



ASSN Quarterly

Newsletter of the African Security Sector Network

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ASSN Quarterly is published by the African Security Sector Network. It highlights the activities of the network, as well as other developments in the fields of Security and Justice Reform, both in Africa and beyond.

The views expressed in the articles published in this newsletter are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the African Security Sector Network.

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Welcome to the First Edition of Our Newsletter



As most of you probably know already, the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) is a non-profit network of African institutions and individuals working in the area of Security and Justice Reform, with a firm dedication to the achievement of effective and democratically governed security for the peoples of Africa.

We strive towards this goal by providing the support that enables African governments, legislatures, security institutions and civil society organizations to conceptualize, undertake and own Security and Justice programmes.

Working through the positive synergy generated by networking and partnerships, we seek to foster dialogue around matters of Security and Justice while also providing policy support, training, research and publication.

Our pan-African membership is drawn from among policy-makers, security practitioners, legislators, government officials, academics, researchers, activists and civil society organisations, all working together in an organised networking framework that promotes debate, exchange of experiences and lesson learning.

This newsletter is just the beginning of our continued communication with you. It will be published four times a year - in January, April, July and October – and will seek to bring you up to date on developments, trends and topics of relevance in the field of African Security and Justice. We sincerely hope you will enjoy reading this first issue, and will similarly look forward to subsequent editions.

Best wishes,

Eboe Hutchful
Chair, African Security Sector Network

Leymah Gbowee Wins Nobel Peace Prize

Liberian peace activist and ASSN collaborator Leymah Gbowee has been awarded the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize.

Gbowee, 39, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her “non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work,” according to the citation of the Nobel Committee. She shares the prize with Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Tawakkul Karman, a pro-democracy activist from Yemen. A widely respected African peace activist, Gbowee is credited for organizing a women's peace movement that helped bring an end to the Second Liberian Civil War.

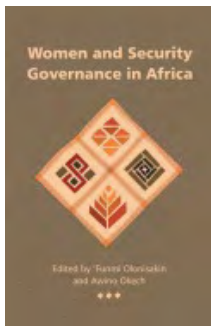
She is the Executive Director of Wipsen-Africa, which is one of the ASSN's principal partner organizations in West Africa. The ASSN and Wipsen-Africa have worked together on several programmes in the past, the latest of which was a 2010 project that successfully lobbied the Government of Ghana to formulate an action plan for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.

“At a time when the grave sufferings that resulted from the civil war would have silenced many, Leymah mobilised women to roar for peace,” remarked Ecoma Alaga, the ASSN's Senior Programme Manager, who co-founded Wipsen-Africa with Gbowee.

The entire ASSN network takes pride in Leymah Gbowee's remarkable feat and congratulates her for remaining a role model for women, peace and security actors all over the world.



Leymah Gbowee, joint winner of the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize alongside President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia and Yemen's Tawakkul Karman.



DR 'FUNMI OLONISAKIN edited a new book titled *Women and Security Governance in Africa*, jointly with Awino Okech.

Published by Fahamu Books and Pambazuka Press, the book is written by African academics and activists. It will be reviewed in the next edition of this newsletter.



ECOMA ALAGA was appointed Senior Programme Manager at the ASSN Secretariat in Accra, Ghana. Alaga brings with her close to nine years experience in the areas of Gender, Peace and Security.

She is one of the co-founders of the NGO Wipsen-Africa, and is currently a doctoral candidate at the University of Reading, focusing on SSR and Gender in Africa.

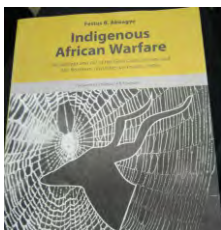


OULIE KEITA attended the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) Core Course on Security Sector Reform (SSR), held in Stadtschlaing, Austria, from May 20-27.

Ms Keita is the ASSN's Gender and SSR Advisor.



LINA IMRAN, from the ASSN office in Addis Ababa, attended a four-week symposium on Conflict Prevention, Resolution, and Reconciliation from June 26 to July 22 in Bologna, Italy. The objective of the programme was to inspire and nurture a new generation of peacemakers.



COL (RTD) FESTUS ABOAGYE published a new book titled *Indigenous African Warfare*.

The book, which chronicles indigenous Ghanaian and West African military art and science, was launched on May 24 at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Accra.



COL CHARLES BAKAHUMURA contributed a paper on HIV/AIDS in the Ugandan military, to be published in an upcoming book commissioned by the UN University Press on the topic of HIV/AIDS and the Security Sector in Africa.

Col Bakahumura is Chief of Personnel and Administration in the Ugandan Army.

CITIZEN-FOCUSED SECURITY SECTOR REFORM

A Workshop on Citizen Security in Fragile, Conflict and Violence-affected Situations

A workshop to examine the challenges of establishing Citizen Security and reforming the Security and Justice sectors in fragile, conflict and violence-affected countries was held on July 7, 2011 at the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, Kenya.

The one-day workshop was part of a World Bank/UN initiative to explore how Security Sector Reform (SSR), Justice/Rule of Law and job creation might be better integrated into a more effective approach towards the realization of Citizen Security in fragile and conflict-affected situations.

It was convened by the World Bank and the UN, with facilitation from the African Security Sector Network (ASSN). There were 17 participants, among them experts from the World Bank, the UN and the ASSN, several scholars and representatives from the CSO, government and donor communities.

The primary aim of the workshop was to stimulate debate on these challenges, the ultimate goal being to generate tangible inputs towards the World Bank's efforts to resolve some of the issues mapped out in the World Development Report 2011.

