



## A TIME FOR AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS



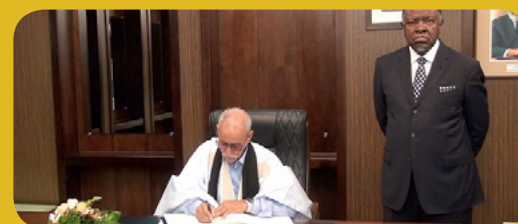
**"AFRICA MUST TAKE OWNERSHIP OF ITS PEACE AND SECURITY AGENDA IN ORDER TO MOVE FORWARD. "AU'S FAKI MAHAMAT.**  
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# The Tana Forum and The Leadership Equation In Africa

By Ajong Mbapndah L, Managing Editor



*Ajong Mbapndah L, Managing Editor*

**F**ulani herdsmen crisis in Nigeria compounded with the yet to be resolved issues with Boko haram and a looming Presidential elections in Nigeria, threats of another Ebola breakout in the D.R.Congo in the midst of a very clouded political future, a President in Burundi using a questionable referendum to do away with constitutional term limits, the humanitarian catastrophe that the promise of Africa's youngest nation South Sudan has morphed into, Cameroon virtually in a state of civil with the Anglophone crisis and a humanitarian crisis of its own. At first look, the headlines from Africa give people a reason to refer to the continent in the most derogatory of terms. Add this to people in their late 80's fighting tooth and nail to remain in power after 36 years in office already, the infrastructure problems, the galloping unemployment, and others, even some Africans seem to see with those who refer to the continent in crudely unflattering terms

Yet in this crisis prone image that Africa presents, lies unbridled optimism about its future. There is a pretty strong and growing consensus around the world that Africa is the continent of the future. Looking at its demographics, and its immense resources, there should be no reason to have doubts on the potential that the African continent represents. With a growing firmness in the desire of African to shape their own destiny, there is every reason to remain hopeful that the leadership part of the puzzle will be sorted out.

For several years now, the TANA Forum has taken the lead in bringing together African leaders and stakeholders to explore African led solutions to its security problems. The 7th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa took place on 21-22 April 2018 in the city of Bahir Dar, Ethiopia. More than 200 participants, comprising seven current and former heads of state and government, ministers, ambassadors, academics,

heads of international organizations and regional economic communities, civil society, and media representatives, gathered under the proverbial Baobab tree to discuss the theme: Ownership of Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union. The Tana Forum has continued to cultivate a culture of frank and candid conversations on pertinent continental peace and security issues in an informal setting.

The Tana Forum is an independent initiative while the Institute for Peace and Security Studies of the Addis Ababa University serves as the Forum Secretariat and works under the guidance of the Forum's Advisory Board. Several partners contribute to the organization of the Tana Forum each year. 70% of funding is provided by the Ethiopian government and the African private sector. The remaining 30% of support is provided by development partners.

Indeed for Africa to live up to its current potential, for

the optimism to transform to reality, it must be African solutions to African problems which are best understood by Africans and the solutions must come as well from Africans themselves who have lived or live the hard realities. From this perspective the TANA Forum stands out.

This year's events coincided with the resolve of current African Union Chairman Paul Kagame of Rwanda to seek ways by which the Africa Union can finance itself. At the Forum was outgoing Ethiopian Prime Minister of Ethiopia, who remarked that "you can continue to serve your country and Africa after leaving high office". A poignant message to leaders who use hook and crook to eternalize themselves in power.

Yes, the kind of leadership that will move Africa forward will not come just from those in power. The Outgoing Board Chairman of the Forum was Olusegun Obasanjo, the first military ruler to hand over power to civilian leadership, and a two term President who contributed to the current democratic dispensation that Nigeria is enjoying. Taking over from him was John Dramani Mahama, a former President of Ghana still standing tall after he lost elections in Ghana in 2017. In attendance too was the new Prime Minister of Ethiopia Abiy Ahmed who at the age of 41 is another epitome of a continent clearly on the move.

Taking destiny into your hands, fencing off outside influence means that Africa continues to step up its game. It means that instead of relying on

foreign actors to validate whether polls were free and fair or not, Supreme Court Justice Maraga in Kenya can annul the elections because of gross irregularities and order a rerun. It means that President Uhuru Kenyatta and his eternal rival Raila Odinga can bicker but for love of country, will embrace each other and avoid plunging it into war and unnecessary bloodshed. It means Paul Biya in his ripe old age, and experience garnered from circa thirty six as President of Cameroon will have the wisdom to address the long standing grievances of people in the North West and South West regions through dialogue, and not the kind of arrogance and brute force that has brought his country to the brink of civil war.

Beyond the dark clouds of the negative headlines that most often dominate the narrative on Africa on the international scene is the silver lining that Africans are feeling good about themselves, Africans know they have the keys to their own problems, and it is a trend that needs to continue. Indeed there is every reason to remain very hopeful about the fortunes of the continent from the exploits and dynamism of its youth in sports, in music, in science, entrepreneurship and more, there is no shortage of talent in Africa. With the right leadership, Africa's dawn will come, and it may be sooner than later.

In this edition, PAV revisits the TANA Forum, the insightful messages and way forward as prescribed by some of the key actors. Happy reading!!

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# The Five areas Africa needs to address in order for peace to prevail: Obasanjo

By Prince Kurupati

The outgoing Chair of the Tana Forum Board, Olusegun Obasanjo while giving his farewell speech at the 7th edition of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa touched on five key areas that need immediate attention if the continent is to become more peaceful, safe and secure for all Africans.

Starting on an optimistic note, Obasanjo said that this year's theme "Ownership of Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union," reflects the progress that Africa has attained in aspiring towards a political consensus on its future but also the tasks that lie ahead in ensuring the collective realisation of a peaceful and prosperous continent.

Acknowledging that multilateralism and globalisation is the way to go for Africa, Obasanjo said that what happens especially negatively in one part of the world has implications for the rest of the world. Taking a cue from the 2018 Munich Security Report which concluded that the "world, it seems, is becoming less liberal, less international and less orderly," Obasanjo said there is a need for Africa to reassess its global position and to take the necessary steps to ensure that it remains liberal, international and orderly.

Drawing his conclusions from the events that shaped 2017, here are the five areas Africa needs to address in order for peace to prevail according to Obasanjo.

## Long-drawn conflicts

The area that Obasanjo touched on relates to the long-drawn conflicts that have been going on for years, some for decades. Due to Africa's numerous ethnic groups and the struggle to control resources, the continent has seen a number of violent conflicts in countries such as Mozambique, Burundi, Cameroon and Northern Mali. Just like any other year, 2017 saw these conflicts continuing to show their ugly face as various conflict prevention strategies failed to produce any tangible results.



Outgone Tana Board Chair former Nigerian President Obasanjo is optimistic about the continent's future despite the challenges

Obasanjo said that it is of utmost importance that Africa implements more effective post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) strategies this year and beyond if peace is to prevail. He, however, expressed optimism in that the AU PCRD finally showed signs of much-needed traction in 2017 albeit slowly.

## Increased riots and protests

Obasanjo in his address revealed that the year 2017 saw an increase in riots and protests. With the South Cameroon crisis taking centre stage, the number of protests across Africa perpetrated by the government against civilians or fighting between government troops and armed militia/insurgent groups is very worrisome.

With most of these being "closely linked to contestations over access to political and economic opportunities, as incumbent administrations take extreme measures to remain in power," there is no better time than now for the regional and continental bodies including the African Union to help enforce and safeguard democratic practises in African countries riddled by violent riots and protests.

## Political transitions heightening tensions

2017 and the first quarter of 2018 saw

a number of countries going through power transition. Zimbabwe for one saw its long-time leader Robert Mugabe being deposed by his former Vice President with the aid of the military while in countries such as South Africa, Ethiopia, Liberia and Sierra Leone there were also power transitions. While all of these power transitions were not necessarily bloody nor violent, they somewhat heightened political tensions. In Zimbabwe, there is a battle of legitimacy between Robert Mugabe and his sympathisers and Emmerson Mnangagwa and his supporters (this is intra-party ZANU PF). There is also another legitimacy battle between Emmerson Mnangagwa and the leader of the main opposition party, Nelson Chamisa (this is inter-party).

In order to avoid similar situations or to prevent these tensions from escalating into full-blown conflicts, there is a need for free, fair and credible elections that "set the right ambience for economic and social development that the continent and its citizens urgently desire."

## Emerging challenges

While the above challenges may have bedevilled Africa for quite some time now, there are also new challenges which are posing new problems for the continent. These emerging challenges include centre "around migrations, climate change,

gender-based violence, maritime insecurity, pastoralist-farmers rift, and sad incidence of modern slavery in Libya, perhaps even elsewhere in other parts of the continent."

Because most these have not been faced before, they "are not readily amenable to conventional approaches of conflict prevention, management and resolution that state and inter-state institutions like the AU and RECs are familiar with or capable of addressing easily." What this then means is that everyone, individual countries affected and the continent as a whole needs to move fast in crafting out-of-the-box and lasting solutions that will curb all of the emerging challenges once and for all so as to prevent them from becoming another set of age-long problems.

## Shortcomings of Africa's inter-governmental institutions

The other challenge that Obasanjo pointed out relates to Africa's inter-governmental institutions' failure to tackle threats to continental peace and security. Time and time again, Africa's inter-governmental institutions have been found wanting when it comes to tackling Africa's myriad security and developmental challenges.

It is against this background that calls for reforming Africa's inter-

governmental institutions have been growing louder and louder by the day. Something which also led 2018's Tana Forum to set a fitting theme which reads, "Ownership of Africa Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the Africa Union."

#### Reform Recommendations

Obasanjo's reform recommendations include putting the AU on solid financial ground such that it is better able to respond to emerging and pressing security and developmental imperatives facing the continent without relying on foreign dole. He, however, expressed optimism saying the continent is already on the right path as "From only about \$160 million in 2006 the AU budget has now grown to \$770 million in 2018, almost a 600% increase! I envisage that the figures might reach the \$1 billion mark by 2020, the same year that the Assembly has set for the AU to be in the position to finance 75% of its own programmes and 25% of its peace and security budget."

Obasanjo also called on member states to stop politicising the operations and internal administrations of Africa's inter-governmental institutions. He said that the pursuit of sometimes ambitious national interests have tended to keep the AU prostrate for too long. Obasanjo cited how most African countries contribute more finances to the UN while ignoring the AU and how they send their best and most experienced diplomats to New York and Brussels, and not to Addis Ababa.

He went on to say that the AU should create incentives that inspire RECs towards greater involvement, collaboration and cooperation as against alienation and competition. Obasanjo said that the AU is seen as an elitist platform by most Africans and there is a greater need for it to reinvent itself so that it can be important in and touch the lives and aspirations of African peoples.



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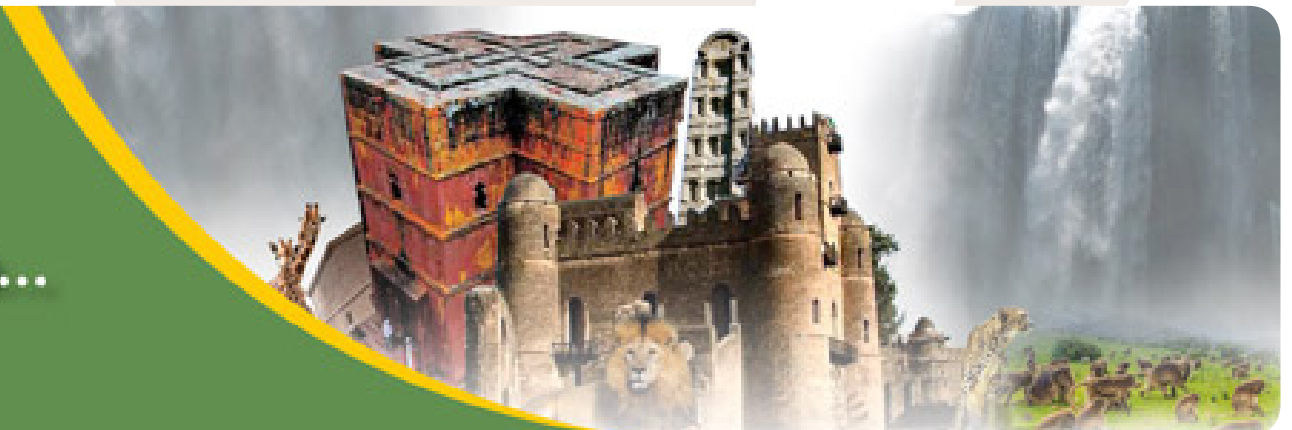
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# Africa has no need for alien solutions - Mahama

By Papisdaff Abdullah



*Incoming board Chair former Ghanaian President John Dramani Mahama believes that Africans should take the lead in the quest for solutions to its problems*

Newly appointed Chairman of the TANA High-level Forum of Security in Africa, John Dramani Mahama has tasked African researchers to device solutions for the continent's security challenges through culture and tradition of the African people. The former Ghanaian leader argues that researchers must not proffer solutions which do not speak to the Africa.

John Mahama who took over as Chair of the TANA High-Level Forum on Security in Africa from ex-Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo told a gathering at the forum that "the contribution of African intellectuals and not-for-profit organizations to the development of innovative ideas is not adequate". "Self-reliance should also come in the way we think through our own sets of values, norms and principles, and coming up with policy alternatives which will be agreeable to realities on the ground, while not necessarily matching non-African ways of thinking and arguing"

Ethiopia-based TANA Forum is a platform for African leaders, stakeholders and thought leaders to collaboratively engage in exploring and exchanging ideas on African-led solutions to its security challenges. The Forum was launched in 2012 and is actively supported by the Ethiopian Government as an African-owned initiative to explore solutions by Africans for the continents security challenges.

Mr Mahama's assumption of the Chairmanship of TANA Forum came days after he delivered a lecturer on <Self-Reliance In Africa>s Security

Sector> at the Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia at the 7th TANA High-level Forum on Peace and Security in Africa, themed: «Ownership of Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reform of the African Union.»

The former Ghanaian leader opined that "self-reliance has been one of the most pursued goals on our continent, but disappointingly still remains elusive". He maintained "if African countries are to maintain their dignity and respect, it is important for nations to achieve self-reliance in some critical areas such as defence, food security, sustainable economies etc., in a world that has increasingly become interdependent".

Mr Mahama acknowledged efforts by leadership on the continent and institutions to attain self-reliance. He said "the good news though is that, our current crop of African leaders and our growing institutions appear to show a greater commitment than ever before to achieving self-reliance through various interventions including institutional reform".

According to him, "the concept of the TANA Forum exemplifies that quest to build indigenous African capacity in the area of Peace and Security, and the Ethiopian Government deserves to be roundly commended for this effort". "The coordination with the African Union and other partners should sooner than later lead the development of the much-needed capacity, both financially and logistically, at the level of the continental union to be abreast of and in control of Security on our

continent" he hoped.

The immediate past Ghanaian leader recounted Pan-Africanist Movement struggles for 'collective self-reliance', which according to him "motivated and enabled our forebears struggle for independence".

