

6th Edition

APSACO

African Peace and Security
Annual Conference

6TH EDITION - 2022

AFRICAN SECURITY IN TIMES OF UNCERTAINTIES

GENERAL RAPPORTEUR

Pr. Rachid El HOUDAIGUI, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South

SUMMARY REPORT

Rabat, July 20-21, 2022

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African Peace and Security Annual Conference – APSACO

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SUMMARY REPORT

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July 20th - 21st, 2022 - Rabat



INTRODUCTION

The sixth African Peace and Security Annual Conference (**APSACO**) was held on July 20-21, 2022, under the theme 'African Security in Times of Uncertainties'. The two-day event, organized and hosted by the Policy Center for the New South (PCNS), was composed of five panels and one report discussion.

- **Panel 1:** The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Africa
- **Panel 2:** Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in Africa
- **Panel 3:** The Worsening of the Food-Security Challenge in Africa
- **Panel 4:** Security Implications of Climate Change in Africa
- **Panel 5:** African Fragile States in Times of Uncertainty
- **Report discussion:** Annual Report on Africa's Geopolitics

As it has become the trademark of PCNS conferences, **APSACO** brought together experts from different parts of the world, from various fields, and professions—from the military and political worlds to academia and civil society—to ensure a broad and productive conversation. This report presents and summarizes the panelists' interventions and the main issues tackled during the conference.



RACHID EL HOUDAIGUI

Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the
New South – MOROCCO

OPENING REMARKS

In his opening speech, **Rachid El Houdaigui**, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South, after welcoming the participants, introduced the framework of the conference in Arabic and set out the elements that constitute “the soul of **APSACO**”. He added that the conference, over the past five years, has reached a significant level of maturity built on two basic achievements. The first relates to the community of researchers participating in **APSACO**. The second includes the results of the skills gained during the previous sessions, which have enabled the publication of recommendations in the form of reports covering numerous areas, including peacekeeping, the geopolitical status of Africa, and the African Union.

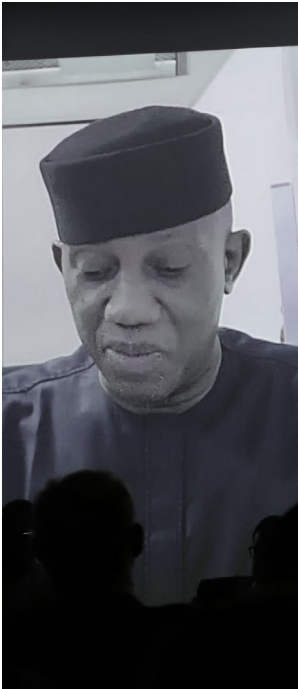
He said the most urgent question for the Policy Center for the New South is how Africa can avoid and adapt to the effects of the current global situation, dominated by geopolitical and political uncertainty. This session aimed to reflect on effective and actionable responses based on four concepts:

1. The phenomenon of uncertainty;
2. Volatility, because Africa is currently witnessing and experiencing a great deal of volatility that should not be underestimated;
3. Africa is about to embark on a phase of security challenges. This could lead to cooperation but will also create competition and rivalry;
4. African knowledge societies must play a role and operationalize the Africa initiatives from the institutional standpoint to face the reality.

The conference is a platform for a real dialogue to help Africa assess the challenges and come out with feasible recommendations. It also aspires to anticipate the effect of the Russian-Ukrainian war on Africa, and to what extent this war will cause global upheaval. Mr. El Houdaigui concluded by welcoming everyone and thanking them for their presence.



KEYNOTE ADDRESSES



**H.E. MR.
BANKOLE
ADEOYE**

Commissioner for Political
Affairs, Peace and
Security, African Union
Commission – NIGERIA



**H.E. MR. FOUAD
YAZOURH**

Ambassador, Director
General of Bilateral
Relations and Regional
Affairs, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs, African
Cooperation and
Moroccans living abroad –
MOROCCO



**LIEUTENANT
GENERAL DANIEL
SIDIKI TRAORÉ**

Force Commander, United
Nations Multidimensional
Integrated Stabilization
Mission in the Central
African Republic
(MINUSCA) – BURKINA
FASO

H.E. MR. BANKOLE ADEOYE

H.E. Mr. Bankole Adeoye, Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, African Union Commission, explained that the 6th edition of **APSACO** was taking place in a period of global uncertainty marked by difficulties on international and continental levels. While African countries have yet to face the socio-economic challenges imposed by the coronavirus pandemic, the crisis between Russia and Ukraine has a significant impact on economic growth. It is undeniable that several African countries are directly impacted by the ongoing war, which has reduced Ukrainian and Russian exports. The war threatens both global and African food security, as Russia and Ukraine are major grain exporters to Africa.

