

Annual Report

Africa Programme | December 2019

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# The Africa Programme in 2019



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# Foreword

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In 2019, African policy makers were faced by the ongoing challenge of harnessing demographic change, urbanization, and technological advancement to generate inclusive economic growth, all while climate change and extreme weather events took their toll. Digitally connected citizens are pushing for change across the continent, while competing international actors are giving African leaders and governments more options and potential agency in their international relations.

Russia's accelerated re-engagement in Africa has spurred renewed geopolitical rivalry from existing and prospective international partners. Gulf States are strengthening ties especially in the Horn of Africa. Meanwhile negotiations between the EU and Africa on a framework to replace the Cotonou Agreement for trade, migration and political relations have stalled. The market created by the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) will give the continent increased international economic leverage, but how Africa's leaders and regions respond to shifting foreign interests and influence is critically important, especially in a context of continued regional political, economic, and security divergence.

The decline of Africa's long-serving leaders is giving way to democratization in some cases. In April 2019, after seven months of peaceful pro-democracy protests led predominantly by women and youth, Sudan's former President Omar al-Bashir rescinded power. A transitional government emerged in August. But not all transitions have been smooth: Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed received the Nobel Peace Prize in acknowledgment of his role in the historic rapprochement with Eritrea, but internal instability remains a serious challenge. Presidential transitions in Angola and Zimbabwe, managed by liberation movements, promised party renewal and anti-corruption campaigns. While reforms in Angola began at pace, momentum is difficult to sustain and both countries struggle to attract the international investment needed to sustain inclusive economic growth.

The diverging trajectories of African political systems and quality of institutions has not halted regional support for peaceful transitions. Mauritania experienced its first democratic transfer of power with the election of President Mohamed Ould Ghazouani. In the DRC, the Southern African Development Community endorsed the disputed result that saw Félix Tshisekedi inaugurated as president following the long-awaited election on 30 December 2018. Sporadic protests in the DRC reflected a trend seen in many of the 15 presidential and legislative elections that took place across the continent in 2019. Many electorates are also frustrated by the lack of alternatives.

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Muhammadu Buhari was re-elected as President of Nigeria in February but with the lowest voter turnout since the return to democracy in 1999. President Cyril Ramaphosa lifted the ANC to its sixth electoral victory in South Africa; and in Namibia and Botswana, party factionalism did not disrupt continued party dominance.

In Mozambique, a peace agreement between the governing party FRELIMO and opposition RENAMO brought an end to the low-intensity armed conflict that resumed in 2013. But violent extremists in the north of the country, social protest, and state fragility now threaten the nation's peace and security. Nigeria, similarly, is battling with a range of security threats from the Boko Haram insurgency to armed banditry and conflicts between nomadic pastoralists and settled farmers. Armed insurgency in the Sahel, which has become emblematic of the growing trans-national security challenges on the continent, has received increasing international attention and involvement.

The Africa Programme has once again expanded its projects and activities. In addition to regular meetings in London, the Programme hosted 18 international events and conferences, including in Abuja, Accra, Addis Ababa, Bishoftu, Bulawayo, Harare, Ljubljana, Khartoum, Nairobi and Warsaw. The Programme produced 30 publications, including nine peer reviewed papers, book chapters, and briefing notes, and Programme staff and fellows visited over 25 countries and were cited 1,295 times in global media.

In 2020 the Africa Programme will continue to support decision-makers in Africa and internationally with independent evidence-based analysis and policy options and will continue to provide a neutral platform for debate and discussion. The importance of African agency in international affairs will be the central theme for the Africa Programme's work in 2020 as Chatham House marks its centenary. For 100 years the institute has provided a platform for debate and discussion on Africa that has increasingly promoted African perspectives on international issues. It is an opportunity to reflect on our own history, but also to highlight how the position, role, and influence of African actors have changed during that time.

Dr Alex Vines OBE  
Head, Africa Programme, Chatham House

# Foreign Relations and Africa's Agency in the International System

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**African agency must be understood as multifaceted and multi-actor in its nature, incorporating both state and non-state actors**

HE Jakaya Kikwete, Former President of Tanzania

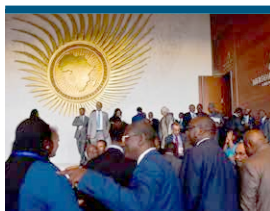


## **African Agency in International Affairs**

Ahead of the centenary of Chatham House in 2020, the Africa Programme launched a series of events, publications, and initiatives with a two-day conference on *Africa's Future in a Changing Global Order: Agency in International Relations*, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Speakers at the July conference examined the influence of African states and citizens on international affairs and decision-making. Former President of Tanzania HE Jakaya Kikwete gave the keynote address and opened the conference that welcomed a wide range of stakeholders across multiple sectors, who also took part in a dynamic conversation on social media channels and through coverage in major African media outlets.

