

# TANA 2019 REPORT



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TANA FORUM  
SECRETARIAT

A SPACE FOR  
ALTERNATIVE  
VIEWS AND  
VOICES

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# MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRPERSON



With the spirit of commonality and moral duty symbolized by the Baobab tree, I take this opportunity to welcome you all to the 8th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa.

The emerging trends of peace and regional integration are beckoning a new era for the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia's ongoing reforms and Eritrea's re-emergence to the international stage through recent overtures to normalize relations with Djibouti and Somalia can erase long-drawn suspicions and reset trade and economic cooperation in the Horn of Africa. This year's theme, "Political Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Nurturing the Emerging Peace Trends," is a topic worthy of comprehensive debate and discussion.

The Forum theme has been informed by the recent political developments in the Horn of Africa which include the remarkable rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea to address the border conflict through negotiations. Another important development in the region is the signing of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (RARCSS) in September 2018. The noticeable role that Sudan played in brokering the agreement could potentially lay the foundation for the restoration of long-strained bilateral relations between the two states. Despite the regions impressive progressions, the Horn of Africa still faces challenges to its security and achieving inclusive forms of governance.

The 8th Tana Forum aims to interrogate ways in which emerging peace and security trends can be effectively nurtured and how different stakeholders can support the political dynamics and pertinent geopolitical matters to produce the desired positive effects necessary for the achievement of a prosperous Africa. This will be achieved through inclusive and captivating discussions that are guided by our interactive programmes that engage high-level decision-makers and stakeholders from varying sectors, and from around the world. I am confident that our combined efforts can succeed in surfacing African-led solutions to the continent's most pertinent issues in peace and security.

I want to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to H.E. Abiy Ahmed Ali, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia for graciously hosting this year's Tana Forum and to the Institute for Peace and Security Studies, The Forum's Secretariat, for the incredible and continuous support in ensuring the execution of the Tana Forum.

A special thank you to the German Federal Government through GIZ for believing in this initiative and providing institutional support since the inception of the Tana Forum. Thanks and appreciation are also extended to our numerous partners and friends; Addis Ababa University, Amhara Regional State, African Union, Austrian Development Agency, Blue Nile Hotel, Dangote Enterprises, the Governments of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Italy and Switzerland, the Brenthurst Foundation, the Munich Security Conference, Ethiopian Airlines, EY Global Limited, Africa News Agency, IC publications, Africanews, and The Nerve Africa.

Tana Forum has become a well-respected platform, one in which open dialogue is used to understand our complex peace and security challenges. It has been a pleasure this past year to be the Chairperson of the Tana Forum. As outgoing Chair, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to have guided and contributed to the development of the Forum. I wish you all an excellent and productive experience here in Bahir Dar.

**H.E. John Dramani Mahama**

Former President of Ghana and outgoing  
Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board

# TANA FORUM BOARD

The Board of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa provides both strategic oversights on the Forum as an institution and decides on the each Forum's broad agenda and participation. It is comprised of eminent African personalities who have demonstrated leadership, inspiration and experience in their fields of endeavour. The membership of the Board shall demonstrate regional, gender, intergenerational and cross-sectoral representation.

## Current members serving for a three-year term:

### **H.E. John Dramani Mahama**

Former President of Ghana and Tana Forum Board Chairperson

### **H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn**

Former Prime Minister, Ethiopia

### **H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza**

former President, Central Africa Republic

### **H.E. Dr. Joyce Banda,**

Former President of Malawi

### **Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi**

Former UN and Arab League Special Envoy to Syria

### **H.E. Temesgen Tiruneh**

Director General, Information Network Security Agency (INSA) and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

### **H.E. Hirut Zemene**

State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

### **Dr. Lassina Zerbo**

Executive Secretary, Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), Austria/Burkina Faso

### **Mr. Alain Foka**

Journalist, Radio France International, France/Cameroon

### **Prof. Patrick Loch Otieno (PLO)**

Former Director, Kenya School of Law

# TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

The Technical Committee advises the Tana Secretariat on the organization 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. Learn more about the members of the Committee. The current members of the Technical Committee are:

**Dr. Hespina Rukato**  
(Chair) – Zimbabwe –  
Development consultant  
and Board for Great Dyke  
(July 2016-June 2019).

**Dr. iur Mehari Taddele  
Maru** – Ethiopia –  
International Consultant  
on African Union affairs,  
and a Research Fellow  
at the NATO Defense  
College (August 2018-  
July 2021).

**Mr. Alex Ratebaye  
Tordeta** (Deputy Chair)  
– Chad – Deputy Chief  
of Staff, African Union  
Commission (August  
2018-July 2021).

**Ms. Semiha  
Adbdulmelik** – Ethiopia  
– Senior Political Affairs  
Officer, Peace and  
Security Department,  
African Union  
Commission (August  
2018-July 2021).

**Prof. Timothy Murithi**  
– South Africa/Kenya  
– Head of the Justice  
and Reconciliation in  
Africa Programme at the  
Institute for Justice and  
Reconciliation (July 2016-  
June 2019).

**Ms. Haja Saramba  
Kandeh** – Sierra Leone  
– Legal and Gender  
Associate, AIDS-Free  
World (August 2018-July  
2021).

**Dr. Noha Bakr** – Egypt  
– Professor Adjunct  
Faculty, Political Science  
Department at the  
American University in  
Cairo (July 2016-June  
2019).

**Ms. Michelle Ndiaye**  
(Ex-Officio) – Senegal  
– Director, Africa Peace  
and Security Programme,  
Institute for Peace and  
Security Studies and  
Head of the Tana Forum  
Secretariat.



# TANA FORUM SECRETARIAT

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of the Addis Ababa University serves as the Tana Forum's Secretariat. The institute's three pillar activities are education, research, and outreach. The Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa is one of the Institute's major outreach activities. IPSS is the Tana Forum's executive arm and has an important role in the implementation and agenda setting for the deliberative and decision-making entities (Tana Forum board and Technical Committee). Moreover, the Institute conducts the whole process behind the Tana Forum including mobilization of funding, content development and event organization.



# CONCEPT NOTE

## 1. Introduction: Concept and origin

With the aim of playing a crucial role in bringing about sustainable peace and contributing to the implementation of the African Union Tripoli Declaration of August 2009, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University convenes an annual forum on security called the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, or Tana Forum in short. This initiative is a response to the declaration's appeal for "African-centred solutions", and its call for the treatment of peace and security as a collective "intellectual challenge".

