

IPSS in 2016

Review Letter

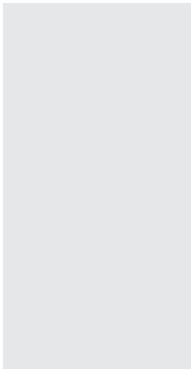


Key Highlights

- IPSS Capitalizing on its Graduate Programmes
- Celebrating 5 Years of the Tana Forum
- 3 Alumni Awarded Mandela Washington Fellowship
- Beyond Borders and Governments: Multi-Stakeholder Responses to Ebola
- Interview with Bukky Shonibare: Fighting for the Chibok Girls
- Women in Peace Negotiations
- New: African Solutions (AfSol) Journal



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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY



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Message from the Director

Africa continues to face a myriad of peace and security challenges. This amplifies the role of institutions of higher learning, which is to play an active role in tackling the intellectual challenge of making and sustaining peace and security on the continent. IPSS remains true to this, as it continues to fulfil its mission of offering quality education and capacity training in the specialized field of peace and security, as well as of fostering peace and security through research and policy dialogues in Ethiopia and across Africa. In recognition of this, IPSS has been ranked amongst the top 50 think-tanks in Sub-Saharan Africa for the third consecutive year by the University of Pennsylvania's Global Go To Think Tank Index Report.

IPSS has five academic programmes whose students and alumni have excelled both locally and internationally. In 2016, we noted several achievements: 4 students graduated from the PhD Programme in Global Studies, a joint programme delivered by IPSS and Leipzig University in Germany; 2 IPSS alumni were chosen as 2016 Mandela Washington Fellows, and 4 IPSS students were awarded DAAD scholarships.

We also welcomed the 12th cohort of the Executive Master's in Peace and Security in Africa (MPSA), a programme that continues to attract high-level officials from national governments as well as regional and international organizations. In addition to the above, we provided training to local government officials on conflict management through an interactive and innovative e-learning project.

We produced several publications in 2016, including two anthologies, *Borders in Africa: An Anthology of Policy History* and an anthology on *Peace, Federalism and Human Rights*. IPSS also launched the *AfSol (African Solutions) Journal*, which serves as a platform for examining African peace, security and governance from both academic and practical points of view. In the same vein, we released a book on African solutions titled *African-Centered Solutions: Building Peace and Security in Africa*.

IPSS also organized a series of briefing sessions, lecture series and policy dialogues. These events are part and parcel of the outreach activities of the Institute.

IPSS continues to value its various partnerships and collaborations. In 2016, this included the organization of a special lecture on Africa Day in collaboration with the African Union (AU) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). We also received a diplomatic delegation from China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs during which China-Africa cooperation on matters of peace and security was discussed. In November, we held a US-Africa Dialogue on State Fragility at the AU Headquarters in collaboration with the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and one of our youngest partners, the United States Institute of Peace (USIP).

IPSS extends its gratitude to its many partners and friends who continue to support its various programmes and activities. Through the support from government institutions and development agencies, private corporations, non-profit organizations as well as friends in both the public and private sectors, we managed to have a successful and impactful year. We look forward to further collaborations and opportunities that the new year will present.

Kidane Kiros, PhD

Director
Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

Message from the APSP Director



The Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP) is a joint programme of the IPSS, the African Union (AU), and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). APSP aims to build African capacities to develop and implement African-led solutions in peace and security in Africa. It acts as a platform where ideas and contributions to African-centred solutions in peace and security can converge with wider objectives to inform decision-making, policy formulation and implementation at the AU, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMs).

In addition, IPSS has served as the Secretariat of the annual Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa since its inception in 2012. The outcomes of the Tana Forum inform the Institute's activities in education, research and policy dialogues. The 5th Tana Forum took place under the theme "Africa in the Global Security Agenda". Having gathered over 200 participants, the theme recognized Africa's extensive involvement in keeping the peace within itself, and around the world, over the past six decades while pointing to the need for amplification of the continent's voice and agency in the global security arena.

In keeping with our innovative policy dialogues formats (briefing sessions, lecture series and ad-hoc events), we organized a number of discussions on diverse topics including, the role of gender in human security accountability mechanisms to prevent sexual abuses in peace support operations the resilience of Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites in South Sudan and a book lecture on the International Criminal Court, to name a few. Furthermore, our African Solutions (AfSol) project held a discussion series on peace and security with the first workshop discussing Nationalism and the African State.

IPSS is pleased to have presented the 2015 APSA Impact Report at an open session of the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), in collaboration with GIZ and the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECPDM). This was the second consecutive presentation of the APSA Impact Report to the PSC. The report continues to demonstrate to AU Member States and other partners the benefits of their investment and engagement in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

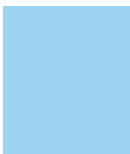
In 2017, we look forward to pursuing more innovative and transcendent growth through the introduction of the Executive Short Courses Training Programme, which aims to provide specialized capacity training for officials working on peace and security issues at the AU and in other client organizations. IPSS will also launch the AU/RECs Resource Desk which aims to provide African stakeholders with the necessary tools to reach decisions on critical peace and security issues facing the continent.

I echo Dr. Kidane in extending my gratitude to our friends and partners for supporting us in 2016. I hope you enjoy this review letter.

Michelle Ndiaye

Director
Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), IPSS

Head of Secretariat
Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa





12th MPSA Cohort

Academic Programmes

MA in Peace and Security Studies

The maiden academic programme of the Institute, the regular MA was initially launched following a tripartite agreement between AAU, the Royal Danish Embassy in Ethiopia and the United Nations University for Peace-Africa Programme. Since its launch in 2007, more than 300 students have been enrolled, of which approximately 200 have graduated.

PhD in Peace and Security Studies

Initially launched in 2010 as a joint PhD in Peace, Federalism and Human Rights between IPSS, the Institute of Federal Studies and the Centre for Human Rights, it is now offered as a standalone PhD in Peace and Security Studies following the university-wide graduate programmes review. Since 2010, 43 students have been enrolled, of which 6 have graduated.

Executive MA in Managing Peace and Security in Africa (MPSA)

The programme was developed in 2010 through a partnership with the AU Commission's Peace and Security Department and approved by the AAU Senate as one of the university's graduate programmes. The programme offers experienced officials working on African peace and security issues a unique opportunity to acquire certified and in-depth training across the whole conflict cycle while continuing to work in their respective

organizations. Since its establishment, the programme has furthered the professional development of 12 cohorts, each consisting of an average of 21 participants from across Africa.

MA in Global Studies with a special emphasis on peace and security in Africa

Launched in 2012, this MA is a joint programme in collaboration with the Global and European Studies Institute (GESI) of the University of Leipzig, Germany. To date, 61 students have been enrolled, of which 14 have graduated.

PhD in Global and Area Studies with a special emphasis on peace and security in Africa

The joint PhD programme in Global and Area Studies was launched in 2012 in collaboration with the Global and European Studies Institute (GESI) of the University of Leipzig, Germany. Since 2012, 15 students from different parts of Africa and Europe have been enrolled, of which 4 have graduated.

New: Short Courses

IPSS will provide specialized capacity training on peace and security issues for a wide spectrum of officials working at the AU, RECs/RMs, and other relevant stations. The short courses seek to further extend the Institute's niche as a leading centre of excellence with a mandate from the AU to play a leading role in responding to the "intellectual challenge" of addressing the myriad peace and security issues confronting Africa. ■



12th MPSA cohort aims to shape future leaders for positive change in Africa

On 7 August, IPSS welcomed the 12th cohort of the Executive Master's in Peace and Security in Africa (MPSA). The 14-month long programme targets experienced professionals working in the peace, conflict and security sectors. Launched in 2010, the programme prioritizes problem-solving by using a systematic approach to the challenges that confront practitioners in the field, and in regional and continental institutions.

In his welcoming remarks, Dr. Charles Ukeje, Senior Advisor for Education and Professional Development, said the Executive Master's "not only attracts the highest calibre of professionals but also those with the best potential to be leaders of thought and positive change in the field of peace and security in Africa". Dr. Ukeje called on the cohort to fully participate in the programme, urging them to "participate as both passengers and co-pilots" as they interact, exchange, discuss, and challenge each other's experiences in the field of peace and security.

The course was led by Anouar Boukhars, an associate professor of International Relations at McDaniel College in Westminster, Maryland.

He is also a non-resident scholar in the Middle East Programme of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and an associate fellow at the Madrid-based think tank, FRIDE. His background in the Sahel-Sahara region proved useful in the forthcoming modules, which examined conflict at the national, regional and continental levels in Africa.

The 12th cohort comprised of 26 participants (19 men, 7 women) from 14 different countries and representing 19 institutions, including: the African Union (AU), government ministries, Addis Ababa-based embassies, the United Nations (UN), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and other institutions. In addition, several participants attended the course from their bases in Djibouti, Sudan, and the Netherlands. For the first time, the cohort includes a participant from outside Africa, as part of a new initiative to attract individuals working on African peace and security issues from both within and outside Africa. ■



12th MPSA Cohort

Fighting for the Chibok Girls: Interview with MPSA Participant Bukky Shonibare

What motivated you to advocate for the Chibok girls?

The Chibok girls were abducted by Boko Haram on 14 April 2014. Earlier that year when 29 boys were killed, we didn't do anything. Then a few weeks later, 276 girls were taken from their school dormitory and we were all hoping that within weeks or days, they would bring the girls back. We saw that the federal government of Nigeria was not saying anything while the people in Chibok were crying for the fact that their children were yet to come back. So on 30 April, we as Civil Society Organizations, started advocating for the Chibok girls to be brought back.

Why did you join the global mobilization to bring the girls back?

I am a Nigerian and whatever happens to a fellow Nigerian happens to me as well. I am a mother of a girl, meaning that if my own child went missing, what else would I do? I know what it means for a young girl to be sexually abused and I could not keep quiet. If the girls were going to be sexually molested, which was highly possible, I would not keep quiet and wait for something to happen.

What does the general public misunderstand about Boko Haram?

Boko Haram is believed to be a terrorist group whose agenda is to Islamize the whole of Nigeria, that's why they started from the north east of Nigeria. They are against western education, because they believe that western education has brought no benefit to Nigeria, particularly in marginalized communities. They want to create an ungoverned space or a place with no government presence to expand their network. They are a group of young people who have not been adequately catered for by the government, putting a religious connotation to their actions and using the Quran and Islam as basis to validate and inhibit their network.

What people don't know is that there has been involvement in their activities. They didn't kill girls or young children before. They used to abduct boys, indoctrinate them into their groups and use them



Bukky Shonibare, Executive Director of The Light Foundation and MPSA 12 participant

to carry out their agenda. The criminal activity of the group has now changed to kidnapping, killing and abducting people. Are they a terrorist group, criminal group, jihadists or insurgents? We won't be able to deal with them accordingly until we have a real term for them.

Do you think the Nigerian government and the international community are responding accordingly?

Boko Haram has been active for 7 years in Nigeria, almost the same amount of time as the past administration. When they started, we viewed it as a tiny group that we should not be paying attention to, arguing that they would die off. When they started propagating their gospel of Islamization we saw them evolve and unfortunately, the Jonathan administration did not respond accordingly. From a small, non-sophisticated group in the far northern part of Nigeria, they have developed into a more sophisticated group that is well-armed and with members learning from ISIS.



With Africa struggling to tackle security issues that undermine its development, the issue of Boko Haram lies at the heart of the African security agenda.

- Bukky Shonibare

All these factors have changed the context of Boko Haram. The Jonathan administration started responding to the Boko Haram phenomenon when everyone across the globe, including Michelle Obama, stood up to bring back the girls. We've started to see a change under the current Buhari administration. Buhari is clamping down on the group, blocking their sources of funding and destroying their bases. If the Jonathan administration had responded the way Buhari is doing now, we would have already tackled the issue of Boko Haram.

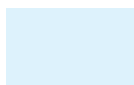
What are some of your NGO's achievements in the fight against Boko Haram?

My NGO does two things: advocacy and humanitarian/relief work. In my own capacity, I've been advocating for the Chibok girls, wearing my badge wherever I go and posting daily on social media to keep raising awareness about the conditions the girls are enduring. We can't keep quiet about the Chibok girls, we will keep making noise and advocating for the girls. The issue has been the entry point for discussing girls and women, the insurgency, education for young girls, and the protection of girls and women with my colleagues and fellow students at IPSS. On the humanitarian level, we have initiated the "Adopt a Camp" programme for internally displaced persons, aimed at providing support in areas of education, food and clothing materials.

How has MPSA shaped your activism?

The MPSA programme has changed my understanding of both peace and security. We can't talk about peace and security in Africa without mentioning Boko Haram, Al Shabaab and other groups. Secondly, my conversations around peace and security have changed for the better, as I have gained a deep understanding and knowledge about the concepts of fragility of states, ungoverned spaces, negotiation and the nexus between traditional settings and conflict resolution. Before I began my training at IPSS, I never understood the concept of early warning and responses and the MPSA courses have helped me master those areas for the better.

The subject of peace and security is gaining momentum due to insecurity in the continent; there is a need for people to speak out. Thanks to the MPSA programme, I'm able to address regional organizations on peace and security and take advantage of the changes and dynamics happening in the sector in Africa. This definitely helps to enhance my understanding of how the civil society, military, media and other stakeholders can play their role in this matter. The convergence of these different actors in the same class discussing peace and security in Africa can help us to respond appropriately to the crises that are going on in Africa. ■



High-level GIZ delegation visits IPSS, engages with MPSA participants

On 11 October 2016, IPSS welcomed a high-level delegation led by Ms. Tanja Gönner, Chair of the GIZ Management Board. A lawyer in training, Ms. Gönner served as a member of the German Bundestag for two years and held three different ministerial posts - social affairs, environment and transport - before assuming her current position in 2012. GIZ's primary aim is to support the German Government in achieving its objectives in the field of international cooperation.

Ms. Gönner was accompanied by several colleagues, including Ms. Marita Broemmelmeier, Director of the Africa Department, GIZ; Dr. Axel Klaphake, Country Director, GIZ Ethiopia; Dr. Uwe Kievelitz, Director, GIZ-African Union Office; and Mr. Gerhard Mai, Project Manager for Peace and Security, GIZ-African Union Office. The group was part of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's trip to Ethiopia to inaugurate the new African Union (AU) Peace and Security Department building.

Mr. Mai commenced the meeting with a presentation on the trilateral cooperation between the AU, IPSS and GIZ. IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros and Ms. Michelle Ndiaye, Director of the Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP) and the Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat, then made brief remarks about the Institute's programmes and activities. In relation to MPSA, Michelle Ndiaye said that "MPSA represents not only diversity in background but also diversity in perspectives". This was followed by a presentation about APSP (a joint IPSS-AU initiative supported by GIZ since its launch in 2010), delivered by Prof. Charles Ukeje, Senior Advisor for Educational and Professional Development.

Prof. Ukeje listed several IPSS achievements, including: 5 academic programmes and their well-placed alumni in diplomacy, armed forces and international organizations; reaching a 50% gender balance in the 10th MPSA cohort; the publication of several books and policy papers including the recently released AfSol Journal; the successful organization of 5 Tana Forums and its conversion into an independent foundation; the organization of numerous briefing sessions, lectures and ad-hoc events; and strong partnerships with leading think tanks, institutes, governments and other organizations.