An expert comment series entitled *African Agency in International Affairs* continues the discussion. The series examines those areas where state or non-state actors have taken action to exert international influence, or have done so indirectly, challenging the conventional wisdom that Africa is at the periphery of international affairs.

Professor Carlos Lopes highlights instances where economic development has translated into increased diplomatic capacity, and socio-economic potential has given weight to more assertive leadership. Tighisti Amare and Treasure Maphanga examine how the African Continental Free Trade Area may increase the continent's international bargaining power and leverage, and the African Union's continued transition from political to economic diplomacy.



Reactivating old Soviet networks had been a clear strategy in Moscow for a couple of years. The old history can play very positively in some places

*Alex Vines, The Guardian*



In 2019 the Africa Programme continued to analyse Africa's changing role within, and influence upon, international networks of engagement and exchange. An expert comment by Alex Vines, published early in the year, suggested that renewed attention and competition among actors such as China, India, Russia, Turkey and the Gulf States would offer the chance for Africa to further develop its international voice, while also bringing the risk of continental political fragmentation and division.

These realities materialised over the year to varying degrees, from the progression of globally leading African initiatives such as the Continental Free Trade Area to the continued involvement – and frequently destabilising influence – of external actors in political and security developments.

### The Future of Africa's Relations with the EU

An expert comment by Fergus Kell and Damir Kurtagic assessed the need for the new EU Commission, which assumed office on 1 December, to take bolder actions to enhance the partnership, including internal reform and a rethink of its approach to trade negotiations. With formal negotiations for a successor to the Cotonou Agreement between the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States and the EU currently underway, Africa Programme research and outputs have focused on the prospects for building comprehensive continental relations between Africa and the EU. Programme Representatives, including Alex Vines, Tighisti Amare, and Paul Melly, participated and spoke at events in Berlin, Brussels, Lisbon, Paris, and Prague on the future of EU–Africa relations.



### Common Ground Between Young Influencers from Africa and Europe

The Common Futures Conversations project facilitates dialogue between young people from Africa and Europe on international challenges of common concern, in support of the search for policy solutions. The Africa Programme, together with Chatham House's Europe Programme and Communications Department, convened workshops in Addis Ababa and Accra, bringing together youth representatives from 13 African and European countries to design an online platform for policy discussion on shared challenges that will be launched in January 2020 as a key initiative of the Chatham House centenary.



### Emerging Engagements Between Central & Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa

A Chatham House research paper, launched at a roundtable in Accra, analyses the potential of investment partnerships between Central & Eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. Speakers included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of Ghana and the Embassy of the Czech Republic.



For the second consecutive year, the Africa Programme co-organized the Republic of Slovenia's Africa Day Conference in Ljubljana with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia. The conference, on the theme of *Economic Transformation, Inclusion and Jobs*, was attended by high-level speakers, including the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Slovenia, Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Cabo Verde and the Central African Republic, and several ministers from Ghana.



The Africa Programme also partnered with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic on its third Africa Day conference, on *Creative, Innovative and Participative Africa*, in May 2019.



### **The Relevance of Intergovernmental Organizations to African States**

An Africa Programme event series with senior leaders from language-based intergovernmental organizations concluded with an address by Louise Mushikiwabo, Secretary General of the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF). The series, which also included representatives from the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP) and the Commonwealth, discussed how African states work through these organizations to responsibly and sustainably respond to policy challenges.



### **The Future of IGAD: Responding to New Realities in the Horn of Africa**

HE Ambassador Mahboub Maalim, Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), reflected upon the significance of diplomatic advances for both the Horn of Africa and IGAD, and discussed the wider priorities for the organization with regard to furthering regional integration, development and institutional reform.

