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**CONCLUSIONS OF THE 10TH HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR
ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA, ORAN PROCESS**

***“CELEBRATING 10 YEARS OF PROGRESS AND COOPERATION: A DECADE OF TRANSFORMATION
AND INNOVATION, REACHING NEW HEIGHTS TOGETHER”***

17 TO 18 DECEMBER 2023, ORAN, ALGERIA



**CONCLUSIONS OF THE 10TH HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR
ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA, ORAN PROCESS**

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU) and the African Members of the United Nations Security Council (A3), in collaboration with the Political Affairs, Peace and Security Department of the AU Commission (AUC), the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), organized the *10th Annual High-Level Seminar on Peace and Security in Africa: Assisting Incoming African Members of the United Nations Security Council (A3) in Preparing to Address Peace and Security Issues on the Continent*, from 17 to 18 December 2023, in Oran, Algeria. The Seminar was held pursuant to Communique [PSC/HoG./COMM(CCCXCVII)] adopted by the PSC at its 397th meeting held at the level of Heads of State and Government in New York, on 23 September 2013, which reviewed the partnership between the AU and the United Nations (UN) in the area of peace and security, and decided, inter alia, on the need for "greater consultations between the Peace and Security Council and the African Members of the Security Council, to ensure that PSC decisions and those of the AU Assembly are effectively promoted and defended in the UN Security Council."

2. The 10th High-Level Seminar coincided the 10th anniversary of the High-Level Seminar on Peace and Security in Africa. In this context, participants seized the opportunity to take stock of progress achieved by the A3, thus far, in amplifying the African voice and championing African interests and positions within the United Nations Security Council decision-making process, including the challenges faced, lessons learnt and best practices.

3. The Seminar also considered the Draft Manual on Modalities for Enhancing Coordination and Cooperation between the AU PSC and the A3.

II. MAIN OBJECTIVE

4. Building on the foundation laid by the previous nine (9) High-Level Seminars, the 10th High-Level Seminar sought to contribute towards further strengthening the capacity of the A3 to more effectively promote, articulate and defend common African positions on peace and security issues concerning the Continent, within the decision-making process of the UN Security Council, as well as to further strengthen the cooperation, collaboration and coordination between the AU PSC and the A3, with a view to further strengthening Africa's voice within the United Nations Security Council.

5. More specifically, the Main Agenda of the Seminar focused on:

- a) The 10th Anniversary of the High-Level Seminar: The Role of the PSC and the A3 in Promoting Africa's Voice on Peace and Security issues in the UN Security Council agenda: What More Needs to be Done?;
- b) The Resurgence of Unconstitutional Changes of Government in Africa: Global Outlook, Response and Implications for A3;
- c) Update on the Draft UN Security Council Resolution on Financing of AU Peace Support Operations; and
- d) Presentation of the Final Draft Manual on Modalities for Coordination and Cooperation between the Peace and Security Council of the African Union and the African Members of the United Nations Security Council (A3).

III. PARTICIPATION

6. The Seminar was chaired by Honourable Dr. Mamadou Tangara, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Gambia, and Chairperson of the PSC for the month of December 2023. Participants included the fifteen members of the PSC as follows: Honorable Ministers of The Gambia, Nigeria, Tunisia and Zimbabwe, Deputy Ministers of Ghana and Uganda and Permanent Representatives of Burundi, Cameroon, Djibouti, Morocco, Namibia, Senegal,

South Africa and Tanzania. The following Members of the current A3 also attended the Seminar, namely: Ghana and Mozambique. The Gabonese Republic did not attend the Seminar as it was under suspension from participating in any activities of the AU and its Organs, following the unconstitutional change of government in August 2023. The Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the Republic of Sierra Leone equally attended the Seminar as incoming A3 Members.

7. The AU Commission was represented at the highest level by H.E. Ambassador Bankole Adeoye, the Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, who was accompanied by H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambers, the AU High Representative for Silencing the Guns and H.E. Ambassador Fatima Kyari Mohammed, the AU Permanent Representative to the United Nations and staff from the AU Commission, including senior and support staff of the Commission. H.E. former President Olusegun Obasanjo, the High Representative for the Horn of Africa participated as a Guest of Honour.

8. The UN was represented at the highest level by the Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations; the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the AU and Head of the UN Office to the AU (UNOAU); the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), as well as officials from UNITAR and the Security Council Affairs Division (SCAD).

9. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Angola, as well as representatives of Egypt, Ethiopia and Kenya attended as Friends of the Seminar, while the Cooperative Republic of Guyana participated as A3 – Plus. AMANI Africa and the Institute of Security Studies attended as Guests of the Seminar.