Prof. Ukeje described the concept of African Solutions (AfSol) as an "agency for African intellectual solutions"; one that serves as an

underlying thread in all IPSS initiatives. On the rise of China-Africa relations in recent years, he noted that "all investments in trade and development have implications on peace and security," which makes the study of these kinds of engagements and their impact both timely and significant. The presentation also shared plans to provide short tailored courses to African professionals working in peace and security across the continent. Mr. Mai added that IPSS is on the "right track" to ensuring sustainability with structures such as the MPSA programme and the Tana Foundation.

In the discussions that followed, Ms. Gönner remarked, "We as GIZ are proud to be part of this cooperation with IPSS. Success stories such as the Tana Forum are encouraging to hear and provide more grounds for [future] cooperation." She also remarked that the Tana Forum has proven to be a flagship event by constantly being "in front of the discussion" on peace and security matters in Africa. The theme of the next forum, 'Natural Resource Governance in Africa', intends to focus on "new resource frontiers" that could potentially cause future conflicts, such as water, forest conservation, land distribution and grabbing, and the blue economy. Ms. Ndiaye said, "The Forum is also expected to look into existing governing mechanisms and whether there are gaps between the AU and global governing systems on natural resources".

The delegation then met with participants of the 12th cohort of the Executive Master's in Managing Peace and Security in Africa (MPSA) programme. MPSA aims to build the capacity of mid- and high-level professionals in peace and security. The programme provides Africans and non-Africans with the opportunity to sit in the same space to discuss relevant issues facing the continent. Participants shared their professional experiences and motivations for applying to the programme. Several participants commented that a background in peace and security studies is critical to their day-to-day work, noting that the nature of their work in embassies, regional and continental organizations,



L-R: Ms. Marita Broemmelmeier, Director of the Africa Department, GIZ and Ms. Tanja Gönner, Chair of the GIZ Management Board

and peacekeeping requires an ability to understand all parties in a conflict.

Ms. Gönner and the participants discussed the difficulty in reaching compromises in conflict situations and whether there is a linkage between conflict prevention and good governance. One participant found that “having your own knowledge instead of borrowing knowledge from others” is extremely significant when working in mediation

and peacebuilding efforts. Another participant expressed that “compromise creates a roadmap for peace”, adding that until you understand the other party, decisions will always be based on what you understand. Above all, the participants believe that the well-crafted course not only broadens their own knowledge, but also exposes them to the different experiences of participants in the cohort. ■



12th MPSA Participant Leopold Tonguenoma Bonlounou

Education spotlight: MPSA participant working to promote environmentally sound management of chemicals

Across Africa, public awareness - and action - is steadily growing regarding the health and environmental hazards posed by the rampant and indiscriminate disposal and recycling of hazardous wastes. Ambassador Leopold T. Bonkougou, current MPSA 12 participant and Deputy Permanent Representative at the Embassy of Burkina Faso in Addis Ababa, participated in a high-level sub-regional seminar on the sound management of used lead acid batteries, organized by the United Nations Programme Environment Programme, on 14-16 December 2016 in Dakar, Senegal.

The high-level seminar is a follow-up to a resolution, based on a proposal by his home government that he participated in drafting, that was adopted at the 2nd United Nations Environment Assembly in Nairobi, Kenya, in May 2016, on the “Sound management of chemicals and wastes”.

According to Amb. Bonkougou, there is both a “compelling need as well as an urgent imperative to promote environmentally sound lead-acid batteries recycling, including the provision of safe and adequate infrastructure for

recycling and disposal, if we must avert the slow but also catastrophic effects on millions of Africans”.

As the chief negotiator of Burkina Faso to the 2nd United Nations Environment Assembly,

the Ambassador further noted that the “Dakar seminar will contribute to facilitating and supporting capacity building and technology transfer for African countries on environmentally sound management of chemicals, especially of used lead-acid batteries”. ■

Four IPSS staff members defend PhD dissertations in Leipzig

On 27 June, four IPSS staff members successfully defended their PhD dissertations in Leipzig, Germany. Mercy Fekadu, Fana Gebresenbet, Dawit Yohannes, and Solomon Hassen were enrolled in the Joint PhD Programme in Global Studies - a programme jointly delivered by IPSS and the University of Leipzig in Germany. IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros congratulated the four staff members' academic accomplishment, adding that, “IPSS aims to build the capacities of its staff members by providing and supporting various training opportunities”. He stated that this success will strengthen IPSS' institutional capacity to engage in

more research and will be an important component towards positioning the Institute as one of the leading think tanks in Africa.

- Mercy Fekadu, Research Officer and Coordinator of the AfSol Journal publication.
- Fana Gebresenbet, Lecturer and Coordinator of the Regular PhD Programme in Peace and Security.
- Dawit Yohannes, Special Projects Coordinator.
- Solomon Hassen, Academic Coordinator of the Joint MA and PhD Programmes in Global Studie. ■



L-R: Dr. Solomon Hassen, Dr. Mercy Fekadu, Dr. Dawit Yohannes and Dr. Fana Gebresenbet

Joint MA Programme in Global Studies launches 5th cohort

In September, IPSS welcomed the 5th cohort of its Joint MA Programme in Global Studies. Representing 5 countries - Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Uganda and Germany - students in the cohort came from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences.

The Joint MA programme is a joint initiative between IPSS and University of Leipzig and offers a unique approach to studying peace, security and global studies by expanding the theoretical and methodological foundations of peace and security and embedding them into the debate on global actors and strategies. The programme is structured to equip its students with both the theoretical and practical experiences

of globalization. The first, third and fourth semesters are delivered at IPSS and the second semester is spent at the University of Leipzig in Germany. The semester abroad enables students to gain exposure to different cultures and systems and enables them to experience globalization while learning about it.

Since its launch in 2012, the programme has enrolled 105 students from 24 different countries. To date, 14 MA students have graduated from the programme. The multicultural nature of the programme creates an academic environment of international togetherness in which learning, teaching, debating, and writing are part of a shared experience helping each other to gain broader skills.

Three alumni selected as 2016 Mandela Washington Fellows

Admasu Lokaley (class of 2014) and Maryamawit Kassa (class of 2015), two graduates of the IPSS Regular MA in Peace and Security; and Bukky Shonibare, Executive Director of The Light Foundation in Nigeria, and student in the Executive Master's in Managing Peace and Security in Africa (MPSA) programme, were recently selected as finalists for the 2016 Mandela Washington Fellowship for Young African Leaders.

The fellowship, a flagship programme of President Obama's Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), empowers young people through academic coursework, leadership training and networking. This year, the programme selected 1,000 young people from Sub-Saharan Africa.

Speaking on how his experience at IPSS helped him become a YALI fellow, Admasu said, "I was selected into the Civic Leadership Track of the fellowship mainly due to my experience in peace and security. At IPSS, I learned that peace and security is an interdisciplinary academic field that draws on various fields. It gave me a wider understanding of community-based development, conflict management and resolution, non-violent social changes and human rights. My experience at IPSS also helped me untangle ways of building peaceful and just systems within societies and how the different peace, security and development challenges can be resolved in Africa."

Yonas Adaye (PhD), Associate Academic Director at IPSS expressed delight in the success of his former students, stating: "Their success clearly indicates the quality of our courses and the methodologies we pursue. Students are at the centre of the teaching-learning process at IPSS. We deliver relevant programmes in peace and security that equip our students with the necessary skills to solve current peace, security and leadership problems in Africa and the world." He added that, "The Regular MA in Peace and Security enrolls students that pass our rigorous selection steps; and that is precisely why our students are able to compete internationally."

The Regular MA Programme also trains young academicians from government institutions as part of a mandate on national capacity building granted by Addis Ababa University.

Four IPSS students awarded DAAD scholarships

In August, DAAD scholarships were awarded to eight PhD students at Addis Ababa University. Of the eight awardees, four are students at IPSS; two in the Regular PhD Programme in Peace and Security and two in the Joint PhD Programme in Global Studies between IPSS and Leipzig University, Germany.

The DAAD supports over 100,000 German and international students and researchers around the globe each year – making it the world's largest funding organization of its kind. The 2016/17 DAAD In-Country/In-Region Scholarships for Eastern Africa are designed to increase student mobility in a country/region and increase the number of knowledge sharing between universities in one country/region. More than 50 African universities and university networks participate in the programme; resulting in support granted to 1,000 African postgraduates on an annual basis.

The eight students are: Temesgen Thomas Halabo (Regular PhD), Girmay Abraha Kahsay (Regular PhD), Meba Tadesse Delle, Toli Jembere Amare, Ermias Werkilul Asfaw, Hailemickael Deres Mekonnen, Luke Kue Yiech (Joint PhD), and Maria Enow Ayuk (Joint PhD). ■

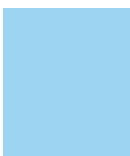
Alumni Network creates avenue for professional engagement

On 21 October 2016, IPSS launched its new Alumni Network at a meeting that brought together graduates from all 5 academic programmes. The network is expected to maintain the link between IPSS and its former students, and encourage networking, experience-sharing and capacity building. In his opening remarks, Prof. Charles Ukeje, Senior Advisor for Educational and Professional Development at IPSS, said, "We wanted to create this network to serve as an umbrella, bringing all graduates from our different programmes together under one common platform."

Participants also underscored the importance of establishing this network. They pointed out that graduates from IPSS hold different posts in regional, continental and international institutions. "Such a network creates an opportunity for

professionals to constantly update each other with career developments and enable them to upsurge their contribution to the peace and stability of the continent," one participant noted. The meeting selected a secretariat of six members, representing all academic programmes. The representatives are tasked with mobilizing the alumni and serving as a bridge between IPSS and former students.

A constitutive act was also presented to the participants for review. Nebiyat Yusuf, Coordinator of the Alumni Network and Programme Officer at IPSS said, "The constitutive act is intended to serve as a foundation for all activities of the network. It will assist the network in its endeavours towards attaining a legal personality". To date, 385 students have graduated from the MA and PhD programmes offered at IPSS. ■



RESEARCH

Our research has both an academic and applied action-oriented approach in order to equip students with the necessary skills and to provide concrete solutions to the peace and security challenges facing the continent. The different research activities aim to inform and advise the policy-making processes of the African Union, regional economic communities and African governments. As an education and research institute with an international perspective, IPSS is proud to educate students and work with researchers from all around the world.

Research projects at IPSS focus on a broad range of African peace and security issues. The aim of the research is to produce academic knowledge of the highest quality that is directly applicable to the realities of African politics. The overarching theme of IPSS research is finding African-centered solutions (AfSol) to African peace and security problems.

The Institute (through its regular programmes and APSP) is involved in conducting the following research endeavours:

- Academic research activities by staff and students
- Applied research on African-centred solutions in peace and security
- Journal of African-centered Solutions (AfSol) in peace and security
- Policy periodicals, including policy briefs and policy analyses
- Conflict mapping
- Books and anthologies

Publications: Borders in Africa

On 21 June, IPSS launched 'Borders in Africa: An Anthology of Policy History', edited by Emeritus Professor Anthony Asiwaju, an eminent historian of comparative African border studies. The book contains 35 chapters that examine the history of border disputes and the policy challenges facing border governance and integration in Africa. Prof. Asiwaju said the book symbolizes the "resuscitation of the discipline of history", adding that in order to understand and resolve the dynamic problems plaguing the continent, one has to fully grasp its diverse historical background. It is vital to keep history alive, he continued, not only to learn from past mistakes but also to create a better future for African citizens.

Speaking at the launch, IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros said the book was published partly in response to IPSS' mandate to take up the intellectual challenge of finding African-led solutions to peace and security in Africa. He added, "in addition to the vast knowledge the book provides for academia, it can be an important input for policy makers in the area". Participants from academia, the African Union and partner institutions attended the book launch. Ambassador Aguibou Diarra, former Head of the African Union Border Programme (AUBP),

recommended that the AUBP translate into action some of the policy recommendations mentioned in the book. He said, "The policy recommendations can contribute to Africa's development process by improving some of the historical wrong doings".



Right: Prof. Anthony Asiwaju with a participant at the book launch

The book has been distributed to universities around the country as part of IPSS' effort to make it accessible to researchers. In collaboration with the German Development Corporation (GIZ), Dr. Kidane said the Institute will continue to make the book available to the "right audience throughout Africa".

Policy paper series

In February 2016, IPSS launched its first policy paper series. The series features two types of papers (Policy Briefs and Policy Analyses), which will be published six and three times a year respectively.

The first products of this series were two policy briefs titled: 'Trends and Importance of Discussing Peace and Security in Africa: Tana High-Level Forum' and 'Africa and the Growth of Violent Radicalization in the Name of Islam: The Need for a Doctrine Revision Approach'. These papers served as a follow up to the 4th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, which took place in April 2015 under the theme of 'Secularism and Politicized Faith'. The papers propose concrete recommendations on how to deal with extremism and politicized faith in Africa.

Applicants interested in publishing either Policy Briefs or Policy Analyses can send abstracts of no more than 400 words to policy@ipss-addis.org. To access the archives or read more information about our policy paper series, visit our website www.ipss-addis.org.

AfSol Blog

The AfSol blog serves as an outlet for African scholars, policy makers and leaders to debate the principles that make African solutions a reality. To date, various researchers, scholars and policy makers have shared their opinions on the blog, covering issues such as presidential term limits, migration, gender equality, regional integration and peacekeeping.

Annual Graduate Conference on Peace, Federalism and Human Rights



The Annual Graduate Conference on Peace, Federalism and Human Rights is an IPSS initiative for PhD students to critically assess current empirical developments and theoretical issues. The second edition of the conference took place on 28-29 July and was attended by over 50 students.

IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros said the Institute was proud to present an opportunity for PhD students in Ethiopia to present their research to a critical audience. This year's conference selected 13 papers for presentation, covering topics such as Ethiopia's African security policy, the dynamics of conflict in South Sudan, water conflict in the Nile basin, and more.

The conference concluded with the launch of a compilation of papers presented at the First Annual Graduate Conference held in 2015. The book contains 11 papers on inter-ethnic conflict, federalism, secularism and religion in Ethiopia.

Journal on African solutions (AfSol)



Vested with the responsibility of meeting the intellectual challenge in peace and security in Africa, IPSS has been a leading institution in developing and promoting knowledge about AfSol. The different research projects undertaken by the Institute have an overarching commitment to finding African-led solutions to continental peace and security problems through policy dialogues and publications.

IPSS launched a new journal series on African-centered solutions for African problems, named the AfSol Journal. The AfSol Journal was launched to serve as a platform for examining African peace, security, and governance from both academic and practical points of view. The first volume of the journal contains seven articles on regionalism,

economic integration, the role of grassroots, and responsibility to protect. It addresses both the theoretical underpinnings of the AfSol concept and its application with concrete examples.

Professor Amr Abdalla, Senior Advisor on Policy Analysis and Research at IPSS, said, "The AfSol Journal sets IPSS apart as perhaps the only institution in the world focusing on such a significant topic at the heart of African Union (AU) operations. IPSS has been a leading institution in promoting knowledge about AfSol; as evident from the different workshops conducted on the topic since 2011. As a periodical publication, the Journal will help scholars, researchers, and policy makers reflect on and synthesize the notion of AfSol", he added.

