



7<sup>th</sup> Edition

# APSACO

African Peace and Security  
Annual Conference

7<sup>TH</sup> EDITION - 2023

# POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN AFRICA

**GENERAL RAPPORTEUR**

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

## SUMMARY REPORT

July 10-11, 2023 - Rabat



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African Peace and Security Annual Conference – APSACO

# **POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN AFRICA**

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in Africa  
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## Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa

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## INTRODUCTION

The Policy Center for the New South organized the 7<sup>th</sup> African Peace and Security Annual Conference (APSACO) on July 10-11, 2023, under the theme 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa'. This annual conference provides a platform for the analysis of Africa's peace and security structures and institutions, focusing on the continent's assets, history, and its ability to overcome current and emerging challenges and gain global competitive advantage.

The debate on post-conflict reconstruction has been spurred in recent years by African efforts to provide the continent with a policy framework for the post-conflict or post-crisis period (political transition), in line with the African Union Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), and in the context

of the African Governance Architecture (AGA). This concern for sustainable peace on the continent is behind the adoption in Banjul (Gambia) in 2006 of the 'AU Policy Framework on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development' (PCRD), and the establishment of the African Solidarity Initiative (ASI) in July 2012 to coordinate continental financial contributions to the program.

The PCRD review workshop, organized by the AU Peace and Security Commission (PSC) in Accra, Ghana, in September 2022, proposed a better tailored understanding that is more adapted to the new challenges. These realities are not only limited to the changing nature of crises, but also to the issues of financing, the new forms of partnerships, the roles of African actors in creating the best conditions for the deployment of PCRD, and finally, the appropriation by states in post-conflict situations of the responses provided by the PCRD. The new version was validated at the meeting held in Cairo, Egypt in March 2023.

The effects of the PCRD in 2023 will, however, depend largely on its implementation. The previous framework essentially suffered from a lack of African and international political will. The new framework needs outstanding leadership and capacity to mobilize national, regional, and multilateral stakeholders to advance comprehensive solutions to the security, political, and socioeconomic challenges of post-conflict reconstruction.

The seventh African Peace and Security Annual Conference (APSACO) aimed to deepen the comparative knowledge on the challenges and catalysts of the implementation of peacebuilding in Africa in general, and PCRD in particular, through the following perspectives:

- Collective security in Africa: towards a new conceptual framework?
- What prevention measures are needed to sustain peace?
- African solidarity in times of financial crisis
- For an effective global partnership to enhance the PCRD

APSACO brings together experts from different parts of the world, fields, and professions—from the military and political world to academia and civil society—to promote high-level conversations on peace and security in Africa.



**RACHID EL HOUDAIGUI**

Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the  
New South

## OPENING REMARKS

The presentation was made by Professor **Rachid El Houdaigui**, Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the APSACO. He thanked the participants for having accepted the invitation from the Policy Center for the New South (PCNS) and praised the speakers for their commitment to a genuine African push for peace and security, before setting out the outline of the conference.

In his address, Professor El Houdaigui described the African context of post-conflict reconstruction processes and emphasized three major points: **1.** the current absence of a genuine autonomous African model of collective security, a model that should avoid any form of copy/pasting from, or alignment with, the conditions of international providers; **2.** the mixed record of peacebuilding despite serious efforts and actions at various levels (State, AU, and sub-regional organizations); **3.** the necessity to ensure better coordination of African knowledge communities to improve the pooling of knowledge and anticipation of post-conflict security issues. In this respect, he insisted on the place given to peacebuilding and peacekeeping by the PCNS, as well as the federating role that could be played by the recently established African Union Centre for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD).

The professor then invited the speakers to take an innovative and forward-looking approach to post-conflict and reconstruction, based on seven factors for analysis: the African concept of collective security, political reconciliation, a legitimate and functional security framework, the role of women and young people, financial resources, the pooling of institutional work within Africa and with the UN, and the African Union's (AU) international partnerships. The conference's analytical framework was extended to the discussion of the Annual Report on the Geopolitics of Africa, published by the PCNS.

Professor Rachid EL Houdaigui concluded his address by expressing his hope for effective participation from all, in order to generate proposals that can deepen knowledge and guide action towards the ultimate goal of sustainable peace and development in Africa.

# OPENING CONVERSATION



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**MOUNIA  
BOUCETTA**

Senior Fellow, Policy  
Center for the New South.



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**HER EXCELLENCY  
CATHERINE  
SAMBA-PANZA**

Former President of the  
Central African Republic.



