



4TH TANA HIGH-LEVEL FORUM ON SECURITY IN AFRICA

Secularism and Politicised Faith

**18-19 April 2015
Bahir Dar, Ethiopia**



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





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Message from the Chairperson



For the last four years every April, we have descended on Bahir Dar, a resort in the northern part of Ethiopia, for the Tana High-Level Forum on Security to deliberate on the most pressing peace and security challenges that grip our continent.

In October 2014, we chose “Secularism and Politicised Faith” as the theme for 2015 and were very advanced in our preparations for the forum when militant group Al-Shabaab attack a university compound in Garissa, Kenya killing more 148 students. While we commiserated with our Kenyan brothers and sisters on their tragic loss, we were once again reminded that any one of us across the continent could have been victims of viscous attacks by those who

kill in the name of higher power.

It has been yet another year for faith-based acts of terrorism across the world. Events like the violent reactions in Niger to perceived actions of the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo; the kidnapping of young girls by militant group Boko Haram and the postponement of elections in Nigeria due to security fears; sectarian clashes in the Central African Republic; and faith-related tensions in many parts of the continent have brought issues of secularism and politicised faith to the public spotlight in recent months. And exactly fifteen minutes after we drew the 4th edition of the Tana Forum to a close, videos of ISIS’ brutal killing of 29 Ethiopian migrants in Libya went viral.

Faith, be it organised religion or traditional beliefs, continues to play a major role in the lives of ordinary Africans. But our Africa in 2015 is a continent where secularism is under attack with faith-based systems continually manipulated to meet political ends, address grievances, and recruit disenfranchised youth. This undercurrent is not only disrupting the state-building process in many countries across the continent, but continues to claim the lives of thousands in faith-related conflicts.

But the quest by many states to achieve secularism and keep politicised faith in check is more complex than their violent manifestations on both traditional and new media. We believe that this process needs to be supported by dialogue in order to fill an intellectual gap and transform them into ways to promote peaceful existence and co-existence in countries across Africa.

It was for this reason that we gathered current and former heads of state and government, policymakers, academics, religious leaders, scholars and representatives of CSOs in 'no-holds-bar' discussions at this year's Tana Forum to come up with innovative solutions to deal with this timely and relevant subject. During the two days we spent in Bahir Dar, we sought and found solutions that we can apply back to our individual countries. We learned that tackling this issue does not rest in the hands of our military service men and women who risk their lives fighting to protect citizens, but across all levels of society.

It lies with our states and responsible institutions to show greater commitment to tackle corruption in order to free more resources for critical people-focused development intervention to provide a fair chance of success to vulnerable members of the society.

It lies in our education system to continue current efforts at promoting secularism, diversity, inter-religious dialogue, and inclusion of people of different religions.

It lies with our policymakers to devise policy tackling the least served members of the public and include diverse opinions and viewpoints in the policymaking process.

Reading this, you will be forgiven for thinking 'what is the point of all this discussion' and 'Tana is another policy forum'. We would like to think of ourselves as a platform for solutions and a young trust-building exercise between the different actors in the peace and security space that have not normally seen each other eye to eye on so many issues.

Crucially this year, we were able to increase the inclusivity of our forum by attracting the participation of Francophone African countries to the forum. This included Mali president Ibrahim Boubacar Keita who used the occasion to announce a peace deal between his government and a coalition of rebel movements that was signed on the 15th May as part of the Algiers-led process. This helped reinforce our reputation as an independent platform that provides exclusive information on ongoing peace and security developments.





I will not end this message without paying my gratitude to the Government of Ethiopia and particularly to my brother and our host Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn for his unconditional support in implementing the Tana vision of a truly African platform for a frank and constructive dialogue on security challenges the continent faces.

Our gratitude also goes to partners and friends of the Tana forum and in particular to the German Government through GIZ, who believed in this initiative and provided us with the first institutional support, support that has increased over the years. Today, the forum is benefiting from

the support of the African Union, the Swiss Development cooperation, Italian and Austrian governments, Brenthurst foundation, Sheraton Addis and Blue Nile Resort Hotel. Ethiopian Airlines also joined the club of the Tana forum sponsors this year as well.

I hope you will enjoy taking time reading this report which highlights the major achievements of the Tana Forum organisation process over the last year.

H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo

*Former President of Nigeria and
Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board*



Message from the Deputy Chairperson



You may be wondering why Tana Forum decided to address an admittedly sensitive subject: secularism and politicised faith.

We believe that Tana, now an established presence in the peace and security sector is a fitting platform for free and critical conversation on secularism and politicised faith among individuals who rarely have the opportunity to talk face to face: heads of state and government, leaders of public institutions, intergovernmental bodies, the business community, civic associations, seasoned practitioners, eminent scholars, and engaged citizens.

Politicised faith poses a grave challenge to peace and security in various parts of Africa. Yet secularism and tolerance

receive little discussion defense in official national or continental forums in Africa. Instead, states tend to check politicized faith by force, a trend that is liable to reinforce militancy among adherents of politicised faith. In light of this and similar retractable and changing problems of peace and security in Africa, the reflective search for unexplored options and fresh perspectives is a matter of urgency.

Prof. Andreas Eshete

*Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia
with the rank of a Minister and Deputy
Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board*



Mission

For the purpose of contributing to the successful implementation of the Tripoli Declaration of August 2009, in which peace and security was designated as a collective “intellectual challenge”, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University convenes the annual Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa to support the quest by the African Union for “African-centred solutions”.

The Forum is an independent initiative, which seeks to provide an informal platform for African heads of state and government to engage in open and frank discussions, with a wide spectrum of stakeholders, on the most pressing peace and security issues confronting the

continent. Taking its name from Lake Tana in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, where this annual event takes place each April, the Tana Forum has been held four times around the following themes:

“Managing Diversity and State Fragility”, “Security and Organised Crimes in Africa”, “Impacts of Illicit Financial Flows on Peace and Security in Africa”, and “Secularism and Politicised Faith”.

To date, more than 750 eminent personalities drawn from academia, politics, the private sector, media, civil society, security agencies, and development partners have participated in the Forum, which now takes a proud



Tana Forum 2012: Heads of State/government representatives



Tana Forum 2013: Salva Kiir, President of the Republic of South Sudan; Omar Al Bashir, President of the Republic of the Sudan; Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Republic of Nigeria and Tana Forum Board Chairperson

place in the calendar of events on the continent. African peace and security issues are too often discussed in formal meetings of appropriate institutional frameworks at the AU, REC/RM and national levels. The Forum aims to:

- Provide opportunities for decision-making leaders and institutions to exchange experiences and insights on peace and security issues in view of taking both home inspirational and practical lessons.
- Give opportunities to political decision-makers to interact and consult with a broad-based, African constituency as well as with key global actors.
- Contribute to a substantive, African, open debate on peace and security issues that are of key and strategic importance to the continent and its regional institutions.
- Communicate with, and listen to, the “profound Africa” on various dimensions and components of peace and security in the continent, thus facilitating an inclusive dialogue among governments and other African security stakeholder groups.
- Sensitise and mobilise stakeholders, actors, and the overall African opinion, for large ownership of Africa-owned solutions on peace and security.





