

THE KOFI ANNAN-DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD LECTURE 2017

Regional Engagement
in Peacebuilding
in Africa:
Perspectives
and Challenges



Isaac
Olawale Albert

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Regional Engagement in Peacebuilding in Africa: Perspectives and Challenges

Isaac Olawale Albert



Professor Isaac Olawale Albert, Director of the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, gives the Kofi Annan - Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture 2017.

**Regional Engagement in
Peacebuilding in Africa:
Perspectives and Challenges**

Isaac Olawale Albert

Preface

“It’s for the African States themselves to define the elements which establish the basis for African Solidarity. It is also for them to find and define the aims which this regional community should pursue....The African States have realised that to grow into independence means to grow into interdependence. But to grow into interdependence means also to assume international responsibility and such international responsibility must be based on national responsibility.”

– Dag Hammarskjöld, August 1960

Dag Hammarskjöld and Kofi Annan as Secretaries-General of the United Nations (UN) led the organisation in efforts to broaden and deepen its commitments to peace and development, through peacekeeping operations and the establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), respectively. A mutual aim of strengthening multilateral approaches and capacities to sustain peace—as well as shared values and principles regarding human rights, justice and democracy—are at the core of the partnership between the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

The need to restructure the UN peacebuilding architecture was most recently outlined in the April 2016 sustaining peace agenda (resolutions SC 2250 and A/RES/70/262). They define sustaining peace as a goal and an ongoing process which encompasses activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of armed conflict, underlining the need for inclusive peace processes, including the engagement of women and youth. The resolutions also place renewed focus on the important role regional organisations play in sustaining peace and the need for strengthening cooperation with regional actors.

Recognising the need for regional engagement in peacebuilding, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the KAIPTC hosted in April 2017 in Accra, Ghana, the 5th annual Kofi Annan–Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture on *Regional Engagement in Peacebuilding in Africa: Perspectives and Challenges*.

The 2017 KA-DH Lecture was delivered by Professor Isaac Olawale Albert, Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies and Director of the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, who was selected for his extensive work in conflict analysis, early warning monitoring and peace process on the African continent.

This public event provided the opportunity for a broad audience from the academic and diplomatic spheres, as well as the public sector and private individuals, to reflect on key issues and policy discussions related to peace and security in Africa today.

In the lecture, Professor Albert spoke about Kofi Annan's and Dag Hammarskjöld's commitment to peacebuilding, particularly in Africa, during their tenures as Secretary-General. He underscored that while regional actors on the continent have instituted sound policy on peacebuilding and reached some key milestones, many challenges remain. In dealing with these challenges, Professor Albert stressed that regional policy on its own cannot translate into peaceful outcomes; African leaders must also have political will, strong institutions and resources for driving these processes.

The lecture concluded by outlining five core issues that should be the focus of the peacebuilding agenda in Africa: 1) Support to basic safety and security; 2) political processes; 3) provision of basic services; 4) restoration of core government functions; and 5) economic revitalisation. Professor Albert also highlighted the importance of connecting regional peacebuilding efforts with peace and development processes at the national and grassroots levels, ensuring coherence between various actors and initiatives, inclusivity and national ownership. In this way, this year's lecture was an important reminder of issues championed by both Hammarskjöld and Annan at different times and eras, but with equal relevance for today.

Henrik Hammargren,
Executive Director
Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

AVM GS Evans,
Commandant
Kofi Annan International
Peacekeeping Training Centre

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Your Excellency Heather Anne Cameron, High Commissioner of Canada to Ghana, Henrik Hammargren, Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, AVM GS Evans, Commandant of KAIPTC, General (Dr.) EW Kotia, Deputy Commandant, KAIPTC, Dr. Emmanuel Kwesi, Director, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC, Your Excellencies, Invited senior military officers, Ladies and gentlemen,

Appreciation

Let me start by thanking the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation for asking me to give this extremely important lecture, which is aimed at the promotion of global justice, peace and respect for human rights. Delivering this lecture is a great honour for the University of Ibadan, where I serve as a Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, and for me personally. Especially as today's lecture is taking place at KAIPTC, an institution established to celebrate the excellence of Kofi Annan. I salute all those who have brought the Centre to what and where it is today.