## Session Description

Her Excellency Catherine Samba-Panza presented the main challenges she faced during her tenure as the head of the transition in the Central African Republic (CAR). With the participation of numerous players (regional and local) in the process, and the complexity of prioritizing actions in a context of multiple emergencies, H.E. Samba-Panza had to engage in continuous efforts to lobby for long-term support from foreign partners. The recurring crises in the CAR led to a certain demobilization of international partners, which in turn complicated the mobilization of financial and technical resources.

## Key Elements

- H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza's candidacy for the interim presidency in CAR was unexpected politically. Her previous experience as the mayor of Bangui—which she described as positive—and her work with civil society organizations, prompted women religious leaders to encourage her to take responsibility for leading the country.
- The former President explained the difficulty of leading a transition process that had been agreed by the National Transitional Council prior to her election. She underlined the challenge of implementing the roadmap of the Libreville Agreement (organizing elections, ending violence, promoting reconciliation, reforming the judicial sector, establishing an administration inside the country, undertaking economic and social reforms, etc.) within the initially allotted 18-month timeframe.
- H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza stressed that the challenges of post-conflict transition demand inclusivity as a central pillar of governance. The leader of the transition in the CAR emphasized that this was the main reason for establishing a consultation framework with the nation's driving forces (political parties, civil society organizations, representatives of religious communities, etc.), to determine priorities.
- She explained that she resisted calls to run in the 2016 presidential election. This decision was motivated by her respect for the Transition Charter.

- Because of the recurrent crises, there was international mobilization to support the CAR through peace-consolidation funds. This constant restarting of crises led to some weariness among partners. The former President and her team had to put in significant advocacy efforts to secure partner support. H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza feared that when she left, there would be a rupture and the country would no longer benefit from this support. She made sure to meet with the IMF, World Bank, and other international organizations to determine post-transition needs.
- H.E. Catherine Samba-Panza presented the main reasons for her candidacy in the 2020 presidential election. She highlighted the fact that her successor's disregard for the recommendations of the National Forum of Bangui (the result of popular consultations in 2015) and her sense of responsibility as a citizen of the CAR and as a Transition leader, compelled her to return to the political stage to implement the project that had been accepted by all Central Africans. She concedes that the momentum was not in her favor, as she was running against a candidate who controlled the entire electoral process and public administration.

## Political Recommendations

- **Review the construction of mediation processes:** A fundamental revision of mediation methods in fragile states like the CAR is necessary. The extent of international and African community involvement, as well as the decision-making processes behind establishing priority actions, must be at the heart of this reform.
- **Examine the root causes of crises:** The recurrence of crises in certain countries is an indicator that underlying factors have not been addressed. In the case of the CAR, governance issues and a lack of political inclusivity are two known conflict factors that have not been tackled. The recent rebellion was triggered by inequalities in regional development (some regions of the CAR are neglected). The basic needs of the population are not being met (if we do not lift the population out of poverty, all our efforts will have been in vain).
- **Honor political promises and commitments:** Implementing the outcomes of inclusive national dialogue processes is crucial, even

when they do not align with the political agenda of the ruling party. Such recommendations can serve as a foundation for inclusive and pluralistic governance.

# PANEL 1

## THE AFRICAN APPROACH TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY



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**SARA HASNAA  
MOKADDEM**

Manager of the Strategic Monitoring and Analysis Unit, Policy Center for the New South.



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**ABU BAKARR  
BAH**

Presidential Research Professor, Northern Illinois University.



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**MOHAMED  
EL-AMINE  
SOUEF**

Special Representative of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission.



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**DAWIT  
YOHANNES**

Project Manager and Senior Researcher, Training for Peace, Institute for Security Studies.

## Session Description

The panel examined the evolution of African collective security, taking into account the various factors that have shaped its development over time. This includes historical context, regional dynamics, and external influences. Additionally, the key challenges that the African Union (AU) faces in implementing the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) range from limited resources and capacity constraints to political obstacles and the conflicting interests of member states.

## Key Elements

- African mechanisms for peace within the AU and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are effective on paper but face conceptual issues, particularly in terms of ownership.
- There are three types of conflict in Africa: post-colonial wars, second-generation conflicts related to governance and ethnicity, and conflicts arising from the global war on terrorism. African countries must consider both internal and external aspects of these conflicts.
- The APSA was designed to prevent external intervention in African affairs, but the effectiveness of AU frameworks for collective security action is being questioned. Additionally, the AU and RECs need to clarify their relationship, address subsidiarity issues, and act in authorization processes with the UN Security Council to effectively address ongoing crises.
- The root causes of African conflicts are often known, but it is difficult to provide long-term solutions. Institutional design and inclusive governance are crucial for sustainable peace.
- African countries require external support for stabilization and reconciliation efforts, and governance is essential in addressing security challenges. Inclusivity is paramount for better governance.
- The AU has made efforts to deploy forces to countries like Somalia and Mali, but perceived lack of generosity and high costs hinder the

participation of African players in collective-security actions.