The proceedings were conducted in four sessions, with several experts presenting papers and guiding the session discussions. The first session opened with remarks by Dr Stephen Ndegwa from the World Bank, Thorodd Ommundsen from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Professor Eboe Hutchful from the ASSN. Discussions then steered towards the definition of Citizen Security within the broader concept of Security and Justice.

The second session dwelt on identifying existing gaps in the policy and practice of Citizen Security, focusing on areas that require further research and action. In the third session, a preliminary framework was conceptualized for action by development actors, CSOs and governments. The fourth and final session dwelt on the implications of this framework on the World Bank and the donor community. The workshop also identified key areas of inquiry that could be pursued within the World Bank's Research, Knowledge, and Learning (RKL) agenda, potentially in collaboration with partners represented at the workshop.



Workshop Participants

1. **Dr Stephen Ndegwa**, Advisor - Fragile and Conflict Affected Countries Group (OPCFC) of the World Bank.
2. **Mr Thorodd Ommundsen**, Associate Expert on SSR - UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).
3. **Professor Eboe Hutchful**, Chair - African Security Sector Network (ASSN).
4. **Ms Ecoma Alaga**, Senior Programme Manager – African Security Sector Network (ASSN).
5. **Dr Laurie Nathan** – University of Pretoria.
6. **Ms Janine Rauch**, Private Consultant/African Security Sector Network (ASSN).
7. **Brigadier (Rtd) Kellie Conteh**, National Security Coordinator - Republic of Sierra Leone.
8. **Mr Dylan Hendrickson**, Senior Research Fellow, Conflict Security and Development Group - Kings College London.
9. **Juliette Gundy**, SSR Officer - UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS).
10. **Mr Jonathan Sandy**, Chief of Security Sector Development - UN Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS).
11. **Lt-Col Jerry Kitiku**, Executive Director - Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC).
12. **Mr Saka Azimazi**, Executive Secretary - Network of National Human Rights Institutions in West Africa (NNHRI-WA).
13. **Christina Biebesheimer**, Chief Counsel - Justice Reform Practice Group of the World Bank
14. **Ms Sandra Pepera** - UK Department for International Development (DFID).
15. **Mr Johnstone Kibor**, Senior Researcher - Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC).
16. **Mr Philip Emase**, Information and Communications Officer – African Security Sector Network (ASSN).
17. **Ms Vanessa van den Boogaard** - World Bank.

Dialogue on Gender and the African Union's SSR Framework



Professor Eboe Hutchful shares his ideas at the forum

The ASSN and Fahamu-Networks for Social Justice co-convened a two-day dialogue to undertake a critical review of methodologies currently utilised to mainstream gender in ongoing peace and security processes in Africa.

The dialogue, which took place on 6-7 October 2011 at the Intercontinental Hotel in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was timely in its objective to assess and sharpen engagement around these methodologies as transformative instructional tools for the operationalization of the AU Security Sector Reform Policy Framework, once adopted in 2012. Overall it also assessed how these can be systematically and structurally embedded into Africa's Peace and Security agenda in order to transform gendered hierarchies in our societies. As underscored in the keynote speech delivered by Ambassador Monica Juma, "Security is the centrepiece of social justice".

The methodologies assessed included: a) Policy advocacy, reviews and development; b) Design of modules and delivery of gender training to security personnel; c) Establishment of gender structures within security institutions including through offices, units and/or appointment of gender focal points; d) Institutionalisation of quotas for recruitment of women; and e) Collaboration with women's groups and institutions. Think pieces on each of these methodologies fed into plenary discussions and working groups, which generated key recommendations at the end of the meeting.

The dialogue emerged with two main sets of recommendations. The first set of recommendations was specific to the different methodologies listed above. By emphasizing that none of these methodologies are ends in themselves, the meeting proposed a number of strategies aimed at evolving holistic approaches that engage at different levels, all the actors currently engaged in SSR work on the continent. ASSN and Fahamu, as co-convenors of this dialogue, will endeavour to take these on board their work, with ASSN doing so in the context of its continued support to the AU SSR Office.

The second set of recommendations, which were specifically directed at the AU Women and Gender Development Directorate (AU-WGDD), suggested a critical review of the draft AU Gender Training Manual for Peacekeepers. A courtesy call was paid to the Director of the AU-WGDD, Ms. Litha Musyimi-Ogana, who received the recommendations.

Other representatives from the African Union who spoke at the dialogue included Dr. Tarek Sharif, Head of the Defence and Security Division of the AUC Peace and Security Department; Ms. Yetunde Teriba, Deputy Director AU-WGDD; and Dr. Norman Mlambo from the AU-SSR Unit. Also represented were the UN Women-AU Liaison office, NEPAD, the AU SSR Office, the African Leadership Centre (ALC), the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), FEMNET, Urgent Action Fund-Africa, Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), and Equality Now.

A full report of the dialogue will soon be available on the ASSN website.

Images from the forum: Dr 'Funmi Olonisakin makes her submissions, flanked by Ecoma Alaga (below left); Dr Norman Mlambo of the AU Security Sector Reform Unit, with Fahamu's Awino Okech (bottom right); Dr Olonisakin, Dr Tarek Sharif, Professor Medhane Tadesse and Professor Eboe Hutchful share a light moment during a break (top right)



ASSN Signs an MOU with the International Security Sector Advisory Team



The ISSAT team in a group photo with their ASSN guests during the meeting in Geneva.

The African Security Sector Network (ASSN) has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for closer collaboration with the International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT).

Based in Geneva, ISSAT is one of the main divisions of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), which is one of the world's leading institutions in the areas of Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Security Sector Governance (SSG).

The MOU was signed in Geneva on September 30 by ASSN Chair Professor Eboe Hutchful, ISSAT Head Mark Downes and Ambassador Theodore Winkler, the Director of DCAF. Building on an already existing MOU between the ASSN and DCAF, the new MOU was signed on the sidelines of a two and half day meeting of the ISSAT's Governing Board, Expert Roster Members and staff, to which the ASSN had been invited to attend.