"In the early years following the formation of the OAU, there was a strong demand by some progressive countries including my own country Ghana, led by our first President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, calling for the establishment of an African Standby Force generally referred to as the African High Command. These early calls recognized the need for Africa to design and control its own peace and security architecture" Mr. Mahama noted.

Regrettably, the ex-Ghanaian president said "It is a tragedy that despite efforts to follow through on this idea, Africa still does not have a rapid deployment force to intervene early in situations where there is threat of conflict".

## Below is the rest of the Statement by the TANA CHAIR

But even in this era, we did see some admirable efforts at self-reliance in resolving issues of conflict on the continent. A stellar example is the history of ECOMOG in resolving the civil war in Liberia.

A historic and bold decision by leaders of the time to insert an intervention force into the raging Liberian civil war saved thousands of lives and provided sanctuary for many vulnerable citizens. This military intervention followed by

several rounds of negotiations eventually led to a resolution of the conflict. The ECOWAS initiative was eventually taken over by the UN and re-hatted as UNMIL.

In the following decades, the deployment of ECOMIB in Guinea Bissau, by ECOWAS, was again a commendable effort by the West African sub-region. ECOMIB's presence in Bissau saved a rapidly deteriorating situation and helped that nation steer itself back onto the path of democratic consolidation.

Other examples such as AMISOM deployed in Somalia by the AU with the blessing of the UN was another encouraging effort by Africa to assert self-reliance in resolving challenges of peace and security by its own effort.

One of the major constraints to these efforts has however been funding. The ECOMOG operation was funded by the troop contributing countries and left many West African economies strangled. Resources meant for critical social care was diverted into sustaining the troops in Liberia.

Big brother Nigeria's oil rich economy came in handy at this time, picking up some of the associated overhead costs of that operation. Again, only recently in Gambia, the intervention of ECOWAS in diffusing an election stand-off, which could have deteriorated into conflict was applauded by the world as an admirable effort in self-reliance with regard to regional solutions to regional problems.

This was however not the same in



Mali and the Central African Republic (CAR) where it took the intervention of France to arrest deteriorating security situations.

The coming of the new millennium and a transformation of the OAU to the AU heralded the replacement of some old principles, institutions, and practices with new ones. Principles such as non-indifference and institutions such as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) appear to be enough reasons to be optimistic about the future of our continent.

The issue of self-reliance continues, however, to be elusive and Africa is still vulnerable to unwarranted external meddling.

Sad to say, but our only continental organization, the African Union, still relies on external funding for a significant part of its operational and programme budgets. If we are to speak the truth to each other, and challenge ourselves for the future, we cannot, ladies and gentlemen, continue to let outsiders pay the piper, and expect them to play an African tune.

It will, therefore, not be realistic to talk about self-reliance unless we start to take care of own business, as Africans, both in terms of financing and innovative ideas.

This is why the recent recommendations and reform initiatives must be embraced by all African states. Africa needs better institutions and ways of generating sustainable financing to tackle many of its problems and shortcomings.

Self-reliance must be realised not only within the space of Peace and Security, but also in other critical areas such as economy, agriculture, transport, technology, especially in ICT. There is an urgent need to ensure more effective integration and reliance on each other so that Africa can stem the massive external outflows that leave the continent each year.

At this point, let me congratulate the African Union and our continental leaders for the many innovative reforms being rolled out, and particularly for the historic launch and commencement ceremony of the African Continental Free Trade Area recently in Kigali, Rwanda. This is the time for the demonstration of the needed commitment to its actual implementation, and a review of decisions on the part of countries that have not signed on and still have issues with it.

The Continental Free Trade Area just like the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) needs the unalloyed support of the continent, to see to its implementation as a

home-grown initiative that will bring dividend to us Africans today, and our grandchildren in future.

The signing of protocols for free trade, free movement of people, and only recently the Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM), are all positive steps towards unleashing the creative potential of Africa and making the continent more self-reliant than ever before.

These are giant steps only dreamt about by our fathers and it is exciting to see their realization in our lifetime. The APSA, beyond the challenges with funding, has many other challenges that we are told are structural deficiencies. These are deficiencies we should not be looking at others to help us solve.

Funding for peace and security on the continent is a challenge, but for how long are we going to rely on others to fund us. Today, the African Union has become an attractive partner of the United Nations in its effort at achieving peace and security in the world.

We should applaud ourselves for a number of trail-blazing actions including the great initiatives we have shown in working out a peace and security agenda as well as creating the necessary architecture to implement the agenda.

Lack of adequate funding militates against the entrenchment of peace and security in Africa. At times, more than 90 percent of the AU peace and security budget comes from outside the continent. This is humiliating. A major step in accepting the Kaberuka recommendation at the 27th AU Meeting held in Kigali, to levy a 0.2% tax on non-AU imports gives much cause for hope that financing of AU's obligations especially in the peace and security arena will improve. If implementation of the levy is effective and the AU is able fund at least 25% of peace support operations, it will bolster continental ownership of peace operations on the continent.

We all remain hopeful that our countries will ensure the implementation of the agreed 0.2 percent tax on imports from outside the continent in order to improve funding of our continental organization and its capacity to fund peace support operations.

Many examples that I have cited of successful interventions in resolving threats to peace in a self-reliant way, have come from West Africa. It is not only because I hail from the sub-region, but perhaps because the region has been better able to fund such interventions with the imposition of a 0.5% levy on all non-ECOWAS imports. This was done from as far back as the year 2000,

some 18 years ago, long before, for example, East Africa imposed a community levy as recently as 2015.

Your Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Perhaps the greatest threat to Africa's peace and security is the very rapid rate of population growth. This should be of serious concern, considering that the population of Africa is growing faster than all the other continents. It is estimated that nearly 60% of the world's growth will occur on our continent by the year 2050.

Africa's unbridled population growth is likened to a slowing train, it will cover some distance before it finally comes to a stop. While fertility rates and birth rates are falling in many countries, it will take a while before Africa's population growth is brought under control.

In many countries, the rate of economic expansion is not rapid enough to guarantee or sustain prosperity and basic social services to the people.

Unemployment remains a major security threat to our continent. It is the case across the world, but on our continent, we have a more difficult challenge because of a lack of proper skills training to enable the production of independent young entrepreneurs.

Currently, more than 40% of Africa's population is under 15 years of age. Can we take advantage of this demographic reality, or will it, unattended to, like a ticking time bomb, blow up in our faces?

The continent of Africa is reeling from the effect of millions of restless unemployed youth. We also rue the phenomenon of human trafficking in transporting our youth and women across the harsh Sahara and risking their lives to reach over the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe. Many of them end up losing their lives on the journey or have ended up wasting their lives in detention centres.

I have mentioned in the past and I maintain that "if the teeming youth of Africa must find jobs at home and stop attempting the dangerous crossing of the Mediterranean to enter the greener pastures of Europe, then we must review the role Africa plays in world production."

Africa is home to almost every mineral resource the world has ever known. Africa produces most of the highest earning cash crops like cocoa and coffee. Yet, between extraction or harvesting and the processing of the raw material for mainly international markets, it is the Western world that generally controls the value chain

and it is they who determine how much Africa earns.

Self-reliance, as stressed in the 2017 Institutional Reform of the African Union, is an "existential question". If our existence is to transcend mere survival and preclude external meddling, we should be able to determine our destiny by ourselves. That is possible only when we are able to shoulder the burden and discharge our responsibilities. This is particularly important when it comes to issues of security in Africa.

Coincidentally, we are almost a decade away from 2009 when the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union pronounced in its Tripoli Declaration that Peace and Security is 'an intellectual challenge'. We should be asking ourselves, what progress have we made since? Perhaps, the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa and its side-events such as this one, is one such platform where the 'intellectual challenge' could be tackled, and is being tackled.

Our academic institutions and not-for-profit organizations as a whole should contribute towards the realization of self-reliance both in terms of clarity of ideas and concreteness of policies. It goes without saying that the purpose of academic institutions is research, teaching, and rendering services to the community.

As hubs of research and innovation, academic institutions must contribute to the attainment of self-reliance by refining and concretizing the notion and relevance of self-reliance itself in the areas of peace, security, and governance.

This could be made possible through rigorous and problem-solving research and dissemination of findings, supported vigorously by our governments, just as Ethiopia is doing, and we are also doing with various centres of excellence such as the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre in Ghana.

African researchers need to delve deeper into our culture and traditions to devise solutions to the security problems we are facing. Our researchers should not think and produce solutions which do not speak to the population.

Obviously, there are countless socio-economic and political challenges facing African academic institutions themselves. It is however incumbent on us to find the way out and to shape the way forward.

I thank you, and hope I have raised enough issues for your consideration.



# Review travel laws for AU members- Mahama New TANA Chair

By Papisdaff Abdullah

Chairman of the TANA High-level Forum of Security in Africa, is pushing for review of travel laws to ensure free and easy movement of Africans across the continent. John Dramani Mahama's proposal follows the successful implementation of visa on arrival policies by Ghana and Rwanda for neighboring countries. The former Ghanaian leader argues that other countries can also start the implementation of such policies before the arrival of the proposed African passports which will serve the same purpose. Mr. Mahama said "It has been many tiring years of frustration visiting our own brotherly countries on this continent. Ghana started issuing visas on arrival to all and any visitor using an African passport since July 2016, following an Executive Order I signed that month".

The TANA Chair continued in his acceptance speech "the number of arrivals from African countries has not increased, it has introduced no new security threats into Ghana, rather persons who have business in Ghana or want to arrive on holiday are able to do so without hustle. Since then Rwanda has also begun issuing visas on arrival". "We cannot continue in 2018 with some of these delayed decisions that inconvenience our people" he stressed.

John Mahama in his acceptance speech after his appointment as Chair of the TANA High-Level Forum on Security in Africa recognized the urgent need for immediate action to deal with Africa's growing population. According to him, "the greatest threat to Africa's peace and security is the very rapid rate of population growth". Mahama who served as ECOWAS chairman in 2014 during his presidency alarmingly noted "this should be of serious concern, considering that the population of Africa is growing faster than all the other continents. It is estimated that nearly 60% of the world's growth will occur on our continent by the year 2050". "Unfortunately, in many countries, the rate of economic expansion is not rapid enough to guarantee or sustain prosperity for our people" he regreted.

Mr. Mahama's assumption of the chairmanship position follows the expiration of the tenure of Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo. The Ethiopia-based TANA Forum is a platform for African leaders, stakeholders and thought leaders to collaboratively



**Mahama with former Board Chair Olusegun Obasanjo at the Tana 2018 Forum. The Former Ghanaian leader and new Board Chair thinks it is time to review travel laws so as to ease free movement of Africans across the continent.**

engage in exploring and exchanging ideas on African-led solutions to its security challenges. The Forum was launched in 2012 and is actively supported by the Ethiopian Government as an African-owned initiative to explore solutions by Africans for the continent's security challenges.

Prior to his appointment the ex-Ghanaian President delivered a lecture on 'Self-Reliance In Africa's Security Sector' at the Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia at the 7th TANA High-level Forum on Peace and Security in Africa, themed: «Ownership of Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reform of the African Union.»

Below is the full text of his acceptance speech

The last three days has brought home to me, in very clear and practical terms, what is expected of me as Chairperson of the TANA Forum Board.

It has dawned on me, quite clearly, the void that Baba, President Olusegun Obasanjo, is leaving and which my colleagues and I on the Board are required to fill.

I cannot proceed any further without first congratulating President Obasanjo for the very able manner he has led the TANA Forum over the last seven years. He has always been extraordinary- and I have worked with him on many other projects and platforms- but that of TANA is another mark of his distinguished

service to Africa and its people.

President Olusegun Obasanjo deserves to be celebrated by all Africans.

The evidence of the tremendous work he has put in, along with the organs of this institution, is evident in the attendance and interest shown in the TANA programme over the last three days. The sessions and discussions have been packed with people, young and old, from all walks of life, to deliberate on the peace and security challenges facing our continent in this beautiful city of Bahir Dar.

When I served as President, I recall that one of his courtesy calls on me was to discuss a report and findings of this Forum, which West African Leaders at the time needed to take immediate action on. I recall the detailed and concise presentations from him and the team in my Office on that occasion.

Your Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have over the last three days spoken, discussed and shared ideas on Africa becoming self-reliant, on why and how Africa must own its peace and security provision and how to finance and reform the African Union.

President Obasanjo has shared with us the summary of our discussions and the takeaways. What is important however is that, we would not have been here, reviewing, discussing and making recommendations but for the Good People and Government of

Ethiopia.

On behalf of the people of the continent, represented here today by our distinguished participants, I say 'BATAM AMESEGNALAW' to you Prime Minister Ahmed Ali and the people of Ethiopia. Your presence here with us over the last two days is very reassuring and gives us hope that you will be following in the footsteps of your predecessors.

I celebrate the late Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, for the foresight and support, and to you, my brother, Prime Minister Desalegn for continuing strongly the vision and the support for the activities of the TANA Forum.

Ethiopia has more than shown the way towards self-reliance. This country's example with the TANA Forum and the hosting of the Annual High-Level Forum is a true reflection of our theme for this year, "Ownership of Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union".

This theme resonates very well with every African, and our discussions and the contributions have made that even clearer. It should, therefore, be the signal that Africa is finally waking up to the reality of taking on the responsibility of 'ownership' by aligning and realigning our institutions and finances to actualise the overstated mantra, African Solutions to African problems.

We have an African proverb that says "the one cutting the path does not



know when it is going crooked". It is those behind him and watching who can guide him and point out when the path is getting crooked.

Traditional African knowledge systems as partly reflected by our proverbs are rich repositories of science, technology and knowledge in general. In them you can find lessons in governance, strategy, inclusiveness, spirituality, accountability and leadership. This calls for a change in mind-set to own and promote our traditional African knowledge and also incorporate best practices from elsewhere in building our people and institutions.

Yes, we do have a new wave of positive outlook for the African Union as the reality of self-financing draws closer. There is a growing excitement of the wide range of opportunities that the African Union could avail itself as a result of improved self-financing, especially in the peace and security sector.

As the world focuses on Africa's good intentions to self-finance, care must however be taken so we do not sabotage these efforts and kill the expectations of our citizens for a new dawn- a new dawn that brings changes to the way the continent addresses its peace and security challenges.

I am referring, ladies and gentlemen, to the implementation of the much discussed '0.2% tax levy' from which Member States are expected to make their contributions to the African Union. While the underlying aim of the levy is to promote sustainability in Member States' contributions, it is also evident that more political negotiations need to be undertaken to enable Member States take full ownership of the initiative and implement it faithfully.

I speak from the experience of the 0.5% levy imposed to finance the activities of our sub-regional body in West Africa, ECOWAS, which has been operational since the year 2000. While the levy has dramatically improved the financing of ECOWAS, there are several countries that are behind in their contribution as a result of the delay in handing over the deducted levy to the organization.