- The international climate does not ensure security in Africa, and collective security arrangements in Africa are limited in terms of norms, conceptualization, practicability, capacity, and contextual factors.
- Financing AU operations and clarifying the roles of RECs within the African Peace and Security Architecture are subjects of ongoing political discussions.
- African agency and its influence in conflict resolution are in question, with the example of Sudan highlighting the need for greater African influence.

## Policy Recommendations

- **Enhance conceptual clarity and ownership:** African peace mechanisms, especially within the AU and RECs, should address conceptual issues related to ownership. This can be achieved by fostering inclusivity and involving all stakeholders in the peace process.
- **Develop context-specific approaches to different conflict types:** Given the diversity of conflicts in Africa, it is important to develop tailored strategies for each type of conflict. This includes resolving post-colonial wars, internal instabilities related to governance and ethnicity, and conflicts related to global issues. Context-specific approaches will enhance the effectiveness of collective action.
- **Consider internal and external aspects:** African countries need to be mindful of both internal and external dimensions of conflicts. This awareness requires a comprehensive understanding of root causes and conflict dynamics, allowing for comprehensive solutions that account for the interaction between local and global factors.
- **Strengthen institutional design:** To effectively address conflicts, African countries must focus on institutional design. Drawing from successful cases like Nigeria, countries should establish robust institutional mechanisms capable of resolving conflicts efficiently and ensuring lasting peace.

- **Evaluate the current AU collective security framework:** A critical examination of the current AU framework is needed to determine its effectiveness in implementing collective security action. This evaluation should focus on improving normative principles, clarifying the roles of the AU and RECs, and updating relevant policies and instruments within the APSA.
- **Strengthen African cohesion and ownership:** African countries should take greater ownership of their own issues and participate actively in finding solutions. This can be achieved by fostering inclusivity, ensuring African voices are heard in negotiations, and taking the initiative in resolving conflicts on the continent.
- **Enhance partnerships and financing:** External support is crucial for stabilization and reconciliation efforts in Africa. African countries should prioritize the strengthening of partnerships.

## PANEL 2

### RECONCILIATION AND POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION



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**NIZAR  
MESSARI**

Director of the Social  
Sciences Research  
Institute, Al Akhawayn  
University.



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**BADREDDINE  
EL HARTI**

Director, Security  
Institutions Branch,  
United Nations  
Support Mission in  
Libya.



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**MARGARET  
JANES-LUCAS**

Regional Director  
- Sahel, Tony Blair  
Institute.



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**JAN  
ERK**

Professor, Mohammed  
VI Polytechnic  
University.



## Session Description

The aims of this comparative analysis were to examine the extent to which reconstruction processes lead to social reconciliation, and to study the strengths and weaknesses of divergent reconciliation mechanisms adopted in Africa. In this context, the panel attempted to define the reconciliation model to support and sustain emerging democratic structures.

## Key Elements

- Trust is a fundamental step in the reconciliation process. Countries that have developed progressive cultures and practices achieve better reconciliation outcomes.
- Reconciliation should not be seen as an isolated process. It is linked to justice, institutional discussions, and the prevention of human rights violations. Transitional justice and institutional aspects play a crucial role in establishing guarantees and social cohesion.
- Timing and sequence are essential for reconciliation. Africa must navigate the complexity of synchronizing different elements and balancing priorities. Each country is unique, and reconciliation requires ownership, inclusivity, and political processes.
- The transition from post-conflict reconciliation to development is crucial. Africa can learn from the experiences of different nations, including those in the Sahel region, Mali, or the departure of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA).
- West African leaders face the challenging task of policy prioritization, border security, and ensuring state control. Supporting responsible governments and providing services to high-risk areas is essential.
- The humanitarian-security-political nexus is one of the greatest challenges in Africa. Bridging these gaps for effective and inclusive action is paramount.
- Unprecedented changes in international relations create uncertainty

about the future. Consensus is evolving and external funding may decrease. To find viable solutions, Africa must look beyond international expertise. Local generosity and social foundations can provide organic solutions.

- Electoral standardization poses risks to democratic transition. Traditional assistance highlights the importance of power-sharing and territorial forms of governance. Africa must study, distill and reformulate these principles, based on political legitimacy rooted in identity and customs.
- Africa must focus on strong bases and foundations. A viable constitution must be locally developed and rooted in history, while allowing ownership of its narrative. Gradually, Africa can refine and enhance protections and promote stability, connectivity, and community to shape a prosperous society.

