

# OUTCOMES REPORT

# TANA FORUM 2025

Africa in an Evolving Global Order



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Frank, Relevant and Candid Dialogue

### KEY HIGHLIGHTS

A week ago, from 24 to 26 October 2025, the 11th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa was held in Bahir Dar and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, respectively, under the theme, "Africa in an Evolving Global Order". The Forum brought together Heads of State, former Heads of State, high-ranking diplomats, thought leaders, political leaders, young people, and subject matter experts from across the world to discuss pertinent issues affecting the African continent. The conversations were frank, relevant, and candid, aligning with the Forum's conception.

The discussions under the overarching theme, "Africa in an Evolving Global Order", sought to:

- 1. Assess the evolving dynamics of the contemporary global order and its implications for Africa, including vulnerabilities, challenges, and opportunities.
- 2. Examine Africa's unique assets, resources, and capabilities that can be leveraged in this evolving global context.
- 3. Highlight strategies and initiatives that can empower Africa to navigate and shape the global order to its advantage.
- 4. Explore avenues for encouraging dialogue and partnerships to maximise Africa's potential in a rapidly changing world.

The 11th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa was a teeming success. Some key highlights are summarised here: Africa must establish a clear, citizen-centred, and accountable governance framework by strengthening AU-REC coordination, ensuring accountability, and mobilising predictable, African-owned funding for peace, climate resilience, and digital governance. Regional and continental initiatives should focus on youth and women's leadership, community-driven peacebuilding, and knowledge systems based on African epistemologies while expanding research, innovation and industrial capacity. Strategic investments in education, digital ecosystems, data governance, and AI regulation, along with resilient energy and resource management frameworks, will protect sovereignty and promote inclusive growth, which were underscored as imperatives. A unified continental voice on global platforms, supported by strong diplomatic capabilities and common positions on peace and climate, was identified as crucial to advancing Africa's interests in a multipolar world. The need for Africa to promote Pax Africana, rooted in ethical leadership, socio-economic justice and regional solidarity, turning collective agency into lasting power, was also highlighted. Capping all the above was the need to move from inaction to action to create the Africa We Want (Agenda 2063).



# DAY ONE

Within this context, Sessions I and II, which were held in Bahir Dar on 24 October 2025, focused on the Horn of Africa, where regional leadership, ownership of peace and security, coordination, cooperation, especially the call for a new framework for regional cooperation in the Horn (one that couples internal resilience with collective adaptation to the shifting global order, advancing mutual trust, equitable resource sharing, and innovation as foundations for shared stability and growth) were the highlights of these discussions. This was followed by the Vice Chancellor's Dialogue (also in Bahir Dar), during which participants emphasised the need to embrace indigenous epistemologies alongside modern science, the role of universities in the context of current geopolitical dynamics in relation to knowledge production, and the need for self-sustaining research ecosystems in Africa.

After the Bahir Dar Sessions, participants convened in Addis Ababa to commence the side events. Three Side Events were held concurrently on the evening of 24 October 2025, and the messages were clear.

The Side Event titled "The Climate-Environment-Security Nexus in Africa with Perspectives from African and Francophone Research Centres" was convened in partnership with the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF)*. The need to establish a continental observatory on Climate, Peace and Security (CPS) was a key highlight to link, harmonise, and expand the regional monitoring system. The Side Event titled "The role of AI in Contemporary Armed Conflicts: Assessing the Humanitarian Impact in Africa" was convened in partnership with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). During this discussion, key highlights included the implications and impact of the use of AI and digital technology, the importance of deploying and developing a human-centred approach to the use of AI in military domains, the need for a Common African Position (CAP), safeguards and codes of conduct that uphold International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and humanitarian principles emerged. The third Side event, titled "The AU of, and for the People: AU Reforms through the Lens of Citizen-Level Legitimacy and Visibility", was convened in partnership with the Open Society Foundations (OSF). This conversation emphasised the importance of inclusivity and the need to bring the African Union (AU) closer to the people through well-crafted communication strategies.