Tana Forum Board



H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo

Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
Chairperson, Tana Forum Board
Chairperson



Professor Andreas Esheté

Special Advisor to the Prime Minister with the Rank
of a Minister of Ethiopia
Deputy Chairperson



H.E. Thabo Mbeki

Former President of the Republic of South Africa
Board Member



H.E. Pierre Buyoya

Former President of the Republic of Burundi
High Representative of the African Union in Mali
and the Sahel
Board Member



Dr. Tedros Adhanom

Minister of Foreign Affairs
Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Board Member



Betty Bigombe

Director for Fragility, Conflict and Violence
World Bank
Board Member



Prof. Ndioro Ndiaye

President of the Alliance for Migration Leadership and
Development
Board Member



Prof. Mahmood Mamdani

Executive Director
Makerere Institute of Social Research
Board Member



Prof. Funmi Olonisakin

Director
African Leadership Centre
Kings College London
Board Member



Technical Committee for 2015

The Technical Committee advises the Tana Secretariat on the organisation of the Forum. In particular, the Technical Committee aims to advise the Secretariat on procedure and content to strengthen the Forum's capacity to generate fruitful discussions and give participants a meaningful experience. The current members of the technical committee for 2015 are:



Charles Abugre

Chief Executive Officer
Savannah Accelerated Development Authority
Ghana
Chairperson



Abdul Mohamed

Chief of Staff and Senior Political Advisor, African Union
High Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan
Ethiopia
Member



Dr. Alex de Waal

Executive Director
World Peace Foundation at the Fletcher School
Tufts University, USA
Member





Dr. Alhaji Sarjoh Bah

Head
African Union Liaison Office to the Southern African
Development Community Botswana
Member



Dr. Baylie Dantie

President
Bahir Dar University
Ethiopia
Member



Prof. Khabele Matlosa

Director, Political Affairs Department
African Union
Member



Dr. Martha Mutisi

Manager, Interventions Department
African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
(ACCORD)
South Africa
Member



Markus Koerner
Managing Partner
African Crossroads
Germany
Member



Dr. Melvis Mbinohonyui
Assistant Professor (Lecturer)
Department of International Law, International Relations
Institute of Cameroon, IRIC
University of Yaoundé 1
Member



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



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



Tana Forum Secretariat



INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

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

IPSS is a premiere institute for education, research, and policy dialogues on peace and security in Africa. Established in 2007, it is among the top 50 think-tanks and teaching institutions in Sub-

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



Kidane Kiros

Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies
Addis Ababa University



Michelle Ndiaye

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





Programme

Programme Director: Mr. Abdul Mohamed, Chief of Staff, African Union High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan and member of the Tana Forum Technical Committee

Chief Rapporteur: Prof. Amr Abdalla, Senior Research Advisor, Africa Peace and Security Programme, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, (IPSS), Addis Ababa University (AAU)

TIME	FRIDAY, 17 APRIL 2015
14.00 – 18.00	Pre-forum events in collaboration with Bahir Dar University: African Vice-Chancellor’s Debate and Public Lecture on the 2015 theme
16.00 – 20.00	Arrival of participants, registration and welcome cocktail
TIME	DAY ONE: SATURDAY, 18 APRIL 2015
08.00 – 10.30	Arrival of participants and registration
11.00 – 12.30	Special Event: The Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance: Reflections on the Legacies of President Kwame Nkrumah Introductory Remarks on “Historical Perspectives of Pan-Africanism” by President Thabo Mbeki, former President of the Republic of South Africa “Reflections on Late President Kwame Nkrumah’s Pan- Africanism Legacy” by Ali Mufuruki, Founder and Executive Chairman of InfoTech Investment Group LTD and Trustee of the Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
12.30 – 13.30	Lunch
14.00 – 15.30	OPENING SESSION: Chairperson: Prof. Andreas Eshete
14.00 – 14.10	Introductory Video: 2015 theme and highlights from the 3rd Tana Forum
14.10 – 14.30	Welcome Address: by H.E. Hailemariam Dessalegn, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and host of the 2015 Tana Forum
14.35 – 14.50	Tana Forum Partner’s Remarks: “Experience sharing on European Secularism” by H.E. Thomas Silberhorn, Parliamentary State Secretary to the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany
15.00 – 15.30	“The 2015 State of Peace and Security in Africa” by H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board
15.30 – 15.50	Break

15.55 – 16.45	SESSION I: “Secularism, Politicised Faith and Security” Panellists: Heads of State and Governments
16.50 – 17.45	Q&A
17.50 – 18.05	Summary of Day One and setting the stage for Day Two by Charles Abugre, Chairperson, Tana Forum Technical Committee
18.00 – 19.30	Networking, bilaterals, media interviews and meetings
19.30	Gala Dinner hosted by the Amhara Regional President, Bahir Dar
TIME	DAY TWO: SUNDAY, 19 APRIL 2015
07.30 – 9.00	Networking breakfast
08.00 – 9.00	Special Event: Tree planting ceremony by Heads of States/Governments and inauguration of the Tana Forum Park
09.15 – 10.20	SESSION II: “African Secularisms and Faith-branded Security Threats” Chairperson: H.E. Smail Chergui, Commissioner for Peace and Security, African Union Commission Panellists: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • His Highness, Muhammad Sanusi II, CON Sarkin Kano, Emir of Kano, Nigeria • Prof. Amina Mama, Professor in Women and Gender Studies, University of California at Davis, USA • His Eminence, Archbishop Valentine Mokiwa Bio, President of All Africa Conference of Churches, Kenya • Dr. Alioune Sall, Executive Director, African Futures Institute, Afrique du Sud
	Q&A Session with Plenary
10.25 – 11.30	SESSION III: “Politicisation of Faith, Fundamentalism and Human Security” Chairperson: Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi, Former United Nations Peace Envoy to Syria Panellists: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • H.E. Rachid al-Ghannoushi, Muslim Scholar and Co-founder of thr Nahdah Party, Tunisia • H.E. Haile Menkerios, UN Under Secretary-General, Head of the United Nations Office to the African Union and Special Representative to the African Union • Dr. Mamoeketsi Ntho, Researcher and Lecturer in Gender and Development Studies, National University of Lesotho