The ISSAT meeting was followed by an SSR Train-the-Trainers (ToT) Workshop. The ASSN was represented at both gatherings by Professor Hutchful, Senior Programme Manager Ecoma Alaga and ASSN member Janine Rauch. Also in attendance was Mpako Foaeng, an ISSAT staff member who also holds membership in the ASSN.

Designed to achieve maximize synergy between the ASSN and ISSAT, the MOU seeks to facilitate collaboration between the two organizations on African security sector-related activities and programmes, as well as to help synchronize the international community's approach with the contextual needs of SSR processes in Africa.

Among other things, two organizations will share materials for SSR training activities in Africa; Share resources that enhance programme design, assessment and review/evaluation; Regularly share information on African SSR activities and developments; Collaborate on the ASSN's ongoing effort to achieve an effective web-based platform for African SSR expertise; and Strive to make it easier for the international community to tap into indigenous African SSR expertise.

The ASSN-ISSAT liaison, Mpako Foaeng, will draw up an action plan to guide the implementation of the MOU, in consultation with Janine Rauch.

Aside from finalising the MOU, the ASSN also used the opportunity to familiarise itself with the mandate and workings of ISSAT, as well as to observe ISSAT's training methodologies with the objective of improving similar ASSN programmes.

ASSN CAPACITY SUPPORT TO THE AFRICAN UNION

The Birth and Development of the African Union Security Sector Reform Policy Framework

By **Medhane Tadesse**

For almost half a decade, the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) has worked closely with the African Union (AU) to develop an African Security Sector Reform (SSR) Policy Framework. The ASSN can claim with justifiable pride to helping to put SSR on the AU agenda, beginning with a major workshop at the AU in Addis Ababa in October 2007 on an African SSR Strategy, which resulted in extensive recommendations to the AU on SSR. Over the past three years, the ASSN has (in addition to other activities) been focused on supporting the development of the AU SSR Policy Framework, as well as building the capacity of the AU SSR Focal Point, under an MOU between the AU and the ASSN. The already existing and strong partnership in SSR between the AU Commission and the ASSN, and especially the commitment of the ASSN to assisting the AU Commission in fulfilling its Security Sector Reform mandate, is solidified by the constant participation of ASSN staff in all major AU Commission SSR activities since 2007.



Facilitating AU and Regional SSR Strategies has been one of the key priorities of the ASSN since late 2006, a process initiated at a July 2006 workshop in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, facilitated by the Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue (CPRD), a regional representative of the ASSN Network in the Horn of Africa. The need for the development of sub-regional SSR Strategies in Africa was conceived and developed with a particular emphasis on the African Union. It was believed that having an AU Strategy first should be the logical starting point, in order to achieve any coherence on SSR Strategies to be developed in Africa's sub-regions. The meeting identified areas of cooperation between the ASSN and the AU in developing an SSR Strategy. Compounding this was a resolution by a colloquium of African civil society organizations. An AU-Civil Society Consultative Forum in Dar-es-Salam, Tanzania (October 2006) urged appropriate departments within the AU Commission to liaise with the ASSN to facilitate the process of developing an African Framework for SSR. Responding to this call, the Steering Committee of the ASSN, in its meeting held on 15-17 March 2007 in Ghana, resolved in favor of establishing a forum for engaging regional organizations and exploring ways and means of incorporating the SSR Strategy into the development of their peace and security strategies as required. It further called for enhanced engagement of regional and national civil society with the AU/REC SSR/G and capacity to influence and carry forward the SSR/G agenda.

Since then, the ASSN has played a significant role in shaping the African Union (AU) engagement with SSR. Prior to the Cape Town Conference in November 2007, the ASSN had held a workshop under the auspices of the Peace and Security Commission, in Addis Ababa; the October 2007 workshop enabled the AU to attend the Cape Town meeting with a coherent voice. The Addis workshop ended with the undertaking that the AU and the ASSN would engage further on how to take forward the SSR agenda. Conversely, the African Union has acknowledged the importance of SSR in re-establishing the architecture of the state, an essential component of post-conflict reconstruction and sustainable development. In its February 2008 decision, the Assembly of the African Union "encourage[d] the [AU] Commission to develop a comprehensive Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform ..." (Assembly/AU/Dec.117 (X)). This resolution strengthened the ASSN's resolve to engage with the continental organization in several areas on the reform of the security sector. Following this:

- The ASSN provided background facilitation to the UN-AU Regional SSR Consultations in Addis Ababa (March 22-25 2009), by sourcing for Canadian funding for the event and providing experts for the workshop ([see attached](#)). Decisions taken at this meeting have laid the foundations for the process of developing an African Union Policy Framework for SSR;
- The ASSN also provided a number of Policy Briefs to support the AU SSR Policy process under contract to the AU, subsequently anchoring the SSR Validation Workshop at the AU 9-11 December 2009, and (collaboratively with the UN SSR Team) a review of the Zero Draft of the AU SSR Policy Framework in Addis in May 17-19, 2010;
- Following on this, the ASSN signed an MOU with the AUC to provide specific forms of assistance toward the development of a 'comprehensive AU Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform (SSR)'. Under this MOU, ASSN has seconded a Senior SSR Advisor and two interns (with full funding) to assist the AU SSR Focal Point. The MOU has since been followed by a partnership agreement between the AUC, UN, and the ASSN to deliver on core elements of the AU SSR Policy agenda, requiring the ASSN to continue to offer broad support to the AU-UN strategic partnership;
- The ASSN organized and fully funded a follow-up workshop in Accra, Ghana (11-13 October 2010) with colleagues from the AU and UN SSR Teams to finalize the policy draft. ASSN also played a key resource role at the Civil Society Consultation on the Draft AU SSR Policy organized by the CIDO and ECOSOCC in Abuja on 22-24 November 2010([see attached](#));
- An experts meeting of AU Member States in May 2011 deliberated on the document and adopted the Draft Policy Framework with minor modification. The document is prepared in four working languages of the organization after passing through internal AU processes ([see attached](#));
- The policy document is expected to be adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union in January 2012;