# **DAY TWO**

The second day (25 October 2025) began powerfully with the Meles Zenawi Lecture Series, which highlighted the work, contributions, and legacy of the late former President of Mozambique, President Samora Machel, to Southern Africa and the continent at large. Late former President Machel remains a symbol of courage, solidarity, and visionary leadership — a reminder that Africa's transformation depends on leaders committed to unity, self-reliance, and the dignity of all its people.

In his welcome note, Dr Gedion Timothewos, the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, acknowledged the importance of the Tana Forum as a space for candid discussions on the continent and entreated participants to enjoy their stay for the duration of their stay in Addis Ababa.

On his part, H.E. Lassina Zerbo, Former Prime Minister of Burkina Faso, Chairman of the Rwanda Atomic Energy Board, and Acting Chairperson of the Tana Forum Board, delivered his welcome remarks, warning against fragmentation, emerging threats and risks to Africa's stability, and emphasised that **prosperity without security is unsustainable**. Delivering the State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) synthesised report (2022-2024) in addition to his welcome remarks, H.E. Lassina Zerbo highlighted shifting conflict dynamics driven by violent extremism, foreign military interventions, illicit economies, and democratic reversals. He further underscored Africa's pressing need for collective agency and solidarity to strengthen its governance and security responses and calls for a renewed push for structural reforms of global governance.

H.E. Mahamoud Ali Youssouf, Chairperson of the African Union Commission (AUC), delivering his keynote address, reiterated the need to **ensure that analytical deliberations are translated into practical, coordinated measures that enhance the lives of people across the continent**. He also highlighted the instrumentality and utility of Agenda 2063 and the Silencing the Guns Initiative, as well as the strength and irreplaceable importance of African Unity.

Following the keynote speeches, the High-Level Panel convened to discuss "African Ownership and Agencies in Global Uncertainties". Core outcomes of the conversations were: adaptive leadership for the continent, prioritisation of homegrown, inclusive solutions, boosting intra-African trade, addressing infrastructure deficits, and empowering Africa's private sector.

Furthermore, Session I themed "Situating Africa in an Emerging Multipolar Global (Dis)Order", commenced on a high note to emphasise the need for the continent to leverage the emerging global (dis)order to fuel reforms, strengthen African agency and institutions, encourage leadership by example, and the need to design and explore solutions to address current and evolving crises and challenges facing Africa.

Session II focused on "Conflict Prevention in an Emerging Global (Dis)Order Through Pax Africana". The conversations reinforced earlier discussions on strengthening coordination, accountability, and follow-up mechanisms among Member States, as well as on peacebuilding through dialogue, mediation, and cooperation. Additionally, listening to the priorities and challenges of Africa's youth, as well as networked diplomacy and whole-of-society engagement, were considered crucial to reviving the Pan-African spirit.

Session III, themed "Digitisation and the Economy: Threats and Opportunities," comprised three Pods. Pod 1 focused on Navigating Rapid Digitisation; Pod 2 on Navigating the Scramble for Natural Resources: Production and Intra-Africa Trade; and Pod 3 on Navigating Energy Transitions and Green Initiatives. From these conversations, we learn that technological advancement should align with African values and ethics, youth and diaspora networks should be empowered to build Africa's technological innovation, Africa needs to move away from dependency-based discourses and to assert its agency and leadership in managing its resources and defining its development path, and align education with industrial and technological needs. The discussions made it clear that the continent's energy future should be designed by Africans, for Africans, grounded in justice, equity, and local priorities.

# DAY THREE

The Third and final day began with a rich and stirring roundtable discussion with the Winners of the 11<sup>th</sup> Tana Annual University Essay Competition. The three students spoke eloquently and engaged with the audience, offering a vibrant reflection on **how Africa can bridge the gap between experience and innovation through meaningful intergenerational dialogue**. They noted the imperative need for the continent to bridge the gap between innovation and experience, enhance youth engagement in multilateralism and global cooperation, and nurture a shared sense of identity among young Africans.

