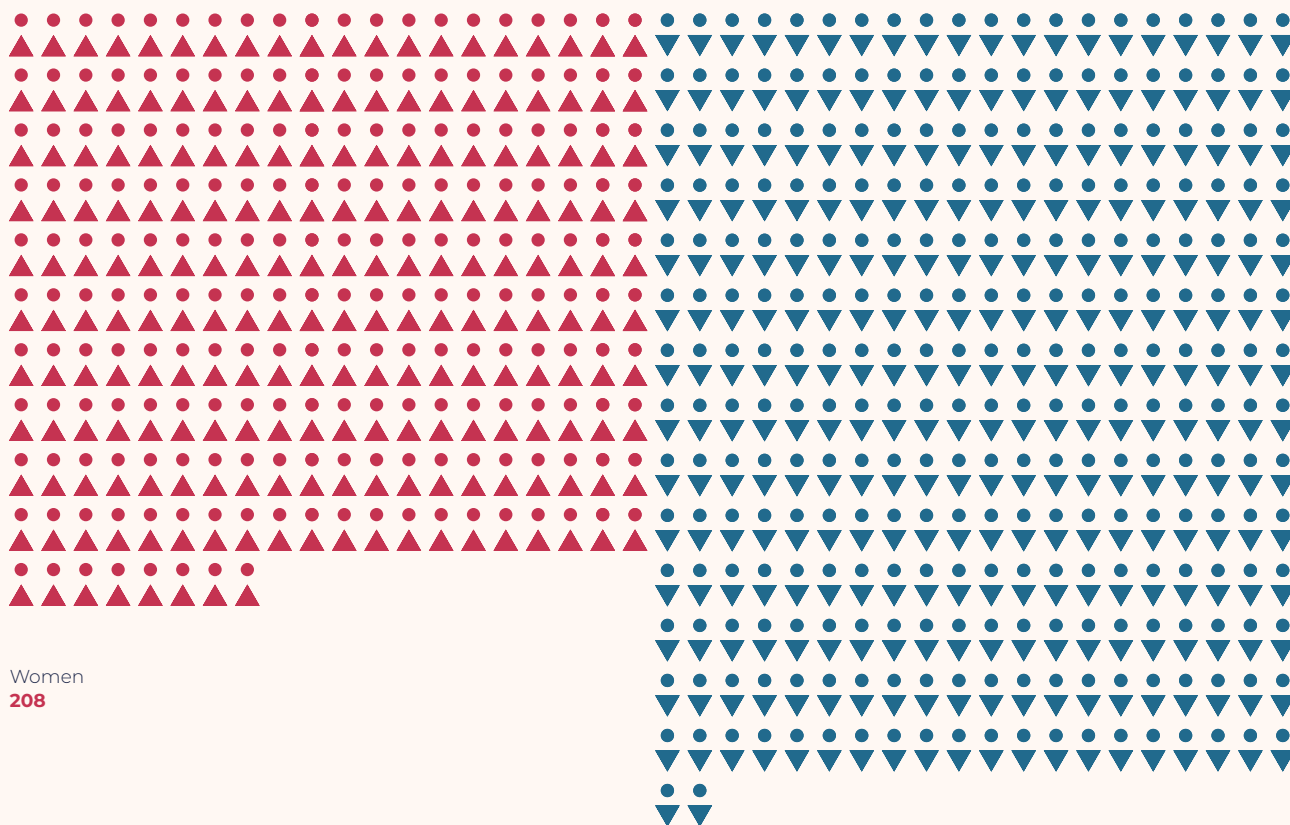


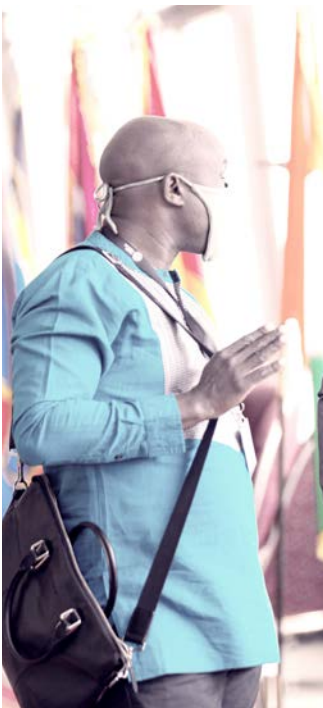
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