# Inclusive Economic Growth, Governance and Technology

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While headline figures indicate a slight upswing in GDP growth across the African continent as a whole in 2019, this continues to be driven by the robust performance of several smaller countries and tempered by the fragility of others, in which poorly managed debt, high inflation and political and regulatory uncertainty have contributed to stagnation or decline. The mounting influence of climate change and major demographic shifts, moreover, is a critical factor affecting this overall landscape.



Improving governance and effectively leveraging new technology are pivotal to any response to such challenges – not only to redress the slide into economic crisis, but equally for translating pockets of strong growth into positive outcomes for the majority of citizens, including the most vulnerable.

## Sudan Stakeholder Dialogues

We should be able to think about a national project and begin addressing the issue of how Sudan should be governed, leaving the issue of who governs Sudan to the people of this great nation

HE Abdalla Hamdok, Prime Minister of Sudan

The Africa Programme held Chatham House's first conference in Khartoum in October on the topic of *Inclusive Economic Growth in Sudan*. This was the first international conference held in Sudan following the emergence of a new transitional government in August 2019. This conference was the culmination of the Sudan Stakeholder Dialogues (SSD) series that the Africa Programme delivered in 2019, with the aim of generating informed and constructive new thinking on policy options and reforms that could help Sudan's economic recovery and put it on a path of inclusive growth.

Keynote presentations were given by the Prime Minister and Finance Minister, in addition to four panel sessions with Sudanese and international speakers. Finance Minister, Hon Dr Ibrahim El-Badawi,



congratulated the Africa Programme for its foresight in convening the dialogue series at a key time for the country's future, and announced at the conference his immediate plans for economic reform.

The briefing note, *Sudan Stakeholder Dialogues: Options for Economic Stabilization, Recovery and Inclusive Growth* which draws together the findings from the SSD series was launched at the conference. The Prime Minister of Sudan provided a foreword for the paper, which is the first Africa Programme publication to be produced in both English and Arabic.



The government must get better at communicating with the Zimbabwean people and engage in a renewed and sincere conversation with businesses and citizens

Christopher Vandome,  
*Mail and Guardian*

### Inclusive Economic Growth in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe Futures 2030 dialogue series concluded with an event in Harare in October. Among those participating in the discussions were senior economists and technocrats from the Ministry of Finance and Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, members of parliament, and stakeholders who had been engaged in the research process – including representatives from the private sector, civil society and international organizations.

The event launched the Africa Programme briefing note, *Forging Inclusive Economic Growth in Zimbabwe: Insights from the Zimbabwe Futures 2030 Roundtable Series*, which draws on best practice and senior-level insights to identify policy options for long-term economic revival and expansion in Zimbabwe, and pathways for inclusive development.

Six events were held in Harare and Bulawayo, in partnership with the Zimbabwe Business Club, Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries, and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, as part of the dialogue series.

Christopher Vandome presented the key findings of the series at the Zimbabwe Europe Network annual conference in Brussels in November, and wrote on the need for a deeper dialogue in Zimbabwe in the *Mail and Guardian*.



My hope is that through this collaboration, minefields can be cleared, land can be protected, wildlife can be free to return to where they once roamed, and Angolans can reap the rewards

HRH The Duke of Sussex



### Mine Action & Conservation in Angola

At an event organized by the Africa Programme in partnership with the HALO Trust on *Mine Clearance, Conservation and Economic Development in Angola*, Angola's Minister for the Environment, Hon Paula Coelho, announced that her government will invest \$60 million into landmine clearance.

HRH The Duke of Sussex spoke at the event to highlight the connection between conservation, economic development and mine clearance, with a call to action for increased funding for mine clearance efforts in Angola.

This was the culmination of more than two years of work by the Africa Programme, including as the secretariat for the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Angola, on landmine clearance and inclusive development in Angola.

An Angola APPG briefing note, *Mine Action in Angola: Clearing the Legacies of Conflict to Harness the Potential of Peace*, consolidated the evidence base on the connection between conservation, economic development and mine clearance. The briefing note drew on the Africa Programme's recent research into the legacies of the Angolan civil war and research into conservation-driven development models in southern Africa.



### Economic Reforms in Angola

The Africa Programme continued its work in support of economic diversification and policy reform in Angola. Meetings with Hon Joffre Van-Dúnem Júnior, Minister of Commerce, and Hon Vera Daves, Secretary of State for the Treasury, discussed the structural reform, debt sustainability, diversification, and privatization. Discussions also focused on the progress of the government's Macroeconomic Stabilization Programme (MSP) and National Development Programme (NDP).