Our leaders must understand that this levy is the contribution of the African people to finance our Union and make it self-sustaining. Our Governments are acting only as the collection agency and must hand over the deducted levies in order that the purpose for its imposition is realised.

Our Union was built on the spirit of consensus, and we must unite to make the achievement of self-financing a reality. This is funding that the Union urgently needs for its programs, operations and peace and

security budget.

Let me also caution that we are not saying that once the African Union, one day, achieves self-financing it can, by itself, overcome all the challenges of peace and security. The continent requires and will continue to require the co-operation and collaboration of partners outside the continent.

With us here today are representatives of multilateral institutions, countries, organizations and institutions from outside the African continent that are interested in the African Union's success in overcoming the myriad of peace and security challenges facing Member States. Achieving a higher level of financial independence for the African Union does not mean that these relationships will become unnecessary.

Rather, the dynamics of the relationships will change and it is imperative to hinge the expected changes on informed discussions and negotiations amidst the new opportunities increased financing will bring to the African Union.

We have talked a lot already, but before I conclude, permit me to say a few words on two of the key issues that have bubbled up in the course of our discussions here- (1.) Population growth, the youth bulge and increasing threat of unemployment and (2.) free movement of people and goods across the continent.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I stated in my lecture at the Bahir Dar University on Friday, perhaps the greatest threat to Africa's peace and security is the very rapid rate of population growth.

This should be of serious concern, considering that the population of Africa is growing faster than all the other continents. It is estimated that nearly 60% of the world's growth will occur on our continent by the year 2050.

"Africa's unbridled population growth is likened to a slowing train, it will cover some distance before it finally comes to a stop. While fertility rates and birth rates are falling in many countries, it will take a while before Africa's rapid population growth is brought under control."

At the current rate of growth, Africa needs to maintain an average GDP growth rate of above 8% if it is to be able to create jobs and provide basic social services for its people. Unfortunately, in many countries, the rate of economic expansion is not rapid enough to guarantee or sustain prosperity for our people.

Secondly, and as was mentioned to applause yesterday in one of the sessions, I wish on behalf of all Africans and the participants gathered here for the 7th TANA High-

Level Forum on Security

in Africa, to inform our leaders that we are waiting anxiously for the issuance of the African Union passports that will guarantee easy and free movement of Africans across our continent.

It has been many tiring years of frustration visiting our own brotherly countries on this continent. Ghana started issuing visas on arrival to all and any visitor using an African passport since July 2016, following an Executive Order I signed that month.

The number of arrivals from African countries has not increased, it has introduced no new security threats into Ghana, rather persons who have business in Ghana or want to arrive on holiday are able to do so without hustle. Since then Rwanda has also begun issuing visas on arrival. We can all start this process even before the arrival of the African Passports.

We cannot continue in 2018 with some of these delayed decisions that inconvenience our people.

The signing of the protocol establishing the Single African Air Transport Market is a giant step forward in facilitating easy movement of our people within our continent.

We celebrated the launch of the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) in Kigali recently. Haven served as Chair of the AU's High Level Committee on Trade (HLCT), I feel a deep sense of pride that several years of hard work and tireless effort is coming to fruition and our people expect that there will be a speedy implementation of these initiatives and reforms.

Your Excellences,

The TANA Forum is one of many deserving of sustainable financing to allow it to continue to pursue continental peace and security through research and informed dialogue. The Forum has been successful over the years due, in part, to the partnerships it has formed with several organizations.

TANA is also in transition from a Forum to a Foundation to achieve self-reliance and sustainability. While I am personally grateful to all our partners, I wish to put all on notice that we would be working closely with all of you to achieve this goal of self-sustainability in the nearest future.

Your excellences, ladies and gentlemen,

At TANA, we assemble annually as Africans and friends of Africa to engage each other from a knowledge approach aimed at helping Africa take ownership of her destiny.

It requires a multi-stakeholder approach from conception,

engagement, through implementation to monitoring and evaluation of outcomes. It is also a complimentary one with our friends and partners in consonance with the African proverb I mentioned at the outset, where our partners help us keep the path straight by complementing much needed resources in the short to medium term.

It is also about having a shared responsibility to help promote best practices that is not undermining of ownership.

With a very high sense of gratitude, I want to thank the Board and Secretariat of the TANA Forum for the opportunity to serve my African people.

I recognize the enormous responsibility this Office places on me but I also feel a sense of confidence that the Board, Technical Committee and the Secretariat of the Tana Forum are more than capable to ensure that, together, we are able to continue to proactively engage with the peace and security challenges that face us as a continent.

On behalf of the Board, I also wish to recognize the significant role the Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at the Addis Ababa University has played in hosting the secretariat of the TANA Forum.

The collaboration and co-operation between IPSS and the TANA Foundation is one that should be a veritable roadmap for our academic institutions on how to leverage their expertise for the public good beyond the classrooms.

For the fourth consecutive year, IPSS has been within the top 50 think tanks in Sub-Saharan Africa. In that period, also, the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa has become the top event for exchanging views and seeking avenues to effectively and sustainably tackle the continent's peace and security challenges.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cannot conclude without recognising our liaison officers and Forum Support Teams that have ensured that our arrival, stay and meetings have gone on successfully.

Thank you, Michelle, and to all your hardworking ladies and gentlemen.





# Governance challenges.

**Governance challenges related to accountability and responsibility need to be tackled by African states now, according to Tana forum 2018 outcome**

By Wallace Mawire



*In his early 40s, Dr Ahmed Abiy through his reforms represents a source of hope from the new generation of African leaders. He was one of the speakers at Tana 2018*

Within a relatively short period of time, the Tana forum has become the premier event of discussing peace and security issues in Africa, according to Dr Abiy Ahmed Ali, Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in his welcome address to delegates at the 7th Tana forum in Bahir Dar.

"I would like to congratulate the organizers for this huge success and, as the forum grows in its prestige, I hope that it will still maintain the degree of informality which has been crucial for its dynamism and success," Dr Abiy said.

The Tana Foundation Secretariat and the Institute for Peace and Security Studies, my alma mater collaborated to host the 7th Tana forum.

The Tana forum was launched in 2012 with the objective of creating an informal platform for diverse panelists to explore mechanisms for addressing Africa's pressing peace and security challenges.

According to Dr Abiy, the 2018 theme - Ownership of

Africa's Peace and Security Provision: Financing and Reforming the African Union - is relevant and timely given recurring conflict and emerging threats that require continental priority setting, effective and efficient institutions, and unity among the African citizenry.

He said the expectation is to reflect on the ownership of Africa's peace and security provision and the financial self-reliance of the Commission.

"Forums like this and other platforms under the patronage of the African Union generate great ideas and solutions to Africa's challenges," Dr Abiy added.

He however added that to implement the proposed solutions, finances are needed as well as an efficient accountable and effective Union that can deliver on continental promises.

"If we do not mobilize our resources, all our great ideas and solutions will become pipe dreams. Moreover, the reforms and all it stands for will remain in name only.

The reform of African institutions undeniably corresponds with the reform

of African states. The African continent has shouldered numerous economic and political reforms. Nevertheless, African states have a long way to go in governance reform," he said.

According to Dr Abiy, governance challenges related to accountability and responsibility need to be tackled by African states now. He added that ownership has to be earned.

"We cannot claim ownership while we barely cover a quarter of our annual budget and we are heavily dependent on contributions by external partners," Dr Abiy added.

Ownership, self-reliance and financial sustainability of the African Union and its peace and security architecture are a matter of great concern, said Dr Abiy.

"It is also a matter of sovereignty and pride. Today, our resources may be limited, we may also not be fully equipped to effectively and efficiently use our resources to deliver on our continental priorities. However, we need to master the political will and mobilize the required resources to accelerate the momentum towards the

achievement of our reforms," Dr Abiy said.

Dr Abiy said that, in 2001 the African Union, the institution that is now the subject of reforms, officially came into existence because of the reform of its predecessor, the OAU. The OAU, set up in 1963, needed to undergo a reform to meet the emerging peace and security needs of the continent. Today, after 17 years, the African Union has achieved so much especially through its peacemaking and peace support operations.

According to Dr Abiy, African institutions now need to adapt the growing needs and aspirations of African countries and citizenry.

"We once again need to apply a mindset of abundance and success, so we can manifest solutions to build the Africa we want in which everyone lives a dignified life," he said.

Dr Abiy said the decision to implement a 0.2% levy on eligible imports to finance the African Union was a huge stride in our quest for self-reliance. The agreement establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area could also bolster economic integration.

"Nevertheless, the threats to peace and security could hamper regional integration efforts. In fact, our continental peace and security is contingent upon conditions at local levels. Peace extends its routes in the internal security we have in each member state. This year alone we will accommodate 18 elections in our continent, we will enjoy peace and security only as each member state strives to develop an inclusive and stable political system and economy," Dr Abiy said.

He added that the role of regional economic communities is also crucial in securing peace at continental levels.

"We should take into consideration the global dimensions of our challenges since peace and security are not confined by geographical proximity. We should understand that cooperation is necessary, and no one can claim to be self-sufficient in an interdependent world," he said.

According to Dr Abiy, the Tana Forum is an opportunity to grapple with the question of how greater African ownership in continental initiatives can be achieved.

He expressed hope that the Tana forum would provide further importance to ongoing efforts to ensure self-reliance through institutional reforms.

He added that the latest edition of the Tana Forum was very special in many ways as it marked the end of former President Obasanjo's eminent chairmanship of the Forum which has now evolved into a foundation.

"I want to thank his chairmanship most sincerely for the excellence, and for such leadership and guidance he has given to Tana Forum turning into a formidable institution that it is now," Dr Ali added.



# African solutions to African problems only possible if Africa takes ownership of its problems: H.E. Mr Moussa Faki Mahamat

By Prince Kurupati

Africa is set to hold its 55th Africa Day celebrations (formerly African Freedom Day and African Liberation Day) on 25 May 2018. Africa Day is a day that the African continent commemorates the founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now known as the African Union (AU). The OAU and subsequently AU at its inception was tasked with among others things ensuring that peace and security prevail in all independent African countries.

While looking ahead to the 55th Africa Day celebrations, the AU through the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union recently met with current heads of state, former heads of state, ministers, and academics to assess the challenges currently threatening peace and security on the continent and to offer solutions on how best to combat these challenges so as to “help prevent latent tensions from escalating into open crises, to support complex political and electoral processes and facilitate the resolution of conflicts.”

In his address, the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Mr Mahamat started by acknowledging and explaining why the theme for this year’s High-Level Tana Forum on Security in Africa “Ownership of the promotion of Peace and Security in Africa – Reform of the African Union” aptly describes the stage that Africa finds itself in.

Mr Mahamat said that Africa is starting to own most if not all of the factors which help foster peace and security. On the political front, Mr Mahamat said that



*The key to stabilizing Africa’s future is financing its own security agenda says African Union Commission Chair Faki Mahamat*

the continent is starting to put its destiny into its own hands. The louder calls on the Ezulwini Consensus by many African countries bear testimony to this as Africa strives to have its own voice in the UN Security Council rather than having to rely on other countries to propagate and further its interest.

Institutionally, Mr Mahamat said that the African Union is currently in a reformative process which will see it turn to become “a tool capable of carrying high our ambitions.” To this end, he gave the examples of the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture and the Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council which have generated “greater dynamism in dealing with peace and security issues on the continent” for instance in the “operations undertaken in Somalia, in the Lake Chad Basin and in the Sahel Region.”

On the economic front, Africa is beginning to take

ownership of its destiny as countries are starting to embrace economic cooperation as evidenced by the “adoption and signing of the Agreement on the African Continental Free Trade Area.”

Moving on, Mr Mahamat espoused his vision on the strategies and methods likely to strengthen further the continental ownership of its problems and challenges.

Endogenous strategies the way to go

The first strategy that Mr Mahamat touched on centres around the age-long principle of African solutions to African problems. He said that the continent needs to mould itself into a new way of thinking, this thinking has to be African centric but at the same time it needs to borrow a portion from “the experience of other parts of the world and the knowledge accumulated elsewhere.”

Touching on the first part i.e. African centric thinking, Mr Mahamat said the input of the former heads of state

and the current heads of state is crucial as they are the ones who have first-hand knowledge of how simple and how complex Africa’s peace and security problems are. From “their practice of power” African heads of state are better placed in demystifying the complex peace and security challenges.

While touching on African centric thinking, Mr Mahamat said that it’s important that Africans own their challenges. He said that owning our challenges is the only way that the continent can move forward as exogenous solutions have been in the past blindly applied to solve the African problem but failed as the solutions ignored the contexts in which they are supposed to be implemented.

Mr Mahamat said that regardless of the challenge, whether be it “the problem of justice and peace and the modalities of their articulation in societies emerging from conflicts, the

promotion of the principle of non-indifference and the prevention of mass crimes or the pooling of efforts and resources to combat the scourge of violent extremism and terrorism,” Africa needs homegrown solutions.

Still, on the subject of Africa owning its problems and challenges, Mr Mahamat said that there are three aspects which are crucial if Africa is to achieve success. The first one touches on the actor themselves. He said African actors should be seen “in the forefront of efforts to promote peace and good governance on the continent.” Mr Mahamat warned on over-relying on exogenous solutions as these may be full of cultural prejudices.

The second aspect that Mr Mahamat touched on is that of courage and brevity. He said that African actors need to have the courage to accept and own their own problems, challenges and shortcomings and that they need to act quickly in addressing them



because if “problems are not dealt with in time, they eventually worsen, leading to violent conflicts that open the doors to all kinds of non-African interference.”

The third aspect largely concerns African academics and researchers as they need to “analyse, in depth, the challenges to be taken up.” The fight against African problems need to be systematic and it has to have elements of an intellectual fight.

Apart from the above, Mr Mahamat also stated that the continent needs to sustain itself financially. He said that “our capacity for crisis and conflict prevention, management and resolution,

depends on not only the performance of the different components of our African Peace and Security Architecture but also the availability of the necessary financial resources. It is an indispensable prerequisite for a real and genuine freedom of action of the African Union.”

To this end, Mr Mahamat said that he was pleased as “more than 20 countries are already applying the 0.2% levy on eligible imports, which should eventually enable us to fund our essential programmes and a significant part of our peace operations.” Already, “\$ 41.6 million has been paid into the Peace Fund, with the

target, for the current year, of mobilising \$ 65 million.”

Learning from international partners also important

Notwithstanding the need for African actors to own their problems and challenges, Mr Mahamat said that there is a need for “greater synergy with our international partners.” As sovereign countries, African countries need to engage in “constructive engagement with different stakeholders interested in Africa on an equal footing.” Mr Mahamat said that this engagement needs to be of mutual benefit as opposed to being an asymmetrical relationship of one partner benefitting at the expense of the other.

He went on to say that the new challenges facing the world are of a different nature “new forms of violence which are terrorism, religious radicalism, human trafficking, illegal drug, arms and corrosive pharmaceutical products trade as well as the resurgence of maritime piracy call for new strategic thinking and operational conduct” as such there is need to revisit how the continent engages with the world.