10. The representatives of Denmark, Norway and Switzerland equally attended the Seminar, in their respective capacities as partners.

IV. OPENING CEREMONY

11. The Opening remarks were delivered by Honourable Dr. Mamadou Tangara, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Gambia, in his capacity as the PSC Chairperson for the month of December 2023. H.E. Ahmed Attaf, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and of Algerian Community Abroad, delivered the welcoming remarks as the host of the Seminar. H.E. Kwaku Ampra Twum-Sarpong, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of the Republic of Ghana also delivered remarks as Coordinator of African Members of the Security Council (A3) and H.E. Ambassador Bankole Adeoye, the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs Peace and Security delivered statements on the strategic objectives of the High-Level Seminar. A goodwill message was equally delivered by H.E. Elisabeth Droyer, Ambassador of Norway to Algeria, on behalf of the Partners (Denmark, Norway and Switzerland).

12. The Speakers, during the opening segment, congratulated the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the Republic of Sierra Leone on their election as non-permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and expressed Africa's hope for the contribution of the two AU Member States in championing the Common African Positions within the UN Security Council decision-making process.

V. FORMAT

13. The Agenda of the High-Level Seminar was structured into the following four main sessions:

On Day 1: 17 December 2023

Open Segment

14. **High- Level Panel Discussion I: 10th Anniversary of the High-Level Seminar: The role of the PSC and the A3 in promoting Africa's Voice on peace and security issues in the UN Security Council agenda, what more needs to be done?** The Panel was moderated by H.E. Ahmed Attaf, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and of Algerian Community Abroad, and it included the following Panelists:

- H.E. Tete António, Minister of External Relations of the Republic of Angola;

- H.E. Mr. Nabil Ammari, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Migration and Tunisians Abroad of the Republic of Tunisia;
- H.E. Kwaku Ampra Twum-Sarpong, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and Coordinator of African Members of the United Nations Security Council (A3);
- H.E. Ambassador Fatima Kyari Mohammed, AU Permanent Representative to the UN; and
- H.E. Mr. Jean Pierre Lacroix UN Under-Secretary-General for Peace Operations.

15. **High-Level Panel Discussion II: The Resurgence of Unconstitutional Changes of Government in Africa: Global Outlook, Response and Implications for A3.** The Panel was moderated by H.E. Ambassador Bankole Adeoye, AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, with the following as Panelists:

- H.E. Yusuf Maitama Tuggar, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;
- H.E. Dr. Frederick Musiiwa Makamure Shava, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of the Republic of Zimbabwe;
- H.E. John Mulimba, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uganda; and
- H.E. El Ghassim Wane, UNSG Special Representative, Head of United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA).

On Day 2: 18 December 2023

Closed Segment:

16. Update on the Draft UN Security Council Resolution on Financing of AU Peace Support Operations.
17. Presentation and consideration of the Final Draft Manual on Modalities for Coordination and Cooperation between the Peace and Security Council of the African Union and the African Members of the United Nations Security Council.

VI. SUMMARY OF KEY ISSUES RAISED DURING THE SEMINAR

A. On the 10th Anniversary of the High-Level Seminar: The Role of the PSC and the A3 in Promoting Africa's Voice on Peace and Security Issues in the UN Security Council Agenda- What More needs to be Done?

18. Participants took note of the reflections of the Panelists. They also noted the significant contribution of the High-Level Seminar, towards enhancing and further strengthening the capacity of the A3 to more effectively discharge their Africa-given mandate. Among the milestones achieved since the institutionalization of the High-Level Seminar, participants noted, in particular, the following, namely:

- a) The establishment of the A3 and the African Caucus in New York;
- b) The establishment of the rotating A3 Coordinator;
- c) The Formalization of the AU Permanent Observer Mission to the UN, in New York, as the A3 Secretariat;
- d) Regular consultations between the A3 and the PSC;
- e) Participation of representatives of the A3 in Addis Ababa, in the meetings of the PSC;
- f) Extensive consultations between the A3 and the PSC ahead of annual joint consultation meetings between the AUPSC and the UN Security Council;