Despite the length and the complexity of the process, it is clear enough that most of the activities required to fulfill the objectives of developing an AU Policy Framework for SSR have been successful. The real challenge now is to prepare the ground for the smooth implementation of the policy framework. As the primary technical advisor to the AU SSR Unit, the ASSN Support Team in Addis Ababa, with the strategic guidance of the ASSN Secretariat in Accra, will continue to provide ongoing advice and feedback on all programmatic aspects of the implementation of the continental SSR framework. Within the next 2-3 years, the primary energies of the ASSN will be directed to transforming the AU SSR agenda from a policy document into tangible reality, in the form of an efficient, responsive and democratically-governed Security Sector capable of ensuring peace, security and justice for the peoples of Africa. Indeed, assisting the AU to develop and deliver on its SSR agenda, constitutes a major component ASSN's strategic plan.

Professor Medhane Tadesse is a Senior SSR Advisor to the African Union, as well as the ASSN's Regional Coordinator for the Horn of Africa.

Challenges and Opportunities for Security and Justice Reforms in Kenya



By Leonard Kyalo and Johnstone Kibor

Introduction

The countries covered by the ASSN's East Africa and Great Lakes Regional Hub in Nairobi are Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda. Most of these countries have experienced intermittent political turmoil and insecurity in their post-independence years, ranging from rebel and guerrilla activities, successful and attempted coups, ethnic violence, mineral conflicts, political assassinations, genocides and full blown civil wars.

For many decades, the exceptions were Kenya and Tanzania, which remained relatively peaceful and stable until Kenya eventually succumbed to a serious political and humanitarian crisis in the violent aftermath of a contested presidential election in 2007.

The agitation for democratic governance in Kenya began in the late 1980s, spearheaded by civil society actors and national opposition figures. International support from the West strengthened these demands following the end of the Cold War, leading to the gradual enactment of governance reforms in the 1990s and 2000s.

But rather than mollify pro-reform movements into complacency, the expansion of the country's democratic space instead emboldened popular demands for even more comprehensive reforms, specifically the overhaul of the colonial-era constitution and state security apparatus.

The pro-reform groups particularly demanded the following reforms in relation to Security and Justice:

- The enactment of a people-driven constitution, which was finally promulgated in August 2010 in part response to the longstanding grievances brought to the surface by the 2008 post-election crisis;
- An overhaul of the country's criminal justice system (the police, judiciary and prisons department);
- Amendment of the Firearms Act;
- Reform of the electoral system;
- Disbandment or restructuring of the unpopular colonial style provincial administration;
- Transparent recruitment of persons to public offices through public vetting;
- Adoption of a 'one-third' female representation threshold in all public appointments, as well as the operationalization of gender desks in all police stations.

Today, a majority of these demands have been realized (at least on paper), but the biggest challenge remains the political will to ensure the full implementation of the new constitution, especially its more radical provisions.

Current Milestones

The following constitutional institutions have since been established as provided under the country's new constitution:

A Police Reforms Implementation Committee (PRIC); a Police Reforms Oversight Authority (PROA); a National Police Service (NPS); the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR); the Judicial Service Commission (JSC); the Directorate of Public Prosecution (DPP); the Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI); an Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC); a Truth, Justice & Reconciliation Commission (TJRC); a National Cohesion & Integration Commission (NCIC); an Ethics and Anticorruption Commission (EACC); a Commission on the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC); and a Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA).

In addition, the ASSN Regional Hub for East Africa and the Great Lakes Region was formally registered in Kenya in July 2011, hosted and coordinated in Nairobi by the Security Research & Information Centre (SRIC).

Main Challenges

The current challenges for Security and Justice Reform in Kenya include the following:

- A seemingly entrenched aversion by the authorities to reform, including Security and Justice Sector Reform;
- A historically activist civil society that typically regards the government as 'the other side' and rarely as a potential partner. This makes the authorities even less attracted to collaboration on Security and Justice initiatives with the civil society;
- Limited forums for the articulation of Security and Justice Reform as a win-win situation as opposed to the current perception of a zero-sum scenario;
- Absence of robust SSR caucuses and networks that focus on local contexts and dynamics;
- Apparent inability or unwillingness by stakeholders to engender the creation of effective platforms from which to promote national cohesion and ethnic co-existence;
- Absence of harmonized and synchronized SSR activities and programmes for better coordination and coherence.



The Kenya Police band at the promulgation ceremony for the new constitution in August 2010

There is however an evolving (albeit sluggish) rapprochement between the authorities and non-state actors, which has the potential to help in the integration of popular aspirations into government policy through the intervention of the civil society.

For instance, SRIC has successfully worked with the Government of Kenya on a number of programmes, including the Kenya Police Reform Strategic Plan; Community Policing Initiatives; the formulation of a National Action Plan on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and the establishment and training of District Peace Committees and Provincial Task Forces in connection with the National Action Plan on SALW.

This rapprochement between the government and the civil society is an opportunity that should be nurtured to ensure that the intertwined issues of human security, good governance and development are addressed in a collective manner, most importantly because they will ultimately determine the extent to which the country will achieve its long-term development agenda (popularly christened 'Vision 2030') and fulfils related international benchmarks such as the Millennium Development Goals.