As a result, the annual Tana Forum emerged as an independent platform initiated by IPSS and eminent African personalities, including Meles Zenawi, the late Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The Forum is an informal gathering of African decision-makers, peace and security stakeholder groups, and their larger constituencies for an open discussion of security issues and challenges faced by the continent.

## 2. Overall and specific objectives

The overall objective of the Tana Forum is to facilitate a platform where African peace and security issues are discussed and followed up by African decision-makers and peace and security stakeholder groups in an open and unceremonious setting. Specifically, the Forum aims at:

- Providing opportunities to decision-making leaders and institutions to exchange experiences and insights on peace and security issues among themselves with a view to taking home inspiration and practical lessons;

- Giving opportunities to political decision-makers to interact and consult with a broad-based African constituency as well as with key global actors;
- Contributing to a substantive open debate on peace and security issues of key and strategic importance to the continent and its regional institutions;
- Communicating with and listening to "profound African voices on the ground" on various dimensions and components of peace and security on the continent, thus facilitating an inclusive dialogue among governments and other African security stakeholder groups;
- Sensitizing and mobilizing other stakeholders, actors and the overall African opinion for larger ownership of African-owned solutions on peace and security.

## 3. Expected results

In achieving its main and specific objectives, the Forum will result in:

- The conceptualization of peace and security matters from an African perspective. In that endeavour, substantial attention will be given to the emerging body of African-grown approaches to peace and security challenges and prospects;
- The building of a strong and broad-based constituency for peace and security through the establishment of non-threatening platforms for dialogue, networking and exchange of information between policy-makers, researchers and

practitioners. To sustain such platforms, a cross-section of leaders from different sectors will be called upon to act as champions with a view to building an African voice for both the African and global security agendas;

- Progressively engaging Africa in the strategic and pro-active management of peace and security in the continent. Key to that effort will be the development of foresight capacities throughout relevant African organizations in the realm of public, private and civil society sectors. Equally important will be the development of strategic planning capacities and skills for the operationalization of national, sub-regional and continental long-term visions.

#### 4. Forum strategy

**Participation:** The Forum will bring together high-level decision-makers on peace and security from the government/political spheres (HoSGs, AU organs and RECs), non-AU regional institutions, the private sector, critical segments of continental/regional civil society networks, as well as peace and security experts/resource persons. Representatives of selected stakeholders in global peace and security will also be invited.

**Discussion format:** Discussions will be designed in order to: (i) share views and experiences in an informal and independent manner, (ii) be action-oriented and forward looking and, most importantly, (iii) keep the essence of its concept: a consultative forum that is not intended to become a decision-making forum. The main format will be panel discussions and interaction with the floor. Further, introductions to these discussions are expected to be short statements.

**Impact and effectiveness:** The Forum is convened on an annual basis, thus, is an institution in its own right. This contributes to a continuous dialogue among top African leaders and various stakeholder groups. It enables leaders to explore options for innovative and joint action in peace and security. The Forum also

allows for trust building among key players who would often only meet in settings that are mediated by diplomatic protocol. Altogether, it enables African leaders to develop and implement adequate and pro-active initiatives in peace and security on the continent.

#### 5. Former board members (2012-2018):

- **H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo**, former President of Federal Republic of Nigeria (former Chairperson)
- **H.E. Thabo Mbeki**, former President of the Republic of South Africa
- **H.E. Pierre Buyoya**, former President of the Republic of Burundi
- **H.E. Luisa Diogo**, former Prime Minister of the Republic of Mozambique
- **Prof. Andreas Eshete**, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister with the rank of a Minister, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (former Deputy Chairperson)
- **Amb. Berhane Gebre-Christos**, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia with a rank of a Minister
- **Dr. Tedros Adhanom**, Director General, World Health Organization and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
- **Prof. Ndiro Ndiaye**, former Minister for Social Development/ former Minister for Women's, Children's and Family Affairs, Republic of Senegal
- **Prof. Souleymane Bachir Diagne**, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University, USA
- **Ms. Betty Bigombe**, former State Minister of Water Resources, Republic of Uganda and former Director of Fragility, Conflict and Violence, World Bank

- **Dr. 'Funmi Olonisakin**, Vice President/Principal (International), King's College London and Founding Director, African Leadership Centre
- **Prof. Mahmood Mamdani**, Executive Director, Makerere Institute of Social Research, Uganda
- **Dr. Hashim Mohammed Tewfik**, Assistant Professor, Center for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa University
- **Dr. Alhaji Sarjoh Bah**, Head of the Crisis Management and Post Conflict Reconstruction Division, AU Commission.
- **Mr. Charles Akelyira Abugre**, Development economist, Ghana.
- **Dr. Khabele Matlosa**, Director of the Department of Political Affairs, AU Commission.
- **Mr. Markus Koerner**, Managing Partner, African Crossroads, Germany.

## 6. Former technical committee members

- **Dr. Baylie Damtie**, PhD, former President of Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia.
- **Dr. Martha Mutisi**, International Development Research Centre, Kenya.
- **Dr. Melvis Mbinohonyui**, Department of International Law, Institute of International Relations, University of Yaoundé 1, Cameroon.
- **Dr. Tassew Woldehanna**, Vice President for Research and Technology Transfer/Associate Professor of Economics, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia.
- **Ms. Raheemat Momodu**, Head of the ECOWAS Liaison Office to the African Union.
- **Mr. Abdul Mohamed**, Chief of Staff and Senior Political Advisor of the AU High Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan.
- **Prof. Alex de Waal**, Executive Director of the World Peace Foundation at the Fletcher School, Tufts University, USA.
- **Prof. Charles Ukeje**, Department of International Relations at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.
- **Dr. Martha Cumbi**, Economist.
- **Dr. Rahel Kassahun**, Founder and CEO, Africa Unbound, Ethiopia.
- **Prof. Sheila Bunwaree**, Former Director, Research Department of the Council of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Senegal.
- **Mr. El-Ghassim Wane**, Chief of Staff, African Union Commission.
- **Prof. Alioune Sall**, Founder and Executive Director of the African Futures Institute, a Pan-African think-tank established in 2004 and specialized in foresight exercises, research and capacity development.
- **Dr. Cedric de Coning**, Senior Researcher with the Peace Operations and Peacebuilding Research Group at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and a Senior Advisor on Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding for ACCORD.

