

#### This Year's Theme

The AfCFTA: Revitalizing Pan Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa

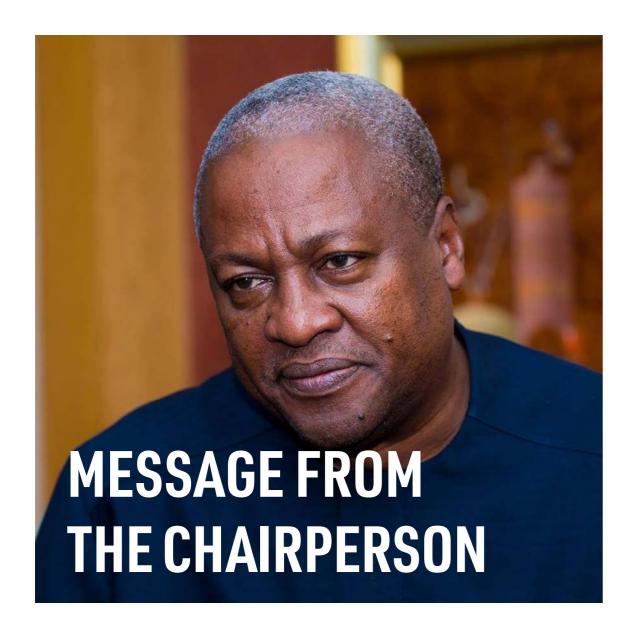
# PRE-FORUM BOOKLET 2020





# **CONTENTS**

| Tana Board           | •  |
|----------------------|----|
| Technical Committee  | 10 |
| Concept Note         | 1: |
| Summary on the Theme | 18 |
| AGENDA               | 20 |
| Technical Note       | 40 |
| Code of Conduct      | 40 |



In the past 9 years, the baobab tree has been both a literal and figurative tree at the Tana Forum. From the stage design to our emblem, its canopy casts its shadow all through your experience at Lake Tana. This year, although we are not underneath it, its symbolism is ever more pronounced. In the spirit of commonality, wisdom and moral duty symbolized by the baobab tree, I would like to welcome you to the 9th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa.

The world as we know it is undergoing a dramatic and unprecedented remaking. Nothing in recent memory has affected everyone on every continent, as instantly, intimately and acutely as the COVID-19 pandemic; uniting us in our resolve to work together towards a return to normalcy. As we yearn for normal, we also look ahead as you and I both know that the very best of Africa is yet to come.

While it represents our great shared future, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is, paradoxically, one of the most ancient tenets of Pan-Africanism. Regional integration and the notion of a common destiny are the ideological building blocks of the AfCFTA.

In the words of the great Pan-Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah, "It is clear that we must find an African solution to African problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world."

It is impossible to limit the discussion of economic integration without taking into consideration the state of peace and security in Africa. The increasing interconnectedness that the AfCFTA entails and compels requires state-centric concerns to include human and economic security. Under the theme "The AfCFTA: Revitalizing Pan-Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development" we will contemplate and unpack the kind of multilateralism envisaged in the implementation of the AfCFTA.

As we grapple with the many changes this year has brought, it is comforting to know that our partnerships are enduring. I would like to express my gratitude to H. E Abiy Ahmed Ali, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia for graciously hosting and supporting the Tana Forum. I would also like to thank 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, United States Institute for Peace, Humanity United, Open Society Institute, the Governments of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Portugal, New Zealand, Japan and Switzerland, the Brenthurst Foundation, Dangote Foundation, the Munich Security Conference and Ethiopian Airlines.

Until we can meet again, to mingle, ally and celebrate each other, I wish you all an excellent and productive experience wherever our virtual baobab tree covers you.

#### H. E John Dramani Mahama

Former President of Ghana and Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board



# **TANA BOARD**

Current board members serving for a three-year term:

#### H.E. John Dramani Mahama (Chairperson),

Former President, Republic of Ghana

#### H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn,

Former Prime Minister, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

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

Former President, Republic of Malawi

#### Amb. Lakhdar Brahimi.

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of Algeria and former United Nations and Arab League Special Envoy to Syria

#### Dr. Lassina Zerbo,

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

#### Amb. Soad M. Shalaby,

Director General, Egyptian African Centre for Women (EACW), Egypt

#### Mr. Alain Foka,

Journalist, Radio France International, France/ Cameroon

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

Former President, Central African Republic

#### Prof. Patrick Loch Otieno Lumumba,

Former Director and Chief Executive Officer, Kenya School of Laws, Kenya Former board members:

#### 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

#### Prof. Andreas Eshete,

Special Advisor to the Prime Minister with the rank of a Minister, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (former Deputy Chairperson)

#### Dr. Tedros Adhanom,

Director General, World Health Organization and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

#### Prof. Ndioro Ndiaye,

former Minister for Social Development/former Minister for Women's, Children's and Family Affairs, Republic of Senegal

#### Ms. Betty Bigombe,

former State Minister of Water Resources, Republic of Uganda and former Director of Fragility, Conflict and Violence, World Bank

#### H.E. Hirut Zemene.

Former State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

#### Prof. '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

#### Prof. Souleymane Bachir Diagne,

Professor at Columbia University, Department of Philosophy and Francophone Studies, USA

#### Amb. Berhane Gebre-Christos,

Former Diplomat, Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopia

#### H.E. Temesgen Tiruneh,

President, Amhara National Regional State, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Former Director General, Information Network Security Agency (INSA)

#### Dr Hashim Tewfik,

Former Deputy Director, National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS), Ethiopia

#### H.E. Luísa Dias Diogo, Former Prime Minister,

Republic of Mozambique



## **TECHNICAL COMMITTEE**

The Technical Committee's role is to provide advice to the Tana Secretariat on agenda setting and the organization of the Forum. The Committee aims to advise the Secretariat on procedures and content to strengthen the Forum's capacity to generate fruitful discussions and give participants a meaningful experience. The current members of the Technical Committee are:

#### Mr. Alex Ratebaye Tordeta (Chairperson)

Chad - Deputy Chief of Staff, African Union Commission

#### Dr. iur Mehari Taddele Maru

Ethiopia - International Consultant on African Union affairs and a Research Fellow at the NATO Defense College

#### Ms Semiha Adbdulmelik

Ethiopia - Governance and Policy Analyst/former Senior Political Affairs Officer, Peace and Security Department, African Union Commission

#### Ms Hafsa Maalim

Kenya - Senior Horn of Africa Analyst at International IDEA, African Union Peace and Security Department

#### Ms Hannah Tsadik

Ethiopia – Director of Global Policy, Life & Peace Institute

#### Dr. Jide M. Okeke

Nigeria - Regional Programme Coordinator, Regional Programme for Africa, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

#### Dr. George Mukundi

Kenya/South Africa - CEO, Maendeleo Group

#### Ms. Haja Saramba Kandeh

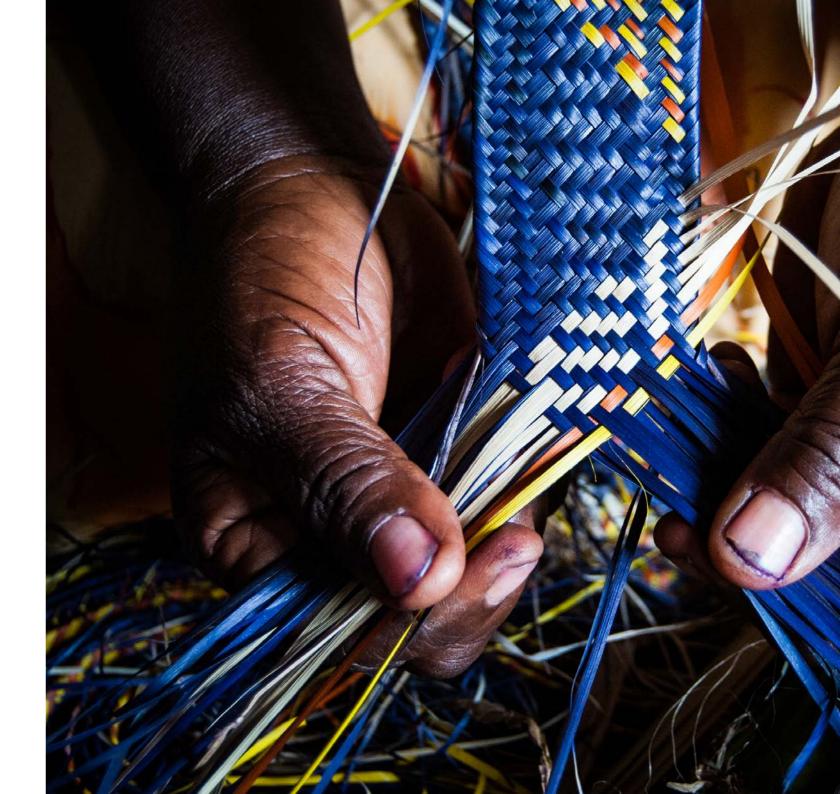
Sierra Leone - Legal and Gender Associate, AIDS-Free World

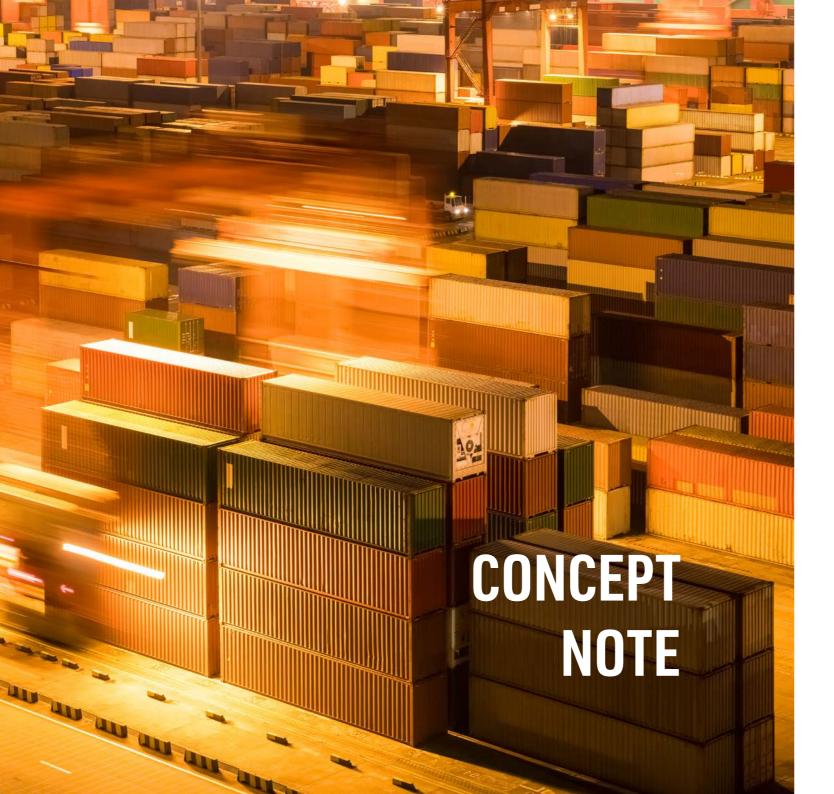
#### **Dr. Yonas Adaye**

Ethiopia - Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies

#### Mrs Michelle Ndiaye (Ex-Officio)

Senegal - Former Director, Africa Peace and Security Programme, Institute for Peace and Security Studies and Former Head of the Tana Forum Secretariat.





#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

#### **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 flagship security conference called the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, now popularly known as the **Tana Forum.** This initiative is a response to the Tripoli Declaration's appeal for "African-centred solutions" and the treatment of peace and security as a collective "intellectual challenge."