AU/RECs Resource Desk

IPSS recently launched an AU/RECs Resource Desk for the African Union Commission, Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms, and Member States. This is a new initiative by IPSS to provide these institutions with assistance in drafting or writing policy briefs, reports, articles and background information on peace and security issues.

Peace and Security Reports

The Institute also launched the Peace & Security Reports Project. This project will provide regular briefs and analyses on the state of peace and security in different African countries, as well as critical appraisals of interventions by various African actors. Country Profiles and Situation Analyses will periodically analyze peace and security issues of selected African countries based on secondary sources, the database from the APSA Impact Analysis as well as other additional sources.

APSA Impact Assessment

The Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) Impact Assessment will evaluate the aggregate impact and effectiveness of interventions by the AU and the RECs using various APSA tools and instruments such as CEWS, PSOs, diplomatic interventions and mediation initiatives. ■

Tana Forum 2016: Africa in the Global Security Agenda

5th anniversary of the Tana Forum

In 2016, the Tana Forum Secretariat, based at IPSS, celebrated its 5th anniversary since the founding of the Tana Forum. In 5 years, the annual Forum has grown into a space where peace and security stakeholders from all regions, cultures and backgrounds can meet, discuss and challenge each other's perspectives on the pressing issues of our time. This year, we gathered over 200 participants in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, to discuss the theme: Africa in the Global Security Agenda.

Pre-Forum Activities

Tana Expert Meeting

Op-eds by Tana Forum Regional Fellows

Annual University Essay Competition

- **Winner: Sekou Toure Otondi, PhD candidate, University of Nairobi, Kenya**

Art competition

Live Tweetchats:

- **Dr. Carlos Lopes, then Executive Secretary, UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)**
- **Dr. Tedros Adhanom, then Foreign Minister, Ethiopia**
- **Michelle Ndiaye, Head of Secretariat, Tana Forum**

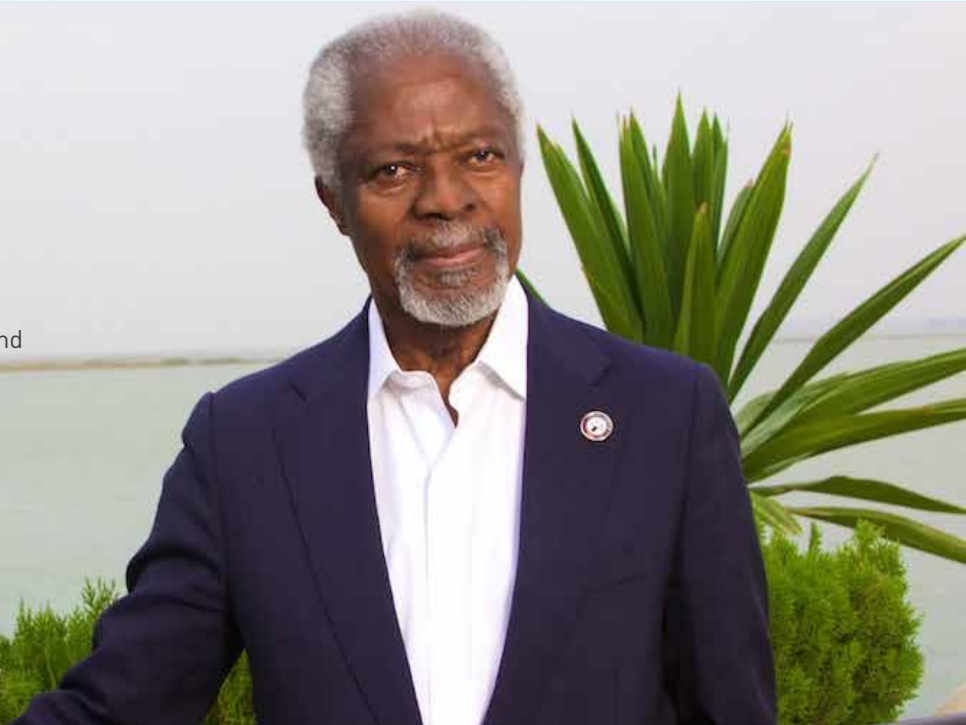
Ambassadors' Briefing and Press Conference

Public Lecture at Bahir Dar University

- **"The Developmental State in Africa: The Rwandan Experience" with H.E. Ms. Louise Mushikiwabo, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Rwanda**

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Kofi Annan

Former UN Secretary General and
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate



Outcomes

The theme for the 5th Tana Forum, Africa in the Global Security Agenda, was set against the backdrop that as much as three-quarters of today's global peace support operations are located in Africa. In all cases, these operations - and wider aspects of the continent's role in the global security arena - often take a heavy toll in terms of human, material and fiscal investments and costs on the countries hosting - or affected by - them.

The Forum sought to harvest diverse perspectives as to "why" Africa's role in agenda setting on global peace and security is still minuscule, stifled, and far-fetched; "what" the key features of Africa's engagements within the existing global security architecture should be; and finally, "how" the continent should meaningfully input into the conception, design and implementation of the global security agenda.

Emerging issues/conclusions

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

Africa's unifying voice in the global security agenda

- A lot was said, rightly so, about the need for Africa to have a greater voice and more established presence at the pinnacle of the global security order; particularly in terms of permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). However, this quest is currently being met with bemusement, perfunctory endorsement or derision by major global players and by the P5 members of the UNSC. Even at that, participants noted that the rhetoric around the reform of the Council will not happen unless African governments make a bold and collective move rather than be drowned by the pursuit of enlightened national interests;
- Participants were of the strong opinion that Africa's clamour for a greater role in global governance should begin, first and foremost, with reforming and repositioning its own institutions, especially the AU, to exercise greater leverage and effective leadership on security issues affecting the continent; and also how the rest of the world responds to the continent's myriad security concerns;
- Participants recognized the existence of a direct and causal linkage between Africa's role in the global security arena and making sure that the key pillars of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) are fully functional and responsive in terms of conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution, and also tackling the challenges of post-war reconstruction and development (PCRD).
- Participants recognized that institutions are as strong, important and useful as their member states want or make them. African institutions at the forefront of defining, mobilizing and harmonizing Africa's security interests, particularly the African Union, must be empowered by member states before they can fully, and successfully, take up the challenge of unifying and amplifying an African voice or position across all issues.

Sovereignty versus strong institutions

- Participants insisted that the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), in particular, must be in a position to undertake a current and possibly expanded future mandate of coordinating African positions but also ensuring that member states faithfully comply with the conditions of their membership;
- Participants recognized that in order for the AU to genuinely function as a veritable focal point and unifying force for the pan-African agenda on

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

- Participants warned that there is sufficient - but often discounted - grounds to believe that the most important decision on peace and security by Africa's regional and continental institutions are either routinely ignored or breached by member states. This situation, in turn, sends the wrong signal - especially to outsiders - that African governments and institutions cannot (or should not) be taken seriously.
- Member states should show greater commitment to decisions of the AU by ratifying and domesticating them; especially but not limited to those on democracy, elections, and governance given the growing realization that some of the disturbing threats to peace and security in Africa mostly come from within the continent rather than outside. This imperative requires closing the gaps between governance and security; and by extension, enhancing the synergies and complementarities inherent in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Governance Architecture (AGA).
- African governments (and the institutions they have created to serve broad and specific purposes) should see and treat themselves in complementary terms rather than engaging, as has become quite often, in unhealthy competition and rivalries that lead to the dissipation of limited resources, and generally puts the continent at a disadvantage in global governance.

The need for internal funding mobilization to foster African ownership

- Participants were unanimous that one of the most intractable - but also avoidable - problems facing Africa's inter-governmental institutions, in varying degrees, relate to the dearth of political will by member states to adequately fund them. There is clear disconnect between the commitments

freely laid down by African governments and what they actually put down. To achieve ownership and autonomy in policy responses, African governments and their institutions should look inwards to fund, and resource, peace operations rather than overly relying on external actors to meet their basic needs;

- Participants converged on the point that more than any other time in the past, it is now urgent and imperative that African governments implement decisions wilfully endorsed on financing the AU and other inter-governmental institutions. Member states, both large and small, have a responsibility to follow-up their commitments with adequate funding and by taking general responsibility. Participants questioned, with substantial justification, whether a model of African-led solutions to African problems can emerge where others have to pay for it, even as they also recognized that the narrative of African-led solutions to African problems might provide an excuse for key partners to leave the continent in the lurch;
- While the perennial challenge of paucity of funding for a variety of peace operations persists, it is by no means the only factor undermining Africa's capacity to stand firm, act alone, or play a lead role in the global security agenda. Much would also depend on the continent's capacity to define, determine and pursue clear and coherent mandates;
- If the continent, through the African Union, is to serve as a credible interlocutor in the global security arena, it would have to tackle constraints linked to funding, absence of clear and coherent mandates, and those related to the coordination and harmonization of diverse interests and priorities.

Divergent interests versus strong positions by partners

- Participants stressed the urgent imperative to deepen and also broaden coordination among African stakeholders: first, between the AU and the African Group in New York; and second, of necessity, insist on greater coordination, synergy as well as compliance by African members of the UN Security Council (A3) with the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State of the AU. Doing so would generally help to bridge the current disconnect between the AU in Addis Ababa and the UN in New York, and also promote the continent's position in the global security arena;
- Prior to engagements with New York, Brussels and other major global capitals, Africans must identify, mobilize and forge unified positions. The time is now for the AU, through the African

POLICY DIALOGUES

Group in the UN, to insist on the operationalization of Article 109 of the UN Charter without the possibility of a veto from the P5 members of the UNSC. Although the P5 will not accept this without a pushback, Africa must be resolute;

- Participants recognized that the widening gap in the current relationship between and among African governments, inter-governmental institutions and civil society organizations

(CSOs) working on peace and security issues, should be quickly closed up. It is imperative for all stakeholders to work much more closely and concertedly in order to successfully mobilize an authentic and credible African voice on key peace, security and development issues.

- Participants recognized that Africa needs to develop/adopt a clear and coherent set of doctrines to guide and shape its response to myriad global



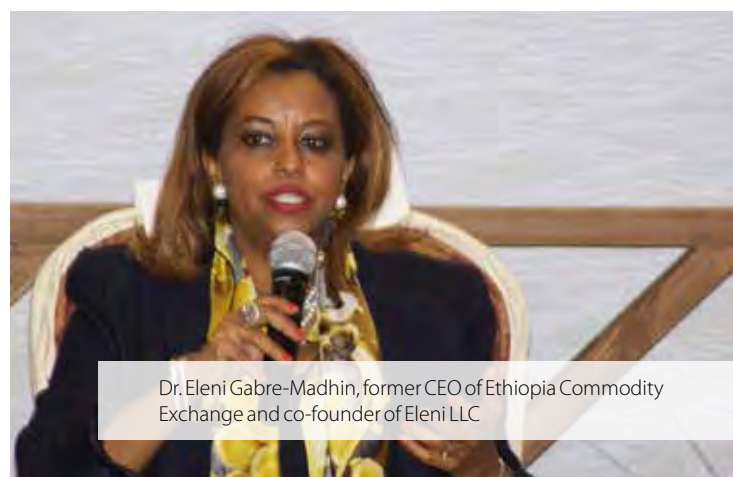
Caption L-R: Omar al Bashir, President of Sudan; Obasanjo Olusegun, former President of Nigeria and Tana Forum Chairperson; Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of Ethiopia; Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate; and Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa.



L-R: Kofi Annan, Thabo Mbeki, and Alan Doss, Executive Director of the Kofi Annan Foundation



L-R: Andreas Eshete, Special Adviser to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia with the rank of a Minister and Atsede Asefew (Emmuye), Chancellor's, University of Wisconsin, U.S.



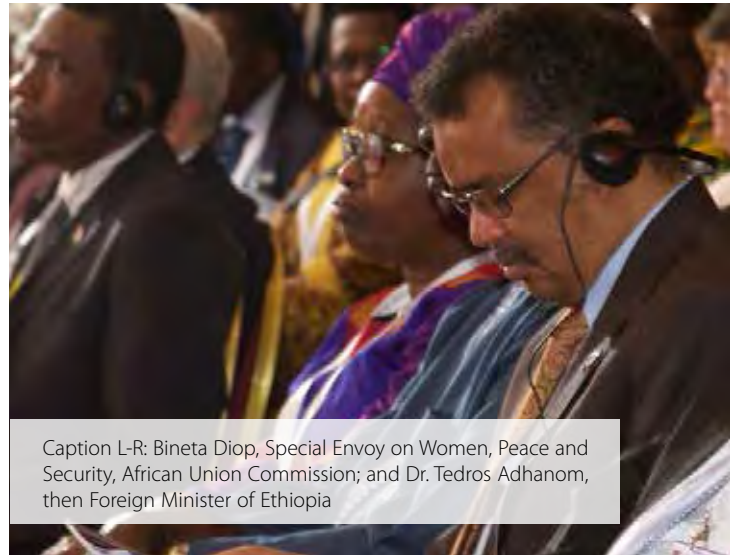
Dr. Eleni Gabre-Madhin, former CEO of Ethiopia Commodity Exchange and co-founder of Eleni LLC

security imperatives rather than pursue ad-hoc, knee-jerk and often disjointed responses. Although the continent has made impressive and enduring contributions to global security, it has so far failed to put in place any coherent or substantive doctrinal guidelines, rules of engagement, or to mobilize an overarching narrative to guide current and future interventions. One immediate implication of this is that Africa's role in global peace and

security is either haphazard or limited to the provision of troops, as if the continent's men and women in uniform are mere cannon fodder. Therefore, in creating an overarching doctrine or narrative, there is a need to reflect, coupled with a recognition that the continent must, to varying degrees, work with a range of external actors. ■



Sahle-Work Zewde, Director General of the United Nations Office at Nairobi (UNON), Kenya



Caption L-R: Bineta Diop, Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security, African Union Commission; and Dr. Tedros Adhanom, then Foreign Minister of Ethiopia



Participants at the Public Lecture at Bahir Dar University



Amb. Fatuma Ndongiza, Former Chairperson of the APR Panel of Eminent Persons



Prof. Funmi Olonisakin, Interim Vice-President/Vice-Principal International and Professor of Security, Leadership & Development, King's College London



Participants at the Gala Dinner hosted by the Amhara State Regional Government

AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY AGENDA



Tana 2016 Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa

53% of 578 UNSC Resolutions were related to African issues (ACCORD, 2015)

2004-2014

1992
First UN Secretary General from Africa
EGYPT

UNSC
United Nations Security Council

UN
UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

UN
UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

UN
UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

UN
UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

UN
UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

UN
UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

3 Current non-Permanent Members: **Angola, Egypt, Senegal**

Peace vs. Development

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

250 Africans are affected by labor fragility (AIDB, 2014)

SDG 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions

Recognition of Peace as a Priority Issue

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



AU Political Missions
2013 MISAHÉL (Mali) | 2014 MISAC (CAR)

AU Peace Support Operations

2002 Establishment of AU Mission in Chad and ARSA

2003 AMIB AU Mission in Burundi

2004 AMIS AU Mission in Sudan

2007 AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)

2008 RTF (Lebanon's Resistance Army)

2011 ECOMIB (Guinea-Bissau)

2012 ECOMIB (Guinea-Bissau)

2014 ECOMIB (Guinea-Bissau)

2015 MINITF (Boko Haram region)

The African Security Agenda

1963 Establishment of the OAU

2002 OAU to AU

Non Intervention

Non Indifference



L-R: Billene Seyoum, Amb. Dr. Genet Zewde, Antonia Sodonon, Amb. Soad Shalaby and Prof. Pamela Machakanja

Briefing Sessions

Education and political participation key to more women in peace negotiations

On 4 February, IPSS organized its first briefing session of the year titled, 'From Policy to Practice: The Role of Women in Peace Negotiations', to discuss the state of women in peace negotiations in Africa and propose recommendations to alleviate their political participation.