It is against this background that Mr Mahamat said the AU is intending to “sign at the end of the month of May, on the occasion of the meeting between the Commission of the African Union and the European Commission, a

Cooperation Agreement on Peace and Security.” This will see the two continents working together to address common challenges and problems.

Mr Mahamat concluded his address saying to the international world that “challenges facing the international community call for cooperation than competition, solidarity rather than egoism,” and to Africa he left this statement from Kwame Nkrumah, “the forces that unite us are intrinsic and greater than the superimposed influences that keep us apart.”

\*The piece was done before the African Day

## Will Kiir, Machar face to face meeting soften stalling peace talks?

By Deng Machol



*South Sudan President Salvatore Kiir and his former deputy Riek Machar. The collapse of the 2015 peace accord between the two men plunged the country into the ongoing civil war and humanitarian crisis*

**J**uba – As the process to end conflict failed, a regional bloc mediating South Sudan peace talks has proposed a face-to-face meeting between President Salva Kiir and rebel leader Riek Machar by July as pressure grows to end a five – year’s civil war.

The face – to – face meeting between President Salva Kiir and rebel leader Riek Machar is likely to take place before the 31st summit of the African

Union assembly on 1st and 2nd July in Mauritania, Noukachot, according to the communique issued by IGAD council of ministers, followed its extra-ordinary summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on May 31.

President Kiir and rebel leader Dr. Machar last meet in July 2016 when the violence erupted at the presidential palace.

Dr. Machar fled the country and he has is a de facto prisoner in a

farmhouse outside of Johannesburg in South Sudan, where he is isolated from his friends and family, and has been frozen out of South Sudan’s peace process and the future of his country

A month ago, the IGAD said it would release Dr. Machar as soon as possible if he would agree to renounce violence, not obstruct the peace process and relocate to any country «outside the region not neighboring

South Sudan, but is not yet done.

The statement indicates that the proposed meeting with South Sudanese president ahead of an African Union summit on July 1 in Mauritania will inform a “final decision” on Machar’s participation in the peace process.

The council also decided to submit punitive measures against violators of December’s failed cease-fire deal for approval of the assembly of heads of state and government. The statement doesn’t say who would be targeted.

South Sudanese president Salva Kiir travelled to Ethiopia on Wednesday, May 29 amid a growing international and regional pressure to discuss the government’s position on the recent IGAD bridging proposal with the Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr Abiy Ahmed.

The two leaders’ discussion was centered on the IGAD issued a proposal on governance and security, including the political and security situation in the country as well as,” added Mr Ateny.

South Sudan descended into civil war in late 2013 when Kiir, ethnic Dinka tribe accused former vice president Riek Machar, ethnic Nuer tribe of plotting a coup.

President Kiir, 66 has been in power since 2005, he’s term in office is due to expire in August this year according to the compromise peace



agreement (CPA) signed with the rebels in 2015.

There was no democratic elections' conducted since South Sudan became independent from Sudan in July 2011.

With empty – promised, President Kiir earlier quoted said he forgive Dr. Machar and urged him to return to South Sudan, something rebel groups has dismissed.

Since earlier 2014, Ethiopia is being leading a regional peace effort, hosting talks between the government and rebel groups but there has been no breakthrough.

Of recently, the East Africa regional bloc's High Level Revitalization Forum, spent five days in intense negotiations in the Ethiopian capital ended without signatures on May 23, after the warring parties' rejected the power sharing proposal, that proposed to appoint four deputies for President Salva Kiir, as first vice president go to Dr. Machar's groups.

The warring parties argued that the IGAD's proposal isn't reflected their views and they continues making counter proposals.

Michael Makuei, South Sudanese Information Minister has admitted that the regional peace talks is all about positions rather considered the suffering of the people.

Makuei further said his government will not accept to give a first vice president post to rebel leader Dr. Machar, claiming that the working relationship between Kiir and Machar is very bad that may cause another fighting in Juba.

Meanwhile, the body monitoring peace has asked the warring parties to embrace the spirit of compromise and accept the IGAD bridging proposal to end the conflict in the country.

According to the regional bloc, the bridging proposal is the best option that was developed upon the interests of the warring parties.

"Ultimately, it is obvious that none of the parties may be celebrating because such is the nature of dialogue – no one party can get one hundred percent of what they want in a negotiation," said Ambassador Berhanu Kebed, Chief of Staff of the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC), at the 62nd Extra-ordinary session of the IGAD council of Ministers in Addis Ababa, May 31, 2018.

"Perhaps this is even the more reason to take this bridging proposal as the middle ground in the parties' current negotiating positions," he added.

Further, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on Thursday gave South Sudan's warring parties one

month to stop fighting and sign a peace agreement or face possible sanctions.

In the statement, the Enough Project said it is important to note that the international community still lacks the leverage required to persuade the South Sudanese factions to accept peace in their country.

"As far as IGAD and the AU are concerned, South Sudan is an accountability – free war zone. Without leverage, the next round of peace talks have no chance of succeeding," said John Prendergast, the founding Director of the Enough Project.

The stalling of peace talks has drew mix reactions from the members of the public, including refugees and women groups, criticized the warring parties for eying on the positions and their interests and benefits

The observers, however, said both the government and opposition groups are not interested in a peaceful settlement because they do not care about the people who have been suffering since the outbreak of the violence in 2013, further appeals to the warring parties to put the interests of the people and the nation about their own.

The analysts has called on the IGAD, AU and the UN to create consequences for the spoilers of the

peace in South Sudan.

The several Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA), signed, including latest on December 21, 2017, but has been repeatedly violated with impunity within a day."

The East African bloc IGAD (Inter Governmental Authority on Development) has been pushing the warring sides back to the negotiating table after a 2015 peace deal collapsed, with a pressure mounts on leaders to take stronger action to end the country's four-year civil war, but all end in vain.

As the conflict in its fifth years, millions have been uprooted, triggering a regional refugee crisis, and millions more have been pushed to the brink of starvation, while tens of thousands have been killed.

Now, hundreds of people are leaving South Sudan to Uganda for refuge on daily basis due to the deteriorating economic crisis and continues of fighting across the country.

The continuation of the second phase of the High Level Revitalization Forum is expected to resume with discussions on Chapter I and Chapter II of the peace agreement which deals with Governance and Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security arrangements, which the IGAD say it is only option to end a civil war.

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# The Rome Statute At 20: The Vision, The Challenges and Record

By Deng Machol



Chief Charles Taku

## INTRODUCTION

Supported by over 120 countries, the Rome Statute is the founding treaty of the International Criminal Court, the 20th anniversary of the Rome Statute will be celebrated on 17 July 2018. Called the Day of International Criminal Justice, this official anniversary of the Rome Statute is taking place within the backdrop of significant challenges facing the International Criminal Court which was established to realise the objectives of the Rome Statute.

A notice in the official website of the ICC stated that “the Rome Statute has set up the highest legal standards, the equality of arms, the impartiality of the judicial process, and created a basis for the model of civil administration in the service of fair and equitable justice”. The notice asserts that “through the Rome Statute, the ICC can give a voice and a face to

countless victims, as well as a central place in the judicial proceeding”. Celebrating the establishment of the trust fund for victims which the notice states that it “provides for the opportunity for them to be active participants in dialogues to promote reconciliation and peace-building”. The score card of the fight against impunity, the universal objectives of the Rome Statute and its cooperation and complementarity goals are not mentioned in the notice. They did not find their way into the list of achievements obtained these two decades.

The Rome Statute was a product of political, policy and ideological horse-trading by major world powers and world economic blocs. This was bound to impact on the smooth operation of the institutions established by the Statute to realize the goals of the Rome Statute. Negotiating a multilateral treaty is a delicate and complicated task. State interest; its

strategic, economic, political and ideological objectives may play a controlling role in negotiating leading a treaty. The international treaty regime is founded on the consent of states. State consent has its foundation in state sovereignty. States do not give away or tinker with their sovereignty lightly unless their national interests require them to do so. The Rome Statute that turns twenty contains provisions which on interpretation may be said to be a miasma of competing state interests. The very contentious nature of the negotiations and horse-trading that midwived the Statute accompanied the Statute to its operation stage hampering its smooth implementation problem free. The ghost of that contentious past lingered during the two decades of the existence of the Rome Statute. The Court has shied from providing clarity to the contentious provisions of the Statute, giving tacit blessings to cross-institutional

conflicts, stagnancy, political and ideological tremors that are legion within the institutional framework of the Rome Statute.

The court appears to be mired in ideological, political and socio-economic interference. Incessant allegations of mismanagement, abuse of power and corruption made against the court have stained the image of the court. The Assembly of State Parties that was established to oversee the implementation of the ambitious objectives of the Rome Statute has failed to diligently exercise its oversight authority over erring Court officials and the Institutions placed under their control. Twenty years on, the Rome Statute can reasonably be said to have been high on its goals but flawed in its implementation in key areas.

## CONCESSIONS, SETBACKS AND THE VICTIM

From inception, the Rome Treaty suffered a major setback. Some of the powers and economic blocs that obtained significant concessions on ideological, political and policy considerations as preconditions for joining the court, did not sign onto the treaty. This left the institutions created by the Statute to bear the burden of the political, economic and ideological influence of non-state parties written into in a treaty, they did not support, did not sign on or ratify. The universality of the Statute has proved to be a mirage with most of the peoples of the world are out of the reach of the Statute and the Court established by the Statute. The universal mandate conferred on the Court has targeted only Africa and Africans since it became operational. The court is little known or has little or no influence outside Africa and many of the Western countries that are financing or influencing its policies and

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operations.

It may be reasonably asserted therefore, that the Statute was established with clearly written minefields into its most contentious provisions among which are the ones affecting state sovereignty and relations with the United Nations Security Council. The Rome Statute was carefully crafted to accommodate varying conflicting state interests. It can best be described as an arranged marriage of state practice, general principles of international of law, international criminal law ridden with overlapping conflicting interpretations and competences. This was bound to breed conflict and institutional disharmony that has slowed the realization of the objectives of the Rome of Statute in some significant areas.

## THE DREAM AND THE NIGHTMARE

The two years of the Rome Statute can best be described as the dream and nightmare of Africa's involvement with the International Criminal Court. The African Union and some Africa State Parties have accused the ICC of inappropriately targeting Africa in its interventions and prosecutions since it was established. The AU and ICC African critics believe that the super power non-state parties, Western Economic blocs and corporate interests are the driving forces behind the ICC prosecutor's interventions targeting Africa.

Western countries of the European Union bloc and the USA who are accused for inappropriately manipulating ICC interventions in Africa to advance regime some ICC Africa Situation Countries to advance their economic

and neocolonial goals have accused Africa of politicizing ICC interventions. This criticism fails to take into consideration the fact that the political horse-trading that mid-wifed the Rome Statute established the statutory foundation for the politicization of the ICC interventions. African Union insistently point to that ICC Prosecutor's discriminatory intervention decisions informed that are influenced by EU and the West's ideological, political, logistical, and economic policy interests. No matter the explanation of justification of the Prosecution intervention policy, its clearly obviates the founding vision of the Rome Statute which was to bring the crimes contained in the Statute to the criminal codes of State Parties, and possibly to most of the countries and peoples of the world. Regrettably the records attained fall far short of the founding vision that was developed in Rome.

## ONE TREATY, DISTINCT INTERESTS

The horrors of war and international criminality that threatened humanity engineered a critical need for a permanent international criminal court since the First World Peace Conference in 1898. While the so-called free world saw the need for such a court, pushed by the Russian Delegate to the Conference, the fundamental basis for the establishment of the court was met with stiff opposition on ideological, political and economic grounds by the United States and some Western Countries.

The horrors of the two world wars, did not persuade the civilized world to establish a permanent international

court to check impunity and the collective madness that endangered international peace and security. The Military Tribunals that were established after World War Two in Nuremburg and Tokyo to prosecute and punish Nazi war criminals was victor's justice in that it ignored the crimes committed by Allied Forces. Some of these crimes were the use of starvation of civilian populations through the economic blockade of Germany, the deployment of a weapon of mass destruction to bombard Japanese largely civilian settlements and the deportation and enslavement of hundreds of thousands of Japanese women and civilian population. These Military Tribunals were therefore established on discriminatory political and ideological grounds. It was therefore desirable that any standing international court that would be created, must avoid the pitfalls of discriminatory justice to be credible and acceptable to most of humanity.

The arm twisting and political horse-trading during the negotiation of the Rome Statute resulted in the establishment of a treaty that was good on some legal principles but tailored to the strategic interests of the United States and its allies.

African countries constituted the largest bloc in Rome. It was hoped that the Rome Statute offered the best opportunity for erstwhile Western colonial possessions to negotiate and adopt a universal treaty whose implementation they believed, would exorcise the ghost of European colonial and imperial criminality which enslaved and dehumanized the black race. As former slaves and chattel of Western imperial and colonial interests, the African countries in

Rome were not subjects of international law during the First and Second World Peace Conferences; during the negotiations of the world multilateral treaty regime that regulated international relations, international human rights, world peace and security. Significantly, neither the League of Nations, The United Nations and its elaborate multilateral human rights regime and the Geneva Conventions (1949) contemplated Africa and Africans as beneficiaries of the protections afforded by the multilateral treaties. Yet most of western civilization was built on the sacrifices, blood and sweat of the black people. These sacrifices and contributions notwithstanding, many countries of the so-called free world resisted the quest of Africa for freedom. Access to justice was denied Africans and people of color because they were not considered as subjects of international law.

Many African countries therefore, considered that the Rome Statute, the protections and guarantees of the respect for their sovereignty through the prerogative of complementarity, held the promise of a new dawn for them in international law with the sovereign exercise of freedom in equality with their erstwhile colonial masters. The signs that these expectations were to be short-lived emerged during the first decade of the existence of the ICC in which the Court focused exclusively on Africa in its investigations and prosecutions.

The threats by Africa state parties to quite from the Rome Statute have dominated the two decades of the Rome Statute. African states that were at the negotiating table in Rome were not there on a political or diplomatic pilgrimage. They were there

to negotiate in good faith a multilateral treaty that they hoped would roll back the ghost of colonialism and neo-colonialism that threatened the stability of the troubled continent of Africa. African state parties did not realize that the treaty was to be interpreted to provide multiple channels of control and manipulation of the court and its key institutions by against them by their erstwhile colonial masters.

## WHY AFRICA?

Africa is a victim of its natural and mineral resources. Africa can best be called the curse of Berlin because of its participation among Western colonial governments in 1884 for the exploiting of its abundant natural and mineral resources. The colonial, political and economic origins of most crimes committed in Africa ICC situation states arose from Africa's colonial past. African State Parties considered their membership of the Rome Statute as an exercise of sovereignty that placed them in equal statutory status with their erstwhile colonial masters. The negotiation and ratification of the Rome Statute afforded Africa, a rare opportunity of exercise their sovereign and equality relevance. The exercise of sovereignty by African countries, enjoined then to respect the treaty obligations contained in the Rome Statute.