Leonard Kyalo is a Programme Coordinator with the Nairobi-based Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC), while Johnstone Kibor is a Senior Researcher with the same organization.

Feature photo:
Participants at a Community Policing training conducted by the Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC) in Isiolo, Eastern Kenya



Ghana's Constitutional Review: ASDR's Contribution to the Reshaping of the Country's Security Architecture

By Nii Carl Coleman

In January 2010, the Government of Ghana set up a Constitutional Review Commission to collate views from the Ghanaian people and to allow them to express their opinions on the fundamental law that governs their lives.

As its contribution to the review process, the NGO African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR) organised a number of consultative meetings to collate views on the restructuring of Ghana's security architecture and landscape. Through a series of experts' workshops, ASDR sought to examine the current state of Ghana's security apparatus, their functions and roles, the existing legislation covering them, how they are governed, as well as the impact that the current constitution, in place since 1992, has had on them.

From the ASDR viewpoint, it was necessary to involve as many stakeholders as possible in the systematic identification of national security challenges, and to package their ideas into concrete proposals aimed at helping enhance efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability and good governance within Ghana's Security Sector. The constitutional review process was therefore a timely opportunity to take a critical look at the country's security institutions, as well as all other organisations involved in providing various forms of security to the people, in line with the letter and spirit of the national constitution. It was in this regard that Ghana's strengths, weaknesses, achievements and failures as an independent nation were assessed at the ASDR workshops.

The workshops provided a platform for key stakeholders in the Security Sector, including Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), the Ghana Armed Forces, the Ghana Police Service, other Security Agencies, Legislators, Academics and representatives from Civil Society Organizations to discuss issues concerning Ghana's security environment in an effort to build consensus on sound approaches to the handling of security matters within the constitutional review framework. The meetings mainly involved the presentation of position papers as well as seminal discussions.

As its point of entry, ASDR first focused on the superstructure of Ghana's national security architecture, which is the National Security Council (NSC). For such a body to have legitimacy, it requires a firm legislative basis and high-level support. It should also be transparent and accountable. The arrangements and other potential threats to the nation's freedom and development, as well as the monitoring of their implementation, were carefully re-examined.

Among the areas of the constitutional review that the ASDR Group of Experts focussed their attention were the following:

- **The National Security Council (NSC):** Its composition, functions, and other provisions of Article 83 of the Constitution (in particular questions were posed as whether this is an advisory or executive body, the need for appropriate balance between military and civilian influence on the Council, and how well it is performing its coordinating role within the security sector).
- **The functions of the national security decision-making structures:** In particular the need for more effective integration between the intelligence and security services, in order to support effective decision-making.
- **Resource allocation:** The need to balance Security Sector expenditure with other pressing demands).
- **Oversight mechanisms:** Their capacity to perform their technical functions, as well as their broader role in promoting accountability, ensuring political control and building confidence and trust in the Security Sector.
- **Security Priorities:** Both domestic (such as national disaster and emergency planning and management, public health emergencies and transportation security; and external (such as peacekeeping, border protection, and defence diplomacy).
- **Use of Emergency Power and its Coordination:** The Service Councils (Armed Forces, Police, and Prisons) and the nature and functions of the institutions that they administer.
- **The Security and Intelligence Act (Act 562 of 1996),** discussed as part of the Chapter dealing with the National Security Council (i.e. Article 83 of the Constitution).
- **Private Security Providers and their roles within the broad framework of National Security.**

The promotion of national security consciousness in the general population, based on its generalised acceptance as a common good rather than the concern of dominant group interests, was also highlighted.

The ASDR's work was guided by the general understanding that Ghana would continue to face a spectrum of challenges in the coming decades. These may include natural disasters, pandemics, violent transnational networks, emerging cyber threats and a growing competition for resources such as the country's newfound oil wealth. The country will also have to face global threats like terrorism, drug trafficking, climate change and pressure from population growth, as well as threats relating to resource, energy, climatic and environmental issues. These challenges, if not managed properly, have the potential to create uncertainty in the country, especially when combined with the effects of rapid social, cultural, technological and geopolitical changes. Such uncertainty would only be exacerbated by the unprecedented speed and scale of change that is currently in progress, as well as by the unpredictable and complex interaction among the trends themselves.

Following the work of the ASDR Group of Experts, the ASDR was accepted as the Focal Security Consultant for the Constitutional Review Commission. It also chaired and participated in the broad National Forum that was organised by the CRC to bring together the various strands of the commission's work and to formally culminate the public consultation segment of their work.

The ASDR is currently awaiting the CRC's draft report in order to comment on it before it is formally presented to the government.

Major General (Rtd) Nii Carl Coleman is the Associate Executive Director of the NGO African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR).

SADSEM: Blazing the Trail in African Security Training



Participants at a SADSEM Executive Course on Defence and Security Management at the Samora Machel Military Academy in Nampula, Mozambique.

Compared to the rest of the world, Security Sector Training in Africa is still at a relatively nascent stage. While the past decade has seen a modest increase in the number of projects and academic programmes in African security training, the majority of efforts in this field have been in Southern Africa, largely thanks to the work of the Southern African Defence and Security Management (SADSEM).

SADSEM is a regional network of ten tertiary institutions that share a commitment towards the achievement of effective and democratic management of security in the 14 member countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The SADSEM members are all autonomous institutions, located in Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

From its secretariat at the Centre for Defence and Security Management (CDSM) of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, the network also coordinates the ASSN's regional chapter for Southern Africa.

SADSEM provides education, training, policy and technical support in the areas of Defence and Security Management and Planning; Civil-Military Relations; Peace building and the Management of Peace Missions. It also undertakes research on security issues and assists regional governments in the development of their defence and security policies.