In addition, climate change remains an increasing threat to Africa. This global issue affects the livelihoods of people, undermining efforts to eradicate poverty and hunger in Africa. Meanwhile, Africa faces threats to peace and security, especially the phenomenal spread of terrorism and violent extremism, cybersecurity threats, unconstitutional changes of governments, intercommunal conflicts and more.

Africa must consider the ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic crisis as an opportunity to reduce its dependency on food and gas imports from outside the continent.



H.E. MR. FOUAD YAZOURH

H.E. Mr. Fouad Yazourh, Ambassador, Director General of Bilateral Relations and Regional Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Cooperation and Moroccans living abroad, presented the opportunities and challenges faced by Africa. Africa has many assets for building lasting peace: natural resources, democratic state reforms and the demographic dividend. The continent has the youngest population in the world, with 70% of sub-Saharan Africa under the age of 30. This number of young people is an opportunity for the continent's growth. Africa has the potential and also the will because there is a convergence of views between states, which want to abandon the dogmatism of the past to adopt pragmatic plans. Nevertheless, the continent faces widespread instability. Fifteen countries are undergoing armed conflicts, and the security situation has crystallized the unbreakable link between peace, security, and development. Out of the ten African countries where terrorism is rising, seven are in the Sahel region; 2020 was the deadliest year in terms of terrorist violence with 4 250 casualties, a rise of 60% in one year. Whatever the challenge is, security based, energy or food-security based, Africa should be a laboratory of ideas and an incubator of solutions.





LIEUTENANT GENERAL DANIEL SIDIKI TRAORÉ

Lieutenant General Daniel Sidiki Traoré, Force Commander, United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), talked about his experience at the United Nations. Africa has unfortunately experienced many conflicts, hence the presence of United Nations peacekeeping missions. They have been one of the most important tools the UN uses for conflict stabilization. In the past two years, UN peacekeeping missions have evolved from a context of peaceful settlement of conflicts, to military action and use of force in cases of threats to peace, breaches of the peace or commission of acts of aggression. While earlier missions aimed at conciliation and peace, new missions operate with the use of force. It is important to notice that impartiality is an integral part of peacekeeping operations, but this aspect causes many problems when it is not respected.

Despite these issues, Africa is a continent of hope and a rich place. As Africans, we must see how to bring out all its wealth to make it a continent of the future.



PANEL 1

THE IMPACT OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR ON AFRICA



**BAKARY
SAMBE**

Regional Director,
Timbuktu Institute
- African Center for
Peace Studies –
SENEGAL



**ANDREA
GRAZIOSO**

Senior Analyst, NATO
Strategic Direction –
South Hub – ITALY



**MAJOR
GENERAL
FRANCIS
OFORI**

Commandant, Kofi
Annan International
Peacekeeping
Training Centre
(KAIPTC) – GHANA



**LICINA
SIMÃO**

Coordinator, Atlantic
Centre – PORTUGAL



BAKARY SAMBE

This panel was moderated by Bakary Sambe, Regional Director, Timbuktu Institute - African Center for Peace Studies, who introduced the topic by highlighting the fact that the crisis did not start with the beginning of the ongoing military hostilities between Russia and Ukraine, but that the two sides have clashed recently through proxies trying to force regime change. Mr. Sambe stressed that he is one of those who believe that the conflict's strategic importance for Africa is growing for three reasons:

1. Africa faces a divided world with multiple and challenging alignments.
2. The distribution of power globally is extremely fragmented, with a multitude of states claiming the status of middle power.
3. Africa has a more informed population that is seeking to better leverage international relations.



