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Kofi Annan  
FOUNDATION

# KOFI ANNAN PEACE & SECURITY FORUM <sup>2021</sup>

Democracy and Governance in the  
Context of Complex Crises in West Africa

8th - 9th December, 2021

Accra, Ghana



## REPORT



Norwegian Embassy  
Accra





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FOUNDATION

# KOFI ANNAN PEACE & SECURITY FORUM 2021

**THEME**  
Democracy and Governance in the  
Context of Complex Crises in West Africa



8 - 9 December, 2021



KA IPTC, Accra



Live stream on [kaiptcgh](#)

#KAPSForum



Norwegian  
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## FORWORD



**Major General Francis Ofori**  
Commandant, KAIPTC

On 8th and 9th December 2021, we gathered once again to pay tribute to the late international statesman, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, and Ghana’s most astute global citizen, His Excellency (H.E.) Kofi Atta Annan. H.E. Annan was the seventh United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, whose life embodied peace, human rights, democracy and development world-wide. The Kofi Annan Peace and Security Forum (hereafter, KAPS Forum) was instituted to honour the life and work of Mr. Annan by providing a platform for eminent statespersons, political leaders, academics, practitioners, and civil society to engage and exchange best practice and innovative ideas to build and sustain the “Africa We Want”; an Africa that ensures inclusive politics and equitable development, meaningful democratic governance, youthful hope and resilience, peace and security. The second edition of the KAPS Forum was organised by the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) and the Kofi Annan Foundation. The KAIPTC, which was justifiably named after H.E. Kofi Annan by the Government of Ghana, has the



promotion of peace and security in Africa as its foremost objective. It seeks to achieve this objective through training, applied research, and the delivery of policy support to both state and non-state actors in Africa. The Kofi Annan Foundation was established by H.E. Mr. Kofi Annan to promote better global governance to build capacities for a fairer and more peaceful world.

This second edition of the KAPS Forum was postponed from 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which has taken over six million lives world-wide, infected over 500 million persons globally, and devastated livelihoods and economies. The pandemic has also raised new questions about human rights, democracy and good governance. Critical among these is the question around whether or not COVID-19 security restrictions constitute a violation of civil liberties or essential interventions to safeguard lives. There are also pertinent questions relating to the potential deflection of attention from other sources of threat to security, including the phenomenon of violent extremism in West Africa.

The region, which was taking giant strides towards the consolidation of democracy and political stability, began to re-experience military coup d'états and democratic reversals in 2020. Equally troubling has been the tendency of democratically-elected leaders to dabble in state capture through illegal extensions of their time in power. Even more disturbing is the fact that civilian populations have tended to welcome the recapture of the state by the military as most have yet to experience the democratic dividends promised. In virtually all parts of the region, democratic administrations continue to falter on the delivery of basic public goods including basic social services, security governance and social justice. This is deflating hope among segments of the population, including the youth. In many countries, the

youth are marginalised in political and developmental processes, leading to frustrations with the current systems of governance. In some instances, this has, in turn, contributed to violent extremist activity, terrorism, and other forms of militancy.

These challenges run counter to what the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) envisaged just over 20 years ago when it adopted the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in 2021 (hereafter, the Protocol). In order to enhance its response to the peace and security challenges being encountered in the region, the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, instructed the ECOWAS Commission to review the Protocol. A major objective of the second edition of the KAPS Forum was to contribute to this review process and other efforts to halt what seems to be a reversal of democracy in the region. Accordingly, the theme for this year's edition of the KAPS Forum was **Democracy and Governance in the Context of Complex Crises in West Africa.**

I continue to be deeply grateful to H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo for his leadership, commitment to, and participation in the KAPS Forum. Furthermore, I wish to extend my gratitude to our main organisational partner, the Kofi Annan Foundation, and to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), the Government of Ghana, the Government of Norway, and the Government of Sweden for their sustained support to the Centre in general, and the KAPS Forum in particular. I also wish to thank our commercial partners for their generous contributions to the KAPS Forum; namely, Labadi Beach Hotel, City Escape Hotel, Krishna Travels, and Satguru Travel and Tour Services Ltd.

Additionally, my heartfelt gratitude goes out to our distinguished array of Former Heads of State and Government including H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President of the Republic of Ghana; H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of the Republic of Liberia; H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea; and H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea and Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, who shared their wealth of knowledge and experience with us at the Forum. May I particularly thank H.E. Bai Koroma for his towering presence once again and for being a strong advocate for the vision and work of the KAPS Forum amongst his peers.

May I also highlight our appreciation to H.E. Mahamadou Issoufou, Former President of the Republic of Niger, who had wanted to join the Forum virtually but was unable to do so due to technical challenges.

I especially want to extend my profound gratitude to H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, the ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea, a KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassador, and the Chairperson of the KAPS Forum, for his guidance, dedication, and active involvement in both the organisation and the proceedings of the Forum. My special gratitude also goes to Mr. Kojo Annan, the son of H.E. Kofi Annan, for honouring us with his presence at the Forum.

Similarly, I would also want to share my sincere appreciation to the current and former Heads of United Nations (UN) missions; namely, H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS), H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, then Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU), and H.E. Ellen Margrethe Løj, Former SRSG and Head of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of

South Sudan (UNMISS), Former SRSG of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), and a KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassador,— and to the Secretary-General of the Mano River Union (MRU), H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, for their immense contribution in steering and contributing to deliberations during the Forum, and to all our other distinguished delegates who moderated and participated in panel discussions.

Furthermore, I also wish to thank the KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassadors, other distinguished delegates and participants for their contributions and interest in the second KAPS Forum. I am equally grateful to the Ministeries, Departments and Agencies of Government of Ghana. I am indeed grateful to the event management consultant, interpreters, and the entire KAIPTC staff for their effort and dedication in ensuring that the second KAPS Forum was organised safely, and successfully.

As ECOWAS continues to strive for a more peaceful West Africa nested in democracy and good governance, I sincerely hope that the recommendations we jointly made at the KAPS Forum will aid in achieving the goal of operationalising the shift “[f]rom an ECOWAS of States to an ECOWAS of People”.



**Francis Ofori**  
**Major General**

Commandant

Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

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Kofi Annan Peace and Security (KAPS) Forum Report

**‘Democracy and Governance in the Context of Complex Crises in West Africa’**

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**About the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre**

KAIPTC is an internationally preferred centre of excellence that provides globally recognised capacity for international actors on African peace and security through training, education, research and policy engagements to foster peace and stability in Africa.

This report was compiled by Mr. Ernest Ansah Lartey, Miss Nana Bemma Nti, Dr. Kwaku Danso and Miss Belinda Lutterodt.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Presentation of Final Communique to H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman of ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government (left). The Presentation was done by Major General Francis Ofori, Commandant, KAIPTC

### Introduction

The Kofi Annan Peace and Security Forum (hereafter, KAPS Forum) is an annual conference instituted in 2019 to commemorate the life and vision of His Excellency (H.E.) Kofi Annan; the former Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN). Throughout his life, H.E. Kofi Annan was committed to the promotion of peace, democracy, human rights, development, the rule of law and inclusive governance. The KAPS Forum seeks to realise these goals in the African context by bringing together great minds from the worlds of politics, academia, policy development, security, development, civil society, diplomacy, business, and the media to share experiences and best practices, as well as effective strategies for a more human development-centred and stable Africa. This year's KAPS Forum, the second edition, was held on 8th and 9th December 2021, at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Accra, on the theme: **'Democracy and Governance in the Context of Complex Crises in West Africa'**.

The theme was selected against the backdrop of recent political developments in the region and the intended review of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, which was adopted in 2001.

This Protocol gives an added impetus to the ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999), which provides the basis for ECOWAS intervention in situations of conflict within Member States. Thus, the Supplementary Protocol was aimed at addressing the root causes of conflict by means of early warning and early response to violent conflicts and instability in the region. The review was called by the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, under the Chairmanship of the President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, in the light of the recent challenges to peace, security and economic development in the region. These challenges, which span from democratic reversals to violent extremism were presented and discussed during the two-day KAPS Forum leading to recommendations for further consideration by the ECOWAS review process.

The second KAPS Forum was organised by KAIPTC and the Kofi Annan Foundation in collaboration with the governments of Germany, through the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), the Kingdom of Norway, the Kingdom of Sweden and the government of Ghana. The occasion was graced by H.E. Nana Akufo-Addo, President of the Republic of Ghana, and Former African Heads of State and Government, including H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President of the Republic of Ghana; H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of the Republic of Liberia; H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea; H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea and Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS; H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, the ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea, a KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassador, and the Chairperson of the second KAPS Forum; Mr. Kojo Annan, son of H.E. Kofi Annan;

Honourable (Hon.) Yaw Osafo-Maafa, the Senior Presidential Advisor of the government of Ghana; Hon. Akosua Frema Osei-Opare, the Chief of Staff at the Presidency of the Republic of Ghana, Hon. Dominic Nitiwul, the Minister for Defence of the Republic of Ghana; and Hon. Dr. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings, the Member of Parliament for the Korle Klottey Constituency, Ghana.

Also in attendance were Heads of Foreign Diplomatic Missions accredited to Ghana, including H.E. Daniel Krull, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Ghana; H.E. Ingrid Mollestad, Norwegian Ambassador to Ghana; and H.E. Anna Rääs, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of Sweden in Abuja. The event was also attended by the current and former Heads of UN Missions and the Mano River Union (MRU), such as H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS); H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, then SRSG to the African Union and Head of the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU); H.E. Ellen Margrethe Løj, Former SRSG and Head of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), Former SRSG to the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), and a KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassador; and H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General of the MRU. Others included Heads of Missions and diplomats; development partners; Election Management Bodies (EMB); academia; officials from peacekeeping training institutions; security experts and practitioners; civil society organisations; the media; and the private sector. There were over 100 delegates who took part in the Forum at KAIPTC, and well over 600 participants who joined from different destinations and locations via online platforms. The KAPS Forum was held under the guidance and chairmanship of H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea and a Goodwill Ambassador of KAIPTC.



## Context and Problem

The discourses at the Forum centred on the following sub-themes:

- The Background, Expectations and Significance of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance;
- Democratic Backsliding in West Africa;
- Good Governance and Democratic Consolidation in War-to-Peace and Democratic Transitions;
- Entrenching Constitutionalism;
- Ensuring Free and Fair Elections;
- Challenges and Prospects of Balancing Democracy with Countering Violent Extremism;
- Challenges, Prospects and Lessons with respect to Deepening Democracy in an Age of Pandemic;
- Youth and Women Participation in Democracy;
- Electoral Integrity in the Digital Age; and
- The Role and Ethics of Election Monitoring and Observation.

The threats to democracy and good governance identified during the conference include unconstitutional extensions of presidential term-limits; military coup d'états; violent extremism and terrorism; trans-national organised crimes; armed conflicts; electoral manipulation and electoral violence; marginalisation or outright exclusion of women and the youth from political processes; youth unemployment; nefarious use of digital media; civil unrest; health emergencies; climate change; environmental stresses and strains; economic mismanagement; inequitable resource distribution; social, political, economic and physical insecurity; limited state presence; and basic human rights violations. In spite of these challenges, the West African region has registered a modicum of success in terms of democratic and peaceful transfers of power as well as conflict resolution. Yet, the current democratic reversals as witnessed in Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea has signalled a cause for concern.

## Causes of Democratic Reversals in West Africa

The main sources of democratic reversals in the region put forward during the KAPS Forum include:

- Leadership failures and regime preservation by democratically-elected Heads of States through electoral fraud and constitutional manipulation;
- The apparent neglect or avoidance by ECOWAS to address the unconstitutional actions of democratically-elected Heads of States to extend their term-limits;
- The failure to deliver the democratic dividend, implying that electoral processes are not translating into good governance and economic transformation; and
- The seeming complacency of the wider population and civil society in promoting, demanding and safeguarding democracy and good governance.

In a nutshell, the challenge put forward suggest that it is unlikely that democracy would be consolidated in West Africa until political leader prioritise the needs and interest of their citizens and deliver on their mandates.

## Recommendations

The delegates at the second KAPS Forum put forward the following recommendations for to ECOWAS and its Member States:

- National stakeholders should promote broad-based political participation and inclusivity in order to bolster the resilience of the state against anti-constitutional and anti-democratic practices;
- ECOWAS Member States should explore alternative options to the politics of winner-takes-all as a means to forging greater participation and inclusion;
- ECOWAS Member States should invest in forms of education that promote the cultivation of civic, democratic and peace cultures;

- Consideration should be given to the implementation of policies by States to transition from the culture of elections to the culture of democratic consolidation;
- ECOWAS Member States should consider the adoption of constitutional provisions that stipulate the maximum age limit at which a person can legally contest for the office of president;
- Consideration should be given to the adoption of specific legal provisions that prevent the concentration of power in the hands of the Executive, as a means to promoting the rule of law and political accountability in West African States;
- ECOWAS Member States should redefine the idea of the public interest to reflect the priorities and needs of all segments of society;
- ECOWAS Member States should take steps to strengthen the independence and technical capacities of election management bodies in order to deliver credible electoral outcomes that reflect the will of the citizens;
- ECOWAS Member States should consider adopting measures to ensure effective regulation of the use and abuse of digital technologies in electoral processes as well as online discourses in order to prevent misinformation and hate speech;
- Civil society groups should reinvigorate their participation, engagement, and neutrality in the political arena in order to counter tendencies and practices that give rise to democratic reversals;
- ECOWAS Member States should adopt policies and programmes aimed at removing patriarchal structures which diminish women's experiences in political spaces, while promoting women's leadership and political participation across the scales and sites of society;
- ECOWAS should adopt specific provisions in the proposed revised Protocol that emphasise zero-tolerance for constitutional manipulation, with a mandatory two-term presidential term-limit

for all Member States;

- ECOWAS should engage more proactively with Member States in ways that promote constitutionalism, the rule of law, and accountability, in order to obviate or minimise the need for crisis response or the imposition of sanctions;
- ECOWAS should collaborate effectively with institutions of thought leadership in the creation of regional norms and their diffusion particularly to local contexts in order to enhance the prospects for transformational changes; and
- The youth should be recognised as critical stakeholders in democracy, development, and in the peace and security of their countries.