	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prof. Francis Akindès, Prof. of Sociology, Alassane Ouattara University, Cote d'Ivoire
	Q&A Session with Plenary
11.30 – 11.45	Break
11.45 – 13.00	SESSION IV: “Secularism, Democracy and State Building in Africa: What Futures?”
	Chairperson: Prof Dagmawi Woubshet, Professor of African-American Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, USA
	Format: Moderated Conversation
	Panellists:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Amb. Soad M Shalaby, Director Women Business Development Center, Cairo, Egypt• Dr Abdelwahab El-Affendi, Reader in Politics, Coordinator, Democracy and Islam Programme, Centre for the Study of Democracy of the University of Westminster, UK• Collins Etchi Ako, Ph.D. Candidate; International Relations Institute of Cameroon I, University of Yaounde II, Cameroon; Winner of the Tana Forum University Essay competition• Tayeb Zein al-Abidin, Professor of Islamic Political Thought & Middle East Politics, University of Khartoum, Sudan; formerly Chairman of the Sudanese Inter-Religious Council.
	Q&A Session with Plenary
13.05– 13.20	CLOSING CEREMONY
	Chair: Amb. Sahlework Zewde, Under Secretary-General & Director-General of the United Nations Office in Nairobi.
	Tana Forum Outcomes Handover Ceremony
	by H.E. Hailemariam Dessalegn and H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo to the African Union Commission Representatives and the seating Heads of States and Governments
14.00	End of the Forum
14.15	Press Conference by Tana Forum Board
14.15	Lunch
17.00	Departure to Addis Ababa







Discussion Summary

Beyond Secularism: Sectarian Conflict and the Resilience Challenge for the African State

Summary and Action Points

This paper addresses the hypothesis that the emergence of politicized faith in many parts of Africa is related to new rounds of conflict that present a serious threat to peace and security on the Continent. Therefore, it may be desirable to put secularism back on the agenda and defend it more robustly as a framework for peaceful co-existence in Africa's diverse societies. Political shortcuts that tend to accommodate threats to secular co-existence may need to be abandoned in favour of more robust and principled advocacy of secularism. But this goal should be achieved through

consensus and must not be another source of violence and conflict.

The paper starts by exploring in depth the links between religion and violence in recent African history, and the wider socio-political context of these conflicts. The paper concludes, on the basis of exhaustive empirical and analytical studies of these conflicts, and the author's own experience of over thirty years of close study of some of the relevant movements, that a combination of ethnic polarisation and state weakness or collapse gives potency to divisive religious mobilisation that



Heads of State and Government



H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of Ethiopia and host of the Tana Forum

feeds conflict. While the religious factor is salient in many cases, and cannot be simply discounted or explained away, closer attention needs to be paid to who is using religion and in what context. In Nigeria, southern Muslims or the urbanised elite in the North (in sum, the majority of Muslims) were not part of the conflict. In Somalia, where the unit of politics is the clan and not the individual, the current mobilisation cannot be understood independently from clan (and nationalist) politics, especially given the role of Somalia's two neighbours and traditional rivals. In Sudan, it is the militarised state which controls and uses religion to shore up its authority against the rebellious periphery and rival traditional elite. In Mali, a combination of ethnic mobilisation and foreign resources tipped the balance. In all these cases, the failure of the state to

champion national cohesiveness was a major contributor to the crisis.

More important, what unites the groups involved in this 'rogue' violence (LRA, Boko Haram, Seleka, Kamajor, janjweed, etc.) is rather their 'outsider' status, based on the preponderance of marginalised constituencies with tenuous links to the broader community (compounded by their cross-border mobility). These groups harbour deep resentment against the urban elite, and lack a coherent language to articulate whatever grievances they may have. They proved vulnerable to manipulation by ambitious rogue leaders who compounded their isolation by atrocity-centered initiation tactics, and by ample recruitment of child soldiers. No less significant is the intense involvement (in particular in the wars in Darfur, Chad, Mali and CAR) of new trans-national 'nomadic'





contingents, with no previous political engagement and no fixed allegiance to one country. In short, the preponderance of actors who are complete outsiders to the political community. The language they use, religious or secular, is mainly internally directed to promote in-group solidarity, and is not a political language of grievance and specific demands. Their emergence is the function of total or partial disintegration of the political community.

The paper then reviews the current status of the debate on secularism and the related practices. It argues that secularism is not necessarily hostile to religion; in fact it was over-zealous religious leaders, both in Islam and Christianity, who have spearheaded the debate for keeping political authority out of religious issues. However, a number of factors contribute to making

secularism a contentious issue. First, in many instances, secularism has been championed by philosophers and political actors who were hostile to religion and often openly atheistic. This meant that in many instances, the advocacy of secularism was formulated in a language that was unacceptable to religious constituencies. Second, and even more frequently, a secular order has been imposed by despotic political authorities using extreme violence. This was the case during the French Revolution, and even more so by Communist states in various parts of the world. In these cases, individual and group rights were trampled on, and human dignity assaulted. There was less violence and less overt hostility to religion in the action of modernising authoritarian rulers in Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, etc. As a



Panellists in Session IV: "Secularism, Democracy and State Building in Africa: What Futures?"



Panellists in Session II: "African Secularisms and Faith-branded Security Threats"

consequence, the secularist experience came to be associated with repression and loss of individual freedoms, with an inevitable backlash. Third, espousal of secularism was associated with the so-called secularisation thesis, which saw secularisation as an essential corollary of modernisation. In this 'grand narrative' of modernity as a process of 'progress' and rationalisation, religion retreats into the private/personal sphere, vacating all vital areas of social action (politics, the economy, education) in favour of non-religious worldviews. This retreat and containment in the private realm is, many held, was perhaps a prelude to a final exit altogether. The recent upsurge in religious observance and clamouring for a public role for religion appeared to upset this belief, but many treated this as a temporary revolt against modernity by disenfranchised groups, a problem that would soon be remedied when these

constituencies begin to share the benefits of modernity and partake of modern education. However, the combination of all these factors have focused attention on the unequal power relations inherent in secularised modernity. For the issue is not just one of 'spontaneous' decline of religion, but of the role of entrenched power centres linked to this secularisation process. We have seen this clearly in which these entrenched power centres moved to 'rectify' things when Islamists were swept to power in Algeria, and more recently in Tunisia and Egypt. 'Secularism' does have teeth, as the late President Sadat of Egypt said once about democracy.

The power imbalance has manifested itself in the African experience across many dimensions. To start with, the modern state has been introduced into the continent through colonialism, which instantly imposed its own secular



order. Colonialism also introduced Christianity as its own mandated gateway to modernity. Muslims and adherents to African traditional beliefs could not access education or other benefits of modernity without accepting Christianity. Muslims resisted and remained marginalised for long periods. As a result, multiple overlapping cleavage were built into the structure of the colonial state: the modern/traditional; urban/rural; Christian/Muslim; direct/indirect rule; privileged/marginalised; secular/non-secular. The post-colonial period consisted in a long process of adjustment to remedy these imbalances: as demographics shifted, and as the marginalised became empowered or became conscious of their powerlessness, struggles for a fairer share of power and privilege triggered many conflicts. The existing secular

order is being renegotiated, often by constituencies that did not possess a common language, and marginalised groups that could not effectively articulate their grievances.