The panel featured Amb. Dr. Genet Zewde, former Ambassador to India, Ethiopia; Prof. Pamela Machakanja, Director of the Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance at Africa University in Zimbabwe; Amb. Soad Shalaby, former Ambassador of Egypt to Finland and Director of the Women Business Development Centre (WBDC) of the National Council of Women; and Antonia Sodonon, PCRDC expert and Coordinator of the Gender, Peace and Security Programme at the Peace and Security Department (PSD) of the African Union Commission (AUC).

Speaking at the session, Sodonon said, "Even if there are a number of continental policies formulated by the African Union to upgrade the participation of women in Africa, implementation is still lacking at the national level. There are

also no monitoring mechanisms devised that can make states accountable for not implementing the policies".

Amb. Shalaby shared that, "In order to strengthen women participation in peace negotiations, the AU should firstly focus on educating and training women who show interest in peace negotiations. Secondly, the AU should also collaborate with civil society organizations (CSOs) that are working on women's empowerment. Thirdly, regional peculiarities in the continent have to be taken into consideration when policies are devised". She further noted how conflict, which frequently victimizes women, has serious repercussions on both family and society.

Prof. Machakanja acknowledged that while progress has been made in empowering women, "More can be done in linking policy to reality. In order to do this we need to systematically package and document strives and progresses [made by] women in Africa". She recommended that the AU "allocate a robust budget to support education of women and award scholarships for them to study peace, conflict and negotiation. It needs to also support the networks of women that currently exist and build their capacities so that experiences can

be exchanged between senior women leaders and the younger generation”.

Sharing her personal experiences as a woman fighter for the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), Amb. Genet urged

women to “Stand [up] for their rights and push for the democratization of the patriarchal system that currently exists”. She then called upon political parties in Africa to include more candidates, so that a better representation of women leaders can be seen in the continent. ■

Focus on pre-deployment training, accountability to prevent sexual abuses in peace support operations

IPSS, in collaboration with the African Union (AU), organized a briefing session on ‘Human Rights and Sexual Abuse: The Untold Stories in Peace Support Operations (PSOs) in Africa’. The briefing session took place on 21 September, the International Day of Peace, and aimed to address the challenges in preventing and ensuring justice for victims of sexual abuse in peace support operations.

The panel featured three speakers, Nathalie Ndongo-Seh, Chief of Staff, United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU); Diane Misenga Kabeya, Deputy Head of Delegation, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to the African Union; and Semiha Abdulmelik, Policy Officer, Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace, and Security, African Union Commission. Moderating the session, Michelle Ndiaye, Director of the Africa Peace and Security Programme at IPSS and Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat stated, “we used the term ‘untold stories’ in naming this event because not only are they undocumented, but no one wants to talk about them. This topic is important and sensitive, and one that appeals to our humanity”.

Gaps in reporting

In reality, the number of abuses is much higher than the total number reported. According to a report of the UN Secretary General, in 2015 alone 69 allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse were reported in 10 UN peacekeeping missions - an increase from 52 in 2014. Many cases go unreported due to the lack of enforcement of existing legal instruments. Unfortunately, the lack of prosecution and accountability contributes to continued sexual violence. The rise of online and social media has increased the visibility of these cases, enabling information to reach the public domain more quickly than in the past. Ndongo-Seh emphasized that the vast majority of peacekeepers behave well and the

actions of a few “bad apples” should not be used to discredit the invaluable work they perform.

Accountability and responsibility

The panellists discussed the gap between accountability and responses by troop contributing countries (TCCs). The UN, now breaking from the past practice of refusing to disclose accused TCCs, now engages in ‘naming and shaming’. This measure has had mixed results, after instances of TCCs withdrawing entire troops or refusing to contribute troops following allegations of sexual assault. Sharing his country’s experience, Ambassador Vakhtang Jaoshvili, Georgian Ambassador to Ethiopia, said his country “has experience dealing with accusations against its own peacekeepers; what we learnt is the need for truth and justice to overcome such problems”. The Burundian Ambassador to Ethiopia, Dieudonne Ndabarushima, stated the graveness of sexual abuse in PSOs, adding that women are already vulnerable in conflict situations and more should be done to protect them from being abused by peacekeepers.

Recommendations

The panellists proposed several recommendations for addressing accountability and securing justice for victims. The speakers stressed the importance of intense pre-deployment training for peacekeepers. The training should not only focus on the rules of engagement but should also include respect for local culture. Noting that “behavioural change” is at the core of the issue, Abdulmelik remarked that, “the AU facilitates pre-deployment trainings for its peacekeepers but some countries resist sending their troops. The AU, however, is working towards standardizing its training for its troops in the African

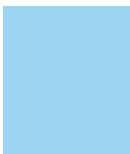


L-R: Nathalie Ndongo-Seh, Semiha Abdulmelik and Diane Misenga Kabeya

Standby Force (ASF)". Abdulmelik also shared the AU's approach, which centers on dialogue and tracking these issues at the continental level.

Kabeya noted the ICRC's emphasis on civilian protection remains a top priority in all peace support operations. The ICRC works on awareness raising and training in countries where PSOs are deployed. In DRC, the organization aired radio messages in local languages to encourage support for victims of sexual abuse in order to reduce the stigma and social exclusion associated with sexual violence, and to help them re-enter society as active citizens. Ndongo-Seh said, "action is easy to take when evidence is captured on video

or photo", but since this evidence is usually not available, "there is a need to form an independent investigative body (not UN, AU or TCC) to conduct investigations on such reports". The UN engages civilian populations in trainings to increase their knowledge of sexual exploitation and abuse. Other proposed solutions were continued naming and shaming and sanctioning the commander. In their summary remarks, the panellists highlighted the need for increased accountability on the part of TCCs, respect and dignity for civilian populations, and collective responsibility to prevent sexual abuse. ■



Lecture Series

IPSS organizes book lecture on the International Criminal Court

On 3 March, Dr. Patrick Wegner delivered a book lecture on 'The ICC in Ongoing Intrastate Conflicts: Navigating the Peace-Justice Divide'. Dr. Wegner is a political scientist and researcher on questions of justice in ongoing conflicts. The lecture kicked off with an introduction from Dr. Sunday Okello, a researcher and assistant professor at IPSS. Dr. Wegner's book focuses on the ICC's investigations in Sudan (Darfur) and Uganda (Lord's Resistance Army). His book examined the aspect of perception in handling the cases during Moreno Ocampo's term as Chief Prosecutor at the ICC. He argued that the justifications presented by the ICC in investigating these cases were mishandled not only in the management of perception, but also in the lack of understanding given to the complexity of each situation. Dr. Wegner stated that "the ICC took the simplistic version of the situation that happened in Darfur, and ignored the complexity of issues involved in the LRA case."



Dr. Patrick Wegner



"The Court's choices are accused of being influenced by public perception, the result of which might negatively affect the due process each case deserves.

However, the impact of this on the credibility of the Court has rarely been the subject of any research".

- Dr. Patrick Wegner

Prof. Tim Murithi: Africa needs regional reconciliation processes

On 29 March, Professor Tim Murithi, Head of the Justice and Reconciliation in Africa Programme at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, delivered a lecture on 'Regional Reconciliation: Strategies for Cross-Border Transitional Justice'. Prof. Murithi is also the Extraordinary Professor of African Studies at the University of Free State in South Africa.

At the heart of his lecture was the theme of reconciliation, particularly regional reconciliation, in Africa. According to Prof. Murithi, this is of particular importance in the continent as the majority of intra-state and inter-state conflicts in Africa have regional implications. It is therefore essential to approach peace in the continent from a regional framework / perspective.

Transitional justice is very much contentious in Africa; it creates a series of anxieties amongst governments involved in the conflict. Transitional justice is a vital component of reconciliation dealing with the recovery of truth from past human rights (HR) violations. Attained through restorative justice (to restore relations amongst contentious parties) or retributive justice (to legally hold accountable the contending parties), it is an important step in a post conflict society. Prof. Murithi underlined the importance of mainstreaming gender in this process as HR violations affect men, women and children differently and it is of utmost importance that violations be questioned, investigated and given the needed attention.

It is important to explore how cross-border violations are addressed as they occur every day. The Somali conflict spilling over into Kenya with events such as the Westgate Mall siege or the Garissa University attacks or even the Boko Haram effect spreading into Cameroon and Niger are just but a few of such cases in Africa. For victims of such occurrences, reconciliation is important and may be undertaken formally through the channel of regional institutions or informally through regional grassroots initiatives. Initiatives such as the UN-brokered Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the DRC, the Pan-African Cross-Border Prosecution and the AU Extraordinary Chambers in Senegal are some of the formal regional reconciliation mechanisms.

Yet, some are quite restrictive to specific case scenarios such as the mechanism in DRC. In these cases, informal regional reconciliation mechanisms are preferred. Communities in northern Uganda and Sudan have resorted to such mechanisms to discuss the truth of the violations that occurred and initiate the healing of their respective communities. Civil society organizations (CSOs) are supplementing actors in the process, with many of them initiating grassroots initiatives in many African regional conflict systems. The Karamoja Cluster Initiative is one such example.

With the existence of such initiatives, it is important to have them operationalized in Africa. Prof. Murithi discussed which infrastructures in the continent should be used for such initiatives and if any,

whether they are indeed comprehensive enough. Regional Economic Communities (RECs) such as IGAD, ECOWAS and SADC have their respective regional reconciliation commissions and are appropriate forums to drive regional reconciliation. However, Prof. Murithi argues that not only is there a need to question whether they can oversee the process themselves, but whether they can be of value considering that the AU and member states have not made much headway. Prof. Murithi stated that reconciliation across borders still remains uncharted territory for states and inter-governmental organizations.

African states still jealously safeguard their sovereignty and by extension their borders. Furthermore, there is need for extensive coordination within the different regional platforms. Military and intelligence sharing in the on-going operationalization of the African Standby Force (ASF) must be undertaken to ensure successful regional reconciliation initiatives are implemented in the continent. On the brighter side, if the discussions take place at the policy level within the AU corridors, and there is strong engagement from concerned stakeholders, intensive media outreach and well-coordinated monitoring, this will launch the initial steps for regional reconciliation in Africa. Nevertheless, Prof. Murithi insists that reconciliation has to be forward looking, future oriented, transformative and enable processes of dialogue with the participation from African citizens. ■



Participants at the Indaba Session held at IPSS



L-R: Dr. Yonas Adaye, Associate Academic Director at IPSS and Prof. Tim Murithi



Dr. Lori Hartmann-Mahmud

Indaba Sessions

The expression “Indaba” comes from the South African language Zulu and indicates an informal gathering of indigenous people to address a matter of concern or discussion. The Indabas aim to foster intellectual debate and exchanges of ideas among the peace and security community in Addis Ababa.

First Indaba Session explores role of gender in human security

On 23 February, IPSS held its first Indaba session of the year, a lecture delivered by Dr. Lori Hartmann-Mahmud on ‘Human Security vs. National Security: A Gender Perspective’. Dr. Hartmann-Mahmud is a Frank and Virginia Hower Associate Professor of International Studies at Centre College in Danville, US.

Dr. Hartmann-Mahmud shared that, “The focus has [always] been on national security with the assumption that if we have a strong state, the state will protect the security of the individual; but, over time, it has been realized that that’s not always the case. And so since the 1990s, we saw a shift in the rhetoric to focus on the individual’s security. Women’s rights and feminist movements were one of the catalysts that resulted in such a shift.”

Human security is now adopted as an important principle in international relations, but the pace of the shift from national to human security is affected by international events. Dr. Hartmann-Mahmud noted that in 1990s, the US focused on human

security, but 9/11 moved it back to national security. It seems that states are constantly moving back and forth between human and national security but Dr. Hartmann-Mahmud argued the shift is progressing linearly towards human security.

Article 4(h) of the African Union (AU) Constitutive Act is one of the primary documents that reflect the principle of responsibility to protect (R2P), which allows intervention in cases of grave human rights violations. “A military intervention is difficult to pursue not just for the AU but also for the United Nations, which has a longer history,” Dr. Hartmann-Mahmud explained. Thus, in order for the AU to fully utilize all options between non-interference and military intervention, she recommended that the AU should improve its procedures to quickly sanction countries that commit grave human rights violations and also strengthen its observer committees, Panel of the Wise and other similar organs. ■

Opportunities for Africa in the context of a global power shift

In March, Dr. Jochen Prantl, Director of the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy at the Australian National University, gave a public lecture on why and how the global power shift to Asia matters to the African Union and Africa's future. The event was a joint initiative between IPSS and the Australian Embassy in Addis Ababa. Dr. Prantl's presentation centred on the growing relevance of the on-going global power shift, and how strategic diplomacy might help the African Union and its member states to deal with the increasing complexity of multilateralism. The global power shift is in part evident from the shifting distribution of GDP from advanced economies to emerging and developing economies. While the power of the US dollar is still significant, Asian currencies, particularly the Chinese Yen, are becoming more and more significant in international markets. As a consequence, there is growth of the social middle class, especially in the Global South, but probably not in the Sub-Saharan Africa region as many had predicted. Invariably, Dr. Prantl argued, "the world is becoming more Asian, [not] European or African".

With the increasing complexity of multilateralism, in which countries now have to decide to which extent they want to expose themselves to global markets, strategic diplomacy comes in handy when dealing with the potential adverse system effects. The power shift away from the Western hegemonic market to the Asian markets suggest to African states the imperative to redefine their position between the two global powers in order to fully maximize benefits. After all, a country's international standing largely depends on "the diplomatic practices of presenting, contesting

and negotiating strategic ideas" or "strategic narratives", as described.

The subsequent discussion session raised questions about Chinese market behaviour and the intrinsic purpose of Chinese investments globally, but in Africa especially. Emphasizing that we are all sitting in the same boat, hence the need to agree on certain rules, values and norms in international cooperation, Dr. Prantl was enthusiastic to say that there is always diplomatic space to navigate investments in a way that is both reasonable and sustainable for African countries individually and collectively. In response to expressed concerns that the increase in the number of players might hamper the position of African countries in world politics, Dr. Prantl was optimistic about the opportunities available for the continent. One participant noted that if African states want development they cannot rely on external lifelines, but must look inwards to tap into the creativity of their citizens and the resources of their countries.