Annan and Hammarskjöld

While Annan is one of Africa's most outstanding gifts to the global community, Hammarskjöld spent the best of his tenure as UN Secretary-General serving Africa. He died in the process. I will not delay us here with a list of their achievements as head of the United Nations, but let me point to a few significant achievements.

Kofi Annan attained three key accomplishments relating to today's lecture that I wish to highlight. The first is that in April 2000 he issued a Millennium Report, entitled "We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century". It called on UN Member States to commit to an action plan for ending poverty and inequality, safeguarding the environment and protecting peoples from deadly conflict and violence, which later formed the basis of the Millennium Declaration adopted in 2000. He also championed the global doctrine of "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) in 2005. The doctrine is a set of principles designed to protect civilians from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to provide norms to guide answers to these questions.

He also was instrumental in the establishment of the UN Peacebuilding Commission in 2005. Today the Commission is a reference point for a global community that recognises the limitations of responding to conflict issues using military force and instead promotes a reduction in conflict through support for peacebuilding.

Kofi Annan's Africa must also celebrate our second honoree: Dag Hammarskjöld. He was UN Secretary-General during Africa's decolonisation process in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As one of his biographers, Kaj Falkman, reported, Dag Hammarskjöld spent his early time at the UN imagining that the organisation would become "the engine for the new African states' development to modern societies". He was a true friend of Africa who among several other things contributed significantly to the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

In his line of duty, Dag Hammarskjöld visited 21 African countries trying to assess their needs and shape their vision for international cooperation. In his words, the trips made him 'both wiser and more humble, as well as less prone to generalise, since the [countries] had many different problems, attitudes and traditions'.

He achieved a lot for Africa, including his constructive intervention in the Congo crisis where he ensured the withdrawal of Belgian troops through UN Security Council Resolution 143 and the United Nations Operation in the Congo. The UN Secretary-General personally made four trips to the Congo in connection with the UN peacekeeping operation. He lost his life during the fourth. Africa owes him a great deal of gratitude for his pursuit of peace on the continent.

Peacebuilding: Definitions and Reviews

Peacebuilding is an activity that needs to span the entire life cycle of a conflict – pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict. It should not be considered something relevant only in post-conflict situations. Nor should it be an afterthought but rather a deliberate policy of inter-governmental, governmental and national organisations, as well as non-governmental agencies.

The need to strengthen this approach to ensuring global peace and security is emphasised by a number of reviews of UN operations conducted during 2015. These include the work of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) of June 2015; the 2015 review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture and a Global study on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. All of these reviews suggest that past efforts are insufficient for dealing with the emerging security threats in the modern world. They call attention to the need for more emphasis on peacebuilding activities. It is necessary here to also acknowledge the centrality of the UN Peacebuilding Commission as a global institution supporting peacebuilding efforts. The Commission emerged from the frustrations within the international community, and especially by UN Member States, about the rising number, cost, complexity and unforeseen consequences of UN peacekeeping operations around the world. The Commission's mandate is based on an understanding that communities do not automatically return to sustainable peace at the end of a peacekeeping operation. This requires that the root causes of conflict are addressed, and that is what peacebuilding efforts try to provide.

Peacebuilding in Africa: Perspectives

Peacebuilding can be analysed at three levels in Africa: the regional, national and local levels. The regional approach, which is the focus of this lecture, primarily has to do with the interventions of the African Union (AU) often in partnership with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). This kind of intervention is rooted in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.

But peacebuilding is also something that has to be done at the grass-roots and at the national levels. Ideally, peacebuilding must be done in a coordinated manner that integrates all stakeholders and is driven with inclusive national ownership and with a realistic timeline.

The strongest justification for a regional approach to peacebuilding is that most of the violent conflicts in Africa are cross-border in nature and impact. Today's conflict actors have supporters in communities across sovereign borders. Such support comes from shared ethnic identities and value systems. The free flow of arms and light weapons also adds to the dynamics between different levels of conflict actors.