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

#### Overall and specific objectives

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

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 gaining new perspectives required to resolve critical peace and security problems;
- Giving opportunities to political decision-makers to interact and consult with a critical mass of African constituency and key global actors in the peace, security and development sectors;
- Contributing to an open and substantive debate on peace and security issues of strategic importance to the continent vis-à-vis the rest of the world;
- Communicating with and listening to "profound African voices on the ground" on various dimensions

and components of peace and security concerns across the continent, thus facilitating the much-desired inclusive dialogue among governments and other African security stakeholders;

• Sensitizing and mobilizing a broad spectrum of actors and stakeholders to promote awareness of, and the imperative for, African ownership of peace and security solutions.

#### **Expected results**

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

- The continuous conceptualization and projection of the peace and security issues affecting the
  continent from the perspective of African citizens and governments. In that regard, substantial
  attention will be given to the emerging body of "home-grown" African approaches to peace and
  security challenges and prospects;
- The building of a vibrant and broad-based constituency on peace and security issues through the establishment of non-threatening platforms for dialogue, networking and exchange of information between policy-makers, researchers and practitioners. To sustain such platforms, a cross-section of leaders from different sectors will be called upon to act as interlocutors and champions with a view to mobilising "top-down" as well as "bottom-up" African voices on the peace and security priorities the continent should be pursuing;
- 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 national, regional and continental organizations across the public, private and civil society sectors.

#### Forum strategy

**Participation:** The Forum will bring together high-level decision-makers on peace and security drawn from the governmental spheres (HoSGs, AU organs and RECs); non-African regional institutions (UN, EU); the African private sector and civil society networks as well as scholars and practitioners of peace and security.

Discussion format: Discussions will be designed in order to: (i) facilitate a seamless exchange of views and

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

experiences in an open, informal and independent manner, (ii) be action-oriented and forward looking, and (iii) maintain its very essence as a consultative, rather than decision-making, forum. The format will mostly be in the form of interactive panel discussions that actively includes and involves all participants. The Forum and its related events will be organized virtually from 19-24 October, 2020.

Impact and effectiveness: The Forum is convened on an annual basis. It has, in the short period of its existence, become a flagship platform and 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 and/or constrained by diplomatic protocol.

#### **Forum Status**

The maiden Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa took place from 14 to 15 April 2012 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, on the theme "Managing Diversity and State Fragility." It attracted 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 foremost 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 drawn from all religious sectors. 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, it explored Africa's 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 critical natural resources, especially land, water, the seas, and forests and biodiversity. The Forum's annual Meles Zenawi Lecture paid tribute to the Nobel Peace Prize winner and Kenyan environmental and political rights advocate, late Dr. Wangari Muta Maathai.

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 and allied institutions with the capacity to assume forward-looking leadership and ownership of continental and global peace and security agenda. The Forum's annual Meles Zenawi Lecture paid tribute to late Gamal Abdel Nasser, Former President of Egypt.

The 8th Tana Forum, which took place from 4 to 5 May 2019 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, discussed 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 multiplier effects of the nudge towards rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the event touched upon a wide range of governance, security, developmental issues in the region, and also deliberated on ways to support, advance and consolidate them. The annual Meles Zenawi Lecture paid tribute to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the South African anti-apartheid activist and politician.

The 9th Tana Forum, will take place virtually from 19 to 24 October 2020 on the theme "The AfCFTA: Revitalizing Pan Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa". The African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) is believed to be an unprecedented initiative to generate vast economies of scale on an intra-continental basis, principally by eliminating 90 per cent of tariffs on goods and significantly reducing non-tariff barriers (NTBs) on merchandise and services, such as differences in licensing regimes and regulatory standards. The CFTA provides stakeholders across various industries with the opportunity for large-

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

scale production and access to continental market inputs both in terms of natural and human resources. Through the coordination and facilitation of trade policies and instruments across RECs and across Africa in general, the agreement aims to promote and expedite regional and continental integration processes both in economic and socio-cultural terms. The Annual Meles Zenawi Lecture Series will pay tributes to the late former President of the Republic of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa; peacemaker and pan-African advocate, as well as Professor Thandika Mkandawire; Malawian economist and intellectual giant.

# SUMMARY ON THE THEME

#### Introduction

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), a timely and ambitious initiative brings 55 African economies together to form the world's largest trading bloc of more than one billion people, with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) worth USD 3.4 trillion, having entered into force with the mandatory 22 signatories in May 2019. When it becomes fully operational, it is expected to be a game-changer for the continent giving its potential to boost intra-African trade by 52.3% simply by eliminating import duties and to double that figure if non-tariff barriers are also reduced.

The AfCFTA agreement creates the foundation for a single continental market for goods and services with the free movement of persons and investments. It will provide stakeholders across various sectors and industries the opportunity to enjoy economies of large-scale production as well as free access to a continental market. Through the coordination and facilitation of trade policies and instruments within and across jurisdictions, the agreement aims to expedite regional and continental integration processes in all its ramifications.

With the benefit of hindsight, for instance, artificial borders and the several constraints it imposes have become recurrent sources of conflict and by extension, a major barrier to the full achievement of the Pan-Africanist (and nation-building) project in Africa. Although it is the world's second largest, Africa is an extremely fragmented continent: 21 of its 55 countries have GDP that is less than USD 10 billion and a population of under 20 million.

At the heart of the initiative is therefore a broader, bolder and ambitious quest to reclaim, re-invent and re-energize the ideals of Pan-Africanism that political, socioeconomic and security exegeses had allowed to wane since its peak days during the 1960s. It is borne out of growing consensus around the urgent need to reboot and deploy the ideals of Pan-Africanism as the first step towards continental integration, sustainable development and peace and security. Various decisions and instruments of the African Union (AU), such as the 1991 Abuja Treaty, Agenda 2063 and the 2018 Protocol on Free Movement, recognize the free movement of people, goods and services as crucial elements in regional and continental integration that includes the rights to entry, residence and establishment in a country other than one's own. Almost six decades later, the struggle for economic and political emancipation has still not been fully achieved; and in several cases, have stalled or witnessed reversals.

On 19-24 October 2020, high level African decision makers as well as stakeholders in the peace and security sector will converge virtually to discuss the actual and potential opportunities of the AfCFTA during the 9th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa. The flagship annual event, now popularly known as the Tana Forum, is an Africa-centered, solution-oriented platform for innovative and enriching dialogue and deliberation on the continent's most pressing security challenges.

