



APSACO

African Peace and Security
Annual Conference

First Edition -2017-

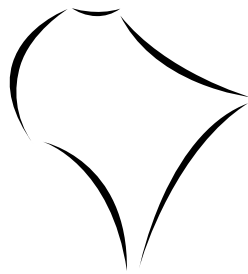
African Union: What are the Possible Options for Strategic Autonomy?

General Rapporteur

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SYNTHESIS REPORT

July 10-11, 2017 - Rabat, Morocco



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I. Introduction

The African Peace and Security Annual Conference (APSACO), organized by the OCP Policy Center, was held from July 10 – 11, 2017 in Rabat. This first edition, focusing on the African Union's (AU) strategic autonomy, aimed to facilitate a serious and constructive consideration of the various probable and realistic options for the rise of this international organization as an autonomous entity that is globally interdependent. The conference also aimed at launching a deep African debate on the continent's place in developing global strategic discourse.

Researchers, diplomats, military personnel, and representatives of think tanks, civil society and the private sector from some of the African countries, Europe, and the United States attended the conference. They also took an active part in the work by honorable senior officials, a former Prime Minister, ministers, councilors and former ministers of Guinea, Ivory Coast, Senegal, the United Kingdom, France, Nigeria, the United States of America, Ghana, Portugal and Morocco.

In addition to the opening ceremony under the chairpersonship of Mr. Karim El Aynaoui, Director General of the OCP Policy Center and the inaugural speech by His Excellency Dr. Mohamed Diane, Minister of State to the President of the Republic of Guinea in charge of Defense, the Conference agenda also included four conversations with international political figures (format: Keynote Speech & Discussion) and five plenary sessions.

Additional information on the participants, the conference agenda and other statistics is contained in a single document annexed to this report.

II. Opening Ceremony

In his inaugural speech, Dr. Mohamed Diane, Minister of State to the President of the Republic of Guinea in charge of Defense, first welcomed Morocco's grand return to the AU and conveyed greetings and congratulations to His Excellency Professor Alpha Condé, President of the Republic of Guinea, to the organizers for such a conference, and to the participants.

He then pointed out Morocco's place in African history and the important role that Rabat plays in Africa's security matters today.

Dr. Mohamed Diane recalled the historical process of building African unity and the transition from the OAU to the AU. This dynamic has enabled Africa to have global representation and to be accepted by international public opinion.

He also stressed the structural problems facing the AU and the need to understand them in order to better address them. Among other things, these problems are linked to identity-related tensions, which are considered as a "real trap for the continent," to a lack of financial means, to the leadership crisis, and to isolationism on the African continent. Without falling into nihilism, he said, it is now time is more for action than for theory in response to emergencies that Africans face.

As such, he stressed the:

- Need to explore new forms of sovereignty that ensure the African Union's collective security and effectiveness against common threats and risks (terrorism, famine, climate, and health). The creation of the G5 in the Sahel is a good example of actions that need to be encouraged and supported.
- Need to innovate and find practical ways of financing, including successful implementation of the 0.2 per cent levy on imports of eligible products to ensure the financing of the AU.
- Usefulness of strengthening the implementation of important decisions within the AU.

Beforehand, Mr. Karim El Aynaoui, Director General of OCP Policy Center, opened the Conference with a cordial welcome to all and welcomed the presence of the distinguished participants who have honored APSACO. He then gave a short presentation of the event. He stated that through APSACO the aim is to establish an open dialogue framework based mainly on facts. This type of initiative would involve many decision-makers and experts who will have a greater interest in deepening the debate. In the same way, he stressed the duty of the Think Tanks, such as OCP Policy Center, to strengthen the capacity of decision-makers to manage African and global challenges.

In his introductory report, Professor Rachid El Houdaigui welcomed the participants and explained the meaning of strategic autonomy within the African context. He stressed that the conference has adopted a broader understanding of strategic autonomy, spanning only the defense domain (restricted approach) to include other areas. In this sense, autonomy must be considered in the long term and in the light of the four components of the African strategic complex: geopolitical paradoxes (vulnerability - leadership crisis); geo-economic dependencies; diplomatic inconsistencies; and weaknesses of military interoperability.

The opening ceremony ended with a presentation session of the Conference agenda.

III. Conclusions of Keynote Speeches

- Sir John Scarlett structured his presentation around the issue concerning the growing uncertainty in the world, while at the same time stressing that the world has always been unstable. In his opinion, the difference lies in the pace of change: the world is confronted with the impact of technological changes that threaten our environment and lead to instability. As such, the role of social media is a serious challenge for states as it is difficult to understand its real impacts. Furthermore, Sir John Scarlett pointed out that the situation of the great international powers since the end of the Cold War and the multiplicity of gray areas (the South-East China Sea, North Korea, Russia, and Europe), the disintegration of states (Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen), and African conflicts contribute to maintaining an international environment of uncertainty.
- Mr. Huber Vedrine first stressed that French policy towards Africa is constantly evolving. It has adapted to the different events observed on the continent level, even while France faced security problems. Today, he argues, France-Africa relations must be discussed from an economic point of view. He then noted that the AU had gained momentum before calling for the need to think about the organization in the sub-region and the priority of enhanced cooperation in the anti-terrorist framework. He also proposed the establishment of a new Schengen system for serious co-management between governments (EU-Maghreb-Africa). Finally, Mr. Huber Vedrine described Morocco's African policy as serious and modern.
- Mr. Essy Amara began his address with a retrospective of the postcolonial African context: the bipolarization of Africa between the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs, the construction of the OAU following the Addis Ababa conference in 1963, and Africa's integration into the United Nations, which has assured the continent a global status. He then identified two failed historical steps, the Lagos Action Plan, adopted in 1980, and the Abuja Treaty of 1991. He was honored to have steered the transition from the OAU to the UA and stressed that the African people must understand the importance of the new organization. In the same sense, he recalled that texts and resolutions can be

perfect, but their implementation can only succeed if the citizens appropriate them.