- **Dr. Solomon Dersso**, PhD, Senior Analyst, Peace and Security / Commissioner, African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), Ethiopia.
- **Dr. Theo Sowa**, CEO, African Women's Development Fund, Ghana.

## 7. The Tana Forum Secretariat

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University acts as the Forum's Secretariat. Parallel to the Forum and hosting its Secretariat, IPSS runs the Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), a joint project with the African Union.

APSP aims to build African capacities to develop and implement African-led solutions in peace and security in Africa. In this context, the outcomes of the Forum will inform the Institute's activities in education, research and policy dialogues. This will further contribute to creating a platform where ideas and synergies on African-centred solutions in peace and security can converge with wider objectives to inform decision-making, policy formulation and implementation at the African Union (AU), Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMs).

## 8. Forum status

The maiden Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, held on the theme "**Managing Diversity and State Fragility**", took place from 14 to 15 April 2012 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. Current and former Heads of State and Government, distinguished leaders of regional and sub-regional bodies, representatives from the private sector, concerned civil society from Africa, eminent personalities from politics and media, representatives of African and non-African multi-lateral bodies, and other important partners attended the Forum.

The 2nd edition of the Forum took place from 20 to 21 April 2013 in the same location. Stakeholders met to discuss the theme

"**Security and Organized Crime in Africa**", and to pay tribute to the Forum's greatest champion, the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi. The annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series was also established this year.

The 3rd Tana Forum took place from 26 to 27 April 2014 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, and discussed a timely and salient topic for the continent, the "**Impact of Illicit Financial Flows on Peace and Security in Africa**". The Forum's annual Meles Zenawi Lecture paid tribute to Africa's greatest icon, the late President Nelson Mandela.

The 4th Tana Forum met under the theme of "**Secularism and Politicized Faith**" and took place from 18 to 19 April 2015 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. African Heads of State and stakeholders together with eminent leaders from all religious sectors convened in Bahir Dar to discuss the importance of disestablishing state religion and developing an agenda of secularism that underlines tolerance. The annual Meles Zenawi Lecture paid tribute to the influential advocate of Pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah.

The 5th Tana Forum convened on 16 to 17 April 2016 under the theme "**Africa in the Global Security Agenda**". Following the 70th anniversary of the United Nations, Africa looked at its role in the international security arena. In addition, the annual Meles Zenawi Lecture debated the legacy of Patrice Lumumba.

The 6th Tana Forum was convened on 22 to 23 April 2017 under the theme "**Natural Resource Governance in Africa**". Whereas debates around the governance of natural resources have understandably been fixated within the extractive sector, the 6th Tana Forum broadened the scope to include issues around the governance of other natural resources, specifically: (a) land, (b) water, (c) the seas, and (d) forests and biodiversity. The Forum's annual Meles Zenawi Lecture paid tribute to the late Dr. Wangari Muta Maathai, a Nobel Peace Laureate and Kenyan environmental and political activist.

The 7th Tana Forum took place on 21 to 22 April 2018 on the theme “**Ownership of Africa’s Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union**”. In a rapidly changing global and African policy environment, there is an obvious need for more powerful and effective AU institutions with the capacity to assume strong ownership on continental and global peace and security matters. Understanding ownership helps to strategically examine the roles and functions of external actors in the goals of peace-building and state-building.

The 8th Tana Forum, taking place from 4 to 5 May 2019 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, will discuss the theme of “**Political Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Nurturing the Emerging Peace Trends**”. In line with recent political developments in the Horn of Africa and the remarkable rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea to address the border conflict through negotiation, this year’s Tana Forum will deliberate on ways to support the political dynamics and pertinent geopolitical matters unfolding in the region.

As per the tradition of the Forum, the annual Meles Zenawi Lecture will pay tribute to a prominent African leader. In 2019, the lecture will examine the legacy of the late Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the South African anti-apartheid activist and politician.

According to the Secretariat’s policy, attendance is non-transferable and by invitation only. 200 selected floor participants are expected to attend the 2019 Tana Forum.

For more information please visit our website [www.tanaforum.org](http://www.tanaforum.org) or forward enquiries to the organizing team at [tanaforum@ipss-addis.org](mailto:tanaforum@ipss-addis.org)





# SUMMARY ON THE THEME

## **Political Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Nurturing the Emerging Peace Trends**

National and regional stability in the Horn of Africa serve as vital components of the sustainable development objectives across the region. Faced with myriad challenges relating to weak governance and state institutions, porous and contested national boundaries, slowing economic growth, and an increasingly tense scramble for resources by major powers, the political and security fault-lines in the Horn of Africa have become both a barrier to nation-building, as well as a source of acute security apprehensions. These issues are also affecting political trajectories in the region and dimming the prospects for robust regional integration.

In line with recent political developments in the Horn of Africa, especially the surprising rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea following almost two decades of violent conflict. This year's Tana Forum will deliberate on:

- Inter-state engagements in the Horn and efforts to establish peace and cooperation;
- The role of state and non-state external actors in reshaping national and regional security;
- The alternative futures for the region in light of the events currently unfolding in the region.

## **The Horn of Africa: A paradigm shift?**

The unexpected cessation of hostilities between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and the subsequent signing of the Joint Declaration on Peace and Friendship on 9 July 2018, quickly generated worldwide praise. Despite few concerns, there is generally a great deal of enthusiasm that the rapprochement will deliver on "peace, cooperation and development" far beyond improved relations between the two states (Ylönen, 2019).

Significantly, the dialogue that brought this new development is a pointer to how much the mobilization of political will, in the face of centrifugal pressures pulling in different directions, could go towards achieving positive and durable peace.

The peace deal itself, combined with the ongoing reforms in Ethiopia, the regional powerhouse of the Horn of Africa, will potentially have a multiplier effect across the region. Apart from the deal encouraging the United Nations (UN) to unanimously lift its longstanding sanctions on Eritrea, one tangible result is Eritrea's recent overtures to normalize relations with Djibouti and Somalia which, if successful, will erase long-drawn suspicions and reset trade and economic cooperation in the Horn. With Eritrea now emerging from decades of international isolation, Asmara is expected to play an active role in both the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union (AU).

Another important development in the Horn is the signing of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (RARCSS) in September 2018, five years after conflict broke out in the newly independent state. The noticeable role that Sudan played in brokering the agreement could potentially lay the foundation for the restoration of long-strained bilateral relations between the two states. The Agreement will not only improve bilateral relations but also allow the two countries to resolve outstanding issues following their separation in 2011, particularly on the status of the Abyei region, oil production and the right of passage of oil pipelines, and halting support to each other's rebel groups.