The network's first academic programme was a Master's Degree in Security Management, launched in 2007 at the University of the Witwatersrand. This was followed in 2008 by a Postgraduate Diploma in Security. These two programmes proved very popular, with the Diploma programme receiving 150 applications from senior military, police and intelligence officers, government officials, private security practitioners, members of the civil society and the academic community. Fifty of the most eligible candidates were accepted into the inaugural cohort of the Diploma.

Inspired by the success of these two programmes, SADSEM began to facilitate the development of similar programmes in its affiliate universities within the region, organizing several curriculum development workshops and joint training sessions with support from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

This effort has led to the establishment of a diversity of programmes in the regional countries - ranging from academic degrees, postgraduate diplomas, certificate courses and executive courses - all based on common curricula in the areas of Defence and Security Management, Civil-Military Relations, Multilateral Security Management and Peacekeeping, Parliamentary Oversight of Security and Security Sector Governance and Reform - but utilising teaching methods that are responsive to the local requirements in their countries.

The following training programmes are currently in progress in the various SADC countries:

Angola

The Centre for Strategic Studies (CEEA) has mooted a programme on Maritime Security, which it hopes to conduct in cooperation with SADSEM, and with the possible support from the Benguela Commission (South Africa, Namibia and Angola). In a separate undertaking, the Volkswagen Foundation has sponsored 15 Angolan students for Master's level studies in the area of Security.

Botswana

The Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Botswana offers a Diploma and Master's degree in Security Studies, funded by the country's Ministry of Defence. Other CSS activities in 2011 have included a seminar on Disaster Management, ongoing training courses with the Botswana Police Service and a joint seminar on Security Sector Governance with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

The University of Kinshasa currently offers a Master's degree in Good Governance, Defence and Security.

Feature

Malawi

The Centre for Security Studies (CSS) at Mzuzu University offers a Certificate, Diploma and Bachelor's degree based on SADSEM curricula. Lecturers from the Malawi Defence Force are often seconded to assist in teaching the programmes. Other highlights in 2011 include outreach to the Security Sector, including the country's Executive and Oversight bodies.

Mozambique

The Centro de Estudos Sociais Aquino de Bragança (CESAB) provides postgraduate training programmes to members of the Security Sector, amongst others. Its research themes and activities include Access to Justice, Public Safety, and Maritime Security on the Indian Ocean.

Namibia

The University of Namibia offers a Master's degree in Strategic and Security Studies. The University is currently developing a Diploma in Security, as well as a Diploma in Human Rights for Police Officers.

South Africa

The University of the Witwatersrand Centre for Defence and Security Management (CDSM) offers a Certificate, Diploma and Master's degree in Security Management. The University's Graduate School of Public and Development Management (P&DM) is currently discussing a long-term educational cooperation agreement with the South African Department of Defence.

Tanzania

In Tanzania, SADSEM-supported modules in Security Studies have been incorporated into existing Postgraduate Diplomas in the Management of Foreign Relations and Economic Diplomacy.

Zambia

The University of Zambia offers a Diploma in Security Studies in partnership with the Zambian Ministry of Defence. A Master's degree programme is also being developed.

Zimbabwe

The Centre for Defence Studies (CDS) at the University of Zimbabwe supports the Zimbabwe Staff College by offering a Diploma in Security Studies.

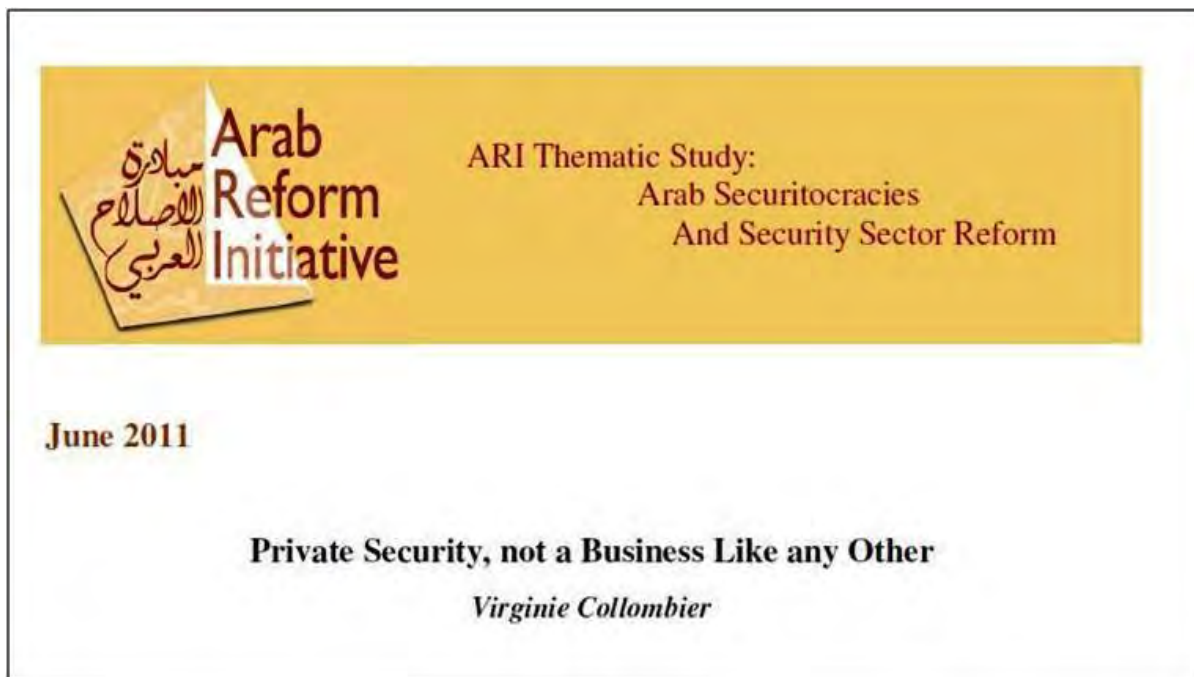
Doctoral Studies

In addition to the expanding number of Diploma and Master's programmes in the region, several senior military officers, government officials and academics are studying for doctorate degrees, especially at the Universities of Kinshasa, Zimbabwe and the Witwatersrand. The Volkswagen Foundation has supported five Namibians and three Angolans for Doctoral studies in Security.