These recommendations were incorporated into a signed Communiqué from the Forum, which was presented to the then Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, to inform deliberations ahead of the review of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. The communique was shared with the eminent and distinguished delegates and other key stakeholders such as the ECOWAS Commission, the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), development partners, government institutions, civil society organisations (CSO), the private sector, and the wider public.

## Special Acknowledgements



From Left: H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President, Liberia; H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President, Sierra Leone; and H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General, Mano River Union (MRU)

KAIPTC would like to present its utmost gratitude to the President of the Republic of Ghana, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, and then Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, for gracing the second KAPS Forum. H.E. Akufo-Addo's active participation in the Forum, his pledge to personally uphold the spirit and letter of the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, and assurance that he would encourage his peers to do the same was inspiring and significant.

The organisers also extend their deep appreciation to the governments of Ghana, Germany, Norway and Sweden, as well as GIZ and all other partners and collaborators of the KAPS Forum for their generous technical, financial and institutional support

KAIPTC is truly grateful to all the Former African Heads of State and Government who honoured us with their presence and reflections; namely—H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President of the Republic of Ghana; H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of the Republic of Liberia; H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea; and H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea and Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS.



A special word of thanks goes to H.E. Mahamadou Issoufou, Former President of the Republic of Niger, who in spite of technical challenges, availed his senior office staff to join the Forum virtually. We are indeed grateful to him.

KAIPTC would wish to express its special gratitude to H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, the ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea, KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassador, and the Chairperson of the KAPS Forum for his incomparable leading role, his tireless efforts and advice in all aspects of the KAPS Forum.

KAIPTC is indeed very grateful to the family of H.E. Kofi Annan for their sustained interest and great support to the KAPS Forum. We extend our special appreciation to Mr. Kojo Annan for gracing the occasion.

The organisers have a special word of thanks for the current and former Heads of Missions who participated in the conference and moderated some of the breakout sessions. They include H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, SRSG and Head of UNOWAS; H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, formerly, SRSG to the African Union and Head of UNOAU who has been appointed as the UN Special Envoy for Horn of Africa; H.E. Ellen Margrethe Løj, Former SRSG and Head of UNMISS, Former SRSG of UNMIL, and a KAIPTC Goodwill Ambassador; and H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General of MRU.

The organisers extend their special appreciation to the following state institutions and representatives of the Republic of Ghana whose active role and support were indispensable to the success of the Forum: the Office of the President; the Ministers of State; the security hierarchy; Directors; Members of Parliament of the Republic of Ghana; the Ministry of Defence; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration; the Ministry of National Security; State Protocol; the Ministry of the Interior; the Parliament of the Republic of Ghana; the Ghana Armed Forces; the Ghana Police Service; the Ghana Immigration Service; the Ghana Airport Company; and the

Medical team from 37 Military Hospital.

KAIPTC would also wish to highlight its special appreciation to all other distinguished delegates (in-person and virtual) and participants of the second KAPS Forum, including but not limited to the speakers, moderators, panellists, mistresses of Ceremony (MC), special guests, subject matter experts, rapporteurs and representatives of the diplomatic corps, development partners, ECOWAS Training Centres of Excellence, academia, think tanks, the private sector, state institutions, Election Management Bodies (EMBs), civil society, and among others.

Our special gratitude also goes to our media partners, especially the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), Multimedia Group Ltd., and Asaase Radio for their live coverage of the second KAPS Forum. In the same vein, the organisers are also grateful to the events management and technical production team from Global Media Alliance (GMA), Data and Decisions Consulting, and to the website development team at PixDev.

KAIPTC would like to pass on its immense gratitude to our commercial partners, Labadi Beach Hotel, City Escape Hotel, Krishna Travels, and Satguru Travel and Tour Services Ltd. for their financial and in-kind contributions to the success of the KAPS Forum.

KAIPTC would like to highlight its deepest appreciation to its co-organiser and special partner of the second KAPS Forum—the Kofi Annan Foundation. We are truly grateful for our fruitful collaboration from the preparation stages to the successful completion of the Forum, especially, the development of the Final Communiqué.

Finally, the organisers would also wish to thank the Boards, Management, and Staff of KAIPTC and the Kofi Annan Foundation for their diverse inputs, facilitation, and guidance in all aspects pertaining to the KAPS Forum. Their unwavering support, commitment and teamwork were crucial to the hosting and successful outcome of the second KAPS Forum.

## Special Quotes at the Forum

“[T]he difference between a crisis and an opportunity is leadership”, Mr. Elhadj As Sy, Chair of the Board, Kofi Annan Foundation.

“You [European Parliament/Europe] have the watches but we [Africans] have the time”, H.E. Daniel Krull, Ambassador, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Accra.

“No one is born a good citizen – no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime”, H.E. Ingrid Mollestad, Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra.

“Some of our poorest countries in the world use the most expensive technologies for their elections”, by Mr. Theophilus Dowetin, Election Systems Adviser in Niger, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), during the panel discussion on ‘Electoral Integrity in the Digital Age’.

“We are not only all responsible for each other’s security; we are also, in some measure, responsible for each other’s welfare. Global solidarity is both necessary and possible. It is necessary because without a measure of solidarity no society can be truly stable, and no one’s prosperity truly secure”, H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President of the Republic of Ghana President, and Chairman, ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government.



A cross-section of delegates and participants



## Dignitaries



From left: H.E. Daniel Krull, Ambassador, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Accra ; Hon. Dr. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings, Member of Parliament for the Korle Klottey Constituency at Parliament of Ghana; Mr. Kojo Annan, son of H.E. Kofi Annan; H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister, Guinea and Former Executive Secretary, ECOWAS; H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General, MRU; H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President, Sierra Leone; H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister, Guinea; H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President, Ghana; H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President, Republic of Ghana and Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government; H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of the Republic of Liberia; Hon. Dominic Nitiwul, Minister for Defence, Republic of Ghana; H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, then SRSR to the African Union and Head, UNOAU; and H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea



## Abbreviations

<b>ACFTA</b>	African Continental Free Trade Area
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CDD-Ghana</b>	Center for Democratic Development-Ghana
<b>COP27</b>	27th Session of the Conference of Parties [to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change]
<b>COVID-19</b>	Coronavirus disease [pandemic]
<b>CSM</b>	Cerebrospinal Meningitis
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organisation
<b>CSVMS</b>	Country Structural Vulnerability Mitigation Strategy [of AU and ECOWAS]
<b>CSVRA</b>	Country Structural Vulnerability and Resilience Assessment [of AU and ECOWAS]
<b>ECONEC</b>	ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commissions
<b>ECOSOC</b>	Economic and Social Council [of ECOWAS]
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>EC</b>	Electoral Commission
<b>EMB</b>	Electoral Management Body
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>GIZ</b>	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
<b>IFES</b>	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
<b>IDEA</b>	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
<b>ISS</b>	Institute for Security Studies
<b>KAIPTC</b>	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
<b>KAPS</b>	Kofi Annan Peace and Security [Forum]
<b>MRU</b>	Mano River Union
<b>PPE</b>	Personal Protective Equipment
<b>REC</b>	Regional Economic Community
<b>RM</b>	Regional Mechanism
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SIPRI</b>	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
<b>SRSG</b>	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNMIL</b>	United Nations Mission in Liberia
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
<b>UNOAU</b>	United Nations Office to the African Union
<b>UNOWAS</b>	United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel
<b>WANEP</b>	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
<b>WPSI</b>	Women, Peace and Security Institute [at KAIPTC]

## DAY ONE OPENING REMARKS, WELCOME STATEMENTS, AND GOODWILL MESSAGES

### Major General Francis Ofori, Commandant, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)



Major General Francis Ofori, Commandant, KAIPTC delivering the welcome address

The Forum began with a welcome address, which was delivered by the Commandant of KAIPTC, Major General Francis Ofori. In his welcome address, Major General Ofori provided the rationale for the KAPS Forum, which is to honour the life and works of H.E. Mr. Kofi Annan. He also reflected on the theme of the conference, which was inspired by the evolving threats to democracy and good governance being witnessed in West Africa, including constitutional manipulation to extend the “fixed term-limits” of democratically elected leaders, military coup d’états, and electoral violence. He pointed out the risk of regional institutions losing credibility if the basic principles and norms

of democracy were not enforced. The theme of the Forum reflected the 20th Anniversary of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001); a Supplementary Protocol to the ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999). The Protocol provides the legal basis for ECOWAS intervention in conflict situations within the region.

Major General Ofori thanked the President of the Republic of Ghana for honouring the invitation to officially open the Forum. He also thanked the Governments of Germany, Norway and Sweden for their longstanding partnership and for their generous sponsorship of the KAPS Forum. He also thanked the Former African Heads of State and Government and the dignitaries from the UN and the Mano River Union (MRU) for gracing the occasion.

### Mr. Elhadj As Sy, Chair of the Board, Kofi Annan Foundation



Mr. Elhadj As Sy, Chair of the Board, Kofi Annan Foundation delivering a welcome address

Delegates at the KAPS Forum also received a welcome address from Mr. Elhadj As Sy who is the Board Chair of the Kofi Annan Foundation, the co-organising partner of the Forum.

In his address, Mr. Sy recognized amongst the dignitaries the presence of some of the signatories to the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, which he saw as very significant, particularly as they later provided first-hand accounts of the context in which the Protocol was adopted. He further pointed out that the two organising partners, the Kofi Annan Foundation and KAIPTC, did not only share the name of Mr Kofi Annan, but also his “mission and legacy to work for peace”. Towards this end, Mr. Annan consistently emphasized the interdependent relationship between peace and democracy. He noted that similar linkages are often drawn between democracy and inclusive economic development, “respect for human rights”, “good governance”, and “life expectancy”.

Mr. Sy warned that people would seek “alternatives” if the integrity of elections were not upheld, stressing that until inclusive economic, political and social development, and “respect for fundamental rights and freedoms” were prioritized, it was unlikely that stable peace and security could be maintained in the region. He also observed that the digital space offers both opportunities for inclusive governance as well as disruption to democracy through strategies such as “disinformation and fake news”; and that “economic development” should not be elevated over democracy as they are mutually reinforcing.

Mr. Sy lauded the President of the Republic of Ghana for his leadership on the maintenance of peace and security in the region and for setting in motion the processes towards the revision of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance which he described as a significant step in West Africa’s dedication to democracy and a hope to the youth. He urged delegates to “end the conference with a call to action to ensure West Africa’s democratic future”.

## H.E. Daniel Krull, Ambassador, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Accra



H.E. Daniel Krull, Ambassador, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Accra delivering a goodwill message

Following the welcome addresses by the co-organisers were goodwill statements by representatives of the partners of the KAPS Forum. These began with the statement by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The statement was delivered by the German Ambassador to Ghana, H.E. Daniel Krull.

In his statement, H.E. Krull underscored the significance of the KAPS Forum within a setting of threats to the democratic order, including “declining trust”, terrorism, and military take-over of the state. He added that within this backdrop, “African ownership in crisis management and crisis prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict management” was critical. He commended the President of Ghana for his leadership in promoting “peace”, “security”, and “stability” within the ECOWAS



space. He further stressed the importance of “close dialogue” with “transitional entities” in the region by ECOWAS.

H.E. Krull noted that the revision of the ECOWAS Protocol was significant within the ongoing context of democratic challenges and the commitment to bolstering democracy in the region.

### H.E. Ingrid Mollestad, Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra



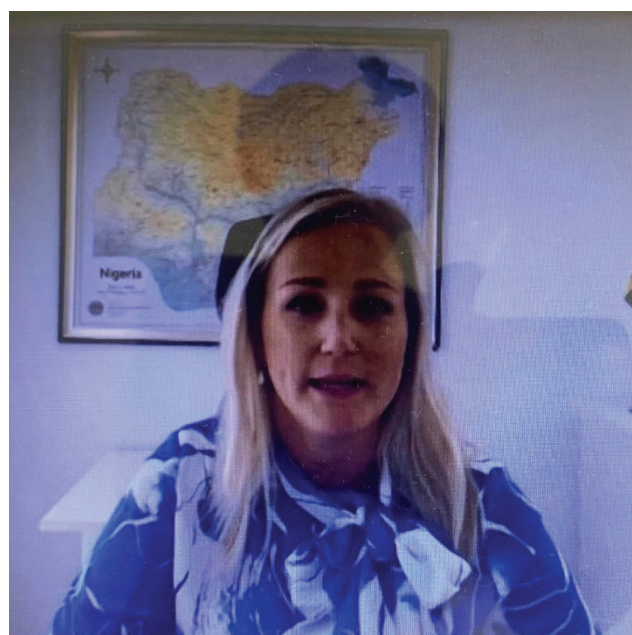
H.E. Ingrid Mollestad, Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra delivering a goodwill message

H.E. Mollestad, Norwegian Ambassador to Ghana, congratulated “ECOWAS on the 20th Anniversary of the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance” and reflected on democracy’s “fragility”, while emphasising the need for the adherence to the basic principles and tenets of democracy. She pointed out the progress that Africa had made in entrenching democracy including in the peaceful transfers of power as has been amply demonstrated in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, and The Gambia.

To consolidate the culture of democracy in the region, H.E. Mollestad called for particular attention to “inclusive participation” especially by “vulnerable minority groups”— “the majority [of which are] women and girls”. She emphasised the need for fairness, and “predictability and legitimacy of institutions”.