## Policy Recommendations

- **Emphasize the imperative nature of democratic transition:** it is essential to underline the crucial role of democratic transition in shaping the future of post-conflict societies and in driving the national reconciliation process. Rather than considering reconciliation as an isolated process, it is important to recognize the diverse perspectives regarding its sequence. Some advocate starting with justice, followed by reconciliation, and then determining the way forward. Others argue that achieving justice requires adopting transitional justice measures. Additionally, a crucial aspect is preventing the recurrence of serious human rights violations. This is where institutional dialogues offer entry points to effectively address this concern and ensure lasting resolution.
- **Affirm the importance of humanitarian work:** engagement with security and peace actors and high-level involvement for effective humanitarian action are imperative. The evolving situation in the Sahel region, particularly in Mali with the departure of the MINUSMA, and the security and governance challenges posed in Burkina Faso, offer valuable insights. This underlines the importance of development efforts and border security. Resilient representative democratic institutions, coupled with active citizen and private-sector participation in collective national

projects, are essential in finding solutions to the challenges faced in sub-Saharan Africa.

- **Consider the evolution of risks in Africa:** while one of the early risks in Africa lay in religious and ideological divisions, a new risk has emerged in the form of the absolutism of a simple majority (50% + 1). This electoral absolutism has the potential to generate instability across the continent and beyond, as it also poses a threat to the entire liberal democratic constitutional order. Nevertheless, considering African history and the limitations of traditional assistance, it becomes evident that democracy encompasses more than the ballot box. Africa must delve into the research findings of anthropologists and historians to effectively integrate traditional systems and wisdom into a reimagined and standardized framework for democracy.

# PANEL 3

## PREVENTIVE SECURITY GOVERNANCE



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**ABDELHAK  
BASSOU**

Senior Fellow,  
Policy Center for  
the New South.



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**GENERAL  
BIRAME  
DIOP**

Military Adviser,  
Office of  
Military Affairs,  
Department  
of Peace  
Operations,  
United Nations.



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**ZAKARIA  
HANAFI**

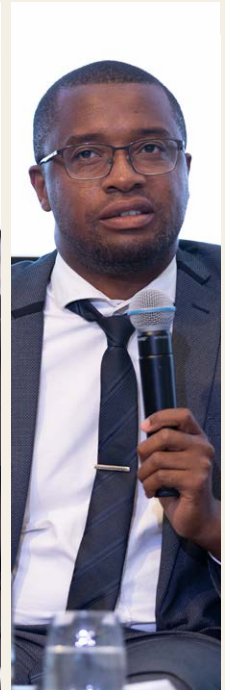
Director,  
Moroccan Center  
for Geopolitical  
Analysis and  
Anticipation.



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**FRANK  
HANSON**

Air Vice Marshall,  
Gulf of Guinea  
Maritime Institute.



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**NORMAN  
SEMPIJJA**

Professor,  
Mohammed  
VI Polytechnic  
University.

## Session Description

Security outcomes modeling is an essential prerequisite for preventive security governance. The security project must be based on a comprehensive analysis of the security environment, taking into account the need to identify security concerns in a sovereign manner.

## Key Elements

- **Talking about preventive security governance involves a modelling** security planning may vary from one country to another, but there are national security policies that serve as references for our countries, and they must be based on a comprehensive analysis of the security environment (identifying security concerns in a sovereign manner).
- **Sectoral policies must complement the national security strategy:** the security project must be comprehensive and broad as it covers multiple sectors. If we consider terrorism as an issue, we must try to formulate a sectoral strategy to combat terrorism. The same applies to piracy, malaria control, etc.
- **Goals must be relevant and achievable:** the objectives of the security concept must be realistic and take into account a number of fundamental factors, including the performance of security institutions, accountability (human rights, international humanitarian law, Geneva Conventions). The State—in its political and judicial dimensions—is responsible for implementation, but other components of society must also be included (youth, civil society organizations, etc.).
- **Democratic oversight is a prerequisite for preventive security governance:** the question is whether authorities are capable of exercising this oversight (which presupposes the question of training).
- **The funding deficit for peace operations is a serious obstacle:** Africa continues to be the future source of the world's wealth, but it struggles to finance its own peace operations. The lack of funding means that national contingent berets are replaced by blue berets.

- **The concept of security governance emerged fairly recently:** discussions on security governance began in 2003 when experts were talking about the increasing number of security actors and the United Nations calling on other actors to help manage conflicts (African regional economic communities, AU, etc.).
- **The transnational dimension of security governance in Africa must not be neglected.** The example of the Allied Democratic Forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is instructive in terms of transnational dynamics at play in security governance.
- **The question of when to transition from peacekeeping to peace consolidation is central:** elections as an exit strategy worked in Namibia and Cambodia, but not in the case of the DRC.