This coincided with global processes which complicated the transactions. International economic trends in the 1970s devastated the already precarious African economies, forcing the insecure ruling elites to retreat into counter-productive strategies of centralisation and patrimonial entrenchment. The African state became the victim, teetering on the verge of collapse or tipping over. This coincided with waves of religious revival which impacted Africa in the shape of Islamist movements or the spread of Pentecostalism and other evangelical churches. The flow of funds, ideas and personnel from abroad, and



Dr. Tedros Adhanom, Foreign Minister of Ethiopia and Dr. Carlos Lopes, Executive Secretary of UNECA





Panellists in Session III: "Politicisation of Faith, Fundamentalism and Human Security"

links to outside sources of power, further worked to upset balances of power and ignite conflicts.

To sum up, secularisation is a fundamental feature of modernity, representing a major shift of power from the traditional exponents of religious norms and morality in favour of new 'specialists' in worldly affairs. The first area to rebel against church authority was the economy, where the church's age-old ban on usury was defied. The alliance of monarchs with the new rising class of financiers and merchants enabled political power to safeguard its autonomy against the church in the new emerging nation-states. The logic of capitalism, which still governs our world, forced states to accept the autonomy of the economic sphere, if only through a 'Darwinist' survival of the fittest: states which deferred to the logic of the market were able to build viable

economies which enabled them to wage wars more effectively and subdue rivals. Educational institutions and scientific inquiry soon wrested its autonomy from church authorities, while the new secular media usurped the role of the pulpit as leader of public opinion and forger of (national) identities. In the 'secular age' we live in, the Pope consults his doctor when sick, and only prays to the Virgin Mary later. He also consults his banker about his financial affairs, and his political and media advisors when crises erupt.

While critiques of the secularisation thesis need to be taken into account, this fundamental shift of power towards secular experts and dominant centres of power, such as financial markets in metropolitan centres, and political centres in control of massive resources, is undeniable. This shift of power is experienced in many regions



as oppressive and alienating. When replicated in local forms in African states, and compounded by dual alienation from global and local centres of power, it could prove explosive. However, mere rage against this hegemony, whether expressed in religious or other discourses, is insufficient and could make matters worse, unless guided by enlightened strategies about restoring some balance.

The religious resurgence witnessed from the 1970s consists of many strands: First, we find the enhanced role of traditional and conservative voices, including churches and established Muslim religious institutions. This has usually happened through favouring by

governments, lifting earlier restrictions or due to the retreat of state, driving such institutions into the area of provision of services. Second, the emergence of activist movements and networks, including evangelical churches, with enhanced social and political roles. Fourth, the emergence of rival religio-political movements (mainly 'Islamist groups) seeking a direct political role. None of these phenomena leads automatically to violence and conflict, but they do automatically generate tension through the challenge they pose to the status quo. Governments usually move to ban such groups, and established parties from left and right confront them. However, where accommodated, they tend to play a constructive role. The programmes



H.E. Thomas Silberhorn, Parliamentary State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Germany



of these groups remain tentative and experimental, since they coalesce around a challenge to the dominant status quo, but without agreement on positive programmes. That is why multiple such groups exist in each country, and are they engaged in rivalry and competition. Where they agree is usually around external threats (Palestine, Iraq, etc.). Such groups are usually made of up lower middle class educated strata, but often from rural peasant or working class families. More recently, they also come from middle classes and are professionals.

In addition, we find the recent violent groups with religious rhetoric and agendas, including violent groups in

Egypt from the 1970s, Al Qaeda and its affiliates, Boko Haram, Al-Shabab, etc. I reject Tony Blair's claim that these groups represent a continuum with moderate Islamism, but put them in the same category with the LRA and comparable 'rogue' rebel groups (what Reno calls 'warlord' or 'parochial' rebels) in Liberia, Sierra Leone or DRC. As the epithet Al-Shabab indicates, these are predominant youth groups, often consisting of bands of child soldiers, cut off from society and with no coherent political programme or intellectual leadership. They may have started with a vague narrative of grievances and objectives, but once formed their main objective becomes survival and group maintenance at any cost. They reflect in effect an aspect of



Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of Ethiopia; Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda; and Uhuru Kenyatta, President of Kenya





disintegration and society, and the loss of legitimacy by the regular sources of social and political authority, such as the state, intellectual, religious and political elite (including Islamists). Children and youth (ironically, in recent times, from the affluent West), are attracted to these groups by their iconoclastic propaganda, and are then socialised into its violent ways. Often children are forcibly recruited. Such groups feed on well-publicised grievances against the political elite, making it difficult to counter their propaganda.

It is important to distinguish here between large scale violence where mainstream actors are involved, and the rogue action of isolated rogue groups. In the first instance, it is useful to use the concept of 'sectarianism' to understand this phenomenon. Sectarianism has religious connotations, but can also denote situations where politicised identities manifest sharp divisions along tribal/ethnic lines (as happened in Kenya and Rwanda), along ethnic/religious lines (as happened in Sudan and Nigeria), or along political lines (as in the secular/Islamist fault-line existing in Egypt today). What is common to these situations is the prevalence of narratives of insecurity and mutual demonization. The other side is portrayed as a deadly threat, secretly plotting harm to the other, or a danger just by its sheer demographic growth or situation of privilege, and must thus be eliminated.

In the case of rogue groups, their narratives of insecurity attain pathological proportions of paranoia that lose any connect with reality, and thus can only appeal for a small minority

of the disenfranchised. However, the boundaries between the two can easily be crossed, as happened in Kenya and CAR in recent years, and in Nigeria's frequent bouts of rioting.

In order to deal with these multiple crises, the priority is to shore up the resilience of the African state, politically, economically, socially and ethically. Secondly, through the adoption of 'contextual' (or consensual) secularism. Third, through providing principled political and intellectual leadership.

Recommendations

Objective 1: Shoring up the Resilience of the State

Politically this requires the strengthening of state institutions and enhancing their legitimacy through consensual democratisation, transparency and the rule of law. Formal democracy is not sufficient where deep divisions exist in society, and such divisions must be healed through constructive dialogue, allayment of fears and building of broad coalitions. Otherwise, democracies could become a short cut to civil wars as happened in Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Libya and Egypt. The African Union must play a proactive role in this regard through early warning and pre-emptive action.

Economically, the model of the developmental state, which prioritises development and is able to implement effective strategies to achieve it, must be promoted and established. However, this effort must heed UNECA's call for such states to be 'inclusive and operate through a democratic governance framework'. For it is the uneven development and the systematic

marginalisation of large sections of the population in many countries which led to the current crises. It must also conform to the principles of human development, which insists that freedom and the systematic development of human capabilities are integral to genuine developments.

The African Union and Sub-regional bodies should also do more in this. They should make 'bad' leaders pay a price if they stoop to 'cheap' tactics of ugly and hateful mobilisation. Again, there are some inspiring models or previous assertive action in partnership with the international community (Ivory Coast, South Sudan, Mali, Mauritania, Darfur, etc.). Less success in Egypt and CAR, but that should not be discouraging. But the cost of delinquency should be raised higher.