Despite these positive developments, the Horn also faces myriad challenges to security in the form of internal fragility and displacement, a dearth of inclusive governance, and the emergence of ethnicity as a "political tool" (Galadima & Ogbonnaya, 2018). The extent to which political governance is

an inclusive process in both social and geographic aspects, as well as the nature and quality of power-sharing arrangements in place in several countries, are crucial factors that could potentially continue to stoke violent conflicts, within countries and between them. It is noteworthy to remember that political governance not only includes the way a regime wins state power and how they manage and maintain it, but also how it expands and/or consolidates its legitimacy during its term. As such, accountable and transparent transitions of power and political governance have the potential to mitigate conflict and promote peace on a regional dimension in the Horn of Africa (Johnston, 2012).

Challenges in achieving inclusive forms of governance continue to act as major triggers of conflict in the Horn. When substantial groups are excluded from access to political spaces or a share of economic resources, these frustrations erupt as social tensions or increased criminal activities such as terrorism and trafficking of people and arms. Inclusivity – through dialogue, fair elections, and a respect for human rights – enables better utilization of resources and results in economic opportunities for youth to be absorbed into society. Efforts channelled towards improving access to socio-economic opportunities and promoting dialogue between and among different actors and constituencies have the potential to lessen tensions in the Horn.

### **The competition for political and economic influence**

In addition to the governance domain, the Horn continues to grapple with myriad geostrategic issues. By virtue of its proximity to the Red Sea, the Horn occupies a vital position not only for the continent but also for the Middle East, Asia and Europe, with thousands of ships passing through the sea annually. It is also a strategic point-of-interest for various international powers (especially Russia, the European Union states, the US and China), several Arab Gulf states and Turkey, all of who have vested military, economic and infrastructure projects in the region (Huliaras & Kalantzakos, 2017).

Unless states in the region take deep cognisance of how the presence of external actors might affect them, they will potentially face economic and political challenges in the future. The rivalries in the Middle East, for example, could potentially have multiplier effects in the Horn as the recent turn of events in Yemen have shown. The competition for global domination between the US and China to secure resources to feed their growing economies, on the other hand, should be carefully considered in the foreign policy and economic agendas of the Horn states. While regional integration as a policy instrument contributes to economic growth and improved welfare through the enhancement of trade, Kabandula and Shaw (2018) argue that rising powers with internal and regional transnational tensions could impact human security for the foreseeable future. In the face of the above impulses, there is keen interest to promote a regional approach to investment and security by member states to act as a safeguard against excessive outside influences. Apart from reducing internal frictions between and among countries in the region, a more regional outlook could help to address global issues collectively rather than individually, and allow individual states to withstand external manipulation.

### **Harnessing the role of multilateral co-operation and engagement**

IGAD is primarily a regional mechanism for the prevention and resolution of conflicts among eight member states, namely Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda. The Ethiopia-Eritrea peace deal offers an opportunity for IGAD to support the strengthening of relations between other member states. Apart from its security mandate, IGAD as a Regional Economic Community (REC) is responsible for pursuing economic integration and development as a major tool of conflict prevention and a foundation for long lasting peace. It is significant to add that with its peculiarity of its location as an arid region, countries in the Horn of Africa have had to contend with contentious issues over water use, pastoralism and access to grazing land, to name a few.

There is considerable overlap between the memberships of IGAD and the East African Community (EAC), which comprises six countries: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. The EAC is miles ahead in terms of achieving economic integration among its member states. This creates an attractive and potentially beneficial opportunity for countries in the Horn to access its larger market. The region can also learn lessons from its neighbour in achieving economic and political integration beyond peace and security-related issues.

The withdrawal of AMISOM is due to be completed by December 2020. In its years of existence, the mission has played a major role in stabilizing Somalia even if it frequently experienced setbacks in the fight against Al-Shabaab. There are genuine concerns that the winding down may not be smooth sailing, but it should still offer countries in the Horn of Africa an opportunity to carefully manage the aftermath if potential threats to security are to be eliminated or significantly reduced. Along with IGAD member states, the AU and UN would have to ensure that the withdrawal process is not rushed and that Somalia is not left worse off than before. If not quickly occupied and managed by legitimate and robust state institutions, a poorly managed withdrawal could create an even more dangerous gap. Without imposing their own whims, multilateral partners must work with troop contributing countries within and outside the region to manage this process and its outcomes.

### **Guiding questions for the Tana Forum**

The 8th Tana Forum will examine the current challenges imposed by the changing political dynamics in the Horn as well as discuss alternative prospects for the region. It aims to interrogate ways in which emerging peace and security trends can be effectively nurtured to produce the desirable positive effects necessary for the achievement of a prosperous Africa. The Forum will attract high-level participants, drawn from diverse spheres and sectors, to examine the changing roles and functions of member states and external actors in the pursuit of peace and stability in the continent. This year's discussions will feature the following issues and themes:

- What are the issues, challenges and prospects of the current political dynamics in the Horn of Africa?
- What are the implications of the Ethiopia-Eritrea peace deal as well as the renewed collaboration between Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti for regional integration in the Horn?
- What are the economic, political and security implications of the proximity of the Horn to the Arab Gulf region?
- What should be the priorities of the AU in the Horn, in general, and in specific countries in the region?
- What roles are expected of multilateral actors such as the UN and the EU in the Horn, especially towards revitalizing IGAD to play a more proactive role in fostering peace and regional integration in the Horn?
- What are the implications of the current militarization of the Red Sea by major external powers for the Horn, in particular, and for Africa, in general?

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# PRE-FORUM ACTIVITIES

Leading up to the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, the Secretariat of the Forum organizes a series of events before, during and after the Forum to cast a light on the relevance of the chosen theme through the engagement of youth, Intergovernmental Organizations, International Organisations, academia, local diplomatic and media communities.

## **Tana Forum at Munich Security Conference**

As part of the Pre-Forum activities, the Tana Forum Secretariat in partnership with the African Union hosted a side event at the Munich Security Conference (MSC) on 15 February 2019 on the theme "Peace and Integration in the Horn of Africa". Featured speakers included H.E. John Dramani Mahama, former President of Ghana and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board; Mr. Jean-Pierre Lacroix, the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations and Ambassador Smail Chergui, the African Union Commissioner for Peace and Security. The discussion highlighted the complex and interlinked challenges the Horn of Africa is currently facing and the need for comprehensive regional or at times international responses.