H.E. Mollestad warned of the risk of complacency stressing that all “must work to make democracy work for everyone” to prevent the potential diversion to non-democratic “alternatives”. She underscored the salience of dialogue in addressing coup d’états while emphasising that coups are neither beneficial nor should they be tolerated. She looked forward to further partnership and progression on democratic ideals during Norway’s and Ghana’s tenure on the UN “Security Council”.

### H.E. Anna Rääs, Deputy Head of Mission of Embassy of Sweden in Abuja



H.E. Anna Rääs, Deputy Head of Mission of the Embassy of Sweden in Abuja delivering her message of support virtually.



The third statement was by the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden and delivered by the Deputy Head of Mission of the Embassy of Sweden in Abuja, H.E. Anna Rääs, on behalf of the Swedish Ambassador to Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon and ECOWAS, H.E. Carl Michael Gräns.

In this statement, H.E. Rääs underlined Sweden’s commitment to buttressing democracy in Africa and beyond, for instance through a “recent initiative, the Drive for Democracy” in the wake of instances of “backsliding and decline” and through its interventions and priorities including backing “democratic processes and election authorities”, promoting women’s involvement in politics, peace and security, and youth participation in democracy. In these, Sweden works with institutions like the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and KAIPTC.

### **H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head, United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel**

The statements by the partners were followed by goodwill messages from two UN missions; beginning with the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS), delivered by H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and Head of UNOWAS. H.E. Annadif highlighted the commitment and efforts of the President of the Republic of Ghana in the search for solutions to the political crises in Guinea and Mali. He also noted the critical timing of the second KAPS Forum in view of the recent challenges to democracy in West Africa and the Sahel.



H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and Head, United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS)

He observed that while there have been some “good examples”, there are still areas in need of great improvement. Some of the good examples he cited included the peaceful elections in The Gambia, and Cabo Verde and the various dialogue initiatives being undertaken to restore peace to the region. At the same time, there are also blocked initiatives to dialogue, non-progression of constitutional reform in The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau and the coup d’états in Guinea in Mali in 2021; and the marginalisation of women and the youth in “governance and decision-making positions”, all of which remain critical impediments to the consolidation of democracy.

H.E. Annadif also pointed out that the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Governance, marked a political transition in ECOWAS and is a significant instrument in building entrenched democratic governance, which is necessary for economic and social development in West Africa.

He commended the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, including the then Chairman, H.E. Akufo-Addo, for the decision to review the Supplementary Protocol, in its 20th year. He indicated that UNOWAS would continue to work with “regional “state and non-state” institutions” including ECOWAS for good democratic governance in West Africa, “in accordance with its mandate”.

### Goodwill Message by H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head, United Nations Office to the African Union



H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, then SRSR to the African Union and Head, United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU) delivering a goodwill message

On her part, H.E. Tetteh, who is the SRSR and Head of UNOAU, noted that Africa “holds the solutions to its problems” and should concentrate on the “UN agenda 2030” and the “AU Agenda 2063”. She underscored the need for institutions at different levels of governance, the UN, AU, and RECs to work together in the “spirit of complementarity and subsidiarity” to address the “[democratic] backsliding in some parts of the continent”.

Regarding matters related to peace, development and security, she called for “a collective resolve” to realise the slogan of “silencing the guns [in Africa]”, the “application and implementation of the relevant policy instruments including the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, the AU Governance Architecture and the AU Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Framework” to discourage unconstitutional changes in government and enhance peace and development, while fostering inclusivity. H.E. Tetteh called for effective responses to the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change, encouraging all to “work together” effectively and ensure that “regional, sub-regional and national level” “policies” are “coherent and cohesive” in the face of these challenges. She highlighted the 27th session of the Conference of Parties (COP27) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change to be held in Egypt in 2022, and commended the host of the conference, which provides a critical platform and new strategies for “adaptation and sustainable development”. She pledged the commitment of her office to engage institutions such as KAIPTC “as a major source of thought leadership” with respect to various aspects of “peace and security”.

H.E. Tetteh underlined the importance of collaboration between the AU, RECs and Regional Mechanisms in resolving the ongoing transitions in different parts of Africa and to make “the phrase “building back better” a reality in the ECOWAS space.



## H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President, Republic of Ghana and Chairman, ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government



H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President, Republic of Ghana and Chairman, ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government

The conference keynote address was delivered by the Special Guest of Honour, the President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.

In his address, H.E. Akufo-Addo reflected on the two-fold agenda of the KAPS Forum—to pay tribute to H.E. Kofi Annan and to discuss matters relating to the stability of the African continent.

He underscored the centrality of the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance to the maintenance of peace and security in the region and emphasised the appropriateness of the theme for the second KAPS Forum.

He acknowledged that while ECOWAS has

registered significant success in ensuring political stability in the region, “the maintenance of peace and security remains a critical challenge in West Africa and beyond”. According to him, security in the region continues to be undermined by multiple threats that include the “COVID-19” pandemic, “unacceptable changes of term-limits, poverty and economic stagnation, the youth bulge and youth unemployment, farmer-herder conflicts, environmental degradation, as well as trans-national organised criminality, such as maritime piracy, cybercrimes, and the trafficking of drugs, arms and persons”. Of the challenges being encountered, the phenomenon of violent extremism and terrorism have been particularly devastating, according to the President.

H.E. Akufo-Addo also spoke on Ghana’s tenure on the UN Security Council for “2022-2023”,



during which, he said, “Ghana will make sure that Africa’s voice [would be] heard loud and clear in the deliberations of the Council, both on matters affecting the continent and on global issues. He added that [Ghana] will consult broadly to define Africa’s interests” including issues relating to “[UN] peacekeeping mandates on the continent”.

Regarding the coup d’états in Mali and Guinea, he noted that ECOWAS had developed “timetables for the conduct of credible elections in the two countries” and suspended the two countries “in line with the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance”. He further noted that the threats to good governance in terms of the unconstitutional extension of term-limits and the strained relationship between “the elected and the electorate” prompted the call for “the urgent review” of “the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance” by “the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government”, under his Chairmanship.

On Ghana, he emphasised the country’s commitment to “a positive influence in other African countries who continue to face challenges with democratic consolidation”. In this vein, he made a pledge to uphold the provisions and spirit of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.

“As President of the Republic of Ghana and Chair of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, I pledge to continue to respect the tenets of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, thus:

- I will not make or have cause to make any substantial modification to the electoral laws in the last six months before the next election;
- I will respect the two-term limit for the exercise of presidential authority, as stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana;
- I will not be an impediment to the conduct

of free, fair and transparent elections;

- I will hand over power to the next elected President on 7th January 2025; and
- I will rally my fellow ECOWAS Heads of States to take the pledge, and support them as they continue to work towards democracy and good governance in their respective countries”.

H.E. Akufo-Addo also expressed his hope that the 2021 KAPS Forum would “lead to concrete proposals to enable us consolidate democracy and good governance in West Africa”. He thanked the governments of Germany, Norway, and Sweden, for their long-term support to [KAIPTC] and the KAPS Forum. The President used the occasion to acknowledge the birthday of Former President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor.

The next section of this report provides summaries of the main points from the presentations and discussions, which followed the opening session.



H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President, Republic of Ghana and Chairman, ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government (centre)

From Left: Major General Francis Ofori, Commandant, KAIPTC; H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea; Hon. Dominic Nitiwul, the Minister for Defence of the Republic of Ghana; and Mr. Elhadj As Sy, Chair of the Board, Kofi Annan Foundation



## Plenary 1: ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance: Background, Expectations and Significance



From Left: H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister, Guinea, and Former Executive Secretary, ECOWAS; Dr. Abdel-Fatau Musah, Director, Africa II Division, Department of Political Affairs, UN Headquarters; H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President, Ghana; Mr. Emmanuel Habuka Bombande, Senior Mediation Adviser, UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs; H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea; H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister, Guinea; and H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, then SRSG to the African Union and Head of UNOAU

### Moderator

H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, then SRSG to the African Union and Head of UNOAU

Division, Department of Political Affairs, UN Headquarters

### Panelists

- H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President, Ghana
- H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister, Guinea
- H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister, Guinea and Former Executive Secretary, ECOWAS
- H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea
- Mr. Emmanuel Habuka Bombande, Senior Mediation Adviser, UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs
- Dr. Abdel-Fatau Musah, Director, Africa II

This session provided a multi-sectoral background to the development of the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, insights into its implementation over the past two decades, and recommendations for its review.



## The People as the Priority and the Bulwark of Democracy and Good Governance

The following are the key points that emerged from the deliberations under this sub-theme.

- Accountable governance is based on the sovereignty of the people;
- Inclusive governance, and government held accountable by its people are essential for the safeguarding of democracy and the realisation of good governance;
- People should be empowered through formal and informal education;
- An Africa Public Interest Media Initiative should be explored with Africa defining itself, using digital technology to ignite people's participation in democratic and governance processes from the grassroots level up; and
- The need to cultivate the culture of democracy in order to ensure that presidential term-limits are respected.

## Undemocratically-Elected Leadership

- The ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999) was premised on the assumption that coup d'états and other unconstitutional changes were unacceptable;
- The resurgence of coup d'états in West Africa constitutes a serious threat to national and regional stability;
- The trend of democratic reversal derives from multiple sources that include inequitable distribution of resources, youth unemployment, unconstitutional extension of term-limits, rigged elections or, in a wider sense, failed leadership; and
- Political contestants should be well vetted to ensure only effective and credible leaders are voted into power or office.

## Review and Implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance

- The Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999) was drafted in response to the crises in the MRU in the 1990s and forms the basis of ECOWAS intervention in Member States;
- The revised Protocol should reengineer ECOWAS as a proactive rather than a reactive regional mechanism;
- Civil society's participation in ECOWAS and its Member States activities should be reinvigorated through the activation of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) by ECOWAS with integrated checks and balances by the people;
- The time restriction for making changes to national constitutions before national elections should be extended from six months to two years as some leaders begin to make changes to the constitution long before the six-month period;
- ECOWAS should transcend beyond the zero-tolerance for power obtained or maintained by unconstitutional means to include prohibitions on illegal prolongation of term-limits;
- Political leaders should be encouraged to proclaim their opposition to term-limit extensions from time to time; and
- The winner-takes-all system of democratic representation should be changed to proportional representation.



## Plenary 2: Democratic Backsliding in West Africa



On stage, from left: Prof. Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, Board Chair, Afrobarometer; Dr. Arnauld Akodjenou, Special Adviser, Africa, Kofi Annan Foundation; Ms. Olufunto Akinduro, Senior Programme Officer, International IDEA; Dr Issaka K. Souaré, Senior Researcher and Director, SIPRI's Sahel and West Africa Programme; and H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, SRSG and Head, UNOWAS



On the screen: Dr. Gilles Yabi, Founder and Director, West Africa Think Tank (WATHI)



## Moderator

H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, SRSG and Head, UNOWAS

## Speaker

Prof. Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, Board Chair, Afrobarometer

## Panelists

- Dr Issaka K. Souaré, Senior Researcher and Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) Sahel and West Africa Programme
- Dr. Arnauld Akodjenou, Special Adviser, Africa, Kofi Annan Foundation
- Dr. Gilles Yabi, Founder and Director, WATHI
- Ms. Olufunto Akinduro Senior Programme Officer, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

In this session, Prof. Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, the Board Chair of Afrobarometer, gave a presentation on the latest Afrobarometer report. The presentation was titled 'Background Study on Democratic Backsliding in West Africa'. This was followed by discussions by the panellists and the audience.

## Democratic Backsliding in West Africa

This presentation emphasised two key points as follows:

- West African countries have faced challenges in the institutionalisation of democracy during the past decades. Nonetheless, in the 2000s, there was democratic progress with elected governments in place.
- Despite the recent challenges faced in Africa, the Afrobarometer shows that citizens are seeking accountable governments more than effective ones, and that the youth, who form the majority of Africa's population, are finding both good and bad ways to gain this accountability.

## Indicators of Democratic Backsliding

Indicators of and contributing factors of democratic backsliding include:

- Breaches of constitutional term-limits;
- the concentration of power and allegiance by appointees in the hands of the executive and ruling party;
- Appointment of unqualified people to head oversight positions and appointment of financially endowed individuals rather than competent persons as candidates for the position of Head of State;
- Weak EMBs and other institutions including access to credible campaign financing;
- Failure to implement initiatives and reforms during post-elections;
- Economic decline;
- State dominance over the formal economy and a weak domestic private sector;
- Injustice and inequity;
- Weak civic culture and democratic citizenship;
- Waning international influence in West Africa on democratic governance reforms by Western political and economic entities;
- Challenges with ECOWAS and AU mechanisms for systematic monitoring and capturing of emerging threats; and
- Governments taking advantage of the negative economic and social impact of the COVID-19 pandemic to introduce repressive legislation, curb protests and media freedom, and increase corruption and the manipulation of democratic systems.



## Positive Trends Regarding Democracy and Good Governance in West Africa

The plenary discussions focused on the following key areas:

- Digital technologies have exponentially increased avenues for West Africans to access and consume information by breaking government censorship, and facilitating citizen mobilisation;
- Voter turnout in Africa is even better than in older democracies and the Afrobarometer survey discovered that while people were willing to have their movements restricted due to COVID-19 pandemic, they would not be favourable to the postponement of elections;
- The violation of term-limits remains a limited phenomenon that can be reversed; and
- ECOWAS/West Africa remains the beacon of hope for democracy for Africa, in spite of the multiple challenges being encountered by the organisation.