ANDREA GRAZIOSO

Andrea Grazioso Senior Analyst, NATO Strategic Direction – South Hub, mentioned that he was not speaking on behalf of NATO. Mr. Grazioso stressed that it is difficult to assess the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on Africa for several reasons, both direct and indirect. The first element is that the war broke out in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. There has been major disruption of the global supply chain that is still ongoing to a large extent, so there is a global shortage of critical commodities and essential technological products. This has nothing to do with the war in Ukraine but has more to do with the pandemic. The second element is that there remains a persistent problem with the movement of people across the borders. The third issue is related to the fact that the first economic recovery in 2021 could lead to a credit crunch in the medium term. All these elements make it hard to separate what is happening now and what has been going for two years. The duration of this war is another element to take into consideration: the war may unfortunately last into the medium or long term. In this sense, the combination of rising commodity, food and energy prices, the credit crunch, and declining aid could lead to sovereign default, which is another threat for many countries. The big problem with Africa is the risk of Russian state capture, as it is no longer subject to the deterrent effect of sanctions. The risk of unorthodox operations against African leaders and states has increased.





MAJOR GENERAL FRANCIS OFORI

Major General Francis Ofori, Commandant, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, explained that the impact of the Russia-Ukraine crisis could be summed up in “three Fs”: food, fertilizer, and fuel. Ukraine and Russia are partners of African countries that import wheat, maize, soybeans, and other agricultural commodities. In 2020, Africa imported \$4 billion worth of agri-products from Russia and \$2.9 billion worth of maize and wheat from Ukraine. The case of North African countries, which rely heavily on wheat products, is very telling. As for the impact on fertilizers, the example of Cameroon is significant because the country used to import 44% of its fertilizers from Russia. If fertilizer does not arrive at the right time for planting in Africa, it is easy to predict that there will be famine. As for the impact on fuel, the war affects the cost of transporting food, even when it is available. He concluded by saying that it is easy to analyze the impact of the crisis on the continent because, as an African, “he can see and feel it”.



LICINA SIMÃO

Licina Simão, Coordinator, Atlantic Center, began by inviting the audience to reflect on the impact of the crisis through the prism of Atlantic Africa. There is a great need for cooperative formats via which different perceptions can be reconciled so we can have common action. Without a common diagnosis of the problems at hand, it will be difficult to pursue common action. Because of current economic and resource pressures, the temptation might be to compete for these scarce commodities, but the opposite path leads to better results. The issue of energy opportunity for Africa is an example of the importance of cooperation rather than competition. Ms. Simão explained that from the point of view of ocean management, infrastructure, and investment, the energy resources that the oceans can provide need to be managed delicately, as there are many significant activities that take place in the oceans. One example is the need to protect free trade and commerce across the Atlantic axis.

A series of challenges existed before the pandemic and the war must be addressed, she said. The Sahel is one; Ms. Simão believes we need to understand how illicit activities at sea can influence the dynamics of conflict in the region. According to Ms. Simão, the conflict will not lead to a strengthening of multilateralism. The latter is being weakened in the areas where Africa and the countries of the South need it the most.



PANEL 2

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA



**LEON
HARTWELL**

Senior Advisor for the
Central and South
Eastern European
Programme (CSEEP)
at IDEAS, London
School of Economics
– USA



**JALAL
ABDEL-LATIF**

Senior Fellow, Policy
Center for the New
South – ETHIOPIA



**GENERAL
BIRAME DIOP**

Military Adviser, Office
of Military Affairs,
Department of Peace
Operations, United
Nations – SENEGAL

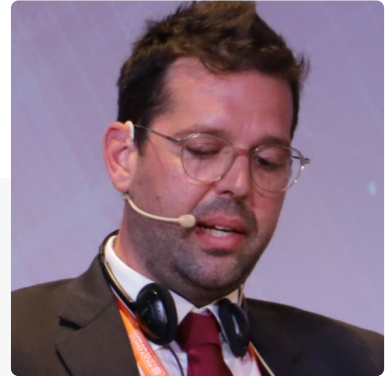


**GENERAL
MOHAMED
ZNAGUI
SID'AHMED
ELY**

Head of Defense
and Security
Department, G5 Sahel
– MAURITANIA

LEON HARTWELL

The second **APSACO** panel was moderated by Leon Hartwell, Senior Advisor for the Central and South Eastern European Programme (CSEEP) at IDEAS, London School of Economics, who began by presenting some of the most relevant points from the Alert 2022 report. In 2021, 32 armed conflicts were reported, mostly in Africa. Serious armed conflicts in 2021 took place in: Cameroon, Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, Lake Chad region (Boko Haram), Western Sahel region, CAR, DRC, Somalia, Sudan (Darfur), and South Sudan. Africa is the region with the highest number of socio-political crises, with four coups in Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Chad. A significant number of civilian casualties also marked 2021, including attacks on medical personnel and hospital infrastructure, and practices that violate human rights and international humanitarian law. The report also highlights the widespread use of sexual and gender-based violence against civilians by state and non-state actors. That said, it is essential to continue to talk about conflict resolution and peacebuilding, as these issues are at the heart of the current security and development debate in Africa.