A representative from the Chinese Mission to the AU underlined that China has extensive relations with almost every African country, not only the resource rich ones, and that Beijing is interested in extending Chinese-African cooperation in every kind of sector. Dr. Charles Ukeje, Senior Advisor for Education and Professional Development at IPSS, concluded by stating that Africa's future largely depends on its unity and whether or not it is able to seize the initiative to exercise independent agency as well as ownership, within the broad scope highlighted in AU's Agenda 2063. ■



L-R: Amb. Mark Sawyer, Australian Ambassador to Ethiopia and Dr. Jochen Prantl



"The key challenge for African countries is to become resilient in the global environment and to build up their resilient capacities to protect themselves from a very complex environment in which it is often hard to control events outside your country."

- Dr. Jochen Prantl



Participants at the lecture held at the AU Headquarters

Lessons from Libya: NATO and the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

On 2 November, IPSS held its last Indaba session of the year on the topic, 'Five Years On – NATO, Interventions and the Libya Campaign: Strategic Lessons Learned and the Way Ahead' featuring Dr. Brook Smith-Windsor, Deputy Head of the Research Division at the NATO Defense College. The session was moderated by Dr. Mehari Tadelle, an independent consultant and Dr. Amr Abdalla, Senior Advisor for Research, Policy Analysis and Dialogues at IPSS.

In 2011, the NATO mission in Libya (Operation Protector) implemented the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) for the first time. Commenting on the mission's performance, Dr. Brook Smith-Windsor noted that some countries in the mission might have been driven by national interests rather than the values of R2P. "One of the key lessons for future R2P missions is the need for countries to give primacy to values than national interests," he argued. He also emphasized the need for NATO to instill a post-conflict reconstruction mechanism in future R2P missions. "After the removal of Colonel Qaddafi and the institution of a new government in Libya, it became clear that the new government lacked the institutional capacity to implement policies." He added that future R2P missions should focus on capacity building to facilitate the peaceful transition from conflict to long-term stability.

The NATO mission in Libya is often criticized for exceeding its R2P mandate by pushing for regime change and employing unnecessary use of military power. Dr. Smith-Windsor noted that the mission highlighted the need to identify criteria for the use of force in R2P missions in order to clearly define the situation and demand, if any, for the use of force. He further remarked, "R2P missions should always give precedence to peaceful mechanisms for resolving conflict rather than resorting to the direct use of force".

Prof. Abdalla shared his experiences from a recent conference on the national reconciliation process of Libya: "The conference identified crimes against humanity committed by both government forces and opposition groups in 2011 and stressed the need to immediately start disarmament processes for the peaceful transition of Libya to stability." Audience members raised a number of issues with regard to the role of the African Union (AU) and regional bodies. One participant suggested that NATO was not ready to accept assistance from the AU in the peaceful resolution of the conflict, saying that an AU delegation of heads of state was forced to turn their flight back due to NATO's marking of Libya as a no-fly zone.

In his concluding remarks, Dr. Mehari Tadelle shared how powerful nations seem to have shifted their support towards assisting stable, and at times autocratic, regimes rather than democratic processes. In his final analysis, he recommended that NATO, the AU and all regional actors work together towards bringing peace and stability to Libya. ■



Dr. Brook Smith-Windsor

Who should be protected in the South Sudan crisis?

15 December marked three years since the conflict in South Sudan broke out. Three years of civil war not only reversed the country's economic gains but also witnessed an ever-growing number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). They now total 3 million, with numbers expected to grow as the conflict shows no sign of ceasing given the suspension of the IGAD-launched peace process. Displaced civilians are thus seeking protection and fleeing in masses into neighbouring countries as well as into the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) camps.

Resilience in Protection of Civilian (PoC) sites was the topic of a public discussion held at IPSS on 15 December featuring by Dr. Jairo Munive, Senior Researcher at the Peace, Risk and Violence Unit of the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), and Colonel Ndore Rurinda, Defense Attaché at the Rwanda Embassy to Ethiopia and the African Union (AU).

Controversy is arising as the conflict increasingly spreads into these protected shelters, which, at the time held some 200,000 protected refugees. The conflict's ethnic dimension has led to cases of government forces in civilian clothes attacking former Nuer soldiers - allied to Dr. Riek Machar - who have taken shelter in the UN PoC sites. According to the panellists, civilians fleeing the civil war hold multiple identities, linking them to the conflict in different ways. A South Sudanese IDP or refugee that enters the UN PoC site is also a stakeholder in the conflict. He/she could be a former soldier supporting one of the parties to the conflict, someone on the run after avenging his/her community for ills that were committed by a passing army party to the conflict, and so forth. These multiple identities do not disappear after an individual enters a PoC site. With the conflict taking an ethnic turn, these identities are exacerbated, opening a way for raids and killing by one or the other party to the conflict.

Such a variety of identities create dilemmas for UN peacekeepers and the humanitarian assistance community, who become collateral victims as the killing spree unfolds. For UN peacekeepers, their mandate is clear: They are there to keep the peace. In the PoC sites, a distinction must be made between civilians who are victims of the conflict and civilians who are former soldiers and party to the conflict. The latter creates a threat to the peace that must be kept, as stated in Article 8 of the Kigali Protocol for the Protection of Civilians.

Deployed troops have "To seek to identify, as early as possible, potential threats to civilians and proactively take steps to mitigate such threats and otherwise reduce the vulnerability of the civilian population".

Yet, for the humanitarian community, all civilians entering PoC grounds have to be protected no matter what. After all, war does not discriminate, it affects all. Choosing not to make a distinction like their UN counterparts supports the argument that if all civilians fleeing the conflict are victims of the war, it is important to make them all resilient to the ongoing crisis.

These dilemmas are ones faced every day by both the UN and humanitarian aid organizations. The essence of the Kigali Protocol is to do everything in one's troop capability to protect civilians fleeing conflict. UNMISS troop contributing states are signatories to the Protocol and therefore must abide by its principles. For the foreseeable future, such life and death decisions will continue to be made every day in South Sudan in an effort to ensure the maximum protection of civilians. ■



Col. Ndore Rurinda, Defense Attaché, Embassy of Rwanda in Ethiopia

20 March: Africa's Meeting with Democracy

20 March 2016 is a significant date in the annals of Africa's current political history - a total of six countries, (Benin, Cape Verde, Niger, The Republic of Congo, Senegal and Zanzibar) held elections and referendums on a number of contentious issues. Now more than any other time, African citizens are being called upon to participate in referendums to decide the fate of their countries. The 2010s brought about varying outcomes, some good, others bad. Between 2012 and 2013, over 20 national elections and two constitutional referendums were held in Africa. In the past 20 years, general elections have been held in 30 of the 54 African countries.

Elections are currently the most complex and contentious project in modern Africa, not least in view of the numerous instances of violence that pattern them; during and after they take place. Elections are however necessary but not sufficient to satisfy the yearning of citizens increasingly becoming disillusioned with their outcomes. On the other hand, referendums, now more than any other instrument of direct democracy, place people at the heart of the political discourse and change; with the hope that holding them would heat the fractured relations between the citizenry and those that govern them. Referendums now represent a direct expression of democracy, with citizens now called upon to decide key issues related to their political future and developmental pathway. It may be the case that more and more African countries will have to settle for referendums; along with the routine general elections to decide contentious and intractable issues of concern to them. Of course whether or not such referendums bring about the desired outcome for good, is another ball game entirely.

Motion without Movement?

The most recurrent and controversial issues addressed by the elections and referendums held on 20 March are related to questions of who gets to govern, for how long and how many times. Evidence seems to suggest, however, that in each of the countries where referendums are being held,

the ultimate aim is the prolongation of presidential term limits or the changing of the constitution to allow an incumbent to run for an unpopular third term. The jury is out on whether or not this has proved to be an effective tactic. Does it really allow for a more inclusive debate, or is it simply another window to confer legitimacy on an embattled government? What is without doubt however is that referendums create motion without movement; only in very few cases has the process produced a tangible and quantitative change beyond granting incumbent administrations a respite to tinker with the constitution, retain a semblance of legitimacy and stay longer in power. In recent years, term limits have been at the epicentre of popular unrest and violence. Thus, just as the list of countries that have held or are about to hold referendums is growing, it is safe to expect the unexpected. As more countries follow this process, no one could be certain about their outcomes, or whether they will produce meaningful changes and development in the long run.

Unconstitutional Constitutionalism

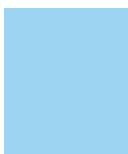
George Orwell's timeless classic, *Animal Farm*, gives a befitting description of Africa's current political dilemma; that in which "absolute power corrupts absolutely". In a growing number of countries, elections and referendums are producing a cocktail of instability as incumbents seek to consolidate power by any means necessary. It is important to recall that when the first generation African leaders left power, their successors took over on a platform of political change and two-term limits. When constitutional stipulations become an inconvenience, they manipulated the national parliament (where they have a majority) to adopt amendments allowing for a referendum. As of 2016, 14-plus African countries have either altered or attempted to alter their constitution to fit the whim of incumbents; even when they pretend to be distant from the process itself. Invariably, incumbents see to it that the changes proposed will not affect their current position adversely. When the stakes are high and the outcomes unpredictable incumbents avoid referendums. These contrasting developments perhaps explain why results have been mixed.

Are referendums useful for democracy in Africa?

It is important to pay close attention to the details of the referendums held so far for a number of reasons. First, there is a wide gap between their stated interests and outcomes in terms of giving the citizenry the opportunity to determine their own future. Second, given participation rates, it could be interpreted that referendums are all-inclusive processes. Yet, the hard truth is that they are not fool proof since their outcomes drift towards pre-determined outcomes. Given this concern one might conclude, with some justifications, that

referendums as an exercise of direct democracy are not likely to help African countries consolidate their young, fledging but also troubled democracies. If anything, for as long as the stakes are high and the outcomes unpredictable, elections and referendums are likely to produce an unintended backlash, including violence.

For elections and referendums to actually be worthwhile investments, therefore, the rules of the game must put the genuine aspirations of the citizenry, not that of their leaders, at the centre of the nation building enterprise. ■



Brexit: Lessons learnt for regional integration in Africa

Winston Churchill would no doubt turn in his grave if he learned the result of the United Kingdom (UK) referendum to leave the EU; he was one of the first to call for the creation of a “United States of Europe” and an avid believer that only a united Europe could guarantee peace and eliminate the ills of nationalism.

Does Brexit have implications for regional integration in Africa or continental organizations such as the African Union (AU)? While the Brexit outcome was unexpected, it highlights several lessons the EU and other regional organizations such as the AU can learn. This is a chance for reflection and change. What was true in the past is still true today: cooperation and integration among African countries in the economic, social and cultural fields is indispensable to the accelerated transformation and sustained development of the African continent.

Is this the end of Europe as we know it? On the one hand, the relationship between Europe and the UK has always been rocky. When the founding members of the European Economic Community (EEC) signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957, Britain declined to become a member due to a belief in its own exceptionalism. With a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the powerful Commonwealth group serving as a modern day remnant of its former empire, the UK did not need Europe, as demonstrated by the mid-ranking trade official sent to the treaty signing as an observer. Britain began approaching Brussels in the early 1960s when the clear economic benefits of the EEC came to light. Against this backdrop, those who were reluctant to join the union may see Brexit as a welcome chance.

On the other hand, Brexit has shaken the very existence of the EU, with the “Leave” voters choosing to forget why the EU was created in the first place. The founding fathers of the EU, amongst them Churchill, saw European integration as an antidote to the extreme nationalism that had devastated the continent. Yet, the older generation in the UK appears to romanticize the strong Britain of the past, an unrealistic presumption given the interconnected and globalized world of the 21st century.

The EU’s reputation as a removed and bureaucratic centre of power is also to blame for the Brexit outcome. The union’s excessive focus on economics and regulation made European citizens feel detached and isolated from the elite political bargaining that occurs between national governments and Brussels. The disconnect between the EU and its citizens demonstrates the failure of traditional political elites in communicating and translating regional policies to their constituencies at the local level.

Brexit leaves Africa with two important lessons:

First, integration should not solely focus on economic growth and regulation at a macro level, but should also effectively translate the tangible benefits of integration to citizens at the micro level. These efforts would ultimately shift the sentiments of citizens more favourably towards the regional arrangement. More than ever, technocrats at the AU and RECs have to constantly gauge and take into account the views of their citizens on adopted policies. While full integration in Africa is still an aspiration, buy in from African citizens will be a crucial defining factor in the success or failure of the regional arrangement.

The Africa-wide development agenda, as championed by the AU, is based on regional integration and the formation of an African Economic Community (AEC) using its Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks. It aims to create free trade areas, customs unions, a single market, a central bank, and a common currency. The continental agenda, Agenda 2063, sets a vision for the creation of an integrated, developed and peaceful Africa by 2063. For Africa, the potential gains from increased regional integration are significant: the 54 economies in Africa make up the most fragmented region in the world. In addition, more than a third of African economies are landlocked.

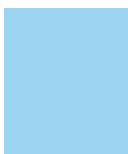
Second, integration entails that states find an advantageous balance between their membership in the regional integration scheme and their national interests. Countries become part of a

collective arrangement to maximize their national interests; and if these interests are not realized, they may be deterred from implementing regional and continental plans. The creation of Free Trade Areas (FTA) in Africa is limited by the dominance of some states in the trade flows in their regions such as Nigeria in ECOWAS, Kenya in the EAC, and South Africa in SADC. Thus, the AU and RECs need to clearly outline the gains from regional integration in order for states to realize their national interests; not only economic gains but also the intangible value of group membership in a continental or regional arrangement.

Despite the challenges the EU faces today, the ideals of regional integration have not failed in Europe or in Africa. The EU is a Europe of democracy, a Europe of prosperity, a Europe of pluralism, liberty and friendship. The EU motto, "United in diversity", applies today more so than ever because it signifies

how Europeans have come together in the form of the EU to work towards peace and prosperity and to benefit from the continent's different cultures, traditions and languages. In the midst of uncertainty in Europe, Africa should, more than ever, view its diversity as an opportunity for greater regional integration.

It will become more important for regional powers to avoid the pursuit of nationalist agendas in favour of following a common vision towards successful regional integration. The AU should prioritize communication with its members, encourage a unified approach, and most importantly translate political decision making in such a way that the common people can relate to it. In fact, avoiding alienation between the political elite and their constituencies is one of the most important lessons to draw from Brexit. ■



Smoke and mirrors? Unpacking the 27th AU Summit

Without a doubt, the quest for African unity and integration is paved with good intentions - but so too is the agenda punctuated with contestations and uncertainties. Following the 27th AU Summit held on 16-18 July 2016 in Kigali, Rwanda, one can hopefully anticipate that some of the key debates and decisions would gain traction when it comes to their implementation. To quote the enthusiastic postscript offered by the AU Chairperson, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, following the Summit:

“African countries should maintain this spirit of togetherness and start working together on action plans to foster economic development for the entire continent. This Summit has indicated that we can achieve great things and overcome all challenges if we work in unity.”

Without attempting to give detailed and critical reflections on the implications of the key decisions agreed on by the Assembly, hopefully such would come sooner rather than later; this short note only presents a brief synopsis of the landmark decisions in a simple, readable, and memorable way - one that is accessible to the average African citizen from Benin to Botswana.