## Recommendations for ending Democratic Decline in West Africa

The following recommendations were offered for and are needed to reverse the trend of democratic backsliding in West Africa:

- Encouraging multi-party democracy in the region;
- Addressing public mistrust in the executive;
- Suitable responses to citizen protest and dissent;
- Strengthening the independence of national EMBs and creating local EMBs;
- Strengthening the rule of law, inclusive and accountable governance, and conflict management in times of peace and conflict;
- Standardising a two-term tenure of presidency as an ECOWAS norm and adopting an ECOWAS principle that prohibits third terms as well as the domestication of

this principle in national laws;

- Integrating civil society into the ECOWAS architecture and in political checks and balances;
- Instituting a culture of democracy with ECOWAS support and with civic education; and
- Assessing ECOWAS through the Afrobarometer methodology as has been done for the AU and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

## DAY TWO

### Plenary 3: Good Governance and Democratic Consolidation: War-to-Peace and Democratic Transitions



From Left: H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President, Sierra Leone; H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President, Liberia; and H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General, Mano River Union (MRU)

#### Moderator

H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General, MRU

#### Panellists

- H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President, Liberia
- H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President, Sierra Leone

In this session, H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the former President of Liberia and the first female President in Africa, and H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, the former President of Sierra Leone, shared their personal experiences as presidents in the context of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding while dealing with the Ebola epidemic, which struck in 2014. The following are the highlights of their reflections and interactions discussed on the topic:

#### Building Blocks to Political Leadership, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Sustainable Peace

The attainment of high political office requires a history of political engagement, lived experience and deep “knowledge” of the social, economic, political and historical contexts. To rebuild a country devastated by armed conflict, the following are needed:

- A long-term vision that would be staged in different agendas;
- A diverse team with shared values consistent with the long-term vision;
- Financial and developmental partnerships, poverty reduction programmes, debt financing, and economic revival;
- Restoration of livelihoods, a functional educational infrastructure, and the civil service;
- Rebuilding of infrastructure, the

security sector, and institutions; and direct engagement with the people;

- Strategies to ensure national cohesion; for instance, intentional engagement with the opposition and their involvement in building regional and international partnerships, as well as in-country development programmes;
- Avoid going beyond the two-term limit, and not to waver on that decision even when under pressure from close quarters to violate term-limits;
- Separation and independence of the three arms of government; there should also be inclusive governance through the rule of law and fairness; accountability; strong institutions; assurance of justice and peace to encourage forgiveness; and the support of ECOWAS and the AU to keep leaders in check;
- Political parties should select effective and responsive candidates, who will facilitate the participation of women and the youth in the political space through affirmative action; and
- Early warning systems should not only apply to elections but also to governance monitoring with civil society playing a critical role.

### **Crisis Management during the Ebola Virus Disease Outbreak in West Africa**

- The Ebola Virus Disease outbreak reversed post-conflict reconstruction gains; it was necessary to manage expectations and to raise hope during this crisis as well as to restart the process of rebuilding after the crisis; and
- Strategies for dealing with that epidemic included:
  - Restrictions to movement;
  - Effective, regular, credible and reassuring communication and dissemination of information;
  - Recognition and public apology for a

misstep;

- Communication with neighbouring countries going through the same experience;
- Coordination of efforts by different stakeholders;
- Partnerships with diverse groups including the private sector, regional and international institutions, development partners, other countries, and youth from countries with related experience;
- Engaging and visible leadership and commitment; and
- Prioritisation of community leadership in channelling response.



## Breakout Session 1a: Entrenching Constitutionalism



From left: Prof. Raymond A. Atuguba, Dean and Associate Professor, University of Ghana School of Law; Prof. Boubacar Ndiaye, Professor of Pan-African Studies and Political Science, College of Wooster, Ohio; and Dr. Benjamin Kunbour, Former Minister for Defence, Republic of Ghana

### Moderator

Dr. Benjamin Kunbour, Former Minister for Defence, Republic of Ghana

### Panellists

- Prof. Raymond A. Atuguba, Dean and Associate Professor, University of Ghana School of Law
- Prof. Boubacar Ndiaye, Professor of Pan-African Studies and Political Science, College of Wooster, Ohio.

Ideas presented and discussions within this breakout session centred on constitutionalism and the realities of the African context towards a more peaceful and stable continent. The following are highlights from this session.

### Towards an African Constitution of Democratic Governance

- The model of constitutions in ECOWAS

Member States was inherited from colonial rulers and birthed the multiparty political system in these States; however, these constitutions came with their own set of challenges.

- African states need to go back to the drawing board to construct constitutions that are reflective of African culture, experiences and ideas, taking into consideration the supremacy of law for our distinct national communities. Test African prototypes of home-grown constitutions, and produce developmental constitutions that deliver on the fundamental needs of Africans.
- Five main phenomena threaten the entrenchment of constitutionalism; namely—constitutional and electoral manipulation, leading to unrest and coups; electoral violence; armed conflict, violent extremism and terrorism; youth bulge and unemployment; public health emergencies such as malaria, Ebola, cholera, cerebrospinal meningitis (CSM) and COVID-19; and extra-state law and

governance i.e. the development of counter hegemonic forces where law and governance in the by-ways hinder the work of statutory security institutions.

- Substantive content of consensus-building is more important than placing labels

as to what form of governance is best.

- Political parties in Africa have tended to serve as incubators of political corruption and as such, entrenchment of constitutionalism will require a reorientation of political parties.

## Breakout Session 1b: Ensuring Free and Fair Elections



Panel members from left: Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Former Chairperson, Electoral Commission, Ghana; Prof. Attahiru Muhammadu Jega, Former Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission; Mr. Raouf Salami, Program Officer, ECONEC; Ms. Olufunto Akinduro Senior Programme Officer, International IDEA

### Moderator

Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Former Chairperson, Electoral Commission, Ghana

### Panellists

- Prof. Attahiru Muhammadu Jega, Former Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
- Mr. Raouf Salami, Program Officer, ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commissions (ECONEC)
- Ms. Olufunto Akinduro Senior Programme Officer, International IDEA

Presentations and discussions in this breakout session underlined the indispensability of viable elections to the sustainability of democracy on the continent. The panel highlighted the challenges to this goal, and

proposed recommendations to strengthen electoral processes and actors. The following captures the key ideas from this session.

### Free and Fair Elections as Necessary Conditions for Democracy

- Elections are integral to democracy and their integrity should be upheld. They should offer a good range of credible candidates for citizens to choose from, and they should yield outcomes seen as free and fair.
- Democratic recession and the rise of populism can lead to uncontrolled political uprisings which affect democracy.
- Free, fair and transparent elections are critical to preventing democratic reversal and violent extremism.



## Election Management Bodies (EMBs)

- Commissions are formed, but then, they are reduced to administrative secretariats until the next elections. Some commissions are headed by directors who may not have the technical expertise;
- There is the need to harmonise the types and capacities of EMBs;
- There can be excellent legal framework, but until the behaviour of the people changes, elections will continue to face multiple challenges that undermine their integrity;
- Data on women's participation is limited to their registration in political processes, but not to their participation in decision-making processes.
- There is the need for follow-up missions where needed to improve the work of EMBs.

## Free and Fair Elections

- There should be a commitment to running regular elections, especially as there is an increase in the use of knowledge and technology in some countries.
- The use of technology should also be harmonised with no compromise to cyber security

## Recommendations for Ensuring Free and Fair Elections

- The efficacy and robustness of the legal framework for the conduct of elections should be enhanced in the sub-region.
- The membership of independent bodies should be increased and assured financial autonomy.
- Leadership recruitment processes in politics and governance should be improved.
- There should be legal restrictions and sanctions in the use of election funds.
- Citizens should be re-oriented to think independently of the elite, through education, sensitisation, and enlightenment. They must also register, understand voting processes, and participate in elections; thereby, increasing voter turnout.
- Credible stakeholder alliances should be

forged to enhance electoral credibility. EMBs should collaborate and share experiences to strengthen democracy.

- The presidency and judiciary should deliver efficient services that meet the expectations of the citizens and ensure leadership inclusivity.
- The rules and principles governing the functions of EMBs across the region should be harmonised and standardised.
- EMBs should form partnerships that enable them to share experiences and best practices.
- EMBs should recognise transparency as a tool for effective conduct of elections that have integrity.
- Personal integrity and system integrity should also be built as an important aspect for credible elections and the latter should include a form of checks and balances.
- Education for peace should be key in addressing the role of money in politics. There should be legal limits in terms of the use of money in elections.
- Voter registration should take into consideration the issues of birth and death records.





## Breakout Session 1c: Balancing Democracy with Countering Violent Extremism: Challenges and Prospects



From Left: Mrs Afua Lamptey, Deputy Programme Head, Conflict Management Programme, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC; Mr. Mustapha Abdallah, Research Fellow, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC; Dr. Andrews Atta-Asamoah, Head, African Peace and Security Governance Programme, ISS, South Africa; and Dr. Nathaniel Dominic Danjibo, Senior Research Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan



On the screen: Dr. Jesper Bjarnesen, Senior Researcher, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden

## Moderator

Mrs. Afua Lamptey, Deputy Programme Head, Conflict Management Programme, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC

## Panellists

- Dr. Andrews Atta-Asamoah, Head, African Peace and Security Governance Programme, Institute for Security Studies (ISS), South Africa
- Mr. Mustapha Abdallah, Research Fellow, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC
- Dr. Nathaniel Dominic Danjibo, Senior Research Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan
- Dr. Jesper Bjarnesen, Senior Researcher, The Nordic Africa Institute

In this breakout session, panellists discussed the linkages between democracy, good governance and violent extremism, and how state action and responses could either propel or stem the tide of violent extremism. The following are highlights from the session.

## Wavering Democracy, Bad Governance and Violent Extremism

Violent extremism is on the rise in Africa with a rise in deaths resulting from both extremist activities and strategies to counter such activities. The main causes of violent extremism include governance deficit—deficits in the provision of services and infrastructure, human rights abuses in the name of counter-insurgency, which blur the lines between the methods of insurgents and that of counter-insurgency forces. The state has over-securitised and over-militarised its response, manipulated the situation to hold on to power, for instance, by branding opposition candidates as terrorist and thereby falling into the terrorist trap of proffering instinctive responses that subvert the rule of

law. The panel further argued that although democratic processes deliver constitutionally legitimate governments, leaders do not necessarily deliver good governance. Thus, gaps in good governance have led to the population questioning the relevance of democracy, undermining its centrality to peace and security.

## Recommendations for Countering Violent Extremism

- Inclusive governance that works for the people, in terms of providing basic services, infrastructure and security, human rights, and the rule of law is critical for countering violent extremism.
- Inclusive decision-making processes in counter-insurgency that consults traditional authorities, prioritises intelligence-gathering, and engages local actors in counter-extremism measures are indispensable.
- Counter-extremism strategies should balance the respect for human rights, national security, and protection of individuals, in line with international, continental and regional frameworks on human rights and countering violent extremism.
- ECOWAS's role is critical in calling out bad governance and standing-up for democracy. ECOWAS is increasingly being regarded as a presidents' club; thus, losing its legitimacy in the eyes of the people.
- The virtual space can be used to promote extremism, stir-up unrest, violate privacy and curb human rights, but states should recognise this space as an extension of their physical space and thus, another area in which the state's presence needs to be felt to realise inclusive governance.
- Local defence groups should be integrated into formal structures.



## Breakout Session 1d: Deepening Democracy in an Age of Pandemic: Challenges, Prospects and Lessons



From Left: Mr. Allan Ngari, Coordinator, Regional Organised Crime Observatory for West Africa, ISS, Senegal; Dr. Ibrahim Bangura, Senior Lecturer, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone; and Dr. Kwame Sarpong Asiedu, Democracy and Development Fellow, CDD-Ghana

Panellists and delegates in this breakout session interrogated the management and abuse of the COVID-19 pandemic within a democratic lens and the necessity for strong democratic institutions in the areas of organised crime and health for effective responses to health crises. The following are the key points from the session.

### Moderator

Dr. Ibrahim Bangura, Senior Lecturer, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone

### Panellists

- Dr. Kwame Sarpong Asiedu, Democracy and Development Fellow, Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
- Mr. Allan Ngari, Coordinator, Regional Organised Crime Observatory for West Africa, ISS, Senegal



## Lessons Not Learnt from the Ebola Epidemic

African leaders were ill-prepared for the COVID-19 pandemic even after experiencing the Ebola epidemic. Therefore, instead of finding lasting solutions to address the pandemic, they resorted to the use of blunt instruments to slow it down. Most African countries' health expenditure has been very poor and this is due in part to a limited number of CSOs campaigning on health issues.

## COVID-19 Pandemic, Democratic Backsliding and Governance Gaps

- African states were largely found wanting in the implementation of declarations and protocols to which they had committed such as -The Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other Related Infectious Diseases 2001, and –The Kampala Declaration and Agenda for Global Action 2008.
- The pandemic has exacerbated the multiple human security challenges being encountered in many African states. The youth in most of these countries believe that their governments are using the pandemic as an excuse to introduce undemocratic strategies such as militarised and securitised responses to the pandemic. Moreover, other aspects of governance have been overshadowed by the pandemic as evidenced by the rise in prevalence of organised crimes. For example, the easy flow of counterfeit and hard drugs has been accentuated by the pandemic.
- Corrupt practices in the acquisition of vaccines and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) have tended to undermine the fight against the pandemic in Africa.

## COVID-19 and New Approaches to Economic Activities

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused behavioural change in most Africans with respect to the digitisation of the economy. This has led to artificial intelligence taking precedence over other visible skills that corporate institutions seek. With the adoption of the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA), it is expected that more legitimate trade will take place amongst states. Nonetheless, all governments should ensure border security of their states to deter illicit and illegal activities.

## Recommendations from the Session

- African states should prepare for potential epidemics or pandemics post-COVID-19.
- Countries should establish strong evidence-based institutions to aid with data collection for good governance.
- CSOs should push governments to respect and adhere to the declarations to which they have signed.
- Partnerships should be sought with the private sector during pandemics.
- Governments should refrain from the militarisation and securitisation of responses to pandemics.