The Forum ended on a high note, discussing "Multilateralism and The Future of Rule-Based Engagement". An alarm was raised about the dangers of the selective justification of violations, which result from blurred lines between public and Humanitarian Law. This was found to weaken global governance and stretch International Law to its limit. The need to return to the foundations of the UN principles, reimagine how we can utilise agreed norms and global institutions to sustain order, reform AU, RECs, and national institutions to ensure credibility, and enhance policy legitimacy, financial ownership, and operationalisation of African peace and security initiatives. Notably, the panel raised an important point about the African Unity at the UN Security Council, highlighting how the A3's coherent voice should demonstrate Africa's potential for disciplined, coordinated diplomacy that can influence multilateral outcomes.

## **CLOSING**

H.E. Dr Joyce Banda, Former President of Malawi and Tana Forum Board Member, delivered the closing remarks and vote of thanks, highlighting that this year's Forum underscores the importance of shared agency and the need to move from inaction to action, particularly by strengthening institutions capable of driving long-term change. She concluded by emphasising that the Tana Forum and its board must advance the commitments and recommendations that have emerged from the three-day discussion, ensuring that they are translated into actionable follow-up steps that inform and advance Africa's common agenda.

The recommendations from each session are highlighted below:

# RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Horn of Africa Dialogue – Special Envoys Discussion on Peace and Security

The Horn of Africa is at a critical juncture, marked by regional instability and global geostrategic rivalry, as multiplexes unfold within a turbulent and shifting global power environment. Within this context, there is a need to:

 Strengthen AU-IGAD-UN coordination frameworks by establishing formal coordination mechanisms with clear division of roles, regular joint assessments, and shared analysis to harmonise political, humanitarian, and security responses across the Horn;

- Enhance coordination among Special Envoys by transforming periodic envoy meetings into structured coordination platforms with unified messaging, joint statements, and collective follow-up to improve coherence and avoid duplication;
- Provide sustained funding and capacity support for community-led initiatives, youth and women's networks, and civil society organisations to ensure peace processes are locally driven and socially legitimate;
- Provide technical and financial support to election management bodies; strengthen monitoring mechanisms; enhance electoral preparedness and governance; and promote civic education to prevent electoral violence and build public trust;
- Promote maritime and cross-regional security cooperation by developing a collective maritime governance framework that links Horn and Gulf states to secure trade routes, protect resources, and advance the blue economy as a driver of regional stability.

#### Foreign Affairs Ministers' Dialogue of Horn Countries

Recognising the need to identify the points of convergence of the foreign policies of their respective countries within the context of the most pressing challenges in the region, improve innovative collaboration, enhance regional mechanisms, and define a clear political agenda and strategy for stability and prosperity, the Horn of Africa needs to:

- Empower regional institutions to lead Africa's peace and development agenda through predictable financing, stronger mandates, and coordinated ministerial mechanisms that ensure the African Union, IGAD, and member states collaborate when shaping policies, mediating disputes, and implementing regional initiatives;
- Create a cooperative and legally grounded maritime and border governance system under IGAD or AU leadership that regulates access to ports, trade corridors, and sea routes, backed by dispute-resolution frameworks and regional monitoring;
- Promote coordination across existing regional security architecture(s) for intelligence sharing and harmonised counter-terrorism operations through joint task forces that address emerging security challenges;
- Integrate climate resilience into regional governance and development planning through cross-border environmental treaties, shared hydrological data, and collaborative adaptation projects that promote sustainable resource use, reduce disaster risks, and transform environmental interdependence into a source of cooperation;
- Rebuild trust and solidarity among Horn nations and forge coherent strategic partnerships in an evolving global order by articulating a collective Horn of Africa position on international platforms such as the AU–EU Partnership, COP summits, and UN forums;
- Forge coherent strategic partnerships in an evolving global order by articulating a collective Horn of Africa position in international platforms such as the AU-EU Partnership, COP summits, and UN forums, ensuring that engagements with external powers yield investments

in infrastructure, renewable energy, and technology transfer that align with regional priorities;

 Diversify and innovate financing for regional priorities through South-South cooperation, diaspora bonds, and public-private partnerships that mobilise sustainable funding for infrastructure, trade, and resilience programmes, while improving financial oversight to ensure transparency and value for money.