**Nigeria's population is growing more quickly than its available resources**

Elizabeth Donnelly, *Financial Times*

### Africa's Economic Outlook

Dr Albert Zeufack, World Bank Chief Economist for Africa; Abebe Aemro Selassie, Director for Africa at the International Monetary Fund; and Professor Carlos Lopes, Africa Programme Associate Fellow, spoke at different events at Chatham House to assess Africa's economic outlook and prospects for structural transformation and job creation on the continent.



### Inclusion, Growth and Change in Kenya

Speaking at Chatham House, Kenyan Deputy President William Ruto discussed the challenges of implementing and managing change across Kenya's diverse political terrain. Focusing on the country's 2010 constitutional reforms, Deputy President Ruto discussed progress made on devolution, health service provision, separation of powers and de-ethnicization of politics; and outlined prospects for further structural reforms of government.



### Ghana's Inclusive Economic Future

Ghanaian Vice President, Dr Mahamudu Bawumia, spoke at an Africa Programme event on economic policy in Ghana, with particular focus on macroeconomic stabilization, job creation and progress towards debt reduction. Discussions focused on strategies to promote fiscal sustainability, the potential of new technologies for job creation, and moving beyond the country's Extended Credit Facility (ECF) arrangement.



### Oil and Gas Reform in Nigeria

Following the re-election of Muhammadu Buhari as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Africa Programme Associate Fellow Christina Katsouris examined the need and prospects for reform in the oil and gas sector. As Africa's largest producer of oil and with sales of the commodity accounting for 90 per cent of foreign exchange earnings and almost half of federal revenues, Nigeria's continued reliance on oil cannot be understated.

The beleaguered economy the Weah government inherited has not been helped by low prices for Liberia's key exports: rubber, palm oil and iron ore

Elizabeth Donnelly,  
*World Politics Review*

### Sustainable Resource Governance

The need for improved management of revenues from natural resources, increased transparency in the extractive sector, and better outcomes for poverty reduction and economic diversification in resource-rich countries remain significant challenges. Christopher Vandome participated in a conference of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Botswana, examining opportunities for local procurement practices to provide expanded economic opportunities beyond the mining sector in Africa.

# Elections and Political Systems

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Elizabeth Donnelly served as member of the Commonwealth Observer Group for the elections in Nigeria



2019 saw a number of highly-anticipated national elections take place across the continent, including in its two largest economies, with significant variations in participation and processes across the countries. Many of these elections saw incumbent presidents returned, though a number with decreased support. Significantly, Mauritania's election resulted in the country's first democratic transition as the incumbent president did not run. In Nigeria, incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari retained power amidst declining turnout and a last-minute week-long delay in the election. In South Africa, the ANC were granted another term, albeit with their reduced majority marking an unprecedented low.

In Botswana and Namibia, governing parties' factionalism did not upset their electoral dominance, while in Senegal, incumbent President Macky Sall secured a second term in office. National elections in Mozambique and Malawi similarly saw the re-election of incumbents, with the latter in particular seeing significant upheaval and protest following the opposition's disputation of the result. Guinea-Bissau awaits a critical second round election at the end of 2019.



## Elections in Mozambique

Ahead of the October 2019 election in Mozambique, Luterio Simango, parliamentary leader of the Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM), outlined his party's priorities and the significance of the elections for Mozambique.

Alex Vines served as a member of the Commonwealth Observer Groups for the elections in Mozambique.





### **Can Abiy Ahmed Continue to Remodel Ethiopia?**

Africa Programme Research Fellow Ahmed Soliman and political analyst Abel Abate Demissie assessed the Ethiopian Prime Minister's first year in office, examining successes in improving prospects for lasting peace in the Horn of Africa, and the challenges ahead. The expert comment, which is the first Chatham House output to have been translated into Amharic, was republished by Addis Standard.



### **Mauritania's Unfolding Landscape**

Mauritania is anticipated to see a surge in revenues when production at the Grand Tortue Ahmeyin (GTA) offshore gas project starts in around 2022. A research paper by Africa Programme Consulting Fellow Paul Melly, published ahead of the June 2019 presidential elections, analyses what lies ahead for Mauritania at a time of significant opportunity for the country politically and economically.



