



Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic



United Nations



Department of International Relations and Cooperation of the Republic of South Africa



# Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace

*Proceedings of the High-Level Roundtable co-hosted by Slovakia and South Africa on behalf of the UN Group of Friends of SSR on the eve of the High-Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on “Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace”*

*With the support of the Security Sector Reform Unit of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Bureau for Policy and Program Support at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).*

23 April 2018, New York



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## About these proceedings:

On 23 April 2018 in New York, Slovakia and South Africa, on behalf of the UN Group of Friends of SSR, co-hosted a High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace. The event took place on the eve of the High-Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on “Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace” and was organized with the support of the Security Sector Reform Unit of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Bureau for Policy and Program Support at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).

The High-Level Roundtable was the third in a series of three high-level events held in the period of a year. It was preceded by a High-Level Dialogue on Global Experiences in SSR, hosted in New York in May 2017 – especially a seminar on “The Nexus between SSR, Conflict Prevention and Peace Sustainment” co-hosted by South Africa and Slovakia, and a seminar on “Conflict Prevention and Peace Sustainment on the African Continent” co-hosted by South Africa and Senegal – as well as a High-Level Conference on the “Role of Security Sector Reform in Sustaining Peace: Challenges and Opportunities” that was hosted by Slovakia on 5-6 June 2017 in Bratislava.<sup>1</sup> These events served to highlight important challenges to SSR support in the context of sustaining peace that needed to be addressed, and to develop a series of recommendations worth pursuing further.

The High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace held on 23 April 2018 sought to build on important insights from these past events, as well as on the body of relevant policy and research that has been developed over the past year in the areas of sustaining peace and SSR.<sup>2</sup>

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*#Peace72*

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<sup>1</sup> See the Annex to the letter from the Permanent Representative of Slovakia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, A/72/513-S/2017/844, 3 October 2017.

<sup>2</sup> This includes: Report of the Secretary-General on Restructuring of the United Nations peace and security pillar, A/72/525, 13 October 2017; Report of the Secretary-General on Peacebuilding and sustaining peace, A/72/707-S/2018/43, 18 January 2018; World Bank Group and United Nations, Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict (Washington, DC: 2018); and DCAF, Mapping Study on Supporting Nationally-Led Security Sector Reform: Mapping the Approaches of Multilateral Organizations (Geneva: 2018).

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23 April 2018, New York

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## ***Report of the Roundtable***

The **High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Sustaining Peace** was held on **23 April 2018, in New York**, at the United Nations (UN) Headquarters. The event was co-hosted by the Permanent Missions of Slovakia and South Africa on behalf of the UN Group of Friends of SSR on the eve of the High-Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace, and with the support of the Security Sector Reform Unit (SSRU) of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Bureau for Policy and Program Support at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). The event gathered a significant number of high-level participants to discuss two important issues: learning from nationally-owned SSR experiences and enhancing partnerships and funding for SSR support. This Report provides a summary of the key issues discussed.

Opening Statements were delivered by the President of the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly, H.E. Mr. Miroslav Lajčák; the UN Deputy Secretary-General, H.E. Ms. Amina J. Mohammed; and former President of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste and Eminent Person of g7+, H.E. Mr. Kaya Rala Xanana Gusmão. This opening panel underlined that **SSR is expected to play a key role in the successful implementation of both the sustaining peace and sustainable development agendas**. As highlighted by the President of the UN General Assembly, security actors can “hold the tools which can pull societies back from the brink of conflict – or push them over the edge.” Hence, it was recognized that SSR is essential to ensuring that the role of security

actors is positive, in terms of maintaining stability during periods of tension and protecting people from violence. If security services are to support sustaining peace, reforms should focus on improving their governance, in particular their effectiveness, accountability, and professionalism, as crucial elements for success.

Still, while acknowledging the progress made by the UN – including by the adoption of UN Security Council resolution 2151 (2014) on SSR – as well as by other international partners, it was recognized that critical challenges remain in the provision of effective support to national SSR processes. In this context, it was emphasized that SSR should not be regarded as a stand-alone activity but rather as part of a wider strategy to sustain peace and prevent violent conflict, which must consider other issues, including access to basic services such as education and health care. In this spirit, it was highlighted that SSR is reflected in the sustainable development goals and, in particular, in Goal 16 on peaceful and inclusive societies, and effective, accountable and transparent institutions. The UN Deputy Secretary-General stated that, “at its heart, SSR is about ensuring safety and enabling women, men and children to live their lives free from fear.”