Vice Chancellors Dialogue - Universities' Dual Mandate in Africa: Harnessing Local Knowledge and Advancing Global Solutions

Citadels of knowledge play a vital role in how humans engage, leverage, and master their physical and abstract environments. Through the lens of the "Town and Gown" approach and universities' role in advancing African interests, there is a need to:

- Review and reform epistemological frameworks, undertake curriculum audits and institutional reviews to align teaching, research and epistemological foundations with African realities, histories, and intellectual traditions;
- Integrate Indigenous Knowledge into Curricula and Research: Validate and embed traditional systems, such as conflict resolution, herbal medicine, and environmental management, in academic programs through rigorous research;
- Create transdisciplinary research institutions and funding mechanisms across Africa –
  independent of the global north's funding streams to promote sustained, locally relevant
  innovation;
- Enable free movement of scholars, students, and research partnerships across African and Global South institutions by establishing a Research Visa for Southern countries and supporting South-South cooperation;
- Build upon existing conventions to implement a harmonised African system for mutual recognition of qualifications and research standards;
- Anchor Universities in Local Development Agendas: Align research and teaching with community and national priorities, ensuring that universities directly contribute to inclusive growth and social transformation;
- Foster Strategic Partnerships with Industry and Government: Establish joint innovation hubs and policy labs that co-fund research, co-design curricula, and translate academic outputs into scalable technologies and policy solutions and strengthen collaboration between academia, policymakers, and the private sector;
- Recognise and Fund Knowledge as a Public Good: Encourage national and regional governments to invest in education and research as essential public goods that underpin human development and stability.

The Climate-Environment-Security Nexus in Africa with perspectives from African and Francophone Research Centres

Africa remains one of the most affected continents, facing mounting pressures, including drought, resource scarcity, migration, and violent conflict. Climate change magnifies existing vulnerabilities. Against this backdrop, the continent must

- Continue advancing action-oriented research to develop practical tools that can support political and strategic decision-making on the Climate-Peace-Environment nexus and its related risks;
- Explore the establishment of continental observatory centres focused on the climate—security-migration nexus, in collaboration with the African Union, building on existing regional mechanisms such as IGAD's ICPAC, ECOWARN, and the SADC Climate Services Centre. This observatory should aim to enhance data sharing, policy coherence, and long-term monitoring;
- Encourage international organisations to strengthen their cooperation with the OIF to develop and implement further initiatives addressing climate, peace, and environmental risks;
- Encourage the adoption of a holistic approach to human security that integrates democratic governance, food security, protection, and humanitarian resilience with broader economic and political stability frameworks.

#### The role of AI in contemporary armed conflicts: Assessing the humanitarian impact in Africa

Digital technologies are transforming the way people live, interact, and function within societies, as well as the relationships between states and non-state actors, and the manner in which conflicts are waged. Furthermore, armed forces are investing heavily in Artificial Intelligence (AI), and there are increasingly instances of AI being deployed on the battlefield to inform and support military operations or as part of weapon systems, hence the following:

- A call for the adoption of a Common African Position (CAP) on AI, reflecting both the risks and opportunities that digital technologies present, primarily in the peace and security area.
   This can lead the AU and its member states to actively engage in the global debate on AI governance in the military and security domains;
- Draw the attention of AU and MSs to the adverse impact of autonomous weapons, including those controlled by AI. These considerations should be included in a CAP, which also considers the importance of complying with IHL for greater protection of civilians;
- Ensure international action to prohibit or strictly regulate the use of such digital technologies in armed conflicts, especially autonomous weapon systems, through a dedicated treaty;
- Fostering and building trust amongst all the stakeholders is crucial to ensure that emerging technologies deliver and uphold shared norms and values.

The AU of, and for the People: AU Reforms through the Lens of Citizen-Level Legitimacy and Visibility

While the AU cannot afford to be disconnected from and has weak popularity among Africans, it must reflect the desires and aspirations of those it purports to represent. Hence, the AU reform must prioritise the following with enhanced legitimacy and visibility in view:

- A bottom-up approach to reform and embedded citizen participation, communication, and visibility;
- Strengthening the AU's presence within member states—through local chapters and enhancing media engagement;
- Directing citizen engagement through digital platforms, youth movements, and community structures;
- Extending beyond mere bureaucratic restructuring to encompass a democratic renewal.
   This should be grounded in financial self-reliance, responsive governance, and actual citizen ownership;
- An AU that listens, includes, and empowers its citizens can become the transformative force that Africa needs.