Objective 2: Evolving, Conducive and Constructive Political Discourse

There is also a crucial role for civil society activism and for intellectual and political leaders to promote the values conducive to the creation of robust and resilient states and good governance. Africa has provided inspiring models of visionary non-sectarian leadership, and awe-inspiring initiatives of peaceful transitions against all odds. What needs to be done to emulate and generalise these models, together with the hard-won insights about democratic multicultural existence elsewhere, to overcome the rise in sectarian conflict that is threatening the very existence of many African states to-day.

There is also need to mobilise African

intellectuals to provide moral and intellectual leadership to counter the destructive sectarian narratives and divisive approaches to nationhood. They should strive to provide narratives of hope and solidarity for the alienated and marginalised youth, and role models for the young everywhere.

The moral and political crisis is in part intellectual, in the sense that coherent and credible visions for the proper role of religion in public life have not been provided by religious leaders and intellectuals. But it is also ethical, in the sense that intellectuals continue to fail the tests of credibility and exemplary moral leadership, either by adopting partisan and sectarian positions, or by appearing too close to corrupt politics or business.

This session of the Tana Forum should dedicate part of its debates to this crucial issue, by focusing on the role intellectual and ethical leadership in promoting peace, co-existence and inclusive citizenship. It should also discuss possible initiatives to promote these objectives beyond the Forum.

Objective 3: Contextualising Secularism

The approach towards exploring secularism at the Forum should take account of the above assessment regarding the multiple dimension of the secularism debate and its specific African trajectory. Secularism is still entangled in power contests extending back to the colonial era, and currently being reinforced and replayed through the forces of globalisation. In places such





as Egypt, religious protest movements give voice to those marginalised by the entrenched state elite with foreign links and support. The debate needs to explore and be sensitive to such power imbalances.

A form of secular compromise where state maintains neutrality between religions and maximises religious freedom is indispensable for the functioning of multi-religious states. The Forum should explore alternative approaches to achieving this goal, including 'contextual' or 'consensual' secularism, where secularism does not become an ideology in itself. In this regard, the state should lead the process of building consensus around 'light touch' secularism that serves the purpose of co-existence while maximising religious freedoms and removing any conflict between religious solidarity

and national loyalty. This is especially important in the African context, where the 'secularisation thesis' does not seem to hold, and where religion continues to maintain its social relevance.

Most important, the Forum needs to debate the manifestations of various forms of sectarianism and the factors and types of actors promoting them. Sectarianism could be religious, ethnic or political. The dynamics of sectarian polarisations need to be explored at the Forum. In particular, the role of 'narratives of insecurity' underpinning such divisive processes of identity politicisation need to be examined and strategies to counter them explored.

In particular, Muslim intellectuals should take the initiative to provide credible moral leadership. The issue here is not just of 'religious' platitudes or



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theological incantations, but addressing the real hopes of frustrations of the youth and the wider citizenship body. Again here we have inspiring 'African' role models: Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, who continue to inspire young people even today, precisely because they did not hide behind 'religious' inanities and addressed the real concerns of their times. Already some Muslim intellectuals, like Tariq Ramadan, have issued a call to arms to stand up to those wanting to 'hijack' Islam. However, I reiterate, this is not about 'religion' in the narrow sense, and we need a mass movement.

Strategies to counter forms of destructive sectarian mobilisation need to be explored, including legal and constitutional provisions to criminalise hate speech and sanction those who indulge in it. Civil society actors, youth and women groups, genuine religious leaders, etc., must take the lead in this. Again, we have inspiring African models in this, whether from Liberia and Sierra Leone or Tahrir Square. Here also, we need to build on these.

Objective 4: Exploring Marginalisation

A key feature of the violent conflicts plaguing Africa is not religious mobilisation but marginalisation. It would seem that such movements succeed in incorporating groups suffering extreme marginalisation, mainly the young, who both feel voiceless and who also cannot be reached by mainstream political discourse.

Special sessions need to be held at the Forum to discuss these phenomena of disconnect and marginalisation: how and where it occurs? Who are those affected? How can we evolve a discourse capable of reaching the young and inspiring them.

It might be useful to invite students and groups of young people to take part in these debates.





Outcomes

Introduction

The 4th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa convened in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, on 18-19 April 2015, on the theme “Secularism and Politicised Faith.” The Forum brought together Heads of State and Government as well as high-level participants drawn from government, continental and regional institutions, the diplomatic community, the private sector, civil society, academia, and other stakeholders. In total, 220 participants from Africa and beyond participated in the Forum.

The Tana Forum has become a unique and veritable platform for keen debate among participants on trending peace and security issues as well as concerns in

Africa. This year’s theme was particularly instructive in view of the proliferation of faith-inspired movements whose activities are causing far-reaching and profound implications on the security landscape across the continent.

This section summarises key highlights and recommendations from the two-day event.

Key Emerging Issues

1. In the face of seemingly insurmountable challenges, Africa has shown remarkable progress in economic development, political stability and improved governance. However, there are growing concerns that the stability of the continent is capable of being undermined



Chair of Session IV on “Secularism, Democracy and State Building in Africa: What Futures?” Prof. Dagmawi Woubshet, Cornell University, USA and Amb. Soad M. Shalaby, Director, Women Business Development Center, Cairo, Egypt



Rev. Matthew Hassan Kukah Roman Catholic Diocese of Sokoto, Nigeria

by several factors, not the least of which is the activities of groups driven solely by millenarian (and exclusionary) religious agendas and strategies. There was a consensus at the Forum that not enough is available in the public domain in terms of interrogating the root causes behind the emergence of such movements; their modus operandi; and the extent to which their activities correlate with the foreclosure of good governance, socio-economic development and prosperity;

2. Africa is a highly heterogeneous continent. Still, the continent's sheer diversity could be a source of immense opportunities but also of profoundly disturbing threats. There is therefore an urgent imperative to develop appropriate leadership capacities and governance infrastructures across different strata of African societies, capable of fully serving the interests of the states and their citizens. A recurrent opinion at the Forum was that the emergence of religious movements with radical and extremist orientations in Africa is the result of wobbling or even failed statehood. On the relationship between bad governance and the rise of faith-based groups, participants reached the conclusion that the two are often interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Expectedly, there was consensus that the nature, form and capacity of the African state should be at the core of any discussion on secularism and politicised faith;
3. Cognisant that African states have different capacities and face different challenges, the Forum agreed that a one-size-fits-all response to the challenges of secularism and politicised faith is undesirable and



counterproductive. Instead, the peculiarities of different countries must be factored in the search for solutions; while existing best practices in some countries could serve as a useful guide for others grappling with the activities of extremist groups and movements;

4. The Forum emphasised that as a starting point, it is critical to acknowledge that there are different types of secularism and that in itself secularism does not connote a non-religious society. Having a political order that is steeped in secularism is crucial in managing Africa's diversity. There is an urgent imperative to articulate and develop an agenda of secularism that underscores tolerance - of different shades of opinions and religious tenets - and one within which citizens are not threatened

but rather feel a sense of belonging. Because identity and interest drive the problems associated with the politicisation of faith and secularism in Africa, it is the responsibility of governments, but also that of citizens, to promote peaceful co-existence within and among religions.