- g) Amplification of the African voice in the decision-making process of the UN Security Council, including through pen-holding/ co-pen-holding on Africa dossiers;
- h) The effective defence, articulation and promotion of African solutions to African problems. For example, in responding to the conflict in northern Ethiopia (Tigray); the lifting of sanctions imposed on Somalia and Central Africa Republic;
- i) Enhanced cohesion and unity of purpose among the A3 which led to the adoption of several UN Security Council resolutions of interests to Africa, such as UN Security Resolution 2457 (2019) of 27 February 2019 on Silencing the Guns in Africa;
- j) The establishment of the A3 Plus 1 Mechanism and the development of related guideline principles or mechanism;
- k) Strengthened relations between the A3 and the Africa Group in New York, as well as with other regional groupings;
- l) Enhanced coherence and coordination between the AU PSC and the A3, thanks to the timely transmission of PSC Decisions to the A3, coupled with the support provided by the AU Permanent Observer Mission in New York (A3 Secretariat) and the PSC Secretariat.
- m) Encourage the A3 to pursue and defend Africa's Common Positions and interests in the UN Security Council during their membership;
- n) Forging close ties with other Members of the UN Security Council and the wider UN Family to effectively mobilize support for African common positions and interests, including the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 (G-77); and
- o) Coordination between the PSC and A3 experts in negotiation on the outcomes of the joint meeting between the PSC and UNSC.

19. Notwithstanding the milestones achieved, participants noted the following challenges faced during the course of the decade, namely:

- a) Sustainable solutions to the institutional capacity constraints facing the A3 Secretariat;
- b) Balancing national interests of individual A3 Members with Africa's interests caused by lack of cooperation and harmonization of positions of capitals of the Member States of the A3;
- c) Inability to develop modalities for joint field missions of the PSC and the UNSC;
- d) The increasing paralysis of the UN Security Council resulting from the divisions among the Permanent Members and the continued recourse to UN General Assembly Resolution 377 of 3 November 1950 (Uniting for Peace Resolution), as well as the increasing divisions within the UN Security Council itself; and
- e) Procedural misunderstandings arising from the negotiations for the UNSC Resolution on predictable and sustainable funding for AU PSOs.

20. In order to effectively address the challenges faced by the A3, participants proposed the following recommendations:

- a) The need for the PSC to always respond swiftly and to provide timeous strategic guidance to the A3;
- b) The need to institutionalize and regularize the meetings between the PSC and the A3 in order for them to be abreast with the activities of the A3 in order to provide political and strategic guidance at the highest level;

- c) The need for the A3 to continue to explore the possibility of ensuring pen-holding or co-pen-holding on all African dossiers and dossiers of interest to Africa, within the UN Security Council agenda;
- d) The need for the A3 to continue to strengthen its relations with the Africa Group in New York, as well as with other regional groupings;
- e) The urgent need for the appointment of a Focal Point on A3 within the Political Affairs, Peace and Security Department;
- f) The need for the reinvigoration of the monthly coordination meetings between the A3 and the PSC Troika;
- g) The need to continue to further strengthen the capacity of the A3, both, in New York and in Addis Ababa;
- h) The need to explore the possibility of involving the A3 in missions of the PSC relating to conflict/post conflict situations in Africa;
- i) The need to institutionalize the A3 Plus 1 Mechanism;
- j) The need to regularize and institutionalize the interactions between the PSC and A3 Experts;
- k) The need to urgently establish a credible knowledge management system and a digital repository for the A3 institutional memory which will ensure and enhance a smooth transition between the incoming and the outgoing A3;
- l) The need for the A3 to brief the PSC on a quarterly basis or at any other time when the need arises, on African issues on the Agenda of the UN Security Council, for purposes of information sharing and necessary guidance;
- m) The need for the development of practical modalities for managing/addressing situations where a Member of the A3 is suspended from participating in the activities of the AU;
- n) The need for the AU Commission to urgently address the perennial institutional capacity challenges facing the A3 Secretariat and, in this respect, the need for other Member States, in a position to do so, to emulate Algeria, Morocco and Nigeria who have continued to second staff to the A3 Secretariat at own cost; and
- o) The need to finalize and adopt the Manual on Modalities for Coordination and Cooperation between the Peace and Security Council of the African Union and the African Members of the United Nations Security Council, to guide the working relationship between the PSC and the A3.

B. On the Resurgence of Unconstitutional Changes of Government in Africa: Global Outlook, Response and Implications for the A3

21. Participants took note of the reflections shared by the Panelists. They expressed deep concern over the resurgence of unconstitutional changes of government in the Continent despite the existence of a plethora of formidable AU normative instruments. These instruments include the 2007 African Charter on Democracy Elections and Governance (ACDEG); Declaration and Decisions [Ext/Assembly/AU/Decl.(XVI)] on Terrorism and Unconstitutional Changes of Government, adopted by the 16th Extraordinary Session of the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, from 27 to 28 May 2022; Decision AHG/Dec.141(XXXV) and AHG/Dec.142(XXXV), adopted by the 35th Ordinary Session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Algiers, Algeria, from 12 to 14 July 1999; the Declaration on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government, adopted by the 36th Ordinary Session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Lomé, Togo, from 10 to 12 July 2000