- Just as the other speakers, in his speech Mr. Paulo Portas shared his own nuances on Europe, Africa and the rest of the world. Mr. Portas asserted that, despite Brexit, Europe remains the strongest bloc economically. He also argues that the loss of jobs in Europe is a consequence of digitization, and not of globalization and relocation. He pointed out, however, that the increase in extremism in Europe (left-right) is increasingly gaining on Eurosceptic territory. Concerning Africa, he said that this continent could become the real surprise of the 21st century due to its potential for growth. But he pointed to the need to create the conditions for political and judicial stability as well as good governance and the positive use of central public resources. He then called for improving both EU-Africa cooperation and the coherence of the United States' African policy. Finally, he highlighted the important role that Morocco could play in fertilizing arable African land.

IV. Conclusions per Panel

The main conclusions from the responses to these questions are as follows:

PANEL I: On the AU's autonomy in a changing world

This panel formulated four main recommendations that are quintessential to the achievement of AU's Strategic Autonomy in the light of the current world dynamics.

- **Financial Independence:** All stakeholders emphasized the issue of dependence, including financial dependence. The exchanges were therefore focused on the reforms proposed in the White Paper by President Kagame, precisely levying 0.2% of the import taxes in the AU member countries. All the speakers insisted on the need to realize this reform, which is essential for any strategic autonomy of the Union. "Decision-making autonomy or any autonomy of action depends on financial autonomy." Non-African speakers see this as the key to establishing a strong credibility for the Union, which is becoming increasingly the main interlocutor of foreign actors. It is important during this meeting to propose ways to effectively implement this financial reform.
- **The Doctrinal Imperative:** For some speakers, the AU needs to define its military doctrine, as it is important to strengthen relations between the Organization and its international partners, the United Nations, the European Union, the United States of America and the BRICS.
- **The Creation of Bridges Between African Actors and Other Global Actors:** One of the important responses to the question of defining strategic autonomy is the creation of several platforms for discussion and dialogue between African actors and external actors, such as this Rabat conference. It is therefore up to the continent to establish its common strategic vision according to its philosophical perceptions of development, its geopolitical realities and its sociocultural (identity) framework. Strategic enfranchisement necessarily involves a conviction of a shared ideal, which is itself supported by an independent financial policy.

- **Increasing the Efficacy of AU's Action:** The AU's strategic autonomy must consist of building a stronger AU, with impacts on the people's everyday life, with positive feedback from outside, and clear objectives

PANEL II: Practices of the African Union

This panel formulated five main recommendations that are quintessential to improve the work of AU's structures.

- **Concertation with the People:** Reforms must be responsive to the needs of the population. These stakeholders must therefore automatically be involved in the decision-making process, and must feel the concrete impacts of the institution's actions. This is the key to their adherence to the AU project, which can establish the legitimacy of the institution. As recognized in the African Union's Agenda 2063, for a society to achieve its full potential it must empower women and eliminate all obstacles to their full participation in all areas of human activity.
- **A Structural Reform:** African institutions need to be reformed by making their operations more efficient and by strengthening human resources capacity.
- **A New Form of Sovereignty:** To ensure the success of these reforms, States are invited to transfer more power to the AU institutions.
- **A New Framework for Free Trade:** Africa will have to renegotiate free trade agreements with the EU and the rest of the world. Bilateral agreements are not in the interest of States.
- **Political Will:** Political will remains fundamental in this quest for Africa's strategic autonomy. Think tanks should help to demonstrate the interest and even the necessity for States to implement the reforms in the direction of this empowerment.

PANEL III: Rethinking the African economic development model

The following discussion points emerge from the debate on the African economic development model. The speakers of the Panels explored five ways forward:

- **Interregional Trade:** The need to develop regional value chains by promoting interregional trade, which will make African economies competitive.

Inclusive Growth: The creation of the conditions for an inclusive economic policy for the two types of States on the continent: low-income and middle-income states.

- **Industrial Strengthening and Upgrade:** Consolidation of the industrial sector on the continent to enable the processing of raw materials and also to develop important industries such as the auto, aeronautics and agro-industry sectors. The example of Morocco in the phosphates sector, and the three sectors previously mentioned.
- **Involvement of the African Diaspora:** Enhancing the role of the African diaspora in the continent's economic development.
- **Lastly**, from food security and electrification of the continent to education and demographic control, African countries have an obligation to jointly base their efforts on the principles and values of African solidarity and in accordance with the approach: "African solutions to African problems."

PANEL IV: Collective security

Panelists presented five pragmatic and realistic alternatives that can surely help in the quest for a true Collective Security Strategy in Africa. They can be summarized as follow:

- **A Holistic Approach to Collective Security:** Africa needs to design collective security considering these realities: this means moving from a narrow, classical conception to a holistic one, focused first on socio-economic development issues.
- **A Collective Awareness of the Current Increased Insecurity:** A collective security system requires a shared sense of a common threat (the existence of a security complex): it is important that Africa gives meaning to the concept of "solidarity" in decision-makers' discourse. It is therefore imperative to develop a collective awareness about insecurity in sub-regions and on the continent.

- **Strengthening and Supporting the Regional Approach:** Confronted with the challenge of political divergence and diversity in Africa, it is important to be pragmatic, that is, to define clear and precise objectives. Therefore, developing regional approaches is a prerequisite for African collective security.
- **Modernizing the Security Sector:** Most African States should undertake major reforms in the security sector (police, military and security services). These countries primarily need to strengthen the capacities of the police forces and to exercise full control over their borders.
- **Interoperability:** For the question of interoperability, it is essential that the AU should become financially self-sufficient in order to assist weak States to access high-quality equipment that promotes interoperability. Flexibility in the functioning of armies must be ensured.

