2ND TANA HIGH-LEVEL FORUM ON SECURITY IN AFRICA

20-21 April, 2013
Bahir Dar, Ethiopia
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Visit our website (www.tanaforum.org) to download the report from the 2012 Forum.
Message from the Chair, H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo

The African continent continues to face several security challenges such as the border disputes between Sudan and South Sudan, the situation in Mali or the seemingly intractable conflict in Eastern DRC. As we celebrate the success of the African Union in its peace building efforts in Somalia - through its regional peacekeeping mission, AMISOM - we should remind ourselves of the long list of inter-state, intra-state and border conflicts that make the second edition of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa extremely timely and relevant.

Last year’s inaugural Forum was the first time in African history that a distinguished group of leading multi-stakeholder personalities met in an informal setting to discuss strategic peace and security challenges facing our continent. Rarely has Africa seen a gathering of this magnitude, bringing together Heads of State and Government, African and global eminent personalities, CEOs of private sector companies, civil society organizations, the youth and think tanks, to examine and debate peace and security challenges facing the African continent. The 2013 edition promises to do the same.

The Forum will take place once more in the city of Bahir Dar on the shores of Lake Tana, source of the Nile River, from the 20 to 21 April, 2013. This year’s gathering will tackle security and organized crime in Africa. Allow me to highlight the nexus in organized crimes in Africa - drugs for instance, we do not produce them, yet we are now moving from transit towards consumption. Drug trafficking feeds arms trafficking, money laundering, human trafficking, terrorism and regime destabilization.

The 2013 Forum will also pay tribute to its champion and biggest advocate, the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia, H.E. Meles Zenawi.

We urge you to join us in creating a better future for Africa. We urge you to contribute to the security of our continent. We urge you to help us make peace happen and sustained.

Chairperson, Tana High-Level Forum

Message from the CEO, Prof. Andreas Esheté

The Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa seeks to foster public conversations about African issues of pressing interest among interlocutors – Heads of State and Government, leaders of intergovernmental institutions, the business community, and civic associations, eminent scholars, seasoned practitioners, and engaged citizens – who rarely talk face to face.

The Forum is an opportunity to interrogate, or even stretch, the limits of legitimate public deliberation on African public policy on matters of peace and security. In light of Africa’s intractable and swiftly changing problems of peace and security, the reflective search for unexplored options and fresh perspectives is a matter of urgency.

CEO, Tana High-Level Forum

Advisory Board

H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Forum 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. Betty Bigombe, State Minister of Water Resources, Uganda

Professor Ndiooro Ndiaye, former Minister for Social Development and former Minister for Women’s, Children’s and Family Affairs, Senegal

Professor Mahmood Mamdani, Executive Director, Makerere Institute of Social Research, Uganda

Dr. Funmi Olonisakin, Director, African Leadership Centre/Conflict Security and Development Group

Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun, Initiatives et Changement International

Professor Andreas Esheté, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister with the Rank of a Minister in Ethiopia (Forum CEO, ex officio member of the board).
### Programme

**Day One: Saturday 20th April 2013**

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<td>Arrival of participants and registration</td>
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<td>12.00 – 14.00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.00 – 14.10</td>
<td>Opening session: maiden Tana High-Level Forum highlights</td>
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<td>14.10 – 14.40</td>
<td>Introductory remarks: H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria and Chairperson of the Tana High-Level Forum Advisory Board</td>
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<td>14.40 – 15.00</td>
<td>A short film on the Late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi</td>
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<td>15.00 – 15.30</td>
<td>Panel on Prime Minister Meles Zenawi's vision on the democratic developmental state and its promise for Africa</td>
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<td>Break</td>
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<td>16.15 – 16.35</td>
<td>Leading Remarks: H.E. Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda</td>
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<td>16.35 – 17.30</td>
<td>Keynote Address: H.E Thabo Mbeki, Former President of South Africa and member of the Tana High-Level Forum Advisory Board</td>
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<td>17.30 – 18.00</td>
<td>Questions and comments</td>
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<td>18.00</td>
<td>End of day one</td>
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<td>Dinner</td>
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**Day Two: Sunday 21st April 2013**