The ICC intervention in some situation countries suffer selectivity deficit observable in the investigation and prosecution policies and procedures of the ICC. Mark Kersten highlighted some inconsistencies in the OTP's selection criteria and / or practice. This type of selectivity deficit has



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significantly impacted on the “most severe” threshold required for ICC intervention. The inappropriate focus of the ICC interventions is not entirely based on the ICC Prosecutor’s interventions alone. Considering the colonial and neo-colonial origin of African crimes, the perpetrators of the crimes in Africa cannot reasonably be said to be exclusively Africans. The pattern of ICC Prosecutor’s interventions has discriminatorily favored the victors in African armed conflicts allied to neo-colonial power interests and their local agents. Natural and mineral resources which are the sources of the conflicts in which crimes falling within the jurisdiction of the ICC are committed, are controlled by Africa proxies of erstwhile colonial powers who exercise de facto economic sovereignty over these neo-colonies.

The war economy that fuels the conflicts and the crimes provides the arms with which the crimes are committed. It is a matter of grave concern that state and non-state actors that are the driving forces behind African conflicts and crimes have not been the target or focus of the ICC Prosecutor’s investigations and prosecutions. The Failure to investigate and prosecute foreign economic and political financiers and ultimate beneficiaries of the crimes in the ICC Situation countries, renders the purpose of Africa membership of the Rome Statute largely unfulfilled.

Critics of African protest of the inappropriate prejudicial focus of the ICC on Africa have accused Africa of politicizing the judicial processes at the international criminal court. This criticism of the Africa protests unjustified discriminatory focus is consistently made by Western nations, comes mainly from the West and some African civil society activists’ organizations. The United States of America, The European Union and NATO member states have often criticized the African

Union resolutions regarding the mass withdrawal of its member states from the Rome Statute. These countries constitute the finance and resources base of the court and possess substantial economic and geopolitical interests in the ICC Africa situation countries. These countries rose from the negotiating table in Rome armed with statutory and policy provisions that afforded them tremendous influence on the institutional set up of the court, its ideological orientation and its political and policy choices.

## FAILED PROMISE, FALSE HOPE

The Rome Statute was voted and adopted by 120 countries with 21 abstentions and 7 votes against. The seven countries that voted against, were China, Israel, Libya, Qatar, Iraq, Yemen and the United States of America. The United States signed the Rome Statute in 2000 but withdrew its signature in 2002 stating that the treaty infringed on its sovereignty. The US was concerned that the court established by the Rome Statute would be used to conduct politically motivated investigations and prosecutions of US service men and women. The realization of the American fears of politically motivated interventions on Africa cannot be dismissed even by America itself a fallacy, just because it is about Africa and no longer America due to its timely withdrawal from the Statute.

The negotiation and coming into operation of the Rome Statute at the dawn of the first Gulf War and the economic scramble for Africa in which China, Russia, the US and the EU economic bloc are

participants was bound to be influenced by the socio-economic and political world worldview created by these conflicts as it indeed it did. By signing and withdrawing its signature on the grounds of its national interest, the US set a precedent though justified in international treaty law, established a precedent for aggrieved state parties and discouraged or slowed the ratification of the treaty.

In the world of conflict dominated by the super powers, highly populated dominant economic powerhouses in Asia and Eastern Europe, the super-power non-state parties, members of the UN Security Council, the USA, Russia and China were compensated with the power of referral and deferral in articles 13 (b) and 16 of the Rome Statute. These statutory provisions premised the exercise of the authority of under those provisions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The UN Security Council, acting under these provisions of the Rome Statute, in the exercise of its Chapter VII authority of the UN Charter, referred the situations in Libya, the situation in Darfur-Sudan to the ICC. It was obvious from

the ongoing war situations prevailing in those situations that the UN Security Council was purposefully relying on these ICC referrals to enforce its Responsibility to Protect Mandate in those countries.

It was clear from these provisions of the Rome Statute and its use to trigger Security Council Responsibility to Protect actions, that the intendment of Rome Statute was to confer an extraordinary authority and mandate the political organ of the UN, the Security Council to supplement its Chapter VII political mandate. The UN Security did not arrogate this extensive political mandate in the Statutes of the Ad Hoc Tribunals and hybrid courts which it established or were established with participating states in the aftermath of conflicts and crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, East Timor, Lebanon, Sierra Leone under its Chapter VII authority. It advisedly did not do so due to perception of unwarranted political intrusion in the administration of international justice and an erosion of the independence of the Courts it established to investigate, prosecute

and conduct free and fair trials that met international standards ordained by the UN Charter and its elaborate Human Rights regime. The politicization of the Rome Statute through UN Security Council Chapter VII authority provided the UN Security Council, its ICC non-state parties members who are opposed to the Rome Statute and its mandate, the unprecedented authority to use the ICC legal process to attain political and economic objectives.

The Rome Statute Security Council mandate is a dangerous tool for the erosion of the state sovereignty of weaker states which is protected by customary international law and the UN Charter. The exercise of the UN Security mandate under article 13(b) of the Rome Statute has neither brought justice nor peace to Libya nor Darfur. Despite several appeals, the Security Council has not assisted the Prosecutor in the arresting the persons subject of ICC arrest warrant and surrendering them to the court. The reluctance of the Security Council in enforcing the arrest warrants issued by the ICC against President Omar Bashir may be justified



*Former Liberian President Charles Taylor was one of the first African leaders to be put on trial by the ICC*

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*On trial as well is former Ivory Coast President Laurent Gbagbo and his close Aide Charles Blé Goudé . There are many who believe that the ICC has unfairly targeted African leaders*

because doing so will violate a UN Charter and Customary International Law protected values relating to immunities afforded its own personnel as well immunities of Heads of States and Diplomatic Immunities protected in the Vienna Conventions . The question asked by the Chinese representative at the ASP (7-14 December 2018) in New York relating to the ICC inconsistent interpretation of the law relating to immunities whether the Rome Statute created new regime of international law that is inconsistent with the UN Charter and customary international law, may finding meaning in the UN Security Council reluctance to accede to the Prosecutor's incessant appeals for cooperation and assistance.

Those who have insistently accused Africa for seeking immunity for its leaders from ICC prosecutions while in power may not have given careful thought to the fact a UN Security Council deferral under article 16 of the Rome Statute article 16 would confer immunity to a ICC accused as long as the deferral last. The Chinese delegate to the ICC ASP on the 7-14 in New York faulted the ICC on the paucity of consistent jurisprudence on the matter of diplomatic immunity referring to the interpretation and intendment of the provisions of article 98 of the Rome Statute and the ICC decisions on the arrest and surrender of the President of the Republic of Sudan by third states . The Chinese therefore reiterated

the opposition of his country to the Rome Statute and the ICC as a result of its inconsistent jurisprudence or what he alleged was paucity of sound legal reasoning in on conflicts arising from the interpretation of crucial provisions of the Statute.

#### THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPLEMENTARITY

The Rome Statute established a duality of jurisdiction regarding crimes falling within the jurisdiction of the Court making the principle of complementarity, the primary jurisdictional foundation for the investigation and prosecution of the crimes defined in the Rome Statute. The activation and implementation of the principle of complementarity is a key component of the Rome Statute. Through the principle of complementarity, State Parties and even non-State Parties were mandated to enact the laws relating to the violations criminalized in the Rome Statute into their national laws. They were encouraged to adopt the evidence and procedure regime of the court as part of their national laws for the effective implementation of the Rome Statute.

For a determination of the ability to prosecute threshold as a prerequisite for prosecutorial intervention, a predetermination must be made whether the crimes in the Rome Statute have been enacted into the national laws of the State Party concerned. A decision to authorize investigations without a

predetermination whether the statutory legal framework contained in the Rome Statute exists is vacuous, unfair and grossly deficient. The Pretrial Chambers of the ICC seized of the Prosecutor's request for intervention and investigations, has failed to give due weight to this sensitive crucial threshold issue.

The Rome Statute contains provisions relating to state rights as well as the prosecution of serious crimes. The principle of complementarity was retained in the preamble, articles 1 and 17 of the Rome Statute by State Parties to emphasize the primacy of State sovereignty over potentially politically motivated interventions by ICC Prosecutors. The threshold enquiry about the enactment of ICC crimes and procedures into the national laws of the State Party in which the Prosecutor intends to intervene must be made from the preliminary examination and not after. The ICC Prosecutor and the Pretrial Chambers must carefully re-examine the threshold issues of Complementarity, State Cooperation, and immunity to depoliticize ICC interventions. The paucity of consistent ICC jurisprudence on these state rights issues with strong foundation in Customary International Law, Multilateral Treaty Law will continue to breed conflict with State Parties and shake the foundation of the Rome Statute.

#### THE MERITS OF CHANGE

Despite the complexity of the Rome Statute and some of its politically sensitive provisions, the foundational objectives of the Rome Statute were laudable. The ICC is the public face of the Rome Statute. The Court and the Principals elected to manage the institutions of the court must statutorily be persons of distinguished professional, academic and moral integrity.

Institutional change of leadership, it is said is an unimpeachable attribute of efficiency. The recent changes in the Presidency of the Court under the Honourable Judge Eboe Osuji, and Mr Peter Lewis in the Registry has been welcomed with great enthusiasm. The two have very distinguished professional legal careers spanning several years. The ICC President Eboe Osuji has profound experience working as Defence Counsel in Nigeria and Canada as a senior trial prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, a senior appeals counsel at the Special Court for Sierra Leone, a senior human rights adviser

to the High Commissioner for Human Rights at the United Human Rights Council in Geneva and as a Judge at the International Criminal Court. Mr Peter was head of the Crown Prosecution authority In England for several years. Shortly after his election, Hon President Eboe Osuji led his colleagues in the Presidency of the Court to reorganize the different Chambers of the Court to ensure judicial efficiency and better administration justice. His commitment to improve the image of the court through collaborative delivery of justice and a transparent administration of justice was emphasized during the oath thanking of the new Registrar Mr. Peter Lewis. This Court and the world at large waited for this change of leadership and the ongoing reforms in the Court with justified relief.

#### NON-STATE PARTIES' INFLUENCE

The scramble for economic and technological supremacy is constantly shaping the face of the world placing the economic and political





sovereignty of vulnerable countries of Africa, Latin America, the Baltics, the Middle East and Asia under the strategic interest and influence of larger economic blocs in the West and the East. A great majority of the world population in China, Russia, Pakistan, India, the United States of America and Indonesia are not state parties to the Rome Statute. The so-called African crimes that have kept the ICC busy since its creation are intrinsically linked to the scramble for African resources by these competing superpower economic power blocs. There can therefore be no credible investigations of the alleged crimes in these countries without trickling the investigations of key players in these economic powerhouses.

The fact that the resources from some of these economic blocs provide a life-line to the Court, it is inconceivable how the Prosecutor of the ICC will look in their direction in investigating African crimes. Illegal immigration has become a critical issue within the European Union and the United States of America. Hundreds of thousands of African illegal immigrants have perished in the Mediterranean Ocean allegedly due to the sinking of the boats transporting them into Europe under circumstances alleged to be criminal. The European countries in which these mass crimes are committed are state parties to the Rome Statute. Calls for the Prosecutor to investigate these crimes have largely been ignored.

During the same period, the Prosecutor intervened in many profoundly contentious violent election crises in some African countries, making peace efforts by peace-making mandate holders difficult.

Some African state parties, political actors, NGOs and activist civil society proxies of Western Special Interests miscomprehend the mandate of the ICC as an institution for the settlement of political scores. The intervention of the ICC in African situations over the past decade has not brought about justice, peace or development. On the contrary, politically motivated and selective interventions have encouraged impunity, fueled more conflict and increased criminality.

## COMPLEMENTARITY REQUIRES CONSULTATION AND DEFERENCE

The ICC has come under increasing criticism of not living to the expectations of the Rome Statute and disregarding the complementary rights of states. The principle of complementarity requires that the ICC Prosecutor consults, dialogues and defers to state sovereignty over crimes committed in the territory of state parties, seeking authority from a Trial Chamber to intervene even before commencing a preliminary examination. The Prosecutor policy of commencing preliminary examinations without authority from a Pretrial Chamber and without the consent of the State Parties are a major source of acrimony between that ICC and Some State Parties. Preliminary examinations are arbitrary, intrusive, wasteful, and perceived as politically motivated. Burundi withdrew from the Rome Statute accusing the ICC of being used by the European Union, its former colonial power Belgium using members of radical opposition party members, agents of regime change who launched a

failed attempt coup attempt and an EU sponsored ICC intervention effect regime change. South Africa gave notice to the Assembly of State Parties that took place in New York from the 7-14 October 2018 that it was going to withdraw from the Rome Statute because of the decisions of the ICC faulting it's for its failure to arrest an African Head of State President Omar Bashir who was in Africa attending an AU conference as a guest of the AU. South Africa said that decision conflicted with AU resolutions, its state policies established by Nelson Mandela for South Africa to play a significant role in the peaceful resolution of African conflicts. The Philippines recently gave notice that it was withdrawing from the Statute due to ICC intervention targeting its President.

Although there has been no mass movement to withdraw from the Statute as decided by the AU, the campaign to withdraw has slowed or even hampered the ratification of the Rome Statute by new state parties. It be reasonably stated that the ICC has a legitimacy crisis which must be fixed.

## UNDERSTANDING THE MANDATE OF THE ICC

The Rome Statute did not envisage the ICC as the only judicial organ to fight impunity or international criminality. Indeed, the framers were careful to state in article 1 of the Statute that "An international Criminal Court ("the court) shall be a permanent institution and shall have the power to exercise its jurisdiction over persons for the most serious crimes of international concern, as referred to in this Statute, and shall be complementary to national

criminal jurisdictions". An elaborate threshold by which the ICC may bypass the prerogative of complementarity and sovereignty of states over crimes perpetrated within their national territories is laid out in article 17 of the Statute. Unfortunately, the court has failed to critically consider the complementary and sovereign rights of the states and the discrete objectives for state referrals in authorizing interventions. The Court must give due weight to the competing public international law interests which are clearly stated in the Statute and international criminal law interests which are clearly stated in the Statute to enable it to make decisions which are well founded on judicial harmony as opposed to judicial tension, chaos and anarchy.

## THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STATUTE

The enforcement of the Rome Statute must not be an exclusive mandate of the ICC. It must be the duty of everyone. In the Rome Statute in its preamble shares the founding the principles of the United Nations in its very first article . The Rome Statute therefore was not a new regime of international law contradicting the UN Charter, general principles of international law or customary international law. It was a timely response to the collective call of the civilized world for the establishing of a standing International Criminal Court to combat impunity and to deter international criminality. Unfortunately, although established outside the turbulent political system of the UN, the Rome Statute

and its offspring the ICC are operating in the shadows of the UN and the complex political powers driving its agenda.