Regional Response Mechanisms

Responding to these cross-border situations compels different forms of regional response mechanisms and in Africa they are outlined in different policy documents and public statements. The four key mechanisms are:

- The African Union Peace and Security Architecture (APSA);
- The African Union Post Conflict Reconstruction Framework;
- Agenda 2063: The Africa we want
- Silencing the Guns by 2020

African Union Peace and Security Architecture

APSA is based on the principle of “African solutions to African problems”. It has four key components aimed at building peace in Africa, but

the two components most directly related to peacebuilding objectives are the Continental Early Warning System and the Panel of the Wise. The warning system is expected to regularly monitor conflict situations across the continent to allow for timely interventions, while the Panel of the Wise is expected to lead non-adversarial conflict interventions using negotiation, conciliation or mediation methods. Where the two systems are efficiently operational, there is supposed to be less violent conflict.

Operationally, the early warning system of the AU is dependent on the early warning systems of the RECs. The RECs collect their early warning data from their Member States, process and share this information with the AU at the continental level. The RECs also have bodies that are similar to the African Union's Panel of the Wise. For example, that of ECOWAS is known as the Council of the Wise (CoW).

AU Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Policy (PCRD)

A major shortcoming of APSA is that it does not have strong provisions for post-conflict peacebuilding and for addressing the root causes of conflicts. To fill this gap, the AU developed its policy on post-conflict reconstruction in 2006 and it has contributed significantly towards building peace in post-conflict states across Africa. States that have benefitted from this policy include the Central African Republic ((CAR)2006), Liberia and Sierra Leone (2009), Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Burundi (2010) and Sudan (2011). The post-conflict reconstruction needs of these countries were assessed, and some interventions were carried out within the limits of the resources available to the AU.

Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want

The most ambitious peacebuilding agenda of the AU is articulated in a document titled "Agenda 2063: The Africa we want". The core aspiration of this document for Africa's next 50 years is that by 2063 African countries will be among the best performers in global quality of life

measures including good governance, democracy, respect for human rights and rule of law; ethical practices, economic soundness, and environmental safety. The realisation of this goal is to be pursued by Africa and her Diaspora.

Silencing the Guns by 2020

While celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the African Union in May 2013, African heads of state adopted a landmark declaration now known as “Silencing the Guns by 2020”. By this, African leaders committed themselves to breaking the vicious cycle of violent conflict in which many African countries are trapped and achieving a war-free continent by 2020.

Regional Milestones

The foregoing shows the efforts being made by the AU, supported by the RECs, in walking the talk of “African solutions to African problems”. A lot has been done towards accomplishing the objectives of the initiatives.

The boldest of the efforts is probably the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The mission has succeeded, among other things, in subduing Al Shabaab, the jihadist group that has made the country ungovernable for quite some time. It also continues to provide guidance on capacity building and sensitisation of communities in countering violent extremism as part of a larger strategy for rebuilding the country. Though Al Shabaab is still active, AMISOM and Somali forces have been able to recapture the majority of Al Shabaab territories. But this is not sustainable. The AU does not have the financial resources for an indefinite peacekeeping operation in the country, and I foresee the AU winding down AMISOM soon.

Another significant effort by the AU has been the Regional Cooperation Initiative (RCI-LRA) for the elimination of the Lord’s Resistance

Army in Northern Uganda and other neighbouring countries including South Sudan, the DRC and CAR. Deployed by the AU, the RCI-LRA has been successful in limiting the activities of the group in the region with some of its leaders abandoning their cause.

The regional body also supports ongoing operations against Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin Commission area by the Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF). The AU has also continued to prevent post-election violence by deploying observer missions to every country conducting elections on the continent. Through these missions, and with the support of RECs, several conflict situations have been prevented.

The AU has continued to intervene in Member States at risk of conflict or coming out of conflict, using a number of strategies available in its toolbox that include the continental early warning system, the Panel of the Wise, Special Envoys, and ad hoc mediation panels. These innovations and creative problem solving initiatives receive critical financial support from the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN) and different bilateral donors.