### **Elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

An expert panel discussed the election results in the DRC and the domestic and international policy responses to the late 2018 electoral process, the results and how to further democratic transition. Opposition politician and presidential candidate in the 2018 DRC elections, Martin Fayulu, also reflected on the election process, his challenge of the result and discussed the outlook for the DRC's political landscape. An expert comment assessed the challenges ahead for the new president.





### Côte d'Ivoire's 2020 Elections

Ahead of Côte d'Ivoire's presidential elections scheduled for October 2020, the Africa Programme convened discussions exploring the country's pre-election context, with a panel event in March focusing on political and security dynamics. In November, presidential contender Hon Guillaume Soro, Chairman of the *Rassemblement Pour la Côte d'Ivoire* (RACI), provided an assessment of the pre-election context in Côte d'Ivoire and policies on inclusive growth and stability.



### George Weah's First Year in Liberia

Elizabeth Donnelly and Dr Geraldine O'Mahony examined change and continuity in President George Weah's administration after a year in power, in an expert comment. In assessing Weah's mixed performance and reception as president, the comment highlighted regressions in media freedoms and transparency as well as the challenges of managing realpolitik pressures after early steps to curb corruption and bureaucracy.



### Zimbabwe After Mugabe

The passing of Robert Mugabe on 6th September 2019 prompted reflection on the life of Zimbabwe's controversial liberation leader. Dr Knox Chitiyo wrote of how Mugabe's ideologically driven policies and ruthless methods for holding power have left the country gripped in an economic crisis. Yet, Mugabe's assertion of black and African identity and pride made him connect with millions across the continent, and cemented his position as an icon of liberation politics.



### The problem with single party dominance is that corruption has no political cost

Moeletsi Mbeki, Deputy Chairman,  
South African Institute of  
International Affairs

### South Africa After the Elections

President Cyril Ramaphosa lifted the ANC to its sixth electoral victory in May 2019, with a personal message to South Africa of economic reform and rooting out corruption. Ahead of the election, David Everett, head of the Wits School of Governance, discussed polling data and parties' strategies at an Africa Programme event. After the election, Moeletsi Mbeki and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos from the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) spoke of the challenge Ramaphosa faces in balancing national and international priorities. An expert comment by Christopher Vandome assessed the prospects of the president delivering on policy priorities whilst facing internal party opposition; and he also discussed how electoral dominance of national liberation movements across the region has led to corruption, and what can be done about it, in an opinion piece for the *Mail and Guardian*.

# Social Norms and Accountable Governance

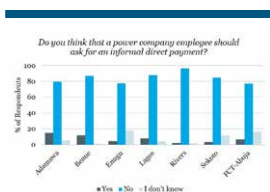


The Africa Programme continued its work on identifying options to address the drivers that sustain corrupt practices through the social norms approach. Social norms are practices supported by shared beliefs: namely an individual's preference to act in a certain way because of both an expectation that others do the same and a belief that others think that they should act in this way. Understanding the importance of social norms is key to developing effective policy responses to corruption and other collective practices, particularly in areas where state presence is weak and informal rules and institutions may dominate.



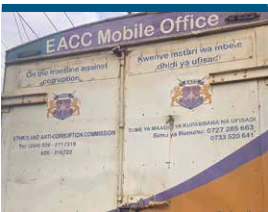
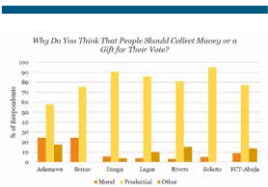
## Why Social Norms Matter in Anti-Corruption Efforts

In July, workshop sessions convened in Abuja and Addis Ababa brought together participants to examine what social norms are, how they can be identified (with reference to specific methodology), and how they influence collective patterns of behaviour – with particular emphasis on why people engage in corruption in the Nigerian context.



## Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria

More than 5,000 surveys were conducted across six states – Benue, Enugu, Lagos, Rivers and Sokoto – and the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja. They were carried out in collaboration with teams from eight Nigerian organizations, including Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics. Under the auspices of the project on Social Norms and Accountable Governance (SNAG), two specialised survey instruments have



now been designed and conducted in Nigeria, with a total of 9,960 households surveyed so far.

Notable results from the second round of surveys included that almost half (46.3 per cent) of those surveyed who had come into contact with a power company employee over the last year were asked to make an informal payment to them. Bribery demands for the settlement of electricity bills, reconnection, repair or complaints were much more prevalent in some states over others. The socio-economic make-up of the subgroup asked for payment was also skewed heavily towards wealthier respondents (those much more likely to have homes with electricity and connected to the national grid).