POLICY PANEL

In the light of the discussions of the previous panels, the speakers of the Policy Panel highlighted the main continental challenges ahead in the form of recommendations that can be summarized as follow:

- **An Institutional Reform:** The African Union needs to refocus on its core missions and high value-added sectors (infrastructure, security and governance).
- **African Autonomy:** Africans should invest more in their own capacities without substantial external support. People need to talk more about what Africans are doing to help themselves.
- **Infrastructure Investments:** Building the continent over the long term will take a long time. It is important to build autonomy for supply and investment in infrastructure.

- **The Role of Africa in the International Scene:** The AU can play a role for Africans in the process of globalization by consulting multilateral institutions for a veritable emergence of the Global Village.
- **The Development of a Pan African Philosophy:** African philosophy and thought are not yet developed. The mission is to enable the formation of an informed pan-African civil society to reflect on the main objectives for the continent.

V. Epilogue: Indispensable Collective Building for the AU's Strategic Autonomy

In the light of the above, it appears that the present and the future of Africa's development fundamentally depends on the fulfillment of the strategic autonomy of the continental institution. This is the guarantee of internal and external credibility. It must be anchored in African realities, avoiding any kind of mimicry or wait-and-see. The new realities of the international order, in particular the sovereignists assertions by classical and emerging powers, must challenge African decision-makers to accelerate the formation of a strategic whole. Mutualizing their actions at all levels (State, AU and sub-regional organizations) and focusing these efforts on strategic sectors of socio-economic development is the key to their success. But an "Africa of States" alone will not succeed in building this "strategic autonomy" without the effective participation in decision-making by an "Africa of peoples," from civil society actors (in the broadest sense of the term) to both internal and external African citizens. Africa's development cannot materialize unless it reflects and truly and effectively meets African peoples' expectations.

Appendix I: African Peace & Security Annual Conference (APSACO) Speakers' Biographies



Sir John Scarlett – Vice Chairman at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI); Former Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) – UK

Sir John was born in 1948 in London and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where, in 1970, he was awarded First Class Honours in Modern History. Since leaving SIS, he has become a Senior Advisor at Morgan Stanley. Sir John is Chairman of the Strategy Advisory Council at Statoil ASA. He is an Advisor to Swiss Re and Chairman of SC Strategy Ltd. He is a Director of Times Newspaper Holdings, Vice Chairman at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and a Member of the Global Advisory Council at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC. He is Chairman of the Bletchley Park Trust, and a Trustee of the Imperial War Museum. Other Trusteeships include the Royal Medical Foundation of Epsom College and Friends of the French Institute in the United Kingdom. He is also an Honorary Visiting Professor at Exeter University.

Sir John was appointed OBE (Officer of the British Empire) in 1987, CMG (Commander of St Michael and St George) in 2001, KCMG in 2007 and Officer of the Legion D'Honneur in 2011.



John Busuttil – Security Expert, European External Action Service (EEAS) – EU

Mr. John Busuttil is a policy advisor within the Pan African Division of the European External Actions Services since September 2015. Prior to that, he served as a policy officer at the European Union Delegation to the United Nations between October 2011 and August 2015. He also served as a head of Trade, Economic & Finance section of permanent representation of Malta to the EU between September 2006 and September 2011. Prior to that, he was first secretary and consul general

of the permanent mission of Malta to the United Nations between July 2002 and August 2006 and Head of section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malta.

Mr. Busuttill holds a Master of Arts in Diplomatic Studies from the Mater Admirabilis College, tal-Virtu Rabat and an MA in international Relations, Economics and Law from the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies of the University of Malta.



Solomon Hassen – Academic Coordinator for the Joint IPSS / University of Leipzig MA and PhD Programs in Global Studies – Ethiopia

Solomon Hassen is the Academic Coordinator for the Joint MA and PhD Programmes in Global Studies that IPSS offers with the University of Leipzig. Solomon is also a PhD candidate in Global and Areal Studies; a joint programme between Leipzig University and IPSS. He obtained a Joint MA Degree in Peace and Security Studies, from Addis Ababa University (AAU) and the United Nations University for Peace. Solomon got his BA from Addis Ababa University (AAU), in Foreign Languages, Literature and Political sciences.



Mari beth Leonard – US mission to the African Union; US permanent representative to UNECA – USA

Mary Beth Leonard is the head US mission to the African Union; US permanent representative to UNECA. She has served in 2015 as the U.S. Department of State Faculty Advisor, U.S. Naval War College, Rhode Island. Her recent service as Ambassador to Mali (2011-2014), Deputy Chief of Mission to Mali (2006-2009), and Director of the Office of West African Affairs (2009-2011) demonstrated her ability to guide interagency programs and proved pivotal to making the U.S. a leading partner in supporting democratization, development, security sector reform, peacekeeping, and good governance. Ms. Leonard's deep understanding of the region, bridging long academic interest in African studies through

numerous African assignments, made her uniquely qualified for her current position. Previously, Ms. Leonard served as the Department's Diplomat in Residence, Tufts University (2014-2015), Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy Paramaribo, Suriname (2004-2006), and as Deputy Principal Officer, U.S. Consulate General Cape Town, South Africa (1999-2003). She worked as Regional Desk Officer, Office of Southern African Affairs (1998), Economic and Commercial Officer, U.S. Embassy Lomé, Togo (1996-1998), and Desk Officer for Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea (1994-1995) and Zaire (1995-1996), Office of Central African Affairs. Earlier assignments included as a Watch Officer, Operations Center, and Consular and Economic Officer at U.S. Embassies in Namibia and Cameroon. Before joining the Foreign Service, she was an Analyst with the U.S. Department of Defense.