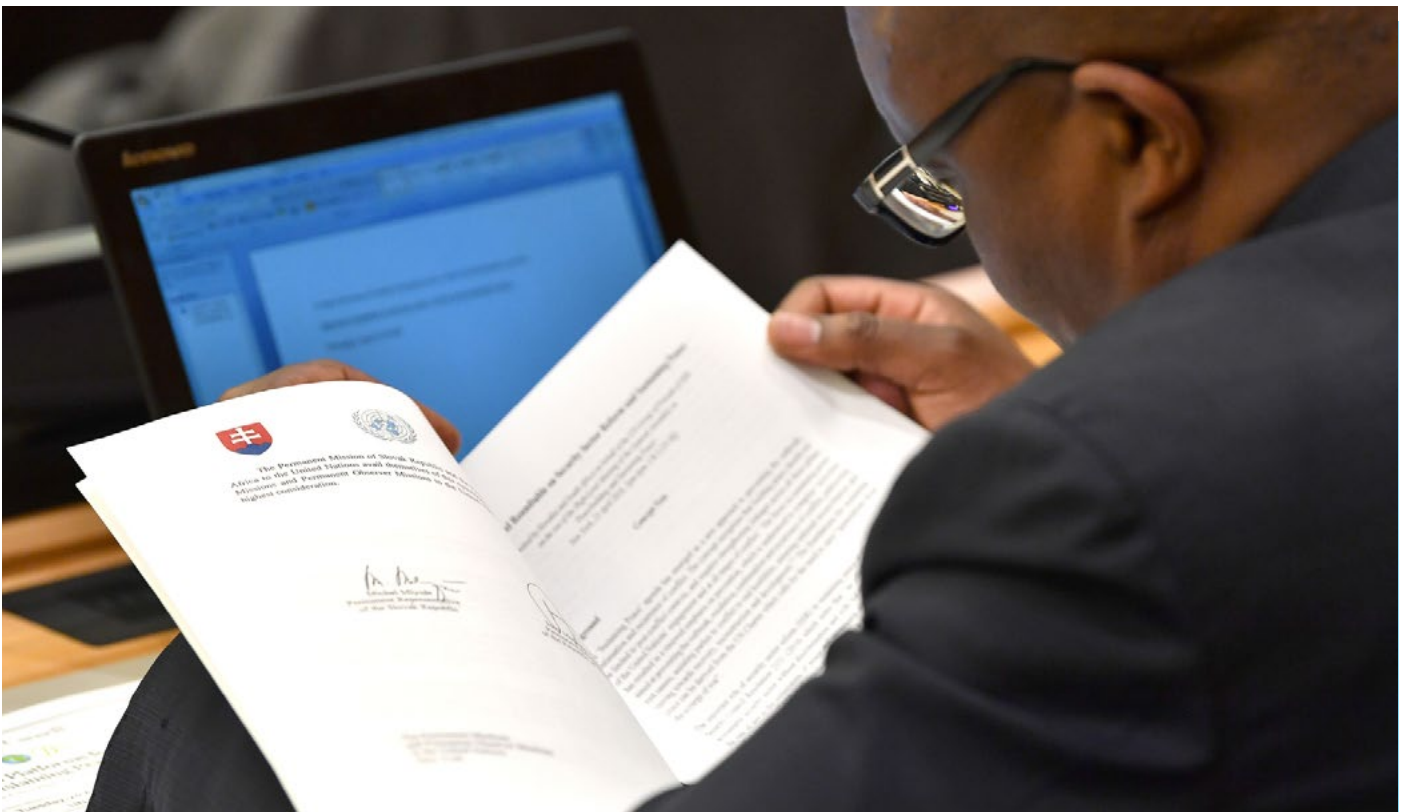
Moreover, it was underlined that enhanced efforts are needed to address reforms of the security sector not only in conflict-affected regions, but also in contexts where peace is fragile. As noted by Mr. Xanana Gusmão, sustaining peace cannot be a time-bound project; it requires addressing the root causes of problems. Furthermore, solutions must be grounded in the national contexts themselves. A one-size-fits-all approach to SSR will simply be unsustainable.