Heads of State and Government at the 27th AU Summit

1. The African passport

The Summit witnessed the official launch of the electronic passport initiative. Of course, critics will consider this a token gesture - but the symbolism this bold step represents should not be lost on anyone. The first set of recipients of the e-passport will include AU heads of state and government, ministers of foreign affairs, and permanent representatives of AU member states based at the AU Headquarters in Addis Ababa. Even at that, the initiative comes at a time when one of the most formidable assaults on regionalism and integration ever seen is taking place; with the recent developments within the European Union, the most advanced of its kind in the world.

It would seem, paradoxically, that at the same time integration projects are faltering in stronger, richer and more formidable regions, African governments are recognizing their immense benefits and opportunities; not just at the official level, but also amongst citizens. It is, to again quote the Chairperson, a "steady step toward the objective of creating a strong, prosperous and integrated Africa, driven by its own citizens and capable of taking its rightful place on the world stage". What African citizens expect, and quickly too, is not just that they would, in due course, receive the e-passport but that they would be able to move freely - for residency, work, and leisure - from one place to another across the continent, without the irritations imposed by mostly artificial borders; relics of a colonial past they very much wish to leave behind.

2. Discussions

Recall that the theme of the 27th Summit is the "Year of Human Rights with particular focus on the Rights of Women". In a sense, the theme resonates with the popular view that any society, country or continent that fails to mainstream human rights, including the rights of women who constitute more than half of the population in virtually all African countries, risks missing most of the benchmarks for sustainable development. Following the AU Chair and President of Chad, Idriss Deby Itno, Heads of State present at the Summit took turns to reaffirm their commitment to the principle of gender equality as enshrined in Article 4(1) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, an ideal that is at the heart of Agenda 2063 and its successful realization.

Perhaps not boldly stated, however, the attainment of the goals tied to 2016 as the Year of Human Rights with particular focus on the Rights of

Women, is likely to be forlorn and illusory given the pockets of ongoing political tensions and violent conflicts in Burundi and the Central African Republic; expressions of violent extremism in northern Nigeria and across much of the Sahel; the outbreak of hostilities and the maelstrom of blood-letting in South Sudan; and the long-drawn crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to name a few. For each of these conflicts, and more, the first casualty is usually the human rights of citizens, particularly women who are subjected to unimaginable abuses in the hands of armed gangs, militias and even soldiers.

3. Stay away, observers told!

The loud sound bite over the controversial decision to keep observers away in Kigali is not likely to abate anytime soon. The AU decided that Kigali would be strictly for business for officially designated plenipotentiaries - and therefore not for the usual civil society crowd that converges at such important events. In official circles, the argument was that the presence of civil society actors, often in the hundreds, is an unwanted distraction to the serious business that delegates set for themselves. For those asked to stay away, however, it was a contradiction that a continental organization wishing to transform itself from an "AU of Governments" to an "AU of Peoples" would insist on such a blatantly anti-people decision.

There are also those who argued, justifiably, that the decision to exclude them is another vicious attempt to limit civic space; spaces for participation from below that should energize and complement the official. This denial of access, it was believed, contradicts the spirit of Agenda 2063 and the much parroted key missions of the AU: to create an "integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena". With the benefit of hindsight, it might be the case that the AU has set a precedence as to when and how it wishes to receive visitors during summits; but it cannot afford to make this a blanket decision while expecting important civil society constituencies, within and outside Africa, to be supportive when they are most needed.

4. AU Peace Fund

One of the perennial, and by no means daunting, problems facing the AU is the inability of the Union to stay in the black; with near-enough financial resources generated from within to deploy as, when and where necessary. There is an obvious

disconnect, for instance, between the ever-growing demands on the Union and its ability to mobilize the right amount of resources to achieve them. At several critical periods, past and present, the AU not only found itself constrained by its inability to wield a buoyant purse (of its own money) but having to go cap-in-hand to external benefactors who reluctantly provide life support that is hardly adequate and most of the time, laden with difficult conditions. Invariably, and faced with occasional penury, the AU finds itself not able to amplify and give relevance to any African position, or to exercise any credible and autonomous agency.

In pursuit of the ideal of finding 'African solutions to African problems' then, funding problems have severely limited the AU's actions and interventions in South Sudan, Nigeria, Somalia and elsewhere. It is estimated that the AU currently funds less than 10% of its peace operations, relying on the EU and major donors to contribute the rest. Yet, the need for peacekeeping missions in Africa has increased geometrically in recent years, placing pressure on African states to come up with long-term solutions to peace operations. Several proposals have been made; the most recent proposed by a Committee chaired by Nigeria's former president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. At the just-concluded Summit in Kigali, the Assembly not only renewed its commitment to a more solvent AU, one that moves steadily towards financial independence and away from external influences, but actually adopted a decision to meet the 25% target by placing a 0.2 per cent import tax on eligible imports to fund the AU budget and by so doing steadily decrease the reliance on foreign donors. It is estimated that the import tax alone would bring in an excess of \$1.2 billion into the coffers of the AU; \$419 million over and above the current budget of \$781 million. Despite the usual challenges, for instance the lack of political will and the fiscal challenges that many African countries are facing, the fact is not lost that a solvent - if not buoyant - AU could do more for Africa than one that is prostrate.

5. Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA): No end in sight?

While it did not attract any media hype, the Kigali Summit offered African governments another opportunity to deliberate on the TFTA in view of the impending deadline. As things stand, the implementation of the free trade area does not look promising as 26 African countries are still in disagreement over how traders would access a market of over 600 million people through the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA). The countries of the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), have all been struggling to agree on the kinds of preferential treatment to be offered from one bloc to another on sensitive goods and services. Although the deadline for the negotiations has passed, it is obvious that there are still many proverbial rivers to cross in order to overcome the legion of challenges hindering continental free trade, even though the agreement promises to remove 60% to 85% of tariffs on goods and services across African states. One can assume that occasionally, hyper-protectionist consideration by different countries may creep to the fore in ways that could diminish or erode the potential benefits of the TFTA.

6. AU Commission elections

When the AU took the decision to exclude the civil society actors that typically observe its proceedings, one of the reasons it gave was that the Kigali Summit would deliberate on housekeeping issues. Top of the list, of course, was the nomination and election of vacant positions at the top hierarchies of the African Union Commission; particularly the positions of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, and eight Commissioners. Surprisingly, the build-up to Kigali witnessed much attention given to the top position, with a shortlist of three candidates from Uganda, Botswana and Equatorial Guinea. Well before the Summit, the first sign that the elections might not go well (and this would not be the first time) was when the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS), officially informed the AU that holding elections for the top positions during the Summit in Kigali would be premature. They were not alone in this regard, as there was a strong current of opinion at the highest levels of government and in other influential opinion circles that the contestants may have impressive credentials to occupy exalted offices at the national level, they were by no means the best that the continent - and their countries - could put forward.

As it turned out, the outcome of the voting that took place inside the impressive venue of the Summit did not miss the point; after the first round of voting, the candidate from Uganda, former Vice-President Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe, was eliminated after receiving the least amount of votes. Eventually, the remaining two candidates, Venson-Moitoi of Botswana and Mba Mokuy of Equatorial Guinea,

each failed to receive two-thirds of the votes required to be declared winner. One of the subtexts that seems to have determined the eventual outcome was the widely made claim that the countries that nominated the two finalists were not so much in good standing within the AU; one whose government is considered intolerant of the opposition, and the other consistently absent from every AU Summit in recent memory. Following the stalemate, voting was postponed to the next AU summit in January 2017 where fresh nominations for the position will be reopened.

Back in the saddle?

By now, the Chairperson of the AUC and her top officials should be back at the headquarters in Addis; except, of course, they have other commitments taking them across the continent and beyond. The jury is out on the performance of the current team in pursuing the mandates of the AU. While some have pilloried them for nothing more than a lackluster performance, it is important to appreciate the sometimes overwhelming empire of issues the continent faces that could easily make even a superlative manager seem ordinary; or at best, average.

In the six months up to the next summit in January 2017, what we might likely see is a team going through the motion of keeping forte, praying no major storm in the tea cup occurs that would require more than routine, administrative attention. ■



Joint Special Events

IPSS views partnership as a mutually beneficial and co-operative relationship in which partners have common understanding, objectives, resources, roles and responsibilities in order to achieve desired outcomes. IPSS partners bring a different set of values, priorities, resources and competencies to its strategy, programmes and projects. These diverse contributions together are linked by a common vision to help achieve peace and security in Africa.

IPSS partnerships aim to facilitate opportunities for staff and students to participate in research, training and professional development, academic studies, joint projects/events, outreach collaborations, knowledge, information, student and staff exchanges. ■

AU open session tackles role of migration in peace and security

On 16 February, the African Union Peace and Security Council (AU PSC) held its 576th meeting on 'Migration, Peace and Security in Africa'. The session served as a platform to discuss several topics: the major causes of conflict and forced migration in Africa; the need to formulate policy and mechanisms to address the roots of forced migration; how migration affects the implementation of development plans such as Agenda 2063; and the overall stability of peace and security in Africa.

The discussion opened with two presentations delivered by Ambassador Gary Quince, Head of the European Delegation to the AU, and Maureen Achieng, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Representative to the AU. Dr. Charles Ukeje, Education and Professional Development Lead at IPSS, addressed the PSC and proposed three fundamental issues that should be included in the response to the migration crisis:

1. Stakeholders need to work together in order to find a durable solution to the crisis. Given the scope of the migration crisis in Europe, he reminded the audience that migration is "too important to be left to governments alone and even more dangerous if they try alone".
2. There needs to be focus not only on the substance but also on the form of migration, while also taking into consideration the context in which

migration occurs in Europe and how it defines migration on the African continent. The AU's Declaration on Migration includes migration in the development goals for regional integration and the implementation of Agenda 2063. Partners must therefore consider the negative effects that the criminalization of migration would have on the developmental potential of the continent.

3. Dr. Ukeje also mentioned how IPSS, in its role as an institution with a mandate from the AU, could contribute to mobilizing and leading a consortium of African academic institutions to expand the scope for innovative research, training and advocacy activities in the nexus between migration, peace and security in Africa.

He also added that the institute is "keen and hopeful that by working with regional stakeholders we can draw up empirically-grounded and innovative policy-focused research projects to extend the boundaries of what is already known, what we should know, and what the priority issues should be in tackling migration vis-a-vis its peace and security challenges in Africa." The space for dialogue on migration, peace and security might exist, Dr. Ukeje continued, however, it is "mostly inadequate" and results in policy incoherence between governments and institutional partners at the national, regional and global levels. ■

IPSS welcomes representatives from the U.S. Institute of Peace



Amb. Princeton N. Lyman

In February, Amb. Princeton N. Lyman, former Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan, and Susan Stigant, Director of the Africa Program at the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), paid an official visit to IPSS. The team was received by IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros and senior staff members at the Institute. In an open dialogue, representatives of the two institutes discussed the scope and opportunities for collaboration, including elaborating on shared interests in peace and security in Africa. The visiting delegation expressed deep gratitude for the excellent work in this regard by IPSS, in particular the detailed mapping of the conflict in South Sudan (led by Dr. Sunday Okello), with its far-reaching ramifications for understanding the roots of that protracted conflict. ■

MoU with BCMAP signed to collaborate in training and research

On 9 June, IPSS and the Budapest Centre for Mass Atrocities Prevention (BCMAP) signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to collaborate in several areas of mutual interest linked to training, research and advocacy. BCMAP seeks to promote human rights worldwide with special focus on the prevention of genocide and other mass atrocities. Within its African Task Force (ATF) project, BCMAP is mapping the preventive capacities of African institutions such as the African Union, regional and civil society organizations.

Speaking at the occasion, Dr. Gyorgy Tatar, Chair of BCMAP, acknowledged that “the culture of dialogue should be promoted”, and expressed the need to collaborate with IPSS to build capacities in different areas, including training of youth leaders in Africa. IPSS Director, Dr. Kidane Kiros, expressed optimism that the evolving collaboration with BCMAP would put the two institutions on wider continental (and global) relevance and visibility. ■



L-R: Dr. Kidane Kiros and Dr. Gyorgy Tatar

Diplomatic delegation from China share observations on peace, security and China-Africa cooperation

On 2 November, IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros and several faculty members hosted a 22-member delegation from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and three other ministries. The purpose of the visit was to share opinions, thoughts and observations on peace, security and China-Africa cooperation.

The visit took place against the backdrop of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit, held in December 2015 in South Africa, which called on the need for increased people-to-people exchanges between China and Africa. Mr. Cai Ge, Counsellor of the Department of Service for the Foreign Ministry and head of the delegation, citing the “profound and traditional friendship between China and Africa”, stated that the African tour was intended to encourage young Chinese diplomats to gain a better understanding of Africa and promote better cooperation between China and Africa. He clarified that the trip was aimed at increasing their knowledge on Africa in order to promote a better understanding of the continent in China among Chinese people.

The government of China is a long-standing partner of IPSS, together with the governments of Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Norway, as well as members of the private and non-profit sectors. IPSS’ China-Africa partnership include organizing the 2nd China-Africa Think Tanks Forum in 2013, hosting and participating in several academic exchanges with Chinese institutions, presenting papers and participating in joint research funded by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and finally, hosting and training Chinese scholars through a recently launched mentorship programme.

The meeting then proceeded to an interactive session where the diplomats were encouraged to pose questions concerning peace and security in Africa to the various faculty members and students

present. Meeting participants discussed the prospect of the global economy and Africa’s place in high-level discussions such as the G20 Summit. Dr. Dawit Yohannes, Special Projects Coordinator at IPSS, discussed the AU’s Agenda 2063, which is aligned with the UN Goals for 2063. He stated the need for G20 decisions to fit into African development agendas.

One participant asked how China can enhance cooperation with the continent and what the potential challenges might be. He also noted the differences in contributions offered by China and the European Union. Dr. Kidane pointed to the need for a partnership framework given the dynamism in the continent in traditional causes of conflict versus newly emerging ones such as Ebola and migration. Dr. Mesfin Gebremichael, Assistant Professor at IPSS, urged China to place greater emphasis on overcoming the language barrier and other cross-cultural barriers by investing in the study of the Chinese language by Africans, encouraging more joint research, and participating in not only academic but also work exchange programmes.

Mr. Cai expressed his gratitude for a “fruitful and meaningful discussion”, noting the similarities in observations within the group. He also emphasized the importance of promoting the outcomes of cooperation. For example, Africans make up the largest groups of foreign students in China (109,000 in 2015) and Ethiopia is the largest beneficiary of Chinese scholarships. During the FOCAC Summit, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced his government’s decision to offer 30,000 scholarships to Africans to pursue their studies in China. Chinese investments in infrastructure and human capital have the greatest impact on economic development, Mr. Cai concluded, adding that these investments are not viewed as “unilateral” but as win-win investments. ■



Members of the Chinese diplomatic delegation

Beyond borders and governments: Multi-stakeholder responses to Ebola



L-R: Prof. Charles Ukeje, IPSS; Dr. Cyril Obi, SSRC; Wynne Musabayana, African Union; and Gerd Trogemann, UNDP.

On 4 April 2016, the one-day “High-Level Roundtable on Governance Issues in the Multi-Stakeholder Response to the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) in West Africa” afforded participants with the opportunity to engage in intensive, yet overdue, stocktaking on the nuanced and rigorous accounts of the complexities of national, regional, continental and global responses to the Ebola Virus. There was an unmistakable acknowledgment that governance issues and dimensions at the heart of the intervention have not been sufficiently articulated and factored into critical discourse on what worked, or failed.