## REVIVING THE GOALS OF THE ROME STATUTE

The sovereignty of state parties was a contentious crucial issue that was passionately debated and negotiated during the Rome Conference. The Rome Statute had an ambitious universal objective. Its membership drive deficit and stagnancy; its acute budget problems, paucity of management and infrastructural resources may jeopardize the Statute universal goals, hamper the effective and efficient justice and services delivery capacity of the Court and serious compromise the image of the Court. The ASP must promptly provide the Court with adequate resources with which to carry out its mandate. The new Presidency of the Court deserves being provided the resources to reform the system of stagnancy and mismanagement which has brought disrepute to the Court, demotivated court staff, defense and victim's counsel and their ancillary staff.

The Rome Statute hoped to encourage state and non-state parties to enact the provisions of the Rome Statute into their national laws. The domestication of the crimes contained in the Rome Statute is a treaty obligation of all State Parties to the Rome Statute. It is shameful that many State Parties twenty years on, have not domesticated the crimes contained in the Rome Statute. The enactment of ICC crimes into the criminal code of State Parties is the bedrock of complementary



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obligations under articles 1 and 17 of the Statute. Indeed, Libya which is not a state party and has not criminalized the crimes in the Rome Statute was found to possess the capacity of try a ICC indicted Abdullah Al -Senussi whereas in the case of Kenya and Burundi the domestication of the ICC crimes in their national criminal laws was not even considered a threshold factor in a determination to allow intervention. The disregard of this critical threshold factor may discourage state parties from domesticating the Rome Statute crimes. Unlike the UN Human Rights Multilateral Treaty regime which requires State Parties to ensure compliance of their national laws with the provisions of the conventions, there is no provision in the Rome Statute mandating the internalization of the Rome Statute crimes in the criminal laws of State Parties. There is no mechanism to ensure compliance. A robust outreach program is urgently required to attain this objective. The Assembly of State Parties should evaluate the state of domestication of the Rome Statute crimes in the criminal laws of member states. It should provide the ICC with the resources with a mandate to establish an independent outreach program with the mandate of bringing the Rome Statute into the criminal codes of most of the countries of the world, irrespective of whether they are state parties or not.

## IMPROVING INSTITUTIONAL DIALOGUE

The relationship between the Assembly of State Parties and the former ICC Presidency was tenuous and difficult with each seemingly not fully understanding the mandate of the other. This should not be the case since the Statute clearly defines their respective mandates. The former President of the ICC Silvia Fernandez de Gurmendi discussed the conflicting relationship between the two institutions in an interview she granted Justice in Conflict on 27 April 2018 shortly after she ended her mandate at the court. .

Among other things she stated that as president, one of her responsibilities was dealing with the politics of the ICC and the role of the States in particular. She asserted that the ASP had expanded its role beyond that which was envisaged by the Rome Statute. And that State Parties had the tendency of micromanaging the Court arguing that the Court needs space to function and that "states need to think about whether they believe in the goals of the Rome Statute as they were envisaged twenty years ago, around accountability and sustainable peace". She lamented that if the States want that the aspirations of the Rome Statute to be realized they must "face down the lack of cooperation and other current disputes, such

as around immunities".

This was the first time a significant official of the Court critically discussed this institutional conflict and with such profundity publicly. Both the Court and the Assembly of State Parties are creations of the Statute. Each has a specific defined

mandate under the Statute. The mandate of the court as defined in article 1 of the statute is ancillary or complementary to that of state parties in the "exercise of jurisdiction over persons for the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Statute".

The mandate of the Assembly of State Parties is defined in article 112 of the Statute. The Statute gives the ASP oversight mandate over the activities of the court . The Rome Statute intended that persons elected by the ASP to manage the affairs of the ICC must be persons of utmost moral standards, integrity and professional competence. The former ICC President accused the ASP of hampering accountability envisaged by the Rome Statute through institutional politics. This is a very serious charge indeed. Article 112(4) of the Rome Statute gives the ASP oversight authority over the Court. This charge will make sense if it is interpreted to explain the failure of the ASP to hold the principal Court managers to account for their stewardship in the administration of international justice at the Court. That is what must be done to give a fig leaf of credibility, institutional balance, probity and legitimacy of the Court. This failure has by tacit default legitimized some of the most egregious acts of reckless impunity that have tarnished the reputation of the Court. Lacking an institutional

independent oversight mechanism and an independent defense voice within the ICC, there was no challenge to institutional abuses and arrogance of power, corruption and the institutionalization of reckless wasteful policies. The Re-Vision project demotivated the staff and caused the loss of experienced staff. These activities occurred on the watch of the erstwhile Presidency of court that had the mandate to ensure compliance with clearly defined budgetary directives and policy objectives established by the ASP. The ASP and its ancillary budget structures failed to to exercise efficient oversight responsibility over these hurtful activities.

## RECOGNIZING DEFENCE AND VICTIM'S COUNSELS AT LAST

A major flaw of the Rome Statute was that it established with a court with a Prosecutor and Judges without a defense. Establishing an international court to fight impunity and international criminality without envisaging a role for the defense violated international human rights and laid a foundation for judicial lawlessness and impunity. In 2016, the ASP proceeded to rectify this grave injustice to accused persons, victims and international justice by recognizing the Association of Defense Counsel before the ICC ICCBA.

Mindful of its resolve to ensure that the ICC is not abused to serve the interests of individuals at the expense of credible international justice and the fair trial rights of accused persons and the interests of victims, the ICCBA presented to the Assembly of State Parties Conference that took place in New York last year from the 7-14 October 2017, its position that was

adopted at its Executive Committee Meeting on 29 November 2017 in which its called on the ASP to establish an independent outside mechanism to investigate persistent allegations of corruption, abuse of power and influence peddling made against the former ICC Prosecutor Louis Mereno Ocampo by significant new media and former ICC Staff. The ICCBA emphasized the fact that Mr. Ocampo benefitted from a presumption of innocence and that the ICCBA call for an independent investigation should not be construed as a presumption of guilt. The ICCBA called on the ASP to urgently resolve the longstanding legal aid deficient policy impairing the work of the defense and victims' counsels and ancillary staff appearing in trial proceedings before the court.

## CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the twentieth anniversary of the Rome Statute will bring about institutional dialogue and fundamental fairness between the key institutions that were established to realize the universal objectives of the Rome Statute. Although it may be conceded that the Rome Statute at twenty has made a significant contribution towards international justice, the realization of its universality founding objectives has not been attained. Achieving this laudable objective must be at the Centre of our collective resolve.

- Chief Charles A. Taku is a Defence Counsel at the ICC.





# Nigeria in the Cross-Roads: A Decisive Political Moment in 2019

By Deng Machol



*fresh leadership is needed for Nigeria to better meet the present challenges says Mbonu*

cadre of leaders that may try to re-circle themselves, until a bloody revolution arrives Nigeria.

We gather that among the above trio, Mr. Mbonu is now affiliated with the Labour Party (LP), one of the largest parties in Nigeria, with presence and structure across Nigeria. The Nigerian Labour Party seems to have zeroed in on something one would expect to have been obvious to the other two parties, the All Progressive's Congress (APC), and the People's Democratic Party (PDP), both of whom are in self-denial and self-destruct

mode.

In the established parties, it appears that the PDP is beholden to the old politics of entrenching a corrupt party system, which may include selling tickets to the highest bidder, even if that bidder was just paraded for corruption in the public space. The PDP should have been wise enough to embrace youthful candidates and visionaries that could inject new ideas into the party, but they have not so far...

The APC on the other hand is stuck with the albatross of a severely weakened

incumbent, Muhammadu Buhari; a president whose failures, especially in the containment of the internal security of Nigeria, clannish ways, and the somersault of the previously fast-growing economy, has brought Nigeria to her knees, and left a sour taste among Nigerians.

There is no recent memory of any Nigerian leader that has been beholden to clannishness like Mr. Buhari. Reports from Nigeria indicate that Mr. Buhari usurped the entire security apparatus of Nigeria and put it in the hands of a few kinsmen. The limits of this brazen act, is that the

entire security team will only think one-way; to protect themselves and themselves only! As a consequence, the entire security apparatus is now vulnerable in ways that Mr. Buhari cannot imagine until things begin to unravel.

Of these new candidates, Mr. Mbonu is the only one that has spelled out an innovative agenda that includes plans for: Security; Electric Energy and its impact on the economy; Youth and Women's Empowerment & Education; Agriculture and its impact on the economy; and finally Healthcare. These ambitious policy ideas

The giant of Africa is cautiously tip-toeing her way around political minefields that may define what direction this perpetually promising giant may end up; a stronger democracy, or a country in disarray that may go the way of the old Soviet empire.

However, a curious phenomenon is quietly sweeping across Nigeria, with a host of new and fresh candidates, some of who come with formidable global credentials that are causing Nigerians to take notice. These new candidates include

Okey Sam Mbonu, SKC Ogbonna, Omoyele Sowore, and Kingsley Moghalu, plus a host of other locals with less international credentials.

Washington trained and now Abuja-based newcomer Mr. Mbonu catches our eyes because of his US and global credentials, including having served in prior policy-making roles as a former Commissioner in the US, and having governance experience in a more rigorous environment, something that is of substantial value to Nigerians who have become exasperated by a looting



*Presidential Candidate Mbonu Visits Internally Displaced Persons Camps in Northeast Nigeria*



*Sam Mbonu fielding questions from the press at the launch of his Presidential Campaign*

may be because Mbonu is the only one among the new candidates that have served in a politically appointed role in an agency charged in part with overseeing "Community Development".

We have not seen substantive proposals from the other candidates; this may perhaps be for a good reason; as most of them have never served in policy-making roles in a system that actually works.

These are sober moments for Nigeria, but sticking with the old is not an option, if Nigerians do not elect a new leader with new visions to

solve existing problems, millions of Nigerians may be decimated physically, mentally, and economically, before it's all over; whether there would be a country left after the man-made disaster, would be left for future historians.

Nigeria needs a new leader who simply thinks differently from the usual horde of Nigerian politicians. Nobody among the old-school politicians comes to mind. Could this be the beginning of redemption in Nigeria, and a fresh start for this sleeping giant? We will soon find out.

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# Namibia stands by the people of Western Sahara

By Andreas Thomas

Windhoek- Namibia is a child of international solidarity, having received overwhelming support from the international community during its bitter struggle for independence against the former Apartheid regime.

In 1978, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed Resolution 435 calling for withdrawal of the South African forces from the then South West Africa, and for the transfer of power to the Namibian people.

The resolution also led to the deployment of UN peacekeeping mission in April 1989 to monitor the peace process and supervise the country's first democratic elections that led to the declaration of independence on 21 March 1990.

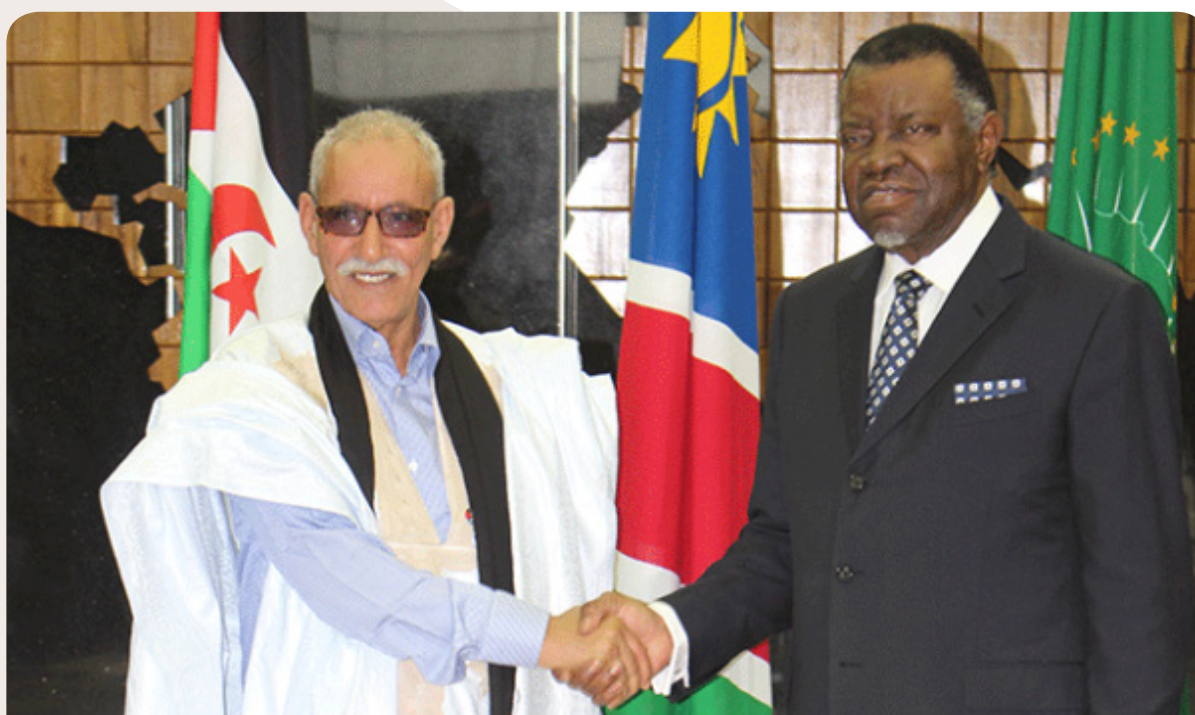
Therefore, it is because of this noble gesture from the international community through the UN systems that Namibia has been vocal in calling for complete independence of the Western Sahara.

The Namibian Government continues to call upon the international community, particularly the United Nations and the African Union (AU) to ensure that the Saharawi people exercise their full right to self-determination without any further delays.

The former Spanish colony, officially known as the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) has been in dispute with its neighbour Morocco, which annexed a large portion of the country in 1975.

A bitter 16-year war erupted between Morocco and the Saharawi people led by the armed group Polisario Front that ended in a truce brokered by the UN in 1991.

Ever since, the SADR leadership has been waging an unarmed struggle,



President of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic Brahim Ghali (L) and President Hage Geingob. Photo: Nampa

calling on the international community to compel Morocco to end the illegal occupation.

It was part of this ongoing struggle that Namibian President Hage Geingob hosted his SADR counterpart Mr. Brahim Ghali.

President Ghali state visit to Namibia from 27-29 May 2018 presented an ample opportunity to enhance bilateral relations and strengthen the solidarity with the people SADR.

During official talks, President Geingob stressed that Namibia's position on the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara has been clear and consistent.

Speaking during a State Banquet at State House on 28 May, President Geingob said the visit by SADR leader presented a unique opportunity to consolidate "our fraternal friendship and forge stronger ties in our relentless fight to achieve self-determination and independence for the colonized people of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic".

He added that: "Namibia

calls upon the international community, especially the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, to support the quest for freedom and independence of Western Sahara. African countries must be faithful and fight for total liberation of the continent".

He said "Namibia reaffirms its unwavering support for, and solidarity with the people of Western Sahara. We will stay the cause behind the principle of the self-determination and independence for the people of Western Sahara.

"For as long as the sons and daughters of Western Sahara are denied the freedom to exercise their right to self-determination, we will continue to reaffirm our enduring solidarity with your heroic struggle".