## Breakout Session 2a: Youth and Women's Participation in Democracy

### Moderators

- H.E. Ellen Margrethe Løj, Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) and Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)
- Mrs. Serwaa Allotey-Pappoe, Researcher, Conflict Management Programme, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC

### Panellists

- Hon. Dr. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings, Member of Parliament, Korle Klottey Constituency at Parliament of Ghana
- Mrs. Joana Osei-Tutu, Head, Women, Peace and Security Institute (WPSI), Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, KAIPTC
- Dr. Angela Muvumba Sellström, Senior Researcher, Conflict and Security, The Nordic Africa Institute
- Dr. Doudou Dia, Executive Director, The Gorée Institute, Dakar, Senegal

This breakout session discussed the critical roles of the youth and women in promoting democracy, and the challenges to, and opportunities for their increased and effective participation in governance processes. The following are the main points that emerged from the session.

### Opportunities for and Challenges to the Involvement of Youth and Women in Democracy

Gender has been socially constructed in ways that have proven detrimental to the advancement of women and girls in Africa. There has been inadequate focus on masculinities and how hegemonic masculinities influence manifestations of

violence by young men and boys. While women and the youth have been participating in democracy, the conception and measure of their participation has been limited to elections. It was also argued that, governance failures have been a major cause of youth involvement in violent extremism, as despite youth activism against governance failure, the youth still elect political leaders who tend to manipulate them. Inclusivity should promote seats for women in parliament as well as for persons with disabilities. This can be attained by affirmative action, while safeguarding against tokenism in both private and public sectors. Gender equality in parliament is seen better in Francophone countries than Anglophone countries due to colonial histories.

### Recommendations for Increasing the Participation of Youth and Women in Governance Processes

- Political party reform should be effected to enhance women and youth participation in democratic processes.
- Women's participation should start from the local or assembly level.
- The promotion of inclusivity of women in private and public sectors should address their specific needs and aid in averting potential restrictions to their involvement through interventions such as the provision of child care at work and flexible working hours.
- The effects of crises such as conflict and the COVID-19 pandemic on women should be assessed.
- Women should be proactive in accessing, progressing and standing their ground in the political space. They can employ strategies such as studying the lives of pioneering and older women in politics such as H.E. Johnson Sirlleaf.
- 6. The media should be made aware of the effects of these negative aspects of politics on women's participation. Men in power should support legal and policy

interventions that promote gender equality in the democratic process.

- The older generation should give access, and transfer knowledge to the youth and train the youth to take-over from them in governance spaces. This type of preparation of the youth should be integrated into the educational system.
- KAIPTC may need to establish a school on democracy. Similarly, there should be a side event at the KAPS Forum to support the grooming and engagement of the youth.
- Youth participation and contributions should be integrated into constitutional reforms. The youth should be engaged in every aspect of governance at the political and institutional levels, as well as including young girls in decision-making.

## Breakout Session 2b: Electoral Integrity in the Digital Age

### Moderator

Dr. Andrews Atta-Asamoah, Head, African Peace and Security Governance Programme, ISS, South Africa

### Panellists

- Mr. Theophilus Dowetin, Election Systems Adviser in Niger, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)
- Mr. Sebastian F. W. Brack, Head, Elections and Democracy, Kofi Annan Foundation

In this breakout session, panellists and participants discussed the digitisation of elections, and how to maintain their integrity and public trust within this digitised space. The following presents highlights of this session.

### Mitigation of Threats Posed by Digital Media to the Advancement of Democracy

Social media and the internet can be viewed as either opportunities or threats to the consolidation of democracy. Social media utilises the elements of virality, anonymity,

homophony and monopoly in advancing its objectives. However, governments should regulate the threats digital media pose to democratic consolidation using methods such as deletion, demotion, disclosure, deterrence and digital literacy. These threats can also be mitigated by purchasing resilient software, building up the cyber defences of institutions, and partnering with technology firms.

### Effective Integration of Digital Media into Elections

The digital age has radically changed the electoral landscape by offering the opportunity to harness its benefits in terms of voter identification, voter registration and voter information. At the same time, there is the need to limit the threats it poses through the implementation of regional and national regulations and policies. Similarly, digital media plays critical roles in voter registration, voter information and civic education, and voter identification. It has helped in the management of logistics and enhanced electoral rights of electorates by providing them with access to information. It can also help with election campaigns. The problems, however, are whether or not digital media can provide accurate and reliable information. While the conduct of elections is made easier by computerisation, technology should not replace the roles played by election administrators in the electoral processes. Instead, technology should help to complete the role of the election administrators. The adoption of specific media-related codes of conduct can help to deter the use of digital media to derail democratic processes. While EMBs must collaborate with software providers to properly manage electoral data and information, regional norms and regulations are crucial in safeguarding the digital media space. With respect to public education, EMBs should collaborate with fact-checking groups and CSOs to ensure the responsible usage of social media. It was further argued that the age of voting should be reduced from 18 years to 16 years due to the advancement and usage of technology by the young youth.



## Breakout Session 2c: The Role and Ethics of Election Monitoring and Observation

### Moderator

Dr. Fiifi Edu-Afful, Research Fellow, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC

### Panellists

- Mr Moudjib Djinadou, Director, Political Affairs, UNOWAS
- Dr. Kojo P. Asante, Director, Advocacy and Policy Engagement, Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)

Election monitoring and observation especially, how these could be improved in Africa. The following provides a snapshot of discussions in this session.

### The Progress of and Challenge to Election Observation in Africa

Election observation is fundamental to every election; it helps in promoting the participation of the people in ensuring free and fair elections. This helps to promote democratic principles and values. However, election observation sometimes generate controversies that can impact electoral outcomes. Thus, professionalism in terms of selection, recruitment, and training of election observers is critical. The inclusion of Heads of States in election observation is a very significant tool in ensuring peaceful elections and peaceful transitions. In the same vein, there should be collaboration between all agencies/stakeholders working on particular elections. While there is value in a strong justification for domestic election observation, a major challenge relates to the failure of states to follow up on recommendations put forward in election observation reports.

## Recommendations for Future Election Monitoring and Observation

- Multi-Stakeholder collaboration should be considered for the effective implementation of recommendations by election observers.
- Election observation and election processes should be standardised. There is also the need to communicate election results timely.

## CONCLUSION

### Plenary 4: Presentation of Key Recommendations

- National stakeholders should promote broad-based political participation and inclusivity in order to bolster the resilience of the state to anti-constitutional and anti-democratic practices.
- ECOWAS Member States should explore alternative options to the politics of winner-takes-all as a means to forging greater participation and inclusion.
- ECOWAS Member States should invest in forms of education that promote the cultivation of civic, democratic and peace cultures.
- Consideration should be given to the implementation of policies by States to transition from the culture of elections towards the consolidation of democratic cultures.
- ECOWAS Member States should consider the adoption of constitutional provisions that stipulate the maximum age limit at which a person can legally contest for the office of President.
- Consideration should be given to the adoption of specific legal provisions that prevent the concentration of power in the hands of the Executive, as a means to promoting the rule of law and political accountability in West African States.
- ECOWAS Member States should redefine the idea of the public interest to reflect the priorities and needs of all segments of society.
- ECOWAS Member States should take steps to strengthen the independence and technical capacities of election management bodies in order to deliver credible electoral outcomes that reflect the will of the citizens.
- ECOWAS Member States should consider adopting measures to ensure effective regulation of the use and abuse of digital technologies in electoral processes as well as online discourses in order to prevent misinformation and hate speech.
- Civil society groups should reinvigorate their participation, engagement, and neutrality in the political arena in order to counter tendencies and practices that give rise to democratic reversals.
- ECOWAS Member States should adopt policies and programmes aimed at removing patriarchal structures which diminish women's experiences in political spaces, while promoting women's leadership and political participation across the scales and sites of society.
- ECOWAS should adopt specific provisions in the proposed revised Protocol that emphasize zero-tolerance for constitutional manipulation, with a mandatory two-term presidential term-limit for all Member States.
- ECOWAS should engage more proactively with Member States in ways that promote constitutionalism, the rule of law, and accountability, in order to obviate or minimise the need for crisis response or the imposition of sanctions.
- ECOWAS should collaborate effectively with institutions of thought leadership in the creation of regional norms and their diffusion particularly to local contexts in order to enhance the prospects for transformational changes.
- The youth should be recognised as critical stakeholders in democracy, development, and in the peace and security of their states.



## Closing Remarks

Honourable Yaw Osafo-Maafa, Senior Presidential Advisor, Republic of Ghana



Hon. Yaw Osafo-Maafa, Senior Presidential Advisor, Republic of Ghana, delivering the closing address

The reading and adoption of the draft Communiqué was followed by the Closing Ceremony with special commemorations for the dignitaries present.

In his closing remarks, Hon. Osafo-Maafa, the Senior Presidential Advisor to the President of Ghana, underscored that each person, either as part of a sector or “as [an] individual”, has “a role to play” in promoting peace and stability on the African continent. He reiterated a point H.E. President Akufo-Addo made during the opening ceremony that “even with two decades of democratic

elections, ECOWAS Member States still remain work-in-progress as democracies” due to several threats to the democratic processes, that include “cross-border instability, economic challenges, bad governance and difficulties in embracing power alternations”. He stressed that the integrity of electoral processes should be upheld, pointing out that the ECOWAS Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy could be improved and consistently applied in our quest to promote governance in the region.



He further stressed that the AU should also encourage the adoption and implementation of the Country Structural Vulnerability and Resilience Assessment (CSVRA) and the Country Structural Vulnerability Mitigation Strategy (CSVMS), “towards structural prevention of conflict and consolidation of peace and stability” in Africa. He added that digitisation and digitalisation should be embraced in the post COVID-19 pandemic era as doing so can foster “transparency and accountability in our political and social structures”.

Hon. Osafo-Maafa also noted that the youth are integral to entrenching or disrupting the democratic process and thus, their

participation in “the political agenda” should be at the forefront; and that women have a role to play in realising good governance and democracy.

He thanked KAIPTC and the Kofi Annan Foundation for organising the Forum. Similarly, he expressed his profound gratitude to the Former Presidents, Prime Ministers, diplomats, academia and CSOs for their active participation in the conference.

## ANNEXES

### i. Programme

**Kofi Annan Peace and Security Forum, 2021**  
**Democracy and Governance in the Context of Complex Crises in West Africa**  
**Dates: 8-9 December, 2021**  
**Venue: KAIPTC, Accra, and KAIPTC Online Platforms**

#### **Mistresses of Ceremony:**

Dr. Emma Birikorang, Deputy Director, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC  
 Ms. Jackie Ankrah, Communications Specialist and Musician, Accra, Ghana

#### **Day 1 Wednesday 8 December, 2021**

**08:45-09:15** Welcome remarks by Maj. Gen. Francis Ofori, Commandant, KAIPTC  
 Opening remarks by Mr. Elhadj As Sy, Chair of the Board, Kofi Annan Foundation  
 Statement by H.E. Daniel Krull, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Ghana  
 Statement by H.E. Ingrid Mollestad, Norwegian Ambassador to Ghana  
 Statement by H.E. Anna Rääs, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of Sweden in Abuja  
 Goodwill Message by H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS)  
 Goodwill Message by H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the African Union and Head of the United Nations Office to the African Union

**Address by Special Guest of Honour: H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President of the Republic of Ghana, and Chairman of ECOWAS**

#### **09:15 – 10:00 HEALTH BREAK/GROUP PHOTOGRAPH/MEDIA INTERVIEWS**

#### **10:00– 12: 30 Plenary 1: ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance: Background, Expectations and Significance**

H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President, Ghana  
 H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister, Guinea  
 H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister, Guinea and Former Executive Secretary, ECOWAS  
 H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea  
 Mr. Emmanuel Habuka Bombande, Senior Mediation Adviser, United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs  
 Dr. Abdel-Fatau Musah, Director, Africa II Division, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations (UN) Headquarters

*Moderator: H.E. Hanna S. Tetteh, Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the African Union and Head of the United Nations Office to the African Union.*

**12:30 – 14:00: LUNCH BREAK**

**14:00 – 14: 30 Plenary 2:** Presentation of the Background Study on Democratic Backsliding in West Africa by Prof. Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, Board Chair, Afrobarometer

**14:30 – 16: 00 Discussion on Democratic Backsliding in West Africa**

Dr Issaka K. Souaré, Senior Researcher and Director of SIPRI's Sahel and West Africa Programme

Dr. Arnould Akodjenou, Special Adviser, Africa, Kofi Annan Foundation

Dr. Gilles Yabi, Founder and Director, WATHI

Ms. Olufunto Akinduro Senior Programme Officer, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

*Moderator: H.E. Mahamat Saleh Annadif, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS).*

**15:30 – 16:30: HEALTH BREAK**

**16:30**            **End of Day 1**

**19: 00**            **GALA DINNER:**

Special Guest of Honour: Hon. Akosua Frema Osei-Opere, Chief of Staff, The Presidency, Republic of Ghana

**Day 2 Thursday 9 December, 2021**

**09:00-11:00 Plenary 3: Good Governance and Democratic Consolidation: War-to-Peace and Democratic Transitions**

H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President, Liberia

H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President, Sierra Leone

*Moderator: H.E. Medina A. Wesseh, Secretary-General, Mano River Union.*

**11:00 - 11:15**            **HEALTH BREAK**

**11:15-12:15**            **Breakout Session 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d.**

**1a. Entrenching Constitutionalism**

Prof. Raymond A. Atuguba, Dean and Associate Professor, University of Ghana School of Law

Prof. Boubacar Ndiaye, Professor of Pan-African Studies and Political Science, College of Wooster, Ohio

*Moderator: Dr. Benjamin Kunbour, Former Minister for Defence, Republic of Ghana*

**1b. Ensuring Free and Fair elections**

Prof. Attahiru Muhammadu Jega, Former Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission

Mr. Raouf Salami, Program Officer, ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commissions (ECONEC)

Ms. Olufunto Akinduro Senior Programme Officer, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