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<tr>
<td>08.00 – 10.00</td>
<td>Networking meetings</td>
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<td>10.00 – 11.45</td>
<td>Panel on bilateral, regional and international cooperation</td>
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<td>Discussions with the floor</td>
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<td>12.45 – 13.00</td>
<td>Remarks to the press: H.E Olusegun Obasanjo</td>
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<td>13.00 – 14.30</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<td>15.30</td>
<td>Departure</td>
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Summary Note

Security and Transnational Organized Crime

It is widely recognized that Africa faces threats to governance and security from the increasing operations of transnational organized criminal networks. This briefing note seeks, first, to identify the dimensions of the problem; second, to indicate their significance at this time; and third, to define some key questions for discussion at the Forum, in order to enable participants to identify Africanelled approaches to these issues.

Transnational Organized Crime: The Nature of the Problem

Transnational organized criminal activities are a threat to African governance and security. They include:

- Production, trafficking and sale of illegal narcotic drugs;
- The smuggling of unlawful migrants into Europe;
- People trafficking, including abduction, enslavement and organ trafficking;
- “Conflict minerals” such as diamonds, gold and coltan extracted and sold illegally by insurgents;
- Maritime piracy;
- Unlawful trade in weapons;
- Trade in counterfeit products such as cigarettes;
- Money-laundering and financial extortion and deception.

These activities fuel corruption and in some cases contribute to violence. However, we should be aware that there is no automatic link between organized crime and political violence. While the profits from drug production have funded insurgencies in countries such as Colombia and Afghanistan, international drugs traders do not, in general, support rebel groups—they prefer to bribe government officials.

These activities stem from deeper structural political and economic problems. For example, the drugs trade exists because there is demand for these products in rich countries; people smuggling arises because of economic inequalities between rich and poor countries; piracy in the Indian Ocean derives from the impoverishment of Somali fishing communities and the lack of government institutions in that country; and the mining and sale of artisanal minerals by rebels in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo is a symptom of the unresolved conflict in that country, not the cause of it.

International policy responses, such as the U.S.-led “war on drugs”, also pose problems for Africa. For example, the experience of Mexico indicates that a militarized crackdown on drug cartels can fuel armed turf battles between lower-level drug smugglers, and violence between them and the law enforcement. Harsh measures against the brokers who organize unlicensed migration into Europe push them into more harmful practices of people trafficking, including ransoming and organ trafficking. Many Congolese assert that the U.S. Dodd–Frank Act of July 2010 (Section 1502), which imposes a strict certification regime on international companies dealing in artisanal minerals from Congo and neighbouring countries, has deepened Congo’s crisis and not helped resolve it.

Why the Issue is Significant Today

The crisis in Mali and the Sahara, the allegation that Guinea Bissau is becoming a “narco-state,” the scandal of people trafficking in north-east Africa, piracy in the Indian Ocean, and the “conflict minerals” campaign in the U.S. have all focused attention on transnational organized crime.

Africa needs to respond to this serious and growing problem. Africa also needs to assess whether the standard policy responses prescribed by Europe and the U.S. — as outlined above — are in the continent’s interests and not. There are good reasons to worry that Africa has as much to fear from the “war on drugs” as from drugs themselves, or from the “conflict minerals” campaign as from these minerals themselves.

Critical Issues for Discussion

- What are the root causes of transnational criminal activities in Africa?
- How should Africa respond to issues of global economic inequality and the demand for drugs, counterfeit goods, cheap labour, and human organs in richer countries?
- How can African states strengthen their governance so as to minimize corruption arising from organized crime?
- Which current policies and practices against organized crime are working, and which are not?
- Which governments and international institutions are promoting policies based exclusively on prohibition, interdiction and policing, and why?
- What alternative policies — such as the legalization and regulation of the drugs trade, or voluntary codes of conduct for transparency in minerals extraction — are being advocated, by whom, and to what effect?
- What damage mitigation efforts — interdiction and law enforcement — are essential?
- What activities are criminal under any definition and should be the priorities for Africa’s law enforcement efforts?
- What European and American policies in this field are detrimental to Africa’s interests?
- How can African nations develop and implement policies that serve the continent’s core interests?
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Host City: Bahir Dar

Bahir Dar is one of the leading tourist attractions in Ethiopia, situated along the shores of Lake Tana, Ethiopia’s largest lake and the source of the Blue Nile. Other than the breath-taking view of Lake Tana, the city gets its beauty from the avenues lined with palm trees and a variety of colourful flowers. Bahir Dar is a rich part of Ethiopian history. This history has been well captured by the distinguished Ethiopian historian, Professor Richard Pankhurst. The following essay offers a brief historical background on the venue of the Tana Forum.