## **The Experts Workshop**

The Tana Forum Secretariat organized an experts workshop to review the publications that set the stage for discussions for the Forum each year. On 22 February 2019, the workshop convened seven experts: Prof. Emeritus Mohamed Salih; Prof. Charles Ukeje; Dr. Rhuks Ako; Dr. Dawit Toga; Mr. Habtamu Legesse; Ms. Sadia Behiri; and Dr. Mesfin Gebremichael. The experts reviewed the draft State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) report outline and highlighted the salient issues that should be covered in the report, including trends, challenges and opportunities. The Tana Policy papers and Forums Agenda were also reviewed to shape the discussion of the sub-themes.



## Youth Consultative Workshop

The Pre-Tana Forum Youth Consultation brings forth the opportunity for open and frank discussions among youth pertaining to the critical issues surrounding youth engagement in political processes and how this is tied to peace and security on the continent. This corresponds with the Tana secretariat's objective of creating platforms for exchange and collaboration hosted in partnership with various stakeholders under its outreach and policy dialogues programme. Representatives of youth groups are briefed on the overall subject of the session and are facilitated by guiding questions in line with the topic. The session then continues with smaller working groups where youth can share experiences and debate on their views. In the end, the results of the smaller working group discussions are presented and shared amongst all participants of the side event. This year, two Youth Consultation events were held regionally across Africa: one in Banjul, The Gambia on 23-26 March 2019 in Partnership with the Africa Youth Commission as part of its 3rd Pan African Youth Conference and another hosted by the Tana Forum Secretariat in Addis Ababa on 19 April 2019.



## The Regional Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue

The Regional Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue was held in collaboration with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) on the theme "Integration in the Horn of Africa: Implications on Women, Peace and Security" from 11–12 April 2019 in Djibouti, Djibouti. The two-day Pre-Forum engaged different stakeholders and policymakers from the AU, Regional Economic Communities and Regional Mechanisms (RECs/RMs) as well as international organizations, the diplomatic community, academia, representatives of governments, Civil Society Organizations and the media.



## Ambassador's Briefing and Press Conference

The annual Ambassador's Briefing and Press Conference took place on 16 April 2019 at Hyatt Regency Hotel in Addis Ababa and was organized to engage and inform the diplomatic community and media about the agenda of the activities of the Tana Forum, the relevance of the theme and expected outcomes from the discussion of the Forum. The briefing outlined the procedures and preparations for the Tana Forum. African ambassadors, dignitaries, and members of the international community working in the area of peace and security in Africa attended the briefing while the media attended the Press Conference hosted by H.E. John Dramani Mahama, Tana Forum Chairperson.



## University Essay Competition

The Tana University Essay Competition engages African youth who are enrolled at a University. Previously, this essay competition has been open to only Africans enrolled at an African university, but starting this year, the African youth in the diaspora from all over the world are able to participate. Requirements are only current enrollment in an MA and PhD programme. This competition facilitates youth contribution to the overall high-level discussions that are undertaken every year at the Forum. All essay submissions are reviewed by the experts from the pool of reviewers at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS). The top three selected applicants are invited as full scholarship participants to attend the Forum, coached by mentors at IPSS, each winner makes a five-minute oral presentation of his/her essay to all participants at the Forum.

## 2019 University Essay Competition Winners

### Zac Chiliswa

PhD, Media Studies  
Leeds Trinity University & the University of  
Leeds, UK  
Kenyan

### Osei Godfred Amankwah

Mphil, Peace and Development Studies  
University of Cape Coast, Ghana  
Ghanaian

### Muhammed Seid Ahmed

MA, Political Science and International Studies  
Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia  
Ethiopian

# KEY EVENTS AT TANA

The Tana Forum features three key events that take place on the first day of the programme, namely the annual book launch, the Meles Zenawi Lecture and the presentation of State of Peace and Security in Africa report.

## **State of Peace and Security in Africa**

The State of Peace and Security in Africa report is an annual background paper presented during the security threats and trends that inform and describe the nature of the peace and security environment in Africa. H.E. John Dramani Mahama will deliver a summary of the report during the opening ceremony of Tana Forum 2019.

## **Annual Book Launch**

Started in 2017, the Annual Book Launch allows published authors – both African and non-African – the opportunity to present their books on peace, security, governance or development to Forum participants.

## **Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture on Leadership in Africa**

As per the tradition of the Tana Forum, the annual Meles Zenawi Lecture pays tribute to a prominent African leader. In 2019, the lecture will pay tribute to the late Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, a South African anti-apartheid activist and politician.

Born in September 1936, the life of Madikizela-Mandela encompassed commitments to community upliftment, opposition to apartheid and determination to build a non-racist, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.



# SIDE EVENTS AT TANA

Leading up to the 8th Tana Forum, there will be three parallel side events on Friday, 3 May 2019. The side events will be held at the Blue Nile Resort (the Forum venue) in the garden adjacent to Lake Tana.

## Cooperation or Confrontation along the Horn of Africa?

Tana Forum in collaboration with the Munich Security Conference



## The Vice Chancellor's Dialogue

The Vice-Chancellors' Dialogue is aimed at integrating viewpoints of those who are presiding over institutions of higher education and are shaping future generations of African leaders. This year, the Tana Forum Secretariat in collaboration with Bahir Dar University is to host a dialogue with Vice-Chancellors of universities across Africa which takes place at the Bahir Dar University on 3 May 2019 under the theme "Regional Integration and Security". This theme resonates with the recent positive developments in the region, particularly the Ethio-Eritrean rapprochement and its positive effects on regional security and cooperation, given Eritrea's effort to normalize its relations with Djibouti and Somalia.

## How Economic Integration Affects a Continent's Security: Lessons from the EU and AU

Tana Forum in collaboration with the European Union



## Implications for Multilateralism and Multi-Polarity in the Horn of Africa

Tana Forum side event in collaboration with the African Union, the United Nations, and the United States Institute of Peace



# FORUM INFORMATION

## Host City: Bahir Dar

Situated along the shores of Lake Tana, the Sunny city of Bahir Dar is one of the leading tourist destinations in Ethiopia. In addition to the breath-taking views of Lake Tana, the city's avenues are lined with palm trees and a variety of colourful flowers. With origins dating back to the 16th century, Bahir Dar and the region of Amhara is rich in historical sites. The city was awarded an honourable mention by the UNESCO 2002 Cities of Peace Prize for its record in addressing the challenges of rapid urbanization.