## Learning from nationally-owned SSR experiences

SSR remains a challenging endeavour that relies on the need for national leadership and national ownership. In this context, the **First Thematic Panel was focused on “Learning from Nationally-owned SSR Experiences,”** which was moderated by Mr. Alexandre Zouev, UN Assistant Secretary-General (ASG) for Rule of Law and Security Institutions at DPKO. The panel aimed to share national experiences from mission and non-mission contexts and further explore challenges and opportunities related to operationalizing the concept of national ownership and other principles set out in UN Security Council resolution 2151. The panel was composed of: H.E. Ms. Marie-Noëlle Koyara, Minister of Defence of the Central African Republic (CAR); Mr. Ibrahima Diallo, Commissioner of the Republic of Mali for SSR; Mr. Momodou Badjie, National Security Adviser of the Republic of the Gambia; Mr. Yakuba Drammeh, Deputy Chief of Defence Staff of The Gambia; and Mr. Sergio Londoño Zurek, Director General of the Presidential Cooperation Agency of the Republic of Colombia and Acting Mayor of the City of Cartagena. In addition, political interventions were made from the floor, including by ministerial representatives of Belgium and Germany.

It was noted that national ownership is the cornerstone of any sustainable SSR process. However, concerns were raised that international actors at times undermine this ownership by their insufficient engagement in context-specific approaches that take into account the capacities and potential of each country. Different strategies were proposed to operationalize national ownership. First, national experiences have shown that national ownership hinges on the capacity to **build the trust and confidence of a population** in the security services. The National Security Adviser and Deputy Chief of Defence Staff of the Republic of the Gambia expounded that SSR has been instrumental in overcoming the recent crisis in The Gambia and improving the trust of citizens in security actors. To that end, citizens have been actively engaged in an assessment of the security sector implemented by the government alongside international actors, in particular the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union (EU), and the UN. Consultations were carried out with all parts of society in The Gambia, to foster national ownership and support planning for reforms that can enable the development of people-oriented institutions.

Second, and related to the first strategy, it was emphasized that the **principle of inclusivity** must be at the centre of any SSR strategy and understood





as a core element of trust-building among the population. In this respect, national ownership was recognized to encompass local ownership and to ensuring that no one is left behind; not only in terms of the composition of the security services but also in terms of who they serve. In Mali, for instance, the peace agreement specifically stipulates the principles of inclusivity and substantial representation in the security sector. Consequently, and as explained by the Malian Commissioner for SSR, the national institutional framework for SSR is highly inclusive of different stakeholders. For example, a workshop held to develop a national strategy on SSR included representatives of civil society. In addition, efforts have been made to integrate both the **gender and age dimensions** into the participatory processes in Mali, where it was underscored that women and the youth must be involved, not only in the consultation process, but also in political decision making. Similarly, the Minister of Defence of CAR explained that their 2017 National SSR Strategy lays out a comprehensive approach to the construction of effective, accountable, and ethnically- and geographically-representative security sector institutions capable of protecting the entire population. **The President of CAR, H.E. Mr. Faustin-Archange Touadéra, who also joined the Roundtable, pledged to continue to move the SSR process in his country in this direction.**

Third, a **sustained and holistic approach to peacebuilding** was also viewed as critical to national ownership. Colombia is an important example of peace achieved after years of institutional capacity building and of prioritizing peace on the development agenda. As underlined by the Director General of the Presidential Cooperation Agency of the Republic of Colombia, peacebuilding efforts have required the investment of significant resources in strengthening the judiciary, promoting human rights, and improving the governance mechanisms of the security services. It was noted that a number of measures required to implement

the peace agreement were related to SSR, including for instance the establishment of a special investigative unit. However, while SSR was a cornerstone of the process, efforts to reform security institutions were implemented in parallel to other programmes, including education and economic initiatives.

Finally, it was acknowledged that without ongoing national dialogue, reform processes can lead to counterproductive results given that there is no one-size-fits-all approach. In this regard, the UN and other partners engaged in a country should always first invest in promoting **consensus-building and reconciliation initiatives among national stakeholders**, as the baseline for any peacebuilding effort, including SSR. While recognizing that there will always be different needs to be accommodated in any given context, without national reconciliation efforts, there is no room to successfully build on national ownership.