Ethiopia and the Nile

Threats, Discoveries and Disputes

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

Inter-Dependency

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

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

Variations in Nile Flow

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

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

Ethiopian Control over the Nile?

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

Power over the Nile was accordingly voiced by a succession of no fewer than seven medieval Ethiopian monarchs: Lalibela (1183-1225), Na‘akuto La‘ab (1203-1250), ‘Amda Seyon I (1312-1342), Sayfa Ar’ad, Dawit I (1388-1409), Zar’a Yaqob (1433-1468) and Lebra Dengel (1508-1540).

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

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

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

"Discovery" of the Source of the Nile

Any discussion of "discovering" the Source of the Nile, or any other geographical feature, should be qualified by the understanding that what is reported to have been "discovered" by foreign "explorers" was in all probably known to the local inhabitants since time immemorial. The honour of "discovering", i.e. first describing, the Source of the Abbay, belongs to the early 17th century Portuguese and Spanish Jesuit travellers to Ethiopia, and, more specifically to the Spaniard Jerónimo Lobo, who visited the country in 1618.

Lobo’s report on his Ethiopian travels, including his visit to the Source of the Nile, is couched in a matter-of-fact manner, but conforms so fully to later descriptions of the area that it can only be accepted as genuine.

Its veracity was, however, later challenged by the Scottish traveller James Bruce, who dismissed Lobo as "the greatest liar of the Jesuits". He did so, we can only assume, because he wanted to be acclaimed the first "discoverer" of the Source.

The Source

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

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

Lobo’s Account

Lobo’s account, to which we must now turn, though brief gives a seemingly accurate picture which could have been based only on personal observation. He describes "two circular pools or wells of water", which, he says, could more appropriately be called "pits". Four spans in width and separated from each other by a distance of a stone’s throw, they differed significantly in depth.

Lobo goes on to observe that the whole nearby plain, and especially the part near the sources, seemed “a subterranean lake” because the ground was “so swollen and undermined with water that it appears to bubble up when a person walks on it, which is seen more clearly when there are large rainfalls for then the ground yields and goes down at any step one takes on it, and the reason it does not swallow up anyone who walks on it is that, since all the land is green and this part had many various grasses and herbs, the roots are so intertwined that, with the little soil that holds them together, they can withstand.”

The second source, which he says, lay to the east of the first, was "so deep that with a measure of more than twenty spans the bottom could not be found".
Jesuits such as Lobo, with his first hand knowledge of the Sources, played an important part in Nile history, for they rejected the age-old belief that the rulers of Ethiopia could control the flow of Nile water. One of the most prominent of their number, Baltazar Tellez, emphatically dismissed any such suggestion, declaring that the river, with its immense mass of water could not be re-directed over the vast area suggested, as so much of it was occupied by steep and rugged mountains.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As far as the Blue Nile was concerned the Ethiopian ruler Emperor Menelik, who had only six years earlier overcome an Italian attempt to establish a Protectorate over his country by force, felt it necessary to establish amicable
relations with the British. They were pressing him to conclude, on 15 May 1902, what was clearly an “Unequal Treaty” – a term used for treaties imposed by the European Powers in China, for example. Article 3 stated that he engaged “not to construct or allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tana, or the Sobat [river] which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile, except in agreement with the governments of Great Britain and the Sudan”, i.e. the governments of Egypt and Sudan both under British occupation.

Menelik could perhaps afford to agree to this Unequal Treaty because Ethiopia, at that stage of her economic development, had no immediate need for dams or other works on the Blue Nile, Lake Tana or Sobat. It was obvious, however, that as the country developed it would in all probability require more Nile water for irrigation, hydroelectric power etc. – hence the restriction imposed upon it by the 1902 treaty. That treaty was detrimental to Ethiopian interests as it imposed a restriction on the country’s development – a restriction which would become increasingly serious as her economic progress advanced.