Ms. Leonard earned a B.A. from Boston University, Magna Cum Laude (1984), a M.A. from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1998), and a M.A. with distinction from the U.S. Naval War College (2004). Her numerous Department of State awards include the 2013 Diplomacy for Human Rights Award. Her languages are French, Spanish, Afrikaans, and Dutch.



Ahmed Tidiane Sakho – Ambassador; Head of the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs – Guinea

Mr. Ahmed Tidiane Sakho was born on the 20th of September 1954 at Dubréka near Conakry.

He is currently head of the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guinea after previously serving as an ambassador to Belgium, Hollande, Luxemburg and the European Union.

Mr. Tidiane Sakho successfully completed a master in sociology from the university of Gamal Abdel-Nasser in Conakry in 1978. Mr. Sakho has also attended and successfully completed various training programs such as:

- A certificate in law from The Danish institute of human rights in 1983
- The Bradford University Planning Training in 1989
- The Bradford University Planning Training in 1989
- An IPG Dakar certificate in Project management in 2004



Aditi Lalbahadur - Programme Manager, South African Institute of International Affairs, SAIIA) – South Africa

Aditi joined SAIIA as a researcher in December 2011 after she completed an M. Litt (with distinction) in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of St Andrews, in Scotland. She is a Chevening Scholar (2010) and the recipient of a National Research Foundation Bursary (2001). Before joining SAIIA in 2008 as a corporate research and media officer, Aditi provided research and speech writing support in The Presidency of the Republic of South Africa, under President Mbeki. She holds an Honours degree in Political Science from The University of Natal, Durban (2002) and a Bachelor's degree from the same university (2001), where she undertook a triple major in Political Science, Law, and Media & Communications. She has a strong interest in the international politics of Southern Africa.



Hubert Védrine – Former Minister of Foreign Affairs – France

Hubert Védrine was born on 31 July 1947 in Creuse. He studied at the Paris Institute of Political Studies and also obtained a degree in history. He joined the French National School of Administration (ÉNA) and graduated in 1974 (known as the 'Simone Weil' year). Following his appointment to the French Ministry of Culture, he joined the Directorate-General for Cultural, Scientific and Technical Relations of the French Foreign Ministry in 1979. He was elected deputy MP for Nièvre on 31 July 1978. He became Diplomatic Adviser to François Mitterrand, who had known his father since the war, during the Socialist President's first seven-year term (1981–1988), then spokesman for the Élysée (1988–1991), after a period spent at the French Conseil d'État (Council of State) in 1986. In 1991, he replaced Jean-Louis Bianco as Secretary-General for the Presidency of the Republic. He worked with François Mitterrand and witnessed three French Presidencies of the European Community and the European Union, in 1984, 1989 and 1995.

After Jacques Chirac was elected President of the Republic in 1995, Hubert Védrine returned to the Conseil d'État and then joined the law

firm, Jeantet et Associés, in 1996. Following Jacques Chirac's decision to dissolve the French National Assembly, Védrine was appointed to the government of Lionel Jospin, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, after the party's victory in the 1997 parliamentary elections. Hubert Védrine was therefore Minister for Foreign Affairs in an unusual configuration, that of a cohabitation government, which lasted from June 1997 to May 2002. In 2002, Jacques Chirac was re-elected to the Presidency of the Republic and his new party, the UMP, won the parliamentary elections. In 2003, Hubert Védrine founded Hubert Védrine Conseil, a geopolitical strategy consultancy firm that has worked with several major French companies, as well as the law firm, Gide Loyrette Nouel.



Assoumani Youssouf Mondoha – Représentant Permanent de l'Union des Comores auprès de la Commission Economique pour l'Afrique et de l'Union Africaine – Comoros

Ambassador Assoumani YOUSOUF MONDOHA, holds the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Comoros to the republic of Ethiopia, Djibouti and the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and Permanent Representative of the Union of Comoros to the African Union and the UNECA.

His field of expertise include: International Political Relations, International Law, Humanitarian Law, Geopolitical Strategies, Geopolitics of African Conflicts, International Crisis Mediation and Management, and Parliamentary Organization and structures. Prior to his current position, he held a parliamentary position between 2004 and 2009. He was also Minister of information of the Union of Comoros between 1996 and 1997. He was also prefect of the region of Itsandra Hamanvou from 1984 to 1990.

Ambassador Assoumani YOUSOUF MONDOHA is a graduate of the Special International Cycle of Public Administration of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) in France. He is also a graduate of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Internationales (CEDS – Paris France) where he

was awarded a diploma of the Diplomatic Studies and a post-graduate diploma in Diplomatic Studies. He was also awarded specialized certificates from the Institut International de Droit Humanitaire and the Institut de Formation des Enseignants et de Recherche en Education.



Guy Mvelle – Maître de Conférences ; Institut des Relations Internationales du Cameroun (IRIC) – Cameroon

Mr. Guy Mvelle is a Maître de Conférences and expert in international relations and professor at the department of « Intégration régionale et management des institutions communautaires » of the Institut des Relations Internationales du Cameroun, IRIC. He is also deputy director of cooperation at the ministry of higher education in Cameroon. He has extensively written and public on international relations issues. Among his publication: « L'Union africaine quinze ans après », codirigé par le Professeur Laurent Zang, Institut des relations internationales du Cameroun (IRIC), 2017, « Antonio Guterres au Secrétariat général de l'ONU : Les attentes impatientes de l'Afrique, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2017 », « L'aide française en Afrique : Les mutations via les contrats de désendettement et de développement » (C2D), Paris, L'Harmattan, 2016, « Intégration et Coopération africaine : la difficile rencontre possible entre les théories et les faits », Paris, L'Harmattan, 2014, « L'Union africaine face aux contraintes de l'action collective », Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013, « L'Union africaine : Fondements, structure, programmes et actions », Paris, L'Harmattan, 2007.