#### Contrasting views on the benefits and costs of continental free trade

The argument for or against free movement and open borders of any kind is very sensitive. While those who are against it are vehement in their concerns and fears about its potential afar-political and security backlash, proponents draw attention to how it is able to open up different national jurisdictions with limited or more of informal connections to a broader range of opportunities and innovations simply by connecting them through trade and investment. For the latter, the multiplier effect of open borders would lower prices of goods and services, raise employment and welfare, and generally lead to better conditions and standards of living for citizens. Both perspectives, in the final analysis, should be seen as flipsides of the same coin as the kind of open borders anticipated by AfCFTA could have positive and negative impacts for Africa and its citizens in the short, medium and long terms. The 9th Tana Forum will afford participants to anticipate and contemplate these contrasting views, come up with innovative ways to mitigate the adverse security challenges likely to be imposed by AfCFTA, and also harness its immense socioeconomic, political and developmental opportunities.

#### AfCFTA: A window of opportunity for conflict transformation in Africa?

The current economic outlook for Africa offers both an opportunity as well as constraint in terms of how far and how well the continent is able to achieve the aspirations and goals contained in AfCFTA. In specific terms, the continent is still largely dependent on revenues from the export of agricultural raw materials and minerals. More trade occurs outside the continent than within due to restrictive trade barriers, with about 70% of Africa's export to other parts of the world dominated by extractive commodities; ditto for 40% of intra-Africa trade. But despite accounting for only 3% of the share in global trade, Africa has some of the world's fastest growing economies. It is estimated that increased industrialization will result in higher employment in less volatile and more labor-intensive sectors such as manufacturing and services. With the continent's population set to double to 2.75 billion by 2060, the AfCFTA will be an avenue for growth and increased prosperity across Africa; particularly so for the youth of the continent.

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

However, it is impossible to limit the discussion of economic integration without taking into consideration the state of peace and security in the continent. While security is usually the preoccupation of states, the modern state is no longer the only referent object of security. Within the changing context of the kind of multilateralism envisaged in the implementation of AfCFTA, societies and the ecosystem of non-state actors are also referents of security. This is particularly so in today's interconnected world where traditional and non-traditional security threats overlap across national borders in ways that make the question of "security for whom, from what, and by what means" very pertinent. When addressing the security dimensions of free trade and open borders therefore, it becomes unhelpful to only focus narrowly on 'traditional' security concerns of states but to widening the scope to include human and economic security.

The overall goal of AfCFTA is to create conditions where the free movement of persons, goods and services is not impeded in whatever form or shape. Even with the best of intentions, this important aspiration can only be achieved by taking full cognizance of the potential impacts of the current- and future- state of peace and security on the continent. However, the kind of free trade and open borders envisaged under AfCFTA also comes with considerable collateral risks and security concerns linked, for instance, to the spread of communicable diseases (e.g. Ebola and COVID-19); rise in the number and activities of terrorist organizations and insurgency movements; the activities of transnational criminal groups involved in a wide range of activities such as trafficking of humans, arms, drug and fake pharmaceutics, all of which pose real danger to peace and security. There is also the additional concern that perennial internal conflicts and security challenges facing African countries, including those related to intolerance and xenophobia against foreigners, could slow down the implementation of AfCFTA.

It is important to acknowledge that security concerns are not evenly distributed among states and across the continent. There are variations in terms of vulnerabilities and threat situations as well as in the preparedness and capabilities of states to respond to them. It is safe to assume that if AfCFTA could resolve issues of multiple and overlapping memberships in Regional Economic Communities (RECs), some of the modest integration achievements made on the continent due to the presence and effectiveness of current regional communities or mechanisms, could receive a major boost with the successful take-off and implementation of the AfCFTA.

The AfCFTA will become operational in 2021 just as the AU campaign on 'Silencing the Guns, creating conducive conditions for Africa's development' winds down. While the continuation of armed insurgencies,

civil wars and terrorist activities in different parts of the continent are a reminder that it is 'not yet Uhuru', the campaign to silence the guns still resonates by its emphasis on the important point that conflicts must end for development to start. It is going to be a major challenge to expect that ongoing conflicts in different parts of the continent would not impose pressure, if not severely hinder, the pursuit of free trade and open borders regime envisaged under the AfCFTA.

#### **COVID-19 and Continental Free Trade in Africa**

Despite its late entry into, and relatively slow spread in Africa, Coronavirus has infected over one million Africans (according to WHO statistical data dated 7 August, 2020). On the one hand, the impact of the pandemic has gone beyond a health issue, destructing trade and investment plans in the continent due to various measures undertaken by countries to help curb the disease, thus affecting the implementation of the AfCFTA. Trade in essential medical products has also suffered unprecedentedly shaking both demand and supply and impacting on care for affected and infected citizens. Globally, many countries are taking protectionism measures including a ban on exports of vital supplies including ventilators and in so doing undoing years of multilateralism which further affect access to essential medical and other commodities in Africa. Evidence suggests return to projectionist approach is resulting in unnecessary rising costs of essentials risking economic development policies of many countries. Along with countries' efforts to manage and mitigate the impact of the pandemic, a number of challenges have surfaced. Industrial and business closures have left capital and natural resources idle. This has escalated underutilization of labor and capital resulting in loss of jobs. The number of lockdowns has increased the cost of trade and trade transactions and decline in global exports. Africa exports non-essential goods mainly natural resources, raw materials and agricultural products especially crops to countries seriously affected by the pandemic. However, due to various contingency measures put up by these countries to help curb the pandemic, there have been a severe cut offs as a result of decline in global exports. The cost of travel services has also declined. Tourism, the continent's ideal source of income has also been affected severely. Moreover, the continent is facing massive outflows of capital and dumping of assets in its security markets creating pressure on currencies. The continent's strong business corporates have been hit hard by COVID-19. Informal markets that are source of income for 60% of the total population have also lost their incomes. Cross-border trade is impossible as most countries closed their borders breaking the supply chain. All these challenges are putting pressure on governments to deliver adequate responses to save economies and falling value of currencies.