The Challenges of Peacebuilding in Africa

The foregoing shows that Africa has several sound policy documents. However, these are statements of intention and they cannot translate into any peaceful outcomes unless Africans leaders have the political will, strong institutions, and resources for driving the processes. Commitment is needed; strong leadership is needed.

Africa lacks much of what it takes to manage all the different kinds of violent episodes on the continent, which include border conflicts, secessionist and separatist conflicts, national violence (riots, massacres, etc.), and home grown terrorism. And while old conflicts don't go awa—often they even escalate—new problems are added to the list.

If we look at the mediation and conciliation efforts around the continent we still see many challenges. At the continental level, the role of the AU at promoting dialogue in Burundi and South Sudan has continued to meet with failure. Innocent lives are still lost in the country with little hope for the future.

In the West African sub region, the ECOWAS Commission succeeded in facilitating the Mali Peace and Reconciliation Agreement of 1 March 2015, which preserves the national sovereignty, its territorial integrity and secular and republican nature of the country as stated in the country's constitution. The AU, UN, ECOWAS and the EU have been working together for the implementation of this and other related peace agreements. But Mali is today a country still at war.

The 2016 Conakry agreement and the mediation efforts of ECOWAS in Guinea Bissau are yet to end the political deadlock in the country. The country has remained in political paralysis since August 2015. The AU has continued to push the parties to the crisis in Burundi towards dialogue, but the work has not produced any serious results. The situation in South Sudan is no different, with efforts to stop the spiral of violence proving difficult to succeed. In these mediation and conciliation efforts, the reasons regional actors have been unsuccessful have varied but in some instances have been due to an absence of early action.

Ignoring Early Warnings

The Case of Boko Haram

There are a few notable cases where the AU and ECOWAS have ignored early warning signs and responded poorly, such as the Boko Haram crisis in the Lake Chad Basin, especially in Nigeria. The crisis started in Nigeria in 2002 and became a classic example of African homegrown terrorism in 2009. As early as 2004, the criminal gangs that were initially armed by politicians in Borno state—to kill and harm their oppo-

nents—and that were later radicalised by Muhammed Yusuf, the founder of the Boko Haram movement, were identified by several local actors as a threat demanding attention. The warning was not heeded.

When Boko Haram started to kill in different parts of northern Nigeria, there was no meaningful ECOWAS or AU intervention. Instead all African countries tightened their border security, most especially against Nigerians. As I travel around the continent, I often ask academic colleagues and friends working with NGOs to share their thoughts on why Nigeria did not receive any help. The first answer is that Nigeria never asked for it. The second is that Nigeria is too big to be assisted. A Senegalese colleague told me “No country in West Africa can intervene in Nigeria’s conflict as Nigeria did in Liberia and Sierra Leone”. He was referring here to the financial and human commitments of Nigeria to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) operations.

However, military intervention is not the only available option for providing assistance to Nigeria. As we have noted, APSA and the ECOWAS conflict management frameworks provide for an early warning system and engagement by the Panel of the Wise (for AU) and the Council of the Wise (for ECOWAS). As Nigeria battles Boko Haram, the question often asked by students of peace and conflict studies is “where is the Panel of the Wise promised by the African Union and where is ECOWAS’ Council of the Wise?”.

The philosophical inspiration behind the panel or council of the wise system is drawn from the age-long tradition of the elderly in African society intervening to ensure law and order do not breakdown. The typical African Council of Elders does not wait to be invited to intervene in a conflict. Once it notices a problem, it quickly moves in to help the parties resolve their differences. This has not always been the case with the AU and ECOWAS panel/council.

Unable to get strong support from the AU to deal with the Boko Haram crisis, Member States of the Lake Chad Basin decided to form a Multi-national Joint Task Force. This has proved a good initiative that the rest of the continent can learn from. The intervention enjoys the support of the AU, but this support ought to have come earlier in the cycle of the Boko Haram crisis. Even now, the intervention faces a number of operational challenges due to mutual suspicion by the participating countries of Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

The Case of The Gambia

If the big size of Nigeria is the supposed reason for the country's inability to get support from regional bodies in Africa for dealing with the Boko Haram crisis, whether militarily or through mediation, what can be said about the small size of the Gambia whose problems were not addressed by ECOWAS and the AU until it was almost too late?