GENERAL BIRAME DIOP

General Birame Diop, Military Adviser, Office of Military Affairs, Department of Peace Operations, United Nations, focused on the types of conflicts in Africa and their implications for conflict-resolution mechanisms. Africa does not suffer from many inter-state conflicts, but this does not mean that there should be no preparation for them, as inter-state conflicts have the characteristic of being surprising. Africa does suffer from intra-state conflicts. There are also conflicts between ethnic communities, conflicts caused by different economic activities, inter-religious conflicts, and conflicts between men and women. If those who suffer from conflict are not involved in the resolution or prevention process, it will be very difficult to resolve conflicts in the long term.

Also, General Diop argued that it is important to find regional solutions to conflicts in Africa because its states are intrinsically linked. It is therefore necessary to share collective security with neighboring countries, starting by learning to work together doctrinally, and then becoming interoperable procedurally.

The complexity of conflicts requires the mobilization of all actors, but security sector reform (SSR) remains very important. In this sector, it is necessary to be in a permanent dynamic of reform to adapt to the environment which evolves all the time.



GENERAL MOHAMED ZNAGUI SID'AHMED ELY

General Mohamed Znagui Sid'Ahmed Ely, Head of Defense and Security Department, G5 Sahel, looked at the narratives of the peace and security architecture within the African Union and the G5 Sahel. Currently, the UN is increasingly willing to delegate peacekeeping missions to regional organizations, while remaining under UN control. In Africa, the predecessor of the African Union (AU), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), had the great merit of having instituted its principle of inviolability of borders, which preserved African countries from wars, but this did not eradicate intra-state wars.

The G5 Sahel member countries' heads of state recognize that they cannot face security challenges, especially terrorism and underdevelopment, without cooperating with neighboring countries. In terms of defense, the G5 created the joint forces of the G5 Sahel, a defense college. And in terms of the domestic security of states, there are rapid intervention units, with the participation of Senegal and with funding from the European Union. On the economic level, there are also integration projects, including the trans-Saharan rail project (from N'Djamena to Nouakchott), a Sahelian airline, and a large hydroelectric dam. And in terms of resilience, there is a department that deals with small-scale economy, especially in the villages, and the promotion of dialogues between communities and cross-border security.





JALAL ABDEL-LATIF

Jalal Abdel-Latif, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South, focused on the geopolitical impact on the stability of Africa of the war between Russia and Ukraine. As many African countries abstained from the vote and did not participate in the Western sanctions against Russia, the UN General Assembly resolution will have symbolic significance for the continent. The jubilation and optimism of the post-Cold War era are dissipating, and the world is moving towards new risks. New actors have emerged to take on the relative absence of the United States: Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, etc. In addition, several non-African states have launched new types of proxy wars that have complicated conflict resolution on the continent. Over the past 30 years, the issue of conflict management has become increasingly owned by Africans. A plethora of institutions has been created, as well as a new security architecture. Things were going well until the Ukraine/Russia war, which could define the next two decades. In addition, the rivalry between the U.S. and China is having a negative impact. Further collateral damage could arise from the attack on globalization, even though it has enabled growth in Africa.

Mr. Abdel-Latif added that during the war between Russia and Ukraine, many companies responded by ceasing operations in Russia and providing direct support to Ukraine to rebuild its economy. What lessons do we learn from these actions, and should we have a discussion in Africa about the role of responsible business?