Africa Programme work on Social Norms and Accountable Governance in Nigeria is supported by the MacArthur Foundation and the Programme works in partnership with the University of Pennsylvania Social Norms Group and the National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria.

### Governance, Accountability and Anticorruption in Kenya

Elizabeth Donnelly undertook field research in Kenya with a new research team in an expansion of Africa Programme work on social norms of corruption, meeting with Kenyan officials, donors and civil society actors. The new work in Kenya examines the accountability and anticorruption context and is scoping for the potential value of social norms interventions as an anticorruption tool in Kenya.

# African Peace and Security

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Peace and security in Africa continued to reflect a diverse and complex picture in 2019, encompassing deep-rooted conflicts, insurgencies, terrorist attacks, highly tense local contexts and regions, and national peace agreements characterized by varying degrees of fragility. Africa Programme analysis and convening sought to enable greater understanding of the causes, complexities and sensitivities of these various circumstances, as well as insights into possible responses and solutions.



## Nigeria Security Sector Reform

Following the re-election of Muhammadu Buhari as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Africa Programme Associate Fellow Matthew Page provided analysis on some of the key security challenges the President faces, including widespread rural banditry and rising communal conflict, especially violence between herders and farmers, and unresolved local grievances in the oil-rich Niger Delta, as well as Boko Haram. The comment piece discusses why reform of Nigeria's security sector is needed, as corruption has become entrenched in the sector.

The [Red Sea] region has become a “maritime laboratory” with every major power now either in possession of a military base or searching for one

Ahmed Soliman, Foreign Policy

## Maritime Security

The Africa Programme continued to examine the increasingly complex maritime challenges in the Gulf of Guinea as well as developments in the Red Sea region. Alex Vines participated and spoke at the Atlantic Defence Capacity Building Centre in Lisbon on maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea, while Africa Programme Associate Fellow Christina Katsouris, spoke at the 2019 edition of the Global Maritime Security Conference hosted in Abuja, which explored challenges in institutional operational

responses to maritime security threats and linkages to the performance of the blue economy.



Time would be needed to dismantle the remains of Mr Bashir's powerful "deep state" and create an environment conducive for free elections

Dame Rosalind Marsden,  
*Financial Times*



### Prospects for Peace and Democratic Transition

A series of events, expert comments and media outputs explored the root causes of the popular protests in Sudan, and the responses of the government, Sudanese opposition and international actors. In April, Ahmed Soliman analysed whether the Sudanese uprising could deliver a transition to a legitimate civilian government, and whether there could be a return to dictatorship.

Following the August 2019 agreement between Sudan's Transitional Military Council (TMC) and the opposition coalition of the Forces for Freedom and Change (FFC), Africa Programme Associate Fellow Rosalind Marsden assessed whether the agreement to form a transitional government would pave the way for democratic transition.

### Togo's Regional Role: Promoting Collective Security in West Africa

In June, the Africa Programme hosted President Faure Gnassingbé, who discussed Togo's successes in leveraging its membership of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to strengthen transnational security cooperation in West Africa. The event highlighted the potential of small states to take leadership of coordinated multilateral security responses, as well as the importance of anchoring national structural transformation agendas in peace and security efforts.



### Security in the Sahel

Ongoing insecurity in the Sahel was the focus of a series of Africa Programme roundtable meetings, discussing crisis dynamics and multinational military coalitions. These meetings were complemented by Africa Programme representatives' engagement at events held in the region: Programme Head, Alex Vines spoke at the inaugural *Kofi Annan Peace and Security Forum* in Ghana, and Assistant Head Tighisti Amare spoke at the *Dakar International Forum on Peace and Security in Africa* in Senegal.



### Peace and Reconciliation in Mozambique

The Africa Programme published its report, *Prospects for a Sustainable Elite Bargain in Mozambique: Third Time Lucky?* ahead of the signing of the Maputo Accords for Peace and Reconciliation between the FRELIMO government and RENAMO armed opposition. The report, which is available in English and Portuguese, examines the conditions for the deal and potential stumbling blocks, particularly in light of the October elections. Alex Vines was present as an observer in Maputo in August at the historic signing of the Maputo Accords for Peace and Reconciliation.