5. There is a real and immediate danger in the manner in which external forces are reaching out to and becoming involved in the activities of faith-branded political groups in Africa. The need for preventive and precautionary measures to checkmate such fledgling external influences cannot be over-emphasised. The question of appropriate responses to terrorism also took centre stage in the deliberations at the Forum. African states should provide adequate responses so as to undercut the efforts



Yoweri Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda greeting Amina Mohammed, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kenya



Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Republic of Nigeria and Tana Forum Board Chairperson and Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda

of errant groups such as Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram that deploy religion for self-serving ends.

6. While it is the aspiration of governments and their citizens to put in place stable and progressive social development, this must be implemented side-by-side with an acceptance of the need to mainstream principles of good governance; where fundamental human rights are protected, and the rule of law thrives. The Forum agreed that for Africa's diversity to become a force for good it must be managed in an inclusive manner within the confines of the law. The politics of exclusion is detrimental to nation building and undermines the rule of law;
7. Governments should lead by example in combating corruption at all levels,

especially within government and in the business sector, and to use the wealth of nations to alleviate poverty, unemployment and hardships which undermine development, peace and security;

8. It is unrealistic to contemplate a robust African secular space where large segments of society, especially women, youth and the aged, are marginalised or left to the vagaries and vulnerabilities of subsisting on the fringes of society. Without adequate access to subsidised socio-economic opportunities to meet the basic needs of such groups in terms of education, job opportunities and participation in societal affairs, they are likely to embrace dangerous but appealing alternatives offered by radical religious movements. In addition, real and practical efforts



- have to be made to mainstream such groups into decision-making processes, including those directly related to conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as peace-building efforts.
9. Governments need to work with other stakeholders and key national institutions to stem radical religious tendencies capable of undermining civil liberties and citizens' security; and, as well, to focus on tackling structural (or root) factors rather than the current fixation with symptoms of a deeper malaise. The Forum emphasised the need for greater cooperation among African states in combating other common threats such as terrorism and public health emergencies. The poor response to the Ebola crisis in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea exposed not only the weaknesses of the health infrastructures in the three countries but also laid bare the absence of adequate interlocking response mechanisms at sub-regional, regional and international levels;
 10. The intellectual community has a pivotal role to play in the re-composition of public consciousness, including the construction of new social narratives that inculcates the spirit of citizenship amongst young people and provides them with sustainable avenues for constructive social engagement; and,
 11. The AU, along with regional economic communities, has a major role to play in providing strategic guidance to member states on how to tackle challenges and threats posed by convoluted secularism and the politicisation of faith in Africa.
- ### Recommendations
1. It is stressed that there is need for early identification of religious beliefs, tenets and practices that put state and citizen's security at grave risk through innovative and robust policy frameworks and early warning systems;
 2. It is recognized that diversity is a unique feature of the African society and social experience. There is urgent need for African leaders to take cognisance of this diversity, and know how to manage it through inclusive multi-stakeholder dialogues aimed at promoting peaceful coexistence amongst different groups. It is recognised that there is need to reinforce the AU and RECs in order to forge greater, and closer, continental integration agenda;
 3. It is recognised that there is a need to reinforce the AU and RECs in order to forge a greater, and closer, continental integration agenda;
 4. It is noted, with urgency, the need for African states, civil society institutions and faith-based organisations to be vigilant about the role and activities of radicalised movements that ultimately endangers the lives of all citizens;
 5. Efforts being made by states, organisations and private individuals are acknowledged but they must ultimately ensure that the voices of marginalised groups are amplified



Left to Right: Dr. Alioune Sall, Executive Director, African Futures Institute; His Highness, Muhammad Sanusi II, Emir of Kano, Nigeria; and Smail Chergui, AU Peace and Security Commissioner

and their expectations met at every level in public policy decision-making, planning, implementation and monitoring initiatives. In this aspect, there is an urgent imperative for the full emancipation of women who constitute more than half of the continent's population but still lack access and acceptance;

6. It is requested that states and responsible institutions show a greater commitment to tackling corruption in order to free more resources for critical, people-focused developmental interventions;
7. Achievements in various social and economic sectors across Africa are noted, but we urge

governments to demonstrate greater commitment towards monitoring and implementing values of human rights, inclusion, equity and rule of law. There is a need to ensure the supremacy of the law across all sectors and a constitutional order that protects everyone;

8. It is noted with deep concern that the insecurity that continues to affect the continent through the criminal and heinous attacks credited to groups such as Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab in the name of religion continues unabated. For the most part, the targets of opportunity for such ill-motivated attacks have almost always been the most vulnerable members of





- society: women, children, youth and the elderly. African states are urged to be more proactive, consistent and alert in securing and ensuring the security of lives and properties of all citizens from such groups;
9. It is hoped that the enhancement of security should not be at the expense of democratic freedoms or Pan-African solidarity at the national, regional and continental levels. Rather than pursue initiatives that stifle or restrict intra- and inter-state mobility, greater openness within and between African states should be encouraged or promoted. There is a need by African states to provide adequate responses to large-scale cross border challenges
- such as terrorism and public health threats through greater and deeper cooperation.
10. Current efforts being undertaken by the AU to ensure peace and security on the continent are recognized and appreciated. The continental umbrella institution must deepen its work with states and other stakeholders to incorporate civic education into school curricula at all levels to raise civic consciousness and promote unity among citizens, including but not limited to formal education.

Amina Mama, Professor in Women and Gender Studies, University of California, USA



Left to Right: H.E. Rachid al-Ghannoushi, Muslim Scholar and Co-founder of the Nahdah Party, Tunisia; Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi, Former UN Peace Envoy to Syria; and H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Tana Forum Board Chairperson



Left to right: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Tana Board Chairperson, H.E. Tedros Adhanom, Foreign Minister of Ethiopia and H.E. Yeshi Tamrat

Pre-Forum Activities

Ambassadors' Briefing

On 19 March 2015 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Tana Forum Chairperson; H.E. Tedros Adhanom, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopia; H.E. Yeshi Tamrat, Ethiopia's Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Michelle Ndiaye Ntab, Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat; and Kidane Kiros, Director of the Institute for Peace and Security Studies, addressed an ambassadorial briefing session in Addis Ababa. The information session

was held to outline the administrative procedures and preparations for the upcoming Forum, as well as to urge the represented states to participate in the Forum. H.E. Tedros Adhanom spoke of the Forum's importance and described the reasons behind the selection of the theme "Secularism and Politicised Faith".