PANEL 3

THE WORSENING OF THE FOOD SECURITY CHALLENGE IN AFRICA



**ENIOLA
MAFE**

Founder/ Principal,
EMA Advisory and
Lead for 2030Vision
Initiative – NIGERIA



**MOHAMED
AIT KADI**

President, General
Council of Agricultural
Development –
MOROCCO



**MICHAEL
DAVID
TERUNGWA**

Founder, Global
Initiative for
Food Security
and Ecosystem
Preservation –
NIGERIA



**HAMZA RKHA
CHAHAM**

Co-founder and
Managing Director,
SOWIT – MOROCCO

ENIOLA MAFE

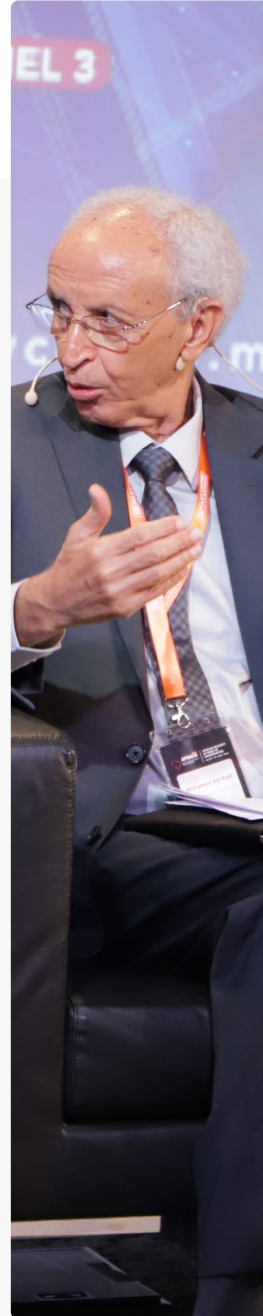


The second day of **APSACO** started with a session dedicated to food security, titled “The Worsening of Food Security Challenge in Africa”. The panel was moderated by Eniola Mafe, Founder/Principal, EMA Advisory and Lead for 2030 Vision Initiative. Ms. Mafe stated that the world faces a global hunger crisis of unprecedented proportions. The most vulnerable countries and population groups are impacted disproportionately, and it is undeniable that rising food prices are hitting poor and developing countries hardest. But when we think about the opportunities, the challenges, the possibilities for a better partnership, it is important to strike a balance between the problems and the solutions of food security in Africa.



MOHAMED AIT KADI

Mohamed Ait Kadi, President, General Council of Agricultural Development, presented Morocco's experience in striving to achieve food security: Morocco's agricultural strategies throughout the years have made significant strides in strengthening its food security. The keys to success are: first, the government's role in building strong partnerships with the private sector and farmers' organizations; second, maximizing the effectiveness of development efforts; third, adopting integrated policies to promote economic performance, and preservation of ecosystems to allow effective agricultural adaptation to climate change; fourth, promoting sustainable productivity growth, including through institutional changes (private and public investments), developing technologies, transfer and adoption of these technologies, education and provision of advice; fifth, the investment portfolio, adapting financial services to the needs of each category of farmers. From this experience, challenges to Africa's food security are mounting, but are not insurmountable. Resolving them is critical to achieve development goals, and this requires building capable institutions, leveraging technology, strengthening society-state relationship, and enhancing mobilization of financial resources. The continent will rise to the challenges of food security through renewed determination. Success comes only from adopting changes to local conditions. Concerning smallholders, Morocco pursued a strategy from 2012-2020 called the Green Morocco Plan, which expresses the country's hopes for the development of its agricultural sector. By being centred on smallholders, this plan made a decisive break from the agricultural development models that were adopted in the last fifteen years in other parts of the world. A special pillar was dedicated to smallholders, including design of a model for better access to credit. For this, smallholders they do not need collateral, thus facilitating their access. The evaluation of this strategy has shown it was a significant success.





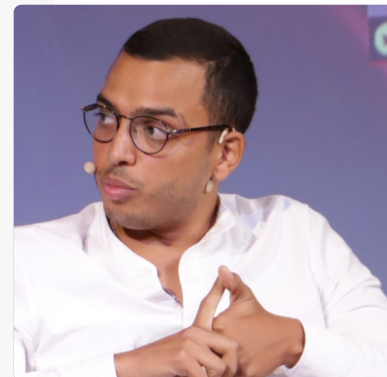
MICHAEL DAVID TERUNGWA

Michael David Terungwa, Founder, Global Initiative for Food Security and Ecosystem Preservation, began by asking where our food comes from and whether it is local or imported. The challenge of food security is shaking the world. Africa has been particularly vulnerable, with millions of people on the continent going hungry. The effects of climate change have clearly linked food security to security problems. Farmers who cannot afford to feed themselves are easily drawn into insurgencies. To solve this problem, it is imperative to produce food within our communities. There is so much food waste in Africa, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. It needs to be prevented through production, preparation and consumption measures, while preserving land and biodiversity.