## Policy Recommendations

- **Ensure a good understanding between civilian and military authorities:** it is very difficult to guarantee preventive security governance without a relationship of trust or even complementarity between these two components of society.
- **Take into account the regional dimension of security:** countries are inevitably affected by security events in neighboring countries. Better coordination at regional level can ensure effective responses to security challenges.
- **Advocate for African representation in the United Nations Security Council:** Kenyan President William Ruto emphasized the importance of active involvement in important decisions and discussions, in the face of the risk of being relegated to the status of mere subjects of decisions made by others, without having a direct influence on their outcomes. This underscores the importance of participating in decision-making processes to protect one's interests.
- **Strengthen the institutional framework of the AU:** ensuring independent funding is necessary. A common security concept must be established, as often each country has its own concept of security and national defense.

- **Enhance border security and surveillance:** porous borders are the root cause of many security challenges faced by Africa.
- **Ensure synergies between peace operations of sub-regional bodies:** dealing with ad-hoc institutions working to different mandates presents challenges in terms of security governance. Coordinating their actions and ensuring coherence becomes crucial for effective security governance. The example of the DRC—a member state of the East African Community, the Southern African Development Community, and the Economic Community of Central African States—shows us why the three organizations are competing in security matters, which poses a problem.

## PANEL 4

### WOMEN AND YOUTH INCLUSION IN THE CONSOLIDATION PROCESS



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**NOUZHA  
CHEKROUNI**

Senior Fellow,  
Policy Center for  
the New South.



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**FARIDA  
JAIDI**

Coordinator,  
Moroccan  
Network of  
Women Mediators  
for Conflict  
Prevention and  
Resolution.



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**EMAMSY  
R. MBOSSA  
NGOSSOH**

Co-Founder,  
African Youth  
Architects.



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**ANNY  
MODI**

Executive  
Director, Afia  
Mama.



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**RUBY  
SANDHU-  
ROJON**

Senior Counsel,  
Hamilton-Advisors  
Inc.



## Session Description

Peace-building efforts can only be sustainable and effective through the inclusion of women and young people, who are the main victims of conflict and violence. The panel discussed innovative approaches to inclusive peacebuilding strategies.

## Key Elements

- UN Resolution 1325 and the 9 conventions that have followed emphasize the important role of women in peacekeeping. However, there are not many women around the negotiating tables in the world, either in conflict-prone countries or at international level.
- It is important to look at the root causes of conflict and avoid the mistakes of the past. Women should have a significant and important presence at negotiating tables, and not just on the basis of quotas.
- In Morocco, there is a national plan to put Resolution 1325 into practice through the training of women mediators.
- In Colombia, women have been leaders at local level, reaching out to rebels to free captured children and young people, and to ensure that food is available to all. However, when negotiations began in Norway, women were not invited. But their work was supported by the United Nations so they could be present at the negotiations.
- Yemen's gender index is one of the worst in the world. The UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Yemen, Jamal Benomar, has done some interesting work in terms of inclusion: in the national preparatory committee, he has ensured that 30% of the members are women. He also appointed focal points for young people and women.
- In Liberia, women have played a key role in peacekeeping. In Kenya, women's groups and professional leaders met to reflect on the electoral violence of 2007. Official mediator Graça Machel convinced Kenyan women and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to transcend ethnic issues to reach a common position.

- From the experiences of various peace-building processes for the DRC (the Sun City and Nairobi 3 agreements), it seems that women were included only in a numerical sense (40% women in Nairobi 3), but they were invited to share their stories, which were used by negotiators. They were not considered as full contributors, even though they played a significant role in the Sun City agreements.
- Peace is not the absence of war but lies in the mindset of young people seeking opportunities and seats around the negotiating tables.
- True peace in the minds of young people begins when they no longer have to worry about their basic needs: food, jobs, and transportation.

## Policy Recommendations

- **Empower women:** It is essential to train and support women to overcome the 'imposter syndrome' and give them confidence in their abilities. They should also receive specialized training in leadership and mediation.
- **Recognize double discrimination:** Link UN Resolutions 1325 and 2250 on Youth, Peace, and Security to highlight the situation faced by young women in peace and security.
- **Support political decision-makers and give them more responsibility:** Encourage decision-makers to be more willing to include women and young people in the peace-building process. The Sun City Accords serve as a notable example of how women successfully advocated for their inclusion and achieved tangible results. Strengthen decision-makers' accountability for the women, peace, and security agenda: the UN should play a more proactive role in holding governments accountable for the inclusion of women and young people in peacekeeping efforts.
- **Ensure better representation of women:** It is essential to address the underrepresentation of women through targeted training programs and by ensuring their safety in negotiating spheres.
- **Introduce gender-sensitive initiatives early** in the process rather

than at later stages, as this ensures effective participation of women.