Ambassadors' Briefing



Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue

On 24-25 February 2015 in Accra, Ghana, the Tana Regional Multi-Stakeholder Pre-Forum Dialogue was organised in partnership with the Accra-based West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP), a pan-regional umbrella agency for civil society organisations in West Africa. In adherence with the main theme of this years' Tana Forum, and on the basis of participants' expertise, the Pre-Forum focused on how a multiplicity of stakeholders could contribute to managing the tensions between secularism and politicised faith and, in broad terms, how this might assist in fostering peace and security in Africa.

The goal of this meeting was to provide an opportunity for a broad-based African constituency to become involved in generating inclusive dialogue, capable of advancing ownership of African solutions on peace and security.

The specific objectives of the discussions were to :-

- Increase awareness and visibility of the Tana Forum within the peace and security community in West Africa;
- Provide a platform for deeper reflections among, and wider engagements between, regional civil society stakeholders and actors, and to produce innovative inputs into the main 4th Tana Forum;
- Create an enabling avenue for multi-stakeholders to generate open, critical and substantive contributions to the debate on peace and security in Africa by reflecting on regional peculiarities and conditions;
- Sensitise regional multi-stakeholders to take ownership of, and play a more active and visible role in, the design and implementation of Africa-owned solutions on peace and security;
- Identify and channel the specific roles and contributions of different stakeholders towards strengthening peace and security in Africa; and,
- Develop procedures and indicators for multi-stakeholders to better and more effectively use mainstream peace and security agendas in their different areas of work.



Tabitha Kentaro Sabiiti, Policy and Advocacy Officer, Migration Focal Point, AACC-African Union (AU) Liaison Office



Kidane Kiros, Director, IPSS



Dia Doudou, Gorée Institute Senegal

Essay Competition

Africa is the world's most youthful continent with approximately 65% of the population under the age of 35. As the continent's present and future, young people are uniquely impacted by peace and security challenges. They are also the best equipped to solve them. The 2015 Tana Forum Essay Competition sought to engage young voices on issues of peace and security in Africa and provide a platform for African youth to present their perspectives on the causes, manifestations and impact of secularism and politicised faith on peace and security in Africa.

Applicants were invited from various universities across the continent, including the University of Cameroun, Yaoundé II, Addis Ababa University, Bouake University, Wits University, and Leopold Sedar Sengor University. All applicants were Master's students and PhD candidates from the social sciences, humanities, political science and international relations. The authors of the three highest-scoring essays were flown to the Forum's host city of Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. In addition, the winning candidate had the opportunity to participate in a panel discussion and present his essay to the Forum's participants, which included African dignitaries and officials from international organizations.



Participants, vice chancellors' debate, Bahir Dar University



Vice chancellors' debate, Bahir Dar University



*Collins Etchi Ako Essay Competition Winner,
Yaounde University*



Dr. Baylie Damtie, President of Bahir Dar University

Key Events at Tana

Public Lecture and Vice Chancellor's Debate

This year's Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa organised a public lecture and a Vice Chancellors' debate in conjunction with Bahir Dar University. In addition to engaging current and former heads of state and government, policymakers and eminent personalities in Africa, the Forum also strived to involve young people, the continent's future leaders, in the discussions.

Universities are ideal platforms to actively engage younger generations on peace and security issues by including these issues in their curricula, research themes and outreach activities. These two events managed to create significant awareness among students on the politicisation of religion as security threat, and on secularisation of the state in the context of African countries.



Public Lecture, Bahir Dar University



Ali Mufuruki, CEO of Infotech Investment Group Ltd

Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series

“Pan-Africanism is dead”, declared Tanzanian businessman Ali Mufuruki during the annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series. Mufuruki, CEO of Infotech Investment Group Ltd, delivered a lecture that caused a stir among the participants for daring to challenge former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah’s status as an African hero. “I studied the biography of Nkrumah for several weeks to prepare this lecture. I was first surprised, then disappointed, and petrified about what I found,” he said. Like all leaders full of ideals, the father

of Ghana’s independence and the Pan-Africanist movement faced his own dark moments. In fact, Mufuruki argued, the Pan-Africanist dream is still struggling to be fully implemented. Eager to join the conversation was H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former Nigerian President and the Chairperson of the Tana Board. “What we heard is exactly what we want at Tana. Contradictory points of view that are debated and discussed.”

The full article from the lecture series is available on the Tana Forum website.



Meles Zenawi Lecture Series



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



Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Executive Director, IDEP



*H.E. Naimi Sweetie Hamza Aziz, Ambassador,
Embassy of the Republic of Tanzania*



Dignitaries at the Tana Forum Park



H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria planting a tree at Tana Forum Park



His Highness Muhammad Sanusi II, CON Sarkin Kano, Emir of Kano, planting a tree at Tana Forum Park



Tana Forum Park

This year's Tana High-Level Forum inaugurated the Tana Forum Park, which was created to strengthen the ties between the Tana Forum and its host city of Bahir Dar. Located in the city's suburbs, the Tana Forum Park was built on land granted by the administration of the city of Bahir Dar. The Park represents the Forum's firm stance on environmental protection and its commitment to supporting the people and the administration of Bahir Dar's goals of building a beautiful and environmentally sustainable city. Several presidents and dignitaries inaugurated the park by planting trees. These included: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria and Tana Forum Chairperson; H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn, Prime Minister of Ethiopia; President Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda; H.E. Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda; H.E. Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, President of Mali; and H.E. Amina Mohammed, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Kenya.



Tana Forum Park 2015



Heads of State and Government, Tana Forum Park 2015



H.E. Amina Mohamed, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kenya at the Tana Forum Park



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Media Coverage

Horseed Media

Shirkii Tana Forum oo Bahir Dar, Itoobiya lagu soo geba-gebeeyey

Ethiopian News Agency

(Tana) Forum Called for intensified Military response by African States on Terrorist groups

Capital News

Resist terrorists bid to divide us, Uhuru tells Africa

The Ethiopian Herald

Secularism, politicization of faith dominates 4th Tana Forum

Fana Broadcasting Corporate

The Tana Forum held in BahirDar Concluded

Allafrica

Africa: A Provocative Tana Forum Discussion - Challenging Africa's Towering Figure

Waaga Cusub Media

Pan-Africanism, Secularism, and Security highlight Day I

Regent University College of Science and Technology

Excerpts from the 4th Tana High Level Forum on Security in Africa

GhanaWeb

Multi-stakeholder forum on Africa's security underway

Mail and Guardian Africa

Kwame Nkrumah was no hero, pan-Africanism is dead and other stories from a unique presidential meeting

Addis Fortune

"Faith" in Tana High Level Forum

SPY Ghana

Paul Kagame Attends Tana High Level Forum

AllAfrica

Africa: Dr Tedros Says Tana High-Level Forum Pivots to African-Led Solutions to Africa's Security Challenges

New Business Ethiopia

Pan-Africanism, nothing but politicians talk

AllAfrica

Kenya: President Kenyatta Leaves for Ethiopia and Jordan

Standard Media

Resist terrorists bid to divide us, President Uhuru Kenyatta tells Africa



Ethiopia Herald

Outrage at the murder of Ethiopians by the so-called 'Islamic State' in Libya

Capital News

Resist terrorists bid to divide us, Uhuru tells Africa

Mail and Guardian Africa

Kwame Nkrumah was no hero, pan-Africanism is dead and other stories from a unique presidential meeting