Abdallah Saaf – Senior Fellow OCP Policy Center – Morocco

Abdallah Saaf is a professor of Political sciences at Mohamed V Rabat University, Director of the Center for Studies in Social Sciences Research (CERSS), and Founder of the Moroccan Association of Political Science and Director of Abhath Review. Professor Saaf was a member of the commission in charge of revising the Constitution during July 2011, and

member of the Scientific Committee at the Global Forum for Humans rights. Professor Saaf is a former Minister of Education from 1998 to 2004. He also manages an annual publication called “Strategic Report of Morocco” since 1995.



Ifediora Chimezie Amobi – Executive Director, Anambra State Investment Promotion and Protection Agency – Nigeria

Dr. Ifediora Chimezie Amobi is the Executive Director, Anambra State Investment Promotion and Protection Agency in Nigeria. Prior to that, he served as the Executive Director of the African Heritage Institution (AfriHeritage). Dr Amobi holds Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Economics from the Howard University, Washington, DC, United States of America (USA), Masters Degree (M.Sc.) in Economics from Clemson University, Clemson, SC, USA and also Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) Degree in Economics from Nebraska Wesleyan University, Lincoln, NE, USA. Dr. Amobi has served in different capacities including Senior Special Assistant to the President on National Development Matters, in the Office of the Vice President, Abuja from 2007 to 2011. He was the Investment Policy Adviser for the UK Department for International Development (DfID) funded programme, Growth and Employment in States (GEMS3) and Managing Consultant/ Executive Director of Skoup and Company Limited, Enugu. Dr. Amobi was a Strategy Manager at Accenture, and a Relationship Manager at Citibank Nigerian Lagos. Between 1986 and 1992, he was a Lecturer at Howard University as well as an Economic Consultant in the Office of the Chief Economist, South Asia Region of the World Bank in Washington, DC, and in 1999 he became a Lecturer in the Graduate School of the Department of Economics, Enugu State University of Technology Business School.



Karim El Aynaoui – Managing Director, OCP Policy Center) – Morocco

Karim El Aynaoui is currently Managing Director of OCP Policy Center, a think tank based in Rabat. He also serves as advisor to the CEO and Chairman of OCP Group, a global leader in the phosphate sector. From 2005 to 2012, he worked at Bank Al-Maghrib, the Central Bank of Morocco. He was the Director of Economics and International Relations, where he provided strategic leadership in defining and supporting monetary policy analysis and strategy. He was also in charge of the Statistical and International Relations Divisions of the Central Bank, led the research division and was a member of the Governor's Cabinet. Before joining Bank Al-Maghrib, Karim El Aynaoui worked for eight years at the World Bank, both in its Middle Eastern and North Africa, and Africa regions as an economist. He has published papers, books and articles in scientific journals on macroeconomic issues in developing countries. Recently, he co-authored a book outlining a growth strategy for Morocco and was the guest editor of a special issue on food price volatility in Oxford Economic Papers. Karim El Aynaoui is a board member of the OCP Foundation, member of the Strategic Advisory Board of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI) and member of the COP22 Scientific Committee. He is also member of the Malabo Montpellier Panel, a group of leading African and European experts from the fields of agriculture, ecology, nutrition, public policy and global development. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Bordeaux, where he taught for three years courses in statistics and economics.



Larabi Jaïdi – Senior Fellow at OCP Policy Center – Morocco

Larabi Jaïdi is a former Professor at the Mohamed V University in Rabat-Agdal. His area of expertise includes Economic Policy, International Economic Relations (Europe and the Arab World) and Economy of the Regions. He is a founding member of the Centre Marocain de Conjoncture and of the Groupement d'Etudes et de Recherches sur la

Méditerranée. He is a member of the Research Group within the Euro-Mediterranean Universities Networks. He has also acted as Adviser to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Economy and Finance. He acts as independent expert to the Moroccan Competition Council and the Moroccan Authority for the fight against Corruption. He is a member of the Adderrahim Bouabid Foundation Board (Body of Research- Action on matters relating to State Reform). Mr. Jaïdi also acts as consultant to Moroccan and foreign entities. He is the author of various publications relating to economic and social development and to international economic relations.



Greg Mills – Director of the Johannesburg-based Brenthurst Foundation – South Africa

Greg Mills, PhD is director of the Johannesburg-based Brenthurst Foundation. A special advisor to a number of African and other governments, he is widely published on international affairs, development and security, a columnist for South Africa's Sunday Times and the author of the best-selling books "Why Africa is Poor – And what Africans can do about it" and, with Jeffrey Herbst, "Africa's Third Liberation" and "How South Africa Works."

In 2008, he was deployed as strategy advisor to the President of Rwanda. Since 2007 he has directed the Secretariat to the Presidential International Advisory Board in Mozambique, and since 2012 the Presidential Advisory Committee on the Economy of Malawi. In 2006, he was on assignment in Kabul as head of the International Security Assistance Force's (ISAF) Prism strategic analysis group, and was seconded to ISAF in Kandahar also with Prism in 2010, and to HQ ISAF again in Kabul in 2012. Based on his peace-building experiences, in 2011 he co-edited, with General Sir David Richards, "Victory Among People: Lessons from Countering Insurgencies and Stabilising Fragile States" and in 2013 published "Somalia – Fixing Africa's Most Failed State" with the Atlantic Council's Peter Pham and Australian counter-insurgency specialist David Kilcullen. The grandson of the prewar Grand Prix racer Billy Mills, and himself a

driver on the African 2014 Le Mans 24-hour initiative, he has published several titles on motorsport history, most recently "Agriculture, Furniture and Marmalade: Southern African Motorsport Heroes."