*Moderator: Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Former Chairperson, Electoral Commission, Ghana.*



### **1c. Balancing Democracy with Countering Violent Extremism: Challenges and Prospects**

Dr. Andrews Atta-Asamoah, Head, African Peace and Security Governance Programme, Institute for Security Studies (ISS), South Africa

Mr. Mustapha Abdallah, Research Fellow, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)

Dr. Nathaniel Dominic Danjibo, Senior Research Fellow, Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan

Dr. Jesper Bjarnesen, Senior Researcher, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden

*Moderator: Mrs Afua Lamptey, Deputy Programme Head, Conflict Management Programme, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC.*

### **1d. Deepening Democracy in an Age of Pandemic: Challenges, Prospects and Lessons**

Dr. Kwame Sarpong Asiedu, Democracy and Development Fellow, Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)

Mr. Allan Ngari, Coordinator, Regional Organised Crime Observatory for West Africa, ISS, Senegal

*Moderator: Dr. Ibrahim Bangura, Senior Lecturer, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone.*

### **12:15 - 13:15 Breakout Session 2a, 2b and 2c.**

#### **2a. Youth and Women Participation in Democracy**

Hon. Dr. Zanetor Agyeman – Rawlings, Member of Parliament, Korle Klottey Constituency at Parliament of Ghana

Mrs. Joana Osei-Tutu, Head, Women, Peace and Security Institute (WPSI), Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, KAIPTC

Dr. Angela Muvumba Sellström, Senior Researcher, Conflict and Security, The Nordic Africa Institute

Dr. Doudou Dia, Executive Director, The Gorée Institute, Dakar, Senegal

*Moderators: H.E. Ellen Margrethe Løj, Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) and Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL); and Mrs. Serwaa Allotey-Pappoe, Researcher, Conflict Management Programme, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC.*

#### **2b. Electoral Integrity in the Digital Age**

Mr. Theophilus Dowetin, Election Systems Adviser in Niger, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)

Mr. Sebastian F. W. Brack, Head, Elections and Democracy, Kofi Annan Foundation

*Moderator: Dr. Andrews Atta-Asamoah, Head, African Peace and Security Governance programme, Institute for Security Studies (ISS), South Africa.*

## 2c. The Role and Ethics of Election Monitoring and Observation

Mr Moudjib Djinadou, Director, Political Affairs, United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS)

Dr. Kojo P. Asante, Director, Advocacy and Policy Engagement, Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)

*Moderator: Dr. Fiifi Edu-Afful, Research Fellow, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).*

**13:15 - 14:15 LUNCH BREAK**

**14:15 – 14:30 Plenary 4: Presentation of key recommendations by Dr. Kwaku Danso, Deputy Dean, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)**

**14:30 – 15:00** Discussion and adoption of KAPS Forum 2021 Communiqué

**15:00 - 15:30 HEALTH BREAK**

**15: 30 - 16:00** Closing Remarks, Honourable Yaw Osafo-Maafa, Senior Presidential Advisor

## ii. List of Dignitaries and Delegates

SRL	TITLE	NAME	DESIGNATION	COUNTRY/INSTITUTION
<b>PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA</b>				
1	H.E.	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	President Chairman	Republic of Ghana ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government
<b>FORMER PRESIDENTS AND FORMER PRIME MINISTERS</b>				
2	H.E.	John Agyekum Kufuor	Former President	Republic of Ghana
3	H.E.	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Former President	Republic of Liberia
4	H.E.	Ernest Bai Koroma	Former President	Republic of Sierra Leone
5	H.E.	Kabiné Komara	Former Prime Minister	Republic of Guinea
6	H.E.	Lansana Kouyaté	Former Prime Minister Former Executive Secretary	Republic of Guinea ECOWAS
<b>CHAIRPERSON OF THE KAPS FORUM AND KAIPTC GOODWILL AMBASSADOR</b>				
7	H.E. Dr.	Mohamed Ibn Chambas	Special Envoy to Guinea	ECOWAS
<b>FAMILY OF H.E. KOFI ANNAN</b>				
8	Mr.	Kojo Annan	Son of H.E. Kofi Annan	
<b>FOREIGN MISSIONS ACCREDITED TO GHANA</b>				
9	H.E.	Tom Nørring	Ambassador	Embassy of Denmark in Accra
10	H.E.	Irchad Ramiandrasoa Razaaly	Ambassador	European Union Delegation to Ghana
11	H.E.	Daniel Krull	Ambassador	Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Accra
12	H.E.	Ingrid Mollestad	Ambassador	Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra
13	H.E.	Kyrre Holm	Deputy Head of Mission	Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra
14	Ms.	Victoria Poon Sundvor	Second Secretary, Political Affairs	Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra



<b>FOREIGN MISSIONS ACCREDITED TO GHANA</b>				
15	Mr.	Fred Pappoe	Senior Adviser, Private Sector and Political Analysis	Royal Norwegian Embassy in Accra
16	Mr.	Juan Ignacio Rico Yañez	Security Attaché	Embassy of Spain in Accra
17	H.E.	Anna Rääs	Deputy Head of Mission	Embassy of Sweden in Abuja
<b>UNITED NATIONS</b>				
18	H.E.	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	Special Representative of the Secretary General Head	UNOWAS
19	Mr.	Moudjib Djinadou	Deputy Head of Mission	UNOWAS
20	Mr.	Franklin Afese Ngochi	Political Affairs Officer	UNOWAS
21	H.E.	Hanna S. Tetteh	Special Representative of the Secretary- General to the African Union Head	UNOAU
22	Mr.	Obinna Frank Okamgba	Special Assistant to the Special Representative of the UN Secretary- General to the AU & Head of the UN Office to the AU (UNOAU)	UNOAU
23	H.E.	Charles Abani	Resident Coordinator	United Nations, Ghana
24	Mr.	Emmanuel Habuka Bombande	Senior Mediation Adviser	United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs
25	Dr.	Abdel-Fatau Musah	Director	Africa II Division Department of Political Affairs, United Nations Headquarters
<b>AFRICAN CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE AREA SECRETARIAT</b>				
26	Mr.	Representative of H.E. Wamekele Mene	Secretary General	African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA) Secretariat
<b>MANO RIVER UNION</b>				
27	Mr.	Medina A. Wesseh	Secretary General	Mano River Union (MRU)
<b>KAIPTC GOODWILL AMBASSADOR</b>				
28	Mr.	Ellen Margrethe Løj	Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan and Special	KAIPTC

			Representative of the Secretary-General to the United Nations Mission in Liberia Goodwill Ambassador	
<b>OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, MINISTERS, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF MINISTRIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA</b>				
29	Hon.	Yaw Osafo-Mafo	Senior Presidential Advisor	Office of the President
30	Hon.	Akosua Frema Osei-Opere	Chief of Staff	Office of the President
31	Brig Gen	Emmanuel Okyere (Rtd)	National Security Adviser	Office of the President
32	Hon.	Dominic Nitiwul	Minister for Defence	Ministry of Defence
33	Hon.	Kofi Amankwa-Manu	Deputy Minister for Defence	Ministry of Defence
34	Dr.	Dr Evans A. Dzikum	Chief Director	Ministry of Defence
35	Mr.	Henry Tachie-Menson	Then Acting Chief Director	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
36	Hon. Dr.	Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings	Member of Parliament for the Klottey Korle Constituency	Parliament of Ghana
37	Dr.	Benjamin Kunbour	Former Minister for Defence	Ministry of Defence
<b>FORMER CHIEF EXECUTIVES OF ELECTION MANAGEMENT BODIES</b>				
38	Prof.	Attahiru Muhammadu Jega	Former Chairman	Independent National Electoral Commission, Nigeria / Bayero University, Kano
39	Dr.	Kwadwo Afari-Gyan	Former Chairperson	Electoral Commission Ghana
<b>ECOWAS TRAINING CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE</b>				
40	Colonel	Sidi Ali Fofana	Director of Studies	École de maintien de la paix Alioune Blondin Beye (EMP-ABB)
41	Mr.	Ibrahim Sunday Dasam	Research Fellow, Department of Governance and Public Policy, Centre for Strategic Research and Studies	National Defence College (NDC)
<b>SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, REPUBLIC OF GHANA</b>				
42	Vice Admiral	Seth Amoama	Chief of Defence Staff	Ministry of Defence
43	Major General	Thomas Oppong-Pepurah	Chief of the Army Staff	Ministry of Defence

44	Rear Admiral	Issah Yakubu	Commandant	Ministry of Defence
45	Air Vice Marshal	Frank Hanson	Chief of Air Staff	Ministry of Defence
46	Rear Admiral	Moses Kwadwo Beick-Baffour	Commandant	Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSCC)
47	Major General	CK Awity	Commandant	Military Academy and Training Schools (MATS)
48	Major General	Emmanuel Kotia	National Coordinator	Ghana Boundary Commission
49	Lt Colonel	George Elisha Aful	Deputy Director, Corporate Affairs	General Headquarters – Defence Industries Department, Ghana Armed Forces
50	Lt Cmdr	DB Quayson	Deputy Director, Directorate of Religious Affairs	Ghana Armed Forces
51	Major	NA Mohammed	Imam	Ghana Armed Forces
52	Major General	Francis Adu Amanfoh (Rtd)	National Security Coordinator	National Security
53	Mr.	Richard Bayale	Officer	National Security
54		Representative of Dr. George Akuffo Dampare	Inspector-General of Police	Ghana Police Service
55	Major General	CB Yaache (Rtd)	Former Commandant	KAIPTC
56	Air Vice Marshal	CEK Dovlo (Rtd)	Former Commandant	KAIPTC
57	Brigadier General	Issah Wuni (Rtd)		
58	Brigadier General	Benjamin Freeman Kusi (Rtd)	Former Deputy Commandant	KAIPTC
59	Mr.	Tony Gomez	Deputy Chief Fire Officer	Ghana National Fire Service
60	Mr.	Obed Gameh Adomah	Fire Officer	Ghana National Fire Service
61	ASO	Priscilla Owusu-Boakye	Assistant Senior Officer	National Intelligence Bureau
<b>OTHER GUESTS</b>				
62	Dr.	Afua Boatemaa Yakohene	Research Fellow and Focus Person for Training	Legon Centre of International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana
63	Ms.	Linda Manu	Programme Officer	UONGOZI Institute



64	Mr.	Rashid	Head of Al-Barakah Banking	CRDB Bank PLC
65	Mr.	Yankuba Manjang	Executive Secretary	Peace Ambassadors
66	Ms.	Saptieu Kallon	Broadcast Journalist	Radio Democracy
67	Mrs.	Yawa Hansen-Quao	Executive Director	Emerging Public Leaders (Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Center (Amujae)
68	Mayor	Yvonne Aki-Sawyer	Mayor	Freetown City Council (Amujae)
69	Mr.	Justice Baako Ntarmah	General Secretary and Head of Education in International Relations	Migrant Labour General Workers Union International –Trades Union Congress
70	Mrs.	Miatta French	Election Expert Former Member	National Electoral Commission, Sierra Leone
71	Rev.	Kingsley Amoah	Executive Director	Defence Network for Democracy

#### DELEGATIONS

72	Mr.	Sheriff Ismail	Special Assistant	Office of Former Bai Koroma
73	Mr.	Ibrahim Sesay	Special Assistant	Office of Former President Bai Koroma
74	Ms	Elisabeth Franya Cabral Ruiz	Advisor	Office of Former President Bai Koroma
75	Mr.	Sekou Keita	Assistant	Office of H.E. Kabiné Komara
76	Mrs.	Ethel Holt Toles	Protocol	Office of H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
77	Mr.	Lawrence Wleh Browne	Security Guard	Office of H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
78	Mr.	Adam-Abdallah	Special Assistant	Office of H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas

#### EXPERTS AND RESOURCE PERSONS

79	Prof.	E. Gyimah-Boadi	Board Chair	Afrobarometer
80	Dr.	Issaka K. Souaré	Senior Researcher and Director, SIPRI's Sahel and West Africa Programme	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
81	Dr.	Gilles Olakounlé Yabi	Founder and Director	WATHI, Senegal

82	Ms.	Olufunto Akinduro	Senior Programme Officer	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
83	Prof.	Raymond A. Atuguba	Dean and Associate Professor	University of Ghana School of Law
84	Prof.	Boubacar N'diaye	Professor of Pan-African Studies and Political Science	College of Wooster, Ohio/ African Security Sector Network (ASSN)
85	Mr.	Raouf Salami	Program Officer	ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commission (ECONEC)
86	Dr.	Andrews Atta-Asamoah	Head, African Peace and Security Governance Programme	Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS)
87	Dr.	Dr. Nathaniel Dominic Danjibo	Senior Research Fellow	Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan
88	Dr.	Jesper Bjarnesen	Senior Researcher	The Nordic Africa Institute
89	Dr.	Ibrahim Bangura	Senior Lecturer	Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone
90	Dr.	Kwame Sarpong Asiedu	Democracy and Development Fellow	Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
91	Mr.	Allan Ngari	Coordinator	Regional Organised Crime Observatory for West Africa, ENACT Programme, ISS
92	Dr.	Angela Muvumba Sellström	Senior Researcher, Conflict and Security	The Nordic Africa Institute
93	Dr.	Doudou Dia	Executive Director	The Gorée Institute: Center for Democracy, Development and Culture in Africa
94	Mr.	Theophilus Dowetin	Election Systems Adviser in Niger	International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)
95	Dr.	Kojo P. Asante	Director, Advocacy and Policy Engagement	Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
<b>KAIPTC STUDENT</b>				
96	Mr.	Abraham Kofi Ametepey	Student, Master of Arts in Conflict Peace and Security 11	KAIPTC