Feature photo: Members of the ASSN Executive Council during their 2011 General Meeting in Nairobi. SADSEM's Coordinator, Professor Gavin Cawthra, is on the middle row, standing second from right.



Private Security in the Arab World



By VIRGINIE COLLOMBIER

Although researchers have paid much attention to the activities of private military and security companies in Iraq since 2003, they have largely ignored the emergence and development of a commercialized Security Sector in the rest of the Arab world. To date there has been no systematic attempt to collect data on and analyze the privatization of security in the region.

A new study conducted by Virginie Collombier marks the first attempt to outline the main features and political significance of the privatization of security in the Arab world. Published in a paper titled *Private Security, Not a Business Like Any Other*, the study is part of a multi-country research project and policy dialogue on the challenges of Security Sector Reform in the Arab World, conducted by the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI).

Collombier conducted her study in the United Arab Emirates (more specifically in Dubai), Jordan and Lebanon in January 2011. The study found that in countries where security institutions play a central role, the privatization of security has not been merely about making profit in a liberalizing economic environment; it has actually had an impact on the very functioning of the Arab regimes in place.

The paper shows that while these regimes have over the decades relied mainly on state security structures to ensure and retain their grip on political power, the emergence of a commercial Security Sector has provided them with new tools to be used for the same aim. Be it in Dubai, Jordan or Lebanon, ruling regimes (or specific groups or individuals within the regime) have been very quick to adapt to this phenomenon and take advantage of it.

Virginie Collombier is a researcher associated with the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI). An expert in Middle Eastern and North African politics, she holds a PhD in political science from the University of Grenoble. The full paper is available on the website of the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI).

FROM QUICK WINS TO LONG-TERM PROFITS? Developing Better Approaches to Support Security and Justice Engagements in Fragile States



By *Erwin van Veen*

The Challenge: The Complexity of Supporting Security and Justice Development

The effective and accountable delivery of Security and Justice is a key priority for peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts in fragile and conflict-affected situations. Successful engagement can both enable and deliver development. Because of this, the last 5-10 years feature significant international investment in this area. Yet it is complex because it is highly political, features higher-risks and more stakeholders than many other areas of development. A high degree of skill, understanding and flexibility is required to intervene effectively in this environment. International actors have generally struggled to achieve this. Worse still, a set of operational issues, which are resistant to change, continue to plague international support. Regrettably, there are few examples of successful Security and Justice development.

Stepping Up to the Challenge: A Better Approach to Programming

Recognizing this reality, members of the OECD's International Network on Conflict and Fragility embarked on a new project in January 2011. It aims to generate practical recommendations for policy makers and practitioners on how international support to Security and Justice Development can be made more effective. A scoping phase resulted in the report "The challenges of undertaking effective Security and Justice work", which is based on interviews with ca. 30 international field staff. It examines four critical challenges to international engagement: the lack of a political understanding of ownership, the inadequate incorporation of local context into programming, the lack of good risk management and the lack of realism in much Security and Justice programming. These are familiar challenges since the emergence of the OECD's handbook on Security System Reform. Yet, the report investigates how they have, or have not, been dealt with over the past years. Apart from useful lessons and examples, this has generated four priority issues for further review. First, the need to develop a "process approach" to programming, to induce a more practical, gradual and realistic manner of engagement. Moreover, the ability to understand and work with "ownership", with a particular focus on its negotiation, needs to be improved. In addition, international actors need to become much more sophisticated about results and monitoring, including better risk approaches to ensure meaningful engagement and avoid pre-configuration. Finally, models for programme management need to be developed to ensure resources align with ambition, and outsourcing is helpful rather than burdensome.

Overall, the dominant programming approach to Security and Justice engagement seems ill-suited to conflict and fragile environments because of their intense politics and dynamics. Phase 2 of this project, which is about to commence, will look at these four priority issues through the lens of a "process approach", which offers an organizing perspective to revisit existing approaches to ownership, timeframes, models for programme management, results and monitoring. It is based on the assumption that an incremental approach is likely to be more suitable for interventions. To work, it needs to combine five elements. First, it needs to support solutions to concrete problems that individuals or groups face as a result of inadequate delivery of Security and Justice. Secondly, it needs to gradually understand, negotiate and broaden stakeholder ownership while delivering short-term results. Thirdly, it needs to be able to manage (political) risk through a greater capacity for adaptation and flexibility. This requires suitable results frameworks and M&E systems. Fourthly, it needs to help identify and test options for Security and Justice Development while being tolerant to a range of outcomes. This requires models for programme management that are able to experiment and innovate. Finally, it needs to be able to combine the need for mutual long-term commitments (20-40 years) with the need to work in shorter-term political cycles to determine ambition and to allocate resources.

Such thinking can only be developed successfully when it is built on solid partnerships and reflects a strong southern voice. In other words, as Eboe Hutchful suggested: "The OECD needs to move a little out of its comfort zone". The OECD is actually able to do this, as the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding shows. However, it will not be easy for two reasons. First, the present domestic environment of most donors offers few incentives for radical change, although the evidence may well warrant it. Hence, change must be stimulated in more incremental, make-do and innovative ways, working within existing constraints. Second, generous listening is inherently difficult and a good partnership can only succeed on this basis. As Adedeji Ebo once remarked: "It takes two to tango." Consider this article as the invitation and bring it to the ball.