## Currency

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Ethiopian “Birr” (ብር or Br) is the currency used in Bahir Dar. Automated teller machines (ATMs) are available in Bahir Dar and some locations accept major credit cards such as Visa and Mastercard.

## Venue access & Security

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A strict and limited access policy will be enforced, permitting only conference participants and selected journalists to enter the Forum Hall. Please note that participants allocated to the observatory room do not have access to the main floor.

## Name badges

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A badge is required for admittance to all Tana Forum events. The colour-coded badge system will determine access to the Forum Hall. Each participant is asked to present the badge in order to gain access to the venue.

## Language

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Simultaneous translations in Amharic, English, French and Arabic will be provided for all participants throughout the Tana Forum. Headsets are available in the Forum Hall.

## Internet access

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Complimentary high-speed wireless internet will be available within the venue.



## Media

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Media representatives will have access to all discussion sessions, except those that are invitation only.

## People with Disabilities

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The venue is accessible to participants with disabilities.

## Business centre

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A fully equipped business centre with high-speed internet, printing and scanning facilities open from 07:00-20:00 is available to all participants. A capable team of IT technicians are on standby for assistance.

## Bilateral talks

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The Tana Forum brings together Africa's leaders and decision-makers. We are happy to provide a limited number of rooms for bilateral talks between participants during the Forum. Booking a room should be made in advance by emailing [tanaforum@ipss-addis.org](mailto:tanaforum@ipss-addis.org).

## Tana Forum App

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The Tana Forum App features all Forum documents at your fingertips including The Forum programme, speakers list, live twitter feed and latest news. The App is now available for download on Google and Apple stores, just search "Tana Forum."



# OUTCOMES DOCUMENT

# A. INTRODUCTION

The 8<sup>th</sup> Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa took place over 3-4 May 2019, in the city of Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. More than 200 participants, comprising current and former heads of state and government, ministers, ambassadors, academics, heads of international organizations, representatives of regional economic communities, civil society, and media, convened under the proverbial Baobab tree to discuss the theme: Political Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Nurturing the Emerging Peace Trends. The Tana Forum has continued to provide a standing platform for constructive and frank discussions among a wide range of stakeholders on the most pertinent and pressing peace and security issues facing the continent.

## Key Highlights of Tana Forum 2019

- Attendance of H.E. Sahle-Work Zewde, President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum. While she represents the only sitting female Head of State on the continent, two former female Presidents, H.E. Joyce Banda of Malawi and H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza of the Central African Republic, were also in attendance.
- Presence of H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson of the African Union Commission.
- Presence of H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa and Chair of the AU High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan, South Sudan and the Horn of Africa.
- The annual Meles Zenawi Lecture on leadership in Africa, delivered by Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, paid a moving tribute to the legacy of South African anti-apartheid activist and politician Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.
- For the first time, the annual report on the State of Peace and Security in Africa covered both a general survey of key peace and security trends, successes, and challenges across Africa as well as focused on the specific theme of the 8<sup>th</sup> Tana Forum.
- Presentations from the three winners of the Annual University Essay Competition, which, for the first time, was extended to Africans based in the diaspora in addition to those enrolled in higher education institutions on the continent.
- Several well-attended side events, including:
  - A Vice Chancellors Dialogue at Bahir Dar University on Regional Integration and Security;
  - A roundtable on Burden Sharing and the Future of Peacekeeping organized in collaboration with the Munich Security Conference and the African Union;
  - A panel on Lessons Learned from Peacekeeping in the Horn of Africa organized in collaboration with the Munich Security Conference and the African Union;
  - A panel on the Evolving Geopolitical Dynamics in the Horn of Africa and its Implications on the AU and UN Security Agenda in collaboration with the United Nations, the African Union, and the United States Institute of Peace;
  - And a panel on Lessons from the EU and AU on How Economic Integration Affects Continental Security in collaboration with the European Union
- The Annual Book Launch, which featured a book on the history and analysis of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) from 2007-2017.

**ONE OF THE MOST  
CRITICAL CHANGES  
IS BEING WITNESSED  
IN ETHIOPIA, WHICH  
HAS EMBARKED ON A  
TRANSFORMATIONAL  
REFORM PROCESS AND  
ALREADY REGISTERED  
A NUMBER OF  
ACHIEVEMENTS**



In her welcome address, President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Host of the Tana Forum, H.E. Sahle-Work Zewde, noted that the present Tana Forum is being convened at a time when the Horn of Africa is undergoing a number of dramatic and positive changes, while continuing to face many challenges. She highlighted that the political dynamics in the Horn are changing, both within and between countries of the region. One of the most critical changes is being witnessed in Ethiopia, which has embarked on a transformational reform process and already registered a number of achievements. Furthermore, she pointed to the normalization of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea for not only successfully ending the no war, no peace situation between the two countries, but also enabling a broader shift in positive relations between various countries of the Horn. These new dynamics have the potential to accelerate regional integration through the strengthening of infrastructural linkages and cementing of people-to-people relations. She emphasized the importance of the region and the wider international community putting their full support behind the implementation of the revitalized agreement between the South Sudanese parties as well the transition to civilian rule by the transitional military authorities in Sudan. She ended her address with a note of caution that persistent challenges in the Horn should not be overlooked, including governance and socio-economic deficits. Any failure to adequately and systematically address them and meet the needs and aspirations of the people of the Horn will continue to be a source of instability.

**THE 2019 SPSA UNDERScoreD THE COMPLEXITy THAT CHARACTERIZES AFRICA'S LANDSCAPE AND THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENABLERS AND EFFORTS BEHIND THE CONTINENT'S PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES.**







H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson of the African Union Commission, followed with a keynote address. He reiterated the timeliness of the topic given the developments underway in the region. He stressed that the AU and its predecessor, the OAU, have been actively engaged in peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts in the region. Indeed, the AU has been at the forefront of continental solidarity with the Horn, from being a guarantor of the Algiers Agreement to promoting lasting peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia; deploying one of the most challenging and largest peace support operations in Somalia; and being the first to deploy peacekeepers in Sudan, convening peace talks under the auspices of the High Level Implementation Panel and, more recently, supporting ongoing negotiations among Sudanese stakeholders to help chart a consensual way forward for the transition. **He noted that** given the linkages between the various challenges confronting the Horn, the African Union has been advocating for a regional and multidimensional approach, including engaging with extra-regional actors with a stake in the wider Red Sea space.