GIZ				
97	Mrs.	Regina Bauerochse Barbosa	Country Director	GIZ
98	Mr.	Mr. Hannes Lam-brecht	Programme Manager	GIZ Support to KAIPTC
99	Dr.	Christian Ndubuisi Ani	Senior Regional Advisor	GIZ Support to KAIPTC
100	Ms.	Wendy Odametey	Administrative Assistant	GIZ
101	Mr.	Gilbert Abolimpo	Driver	GIZ
KOFI ANNAN FOUNDATION				
102	Mr.	El Hadj As Sy	Chair of the Board	Kofi Annan Foundation
103	Dr.	Arnaud Akodjenou	Senior Advisor, Africa	Kofi Annan Foundation
104	Mr.	Sebastian F.W. Brack	Head, Elections and Democracy	Kofi Annan Foundation
KAIPTC				
105	Major General	Francis Ofori	Commandant	KAIPTC
106	Air Commodore	George Kweku Arko-Dadzie	Deputy Commandant	KAIPTC
107	Prof.	Kwesi Aning	Director, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research	KAIPTC
108	Ms.	Horname Noagbesenu	Director, Policy, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Department	KAIPTC
109	Colonel	Robert Adwini (Rtd)	Director, Department of Administration	KAIPTC
110	Colonel	Paul S. Tanye-Kulono	Director, Training Department	KAIPTC
111	Prof.	Kwaku Osei-Hwedie	Dean	KAIPTC
112	Dr.	Kwaku Danso	Deputy Dean	KAIPTC
113	Mr.	Ernest Ansah Lartey	Head, Peace and Security Studies Programme	KAIPTC



114	Mrs.	Afua Lamptey	Deputy Programme Head, Conflict Management Programme	KAIPTC
115	Dr.	Fiifi Edu-Afful	Research Fellow	KAIPTC
116	Mr.	Mustapha Abdallah	Research Fellow	KAIPTC
117	Mrs.	Serwaa Allotey-Pappoe	Researcher	KAIPTC
118	Ms.	Rahima Moomin	Researcher	KAIPTC
119	Mrs.	Margaret Akakpo	Academic Assistant Registrar	KAIPTC
120	Mrs.	Auguster Ahorse	Assistant Course Director	KAIPTC
121	Captain	Benjamin G. Boateng	Aide de Camp to the Commandant	KAIPTC
122	Mrs.	Joana Osei-Tutu	Head, Women, Peace and Security Institute (WPSI)	KAIPTC

### iii. Institutional Support

SRL	INSTITUTION
1.	Office of the President
2.	Ministry of Defence
3.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
4.	Ministry of Interior
5.	Ministry of National Security
6.	Ghana Armed Forces
7.	Ghana Police Service
8.	State Protocol
9.	Ghana Immigration Service
10.	Ghana Airport Company
11.	37 Military Hospital
12.	Ghana Armed Forces Band

## iv. List of KAPS Forum Special Committees

### Programme and Content

Dr. Emma Birikorang	Deputy Director, Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research, KAIPTC
Dr. Kwaku Danso	Deputy Dean, KAIPTC
Dr. Naila Salihi	Research Fellow, KAIPTC
Dr. Fiifi Edu-Afful	Research Fellow, KAIPTC
Mrs. Joana Osei-Tutu	Head, Women, Peace and Security Institute (WPSI), KAIPTC
Mr. Frank Osei Okyere	Head, Peace Support Operations Programme, KAIPTC
Ms. Afua Lamptey	Deputy Head, Conflict Management Programme, KAIPTC
Mrs. Serwaa Allotey-Pappoe	Researcher, KAIPTC
Dr. Anna Mensah	Researcher, KAIPTC
Mr. Israel Addy	Database and Alumni Officer, KAIPTC
Dr. Christian Ndubuisi Ani	Senior Regional Advisor, GIZ Support to KAIPTC
Mr. Ernest Ansah Lartey	Head, Peace and Security Studies Programme, KAIPTC

### Partnerships and Fundraising

Ms. Amma Addo-Fening	Senior Stakeholder Engagement Officer, KAIPTC
Mr. John Tsotsorvor	Senior Programmes Officer, KAIPTC
Mr. Ernest Ansah Lartey	Head, Peace and Security Studies Programme, KAIPTC
Ms. Shiela Naade Tetteh	Administrative Assistant, KAIPTC
Mr. Kodjo Antwi	Head, Library, KAIPTC

### Contracting and Procurement

Ms. Rachel MacCarthy	Legal Officer, KAIPTC
Mr Daniel Siaw	Head, Procurement, KAIPTC
Mrs. Vera Atsutse	Finance Officer, KAIPTC

### Security, Safety and Health

Lt Col Kingsley Birikorang	Deputy Head, Training, Evaluation and Development, KAIPTC
Ex-Senior WO Francis Neglow	Chief Security Officer, KAIPTC
Ex-WO Julius Dzdededzi	Physician Assistant, KAIPTC

## Opening Ceremony and Special Events

Mr. Frank Osei Okyere	Head, Peace Support Operations Programme, KAIPTC
Mrs. Lydia Yamoah Hagan	Course Director, KAIPTC
Mrs. Rosemond Aryeetey	Head, Corporate Affairs, KAIPTC
Ms. Afua Lamptey	Deputy Head, Conflict Management Programme, KAIPTC
Dr. Anna Mensah	Researcher, KAIPTC
Mr. Ofosu Ose	Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Officer, KAIPTC
Ms. Ruth Frimpong	Administrative Assistant, KAIPTC

## Protocol and Flight Arrangements

Mrs. Joana Osei-Tutu	Head, WPSI, KAIPTC
WO Class II Richard Attuahene	Movement Control (MovCon) Officer, KAIPTC
Mr. John Elikem Tsotorvor	Senior Programmes Officer, KAIPTC
Ex-WO Class I Robert Kwesi Yamoah	Protocol Officer, KAIPTC
Ms. Adelaide Otoo	Programme Officer, WPSI, KAIPTC
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Ms. Elsie Tachie-Menson	Editorial Assistant, KAIPTC
Mr. Yaw Obeng Amponsah-Baa	National Service Personnel, KAIPTC
Ms. Hannah Baah	Assistant Librarian, KAIPTC
Ms. Natasha Allotey	Assistant Librarian, KAIPTC

## Design, Production and Photography

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Mrs. Irene Fiebor	E-Learning Officer, KAIPTC
Ms. Linda Addo	Assistant Librarian, KAIPTC
Ms. Ayesha Nkrumah	Public Relations Officer, KAIPTC

## Security, Safety and Health

Lt Col Kingsley Birikorang	Deputy Head, Training, Evaluation and Development, KAIPTC
Ex-Senior WO Francis Neglow	Chief Security Officer, KAIPTC



## Media, Communication and Publicity

Mrs. Rosemond Aryeetey	Head, Corporate Affairs, KAIPTC
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Mr. Stephen Yeboah	Network Officer, KAIPTC
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Mr. Job Abrokwah	IT Technician, KAIPTC
Mr. Gideon M. Ayi	IT Technician, KAIPTC
Mr. Henry Annan	IT Technician, KAIPTC
Mr. Selorm Charlton Gbekle	IT Technician, KAIPTC
Mr. Philip Makafui Ankah	Faculty Coordinator, KAIPTC

## Lodging and Catering

Mrs. Afua Lamptey	Deputy Head, Conflict Management Programme, KAIPTC
Mr. Philip Makafui Ankah	Faculty Coordinator, KAIPTC
Mr. Divine Kurenty	Head, Hospitality Unit, KAIPTC
Ms. Kakra Anaman	Events Officer, KAIPTC
Mrs. Margaret Nawurah	Matron, KAIPTC
Ms. Sarah Okumo	E-Learning Instructional Designer, KAIPTC

## Transportation

Major Saviour Hadjah	General Staff Officer Grade II, KAIPTC
WO Class II Stephen Wonder	Dispatch Rider, KAIPTC

## Finance and Disbursement

Mr. Lawrence A. Bediako	Head, Finance Unit, KAIPTC
Mrs. Vera Atsutse	Finance Officer, KAIPTC
Mrs. Christiana Pambo	Head, Audit Unit, KAIPTC
Mr. Frank Osei Okyere	Head, Peace Support Operations Programme, KAIPTC

## Language and Translation

Dr. Anna Mensah	Researcher, KAIPTC
Mr. Bienvenu Kimama	French Translator, KAIPTC
Ms. Princella Godzi	Assistant Course Director, KAIPTC
Ms. Samantha Quaye	E-Learning Multimedia Designer, KAIPTC

## Facilities and Logistics

Mr. Francis Sakordie-Addo	Head, Facilities Unit, KAIPTC
Mr. Asare Boateng	Facilities Officer, KAIPTC
Mr. Divine Kurenty	Head, Hospitality Unit, KAIPTC
Ex-Senior WO Francis Neglow	Chief Security Officer, KAIPTC

## Event Management Consultant

Global Media Alliance

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FOUNDATION

giz

Norwegian  
Government

## FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

ADOPTED AT THE SECOND EDITION OF THE KOFI ANNAN PEACE AND SECURITY FORUM ON THE THEME: 'DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF COMPLEX CRISES IN WEST AFRICA', HELD IN ACCRA, GHANA ON 8TH AND 9TH DECEMBER 2021

### 1. Preamble

Under the leadership of the President of the Republic of Ghana, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, and the Chairman of the Authority of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Heads of State and Government, His Excellency (H.E.) Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo; and under the Chairmanship of the ECOWAS Special Envoy to Guinea, H.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas; the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) and Kofi Annan Foundation held the second edition of the Kofi Annan Peace and Security Forum (hereafter, KAPS Forum) on the theme: '**Democracy and Governance in the Context of Complex Crises in West Africa**', on 8th and 9th December 2021, in collaboration with the Federal Government of Germany, the Kingdom of Norway, and the Kingdom of Sweden.

The KAPS Forum was also honoured to host H.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, Former President of the Republic of Ghana; H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of the Republic of Liberia; H.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, Former President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; H.E. Kabiné Komara, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea; and H.E. Lansana Kouyaté, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea and Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS.

Distinguished delegates also included representatives of governmental and inter-governmental organisations, United Nations (UN) special envoys, the diplomatic community, development partners, election management bodies, security professionals, policy and research think tanks, academia, peacekeeping training institutions, corporate leaders, and other civil society groups; participating both in person and virtually.

### 2. Development of the Communiqué

The final communiqué is based on deliberations and conclusions at the KAPS Forum relating to the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (hereafter, the Protocol) adopted in 2001. The following sub-themes were discussed either at plenary or in small-group sessions; namely—: Background, Expectations and Significance of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance; Democratic Backsliding in West Africa; Good Governance and Democratic Consolidation in War-to-Peace and Democratic Transitions; Entrenching Constitutionalism; Ensuring Free and Fair Elections; Challenges and Prospects of Balancing Democracy with Countering Violent Extremism; Challenges, Prospects and Lessons with respect to Deepening Democracy in an Age of Pandemic; Youth and Women Participation in Democracy; Electoral Integrity in the Digital Age; and Role and Ethics of Election Monitoring and Observation.

### 3. The Communiqué

Delegates made the following observations and recommendations during the KAPS Forum:

#### 3.1 Context

1. The year 2021 marks the 20th Anniversary of the adoption of the Protocol, which seeks to entrench democratic institutions and practices in West Africa.
2. The West African region has seen a decline in the incidence of military coup d'états and civil wars, and a rise in instances of peaceful elections and peaceful transfers of power, in the last 20 years.
3. However, in the recent past, the avowed goals of the Protocol are being put to test by multiple sources of threats to security in the region.
4. Unconstitutional or illegitimate extensions of term-limits and the interventions of the military in politics are re-emerging at a time when many believed that coup d'états had become things of the past in West Africa.
5. These developments are being complicated by the crises resulting from the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the challenges posed by violent extremism and radicalisation in West Africa and the Sahel.
6. A review of the Protocol has been proposed as part of processes aimed at mobilising effective responses to these challenges. It was against this backdrop that the theme for the second meeting of the KAPS Forum was adopted.




### 3.2 Recommendations

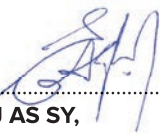
The following recommendations were offered for consideration:


1. National stakeholders should promote broad-based political participation and inclusivity in order to bolster the resilience of the state to anti-constitutional and anti-democratic practices;
2. ECOWAS Member States should explore alternative options to the politics of winner-takes-all as a means to forging greater participation and inclusion;
3. ECOWAS Member States should invest in forms of education that promote the cultivation of civic, democratic and peace cultures;
4. Consideration should be given to the implementation of policies by States to transition from the culture of elections towards the consolidation of democratic cultures;
5. ECOWAS Member States should consider the adoption of constitutional provisions that stipulate the maximum age limit at which a person can legally contest for the office of president;
6. Consideration should be given to the adoption of specific legal provisions that prevent the concentration of power in the hands of the Executive, as a means to promoting the rule of law and political accountability in West African States;
7. ECOWAS Member States should redefine the idea of the public interest to reflect the priorities and needs of all segments of society;
8. ECOWAS Member States should take steps to strengthen the independence and technical capacities of election management bodies in order to deliver credible electoral outcomes that reflect the will of the citizens;
9. ECOWAS Member States should consider adopting measures to ensure effective regulation of the use and abuse of digital technologies in electoral processes as well as online discourses in order to prevent misinformation and hate speech;
10. Civil society groups should reinvigorate their participation, engagement, and neutrality in the political arena in order to counter tendencies and practices that give rise to democratic reversals;
11. ECOWAS Member States should adopt policies and programmes aimed at removing patriarchal structures which diminish women’s experiences in political spaces, while promoting women’s leadership and political participation across the scales and sites of society;
12. ECOWAS should adopt specific provisions in the proposed revised Protocol that emphasize zero-tolerance for constitutional manipulation, with a mandatory two-term presidential term-limit for all Member States;
13. ECOWAS should engage more proactively with Member States in ways that promote constitutionalism, the rule of law, and accountability, in order to obviate or minimise the need for crisis response or the imposition of sanctions;
14. ECOWAS should collaborate effectively with institutions of thought leadership in the creation of regional norms and their diffusion particularly to local contexts in order to enhance the prospects for transformational changes; and
15. The youth should be recognised as critical stakeholders in democracy, development, and in the peace and security of their states.