Yahya Jammeh's Gambia was a time bomb that every student of peace studies saw coming. The only difficulty was that nobody knew when it would happen and in what magnitude. The Gambian leader who came to power by a coup in 1994 was in power for over 22 years, during which he had a fierce reputation for locking up, torturing or executing his critics. But nobody dared to challenge the Gambian leader until he lost the election in December 2016 to the opposition leader, Adama Barrow. This triggered weeks of tension in the Gambia as Jammeh threatened not to hand over power to the opposition leader. He left office only after West African leaders deployed troops to the border that were poised to use military force to oust Jammeh if necessary.

Why did it take ECOWAS and AU so long to tame Jammeh? If the big size of Nigeria was the problem with tackling the Boko Haram crisis, was the small size of Gambia also a threat to peacebuilding in Africa?



A full auditorium listens to Prof. Olawale Albert give his lecture.

Lack of Trust and Engagement with CSOs

To make any peacebuilding work the key ingredient is trust.

A major challenge to peacebuilding in Africa is that African leaders who are supposed to be driving the process are not trusted by their people.

These leaders have a weak link with the people that includes the processes that bring them to office. Some promote horizontal inequality with state power by working exclusively for their ethnic or religious groups. Some steal state resources meant for improving the living standards of the people. In the process, they damage their personal credibility. Once the personal credibility of a leader is doubted by the people, it becomes difficult for such a leader to have a regime with sound institutional credibility. How then can they drive a peacebuilding agenda?

There are two basic strategies for dealing with trust issues that African state officials could apply in conflict prevention and management. The first is for these state officials to come to terms with the fact that they are not trusted and to start doing something about the problem. The second option is for African state officials to show interest in being linked with society through civil society organisations engaged in peacebuilding work.

It is unfortunate though that African state officials rarely appreciate the work of CSOs, and that CSOs have to rely on foreign agencies to fund their projects. Even when invited to peacebuilding meetings, African state officials hardly come except to make speeches at opening and closing ceremonies, ignoring constructive engagements with CSOs. This is an issue as many CSO interventions require state support, especially at implementation stages.

Exclusion of Women

There is a plethora of empirical evidence pointing to the fact that women's experiences in conflict situations are different from men's, with women and girls typically the worst sufferers of every African conflict. Their social, economic and political conditions are often worsened by

every conflict. During the conflicts, they are subjected to sexual violence, widowed, have their children forcefully conscripted into fighting forces, and sometimes displaced across international borders without any meaningful support services. Yet, they are excluded from participating in peace processes as peacemakers or envoys, and inclusion of women's issues in peace agendas is often neglected.

This issue needs to be given better attention to by the AU and RECs as part of their larger agenda of making Africa more peaceful. The entry point to such intervention is UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which underscores the need to apply a gender lens to all conflict prevention and resolution processes around the world.

Lack of Sufficient Financial Resources

The last and yet the most important issue to be raised in this segment of the lecture is the financial problems associated with regional peacebuilding in Africa. The AU lacks sufficient funds for doing all it promises to do. The RECs face a similar problem. To this extent, regional peacebuilding in Africa is donor dependent; only what can be funded from outside Africa is done. This weakens the ownership of projects and the processes for implementing them. Although some donors have shown flexibility in their support, the fact remains that the present system around Africa is inadequate and unsustainable for a continent that seeks to “silence guns” by 2020.

Options for the Future

Peacebuilding is not primarily what the UN does in New York; what the AU does in Addis Ababa or what ECOWAS does in Abuja. It is about collaborative efforts that touch the grassroots. It is about sustainable development. Hence, what should concern us here is how global and regional organisations are able to motivate African leaders to prevent future crisis, manage ongoing ones creatively, and put in place sound structures and mechanisms for establishing sustainable peace in post-conflict situations.

In other words, we need a more nuanced approach to the discussion of our subject matter. What do we see on the ground in different parts of Africa and what does this tell us about the quality of peacebuilding across the continent? Africa is an interesting paradox: a continent blessed with vast human and material resources but still one of the poorest continents of the world.