During his public address at the Namibia Institute of Public Administration and Management in Windhoek, Mr Ghali called on the international community to put pressure on Morocco end its illegal occupation.

During a lecture attended by senior government officials and foreign diplomats, the SADR leader also faulted

France and Spain for blocking the self-determination effort of his country.

"The problem is that some big powers in the UN Security Council are blocking the independence of Western Sahara because of foreign interests - just the same way that South Africa blocked Namibian independence," Mr Ghali said.

He accused Morocco of stifling international effort to find a lasting solution to the impasse.

In April 2018, the UN Security Council adopted resolutions 2414 to extend the mission to Western Sahara for six months until October, this year.

The UNSC has also appointed former Germany president Horst Köhler, as the UN Special Envoy on Western Sahara.

Geingob said Namibia has faith in Köhler, the former president of Germany to broker permanent solution in Western Sahara, while calling on Morocco to cooperate fully with the UN Special Envoy. "The stalemate has been too much and people have been waiting for too long," said the Namibia head of state.

The Western Sahara case has been part of the international agenda through the UN's Special Political and Decolonisation Committee since 1963. Ghali is a former senior military leader of Polisario Front who assumed the SADR presidency in July 2016, following the death of longtime leader Mohamed Abdelaziz Ezzedine.

"From 1963 up to now the UN issued various resolutions in support of our right to self-determination and to end the case of colonization," he said, adding that Morocco blocked the 1992 referendum on self-determination by Sahrawi people.

He also expressed his disappointment at the readmission of Morocco back into the African Union. Majority of AU member states voted for Morocco to return into the folds of the continental body, after 33 years of self-exile. In 1984, the North African kingdom left the Organisation of African Unity, the precursor of AU, after the body recognized the SADR.

Namibia is one of the nine countries that opposed the readmission of Morocco, citing Rabat continuous occupation of Western Sahara. Other countries that opposed the proposal are South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana and Algeria.

"I should emphasize, the Kingdom of Morocco, as a member of the AU is expected to fully comply with the principles, values and obligations enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the AU, and 3 relevant United Nations resolutions. These include the inalienable right to self-determination and independence. This right is indivisible, it cannot be enjoyed by some and denied to others," President Geingob said.

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# Time for a New Nigerian Leadership?

By Mark Abiye, Lagos - Nigeria.



*Atiku, Tinubu, Buhari, the younger generation is bracing up for serious fight to dislodge the old order in Nigerian politics.*

The old-guard in Nigeria is laden with enough corruption baggage on both sides of the PDP and APC divide to sink the Titanic. It is anticipated that the accusations and counter-accusations will hold the two parties and their various candidates at bay, while parties like the Labour Party and other new parties may seize the momentum.

According to most polling in Nigeria today, all indications are that internal security is the number issue in people's minds, closely followed by the economy.

The issues that face Nigeria today would require a totally new approach, because the old-thinking would simply not be sufficient. The definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over and expecting different results.

Some of the new candidates

come relatively untainted; however, we are seeing leading new-comers like Okey Sam Mbonu come in from a completely different pedigree, public service in the United States. This marks Mbonu apart from the other new candidates, who have never served in a politically appointed role, outside the corrupt-ridden Nigerian system.

Despite all the hot-air talk of anticorruption, some of Buhari's own close associates were also neck-deep in corruption as well, prompting Mr. Buhari to reluctantly fire his former Chief of Staff for inflating a landscape contract to the tune of hundreds of millions of Naira.

There are a few persons from the old brigade in the race as well, including former Vice President Atiku Abubakar who has been severally

described as corrupt by his former boss, former President Olusegun Obasanjo, who still commands considerable influence in Nigeria and across Africa.

The common consensus among many here is that Muhammadu Buhari has run the country aground. That President Buhari's handlers are not showing high concern as the economy tightens across the north and south of Nigeria; and as the nation prepares for general elections in 2019, is a misnomer to good governance.

Therefore, Nigeria's coming election could be a decisive moment, on whether democracy grows in tandem with the economy in Sub-Saharan Africa, or whether the politics of settlement and cronyism will thrive and kill economic growth.

All across northern and

southern Nigeria, there is a clear consensus that internal security have deteriorated under Buhari. A rampaging group of gunmen coming from across northern Nigeria have consistently attacked communities across Nigeria, especially in northcentral Nigeria, including in states like Benue, Taraba, Kogi, Adamawa, Kaduna, and Plateau.

The affected states believe that the killings are orchestrated by Cattle-herding militias from Mr. Buhari's minority ethnic stock the Fulani. In fact, the organization that leads the Fulani Cattle-herders "Miyetti Allah" of which Mr. Buhari is a life-patron, and a leading spokesman of, before he ran for president, have gone as far as releasing audacious statements, asserting their rights to openly graze cattle in privately owned farms

across Nigeria.

The formal economy of Nigeria is teetering on the brinks, because public or capital spending has ground to a stop. However, the good news is that the southern economy, which is bolstered on active private sector commercial activities, is still robust and has taken a life of its own.

The south of Nigeria and some northern states including Kano, are anchored on commerce, the exchange of goods and services, and a hustling free-spirit where everyone is a free agent; peddling everything from water sachets to energy brokerage, to airplane parts, to information technology. Southern Nigeria is a beehive of economic activities, and a hustler's haven.

On the economic front, sufficient electric energy remains a challenge across all Nigeria. It is clearly impossible to power a 21st Century economy on private generators. Economic activity in Nigeria is almost fully stifled because energy is disrupted every day for several hours, thereby downing computers, telephone communications, data communications, air-conditioners, even gas stations, and everything in between. The fact is that to an experienced international traveler, it is easy to see that the economy is just operating marginally, perhaps at about 10%-15% of its true value.

The Buhari government seems to be oblivious to this bleak outlook for Nigeria under his regime, given that in spite of these problems Mr. Buhari is seeking a second term in office. This writer believes that Nigeria would probably crumble beyond repair if Buhari gets a second term.

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# African and African-American Unite (AAAU) -New Section of Igbo Amaka Cultural Institute!

By Ngozi Noblin

With my experience teaching Igbo language, so many African-Americans have showed an interest in learning the language and culture of the Igbo people. African-Americans are making great effort in tracing back to their African heritage and the Africans are more than excited to welcome them home. The purpose of creating this other part of Igbo Amaka Cultural Institute is to unite the Africans (both home and abroad) and African-Americans.

Bridging the gap between Africans and African-Americans will create more platforms of clarifying the myths about Africans and African-Americans; this would reduce or rather eliminate the hatred between Africans and African-Americans, thereby bringing us together, which will lead us towards the path of rebuilding, restructuring and creating one NATION.

The movie "Black Panther" has once again reminded us on the importance of uniting Africans and African-Americans. The fight between the two brothers in Black Panther symbolizes the silent war between Africans and African-Americans. We have been misled, misinformed over the years and it's about time we make these corrections by coming together and relating. Wakanda reminded us how creative and innovative Africans can be and only if we could work together as brothers we could share ideas and lead the world. The Black Panther movie reawaken the Africaness in every black person, it reminded us to take pride in our culture and in our potentials.

After watching Black Panther, I personally took more pride in the work I'm doing in promoting my native language (Igbo) and my culture; experiencing most African-Americans who took my Igbo class are interested


to learning the connection of Igbo traditions to that of African traditions as a whole motivated me to create this section of my organization. There is so much we can learn by uniting with our African-Americans brothers and there's so much they too can learn from us Africans.

With Igbo Amaka Cultural Institute partnering with UNESCO, we will work towards promoting the "International Decade for People of African Descent," UNESCO started in 2015, which is the celebration of black heritage. Through the celebration of black heritage, we will strengthen the economic, cultural, political and social aspect of the African descents and create opportunities for the African descents within and outside the Africa community.

\*Founder and President of Igbo Amaka. For more information visit <https://igboamakacultural.org>



Ngozi Noblin



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# US-Africa Cybersecurity Group (USAFCG) : Company Brief

Effective catalyst for the harmonization of cybersecurity policies and the implementation of practical solutions in Africa



## US-AFRICA Cybersecurity Group

### Executive Summary

**U**S - A f r i c a Cybersecurity Group (USAFCG) is an organization designed to foster the development and implementation of cybersecurity strategies and initiatives in the public and private sectors taking into account scientific, technological, economic and financial, political, and sociocultural dimensions of the “whole of society”.

USAFCG is seeking to become an effective catalyst for the harmonization of cybersecurity policies and the implementation

of practical solutions in Africa to public and private sector organizations seeking sustained coordination and cooperation, engagement and assessment, training, education and exercise, technical assistance and support.

With a young population that is rapidly adopting new technologies, Africa is on the verge of an internet boom. To keep pace, Africa needs to urgently address efforts to combat cybercrime and improve its cyber security posture. The current cyber threat landscape in Africa

shows that users are being impacted both by threats that are trending globally as well as some that more specific to the region. It will take a concerted effort from international governments, industry, and civil society to fight cybercrime and improve cyber security so that Africa can reach its full potential and stay on track to be a major driver of the global economy.

The Senior Management Team and Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) have together cognitive experience and firsthand knowledge of

information technology and cybersecurity challenges, particularly in Africa. We bring our distinct understanding of key characteristics of political, economic, and social impact, the technology industry and the challenges in Africa, our ability to relate to regions and our knowledge of local languages and cultural attributes.

Cybersecurity Ventures predicts global cybersecurity spending will exceed \$1 trillion from 2017 to 2021.

Leveraging on an effective

strategic partnering strategy to increase competency and provide comprehensive technical assistance, training and capacity building to clients across industries, we are able to deliver on an implementation framework including coordination and cooperation, engagement and assessment, training, education and exercise, technical assistance and support, generating long-term growth and shared value for our investors.

### Summary of Offering

#### Company

**U**S - A f r i c a Cybersecurity Group, a cybersecurity management consulting company (“USAFCG”) incorporated in Washington, DC, United States.

USAFCG is a collaborative organization designed to foster the development and implementation of cybersecurity strategies and initiatives in the public and private sectors taking into account scientific, technological, economic and financial, political, and sociocultural dimensions

of the “whole of society” in Africa.

Spanning across three continents, Africa, America and Europe USAFCG’s partners stand ready to bring the required expertise and resources to help your organization’s specific cybersecurity challenges.

#### Opportunity

In 2004, the global cybersecurity market was valued at \$3.5 billion (£2.43bn). In 2011 it was \$64 billion; in 2015 it was \$78 billion; and it was projected to be worth \$120 billion by 2017.

Cybersecurity Ventures predicts global spending on cybersecurity products and services will exceed \$1 trillion cumulatively over the next five years, from 2017 to 2021.

The cybersecurity market grew by roughly 35 times over 13 years.

#### Market Potential

Africa is facing several Internet-related challenges in relation to security risk, intellectual property infringement and protection of personal data. Cybercriminals target people inside and outside their national boundaries and

most African governments have neither the technical, nor the financial capacity to target and monitor electronic exchanges deemed sensitive for national security.

One of the main challenges includes the inability to develop the necessary cybersecurity legal frameworks to fight cybercrime. A survey of 21 countries conducted by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) found that while many countries had proposed legislations, the level of deployment of security systems in both the private and the public sectors

to combat cybercrime was low.

Security is supposed to be a public good administered by government, not a private good purchased in the marketplace. For all the attention given to protecting our infrastructures such as GPS and banks, there is a huge gap that the market will not solve by itself: citizens and small businesses. Government has a responsibility to protect its people, not just its big businesses and infrastructure.

Government can and should work with the private



sector to make sure that the brightest minds are working to develop cyber defenses, but there is an as yet unmet obligation by government to define its responsibilities.

## Corporate Vision

USAFCG will work as an effective catalyst for the harmonization of cybersecurity policies and the implementation of practical solutions in Africa.

## Corporate Mission

USAFCG will work with public and private sector initiatives, providing technical and program management assistance in the development and implementation of cybersecurity policies and technological services.

## Value Proposition

USAFCG delivers an “Africa Cybersecurity Program Approach”, a comprehensive concept of operations with specific tailored projects and deliverables, country-focused or region-focused. A tailored approach, which engages the “whole of society” in a process-based approach including government, legal frameworks, defense, civil society, media, the youth and the public at large, delivering knowledge, technological resources for a sustained training, capacity building and readiness to tackle cybersecurity challenges.

## Business Model and

## Operational Framework

## A Managed Process -

Leveraging best practice and approaches to Program Design and Communication with the “whole of society”

## Strategic Alignment

– Building support across sectors and stakeholders.

## Industry Foresight –

Understanding emerging technology trends and conferences, summits, cybersecurity threats and challenges in Africa.

## Consumer/Customer

**Insight** – Understanding Articulated and Unarticulated Needs from stakeholders.

## Core Technologies

## and Competencies –

Leveraging and extending technology solutions successfully implemented on current initiatives.

## Organizational

**Readiness** – Agile Delivery; The ability to take action.

## Disciplined

## Implementation –

Managing the planning and delivery of training, technical assistance and technological services.

## Services

USAFCG will provide cybersecurity consulting services and delivers training programs for capacity building. We have partnered with cyber technologists specialized in the development and deployment of advanced cybersecurity solutions to strengthen our services. Our teams work with private and

public sector organizations across Africa, and we understand the business, technology and legal policy aspects as requirements vary at the region, country, and local level.

## Strategy Focus to Invest in new Revenue Streams

Partner with leading Government/Enterprise e-services and online security providers to promote cybersecurity solutions and products.

## Cybersecurity Business Sectors

- Consulting and Advisory Services
- Government/Enterprise Assessment
- Cyber Hygiene Training and Capacity Building
- Program Development
- Digital Transformation
- Digital Identity
- Government/Enterprise e-services and online security

## Capitalization

Initial capitalization of USD \$1MM for Year 1, and \$1MM for Year 2.

## Investment Strategy

USAFCG will seek through its investment into its operations to accomplish the following:

## Maintain focus on Stakeholders.

USAFCG will focus on this target market, which has significant demand and offers significant room for growth.

## Establish excellence.

USAFCG through international best practices and World Class advisory solutions organized around a high caliber of technical partners will roll out efficient delivery channels for its services and products.

## Attract US, African and international investors.

USAFCG will attract US, African and international stakeholders at the Advisory Board level.

## Attract and retain World Class management team.

USAFCG will attract and retain a World Class management team with the integrity, competence and experience to make the initiative succeed.

## Implement international best practices and standards of corporate governance controls.

USAFCG will adopt principles and methodology of corporate governance to guide its corporate governance framework.

## Seek sustained and optimal returns on investment.

USAFCG will seek sustained returns from its investments.

## Roll Out Strategy

Year 1 in 3 to 5 countries and regional economic blocks. Over the next 5 years (2018-2022), USAFCG is projecting to establish operations and deliver cybersecurity capacity building programs throughout 5 economic and monetary regions, to reach a

total of 8 markets including UEMOA, CEMAC, EADC, SADC.

## Management Team

The Senior Management Team has together cognitive experience and firsthand knowledge of the market for cybersecurity program implementation in Africa.