HAMZA RKHA CHAHAM

Hamza Rkha Chaham, Co-founder and Managing Director, SOWIT, presented the work of his organization. SOWIT has worked on thousands of hectares across Africa, providing decision-support to farmers. Short-term changes are already underway, as private sector and public institutions have responded. When we look at the evolution of agricultural production since the Second World War, we see that it takes several decades to develop a food production system. What we can do today is work on new areas of land and cultivate them, and make sure we empower more farmers with financial resources, and ensure they have the information they need to make decisions. In Morocco, Crédit Agricole du Maroc is one of the only banks in Africa that has been able to finance smallholders and to do so in the healthiest way possible. The expertise is there, but we need to develop it. Financial institutions need to stop seeing farmers as liabilities, but as opportunities for themselves. As banks have expertise in risk assessment, they could use this alongside other actors who collect data, as well as farmers, to make the most effective decisions.



PANEL 4

SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN AFRICA



**SERGE
DANIEL
GBOGBO-
HOUNDADA**

Journalist and Writer
– BENIN, FRANCE



**YONAS ADAYE
ADETO**

Commissioner, the
Ethiopian National
Dialogue Commission
– ETHIOPIA



**FATMA
AHMED**

Capacity Building
Specialist, United
Nations Development
Programme (UNDP) –
SWEDEN



RAMA YADE

Senior Director,
Atlantic Council Africa
Center – SENEGAL,
FRANCE

SERGE DANIEL GBOGBOHOUNDADA

This panel, moderated by Serge Daniel Gbogbohoundada, Journalist and writer, discussed the implications of climate change for human security in Africa. It examined the correlation between climate change and risks related to conflicts, vulnerabilities, and forced displacement.



YONAS ADAYE ADETO

Yonas Adaye Adeto, Commissioner, the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, emphasized that climate change directly impacts the daily life of vulnerable populations by exposing them to risks including flooding and increased prices for basic foods. Also, communal conflicts are spreading because of the struggle for limited resources. East Africa is an example of a region that is greatly exposed to climate change risks. In addition, research conducted by Mr. Adeto in Zanzibar highlighted how overfishing is causing a gradual deterioration of the quality of life of rural inhabitants. Conflict over resources, deterioration of coastal areas, communal conflicts, overfishing, and human displacement are all evidence of the impact of climate change on human security, as defined by the UNDP handbook of 1994.



FATMA AHMED

The presentation of Fatma Ahmed, Capacity Building Specialist, United Nations Development Programme, focused on providing practical examples of what the UN Development Program is doing to link climate change to human security. She also emphasized that attention should be paid to the lessons to be learned from communities in dealing with climate change. Africa needs to be more self-reliant in finding solutions to the impact of climate change. In particular, there is no common African position on the link between climate change, security, and development, which is essential for the continent. In summary, Ms. Ahmed said that we cannot reverse the effects of climate change without making it a local priority. We need to focus on community-based adaptation mechanisms to understand it, especially in the context of missing funds.





RAMA YADE



According to Rama Yade, Senior Director, Atlantic Council Africa Center, the Atlantic Council's priorities on climate change are food security, climate refugees, and community conflict, and the three concepts are in fact interrelated. For example, what is now occurring around Lake Chad is at the same time a climate but also a security phenomenon (with the threat from Boko Haram), leading to major population movements. Climate changes had caused this area to become 90% drier in 60 years: the lake area has declined from 260 000 km² to only 3 000 km². This also leads to deforestation around this area.

Food security in Africa can also be related to the situation in Ukraine, climate change, and ongoing conflicts. Africa's climate vulnerability will lead to a 3% loss in the continent's growth rate by 2050, and new population displacement in Africa is happening in the horn of Africa, which is very vulnerable to climate change.

She added that the response to the challenge of climate change cannot be solely national but should rather be at the continental and international level.