(the Lomé Declaration); and the Solemn Declaration of the 50th OAU/AU Anniversary adopted in Addis Ababa on 25 May 2013;

22. Participants condemned all forms of unconstitutional changes of government and re-affirmed the AU Zero Tolerance policy on any form of unconstitutional change of government. In terms of responses to unconstitutional changes of government, participants noted that the AU has often applied one type of sanctions, namely, suspension of the affected Member State from participating in the activities of the Union and its Organs. Participants emphasized that sanctions were no longer effective as a deterrent against unconstitutional changes of government, due to a number of challenges, which include the disparities between the AU, the RECs/RMs and the United Nations in terms of responses to unconstitutional changes of government.

23. Other challenges, relate to the non-compliance by some Member States, particularly, the neighboring countries, with sanctions imposed by the AU, as well as with the other forms of punitive measures imposed by some RECs/RMs and endorsed by the PSC. All of these challenges are exacerbated by the fact that the AU still lacks enforcement mechanisms. In this regard, participants encouraged Member States to respect PSC decisions and called for closer coordination between AU, RECs/RMs, UN and the international community on the implementation of sanctions. Participants underscored the need to ensure that AU sanctions are more targeted (smart sanctions). They further underscored the need for:

- i) Member States to embrace, deepen and consolidate democracy, as well as to build strong, accountable and resilient State institutions;
- ii) Member States to redouble efforts in addressing governance deficits which are often cited as some of the fundamental root causes of unconstitutional changes of government; in this context, Member States, which have not yet done so, were encouraged to sign, ratify domesticate and comply with the fundamental democratic ideals enshrined in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance;
- iii) Redoubling investments in preventive measures, such as early warning, preventive diplomacy, as well as robust response capacities;
- iv) Strengthening the AU Sanctions Regime and, in this respect, the need for the AU Commission to expedite the finalization of the comprehensive study on the structural root causes and impact of unconstitutional changes of government in Africa;
- v) Enhancing coordination, alignment/ coherence and complementarity of responses to unconstitutional changes of government between the AU, the RECs/RMs and the UN;
- vi) Encouraging countries in transition to respect the transition roadmaps and implement the decision of the PSC and their respective regional mechanisms, and in this regard, the need for the urgent operationalization of the PSC Sub-Committee on Sanctions to closely follow up on the implementation of the PSC decisions on sanctions. Participants further emphasized the imperative for all Member States to support the implementation of AU measures in response to unconstitutional change of government;
- vii) Ensuring the consistency of the PSC in its application of AU normative instruments and in this regard, participants called for the finalization of the development of guidelines for the implementation of AU Sanctions and requested the PSC Committee of Experts to consider the draft, as soon as possible;
- viii) The Commission, working in coordination with Member States and RECs/RMs, develop modalities for recalling any Member of the A3, that experienced unconstitutional change of government while representing the Continent in the UNSC, as well as the need to prevent such A3 Member from participating in any forum as Africa's representative;
- ix) Mobilizing stronger global partnerships with the wider international community, as well as with the private sector or quasi-private sector companies;

- x) Ensuring that national defence and security forces remain professional and respect their constitutional mandates, as well as the need for improving civil-military relations;
- xi) Bringing to justice the perpetrators of unconstitutional changes of government using existing African institutions such as the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights;
- xii) Strengthening informal engagements between the PSC and Member States under AU sanctions, as one of the platforms for understanding their challenges, as well as proposing suggestions that could enable them to expedite the process of restoration of constitutional order;
- xiii) The need to always provide for humanitarian corridors in order to ensure that ordinary citizens of the concerned country do not suffer disproportionately on account of the enforcement of sanctions; and
- xiv) Organizing a Ministerial meeting of the PSC on the margins of the AU Executive Council meetings in 2024 that would be devoted to addressing issues relating to the scourge of unconstitutional change of government in Africa.

C. On the Update on the Draft United Nations Security Council Resolution on Financing of UN Authorized AU Peace Support Operations

24. The AU PSC and the A3 took note of the update on the progress in the negotiations on the Draft United Nations Security Council Resolution on Financing UN Authorized AU Peace Support Operations as presented by H.E. Ambassador Bankole Adeoye, AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security.