The joint event was organized by IPSS, the AU, Oxfam International, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). The roundtable was officially opened by the AU Commissioner for Social Affairs, Dr. Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko, who emphasized that Ebola has been a major issue in the last two years that threatened not only the most affected countries - Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea - but also the rest of the world. Dr. Kaloko urged for extraordinary efforts from member states and the African private sector to support the AU’s fight against Ebola.

In his keynote address, Prof. Onyebuchi Chukwu, former Minister of Health in Nigeria, noted that if governance policies are well elaborated and

followed, even highly populated countries can develop mechanisms to prevent the virus from spreading. Moreover, he recommended that the World Health Organization (WHO) establish a reserve public health emergency task force and implement regular institutionalized meetings to engage all responsible ministers and policy makers.

The principal points of the discussions were that governance deficits were central in understanding some of the shortcomings of stakeholder interventions in stemming and eradicating the spread of the disease. These governance issues include, but are not limited to, the dearth of effective horizontal and vertical consultations among key stakeholders; the erosion of trust and the social contract between government and citizens in the affected countries; the lack of early and sustained participation as well as engagement with citizens on public affairs; limited access to and effective public health delivery; the legitimacy and credibility of governance institutions; transparency and accountability issues, and the impact of leadership.

Throughout the day, various panellists and participants contributed to a vivid discussion on learned lessons, the accountability of various stakeholders, and the transmission of information

from local to regional mechanisms. The first session, on “Local Responses, Mobilization and Accountability” made it clear that the largest obstacles to working with affected people were a lack of (intercultural) understanding, weak health systems, and on-going brain drain. Under the slogan “Never Again”, panellists and participants agreed that in order to avoid another outbreak of Ebola or a similar threat, more coordination between involved stakeholders and sustainable awareness raising campaigns have to be conducted.

During a session titled, “From Local to the Regional – Creating Value-Added Local Leadership with Regional and International Support”, Jens Pedersen (MSF) emphasized that the dramatic extent of the health crisis was mainly caused by the failure of the global health governance system, which does not offer enough incentives to conduct research in economically unprofitable fields such as medication for diseases in developing countries. Furthermore, the aspect of cultural identity and the importance of proximity to the communities in the fight against Ebola were raised to underline the complexity of this crisis. In a concluding statement, Pedersen said: “At the national level the system is failing in terms of investing, and at the international level the system is failing in terms of coordination”.

The one-day roundtable closed with a session on how to improve governance in the management of health epidemics and on how to prepare for the future. Chaired by Prof. Cyril Obi from the African Peacebuilding Network at the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), panellists repeated that better intra-African coordination and collaboration are key to preparing for future health crises in Africa.

The discussions further highlighted key lessons

learned, with emphasis on cogent gaps to be remedied in order to be able to tackle future health-related epidemics. These include a lack of multi-dimensionality in extant approaches to intervention, resource gaps, deployment challenges, delays in mobilizing local communities and other constituencies, accountability issues, and the uncoordinated roles of external actors. ■

Way forward

Responding effectively and efficiently to future epidemic outbreaks would require, among others, a sense of urgency to proactively develop and put in place robust governance risk management systems and structures; building, consolidating and enhancing stronger and vibrant volunteer-based community networks for early warning and early action; ensuring that a strong coordination framework for health emergencies is in place incorporating CSOs; building solid, sustainable and responsive funding mechanisms, including working to realize the proposed 15% annual budgetary allocation to the health sector; and finally, working towards realising a dynamic response architecture based on public-private-partnerships (PPPs). The roundtable, in the final analysis, solicited a much broader framework for better understanding of, and sustainable responses to, health epidemics in the future.

On 26 August, IPSS launched the report following the High-Level Roundtable on Governance Issues in the Multi-Stakeholder Response to the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) in West Africa that took place on 4 April.

The full report is available on our website: www.ipss-addis.org/publications. ■

IPSS, AU and SSRC organize special lecture on Africa Day

Africa Day is annually commemorated on 25 May to remember the creation of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) - an intergovernmental institution created to lead African states towards political unity. The OAU evolved into the AU following the Lome Agreement signed on 11 July 2000, however, 25 May was retained as the day to celebrate Africa's unity.

In collaboration with the African Union Department of Political Affairs (AUDPA) and the African Peacebuilding Network (APN) at the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), IPSS organized a special lecture on this occasion. Professor Fantu Cheru,

Chair and Senior Researcher at the African Studies Centre in Leiden, The Netherlands, and Associate Senior Fellow at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Sweden, delivered the lecture on: Africa at 50+: Still Searching for the “Political Kingdom”.

The lecture examined the conditions under which an ‘emancipatory’ African national democratic project can be initiated and sustained in the face of the polarizing and re-stratifying logic of the prevailing world order. It also looked at the imperatives to build stronger domestic forces that are fundamental in anchoring democracy in Africa. ■

Climate change workshop reveals gaps in African policy infrastructure

On 31 May, IPSS, the African Union's (AU) Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Division, and Climate Interactive (a think tank that creates tools to support decision-makers in understanding the complex challenges around climate change, energy, and community resilience), co-hosted a half-day workshop on climate change and peace and security. Participants had the unique opportunity to take part in a World Climate simulation on how climate change can affect peace and security in Africa and what actions, policies, and strategies the AU may pursue to mitigate the effects of climatic change on the African continent.

Though Africa contributes the least to global warming in both absolute and per capita terms, it is one of the regions most vulnerable to climate change. Sub-Saharan Africa is highly dependent on low-productivity agriculture for food, income and employment and climate change is expected to have adverse impacts and pose severe risks, particularly on agriculture crop production, pastoral and livestock systems. As a consequence, it will not only have a severe impact on human development but on peace and security in Africa in general. Africa's population, now 1.1 billion, is expected to increase to 1.5-1.9 billion by 2050. The gradual erosion of fertile land due to desertification, flooding, and sea-level rise may cause mass human displacement and permanent relocation of millions of people, which will most certainly impact the level of tension and potential conflict seen on the continent. Migration, on a potentially massive scale, would further generate competition for scarce resources, such as arable land and water, and

exacerbate existing territorial and border disputes throughout Africa. Such developments are likely to aggravate challenges in resilience management of existing state vulnerabilities.

The World Climate simulation, a role play, served as an excellent introduction to the topic. Participants role-played as negotiators representing different regions of the world and worked to negotiate a global climate agreement. The activity encouraged learning on important carbon emission trends but also an understanding of how global power dynamics work and what it takes to prevent catastrophic climate change through active participation.

During the opening remarks and subsequent debate, it was highlighted that the AU has, in fact, recognized the crucial linkages between population growth, climate change, environmental degradation, human displacement, and resource-based conflicts in Africa. The organization intends to take several resilience measures, including: the development of conflict management tools to monitor the emergence of climatic changes and conflicts; the coordination of national strategies to address interstate conflicts that may result from climatic change; and the facilitation of public awareness and state capacity building through public discussions on peace, conflict, and security in Africa. It was, however, criticized that not much progress has been made in building an agricultural infrastructure resilient to changing weather conditions, including introducing drought-resistant seeds, new farming techniques, water harvesting, and conservation farming.



L-R: Aisha Abdullahi, AU Political Affairs Commissioner, Prof. Fantu Cheru and Prof. Amr Abdalla, Senior Advisor for Research, Policy Analysis and Dialogues at IPSS

The Acting Head of the AU's Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Unit, Ambassador Fred Ngoga, suggested the following steps to deal with climate change more efficiently in the short, medium and long term:

- The urgency gap: the current low level of urgency requires more efforts to bring the issue to the top of agendas;
- The policy implementation gap: this refers to the low level of implementation by Regional Economic Communities (RECs), AU and United Nations (UN) policy documents related to climate change;
- The comprehensiveness gap: related to the current fragmented and ad hoc approach to climate change and its impact;
- The knowledge gap: related to limitations in understanding the complexity, determinants and trends of the impact of climate change;
- The capability gap: attributed to the meagre allocated resources and institutional inadequacies;
- The collaboration gap: relates to the cross-cutting nature of climate change that involves several national and regional authorities with mandates on foreign affairs, security, borders, customs, social and labour, tourism, immigration, gender etc. and associated challenges;

Africa is on the frontline of climate change repercussions because its growing population means increased competition for diminishing resources, and possibly an increase in the potential for conflict. While the continent only accounts for the smallest share of global greenhouse gas

emissions, a stronger growth trajectory with rapid urbanization will increase Africa's emissions unless adequate investment in renewable technologies is undertaken at an early stage.

Those concerned about the potential cost of financing climate adaptation in Africa should calculate the costs of global warming instead – in economic terms as well as in human terms. This should define the urgency of the action. The Common African Position (CAP) developed by the African Group of Negotiators and endorsed by the African Ministerial Conference on the Environment at the annual Conference of Parties 2015 (COP 21) was a step in the right direction and the best chance to seek firm commitments from developed economies to support mechanisms that will adequately finance climate adaptation, and not just climate mitigation.

Even though climate change is on the AU's radar, it still seems rather peripheral. Considering the potential massive impact climate change could and will eventually have on peace and security in Africa, the AU should also deliberate whether or not climate change would have an impact on the achievement of Agenda 2063 and Silencing the Guns by 2020.

After a highly participatory session, a panel featuring representatives from Climate Interactive, IPSS and the AU answered questions and spoke about the impact of climate change on security in Africa. The second round of the simulation was held the following day at Addis Ababa University with participation from the university's student body. The workshop discussed African peace and security concerns in light of climate change. ■

Report launch: National laws remain central to regulating PMSCs in Africa



Prof. Amr Abdalla, Senior Advisor for Research, Policy Analysis and Dialogues at IPSS

On 24 November, IPSS, in collaboration with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), organized an event to launch the Report from the Regional Conference on Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs). The report, a follow up to the regional conference held in November 2015 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, presents the discussions and recommendations raised at the meeting.

During her opening remarks, Michelle Ndiaye, Director of the Africa Peace and Security Programme at IPSS and Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat, noted the deep concerns with regards to the role, responsibility and lack of regulatory frameworks that govern PMSCs, adding that these companies “impact citizens, states and regional security”. She noted the new trends in the evolution of the provision of security and expressed that security issues are increasingly becoming multinational, often operating in environments without a proper regulatory framework in place.

Following the introductory remarks, Anne-Béatrice Bullinger, Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of Switzerland to Ethiopia, and James Reynolds,

Head of Delegation at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Ethiopia, spoke about the advantages of adopting the Montreux Document. “After observing the proliferation of PMSCs,” Bullinger said, “the Government of Switzerland and ICRC partnered to develop the Montreux Document, which provides a tool box of recommendations for states to regulate PMSCs”. 54 states, including five African countries, have adopted the document since its ratification in 2008. Reynolds commented on the document’s mission to promote “responsibility and oversight in an area where responsibility can be confusing”.

Two panellists, Prof. Charles Ukeje, Senior Advisor for Education and Professional Development at IPSS, and Anna Marie Burdzy, Project Officer for Public-Private Partnerships at DCAF, presented their thoughts on some of the report’s findings. Prof. Ukeje emphasized the need to “put the necessary regulatory frameworks in place to allow national, regional and continental organizations to effectively respond to PMSCs”. He further commented, “Since African states are the biggest beneficiaries of extractive businesses, governments tend to let PMSCs operate in ways that undermine human rights”. Prof. Ukeje also noted that certain PMSC operations are still outside the scope of the Montreux Document. “PMSCs are able to attain a threshold of adaptability to engage in covert activities such as cyber security, which is not covered by the Montreux document”.

Burdzy said the discussions at the regional conference recognized that national laws remain central to regulating PMSCs. However, existing national laws are “currently inadequate to oversee the companies and regulate them appropriately.” Even if regional cooperation in terms of sharing information and good practices is crucial,” she added, “there is a lack of understanding of the diversity in Africa. Regional and continental organisations also lack the necessary awareness to advocate for the governance of PMSCs.”

As a reputable research institution in Africa, IPSS continues to partner with organizations such as DCAF to unpack, debate and clarify issues that are often misunderstood or under-researched but are of paramount societal importance and potential impact to the appropriate policy and regulatory platforms. ■

US-Africa dialogue on fragility notes role of regional-led solutions

On 22 November, IPSS collaborated with the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), to organize a meeting on Africa-US partnership titled 'Dialogue on Options to Enhance Strategic Co-operation in Challenging Environments' at the AU Headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The purpose of the dialogue was to reflect on lessons learnt on the issue of state fragility, but also to determine options for the way forward during leadership transitions in the US administration and at the African Union. The one-day meeting gathered approximately 50 representatives from various embassies, civil society, and government and research institutions.

During opening remarks, IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros spoke of the relevance of such a dialogue in the face of a changing peace and security landscape marked by non-traditional security issues and post-conflict relapses. Anticipating questions about what the new U.S. administration means for U.S.-Africa relationships, Ambassador Mary Beth Leonard, US Ambassador to the AU, reminded participants that Africa policy has enjoyed bi-partisan support over the years and through different administrations. Amb. Leonard also noted that the incoming administration's campaign messaging about regions taking the lead in providing solutions to conflict and challenges in their neighbourhoods echoed the AU's core values and constitutive

documents. Dr. Admore Kambudzi, Acting Director of the Peace and Security Department at the AU, highlighted five gaps that need to be addressed in the state fragility discourse, namely: the urgency of response, policy implementation, drivers of state fragility, knowledge gaps, and capability gaps.

In a session dedicated to interrogating the critical role of women in peace and security, Admiral Michelle Howard, Commander of the Allied Joint Force Command Naples, US Naval Forces Europe & US Naval Forces Africa, highlighted that women remain disproportionately affected by conflict, making up 70% of civilian casualties in addition to being victims of sexual and gender based violence. Admiral Howard, the highest ranking woman in the US Navy, also advocated for the role of women to surpass that of 'victim' and to further implement UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, citing the two all-female battalions from India and Bangladesh as success stories. The role of women, youth and gender re-emerged throughout the dialogue as participants stressed the need to understand how fragility impacts men and women in different ways – and how men and women can contribute to addressing fragility in different ways.

ISS Office Director Ambassador Alfred Dube chaired the first panel discussion on the topic of Leadership and Partnership in Challenging Environments. U.S.



Participants at the Africa-US Dialogue on Options to Enhance Strategic Cooperation

Leadership and the Challenge of 'State Fragility', a report providing recommendations for the next US administration on engaging in state fragility around the world, anchored the discussions. Nancy Lindborg, USIP President and co-author of the report, acknowledged that the term fragility is contested but encouraged that the dialogue move beyond semantics to address the real and urgent issues that are a result of a "frayed social compact, such as contested elections and violent extremism, and the reality that violent conflict reverses development gains". Lindborg expressed her conviction that African and U.S. thought leaders can and do find convergence on the fundamental ingredients for peace: security and justice, legitimate governance, locally led and locally owned solutions, inclusive economic growth, and sustained engagement. She further underlined the critical role of regional organizations, like the AU, to establish their own normative structures that the U.S. can then support, as well as the role of global compacts, such as the New Deal for Fragile States, to set the framework for partnership.