What is Really New?

At the surface, not much. All the elements above have been mentioned many times. Yet, two parts have potential. The first is the desire to seriously attempt to develop realistic options for engagement that are both grounded in the longer-term requirements for effective support and that consider existing constraints as another requirement for effective support, rather than an inconvenience. It is about optimizing this balance, endowing practitioners with practical ideas and tools as to how this can be done, and demonstrating to senior officials that the risk of innovation can be managed politically. The second novelty is the process, which aims at more involved, more innovative research methods that tap much better into networks like the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) and national stakeholders.

Going Forward

A number of prominent SSR experts have indicated their willingness to be associated with this work, such as Eboe Hutchful, Adedeji Ebo and Nicole Ball. Their views, brains and support will be essential. Likewise, strong supporters will be needed amongst both donors and national stakeholders. Many face similar challenges and have a lot to contribute. The need for change is clear and urgent. The upcoming fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan is likely to agree on a high-level change agenda on how to improve international support to peacebuilding and statebuilding. It will need to be implemented and here is a chance to do so.

Erwin van Veen works as policy analyst on peace and security for the OECD's International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF), which stimulates more effective international policies and practices to help reduce conflict and fragility worldwide.

BOOK REVIEW

Changing intelligence dynamics in Africa, Sandy Africa and Johnny Kwadjo

Editors: Sandy Africa and Johnny Kwadjo (in collaboration with Paul Jackson, Brigadier (Rtd) Wilson Boinett, Andrew Agaba, David Pulkol and Laurie Nathan); Published by GFN-SSR and ASSN, June 2009; ISBN: 0 7400 2763 X

Reviewed by Lauren Hutton



As noted in the preface to this book, intelligence studies in Africa have failed to generate the same level of interest as other actors within the Security Sector Reform (SSR) agenda. This book takes a first step in developing a body of academic literature on the theory and practice of intelligence in Africa, painting the picture of a sector filled with contradiction, paradox and misperception. Perhaps that is where the fascination lies for those studying intelligence: in the highly complex relationship between information, power and secrecy exercised by the state often against its people. Throughout the case studies presented here, this dynamic is explored, and the manner in which intelligence services interact with and react to changes in political power is emphasised. For example in the case of Uganda, Andrew Agaba highlights how the state intelligence function was perverted by both the Obote and Amin regimes to become central players in the retention of personal power.

And indeed, as much as expressions of power relations between citizens and states have been evolving under colonial, post-colonial and now the liberal democratic rubric, so too have intelligence services been driven to change, evolve and adapt to altered social, political and economic circumstances. In the Kenya case study, Brigadier (Rtd) Wilson Boinett draws a common thread of information and decision-making throughout different eras of administration. He winds a tale in which intelligence is intricately linked to the informed exercise of authority; be it for malicious or benevolent intent, intimately concerned with responses to changes in the internal and external environment.

As a step towards demystifying the intelligence domain and opening space for public interrogation of the activities and responsibilities of intelligence actors, this book makes an important contribution. It moves the debate forward from a position of informed opinion and reclaims an arena of state behaviour too frequently shielded from public accountability. But perhaps more importantly, this book paves the way for further study, debate and discourse on intelligence that is more nuanced and balanced than the discourse that has to date been dominant; viewing intelligence as a core component of state activity that is able to contribute in some fundamental manner to the achievement of peace and security on the continent, and not as a sinister incarnation of tyranny.

At its core, intelligence is concerned with information for decision-making; influenced, as is all human activity, by personalities and identities (at individual, group and state levels) and dominant societal values and beliefs. Intelligence cannot be isolated from this larger environment in which it operates and will always be reflective of and responsive to pressures from these key determining factors. As African states move towards more democratic and responsive governance, a more integrated regional security agenda and a focus on improved socio-economic livelihoods, intelligence services will follow. This manifests as increased interest in the roles, responsibilities and mandates of intelligence, changes in tasking and priority areas, and more fiscal and operational accountability. This can only be achieved in concert with a more engaged citizenry, and that is where this book plays an important foundational role by placing intelligence within the realm of public discourse and allowing for the exchange of opinions and ideas on the place of intelligence in pursuing increased human security in Africa.

If there is a critique to be made, it is that there is need for greater depth and breadth in the study of intelligence in Africa. On the one side, this relates to a need for more geographical representation, particularly from North Africa where intelligence services play central roles in state security – both in terms of regime maintenance and counter-terrorism. Additionally, though, there is need for greater depth and breadth in the exploration of specific subsets of intelligence activity. This value is added to the book through the chapter on domestic intelligence in South Africa, but could be explored more in future studies looking closer at specific areas of intelligence function.

The case studies in this book manage to present a foundation for further deliberation on intelligence dynamics in Africa because of the largely historical approach, which enables comparison and the drawing of trends across different contexts. In the concluding chapter, these threads are drawn together to reflect on the common and overlapping narratives about the evolution and role of intelligence services on the continent. In making this contribution, the authors and editors have laid forth a challenge for Security Sector academics and practitioners to pay more attention to the privileged space that the intelligence sector occupies and how this interacts with other security and political dynamics, and to carry forward a more informed discourse that seeks to situate intelligence within the normative framework required of other arenas of state behaviour.

Lauren Hutton is a Project Coordinator with Saferworld's Sudan and Great Lakes Programme. A researcher with over six years experience, her areas of interest include SSR in Africa; Gender and Security; Intelligence and Defence Reform; National Security Policy making; and Security and Justice service delivery.

The African Security Sector Network

Striving for Democratically Governed and Effective Security for the Peoples Of Africa.



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