He congratulated Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed for the reform agenda underway in Ethiopia as well as the decision to normalize relations with Eritrea, which he commended President Isaias

Afwerki for accepting. He noted the numerous other positive developments across the region, including the steady progress towards peace and reconciliation in Somalia, a revitalized peace process in South Sudan, historic transition process in Sudan where the AU has pronounced itself in favor of a consensual and civilian-led process; and the resumption of relations between Djibouti and Eritrea following the Ethiopia-Eritrea rapprochement.

**GIVEN THE LINKAGES BETWEEN THE CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THE HORN, THE AU HAS BEEN ADVOCATING FOR A REGIONAL AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH, INCLUDING ENGAGING WITH EXTRA-REGIONAL ACTORS WITH A STAKE IN THE WIDER RED SEA SPACE.**

Mahamat offered a four-point agenda for consolidating the achievements thus far and ensuring that the current positive trajectory is irreversible, namely:

1. Deepening enhanced bilateral relations throughout the region and institutionalizing relations through regional arrangements;
2. Renewing the commitment to democracy, respect for human rights and good governance;
3. Strengthening multilateralism and the role of the UN as well as convening regular engagements with countries in the Red Sea as a means to building a principled partnership; and
4. Mobilizing all intellectual resources in the endeavour to formulate policy recommendations to arrive at truly African solutions.

**THE VARIOUS CHALLENGES  
AFRICAN UNION HAS BEEN  
AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL  
DEALING WITH EXTRA-REGIONAL ACTORS  
IN THE RED SEA SPACE.**



In a following statement, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Somalia, H.E. Mahdi Mohamed Guled, commended the convening of the Forum to discuss the geopolitical shifts and challenges in the Horn region. He pointed to the importance of infrastructure for enhanced regional integration. Speaking on Somalia, he emphasized that after decades of civil conflict, with support from a range of international actors, the fight against terrorism is being won and space created for institution building, economic recovery, and constitutional review. Nevertheless, Somalia continues to be beset by recurrent drought, exacerbated by climate change, resulting in the worsening of the humanitarian situation in Somalia. This calls for greater demand for implementation of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change.

**SOMALIA CONTINUES TO BE BESET BY  
RECURRENT DROUGHT, EXACERBATED  
BY CLIMATE CHANGE, RESULTING IN THE  
WORSENING OF THE HUMANITARIAN  
SITUATION IN SOMALIA**

Following these addresses, in keeping with the Tana Forum tradition, H.E. John Dramani Mahama, former President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board, presented the highlights of the 2019 State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) Report. He noted that the 2019 SPSA underscored the complexity that characterizes Africa's landscape and the internal and external enablers and efforts behind the continent's progress and challenges. The report utilizes six themes to illustrate the nature and dimensions of peace and security challenges facing Africa over the course of 2018.

African citizens continued to face multiple sources of insecurity, ranging from those stemming from the state, to activities of non-state actors, and increasingly from outbreaks of communicable and non-communicable diseases and the adverse impacts of climate change. **He emphasized that this insecurity is highly gendered, with women continuing to face the brunt of these threats.** To tackle these new sources of threats, African governments must prioritize human security and meet developmental goals in critical sectors.

Conflicts at war level retained their intensity in 2018, coupled with episodes of other forms of violent civil unrest that have grown in number, intensity, and impact. Indeed, the report indicates that virtually no country was completely free from some form of unrest. Triggers for these agitations ranged from immediate issues such as soaring inflation to structural ones related to horizontal inequality, state corruption, attempts to amend constitutions, and the like.

On the other hand, the report details a number of positive developments over 2018, including: an end to some of the most protracted conflicts on the continent, exemplified by the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea; the peaceful transfer of power in a number of contexts following elections; expanded space for civil society despite continued risks in

many contexts; greater participation of youth in politics, either through elective office or activism; momentum on the freedom of movement agenda and regional integration; and the signing of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement.

The report also draws attention to six global developments that influenced and will continue to influence Africa's peace and security outcomes, highlighting the close dependence of Africa's security on the policy outlook and developments in key countries and regions around the world. Indeed, the report notes that while African institutions and their key partners such as the UN and the EU continue to promote multilateral approaches to safeguarding peace and security in Africa, they are constrained by an erosion of the multilateral world order in place of increasingly bilateral approaches. President Mahama noted that the report explores this confluence of growing attention from external powers and global actors in the Horn of Africa, and its impact on the militarization of the region and its immediate neighbourhood.

## INSECURITY IS HIGHLY GENDERED, WITH WOMEN CONTINUING TO FACE THE BRUNT OF THESE THREATS

## B. KEY TAKEAWAY MESSAGES

The 8th Tana Forum consisted of interactive conversations around various aspects of the 2019 theme emanating from the opening statements, main sessions, presentations, as well as side events held on the first evening of the Forum. The core of the conversations centred on the three thematic sessions of day two: a high-level panel on peace prospects in the Horn of Africa; a panel on the new era of inter-state engagement in the Horn and its implications for regional integration; and migration and free movement of people in the Horn region. The key messages and consensus reached through discussions can broadly be summarized as below:

- Significant geopolitical shifts are being seen in the Horn with increasing external competition for political, economic and military influence in the region amid a breakdown of the multilateral world order. Bilateral and transactional approaches to security and competition between the various external actors run the risk of fragmenting regional and long-term approaches as well adversely affecting national politics in the Horn of Africa.
- Consensus by countries of the region on a diagnosis of the key challenges as well as ownership over the solutions and priorities needs to be achieved. Multilateralism should be the guiding principle for addressing the challenges facing the Horn and enabling the region to address the internal and external challenges facing it.
- The revitalization of IGAD provides greater impetus for the institution to lead on garnering consensus by national actors in the region with the AU, UN and international community accompanying and supporting their efforts, and development partners aligning their support as necessary.
- The challenges facing the Horn from extra regional actors and interests require the creation of a broad inclusive framework that ensures space for dialogue, cooperation, and collaboration around shared interests in the Red Sea space - in the first instance between the region and the continent, and then between the Red Sea and other concerned actors.
- The Horn has been the centre of Africa's solidarity. There have been significant and longstanding peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts by the continent and the international community; these gains need to be protected and sustained amid the challenges and changes currently facing the Horn.
- The unprecedented transition within and between countries in the Horn, while largely positive, is also fragile, and there needs to be concerted, collective, and coherent efforts to identify and deliver support and investments to priority institutions and address persistent challenges around structural vulnerabilities in-country. Improved bilateral relations and trust between countries in the region need to be expanded and institutionally cemented across the entire region.
- The transitions within countries of the region will not be durable without concerted and sufficient investments in democracy and good governance, protection of civil society space, and transformation of state-society relations and support to building country capacities to address their structural vulnerabilities.
- Consensus on an analysis of the situation facing the region as well as shared goals and long-term strategies between all supporting actors is key.
- There is an imperative to re-centre the people and communities of the Horn in discussions and proffered solutions, and ensuring they are the recipients of this