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

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

Tourist information
The capital city of the State of Amhara is Bahir-Dar. The State of Amhara consists of 10 administrative zones, one special zone, 129 woredas, and 38 urban centres. Amharic is the working language of the state. The State of Amhara covers an estimated area of 161,828 square kilometres.

Location
The State of Amhara is located in the north-western and north-central part of Ethiopia. The State shares common borders with the state of Tigray in the north, Afar in the east, Oromiya in the south, Benishangul/Gumuz in the south-west, and the Republic of Sudan in the west.

Major Economic Activities
About 85% of the people are engaged in agriculture. The State is one of the major Teff (staple food) producing areas in the country. Barley, wheat, oil seeds, sorghum, maize, wheat, oats, beans and peas are major crops produced in large quantities.

Cash crops such as cotton, sesame, sunflower, and sugarcane grow in the vast and virgin tract of the region’s lowlands. The water resources from Lake Tana and all the rivers found in the region provide immense potential for irrigation development.

About 450,000 hectares of arable land is irrigable and suitable, especially for horticultural development.

Rivers and Lakes
Tana, the largest lake in Ethiopia, is located at centre of the region. It covers an area of 36,000 km². The rivers and lakes of the region have immense potential for hydroelectric power generation, irrigation and fishery development.

Minerals
The State of Amhara has mineral resources such as coal, shell, limestone, lignite, gypsum, gemstone, silica, sulfur and bentonite. Hot springs and mineral water are also found in the region.

Tourism and Heritage
The 12th Century rock-hewn churches of Lalibela and the palaces in Gondar are world-known heritages in Ethiopia. The traditional mural paintings and hand craft, the preserved corpse of the royalty found in the ancient monasteries in Lake-Tana, as well as the Semien mountains national park, which shelters the endemic Walia ibex are spectacular tourist attractions. Three tourist attractions found in the region are registered in the UNESCO list of world heritages. Besides these known heritages, the Blue Nile Falls, the caves and unique stones in northern Showa, and the Merto Le Mariam church are special tourist attractions.

Important Tips

**Altitude**
The altitude of Addis Ababa is 2500 meters (8000 feet) and may affect some visitors. You may feel a little tired or sleepless for the first 24 hours. Therefore, do not over exert yourselves by doing tiring exercises. The altitude of Bahir Dar, at 1800 meters (5900 feet), is considerably lower.

**Currency**
The “Birr” is the Ethiopian currency. 1 USD is equal to about 17.34 Birr. As the Birr is floating, check before you change your currency but all banks have the same rate. ATM machines are available and international bank cards such as Visa and MasterCard are accepted.

**Weather**
The month of April is usually sunny but there can be occasional rain. The average day temperature will be around 22 degrees Celsius (71 degrees Fahrenheit) and will be considerably less in the evenings and mornings. Bring a warm jacket for the evenings.
Acknowledgements

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies of Addis Ababa University serves as the Forum’s Secretariat. The Secretariat would like to express its sincere gratitude to those who contributed to making the Forum a success.

The Secretariat particularly extends its special thanks to the Board of Advisors for their invaluable leadership. These include Forum Chairperson H.E. Olusegun Obasanjo, and members, H.E. Thabo Mbeki, H.E. Pierre Buyoya, H.E. Betty Bigombe, Professor Ndiaye Ndioro, Professor Mahmood Mamdani, Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun, as well as Forum CEO Professor Andreas Esheté.

We sincerely appreciate the diverse contributions and support from the following offices, institutions and organizations:

- The Ethiopian Government:
  - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
  - National Intelligence and Security Service
  - The Federal Police
  - Addis Ababa Traffic Police
  - The Amhara Regional Government
- German Federal Foreign Office / German International Cooperation (GIZ)
- The Kingdom of Norway / Embassy of Norway to Ethiopia
- African Union Commission
- Ethiopian Airlines
- Avanti Blue Nile Hotel
- Kuriftu Resort & Spa
- Bahir Dar City Administration

In addition, our heartfelt gratitude goes to the staff at IPSS for their selfless and dedicated service.

As we eagerly look forward to the third edition of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, we count on your continued support and cooperation in the years to come.

Sincerely,

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