In addition, members of the senior management team bring with them their distinct understanding of key characteristics of the local markets, their ability to relate to their regions of origin and their knowledge of local languages.

## Advisory Board

Members of the USAFCG Advisory Board bring to the table a thorough understanding of the US and African government bureaucracy, legislation, and the red tape involved in getting things done. They also have working knowledge of both business objectives and cybersecurity technology, developing viable and pertinent cybersecurity deployments. They are independent from any influence from IT management in making cybersecurity recommendations. They represent various areas of the “whole of society” including, political, economic, financial, education, social, cultural and military sectors.

## Value Creation and Strategy

We provide cybersecurity consulting services and deliver training programs for capacity building. We have partnered with cyber technologists specialized in the development and deployment of advanced cybersecurity solutions to strengthen our services. Our teams work with private and public sector organizations across Africa, and we understand the business, technology and legal policy aspects as requirements vary at the region, country, and local level.

	PROJECT 1	PROJECT 2	PROJECT 3	PROJECT 4	PROJECT 5
	Coordination and Cooperation	Engagement and assessment	Exercise Education Training	M&E Technical Assistance	Implementation Technology Solutions
Engage	Focused coordination and Cooperation	Increase Stakeholders Participation	Exercise Training Education Development	Exercise Training Education Development	Enterprise Solutions eGov Digital Identity
Activity	Planning and Engagement Structure with Stakeholders	Cyber Hygiene Course and Workshop	National, Local, Regional Exercises	Evaluation and Review for Capacity Building	Digital Transformation and Operational Support
Output	Roadmap for Policies Implementation	Data and Risk Analysis	Cybersecurity Resiliency Toolkit	Roadmap for Improving Capacity	Roadmap for Digital Transformation
Benefits	Awareness and ICT Workforce Preparation and Readiness Strategies	Strategy for Cybersecurity Resilience	National Cybersecurity Strategic Work Plan	M&E Report, Development of Infrastructure Report	Customized Solutions for secure ICT and sovereign cyber operations
	Sustained Engagement at Enterprise, Country and Regional Levels				



## Capacity and Experience

USAFCG is a wholly owned subsidiary of Global Specialty and Wellfens Consulting.

Global Specialty, LLC – Since its founding in 2005, Global Specialty has operated in 36 countries in Africa, advising more than 12 private sector companies and representing more than 6 African governments to enable the unlocking of growth opportunities in Africa.

Wellfens Consulting, LLC – Since its founding in 2009, Wellfens Consulting has implemented sustainable development programs and fostered global partnerships in more than 19 countries.

Spanning across three

continents, Africa, America and Europe our partners stand ready to bring the required expertise and resources to help your organization's specific cybersecurity challenges.

USAFCG applies an effective strategic partnering strategy to increase competency and provide comprehensive technical assistance, training and capacity building to clients across industries. We are able to deliver on an implementation framework including coordination and cooperation, engagement and assessment, training, education and exercise, technical assistance and support.



## Market Analysis

### Cybersecurity Market Industry Trends

According to PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), globally, 58% of companies have an overall security strategy; 49% conduct periodic threat assessments, 48% monitor and analyze security intelligence actively. However, according to KPMG, 50% of CEOs globally with more than \$500 million in revenue are usually not prepared as they should for a cyberattack. However worrisome the threat of an attack externally is, companies now also have to worry about internal attacks from employees. According to a survey by SANS 2015, 74% of Chief Information Security Officers, CISOs are more worried about internal than external cyberattacks. According to a survey conducted by PwC, 34% of cyberattacks in 2015 were from current employees and 28% from former employees.

The damage caused by cybercrime is estimated to hit \$6 trillion by the year 2021. This has led to a forecast that there will be an estimated increase in spending by companies for cybersecurity between the

periods of 2017 and 2021 to \$1 trillion. According to Gartner, as at 2016, more than \$ 80 billion was spent on products and services related to cybersecurity. This is however expected to exceed \$1 trillion globally within a five-year period.

The cybersecurity industry is one that is fast paced as there is zero percent unemployment rate in this industry. The industry in fact has unfilled positions that are expected to reach 1.5 million by the year 2019. This shows that there is severe shortage of talent especially as more cybercrimes are being committed almost every other day as breaches continue to rise, with security incidents in 2015 at a 38% increase than as at 2014.

It has been estimated that by 2020, more than 4 billion people will be susceptible to attacks over the internet. The United States Government between the periods of 2006 and 2016 has spent over \$100 billion. The United States, European and Asian countries have been funding international security programs including cybersecurity technical assistance projects to African regional institutions and

countries.

According to InfoSecurity Magazine, the Middle East and Africa Cyber Security Market: This is expected to grow to \$13.43 billion by 2019, with an expected CAGR of 13.7% for the period 2013-2019. This market contributes 7.19% of the global market and will slightly grow to 8.62% by 2019.

A careful look at the numbers indicates the EMEA market (Europe, Middle-East, and Africa) is expected to contribute approximately 35% of overall cybersecurity spending by 2019.

### USAFCG Target Market

Africa is facing several Internet-related challenges in relation to security risk, intellectual property infringement and protection of personal data. Cybercriminals target people inside and outside their national boundaries and most African governments have neither the technical, nor the financial capacity to target and monitor electronic exchanges deemed sensitive for national security.

One of the main challenges includes the inability to

develop the necessary cybersecurity legal frameworks to fight cybercrime. A survey of 21 countries conducted by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) found that while many countries had proposed legislations, the level of deployment of security systems in both the private and the public sectors to combat cybercrime was low.

USAFCG engages the "whole of society" in a process-based approach including government, legal frameworks, defense, civil society, media, the youth and the public at large, delivering knowledge, technological resources for a sustained training, capacity building and readiness to tackle cybersecurity challenges.

USAFCG target organizations include:

- Government Agencies
- Defense
- Financial Institutions
- Energy Companies
- Private Enterprises
- Small and Medium Size Businesses

African countries which spent approximately \$2 billion countering cyberattacks in

2016 is expected to expand to about \$3.6 billion by 2020, according to a report released by Serianu, an information technology services and business consulting firm. According to the report, Nigeria had the highest expenditure totaling about \$550 million, followed by Kenya with \$175 million, Tanzania with \$85 million, Ghana \$50 million and Uganda \$35 million. Kenya opened a new Cyber Coordination Centre in October 2016, to coordinate the country's response both internally and internationally. African governments also should focus on involving more sectors during development of these cyber policies and laws such as institutions of learning, business communities and cyber-security specialists, among others.

The report also ranked banking as the leading risk sector, citing complex regulatory requirements and greater exposure to internal and external cyber-security due to interconnection and complex modern banking systems.



## USAFCG Services

### Cybersecurity Consulting Services

We understand the context in which our clients and their respective communities operate. We provide our clients with the technical support needed to focus on their core business.

We help clients operate with confidence and secure their data and business operations by assessing and analyzing potential threats, developing capacity and applying the necessary tools to ensure business continuity.

### Cybersecurity Program for the Prevention and Fight against Cybercrime (Regional Organizations and Countries)

We establish or enhance an effective, viable and effective system of prevention and fight against cybercrime, taking into account in an inclusive and relevant manner all the actors and sectors most exposed to the cyber threat. 3 to 5 year-phase under the direct coordination of the WAEMU Commission with the aim of setting up the legal framework, instruments, tools and procedures at regional level and within the Member States. A second phase of sustainability consisting in the consolidation of achievements in the Member States and the strengthening of the regional collaboration platform.

### Cybersecurity Strategy Assessment and Implementation for Critical Infrastructures (Country Level)

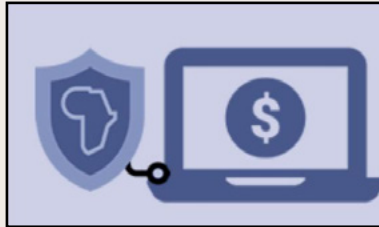
We review and Enhancement of National Cyber Security Strategy; Development of cyber security strategy for Critical Information Infrastructures; Preparation of Cyber risk assessment framework; Implementation guidelines for cyber risk assessment framework and compliance management; Cyber risk assessment of selected Critical Information Infrastructures; Establishment of information system for cyber risk assessments and compliance



Cybersecurity Program for the Prevention and Fight against cybercrime



cybersecurity Strategy Assessment and Implementation for Critical Infrastructures



Cybersecurity Strategy Assessment and Implementation for the Financial Sector



Cybersecurity Strategy Assessment and Implementation for the Energy Sector

management (CRACM); Deliver training sessions on Critical Information Infrastructures cyber risk assessment framework; CRACM deployment and support. The entire consultancy work including submission of CRACM system, reports, documents, and more to be completed within 12 (twelve) months.

### Cybersecurity Strategy Assessment and Implementation for the Financial Sector

We design and implement cybersecurity strategy and operating framework, informed by approach to risk management and culture. Provide steps in a dynamic process through which the entity can systematically reevaluate its cybersecurity strategy and framework as the operational and threat environment evolves.

### Cybersecurity Strategy Assessment and Implementation for the Energy Sector

For successful development and implementation of a secure Grid infrastructure, two key actions must occur – designing cybersecurity functionality into emerging interoperability standards that support the Smart Grid and adding cybersecurity into existing interoperability standards.

### Cybersecurity Training and Capacity Building Programs

-

### Cybersecurity Awareness Training for End-Users

Scope: This seminar is designed to increase cybersecurity awareness of general Users by providing a comprehensive set of skills for understanding and improving the knowledge and skills necessary to protect the computer tools they use.

**Seminar Duration: 3 days**

**Class Size: 30 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Multiple Subject Matter Experts**

**Target audience: All Users of the enterprise IT tool («end-users»)**

### Cybersecurity Awareness Training for IT Professionals

Scope: This seminar is designed to increase cybersecurity guidance of IT.

Professionals and Technologists by discussing the following theme: Cybersecurity and

**Data Protection: where do we start?**

**Seminar Duration: 1 day**

**Class Size: 30 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Multiple Subject Matter Experts**

**Target audience: All IT Professionals and Technologists of an**

### enterprise

### Certified Ethical Hacker (CEH) Training

Scope: The Certified Ethical Hacking training course will significantly benefit security officers, auditors, security professionals, site administrators, and anyone who is concerned about the integrity of the network infrastructure. This training is designed for professionals with a minimum of two years of IT security related experience and allow them to discover and understand the methods and tools used by hackers. CEH certification is the most advanced in the world in the field of ethical hacking. It covers 19 modules of the most recent security domains and deals with the latest hacking techniques. This is the best way to increase chances of success in the daily fight against cyberattacks.

**Course Duration: 5 days**

**Class Size: 10 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Certified Instructor**

**Target audience: IT Professionals**

### Certified Information Systems Security Professional (CISSP) Training

Scope: The CISSP training course will enable candidates to understand the role of the CISO in an organization; Understand information security needs for any organization; Acquire the necessary knowledge to advise an organization on best practices in information security management; Know how to dialogue with management to obtain the means to implement security measures; Prepare to pass an internationally recognized certification in the field of information security.

**Course Duration: 5 days**

**Class Size: 10 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the**

### host country agency/enterprise

**Team Composition:**

**Certified Instructor**

**Target audience: IT Professionals**

### Introduction to Compliance with the Payment Card Industry (PCI) Data Security Standard (DSS)

Scope: The introduction course to PCI DSS will enable participants to understand PCI security standards, which are technical and operational requirements set by the PCI Security Standards Council (PCI SSC) to protect cardholder data. The standards apply to all entities that store, process or transmit cardholder data – with guidance for software developers and manufacturers of applications and devices used in those transactions.

**Course Duration: 3 days**

**Course Size: 30 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Certified Security Expert**

**Target audience: IT managers, internal auditors, internal controllers of banks and financial institutions**

### Chief Information Security Officer (CISO) Training

Scope: As organizations introduce new technologies, the CISO training will help participants develop and communicate a strategy to avoid the potential risks stemming from their implementation to the organization's operations. The CISO training aims to bridge the gap between the executive management knowledge that CISOs need and the technical knowledge that many aspiring CISOs have. This can be a crucial gap as a practitioner endeavors to move from mid-management to upper, executive management roles.

**Course Duration: 5 days**

**Class Size: 10 Participants**



maximum

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Certified Security Expert**

**Target audience:** Chief Information Security Officers, Vice Presidents of Information Security, IT Security Operations Directors, IT Security Compliance Directors

## ISO 27005 Training - Risk Manager

**Scope:** This 3-day training will enable participants to implement the ISO 27005 standard to prevent, among other things, the risks of cyber-attack.

**Course Duration: 3 days**

**Class Size: 10 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Certified Subject Matter Expert**

**Target audience:** Information Security risk managers, Information

Security team members, Individuals responsible for Information Security, compliance, and risk within an organization, Individuals implementing ISO/IEC 27001, seeking to comply with ISO/IEC 27001 or involved in a risk management program, IT consultants, IT professionals, Information Security officers, Privacy officers

## ISO/IEC 27001 Training in Information Security Management System

**Scope:** The international ISO/IEC 27001 risk management standard related to information security describes, in the form of requirements, the best practices to be put in place for an organization to effectively control information risks. This course will first introduce participants to all the ISO standards dealing with the security of the information system and then provide them with the necessary elements to set up a management system (SMSI) for the risk of information security, and understand the basic elements of an Information

Security Management System.

**Course Duration: 3 days**

**Class Size: 10 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Certified Subject Matter Expert**

**Target audience:** Individuals interested in Information Security Management, Individuals seeking to gain knowledge about the main processes of Information Security Management Systems

## Cyber Hygiene e-Learning Course and Workshop

**Scope:** It is important to understand that the Cyber Hygiene e-Learning Course solution is not simply a passive awareness course, but an effective tool at the CISO's disposal. First of all, the tools give an understanding of human risk behavior within the organization, in teams, departments and/or different branches. The results help to make decisions on making

investments, additional training or potential changes in security policies. Due to our community approach, CISOs can always stay up to date with recent risks, discuss with peers and assess the cyber security awareness level of the organization.

**Benefits of the course for your organization:**

- Effective information protection by promoting responsible human behavior to avoid exposure to the threats that can occur in the cyber space.
- Understanding the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of your organization by analyzing the course results.
- Staying compliant with international information security standards.
- Informed decisions by the management based on the feedback and analysis of the course results.
- Being prepared for the latest threats as the course is regularly updated to take into account the developments in the cyber threat landscape.

**Product deployment:** The Cyber Hygiene e-Learning Course is easily deployable. It can be implemented in any organization within days, taking into account all security and IT infrastructure requirements. The course runs on the CybExer Technologies OÜ's proprietary platform. CybExer Technologies will not have any access to user data or user profiles. This information remains with the Client.

**Course Duration: 1-2 days**

**Class Size: 10 Participants maximum**

**How Offered: Instructor-led conducted in the host country agency/enterprise**

**Team Composition: Certified Subject Matter Expert**

**Target audience:** Three categories of staff members (managers, regular users and specialists) and addressing specific concerns and threats associated with each of these groups.



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