peace dividend. Prioritizing durable solutions to the displacement crisis, supporting integration efforts which facilitate the free movement of people, people-to-people relations and safe migration, and ensuring that the transition processes and institutions associated with it reflect and accommodate change agents such as youth which have been the critical driving force for change are all critical.

- The conventional approach to politics and peacebuilding are being challenged by the rise of social media, which is changing the articulation of politics, access and participation in political discourse from traditionally excluded voices, and bringing the governed and governing closer in conversation. This provides opportunities for a new positive and inclusive model of politics, as well as the risk of furthering political polarization, radicalization, and division which needs to be part of policymakers' considerations.
- Peace, security and integration are inextricably linked. Consolidating the Horn region as a peace zone thus requires greater efforts towards economic and regional integration. Progress on the integration agenda necessitates political prioritization, strategic alignment and institutional strengthening of regional organizations, as well as a "Marshall Plan", which optimizes investments in infrastructural links with regional impact and benefits. This requires innovative financing solutions and options and strong international partnerships.
- The continent needs to better own and make use of the UN, not limited to continuing to strengthen the AU-UN partnership.
- Given the nexus between peace and democratic governance, the AU should increase its efforts to

improve the synergy between the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Governance Architecture (AGA).

### **The following points recap the main outcomes of the 2019 Tana Forum:**

#### **On Peace Prospects in the Horn:**

1. The transition being witnessed within various countries of the Horn needs to be sustained and supported through a focus on institution building, good governance, and human rights. The normalization of bilateral relations between countries of the Horn should be expanded to the region as a whole and be institutionalized through IGAD.
2. Partners should align their support to the priorities and agenda set by the region.
3. The growing presence and influence of external actors is contributing to the militarization of the region as well as exacerbating the fragility of nascent peace within and between countries of the Horn. The continent and the Horn region need a unified voice and concerted collective action - through its multilateral institutions - to manage these relations as well as initiate dialogue through existing and new platforms with extra-regional actors.
4. The region is, and will, continue to contend with a fundamental shift in its demographic profile, with many young people reaching political age and demanding change and inclusion in decision making. Social media is providing an alternative space to articulate politics, advance a different discourse of politics, as well as better connect policymakers with youth. Nevertheless, social media has also served as a site for polarization and radicalization, and addressing this should be a policy priority.

5. Lessons from peacekeeping efforts in the Horn emphasize the importance of an exit strategy underpinned by a clear political strategy as well as strategic options for post-mission presence that takes into account security and political realities.

#### **On Regional Integration:**

6. Integration needs to be seen beyond leadership rapprochement and good relations, and speak to the integration of systems and values. Regional integration needs to happen faster, deeper, and more effectively.
  7. Investments in economic infrastructural linkages, which have regional impact and benefits as well as securing innovative financing to allow for this, is imperative.
  8. The integration agenda needs to progress despite numerous challenges, including fragmentation at the national level in some countries of the region.
  9. Economic integration is a political process which creates interdependence and increases the cost of resorting to conflict. Opening up to neighbouring states and solidarity are the two key ingredients for successful economic integration.
  10. Integration should be viewed as building inclusive prosperity for all, with a common market for skills and freedom of movement as critical components. Women and youth have a critical role to play in building this inclusive prosperity.
- increasingly complex, with mixed flows comprising of IDPs, refugees, economic migrants, returnees, victims of trafficking and smuggling.
12. Greater focus needs to be placed on the particular vulnerabilities of specific categories of the displaced and migrants, such as women and youth.
  13. The weak integration of the Horn contributes to the irregularity of migration within the region. At the same time, IGAD is one of the most progressive RECs on the continent with regard to policies and frameworks on migration and mobility. The launching of the Continental Free Trade Agreement will generate jobs and opportunities, and must be coupled with facilitating the free movement of people to not only ensure safe migration options but also enable broader regional development.
  14. More needs to be done to understand and address the multiple drivers of migration, including the aspirations of youth. National and regional policies should be informed by research and evidence, be aligned with development plans, and be anchored on a whole-of-system approach.
  15. Continued exchange, coordination and shared approaches on migration are critical with key international partners such as the EU, as well as collective engagement by Horn countries with the Gulf States on the status, rights and situation of African migrants.

#### **On Migration and Free Movement of People:**

11. The question of migration in the Horn has long been overshadowed by a focus on displacement, with countries of the Horn being among the major hosts of refugees from within the region as well as the rise of internal displacement in a number of countries. Mobility in the Horn however, is

## C. CONCLUSION

The 8th Tana Forum concluded on 4 May 2019, with closing remarks by H.E. Sahle-Work Zewde. She noted that that the two-day Forum starkly showed the hope and optimism in and about the region as well as concerns about persistent internally and externally generated challenges. Nevertheless, these developments need to be seen as a transition period, one that requires time and concerted efforts at minimizing risks and sustaining progress through institutionalization and collective approaches and mutual cooperation. Equally important is not only addressing internal challenges to countries in the Horn, but also focusing on the regionalized dimensions of the current dynamics. In this regard, she noted the recent IGAD initiative on the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden as critical in strengthening regional cooperation and a common position in the face of challenges emanating from extra-regional actors in shared spaces. She reiterated that multilateral organizations such as the UN and the AU should come in support of such and other initiatives of the region. Indeed, H.E. stressed that African countries must not lose sight of the fact that the UN is their organization, and that they should be at the table when major decisions are being made. She concluded by thanking H.E. John Dramani Mahama, the organizers of Tana Forum, partners, and the Amhara regional state for the successful organization of the 8th Tana Forum and called on the commencement of preparations for the 9<sup>th</sup> Tana Forum.



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