Across the African continent, we see an increasing youth bulge and unemployment; we see increased violent extremism over religious, ethnic and economic issues; we see cases of African politicians that profess democracy but are not willing to live by its tenets of transparency and accountability. We see many young Africans turning to situational and career criminality largely because they see little hope. We see a frightening dimension of brain drain to the developed world. Those with less attractive qualifications swim across the Mediterranean to southern parts of Europe. They overstay their visas around the world. Those left on the continent become participants or victims in armed conflicts. What people see across Africa is that the African Union and the RECs in Africa have more work to do.

What roles should the African Union and the six RECs in Africa play in making sustainable peace in Africa possible? What supportive roles can other regions of the world, most especially, the EU play?

In answering these questions, it is relevant to look at five core issues coming out of the reviews conducted by the UN in 2015 that should be the focus of the peacebuilding agenda in Africa:

1. Support to basic safety and security
2. political processes
3. provision of basic services
4. restoration of core government functions, and
5. economic revitalisation.

The five core activities could be carried out in the three cycles of a peacebuilding process: at the pre-conflict level (preventive diplomacy), during a conflict, and during the post-conflict phase.

Support to basic safety and security: The AU and RECs must play a more meaningful role in putting in place structures that lead to the reduction of tensions in Africa. The first responsibility here is the activation of the Standby Forces promised by the AU and RECs. In addition there must be development of collaborative frameworks for controlling the flow of illicit arms. Other issues to be addressed include mine action; protection of civilians; disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration; strengthening rule of law and initiation of security sector reform. The second responsibility is to strengthen the capacity of the African Union's Panel of the Wise and ECOWAS' Council of the Wise to be able to negotiate ceasefires in situations of existing armed conflict.

Political processes: Peacebuilding efforts in Africa will fail unless the AU, RECs and African national leaders address governance challenges crucial to their implementation. These include credible elections, inclusive political and economic systems, transparency and accountability by leaders. In Kenya, for example, there is a great deal of mistrust in the country as the electoral body works towards the August 2017 elections. One of the urgent tasks before the Commission is to rebuild this trust and to clean up voter registration.

Provision of basic services: To have sustainable peace in Africa, the people must be assured of basic social services such as water and sanitation, health and education. The return of displaced persons to their communities must be guaranteed.

Restoration of core government functions: This challenge is more evident in societies coming out of violent conflict, such as Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire

and Somalia. To what extent have peacebuilding efforts worked in these countries in terms of restoration of basic public administration and public finance? In these post-conflict countries these tasks are largely driven by donors, especially the UN, and are therefore not sustainable. How ready are African leaders to take the front seat in driving the peacebuilding efforts of their countries?

Somalia now has a new President, Mohammed Abdullahi Mohammed, who swept to power on 8 February 2017 on a campaign of “change”. There is a high expectation from his regime, but his country is bedeviled by a long list of statebuilding tasks. The new regime must, for example, fight corruption, invest more in defeating Al Shabaab and pay thousands of Somalian public servants that have not been paid for almost a year. He must deal with the looming famine resulting from severe drought in the country. He must finalise work on the country’s constitution, which could, amongst other things, provide a power sharing formula including the rival clans and political groupings in the country. Only few of these tasks could be accomplished by a regional body; he is responsible for fixing his country.

Economic revitalisation: The present state of the African economy does not bode well for silencing the guns by 2020. For now, there is a very high rate of youth unemployment across the continent. The African economy is too dependent on the developed world: the US, Europe and Asia (most especially China and India). Trade between and among African states is very limited mainly because the countries are not linked by good networks of roads, railways and infrastructure. African economic systems also lack diversification, productivity and well-functioning institutions.

This situation must change in the spirit of the AU’s mantra of “African solutions to African problems”. What is needed in this context is for the continent to set its own economic development agenda and drive the process by mobilising and redistributing domestic resources based on

some long-term goals that reflect African ideals, values and aspirations. At the regional level, four issues have to be given priority attention. These include skills development, intra-African trade, industrialisation and free movement of people and goods.