- **Encourage solidarity**, taking inspiration from the example of Kenyan women supporting their Congolese counterparts and sharing their experiences.
- **Implement systems and mechanisms** to ensure meaningful inclusion of young people in peacekeeping and peace-building efforts.
- **Empower young people:** It is important to share responsibility for youth participation between decision-makers and young people themselves, with an emphasis on raising awareness about their roles. Initiatives to improve youth participation should start with educational reforms adapted to the challenges of the modern world, bypassing traditional academic systems.

## PANEL 5

### RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT FACING FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS



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**MOUNIA  
BOUCETTA**

Senior Fellow,  
Policy Center for  
the New South.



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**SANDRA  
ADONG  
ODER**

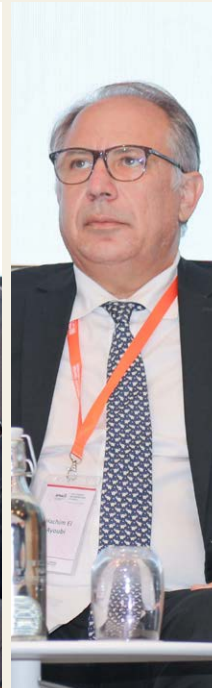
Head, Post-  
conflict  
Reconstruction  
and Development  
Unit, African  
Union.



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**ABDOU  
SOULEY  
DIOP**

Managing  
Director,  
MAZARS.



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**HACHIM EL  
AYOUBI**

Senior Expert,  
Economic  
Social and  
Environmental  
Council (CESE),  
Morocco.



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**FREDERIK  
TEUFEL**

Lead Coordinator,  
African  
Development  
Bank Group.

## Session Description

The main topic of the session was financing mechanisms for post-conflict reconstruction, which pose challenges for both institutions and countries. Countries require a swift response in order to rebuild after conflict, but financial institutions perceive high risk and low potential for financial profitability.

## Key Elements

- **The issue of internal resources for post-conflict reconstruction in Africa:** Recognizing the importance of relying on internal resources, African countries aim to mobilize their own funds and reduce dependence on external financing. This involves exploring how income can be generated at the national level and existing resources can be used effectively to support reconstruction efforts.
- **The emphasis by the African Union Commission on conflict prevention and resource investment to avert conflicts:** The AU Commission seeks to adopt a proactive approach by focusing on conflict prevention rather than concentrating solely on post-conflict reconstruction. By allocating resources to prevent the emergence of conflicts in the first place, the AU aims to mitigate the need for extensive reconstruction efforts and the associated financial burden.
- **The role of the private sector and the importance of alternative financing:** Recognizing the significance of diverse perspectives and participation, efforts are being made to involve marginalized voices in decision-making processes related to post-conflict reconstruction financing. Moreover, there is increasing emphasis on strengthening the role of the private sector, encouraging its active involvement, and harnessing its resources and expertise to support reconstruction initiatives.
- **The participation of the African diaspora (citizens of African countries residing outside the continent) in the AU's post-conflict reconstruction policy:** The diaspora can play a significant role in supporting post-conflict reconstruction efforts. By actively involving the diaspora and exploring how it can contribute, for example through

remittances, knowledge transfer, and investments, the AU leverages additional resources and expertise for reconstruction efforts.

- **Long-term planning and financing mobilization, integrating national development plans:** To ensure sustainable post-conflict reconstruction, long-term planning is crucial. This entails aligning reconstruction efforts with national development plans that incorporate conflict-sensitive policies. By adopting a comprehensive approach that considers long-term objectives, countries can effectively mobilize financial resources and implement projects that contribute to lasting peace and development.

## Policy Recommendations

- **Peace comes at a cost:** Consider the target beneficiaries of financing and ensure that funding efforts prioritize the needs of populations directly affected by conflicts. Align financing strategies with the goal of promoting peace and stability in post-conflict regions, taking into account the specific needs in each context.
- **Enhance the role of the private sector beyond financial contributions:** Encourage active participation and engagement of the private sector in post-conflict reconstruction efforts. Harness its expertise, resources, and networks to facilitate sustainable development and give a voice to underrepresented stakeholders.
- **Effectively address burden-sharing:** Develop mechanisms to share the financial burdens associated with post-conflict reconstruction equitably. Explore innovative models and partnerships that distribute responsibilities among different stakeholders, including international organizations, governments, private sector entities, and local communities.
- **Strengthen diaspora participation and leverage its resources:** Explore opportunities to involve the African diaspora in post-conflict reconstruction. Encourage its active participation through initiatives such as knowledge transfer, investments, and remittances. Establish platforms and institutions that facilitate diaspora contributions, and expand the diaspora's role in reconstruction efforts.