Festus M. Lansana – Senior Researcher, Center for Economic Research & Capacity Building – Sierra Leone

Mr. Lansana was recently the Interim Programme Manager for the Global Agriculture and Food Security Programme (GAFSP) dealing with small holder farmers; and currently a Senior Research Associate at Center for Economic Research and Capacity Building (CERCB), Sierra Leone. He has extensive experience in Research, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation of public and United Nations Development Projects. He has undertaken a couple of research work which include but not limited to: food security and vulnerability assessment in Sierra Leone; Socio-Economic Impact of Ebola Virus Disease, evaluation of educational projects in Sierra Leone, cross border trade etc. He is currently writing a PhD Thesis on the topic "Climate change and agricultural productivity in Sierra Leone"



Fathallah Oualalou - Senior Fellow OCP Policy Center – Morocco

Economist, Former Minister of Economy and Finance, of Privatisation and Tourism, Former Mayor, City of Rabat. Fathallah Oualalou was born in 1942 in Rabat. He graduated in economy from Mohammed V University in 1964 and obtained a diploma on economy in 1966 in Paris. He was appointed Ministry of Economy in 1998 and Ministry of Finance in 2002. He is professor at Mohammed V University and chairs the Association of Moroccan Economists and Union of Arab Economists. After over 20 years as member of the Municipal Council, he was Mayor of Rabat from 2009 to 2015.



Paulo Portas – Former Deputy Prime Minister – Portugal

Pragmatic, charismatic and decisive, Paulo Portas has been a key figure in Portuguese politics since the 1990s and President of the democratic party that has been in office the longest (re-elected 8 times in 16 years). Under his leadership the minority CDS-PP (Social Democratic Center – People’s Party) formed part of the Portuguese government for two terms after obtaining some of its best ever election results.

He was a minister on two occasions, finishing his political career as Deputy Prime Minister (2013 – 2015), a position that was re-created for him. He was responsible for relations with the “troika” representatives in Portugal (the IMF, ECB and EC), who arrived following the financial rescue of the country.

As Foreign Minister (2011-2013) he dealt with international relations, including economic diplomacy and geopolitical matters, such as geo-economics. He drove forward the internationalization of Portuguese companies, and worked to boost the percentage of GDP represented by exports from 29% to 43%.

In 2015, he resigned from his parliamentary position and the following year decided not to run for re-election as the head of his party, of which he had been President for two terms (1998 – 2005 and 2007 – 2016). Nevertheless, he has not wanted to withdraw from public life and has not left behind his vocation for public service and his faith in his country’s growth prospects as well as those of the European.

He has reinvented his new career path through various routes: as a strategic consultant in Africa, Latin America and the Persian Gulf; resuming his career as a journalist with a Sunday television program on international politics; taking an MBA in Geopolitics; running public policy training for young CDS leaders; as Vice-president of the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, in charge of the chambers overseas; as Vice-president of the international strategic advisory board of the largest Portuguese company, and as a speaker who is an expert on the European Union, relations with Latin America, geopolitics, the global economy, internationalization, exports and accessing new markets.



Essy Amara – Former Minister of Foreign Affairs & Former Secretary General of the Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA) – Ivory Coast

Essy Amara is an Ivorian politician and diplomat born in December 20th, 1944 in Bouaké (Ivory Coast). Trusted by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, he first served as a minister of foreign affairs of Ivory Coast between 1990 and 2000 and as a president of the 49th General Assembly of the United Nations between 1994 and 1995. In 2001, he becomes secretary general of the African Union Organization. In July 2002, when the African Union is created, he becomes interim president of the commission until the election of Alpha Oumar Konaré in 2003. Essy Amara started his diplomatic in 1971, at the age of 27 in Brazil, as a first councillor at the Ivory Coast embassy. Two years later in New York, at the permanent mission of Ivory Coast to the United Nations. Félix Houphouët-Boigny appoints him later as an extraordinary et plenipotentiary ambassador in Switzerland. In 1981, he is appointed in New-York, as a permanent representative of Ivory Coast and as an ambassador to Argentina and Cuba. In 1989, he played an important role in the election of Ivory Coast as a non-permanent member of the security council of the UN. He will later spend 8 years in the organization as an ambassador. In 1990, Essy Amara is appointed as a minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1998, he will be appointed as a minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, a position that he will keep until 1999.



Abdelhak Bassou – Senior Fellow at OCP Policy Center – Morocco

Abdelhak Bassou occupied several offices within the Directorate General of the Moroccan National Security where he was Borders' Division Chief from 1978 to 1993. He was the former Director of the Royal Institute of Police in 1998. He also served as the Chief of Regional Security (Errachidia 1999-2003, Sidi Kacem 2003-2005) and was also Head of the Central General Intelligence from 2006 to 2009. He also contributed to the output of several international organizations endeavours including the Council of Arab Interior Ministers from 1986 to 1992, where he represented the Directorate General of

National Security in several meetings. Abdelhak Bassou holds a Master's Degree in Political Science and International Studies from the Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Sciences of Agdal in Rabat.