However, there is little African development partners can do to help Africa when African leaders themselves are not committed to transparency and accountability. African governments must tackle corruption and invest their natural resource revenue in their people, generating jobs and opportunities for millions in present and future generations.

I will conclude this lecture by asking a number of questions for us all to consider: How do we empower the AU and RECs in Africa to become more effective in peacebuilding? How do we manage the ongoing problem of lethal irregular migration to Europe through the Mediterranean? What can we do towards ensuring peaceful elections in Africa? How do we make the governance system in Africa more inclusive and by so doing reduce the chances of violent conflict across the continent? How do we curb corruption, which offers the biggest obstacles to unleashing the potential of Africa's new generations? How do we mainstream gender and youth development into our peacebuilding agenda? How do we get African states to establish a more organic relationship with civil society organisations? How do we get African business to be interested in funding peacebuilding? How do we keep the discourse on peacebuilding in Africa alive? How do we make conflict prevention the core strategy for building peace in Africa?

I look forward to engaging with all of you on these questions.
Thank you.



Heather Cameron, High Commissioner of Canada in Ghana, served as Chairperson during the Lecture

Seminar: Building Peace

Regional engagement in conflict prevention and sustaining peace: Reflections from West Africa

Accra, Ghana
4-5 April 2017

Following the lecture, the Foundation and the KAIPTC co-hosted a private seminar to receive input from and facilitate dialogue among diverse stakeholders from West Africa on what is needed to strengthen peace and security in Africa with a particular focus on the role and performance of regional actors. The seminar discussions built on and elaborated some of the key issues raised in Professor Albert's lecture, including the importance of strengthening implementation of regional peace and security frameworks and mechanisms developed over the past decade; the need to acknowledge the critical work of civil society in sustaining peace and to strengthen trust between governments and civil society; and the imperative of sustainable financial resources, from African sources and international donors, in order to meet the significant long-term needs for building peace across the continent.

The objective of the seminar was to provide an opportunity to discuss developments since the adoption of the parallel resolutions passed in the UN Security Council (SCR 2282) and the General Assembly (A/RES/70/262) in April 2016, concluding the 2015 Review of the UN PBA, and to identify what actions are needed by different actors to support their application in the West African context. Participants also were keen to share experiences and perspectives on civil society's

contributions to peace processes, in particular in broadening inclusivity; to explore the balance between and role of military and political actors in peacebuilding; to have an honest and frank discussion on the relationship between the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities and to seek opportunities for deepening cooperation.

Some of the key topics raised in the seminar included the profound disconnect between international policy processes—in New York, Addis and Abuja—and practice and the need for regional and national level strategies to support implementation; the importance of clarifying and integrating the multiple peace and security frameworks that have been developed for the region and to ensure coherence and compliance; the imperative of more structured and inclusive engagement of civil society for building and sustaining peace in West Africa; the key role that youth play and the relevance of Security Council Resolution 2250 on youth, peace and security for the region; and how transparency and proper management of natural resources is a prerequisite for stable economic growth and prosperity. During the seminar recent experiences from the Gambia were used to discuss the role and limitations of ECOWAS in conflict prevention.

Isaac Olawale Albert

Isaac Olawale Albert is Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He has established the MA and PhD degree programmes on the subject at the university and serves as a conflict management trainer and professional mediator.



Professor Albert is also a co-founder of the Centre for Research on Inequality and Human Security (CRISE) at the University of Oxford, United Kingdom, and has served as the Country Director of the Nigeria Office of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA–Nigeria).

He has also written and engaged extensively on the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria, including chairing the Nigerian government’s March 2015 pre-inauguration sub-committee on the issue. Professor Albert was also a federal delegate to the 2014 National Conference in Nigeria and a Member of the Presidential Panel on the Review of Nigeria’s Defence Policy (2014/15).

He also serves as Board Chairman of the Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP/Nigeria) and the Regional Board Chairman of the West African Network for Peacebuilding (Accra, Ghana).

Kofi Annan

Kofi A. Annan (1938–) served as the 7th Secretary-General of the United Nations from January 1997 to December 2006 and is the founder and chair of the Kofi Annan Foundation, created in 2007 to mobilise political will to overcome threats to peace, development and human rights.