PANEL 5

AFRICAN FRAGILE STATES IN TIMES OF UNCERTAINTY



**BADREDDINE
EL HARTI**

Chief, Ceasefire
Monitoring
Component, United
Nations Support
Mission in Libya
(UNSMIL) – LIBYA



**YOUNES
ABOUYOUB**

Director, Governance
and State-Building
(MENA Region),
United Nations –
MOROCCO, USA



**FADEL
SEREME**

Specialist in
organizational
engineering and
planning & Expert
in marketing
management and
conflict management
– BURKINA FASO



GILLES YABI

Founder and
Executive Director,
WATHI – BENIN



BADREDDINE EL HARTI

Badreddine El Harti, Chief, Ceasefire Monitoring Component, United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), moderator of this panel, opened the discussion by stating that everything about security is based on its human aspect, and that there is a primacy of politics even when it comes to security.



YOUNES ABOUYOUN

Younes Abouyoub, Director, Governance and State-Building (MENA Region), United Nations, focused on the notion of fragility. He explained that it is a complex term and concept, and that it centers mainly around state (security, economics, services) and institutional capacities. When a state lacks the capacity and accountability to mediate between groups in the same society, the state becomes weak, and the society vulnerable. He went on to analyze the different elements of fragility including: a fractured society (groups are prone to oppose instead of collaborate; they compete to capture the state), citizens (as individuals or groups) who do not perceive the state as legitimate, and do not obey its rules; thus a state cannot work correctly and cannot provide infrastructure and security. Therefore, the state capacity becomes low and weak. Lastly, Mr. Abouyoub concluded by stating that any external push or crisis can deeply affect the country.





FADEL SEREME



Fadel Sereme, Specialist in organizational engineering and planning & Expert in marketing management and conflict management, raised the fact that the current uncertain circumstances, including the rise of extremism and COVID-19, challenge Africa's position and represent a global change and a new order. African countries therefore need to know if they have the assets to seize the opportunity to contribute to this new world order, notably by developing an informed vision with the current leadership (development, security, leadership), but also by considering the democratic aspect, which is often seen as a Western concept. He added that the crises have shown that we need to explain what we mean by democracy. Is it about the electoral process or about the capacity of the state? How are these responsibilities perceived internationally? He concluded by adding that no ideology or religion can affect a state if it is strong enough. Africa is a power that ignores itself, a power that does not realize what its capacities are. Africa has incredible youth. We must believe in the power that Africa can be.

GILLES YABI

Gilles Yabi, Founder and Executive Director, WATHI, highlighted three main concepts of weakness. First, the security dimension: weakness is linked to a deteriorating security situation and Africa is experiencing a security crisis in the Western Sahel. But also, as far as Central Africa is concerned, a new vision of security and safety should be adopted. The security situation has deteriorated, giving the military the opportunity to take power. When there are military takeovers, the security context is very important. The views of citizens are also very important at the beginning, in terms of how they receive the coup. The second concept is related to the economic sphere: economic fragility pushes the population to be satisfied with what they have. The last concept is educational weakness, which is a real problem in African states that need to review their educational policies and institutions.





KEYNOTE

ABDELHAK BASSOU

Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the
New South – MOROCCO

REPORT DISCUSSION

5TH ANNUAL REPORT ON THE GEOPOLITICS OF AFRICA 2022



**NCHIMUNYA
HAMUKOMA**

Head: Funder
Partnerships &
Strategic Projects,
Harambee Youth
Employment
Accelerator – SOUTH
AFRICA



**NEZHA ALAOUI
M'HAMMDI**

Senior Fellow, Policy
Center for the New
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**LASSINA
DIARRA**

Researcher and
Consultant, Centre
for Strategies and
Security for the Sahel
Sahara – IVORY
COAST



**SÂ BENJAMIN
TRAORÉ**

Professor of
Law, Faculty of
Governance,
Economics and Social
Sciences, Mohammed
VI Polytechnic
University (FGSES-
UM6P) – BURKINA
FASO



ABDELHAK BASSOU

Abdelhak Bassou, Senior Fellow, the Policy Center for The New South, introduced the report discussion by stating that “**APSACO** and the geopolitical report are twins”. This twinning between the work and the event has become part of the tradition of the Policy Center for The New South, “where we say an event, a report.” He added that this 5th Annual Report aims to summarize the geopolitical events of the year in Africa, lead the way for Africans, help to shape a narrative about Africa, and establish a network of analysts, that already comprises authors and geopolitical analysts from eight to ten nationalities. After five years of experience, we have realized that some subjects might have been treated four or five years ago, but they remain relevant and reappear each year posing new questions.