Pope Francis visited Mozambique, Madagascar and Mauritius in September 2019. Alex Vines wrote that the theme of 'pilgrim of hope, peace and reconciliation' was particularly pertinent for Mozambique as the visit took place in the first week of the election campaign, and shortly after the signing of the Maputo Accords.

**Achieving sustainable peace in South Sudan will be a long-term endeavour. The short-term emphasis should be on ensuring that any unity government formed is inclusive**

Ahmed Soliman, *Deutsche Welle*

### **Prospects for Peace and Stability in South Sudan**

In November, a panel event of experts on South Sudan explored the status of the South Sudanese peace deal and possible opportunities to foster greater stability and unity in the country.

International media cited Ahmed Soliman on the delayed deal, noting that a further short-term extension to the deadline for forming the unity government would require significant progress to be made on outstanding issues, such as deciding on the number and boundaries of states and reunification of the security forces.



### **Security and Stability in Somalia**

Ahmed Soliman travelled to Mogadishu to conduct interviews on Somalia's security sector reform in the context of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

A series of events on peace and security, and political transition in Somalia reflected on the legacies and continuing dynamics of conflict in the country, and discussed contemporary processes of state building, national reconciliation and international policy.







# 2019 Africa Programme Speakers

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**Golda Abbé**, Founding Member, Ghidam

**Ali Abdelatif**, Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North Malik Agar UK

**Dr Sara Abdelgalil**, President, Sudan Doctors Union UK

**Ahmed Amin Abdellatif**, President, CTC Group

**Aden Abdi**, Programme Director, Horn of Africa, Conciliation Resources

**Dawit Abraham**, CEO and Founder, Qene Technologies

**Abbas Aged Abu-Sakin**, Engineer, Renewable Energy

**Dr Djimé Adoum**, Executive Secretary, Comité Permanent Inter-État de Lutte Contre la Sécheresse au Sahel (CILSS)

**Ambassador Mohamed Abdi Affey**, UNHCR Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa

**Dr Aderemi Ajibewa**, Director of Political Affairs, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Secretariat

**Professor Isaac Albert**, Director, Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan

**Jeremy Allouche**, Research Fellow, Institute of Development Studies

**Mohamed Ahmed Bushra Badawi**, Assistant Governor, Central Bank of Sudan (2013–18)

**Whitney Baird**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for West Africa and Security Affairs, US Department of State

**Dr Suliman Baldo**, Senior Advisor, Enough Project; Former Director, Sudan Democracy First

**HE Dr Mahamudu Bawumia**, Vice President, Republic of Ghana

**Professor Nick Binedell**, Founding Director, Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS)

**Tendai Biti**, Deputy National Chairman, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) Alliance; Minister of Finance, Republic of Zimbabwe (2009–13)

**Rt Hon Lord Boateng**, UK Parliament All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Angola

**Alan Boswell**, Senior Analyst for South Sudan, International Crisis Group

**Bulama Bukarti**, PhD Candidate, SOAS, University of London; Analyst, Tony Blair Institute for Global Change

**Martin Bwalya**, Director, Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), NEPAD

**HE Dr Miro Cerar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Slovenia

**Professor Tony Chafer**, Professor of French and African Studies, University of Portsmouth

**Ashok Chakravarti**, Economist, University of Zimbabwe

**Shepherd Chawira**, President, Matabeleland Chapter, Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries

**Martha Chilongoshi**, Country Representative, Common Futures Conversations Project, Chatham House; Founder, Revolt Media Africa

**Dr Knox Chitiyo**, Associate Fellow, Africa Programme, Chatham House

**Dr Stefan Cibian**, Academy Associate, Africa Programme, Chatham House

**Jane Cocking**, Chief Executive, The Mines Advisory Group

**Kai Collins**, Director, Okavango Wilderness Project, National Geographic Society

**R. Clarke Cooper**, Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs, United States Department of State

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Christophe Vandenberg (updating an earlier briefing note by Katherine Lawson)  
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*Foreword by H.E. Dr. Abdulellah Hamadi,  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Sudan*



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## خوارات أصحاب المصلحة في السودان

### خوارات لتحقيق الاستقرار الاقتصادي والانتعاش والنمو الشامل

تقديم بقلم: د. محمد عيسى / مدير عام جمعية خوارات السودان الخيرية - عبد الله الحبيب



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**Briefing note**  
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## Insights from the Zimbabwe Futures 2020 roundtable series



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