One of his main priorities as Secretary-General was a comprehensive programme of reform that sought to revitalise the United Nations and make the international system more effective. It was also at Mr. Annan's urging that, in 2005, Member States established the Peacebuilding Commission. Mr. Annan was a constant advocate for human rights, the rule of law, the Millennium Development Goals and Africa, and sought to bring the organisation closer to the global public by forging ties with civil society, the private sector and other partners. In 2001, he and the United Nations were jointly awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Kofi Annan is currently Chancellor of the University of Ghana, and has held a number of positions at Universities around the world. He is a board member, patron or honorary member of a number of organisations, including the United Nations Foundation.

Born in Kumasi, Ghana, he is married to Nane and between them they have three children.





Dag Hammarskjöld

Dag Hammarskjöld (1905–1961) served as Secretary-General of the UN with the utmost courage and integrity from 1953 till his death in 1961, creating standards against which his successors continue to be measured.

He stood firmly by the UN Charter and lost his life in pursuit of dialogue and peace; Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash on a mission to mediate in the 1960's Congo crisis. For his service, he was posthumously awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Hammarskjöld's most notable achievements while serving as the world's top international civil servant include restructuring of the UN to make it more effective, creating the basis for UN peacekeeping operations, and successfully implementing his "preventive diplomacy" in crises from the Middle East to China.

When meeting these international challenges, Hammarskjöld combined great moral force with subtlety and insisted on the independence of his office. In doing so he created a lasting legacy of the role and responsibilities of the international civil servant.



From left to right, Heather Cameron, Henrik Hammargren, Prof. Olawale Albert, and Commandant Evans.



Audience members included academics and students from KAIPTC as well as members of the diplomatic community.

Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) is one of three institutions designated by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a regional Centre of Excellence for the delivery of training and research in the areas of conflict prevention, management and peacebuilding in Africa.

Officially opened on 24 January 2004, the Centre was envisaged to address not only Ghana's needs for training men and women to meet the changing demands of complex and multidimensional peacekeeping activities, but also to help meet the peacekeeping training requirements of the West African sub region and indeed, the continent.

A few years into its operations, the KAIPTC has carved a niche as a worldclass research and training facility for enhanced performance in integrated peace support operations in Africa, drawing participants from the peacekeeping community, the security sector and civil, diplomatic and non-governmental agencies. The KAIPTC has to date offered over 230 courses related to peace support operations for over 11,000 military, police and civilian personnel.

More information about the KAIPTC at www.kaiptc.org.

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (www.daghammarskjold.se) was established in 1962 by the Swedish government in memory of the second Secretary-General of the United Nations as an autonomous foundation. Its mission is to catalyse dialogue and action for a socially and economically just, environmentally sustainable, democratic and peaceful world. In the spirit of Dag Hammarskjöld the Foundation aims to generate new perspectives and ideas on global development and multilateral cooperation. It builds bridges between actors and provides space for those most affected by inequalities and injustice.

Kofi Annan-Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture

The Kofi Annan–Dag Hammarskjöld (KA-DH) Lecture is given in honour of the legacy and achievements of Kofi Annan and Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations’ second and seventh Secretaries-General, and in recognition of the work and achievements of these two leaders for peace and development on the African continent.

The invited speaker should be an outstanding international personality who through actions in politics, research or practice has demonstrated a commitment to sustainable peace globally and made specific contributions to creating a more just, peaceful and environmentally sustainable Africa. Further information about the annual Kofi Annan–Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture including the full list of previous lecturers, can be found online at www.daghammarskjold.se and www.kaipctc.org.

Previous Kofi Annan –Dag Hammarskjöld Lecturers:

2016 - Karin Landgren:

Opening for Transformation: Three Security Reviews

2015 - Mohammed Ibn Chambas:

The Growing Challenges of Peace and Security in Africa: A West African Perspective

2014 - Staffan de Mistura:

The UN, Peace and Security in Africa: Perspectives and Challenges

2013 - Ellen Margreth Loj:

*Peacebuilding in Africa: Perspectives and Challenges – Interlinkages Between
Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding and State Building*



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