#### Meles Zenawi Lecture Series: Tribute to the Late President of Mozambique, Samora Machel

Learning from the life and work of the late Former President Samora Machel, the continent must:

- Nurture a new generation (attributes of Machel, such as humility, integrity, courage and compromise) and reimagine regional solidarity and integration through deeper economic integration, shared infrastructure, and collective security frameworks within the African Union and SADC. Africa's strength lies in coordinated regional responses to shared challenges;
- Pursue self-reliance and resource sovereignty through industrialisation, cross-border trade, value addition, and intra-African trade, leveraging the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) to build resilient economies. Fiscal discipline and domestic resource mobilisation to reduce aid dependency and enhance Africa's negotiating power globally;
- Champion peace and security through African-centred solutions and approaches.
   Strengthen African-led peace and security mechanisms, ensuring that conflicts are resolved through local and regional initiatives rather than external interventions. Investing in conflict prevention, governance reforms, and inclusive political dialogue aligns with Machel's vision of stability through dialogue.

#### Welcome Remarks and State of Peace and Security in Africa (SPSA) Synthesis (2022-2024)

- States and RECs/RMs should work on improving social cohesion with stakeholders and capitalise on local resilience and knowledge through a shared vision underpinned by quality leadership.
- Revitalise Pan-Africanism as a conflict prevention strategy. The African Union should spearhead a continental revival of Pan-Africanism, working in close partnership with civil society and grassroots social movements. This will strengthen solidarity, counter the drivers of insecurity, and provide a unifying framework for addressing persistent conflicts.

- Claim leadership in global policy dialogues. The AU, member states, and societal actors must actively shape global forums where the foundations of the evolving multilateral system are being negotiated. African voices should not only be present but lead in defining the terms of a more equitable international order.
- Redesign Africa's financing architecture. The AU and its member states should issue a
  comprehensive policy blueprint for a new financing architecture that is responsive to Africa's
  realities. This should include debt restructuring, debt relief, and the development of a Global
  Climate Finance Charter to anchor Africa's long-term fiscal resilience.
- Strengthen continental fiscal autonomy in peace and security. Member states should commit
  at least 5% of their national defence budgets to the AU. This would ensure African ownership
  of peace and security interventions, reduce dependence on external funding, and strengthen
  continental sovereignty in crisis response.
- Mainstream gender parity in AU peace missions. The AU Peace and Security Council and the AU Commission must institutionalise gender parity across all deployments of special envoys, fact-finding teams, election observation missions, and post-conflict recovery missions.
   Women should not only participate but also lead these missions as a principle of practice.
- Develop a continental policy on artificial intelligence and security. The AU and member states should launch policy dialogues and establish a continental AI framework to regulate machine learning, autonomous systems, and robotic weapons. This anticipatory governance is critical to managing the unpredictable risks of unregulated AI on peace and security.
- Advance free movement and transboundary peacebuilding. Governments should ratify the AU
  Protocol on Free Movement, operationalise the AU passport, and establish a transboundary
  framework for justice and peacebuilding. This would complement the AfCFTA, enhance
  cross-border stabilisation, regional integration, and foster leader-to-leader, government-togovernment, and people-to-people engagements.
- Champion reparations and reform of the global order. Building on the 2025 Theme of the Year, the AU should convene a coalition of Global South and progressive states to draft a UNGA resolution invoking Article 109 of the UN Charter. This would trigger a General Review Conference on reforming the multilateral system and charting a pathway toward a more inclusive "UN 2.0."

#### **Keynote Address**

- Inclusive approaches and engagement with young people, driven by political will, that create opportunities for youth to stay in the country and develop their economies;
- Take charge of our destiny and ensure diversity and inclusion of women and minorities;
- Reorient our peace, security, and development initiatives with business models.