Général de Brigade Mohamed Znaoui Sid 'Ahmed Ely – Secrétariat Permanent G5 Sahel – Mauritania

Général de Brigade Mohamed Znaoui Sid 'Ahmed Ely was born in February 20th, 1954 at Akjoujt at the western central part of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. He attended primary and high school in Mauritania before joining the Royal Military Academy of Meknes in Morocco from 1978 to 1981 where he had his first officer training. He held several military positions before finishing his graduate curriculum and training in Mauritania, France and China. He then took position and Commandant of military staff before joining military diplomacy. He is later promoted Général de Brigade in January 2012 and general inspector of Armed Forces and Security. Général de Brigade Mohamed Znaoui Sid 'Ahmed Ely is a law graduate of Mohamed V University in Rabat.



Air Vice Marshal Griffiths Santrofi Evans – Commandant of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) – Ghana

Air Vice Marshal GS Evans was born on 01 April 1960 in the Greater Accra Region. After graduating from the Military Academy in 1983, he received training as a pilot and joined the No. 4 Jet Squadron. He acquired combat flying experience during his deployment to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group in Liberia (1990) and additional international experience as a military observer in Yugoslavia (1994-95). Following his promotion to Group Captain in 2007, he served as Director Air Operations at the Ghana Air Force Headquarters and later, after having attained the rank of Air Commodore, as Air Officer Commanding Training Command (2012-2014). His appointment to Commander of the Air Force Base Tamale followed in 2014. During his military service, he has been awarded 11 medals. AVM GS Evans holds degrees in Human Resource

Management (BSc), International Affairs (MA) and Strategic Studies (MA). Moreover, he obtained diplomas in Military Operational Arts and Science and in Security Management. He attended university programs in Ghana (University of Ghana, Legon Centre of International Affairs) and the United States (University of Southern California, Air University Alabama, Air Command and Staff College, Air War College). In 2001, GS Evans published a thesis with the title “The Ghana Air Force (GAF) in ECOMOG operations in Liberia” (University of Ghana, Balme Library). On July 1 2016, GS Evans was promoted to the rank of Air Vice Marshal and appointed Commandant of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre. He is married, with two children.



Vice Admiral Michael Franken – Vice Admiral, Deputy to the Commander for Military Operations, U.S. Africa Command – USA

Vice Adm. Michael T. Franken is from rural Iowa and graduated from the College of Engineering at the University of Nebraska and from the College of Physics at the Naval Postgraduate School. He attended the Brookings Institute, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar XXI program, the Darden School and various other executive education courses. Vice Adm. Michael T. Franken’s previous flag assignments include service as the initial director of the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency (DPAA), special assistant to the director of the Navy Staff, the Joint Staff J5 interim chief of staff, the Department of the Navy Chief of Legislative Affairs, command of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HoA) in Djibouti, Africa, and nearly three years as vice director, Strategy, Plans and Policy (J5) at U.S. Central Command. He was the first commanding officer of USS Winston S. Churchill (DDG 81) and served in USS King (DDG 41), USS Dahlgren (DDG 43) and USS Barry (DDG 52). As commodore, he commanded Destroyer Squadron (DESRON) 28 and Task Group 152.0 for the Eisenhower Strike Group. Vice Adm. Michael T. Franken is the U.S. Africa Command’s deputy for military operations. He is responsible of promoting the national security interests of the United States by strengthening the security capabilities of African nations, to include the conduct of military operations that create an environment conducive to development and responsible governance.



Lt-Gen Aliyu G. Mohammed – Former Minister of Defence; Founder, Gusau Institute – Nigeria

Lieutenant General (retired) Aliyu Mohammed Gusau (born May 18 1943) is a retired Nigerian army officer who served in many senior level security, defence, and military roles. He was most recently Minister of Defence, served as National Security Adviser to 2 different presidents, Chief of Army Staff, headed different intelligence agencies, and was Commandant of the Nigerian Defence Academy. Lieutenant General (retired) Aliyu Mohammed Gusau was born on 18 May 1943 in Gusau, Zamfara State. The army added his birthplace to his name, making “Aliyu Mohammed Gusau”, to distinguish him from another General, Aliyu Mohammed. Although Aliyu does not himself use “Gusau” in his name, it has been widely adopted by the media. He enrolled as an officer cadet at the Nigerian Defence Academy in 1964 and was commissioned into the Nigerian Army as a 2nd Lieutenant in 1967. He was Commander of 9 Infantry brigade, Abeokuta (April 1976 – July 1978), Adjutant General of 2 Mechanised Division (July 1978 – September 1979) and Director of Personnel Services, Army Headquarters (October 1979 – November 1979).



Rudolph Atallah – Non-resident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council – USA

Rudolph Atallah is a non-resident senior fellow at the Atlantic Council’s Africa Center. Before retiring in 2009 with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel after twenty-one years of service in the US Air Force, Atallah’s military career included aviation, special operations, intelligence, and counterterrorism. In his last military posting, he served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense as Africa Counterterrorism Director (2003-2009), while concurrently holding positions as East Africa Director (2003-2007) and Country Director for Morocco and Tunisia (2007-2009). His responsibilities included advising the Secretary of Defense and other senior US officials on counterterrorism policy and strategy while serving as an adviser to the US Department of State and numerous US embassies across Africa. A native of Beirut, Lebanon, and fluent in Arabic and French, Atallah holds a bachelor of science in electrical and

biomedical engineering from the University of Connecticut and a master of science in international relations from Troy University. Atallah is Chief Executive Officer of White Mountain Research, a small Virginia-based business providing tailored international security solutions to clients focused on Africa and the Middle East.



Rachid El Houdaigui – Professor at Abdelmalek Essaadi University, Senior Fellow at OCP Policy Center – Morocco

Rachid EL Houdaïgui is professor of International Relations at Abdelmalek Essaadi University, Tangier's Law Faculty and Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center. He is also professor at Royal College of Advanced Military Studies (Kenitra) and professor invited at Cergy-Pontoise University (Paris), Cadix University (Spain) and at La Sagesse University (Beirut, Lebanon). Mr. EL Houdaïgui is the author of numerous books and articles dealing with International relations and geopolitics: the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Arab world. Also, he is co-director of the Moroccan-Spanish review "Peace and International Security" and in charge of the Observatory of Mediterranean Studies (Abdelmalek Essaadi University).