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

Based on the recommendation of the AfCFTA Secretariat, the launching of the AfCFTA will be postponed to 1 January 2021 or later though this was scheduled to take place on the 1st of July 2020. According to the recently appointed AfCFTA Secretary General, Mr. Wamkele Mene, two main reasons stand behind the postponement: the need to shift current efforts to fighting COVID-19 to save lives and the challenges with simultaneous translation while conducting online trade negotiations. Whilst this is true, some of the preparation activities for initiation of the AfCFTA such as infrastructure and technology setups should still go ahead in readiness for when it will officially kickoff.

On the other side, the continent has witnessed several innovations which would not have been the case had it not been for the pandemic. Innovative responses to the pandemic in Kenya, Senegal, Ethiopia and Madagascar are just some of such good examples. These innovations speak to the heart of trade agreement i.e., the rules of origin that completely depend on the nationality of products, complementing the whole discussion on the long term plans for the AfCFTA. In addition, COVID-19 has brought to the platform the importance of health security and sharing of information on common communication risks. It has also brought into the conversation whether trade corridors can be transformed into health corridors during pandemics along with trade infrastructures that are in place. Currently, trade corridors are being negotiated to allow for the free flow of medical goods to fight the pandemic and a suspension on the import of essential products has also been proposed. Projectionist approach with unnecessary costs that hamper the economic development strategies of many countries also puts Africa in a strategic point to work within itself especially in securing essential commodities. Moreover, border shut-downs and the prioritization of national interests have served as a reminder that African countries should look inwards and work towards reducing dependencies by meeting the needs of their own populations.

Currently, the AfCFTA the Secretariat, the AU's Trade Commissioner and member states are concentrating on two major issues: ensuring trade continues as much as possible and setting long term plans for the AfCFTA by enhancing its preparedness to fight future pandemics. An emergency task force was convened by the AU Chairperson South African President Cyril Ramaphosa, to address how trade can support the public health crisis, how the AfCFTA can promote the production of generic medicine, and how to use the AfCFTA to establish African industries tapping regional value chains to manufacture other essential medical equipment such as ventilators, which are in short supply in Africa.

#### The Global Backdrop of the AfCFTA

Finally, at the 9<sup>th</sup> Tana Forum, participants will not miss the opportunity to discuss and contemplate the global context and perspectives of the AfCFTA, especially as they relate to current global trade regime epitomized in the World Trade Organization (WTO). In doing this, it is important to recall that the central tenets of trade facilitation within the WTO framework include import and export procedures, customs, information technology, payment and insurance for cross-border movement of goods, and the overall standardization and harmonization of border procedures, among others. These same elements also frame the AfCFTA.

What this implies is that the AfCFTA will need to design and put in place robust and innovative strategies to mitigate the adverse impacts of intensifying international protectionism and the potential for them to degenerate into full-scale trade wars. This is particularly so at a time of hyper-nationalism and trade protectionism characterized by the imposition of tariff barriers by major world economies such as the United States, Canada, China and the European Union (EU), with adverse implications for developing economies. By extension, also, discussions at the Tana Forum should logically ponder the shape and content of Africa's relationship with the WTO as the implementation of the AfCFTA starts.

#### **Guiding questions**

- · What are the implications of COVID-19 affecting the implementation of AfCFTA?
- How should African states mobilize, build and maintain consensus on the issue of sovereignty?
- What is the role of continental and regional institutions in mobilizing consensus and securing the necessary political will and commitment towards the successful implementation of the AfCFTA?
- · Which category of states are likely to benefit from or be left behind in the quest towards open borders and increased competition, and what should be done to protect them?
- How should small and large economies prepare themselves to harness the opportunities and benefits of AfCFTA in the short and long term?

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

- · What might the uneven adoption and uneven spread effects of the AfCFTA mean for the eventual consolidation of integration in Africa?
- · What are the peace and security dimensions of free trade and open borders?
- · What peace and security challenges are likely to emerge out of the implementation of AfCFTA, and should African countries individually and as a collective respond to them? Can the AfCFTA, in turn, promote regional economies for peace?
- What is the prevailing peace and security situation in Africa, and how can those potentially undermine the actualization of the AfCFTA?
- What is the prospective roles of key stakeholders or constituencies such as the African civil society and private sector at different stages in the implementation of the AfCFTA?
- · What does ownership of the AfCFTA mean at the continental, regional, national and grassroots levels?
- $\cdot$  What is the role of external partners in actualizing the aspirations and goals of the AfCFTA?
- Is there a substantive role for the African civil society, regional institutions, the private and informal sectors in the take-off and implementation of AfCFTA?
- Will the operationalization of the AfCFTA lead to progress on other fronts in terms of the implementation of key AU decisions, including the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons?
- What does AfCFTA mean for the quest to reclaim and restore the ideals of pan-Africanism, and what shape is pan-Africanism likely to take in the light of the AfCFTA?
- · What lessons can AfCFTA learn from the experiences of existing common market arrangements, especially that of the EU following the exit of Britain?

How is Africa going to capitalize on all the experiences, lessons learnt, good initiatives and innovations
that are being developed on the continent to help curb the pandemic and other future threats for
the benefit of ACFTA and its smooth implementation and operations? Can the AfCFTA help insulate
African economies and trade needs from global shocks?