#### High-Level Panel: African Ownership and Agencies in Global Uncertainties

While the world faces various uncertainties, Africa should remain anchored in the principle of

African-led Solutions, asserting ownership and agency over its own future by:

- Leveraging the potential of young people to influence and catapult Africa's technological and development;
- Pooling resources wisely to establish our own large-scale data centres, taking advantage of economies of scale, linking them with cross-border investments, and involving the private sector;
- Investing in African-led technological ecosystems and data infrastructure for long-term innovation.

#### Situating Africa in an Emerging Multipolar Global (Dis)Order

While geopolitical and geoeconomic reconfigurations within the context of multipolarity shape the international system, navigating alignments and competition must:

- Put the AU at the centre of the African projects because engaging separately without building consensus through the AU will prove to be a disservice to Africa(ns);
- Invest in advanced science and technology, as it is a significant factor contributing to global inequality;
- Nurture a new spirit of unity by addressing institutional and normative gaps in Africa, which
  is strategically necessary for Africa in an evolving and changing global order;
- Design and implement stringent policies that help unlock African potential, including human and natural resources. Africa's economic sovereignty can be ensured only when Africans use their resources for Africa's benefit;
- Global and African-level initiatives should focus on building inclusive, sustainable, and just societies to create a better, vibrant Africa that actively engages in international affairs.

#### Conflict Prevention in an Emerging Global (Dis)Order Through Pax Africana

Pax Africana refers to African responsibility and ownership in matters of collective peace and security, as reflected in the frameworks, institutions, and mechanisms central to the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). In this regard, Africa needs (to):

- Political will from African heads of state to help the AU fully operationalise the AU peace fund, enabling it to fund at least 75 per cent of the fund's activities and programmes. This should be encompassed within the 21st-century Pax Africana framework, which goes beyond postcolonial notions of sovereignty to integrate the economic, digital, environmental, and social dimensions of peace;
- Ensure greater political accountability for implementing AU Assembly and Peace and Security Council (PSC) resolutions through a monitoring and reporting mechanism linked to memberstate commitments;
- Empower the African Union Commission (AUC) with enforcement authority to track progress and sanction non-compliance, ensuring that continental policies translate into national

action;

- Operationalise the AU Peace Fund with predictable domestic contributions and explore innovative financing mechanisms, such as a solidarity levy on extractive industries or digital transactions, to reduce dependency on external partners. This should include encouraging private sector co-investment in peace and security initiatives, particularly in reconstruction, stabilisation, and resilience-building;
- Reinforce collaboration between the African Union and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to clarify the division of labour and improve coordination on peace, governance, and trade;
- Encourage cross-border investments and public-private partnerships to strengthen regional integration, infrastructure connectivity, and intra-African trade under the AfCFTA framework;
- Establish a Pan-African Leadership Forum under the AU to mentor emerging leaders, promote ethical governance, and institutionalise lessons from Africa's liberation generation;
- Community-led processes that integrate women and youth into mediation to enhance the AU's effectiveness;
- Strengthen early warning and strategic analysis through enhanced technical systems that can support preventive diplomacy and mediation efforts. Additionally, strengthen the link between governance, economic inclusion, climate resilience, and technological sovereignty.

#### **Navigating Rapid Digitisation**

Digitisation can help drive structural transformation and global competitiveness. However, to harness this shift without reproducing new forms of dependency, we must commit to:

- Enhancing the public-private collaboration to increase access and close digital gaps;
- Developing pan-African ethical AI development and data governance;
- Investing in digital literacy and critical thinking to fight misinformation and enhance digital citizenship;
- Including AI in other sectors like agriculture, education, and peacebuilding to create an inclusive economic growth;
- To protect Africa's interests and perspectives, it is essential to ensure that the continent is actively involved in international AI regulations.