- **Emphasize long-term planning and align financing with national development plans:** Foster coordination between post-conflict reconstruction efforts and national development plans. Ensure that financing initiatives have a long-term perspective, aligning them with sustainable development and conflict-sensitive policies. Mobilize resources to support projects that sustainably enhance peace and contribute to stability over an extended period.

## PANEL 6

### AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACEBUILDING



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**MOHAMMED  
LOULICHKI**

Senior Fellow,  
Policy Center for  
the New South.



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**AHMED  
ABDEL-LATIF**

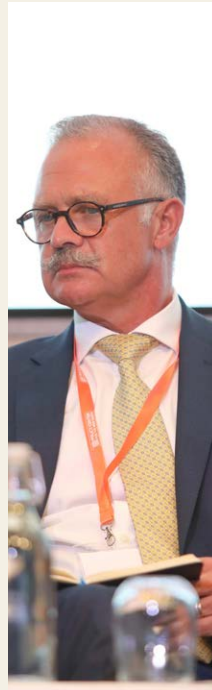
Ambassador,  
Director General,  
The Cairo  
International  
Center for Conflict  
Resolution,  
Peacekeeping  
and Peacebuilding  
(CCCPA) and  
President,  
NeTT4Peace.



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**KIDANE  
KIROS**

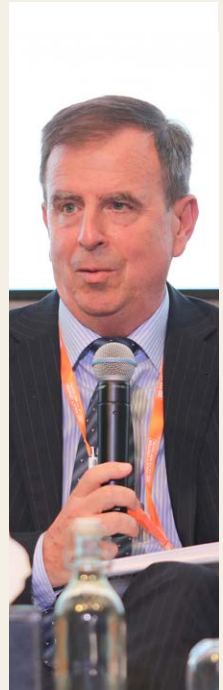
Senior Fellow,  
Policy Center for  
the New South.



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**NUNO DE  
NORONHA  
BRAGANÇA**

Coordinator,  
Atlantic Center.



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**IGNACIO  
FUENTE  
COBO**

Colonel of  
Artillery, Spanish  
Institute of  
Strategic Studies.



## Key Elements

- **The need to revamp the peace and security architecture in Africa:** The United Nations has made progress in peace and security matters. At the partnership level, conceptually, the new AU security policy aligns with the global peace consolidation agenda. A common language is emerging in peace and security, and it is crucial to enhance collaboration among peace-consolidation commissions. Operationally, an integrated approach is needed at the country level.
- **The importance of partnership and reconstruction:** The need for political processes, reconciliation, discussions, and justice, along with the complexity of rebuilding damaged infrastructure. There is a specific emphasis on partnerships, particularly from an African perspective, to effectively address these challenges. The discussion then shifts to joint ownership and leadership within partnerships. The vulnerability stemming from external financial dependence, which can impede decision-making in Africa, is emphasized. Internal solutions and ownership of responses are therefore necessary. Furthermore, the importance of jointly managing partnerships, highlighting shared leadership and mutual accountability, is stressed to ensure the success of initiatives.
- **The issue of financing:** Financing, particularly channeling financial resources for peace consolidation, presents a major challenge for the AU. The creation of a new entity to oversee these operations is being considered. Within the AU, various countries play predominant roles, such as Egypt in post-conflict reconstruction and Morocco in migration. In comparison, the European Union (EU) makes more substantial investments than China and the United States in these efforts. While critiques are directed at Eurocentric values like human rights and democracy, it is important to note that the EU doesn't abandon these principles, and financial investments must also be made in this direction. The viability of the African Peace and Security Architecture largely relies on European funding. An increase in resources allocated to other regions, like Ukraine, may lead to reduced funds available for Africa.
- **Reconciliation and conflict in Africa as a complex process:** Post-conflict damage is observed everywhere, affecting not only civilians but also administration and overall infrastructure. The overall social fabric of

a society is eroded after a conflict. For normal life to resume, reconstruction, humanitarian aid, and efficient DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration) processes are required. The political process of reconciliation is highly intricate. Partnerships are needed for this purpose. The solution lies in partnerships to address all these complex issues. Partnerships should lead to win-win situations with shared responsibility.