The Ethiopian Herald

Highlights of Tana Forum

Standard Digital

President Uhuru Kenyatta flies to Ethiopia and Jordan for meetings on terrorism and radicalization

Diretube

Injustices eroding the basis for democracy in Africa, Olesegun Obasanjo

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

Dr Tedros says Tana High-Level Forum pivots to African-led solutions to Africa's security challenges

Geeska Afrika

Ethiopia: The upcoming Tana Forum, "Politicized Secularism Faith"

Geeska Afrika

Ethiopia: The upcoming Tana Forum, "Politicized Secularism Faith"

Geeska Afrika

Ethiopia: Tana High-Level Forum On Security in Africa

Maliactu Info

Forum de Tana : LAICITE ET POLITISATION DE LA FOI AU MENU

Sene News Actu

Les gouvernements africains invités à protéger la laïcité

Agence de Presse Senegalaise

"Il n'existe pas d'antagonisme entre laïcité et religion" (sociologue)+++Envoyé spécial: Birane Hady Cissé+++

AllAfrica

Botswana: Masisi Attends Forum on Security in Africa

EthioScoop

Number Of African Heads Of States To Attend Tana Forum

Nep Journal

President Uhuru Kenyatta arrives in Ethiopia to attend the fourth Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa

AllCarmo

Shirka madasha Tana Forum oo maanta ka furmaaya Bahir Dahir, dalka Itoobiya

News of Rwanda

Pictorial: Behind The Scenes At The Security Forum In Ethiopia

Tanzania Today

Former Tanzania President Benjamin MKAPA moderating The Tana High Level Forum on Security in Bahir Dar-Ethiopia, 18 April 2015

Ethiopia Today

Ethiopia: Tana High-Level Forum On Security in Africa

Africa Lead News

Forum de Tana sur la sécurité en Afrique : Un Plaidoyer pour la laïcité

NIARELA Net

Forum de Tana : UNE TRIBUNE CONTRE LA MONTÉE DE L'EXTRÉMISME RELIGIEUX

Afriquinfos

Une nouvelle initiative prévue pour la sécurité en Afrique

ORIM

4eme Forum de Sécurité TANA en Afrique

rFi Afrique

«La sécurité en Afrique», principale préoccupation du 4e Forum de Tana

Hiiraan Online

4th Tana Forum kicks off in Ethiopia

PAUL KAGAME

President Kagame attends 4th Tana High Level Forum

Africa Leadership Initiative East Africa Foundation

Tanzanian businessman Mufuruki to speak at Tana Forum

Republic of Rwanda

President Kagame attends the 4th Tana High Level Forum on Security in Africa

HORSEED MEDIA

Shirka madasha Tana Forum oo maanta ka furmaaya Bahir Dar, dalka Itoobiya





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Session IV on 'African Secularism and Faith-branded Security Threats'

Our Partners



Austrian Embassy





Tana Forum 2016

Africa in the Global Security Agenda

Global security issues are discussed in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) formal meetings, corridor consultations, and in specific world forums pertaining to their thematic dimensions (climate change; economic crisis; environmental crisis; food crisis; energy crisis; proliferation of nuclear, biologic and or atomic weapons; etc.). In some of these global security frameworks and meetings, Africa is perceived as a ground of threats to global security, poverty, corruption, HIV/AIDS, migration, and other concerns.

An African voice is yet to be fully part of such discussions because of a number of factors (political, economic, military, technological, etc.) that undermine the continent's role on the global chessboard. In some cases, decisions or resolutions are made without genuine consultation with African stakeholders and incorporating the African position. Moreover, African countries are not always able to come up with strong common positions in critical meetings that make such decisions.

This occurs not only for global security issues that also affect the African continent, but also when it comes to foreign actors' agendas in Africa and on African security. There is strong need for Africa to consistently develop its common positions towards foreign agendas on its own security.

Africa is increasingly intertwined with the global security system. Key topics of concern to both African and global actors are terrorism, violent political

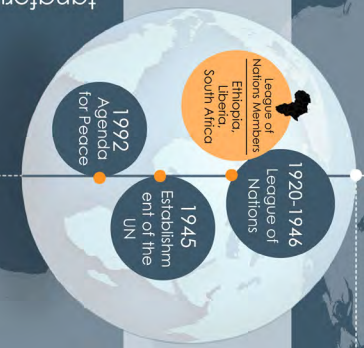
extremism, piracy, trafficking of drugs and people, money laundering, and – more generally – the stability of African states as well as the effective governance of security they can provide. Global security actors increasingly involve themselves on the continent, through UN-mandated peace support operations as well as military cooperation with selected African partners. At the same time, Africa strives to take charge of its destiny in matters of peace and security, guided by a common vision for its future and based on the African Peace and Security Architecture as its home grown framework. In order to better exploit the potential for collaboration between African and global actors, a number of challenges need to be addressed: How can an African voice be formed, and where will it be heard? How can Africa claim full leadership for initiatives on its soil? How can a more effective exchange of information and idea be assured? When the world needs Africa, on whom may it call?

These challenges call for increased dialogue among African leaders, as well as between them and their international counterparts. The context is also favourable for such a dialogue. The Tana Forum in 2016 is expected to address these key issues affecting the relationships of Africa with the rest of the world on the global security agenda.

AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY AGENDA

Tana 2016

Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa



AU Political Missions

- 2013 MISAFEL (Mali)
- 2014 MISAC (CAR)

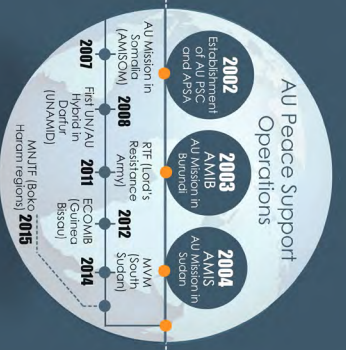
UNSC

United Nations Security Council

First UN Secretary General from Africa: **EGYPT** (1992)

2004-2014: 53% of 618 UNSC Resolutions were Related to African Issues. **EGYPT** (2015)

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



UN UN Peace Support Operations in Africa

16 Current Peacekeeping Operations

1960 First UN peacekeeping operation in Africa

12 Out of top 20 UN Troop Contributing Countries are African

Peace vs. Development

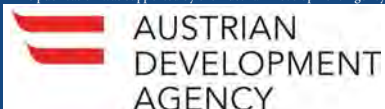
- Natural resources cause of finance
- 14 conflicts in fragile states in Africa
- 250 Africans are affected by Malaria
- Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions
- SDG 16: Strong Institutions
- Recognition of Peace as a Priority Issue
- \$1.3 Cost of corruption, bribery, theft and tax evasion (WB, 2013)

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