In the subsequent discussion on recommendations for intervention, Professor Abdoulaye Bathily, Special Representative for Central Africa and Head of the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), stressed the importance of understanding how fragility comes about and noted the need to examine claims by informal groups that might threaten national unity and reconciliation. Letty Chiwara, UN Women Representative to Ethiopia and the AU, emphasized the need for the US to focus on prevention by addressing root causes so that early warning systems can be put in place. More importantly, Chiwara stressed that "even in contexts without conflict there could still be fragility".

One participant asked whether democracy and elections should still be used as a benchmark. Ms. Lindborg responded by pointing out that the report purposely does not use the word democracy because it is increasingly viewed as necessary but insufficient, particularly in conflict and post-conflict situations.

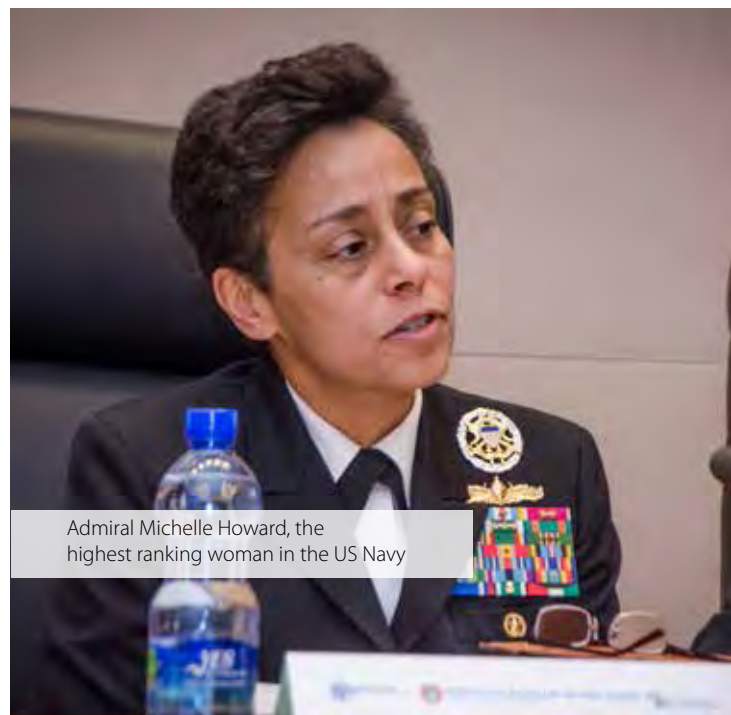
Dr. Sunday Okello, Assistant Professor and Senior Researcher at IPSS, presented a paper on 'Measuring Fragility in Challenging Environments in Africa: Some Reflections and Recommendations' co-authored with Professor Charles Ukeje, Senior Advisor for Educational and Professional Development at IPSS. Dr. Okello highlighted the definitional confusion caused by various existing applied methodologies used to measure state fragility. He noted that although authority, capacity

and legitimacy have been the main focus of the discourse thus far, there are other dimensions to fragility to be considered, some of which might be difficult to measure.

In the subsequent discussion, Hannah Tsadik, Resident Representative, Horn of Africa, Life and Peace Institute, remarked that the concept of fragility places states on a continuum in a way that 'state collapse' and 'state failure' discourses and indices do not.

Susan Stigant, Director of Africa Programs at USIP, identified key takeaways from the dialogue, including: that the dimensions of fragility are not uniquely African or restricted to a certain level of GDP or economic growth; that there is a need to focus on the tools to address fragility, including the means of reconciliation and resilience; that there is a multiplicity of tools to monitor state-society relationships and need for more shared access to timely information and shared analysis of the implications for policy and action; and that leveraging the role of youth and women, as well as understanding their particular views and roles in fragility and resilience is vital. Stigant concluded that the dialogue comes at a strategic moment with the changes in leadership in the U.S. and the African Union. She welcomed further discussion to better understand how decision-makers are using the information from tools to monitor state-society relationships and to identify options to enhance joint African-US action, particularly to prevent violent conflict.

The dialogue ended with a working session on case studies in fragility, during which the complexities of applying methodological tools to practice were further explored. ■



Admiral Michelle Howard, the highest ranking woman in the US Navy

IPSS-KAS Workshop on Multilateral Partnerships of Security in Africa: Mechanisms of Consolidation

In collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), IPSS hosted a two-day workshop on 29-30 November on 'Multilateral Partnerships of Security in Africa: Mechanisms of Consolidation' at the New Intercontinental Addis Hotel in Ethiopia.

The purpose of the workshop was to map out the African Union's (AU) multilateral partnerships within the context of its African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), determine the major imperatives that motivated these partnerships, as well as examine the scope and comparative

partnership with the AU and best establish how to support the AU in its peace and security efforts. A representative from the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU) outlined the need to place the conversation of multilateral partnerships in the broader context of the rise in global populist politics as well as address the financial dimension of partnerships and ways in which it can constrain joint efforts in peace and security.

Mr. Zinurine Alghali, Senior Policy Officer in the Peace Support Operations Department of the AU, highlighted that the transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) into the



Amb. Fred Ngoga speaking at the workshop



Participants at the workshop

advantages such partnerships may provide. 30 participants from various embassies, civil society, and government and research institutions participated in the workshop.

Opening remarks were delivered by IPSS Director Dr. Kidane Kiros and KAS Programme Officer Dr. Oswald Padonou. Thereafter, Dr. Mehari Tadelle Maru, the workshop's programme director, introduced a roundtable session during which participants expressed their expectations from the workshop. Ms. Nolufefe Dwabayo, Minister Plenipotentiary and Deputy Head of Mission of the Embassy of the Republic of South Africa, expressed the need to work in unison, to be "governed by common goals although driven by individual interests". Dr. Mirjam Grandia, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Advisor to the African Union (AU), expressed the need to advance their

AU was a significant move, from an approach of non-interference to one of engagement and intervention. Such engagement requires drawing from the APSA constitution and framework to drive the normative agenda of partnerships. Alghali further identified the strengthening relationship between the African Union and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), which he emphasized as the building blocks of early warning systems and prevention. He also emphasized the importance of an enhanced partnership in which the UN enables the AU and RECs to effectively and efficiently implement their policy structures.

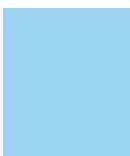
Ambassador Frederic Gateretse-Ngoga, Head of Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Division at the AU, argued that with the growing risk of conflict relapse, challenges of climate change, poor economic health and growing vulnerabilities around elections, no single organization can resolve

such issues alone. He noted that multilateralism has worked well even in cases of conflict prevention but the challenge at hand is determining how impactful such responses are. He demonstrated how the Support Group for the Facilitation of the National Dialogue in the Democratic Republic of Congo - consisting of the United Nations, European Union, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, and the Southern Africa Development Community - is a good example of how multilateralism in prevention can work. He noted that there is a UN-AU cluster in prevention, and soon RECs will be added to the group. Amb. Gateretse-Ngoga emphasized that there is a difference between institutions and between humans; if relationships between principles do not work, neither do those between institutions. He highly discouraged the use of the word comparative advantage and instead advocated for complementarity. Finally, Amb. Gateretse-Ngoga stressed the need to revisit benchmarks that are being used to measure success, in order to rectify the perception that there is a lack of progress. Mr. Yaya Bio Bawa, Training Coordinator, African Center for Peace and Security Training at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), in response

to Amb. Gateretse-Ngoga's point on "benchmarks of success", stated that reviewing benchmarks is difficult as there is often a misdiagnosis of the problem. He further called on the AU to set clear goals when supporting missions.

The workshop proceeded with the participants breaking into two working groups. The first group dealt with the theme Conflict Prevention: Early Warning and Prevention, drawing on case studies to highlight examples in which partnerships worked well together to prevent conflict and examples in which they did not. The second group focused on Partnerships and presented two models of partnerships that could be drawn from.

In a session on exploring mechanisms and best practices for consolidating the AU's multilateral partnership for peace and security in the case of AMISOM, AFISMA and MNTJF, Bawa emphasized the importance of a clear mandate when conducting peace operations. In a discussion on the case of AMISOM it was argued that clear objectives, flexibility on the ground for people to do their jobs, and political commitment led to its success. ■



IPSS presents APSA Impact Report to the AU Peace and Security Council



Panellists from IPSS, ECDPM, GIZ and the German Embassy in Ethiopia at the presentation of the APSA Impact Assessment Report at an Open Session of the AU Peace and Security Council.

On 30 November 2016, IPSS, the GIZ African Union Office and the European Centre for Development Policy Management presented the 2015 APSA Impact Report at an Open Session of the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This was the second consecutive presentation of the APSA Impact Report to the PSC. The report clearly and comprehensively demonstrates to AU member states the benefits of their investment and engagement in the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

APSA, formed in 2002, is an African blueprint for promoting peace and security in Africa, particularly relating to the prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts, post-conflict reconstruction and development. Its five pillars consist of the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the African Standby Force (ASF), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the Panel of the Wise (PoW) and the Peace Fund.

While overall gains have been made in diminishing conflicts in the continent, compared to the rest of the world, Africa still has the largest number of conflicts - particularly violent conflicts. Of

the 57 violent conflicts identified in 2015, the AU and Regional Economic Community (REC) made interventions in 29 conflicts (51%). The report assesses the quality and effectiveness of these interventions in terms of diplomacy, mediation, and peace support operations - and analyzes whether these actions contributed to a de-escalation in the conflict.

Single interventions, according to the study's findings, tend to be less successful than a mix or a series of interventions. Michelle Ndiaye, Director of the Africa Peace and Security Programme and Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat, described the report as providing a "bird's eye perspective" of conflict prevention and management in Africa. Dr. Admore Kambudzi, the Acting Director of the AU Peace and Security Department, emphasized that AU member states are the "owners and stakeholders" responsible for ensuring the implementation of APSA.

Since 2013, the annual report - written by GIZ with contributions from ECDPM - has been submitted to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a review of the added value in their long-running

support and investment in APSA. Beginning in 2017, the data gathering and report writing will be conducted at IPSS with assistance from ECDPM. This move stems from a decision by GIZ to promote African ownership by placing the report within an independent and objective African institution.

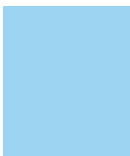
Doris Voorbraak, Deputy Representative at the Embassy of the Netherlands to Ethiopia, called the report an “incubator for change”, and praised the decision to transfer the project to IPSS. Raheemat Momodu, ECOWAS Representative to the AU, noted the study’s “effective and operational” conclusions, and called on the AU and RECs conduct their own assessments of their performance.

One day prior to the presentation, a workshop on the report’s methodology was held at IPSS with participation from GIZ, ECDPM, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), and the AU Departments of Political Affairs and Peace and Security. The workshop aimed to discuss the possibility of

expanding and enlarging the study to incorporate more findings, optimize and improve its methodology, and take advantage of the existing synergies with the APSA Roadmap. The APSA Roadmap 2016-2020 builds on the achievements of APSA since its creation and provides a shared understanding of the results to be achieved by all APSA stakeholders.

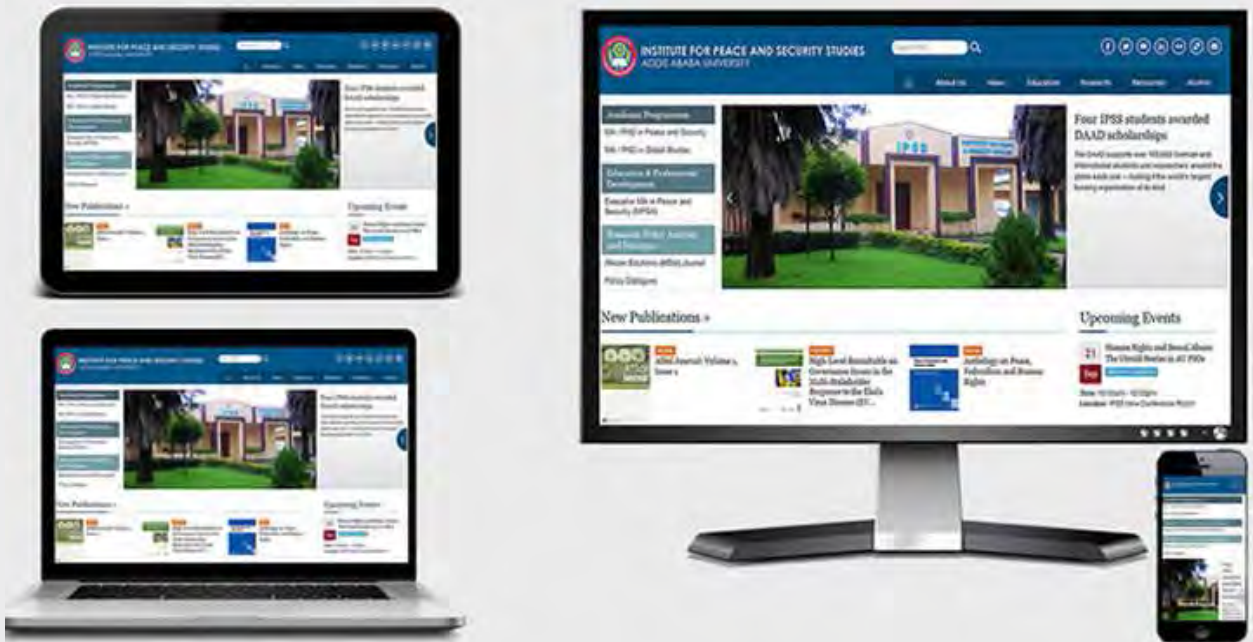
Other speakers on the panel included: Matthias Schauer, Deputy Ambassador of Germany to Ethiopia; Gerhard Mai, Sector Manager Peace and Security, GIZ AU Office; Volker Hauck, Head of the Conflict, Security and Resilience Programme at ECDPM; Sophie Desmidt, Policy Officer at ECDPM; and Michelle Mendi Muita, Communications Manager at IPSS.

The full report is available for download on our website.■



Website launch

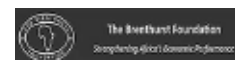
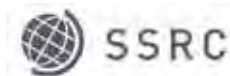
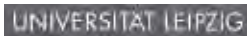
In 2016, the IPSS website underwent a makeover to make the look, feel and navigation of the site more accessible and user-friendly. Our vision in redesigning the website was to enable visitors to find what they're looking for quickly and easily. We hope that our current and prospective visitors will experience a fresh, modern and professional website packed with thought-provoking content and image-rich features.



Social Media



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Leadership

Dr. Kidane Kiros

Director, IPSS

Michelle Ndiaye

Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP)
Head of Secretariat, Tana Forum

Dr. Yonas Adaye

Associate Academic Director

Dr. Mesfin Gebremichael

Assistant Professor
Coordinator, Peace and Security Reports

Dr. Charles Ukeje

Senior Advisor for Education and
Professional Development

Dr. Amr Abdalla

Senior Advisor for Research, Policy
Analysis and Policy Dialogues

Dr. Fana Gebresenbet

Coordinator, PhD in Peace and Security Studies

Lettie Longwe

Programme Management Team Leader

Dr. Solomon Hassen

Coordinator, Joint MA and PhD in Global Studies

Michelle Mendi Muita

Coordinator, Communications and Profile Management

Michael Admassu

Operations and Human Resources Manager



IPSS staff, April 2016





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