## Policy Recommendations

- **Involve think tanks and civil society in APSA's revamp:** The Network of Think Tanks for Peace of the AU (NeTT4Peace) in Addis Ababa is an initiative that should be reinforced and enriched to enhance the AU's approach to continental security.
- **Enhance coordination among different entities:** On the issue of support for strengthening the capacities of UN missions, the main topic of discussion was coordination—everyone wants to coordinate, but nobody wants to be coordinated.
- **Increase inclusivity in the planning process:** Involve all stakeholders, whether international, regional, or intraregional, and ensure that all parties are engaged in the process for more effective planning.
- **Map stakeholders:** Identify and map all stakeholders involved in the efforts to promote their participation for successful collaboration.
- **Strengthen intercontinental partnerships and dialogues:** Organize a summit between the AU and the EU to enhance their cooperation, and mobilize forums like the Brussels Summit to improve decision-making and partnership foundations.

# REPORT DISCUSSION

## ANNUAL REPORT ON THE GEOPOLITICS OF AFRICA



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**MEHDI  
BENOMAR**

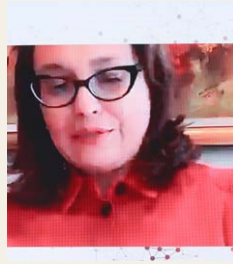
Head of International Relations Research, Policy Center for the New South.



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**JAMAL  
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**NEZHA ALAOUI  
M'HAMMDI**

Senior Fellow, Policy Center for the New South.



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**SÂ BENJAMIN  
TRAORÉ**

Professor, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University.



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**HIND  
ZAAMOUN**

Doctoral student in Political Science, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University.



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**GUIDO  
LANFRANCHI**

Researcher, Clingendael.



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**MAHAMADOU  
N'FA SIMPARA**

Doctoral student in Legal Sciences, FSJES, Université Mohammed V de Rabat.

## Key Elements

- Jamal Machrouh approaches geopolitics as subjective and dependent on perceptions. He highlights three major gaps in Africa: between potential and results, normative advancements, and implementation deficits, as well as fragmentation and unification dynamics.
- Nezha Alaoui M'hammdi analyzes the crisis in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, and underscores the importance of an African perspective to better understand local issues. She poses three questions on social demands, religious extremism, and African solutions to African problems.
- Sâ Benjamin Traoré observed that the African continent aspires to more agency, but it must address various challenges, illustrated by the difficult situation in the Sahel. African responses to these challenges lack coordination, with many security actors acting disjointedly. The AU, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and G5 Sahel exhibit this coordination deficit, accompanied by a desire to take ownership of crisis management. Sâ Benjamin Traoré suggested that financial independence would be crucial for achieving this ambition. The example of the crisis in Ukraine also highlighted the intent of African leaders to formulate their own vision in dialogue with all stakeholders.
- Hind Zaamoun focuses on developments in the Great Lakes region, highlighting the importance of the regional dimension. However, she mentions unsuccessful attempts at a regional response to combat armed groups in the DRC, and tensions between the DRC and Rwanda. She also underscores the role of the East African Community in the peace process.
- Guido Lanfranchi offers a non-African perspective on the impact of geopolitical dynamics on Africa. He emphasizes the growing interest in Africa of countries including China, Japan, and India, offering new opportunities for African governments in terms of visibility and action.
- Mahamadou N'fa Simpara emphasizes that the African debate seeks not to establish a list of African problems, but rather to identify challenges and propose prospective paths. He also highlights the importance of coordinating local responses, including through mechanisms like the G5

Sahel, and addresses the interdependence of factors that can lead to conflicts, using the example of the Malian crisis.



**KARIM EL AYNAOUI**

Executive President, Policy Center for  
the New South

## CLOSING REMARKS

In the closing speech of the 7th APSACO conference, Mr. Karim El Aynaoui, Executive President of the Policy Center for the New South, emphasized the complexity of the peace and security domain in Africa. He highlighted the need for a holistic approach, noting that there is no single cause, but rather an interplay of human factors and on-the-ground institutional responses.

In the conference's debates and discussions, potential solutions were identified. It is crucial to mobilize these analyses as sources of ideas to influence public policies in the New South. Concerns were raised about Africa's economic prospects, macroeconomic pressures, debt, and unpredictable shocks affecting countries on the continent.

In the search for solutions, Mr. El Aynaoui emphasized the importance of methodology, noting that each context is unique and requires tailored approaches. He also highlighted the importance of a safe space where discussions can take place in an atmosphere of respect, tolerance, and engagement.

Finally, he stressed the importance of Africa creating its own narrative to better shape its image. By giving voice to African stories, it is possible to promote a more authentic and positive vision of the continent, thereby enhancing mutual understanding and international cooperation.

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