#### Resources

https://www.tralac.org/resources/by-region/cfta.html

https://au.int/en/documents/20180316/afcfta-questions-answers

https://www.brookings.edu/research/a-continental-strategy-for-economic-diversification-throughthe-afcfta-and-intellectual-property-rights/

https://qz.com/africa/1633022/africa-free-trade-deal-will-boost-continent-economy/

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2019/09/03/the-afcfta-the-first-step-of-a-longmarathon/

https://issafrica.org/pscreport/psc-insights/africas-free-trade-initiative-could-bolster-continentalpeace

https://blogs.eui.eu/migrationpolicycentre/barriers-free-movement-africa-remove/

https://au.int/en/treaties/protocol-treaty-establishing-african-economic-community-relating-freemove-ment-persons

http://ipss-addis.org/the-afcfta-should-capitalize-on-covid-19-to-drive-integration/





#### **MONDAY, 19 October 2020 - Virtual Events**

13:45 - 14:45 (GMT+3) Annual Book Launch

Title of the Book: Africa First

Author

Dr Jakkie Cilliers

Discussant

Dr Martha Mutisi, Senior Programme Officer, International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

Moderator

Prof. Kenneth Omeje, Director, Manifold Crown Consulting Services

14:45 - 15:00 (GMT+3) **Break (15 minutes)** 

15:00 - 16:30 (GMT+3) Meles Zenawi Lecture

Tribute to Benjamin Mkapa and Professor Thandika Mkandawire

Speakers:

- Dr. Adebayo Olukoshi, Director, Africa and West Asia IDEA
- Mr. Brian Kagoro, Director, Programme Support Division, Africa. Regional Office (AfRO), Open Society Foundation

**Moderator:** 

 Ms. Hannah Tsadik, Director of Global Policy, Life & Peace Institute (LPI)

16:30 - 17:00 (GMT+3) **Break (30 minutes)** 

**AGENDA** 

17:00 - 18:30 (GMT+3)

#### Side Event 1

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

#### **Panellists**

- · H.E. Dr Workneh Gebeyehu, Executive Secretary, IGAD
- Professor Eddy Maloka, CEO, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)
- Dr Raji Tajudeen, Head, Division of Public Health Institutes and Research, Africa CDC
- · Reverend Dr. Fidon Mwombeki, General Secretary, AACC
- · Dr. Gilles Yabi, Founder, WATHI Citizen Think Tank, Senegal

#### Moderator

 H.E. Abdirahman Yusuf Ali Aynte, Former Minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Somalia

#### **Tuesday 20 October 2020**

15:00 - 16:30 (GMT+3)

#### **Opening Session**

#### **Welcome Address**

- H.E. Temesgen Tiruneh, President of the Amhara Region
- H.E. Sahle-work Zewde, President of Ethiopia

#### **Keynote Address**

· H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, AU Commission Chairperson

#### **State of Peace and Security in Africa 2020**

· H.E. John Dramani Mahama, Chairperson, Tana Forum Board

#### **UN75 Initiative and the Future of AU-UN Cooperation**

 H.E. USG Fabrizio Hochschild Drummond, Special Advisor to the Secretary General, United Nations

16:30 - 17:00 (GMT+3)

#### **Break (30 minutes)**

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

17:00 - 18:30 (GMT+3)

#### Side Event 2

#### The Other Pandemic: Illicit Financial Flows and COVID-19 (MSC)

#### Panellists:

- Mr Martin Jäger, State Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
- Ms Ghada Fathi Waly, Director General and Executive Director, Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations, Vienna
- Hon Ambassador Raychelle Omamo, Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Kenya, Nairobi

#### **Moderator**

Dr Comfort Ero, Africa Program Director, International Crisis Group, Nairobi

30

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

#### Wednesday 21 October 2020

15:00 - 16:30 (GMT+3)

#### **High-Level Panel**

#### The AfCFTA, Revitalizing Pan-Africanism and Integration

Since the signing of the Abuja Treaty of 1991 calling for the establishment of the African Economic Community in pursuit of a fully integrated Africa, continental economic integration has been a key objective for many member states. The AfCFTA's project of establishing economic solidarity among African states promises the peoples of the continent new horizons of prosperity and peace.

This High-Level Panel will bring together African Leaders to deliberate upon the vision of the AfCFTA and its potential for redefining Pan-Africanism for the 21st Century.

#### **Guiding Questions**

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

#### Panellists:

- · H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of Liberia
- H.E. Hailemariam Dessalegn, Former Prime Minister of Ethiopia
- Mr. Stephen Karingi, Regional Integration and Trade Director, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

#### Moderator

 H.E. Ambassador Abdoulaye Diop, Chief of Staff, African Union Commission

16:30 - 17:00 (GMT+3)

**Break (30 minutes)** 

## 17:00 - 18:30 (GMT+3) African University Essay Competition Winners

#### Panellists:

- Mr Darlington Tshuma, PhD Candidate, Peacebuilding Programme at the Durban University of Technology
- Mr Nnamani Chikezie Nchedo, Ph.D. student, Department of Biotechnology at the Federal University of Technology, Owerri
- Mr Sagni Getu Sori, Assistant Lecturer at the College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ambo University

#### Moderator

Dr. Yonas Adaye, Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

32

#### **Thursday 22 October**

15:00 - 16:30 (GMT+3)

#### **Session 1**

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

Even in the midst of a global crisis, the AfCFTA can serve as an effective tool to manage response and promote post-COVID recovery. The session will focus on opportunities for accelerating implementation of the AfCFTA amidst current global issues and threats - health epidemics, climate change and rising debt.

#### **Guiding Questions**

- How do international organizations working around COVID-19 contribute to the acceleration of the AfCFTA?
- What challenges do global governance institutions face and must address; and what are the links to Peace and Security?
- What linkages can be developed with the private sector to accelerate the AfCFTA?
- How are country-level implementation plans adapted in the COVID era?

#### **Panellists**

- H.E. Amira El Fadil, Commissioner for Social Affairs, African Union Commission
- H.E. Wamkele Mene, Secretary General, African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA)
- · Ms. Berhane Demissie, Managing Partner, Cepheus Capital
- Dr. Frannie Leautier, Senior Partner & CEO, South Bridge Investments

#### Moderator

 Dr Taffere Tesfachew, Former Director, Division for Africa, Least Developed Countries and Special Programmes, UNCTAD

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

#### Friday 23 October 2020

13:45 - 14:45 (GMT+3)

#### Side Event 3

Towards the Pan-African Dream? African Feminist Considerations for the AfCFTA – (AfriFem Macroeconomics Collective)

#### **Panellists**

- Ms Memory Kachambwa Director, FEMNET
- Ms Chenai Mukumba Policy Research and Advocacy Manager, Tax Justice Network, Africa
- · Ms Fatimah Kelleher, International Women's Rights Strategist/Adviser

#### Moderator

 Ms Crystal Simeoni, Director, Nawi - AfriFem Macroeconomics Collective

14:45 - 15:00 (GMT+3)

**Break (15 minutes)** 

15:00 - 16:30 (GMT+3)

#### **Session 2**

#### The AfCFTA and Conflict Transformation

The AfCFTA, all other things being equal, has the enormous potential to reduce conflict by making development a mitigating factor to reduce conflict (e.g. border conflict). The more trade there is, the less likelihood for conflict. There is, therefore, the mutual dependence of peace and development. Unless leaders make the point to silence the guns, they will not be able to utilize the enormous potentials of free trade properly.