NCHIMUNYA HAMUKOMA

Nchimunya Hamukoma, Head: Funder Partnerships & Strategic Projects, Harambee Youth Employment Accelerator, and moderator of this session, highlighted the fact that the Policy Center for the New South is one of the few institutions in the world that can bring this caliber of an audience together and create the adequate context where experts can have meaningful discussions. One of the challenges of Africa is that it is a power that keeps on ignoring itself and this challenge comes very much from the stories we tell about ourselves, the story the world tells about us, and the stories we continue to assert in terms of actions and behaviors...etc. She added that this panel will be focusing on the stories that the esteemed panelists chose to tell today as well as why these are important stories to understand and why it's so necessary for these stories to be coming from an african perspective.





LASSINA DIARRA

Lassina Diarra, Researcher and Consultant, Centre for Strategies and Security for the Sahel Sahara, explained that his contribution to the report examined the impact of religious considerations on the terrorist insurgency in the Sahel. According to his research, state fragility is not necessarily the main cause of the insurgency. The question then becomes: what broadens the geographical and ideological base of these groups? Thus, the study focused on the typology of violence in the Sahel. At present, insecurity can be summed up as socio-economic fragility, but long before that, there was also the role of religious actors who, under the impetus of certain powers, have made religion an instrument of conquest, which has produced fanatical individuals with a religious project.



SÂ BENJAMIN TRAORÉ

The contribution of Sâ Benjamin Traoré, Professor in Law & Economics, Faculty of Governance, Economics and Social Sciences, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University, to the report, focused on ECOWAS's powers to sanction constitutional and unconstitutional changes of government in the West African region. Originally, ECOWAS was an organization that aimed at the economic integration of states, and was not interested in political issues. After several unconstitutional and democratic changes of governance, ECOWAS was forced to address this issue with special regard to the link between economic development and political governance issues. Consequently, ECOWAS has become institutionally equipped to deal with situations of unconstitutional change and democratic governance. Professor Traoré's research was also topical, as the main question of the study was whether the recent measures taken against Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea meet this test of legality. Beyond this, does the question of legitimacy arise?





NEZHA ALAOUI M'HAMMDI

A study by Nezha Alaoui M'Hammdi, Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South, focused on the conflict in Mozambique, especially in Capo Delgado region. Since 2017, this region has experienced a major insurgency that has turned into a political-security crisis that threatens the entire southern African region. The armed insurgency has targeted law-enforcement institutions, resulting in the displacement of more than 700 000 people, and the death of more than 3 000 people. It has also forced some energy companies to suspend their operations. In 2019, it began to target the civilian population. This insurgent movement is led by youths tired of socio-economic marginalization, under the 'Ahl Suna Wal Jamâa' movement, which pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in 2018. Ms. Alaoui M'Hammdi analyzed several factors responsible for this uprising, both at regional and national level. First, ethnic-religious rivalry, and second, the orientation of state public policies, which were organized around the granting of land to foreign groups, with few benefits for the local population. In the regional context, this movement also developed after the return of some preachers who set up parallel institutions that compete with the central power.





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KARIM EL AYNAOUI

Executive President, Policy Center for
the New South

CLOSING REMARKS

Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President, Policy Center for the New South, closed the sixth edition of the African Peace and Security Annual Conference by thanking all the panelists and participants who joined this two-day conference to share their valuable insights.

This year, the conference was attended by various stakeholders, ranging from government officials, academics, and researchers, to policymakers and experts. Apart from rich panels filled with insightful and diversified content, it was also the occasion to present the Annual Report on Africa's Geopolitics.

We know there is an urgent need to share our individual and collective contributions to meeting peace and security challenges in the world, and especially in Africa. In this sense, **APSACO** is becoming one of the most important platforms to discuss peace and security in Africa. As a space for a combination of policymakers and academics to have frank discussions, it is quite unique, and we should preserve that. And that is how Africa can take its place in the world, and its destiny into its own hands. **APSACO** is a small contribution to it.

The Policy Center for the New South will continue to work with young people as they represent the next generation.

Mr. El Aynaoui warmly thanked the staff who organized the event, with a promise to meet again for the seventh edition of **APSACO** next year.





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