WHEREUPON, We the under listed, Commandant of KAIPTC, Chairman of the Kofi Annan Foundation, and Chairman of the KAPS Forum append our signatures to this Communiqué on the date below:

Adopted in Accra on 9th December, 2021; issued in Accra on 26th January, 2022.

Signature.....  
**MAJOR GENERAL FRANCIS OFORI,**  
Commandant, Kofi Annan International  
Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC)

Signature.....  
**MR. ELHADJ AS SY,**  
Chairman of the Board,  
Kofi Annan Foundation

Signature.....  
**H.E. DR. MOHAMED IBN CHAMBAS,**  
Chairman of the Kofi Annan Peace  
and Security Forum and ECOWAS  
Special Envoy to Guinea

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Norwegian  
Government

## COMMUNIQUÉ FINAL

ADOpte LORS DE LA SECONDE EDITION DU FORUM KOFI ANNAN POUR LA PAIX ET LA SECURITE  
TENU A ACCRA - GHANA DU 08 AU 09 DECEMBRE 2021

THEME: 'DEMOCRATIE ET GOUVERNANCE DANS LE CONTEXTE DE CRISES COMPLEXES EN  
AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST'

### 1. Préambule

Sous le haut patronage du Président de la République du Ghana, Commandant en Chef des Forces Armées du Ghana, et Président de la Conférence des Chefs d'Etats et de Gouvernements de la Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEDEAO), Son Excellence (S.E.) Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo ; et sous la présidence de l'Envoyé spécial de la CEDEAO en Guinée, S.E. Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, le Centre International Kofi Annan de Formation au Maintien de la Paix (KA IPTC) et la Fondation Kofi Annan ont tenu la seconde édition du Forum Kofi Annan pour la Paix et la Sécurité (ci-après dénommé, Forum KAPS) sous le thème : **'Démocratie et Gouvernance dans le Contexte de Crises Complexes en Afrique de l'Ouest'**, les 8 et 9 décembre 2021; en collaboration avec le Gouvernement Fédéral d'Allemagne, le Royaume de Norvège et le Royaume de Suède.

Le Forum KAPS fut également honoré d'accueillir S.E. John Agyekum Kufuor, ancien Président de la République du Ghana; S.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, ancienne Présidente de la République du Libéria ; S.E. Ernest Bai Koroma, ancien Président de la République de la Sierra Léone; S.E. Kabiné Komara, ancien Premier Ministre de la République de Guinée; et S.E. Lansana Kouyaté, ancien Premier Ministre de la République de Guinée et ancien Secrétaire exécutif de la CEDEAO.

Parmi les honorables délégués se trouvaient également des représentants d'organisations gouvernementales et intergouvernementales, des envoyés spéciaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, des corps diplomatiques, des partenaires au développement, des organismes de gestion des élections, des professionnels de la sécurité, des groupes de réflexion sur les politiques et la recherche, des universitaires, des institutions de formation au maintien de la paix, des chefs d'entreprise et d'autres groupes de la société civile qui ont participé en présentiel ou en ligne.

### 2. Elaboration du Communiqué

Ce communiqué final vient sanctionner les délibérations et conclusions qui ont été faites lors du Forum KAPS en rapport avec le Protocole additionnel de la CEDEAO sur la démocratie et la bonne gouvernance, adopté en 2001 (ci-après dénommé, le Protocole). Certains des sous-thèmes ont été disséqués en séance plénière et d'autres en petits groupes ; ce sont notamment : le contexte, les attentes et l'importance du Protocole de la CEDEAO sur la démocratie et la bonne gouvernance ; le recul démocratique en Afrique de l'Ouest ; la bonne gouvernance et la consolidation démocratique au cours des transitions de la guerre à la paix et les transitions démocratiques ; l'enracinement du constitutionnalisme ; la garantie d'élections libres et équitables ; les défis et perspectives de trouver un équilibre entre la démocratie et la lutte contre l'extrémisme violent ; les défis, les perspectives et les leçons relatives à l'affermissement de la démocratie à l'ère de la pandémie ; la participation des jeunes et des femmes à la démocratie ; l'intégrité électorale à l'ère du numérique ; ainsi que le rôle et l'éthique de la surveillance et de l'observation des élections.

### 3. Le Communiqué

Les délégués ont formulé les observations et recommandations suivantes au cours du Forum KAPS :

#### 3.1 Contexte

1. L'année 2021 marque le 20e anniversaire de l'adoption du Protocole, lequel vise à ancrer les institutions et les pratiques démocratiques en Afrique de l'Ouest ;
2. Au cours des 20 dernières années, la région de l'Afrique de l'Ouest a connu une diminution de l'incidence des coups d'Etat militaires et des guerres civiles, et une augmentation des cas d'élections et de transferts de pouvoir pacifiques ;
3. Cependant, les objectifs fixés par le Protocole sont mis à rude épreuve par de multiples sources de menaces à la sécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest pendant ces derniers temps ;
4. Les prolongations anticonstitutionnelles ou illégitimes des mandats et les immiscions de l'armée dans la vie politique réapparaissent à un moment où bon nombre pensaient que les coups d'Etat étaient révolus en Afrique de l'Ouest ;

5. Ces nouveaux développements sont exacerbés par les crises résultant de la pandémie actuelle de la maladie à coronavirus (COVID-19), ainsi que les défis posés par l'extrémisme violent et la radicalisation en Afrique de l'Ouest et au Sahel ;
6. Une révision du Protocole a été proposée dans le cadre des processus visant à mobiliser des interventions efficaces face à ces défis. C'est dans ce contexte que le thème de la deuxième réunion du Forum KAPS fut adopté.

### 3.2 Recommandations

Les recommandations suivantes ont été proposées pour examen :

1. Au niveau national, les parties prenantes doivent promouvoir l'inclusion et une large participation des citoyens à la vie politique afin de renforcer la résilience de l'Etat face aux pratiques anticonstitutionnelles et antidémocratiques ;
2. Les Etats membres de la CEDEAO doivent rechercher d'autres alternatives à la politique du gagnant remporte tout (winner takes all) en vue de parvenir à une plus grande participation et à l'inclusion ;
3. Les Etats Membres de la CEDEAO doivent investir dans des formes d'éducation en faveur des cultures du civisme, de la démocratie et de la paix ;
4. Dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre des politiques, les Etats doivent passer de la culture des élections à la consolidation des cultures démocratiques ;
5. Les Etats membres de la CEDEAO doivent œuvrer pour l'adoption de dispositions constitutionnelles stipulant l'âge limite maximal à partir duquel une personne peut légalement déposer sa candidature pour la magistrature suprême ;
6. Il convient d'œuvrer pour l'adoption de dispositions légales visant à empêcher la concentration du pouvoir entre les mains de l'Exécutif, en vue de la promotion de l'Etat de droit et de la responsabilité politique dans les états de l'Afrique de l'Ouest ;
7. Les Etats membres doivent redéfinir le concept de l'intérêt public en vue de refléter les priorités et les besoins de toutes les couches de la société ;
8. Les Etats membres de la CEDEAO doivent prendre des mesures pour renforcer l'indépendance et les capacités techniques des organes de gestion des élections afin qu'ils puissent produire des résultats crédibles reflétant la volonté des citoyens à l'issue des élections.
9. Les Etats membres de la CEDEAO doivent envisager l'adoption de mesures visant à garantir une réglementation efficace de l'usage et de l'abus des technologies numériques dans les processus électoraux aussi bien que les sorties médiatiques en ligne afin de prévenir la désinformation et les discours de haine ;
10. Les groupes de la société civile doivent dynamiser leur participation, leur engagement et leur neutralité sur la scène politique afin de contrecarrer les tendances et pratiques qui donnent lieu à des reculs de la démocratie ;
11. Les Etats membres de la CEDEAO doivent adopter des politiques et des programmes visant à supprimer les structures patriarcales, lesquelles empêchent les femmes d'acquérir l'expérience de la scène politique, tout en promouvant le leadership et la participation politique des femmes tout au long de la hiérarchie et dans toutes les couches de la société ;
12. La CEDEAO doit adopter des dispositions spécifiques dans le projet de Protocole révisé, lesquelles mettront l'accent sur la tolérance zéro vis-à-vis des manipulations constitutionnelles, avec une limite obligatoire de deux mandats présidentiels dans tous les Etats membres ;
13. La CEDEAO doit s'engager de manière plus proactive aux côtés des Etats membres de façon à promouvoir le constitutionnalisme, l'Etat de droit et la responsabilité, afin d'éviter ou de réduire au maximum la nécessité d'interventions en cas de crises ou d'imposer des sanctions ;
14. La CEDEAO doit collaborer efficacement avec les institutions de leadership intellectuel en vue de la création de normes régionales et de leur diffusion en particulier selon les contextes locaux afin d'améliorer les perspectives de changements transformationnels ; et
15. Les jeunes doivent être reconnus comme des acteurs essentiels de la démocratie, du développement, de la paix et de la sécurité de leurs Etats.

EN CONSÉQUENCE, nous soussignés, Commandant du KAIPTC, Président de la Fondation Kofi Annan, et Président du Forum KAPS, apposons nos signatures au présent communiqué à la date ci-dessous :

Adopté à Accra le 9 décembre 2021 ; publié le 26 janvier 2022 à Accra.

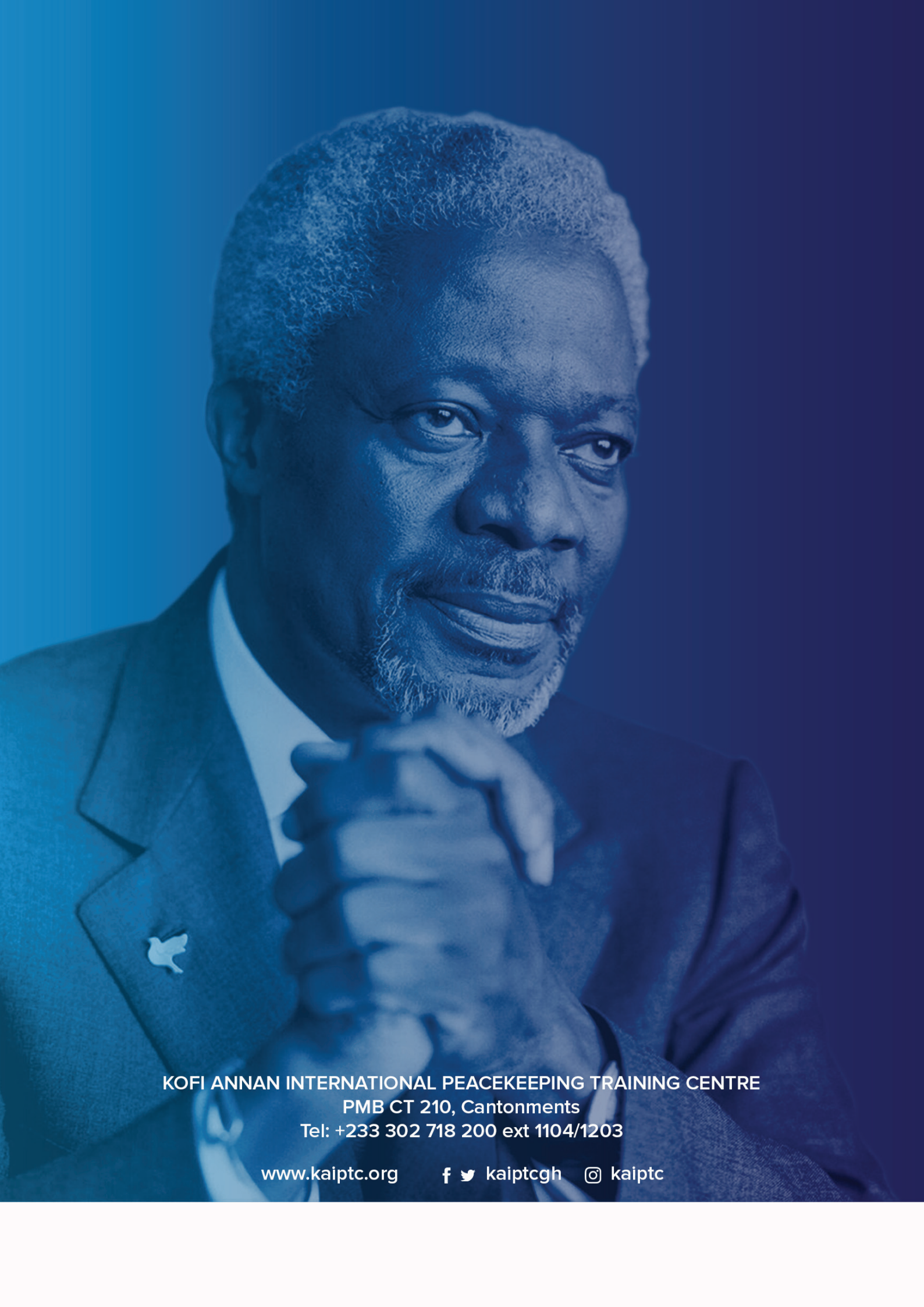
Signature.....  
**GENERAL DE DIVISION FRANCIS OFORI,**  
Commandant du Centre International  
Kofi Annan de Formation au Maintien  
de la Paix (KAIPTC)

Signature.....  
**MR. ELHADJ AS SY,**  
Président du Conseil d'Administration  
de la Fondation Kofi Annan

Signature.....  
**S.E. DR. MOHAMED IBN CHAMBAS,**  
Président du Forum Kofi Annan pour la Paix  
et la Sécurité et Envoyé spécial  
de la CEDEAO en Guinée







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