25. The PSC commended the A3, under the coordination of the Republic of Ghana for the sustained efforts and underlined the primary responsibility of the United Nations Security Council for the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. Participants emphasized that when the AU deploys peace support operations (PSOs) in Africa, it does so on behalf of the United Nations, in particularly very challenging security environments, with very limited capacity, but with the legitimate expectation that the UN will subsequently take over full responsibilities consistent with the provisions of the UN Charter. The PSC and the A3 noted the progress achieved thus far, towards the finalization of the Draft Security Council Resolution on Financing AU PSOs and underscored the importance of ensuring predictable, adequate and sustainable funding for all AU PSOs through UN Assessed Contributions. The PSC commended the A3 for the progress achieved thus far towards finalization of the Draft Security Council Resolution on Financing AU PSOs. In this connection, the PSC:

- i) Emphasized the importance of ensuring that the AU common position is fully considered respected and incorporated into the resolution, particularly the principles of AU ownership and leadership (command and control) of all peace support operations on the African Continent;
- ii) Also emphasized that the AU has already demonstrated its commitment towards burden and responsibility sharing, among others by providing financial support from the AU Peace Fund Crisis Reserve Facility towards: a) the financial needs of the AU Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS); b) the East African Community (EAC) Regional Force in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo; c) the peace process in Sudan; and d) the peace process in Northern Ethiopia;
- iii) Underlined that the Draft Resolution should not make any references to any figures, particularly in terms of percentages and that the AU would not accept partial access to UN assessed contributions, it being understood that the UNSC has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and that whatever regional organizations such as the AU do, they do it for and on behalf of the UN;
- iv) Encouraged the A3 to remain guided by the original position of the AU;
- v) Underscored the need for the negotiations to be delayed until February 2024 when African Heads of State and Government would be briefed on the process to enable them pronounce themselves on the

proposals by partners, particularly the proposal by the US for a maximum of 75% funding of AUPSOs from UN assessed contributions;

- vi) Emphasized that any variance from the original position of the AU as enshrined in the AU Consensus Paper on Predictable, Adequate, and Sustainable Financing for African Union Peace and Security Activities should be submitted to the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government for further guidance and instruction; and
- vii) Stressed the need for Member States to continue to speak with one voice throughout the negotiation process.

D. On the Consideration of the Final Draft Manual on Modalities for Enhancing Coordination and Cooperation Between the Peace and Security Council of the African Union and the African Members of the United Nations Security Council (A3)

26. The PSC and A3 Members acknowledged the development of the Final Draft Manual on the Modalities for Enhancing Coordination and Cooperation between the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union and the African Members of the United Nations Security Council (A3) and, in this regard, commended the efforts deployed by the PSC Committee of Experts and the support of the AU Commission (PSC Secretariat) for finalizing the Draft at their level.

27. The PSC and A3 Members considered the Manual and, in this regard, requested the AU Commission to incorporate the additional contributions of Member States to the Manual for consideration and adoption by the PSC at ambassadorial level before submitting it for adoption by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

28. In concluding, participants noted, with satisfaction, the significant achievements registered by the A3 since the launch of the 1st High-Level Seminar in 2013, in Oran, Algeria and specifically commended the current A3 Members (Gabon, Ghana and Mozambique). They further commended in particular, the Republic of Ghana, for its exemplary contribution as A3 Coordinator as well as Gabon, the other outgoing A3 Member. They encouraged the incoming A3 (Algeria and Sierra Leone) to draw lessons, inspiration and best practices from the outgoing A3 and to continue, building on the existing momentum to also further strengthen the A3 cohesion, with a view to amplifying and spearheading the African voice and common position on African peace and security issues in the UN Security Council agenda;

VII. VOTE OF THANKS

29. The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Mozambique to the AU, H.E. Ambassador Ana Nemba Uaine, delivered the vote of thanks on behalf of all participants. She expressed gratitude to the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and, in particular, to the Oran authorities for the generous hospitality and for the excellent facilities that ensured the successful organization of the 10th High-Level Seminar. She also expressed gratitude to UNITAR, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland, for their continued support towards the successful organization of the High-Level Seminar and looked forward to the successful organization of the 11th High-Level Seminar, in Oran, Algeria, in December 2024.

VIII. CLOSING CEREMONY

30. During the Closing Ceremony, statements were received from H.E. Ambassador Bankole Adeoye, the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security; H.E. Ahmed Attaf, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Community Abroad of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, as the host. H.E. Kwaku Ampra Twum-Sarpong, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of Ghana and Coordinator of African Members of the Security Council (A3), officially closed the High-Level Seminar on behalf of H.E. Dr. Mamadou Tangara, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Gambians Abroad of the Republic of The Gambia and Chairperson of the PSC for the month of December 2023.

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High Level Seminar - Conclusions

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