Bronwyn Bruton – Director of Programs and Studies; Deputy Director, Atlantic Council – USA

Bronwyn E. Bruton is deputy director of the Council's Africa Center. Bruton is a recognized authority on the conflict in Somalia. She has authored a series of reports and essays on the Horn of Africa, including the 2009 Foreign Affairs essay, "In the Quicksands of Somalia," and the widely-read 2010 Council on Foreign Relations special report Somalia: A New Approach. She has lectured at the Council on Foreign Relations, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the United States Institute for Peace (USIP), Harvard University, the Brookings Institute, Carnegie Endowment, the National Defense University, Chatham House (London), the US Africa Command (Commander's Speaker Series), the World Bank, and the World Affairs Council. Previously, Ms. Bruton held

an international affairs fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Prior to that, Ms. Bruton managed the National Endowment for Democracy's multi-million-dollar portfolio of small grants to local and international NGOs operating in East and Southern Africa, and managed post-conflict political transition programs in Africa for the US Agency for International Development. Ms. Bruton holds a master of public policy, with honors, from the University of California at Los Angeles. She was born in Mbabane, Swaziland.



Jonathan Eyal – Associate Director of Strategic Research Partnerships, and International Director, at the Royal United Services Institute – UK

Dr Eyal is the Associate Director, Strategic Research Partnerships, and International Director, at the Royal United Services Institute. He was born in Romania, but has lived most of his life in Britain. Educated at Oxford and London Universities, his initial training was in International Law and Relations, in which he obtained both his first degree and his Master's with a Distinction. His Doctorate, completed at Oxford in 1987, analysed relations between ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe since the end of the First World War. After teaching at Oxford for three years, Dr Eyal was appointed a researcher at RUSI. Since 1990, Dr Eyal has been Director of Studies at the Institute, and also serves as a Senior Research Fellow and Editor of the RUSI News brief. Dr Eyal has completed books on military expenditure in the former Warsaw Pact and a published a study on military relations in the Balkans during the time of Communism. He is a regular commentator on East European affairs for The Guardian, The Independent, The Times dailies and the Observer newspaper on Sundays. He has also given evidence to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee on the conduct of British foreign policy in Eastern Europe, and the teams of experts which contributed to the peace plans for the former Yugoslavia. He has acted as an adviser to the European Union's studies on the process of dividing the assets of the former Yugoslav state, and has published two studies on the errors committed by the West in handling the Balkan conflict since 1991. He is fluent in English, French, Romanian, Italian, Hungarian and German.



Mr. Satigui Kone – President of the Union Africaines des ONG de développement (UAOd), Ivory Coast

Mr. Satigui Kone serves as the Président of the Fédération des ONG de Développement de Côte d'Ivoire FEDOCI. He also served as the executive director of the same institution and is actively engaged in the coordination of its activities and the structuring of its work. He was extensively involved in the NGO sphere and works closely with a number of humanitarian organizations as a technical expert. Between 2011 and 2012 he worked in the cabinet of Minister of Craftmanship and Small and Medium Enterprises Promotion. From 2000 to 2007 he served as a Director of Publication of Mayama Edition where he was in charge of recruiting and training journalists and overseeing the content and agenda of publication. Mr. Kone holds a Bachelor Degree in Sociology from the University of Cocody-Abidjan.



Mohamed Loulichki – Senior Fellow at OCP Policy Center – Morocco

Mr. Loulichki has an extensive experience of 40 years in diplomacy and legal affairs. He assumed inter alia the functions of Head of the Department of Legal Affairs and Treaties in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was also Ambassador of Morocco in Hungary, Bosnia – Herzegovina and Croatia (1995-1999), Ambassador Coordinator of the Government of Morocco with MINURSO (1999 – 2001), Ambassador of Morocco to the United Nations in Geneva (2006-2008) and New York (2001-2003 and 2008-2014), as well as President of the Security Council (December 2014). Mr. Loulichki was appointed President of the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the Security Council (2013), President of the working Group on Peace Keeping Operations (2012), Vice-President of the Human Rights Council (2006), Facilitator of the Universal Periodic Review of the said Council (2006 and 2010) and President of the National Committee in charge of the follow up on nuclear matters (2003-2006).

Appendix II: Statistics of the African Peace & Security Annual Conference (APSACO)

Speakers & Chairs

Total: 33

Distribution:

Cameroon	1
Comoros	1
Ethiopia	1
Ghana	2
Guinea	1
Ivory Coast	1
Mauritania	1
Nigeria	2
Sierra Leone	1
South Africa	2
Tunisia	1
Morocco	7
France	4
Portugal	1
Spain	1
UK	2
USA	4

Participants

Total: 79

Distribution:

Benin	1
Burkina-Faso	1
Cameroon	1
Congo (DR)	1
Ethiopia	3
Gabon	1
Guinea	5
Guinea-Bissau	1
Ivory Coast	1
Niger	1
Nigeria	2
Senegal	2
South Africa	1
Tchad	1
Togo	1
Morocco	45
Belgium	1
France	2
UK	3
USA	5

Profile of Speakers

Representatives of Think Tanks and Civil Society:	18
Government Officials & Diplomats:	8
Senior Military Officials:	4
Universities:	2
Private Sector:	1

Profile of Participants (Approximation)

Representatives of Think Tanks and Civil Society:	15
Diplomats:	27
Universities:	26
Private Sector:	11



APSACO

African Peace and Security
Annual Conference



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