#### Navigating the Scramble for Natural Resources: Production and Intra-Africa Trade

Africa's Resource wealth must not remain trapped in extractive dependency. We therefore have to:

- Invest in education (prioritising education-driven industrialisation), skills, and innovation, promoting ethical governance, and empowering youth as architects of the continent's prosperity are key to transforming Africa's resources into long-term, inclusive growth;
- Ensure that industrialisation begins in classrooms, which means Africa's education system

must adopt a more pro-industry, pro-business approach that enables young people to see themselves as the future and a key component of Africa's industrial process;

- Ensure that African leadership targets investments that enhance industrial and manufacturing capacities, promote transparency and ethical governance, and empower youth as architects not beneficiaries—of the continent's digital future;
- Recognise that the management of natural resources can not only catalyse sustainable growth but also elevate Africa's role in global governance. Thus, we need adaptable institutional frameworks (backed by regional and continental systems) to govern critical minerals, helping to reshape Africa's development trajectory and related financing issues;
- Promote regional cooperation as a foundation for deeper economic integration and collective action in resource governance;
- Support contract negotiations by establishing mechanisms such as the UNDP's negotiating facility to help African states secure fair agreements with external partners.

#### **Navigating Energy Transitions and Green Initiatives**

Africa's energy transition indeed sits at the crossroads of justice and geopolitics. Hence the need to:

- Redirect climate and energy finance towards countries and communities most affected by conflict and climate stress, including through a dedicated continental funding window;
- Gradually reform electricity tariffs to achieve cost recovery while protecting vulnerable households and small businesses through targeted support;
- Build diverse, reliable energy infrastructure that combines renewable sources, such as hydropower, geothermal, natural gas, and nuclear energy, to sustain industry and resilience;
- Strengthen local participation and ownership by ensuring communities and traditional authorities are consulted, benefit economically, and share in project revenues and jobs.

#### **African University Essay Competition Winners**

Bridging the gap between innovation and experience has become an imperative. Ergo, there is a need to:

- Establish permanent co-creation mechanisms within national ministries, RECs/RMs and AU
  where youth innovators and senior experts jointly draft, design and validate, and monitor
  policies with shared authority, resources, and accountability;
- Adopt a 50 per cent quota for under-35s in national, regional, and continental delegations, ensuring youth actively shape policies on digital governance, climate, peace, security, trade, and other evolving areas;
- Ensure that the youth are systematically included in multilateral and diplomatic processes relating to African issues within national ministries, RECs/RMs and AU;
- Fast-track ratification and implementation of the African Youth Charter (2006) and AU Free

Movement Protocol (2018), and introduce continental mobility passes;

• Institutionalise mentorship and innovation hubs through mechanisms such as the *Tana*Forum Youth Pre-Meetings, AU Youth Envoy, and APRM initiatives.

#### Multilateralism and The Future of Rule-Based Engagement

The disregard for international law is growing, and multilateralism, as we have come to know it in the contemporary world, is weakening. Moreover, international solidarity on critical issues has become increasingly difficult to mobilise. On this premise, Africa needs to:

- Uphold international law and the UN Charter as non-negotiable foundations of African diplomacy, even when global powers deviate;
- Establish an AU foreign policy framework with clear external priorities, professionalised diplomatic missions, and empowered envoys;
- Activate the AU's early-warning systems to trigger proactive engagement before crises escalate, linking alerts to political intervention;
- Expand member-state contributions through a peace levy and restrict external funding to supportive-not controlling-roles;
- Anchor Continental Positions in Domestic Consensus;
- Operationalise and Finance the African Standby Force (ASF): Move from concept to capacity and adapt new predictable funding mechanisms for deployment;
- Create a dedicated AU Peace and Security funding unit which can expand memberstate contributions through a peace levy and restrict external funding to supportive—not controlling—roles only;
- Recognise the African diaspora as a formal "sixth region" of the AU and integrate its expertise and resources in continental policymaking;
- Enhance Inter-Regional Partnerships (AU-UN-EU): Strengthen structured cooperation and shared agendas—especially on peace, security, climate, and artificial intelligence governance;
- Ensure African priorities remain distinct within multilateral groupings (Francophonie, OIC, Commonwealth, NAM) through pre-negotiated AU briefs and expand the A3 model into emerging global areas such as AI, climate security, energy transition, and economic governance.



The full report will be communicated in the coming weeks.

Thank you for your participation.