#### **Guiding Questions**

- What is the role of AfCFTA in relation to the different types of conflicts in Africa?
- How exactly will the AfCFTA play a mitigating role in easing conflicts within countries and between communal groups in a country?

#### Panellists:

- H.E. SRSG Hanna Tetteh, UN Special Representative to the African Union (UNOAU)
- H.E. SRSG Mankeur Ndiaye, Special Representative and Head of MINUSCA
- USG Ms. Cristina Duarte, Special Adviser on Africa to United Nations Secretary-General, Cape Verde
- H.E. Mr Rémi Maréchaux, Ambassador of France to Ethiopia and Representative to the African Union

#### Moderator

 Ms. Faten Aggad, Adviser to the AU High Representative on Relations with the EU

16:30 - 17:00 (GMT+3)

#### **Break (30 minutes)**

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

17:00 - 18:30 (GMT+3)

#### Side Event 4

## Peace And Stability: A Recipe For Successful AFCTA Implementation (Humanity United)

#### Panellists:

- Mr Désiré Assogbavi, International Law Specialist and Expert on Pan African institutions and African politics.
- Mrs Fatima Yerima Askira, Founder and Executive Director, Borno Women Development Initiative
- · Mr Rehema Mussanzi, Centre Resolution Conflicts
- Dr Jide Okeke, Africa Regional Programme Coordinator, UNDP
- Ms Yemisrach Kebede, Horn of Africa Regional Programme (HARP)
   Manager, Life & Peace Institute

#### **Moderators:**

- · Mr Akwasi Aidoo, Senior Fellow at Humanity United
- Ms Maria Kisumbi, Senior Advisor, Policy and Government Relations, Humanity United

36

#### Saturday 24 October 2020

13:45 - 14:45 (GMT+3) **Voices from TANA** 

14:45 - 15:00 (GMT+3) **Break (15 minutes)** 

15:00 - 16:30 (GMT+3)

#### Session 3

#### Making the AfCFTA Work

The implementation of the AfCFTA requires coordination across institutions, sectors and borders. But integration is not new to the continent and has been working fairly well. This session will explore what critical lessons to take from past and current practices as well as how actors, from local to global levels, can take up the mantle of implementation.

#### **Guiding Questions**

- What policy choices should Africa make to accelerate free trade across the continent?
- How can Africa harness and enhance the capabilities of youth to drive the AfCFTA?
- What is the role of the AfCFTA Secretariat in mobilizing a multisectoral approach to AfCFTA implementation?
- What role do international partnerships play in the accelerated implementation of the AfCFTA?
- What will successful AfCFTA implementation look like, and how can it be achieved beginning January 2021?

#### Panellists:

- H.E. Albert M. Muchanga, Commissioner for Trade and Industry, AU Commission
- · Ambassador Stephan Auer, Ambassador of Germany to Ethiopia
- Ms. Maureen Achieng, IOM Chief of Mission to Ethiopia and Representative to AU and UNECA
- Mr Emmanuel K Bensah, Jr. Deputy Executive Director-AfCFTA Policy Network

#### Moderator

 Dr. David Luke, Coordinator, Africa Trade Policy Centre, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

16:30 - 17:00 (GMT+3) **Break (30 minutes)** 

17:00 - 18:30 (GMT+3) **Closing Session** 

#### Moderator

· Chris Maroleng, Executive Director, Good Governance Africa

#### Takeaways:

- H.E. Ms Josefa Sacko, Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development, African Union Commission
- H.E. Ms Bogolo Joy Kenewendo, Managing Director of Kenewendo Advisory, Former Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry, Botswana

#### **Closing Remarks and Vote of Thanks**

· H.E. Sahle-work Zewde, President of Ethiopia

38



# **TECHNICAL NOTE**

#### **General Information**

The Tana Forum, Africa's foremost peace and security platform, will convene as a virtual conference for the first time from 19 - 24 October 2020. The 9th edition of the Forum will be held under the theme "The AfCFTA: Revitalizing Pan Africanism for Sustainable Peace and Development in Africa". Originally scheduled to take place in April 2020 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, the Forum was postponed due to concerns about the spread of COVID-19. Throughout the sessions the forum will employee KUDO online platform. The below logistical/technical note is developed to guide participants and ensure smooth participation.

#### Steps to follow before joining

Kindly make sure you have the following before joining the forum sessions

#### 1. A Good Headset

- ✓ Ideally, a USB Headset.
- ✓ Avoid using ear-buds type unless you are following from your phone.
- ✓ Place the microphone close to your mouth but avoid breathing into it.

#### 2. Good Internet Connectivity

- ✓ Use a wired connection (Preferred).
- ✓ If wired connection is not available, use high-speed Wi-Fi instead.
- ✓ (Ideally 20 and 5 Mbps, for download and upload respectively. 5Ghz / 802.11ac is highly recommended)

#### PRE-FORUM BOOKLET

#### 3. Web Cam

- ✓ An HD webcam is preferred to get a high quality video.
- ✓ Point the camera directly at yourself.
- ✓ When you seat in front of your computer, leave enough distance between you and the camera, so your face is entirely visible.

#### Steps to Join either from Computer or Smartphone

#### 1. Joining the meeting via computer

If you are joining via computer, you must be on Google Chrome (make sure you have updated version) and have your headset with microphone ready. When the time comes, join the meeting by clicking on the link provided

- ✓ OS: Windows 7+ or MacOS 10.11+
- ✓ Browser: Google Chrome v68+ Mozilla Firefox v77+
- ✓ Memory: 8GB+ (16GB recommended)
- ✓ CPU: Intel i5+ (i7 recommended)
- ✓ Webcam
- ✓ Headset with microphone: Vxi Passport, KOSS CS300, Logi H540
- ✓ Permission: allow browser to have access to camera and microphone
- ✓ Avoid using ad-blockers

#### 2. Join the meeting via smartphone

If you are joining via your smartphone, download the KUDO app: App Store, Play Store and have your headset with microphone ready. When the time comes, open the KUDO app, click 'join with session ID' and join the meeting by entering the session ID()

- ✓ Android 6, 7, 8, 9
- ✓ iPhone 6s, 7, 8, X with iOS 12+
- ✓ iPad, iPad Pro with iOS 12+
- ✓ KUDO App installed
- ✓ Allow access to camera and microphone when prompted

#### 3. Internet bandwidth requirement

- ✓ Audio: minimum of 64 kbps (recommended 128 kbps)
- ✓ Video: minimum of 320 kbps (recommended 1.2 mbps)
- ✓ On mobile: 4G and LTE work well for up to 6 concurrent streams
- ✓ Low latency bandwidth is required for uninterrupted video

#### 4. Security

- ✓ Open TCP port 443 for SSL
- ✓ Open UDP Port 3478 for A/V stream
- ✓ Firewall or Endpoint Security software to allow above ports
- ✓ Only transparent proxy is supported. Forwarding proxy with Kerberos and proxy requiring authentication are not supported.

#### 5. Network and WiFi

- ✓ Wired internet connection (highly recommended)
- ✓ WiFi: 5Ghz 802.11ac/ax (if wired connection is not available)
- ✓ In crowded environments, 5Ghz and 802.11ac/ax routers are required
- ✓ With 2.4Ghz, intermittent and choppy video/audio will be experienced

#### 6. Router / AP

- ✓ Must have isolated 5Ghz capability (isolated / separate bands)
- ✓ Wireless speed: AC1750 to AC3200 (highly recommended)
- ✓ I/O Antennas: 3x3 MU-MIMO (recommended for multiple devices)

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#### **Forum Sessions and Time Zones**

Virtual Tana Forum sessions are scheduled to take place in the afternoon to accommodate the time differences. All programs are set using East African Time (GMT+3).

Please check corresponding time in your location.

#### 1. Simultaneous Interpretation

Kindly note that there will be English-French-Amharic simultaneous interpretation. Please press the button with the name Floor on your left side for language options.

#### 2. Accessing Microphone and Video during Sessions

Upon logging you will be taken to the virtual platform of the session but you may not be able to access your mic or video immediately. Kindly note that during the sessions only speakers and moderators are able to speak. This allows the operators to monitor echoes and external voices from interfering during the presentations.

Participants will be able to speak during the time allocated for Q and A. In the meantime you can forward you comments to the moderator in the chat/message Box. During the Q and A time, kindly press to 'request to speak' to forward your questions, comments and feedbacks.

During the Q and A, if you would like to speak kindly press the request to speak button on your right to request access to the platform. The technical moderators will give you access, you will notice that the microphone and video functions on your screen become functional. Once the feature become functional you can unmute yourself and continue with your questions. After asking your question on the floor press on the release mic button to give others chance to be on the floor.

#### 3. First time joining a meeting on KUDO?

Watch this short video to connect with ease.

#### 4. Want to test your connectivity and devices?

- ✓ Use the following link at any time to start the test prior to your meeting: https://live.kudoway.com/test.
- ✓ Before starting the test, you may need to allow Google Chrome to use your devices (microphone & camera) on KUDO beforehand: click on the "lock" symbol, right left to the URL bar, and select the option "Allow" on both the camera and the microphone lines.

#### 5. Technical Requirement

For further queries please reach out to the following Tana Forum Secretariat Team

| Mr. Munib Mohammed    | Technical Lead<br>+251 911 885 777 |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
|                       | Munib.m@ipss-addis.org             |
| Mrs. Rubiyat Mohammed | +251 911 164 055 (WhatsApp)        |
|                       | Rubiyat.m@ipss-addis.org           |
| Mr Michael Admassu    | +251 911 600 357                   |
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| Mrs. Ferial Zoheb     | +251 912 660 832                   |
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|                       |                                    |



# **CODE OF CONDUCT**

All attendees, speakers, sponsors and volunteers at our conference are required to agree with the following code of conduct. We expect cooperation from all participants to help ensure a safe environment for everybody.

At the Tana Forum, you agree to respect the boundaries of other attendees and respect confidentiality requests by speakers and other attendees.

Our conference is dedicated to providing a harassment-free conference experience for everyone, regardless of gender, gender identity and expression, age, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance, body size, race, ethnicity, religion (or lack thereof), or technology choices.

#### The following behaviours are not tolerated at the Tana Forum:

- · Invasion of privacy, including taking photos (or requesting selfies) of people you don't know.
- · Being disruptive, drinking excessively, stalking, following or threatening anyone.
- · Abuse of power (including abuses related to position, wealth, race or gender).
- · Homophobia, racism or behaviour that discriminates against a group or class of people.
- · Sexual harassment of any kind, including unwelcome sexual attention and inappropriate physical contact.

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#### Contact us to report an incident

We do not tolerate harassment in any form. If you have been involved or have witnessed an incident that violates the Code of Conduct, please let our staff members know immediately or contact Michael Admassu, Human Resources Manager of the Tana Forum Secretariat at +251 914 31 67 50 or micheal.a@ipss-addis.org. Share as much information as you can to help us make a thorough investigation of the onsite incident.

Organizers will enforce this code throughout the event. The Tana Forum will investigate all incidents reported at the event with discretion and confidentiality. We reserve the right to bar any person who violates our Code of Conduct from attending the Forum in its entirety or in part.





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