## **Enhancing partnerships and funding for SSR support**

The **Second Thematic Panel was focused on “Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support”** and was moderated by Mr. Abdoulaye Mar Dieye, UN Assistant Secretary-General, Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of its Bureau for Policy and Programme Support. The panel aimed to foster discussion on concrete steps that could be taken to strengthen partnerships for SSR support, and within this context, to enhance predictable and sustained financing for SSR support. The panel was composed of: H.E. Ms. Fatima Kyari Mohammed, Ambassador and Permanent Observer of the African Union (AU) to the UN; Mr. René Van Nes, Deputy Head of Division of Prevention of Conflicts, Rule of Law/SSR, Integrated Approach, Stabilization and Mediation (PRISM) at the European External Action Service of the EU; Ms. Barrie Freeman, Deputy Head and Political Director of the UN Peacebuilding Support Office; and Mr. Alexandre Marc,



Chief Technical Specialist on Fragility, Conflict and Violence at the World Bank (WB). In addition, several representatives of multilateral organizations and the donor community took the floor, including from the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and Norway.

The panel underscored that all key areas of peacebuilding, including SSR, require effective partnerships and sustainable financing. Otherwise, the vision for future peace is unlikely to materialize and may generate frustration. In terms of partnerships, many **examples of cooperation and coordination exist** between and among different partners. For instance, the AU-UN-EU Capacity-Building Programme provides an excellent example of how a cooperation framework can encourage joint endeavours. The recently published UN-WB report, *Pathways for Peace*, was also noted for its forward-looking approach and for planting the seeds for developing a common understanding on conflict prevention. In the field, there have also been some initiatives to better leverage resources and expertise. For instance, in CAR, coordination took place in support of a division of labour, with bilateral actors providing equipment while multilateral partners focused on the provision of training and governance-related support.

Additionally, some efforts have been made to strengthen coherence within organizations themselves. For instance, in the UN, ongoing reforms led by the current Secretary-General are expected to strengthen links across the organization's three pillars, and at all stages of conflict, throughout which SSR efforts should be taking place. Similarly to the UN Inter-Agency SSR Task Force co-chaired by DPKO and UNDP, which has contributed to enhanced coherence across the organization's support to SSR, the UN Global Focal Point for Police, Justice and Corrections was recognized as a good example of how joint operational support can be provided in these

component-specific areas. The UN Group of Friends of SSR was also commended for its contribution to advancing important discussions intended to develop a more coherent approach within and beyond the UN.

However, while good practices and initiatives exist, it was underlined that there is room for further improvement. In particular, **more must be done to institutionalize cooperation across multilateral organizations and to clarify roles and responsibilities among them.** Indeed, the success of support to national SSR processes hinges on the capacity of international and regional organizations to deliver in a coherent and coordinated manner in line with national priorities. As such, the mapping study, *Supporting Nationally-Led Security Sector Reform: Mapping the Approaches of Multilateral Organizations*, conducted by DCAF at the request of DPKO and in cooperation with the AU, the EU, and the OSCE, was commended by several representatives of these organizations for taking a step towards identifying concrete recommendations based on empirical evidence on how to strengthen partnerships in support of sustaining peace. It was also announced that, following the expert-level workshop held in Brussels on 13 March 2018 to discuss the findings of the study, talks have begun on how to move forward in implementing some of those recommendations. This includes efforts to improve collaboration on guidance development processes, and to identify upcoming opportunities to deploy joint assessment missions on SSR. It was also highlighted that these organizations must strive towards joint or at least coordinated dialogue with national counterparts, and on the basis of shared analysis rather than individual engagement. It was acknowledged that such collaboration efforts should start at the early planning stages, and that fruitful partnerships depend on the political will to build participatory relationships based on mutual trust.



Partnerships must also reflect the need to **further leverage available resources** to address realities on the ground and to enable the implementation of mandates. Sustainable and predictable funding is required to facilitate the comprehensive approach needed to provide support to SSR from an institution-building perspective. Yet, funding is often a main challenge, as most countries engaged in reform processes are emerging from conflict and have very fragile economies, lacking the necessary resources to undertake reforms. It was therefore recommended that peace agreements include the economic implications of the terms agreed to, including those related to SSR goals. At the same time, international support to financing was recognized as essential. While SSR is not cheap, it was highlighted that it is far cheaper than responding to an outbreak of conflict because a peace was too fragile to last. Strong calls were therefore made for investing in SSR, and in particular, providing more **predictable and sustained financing in the area of SSR**.

With these concerns in mind, there was a call to foster international commitment to enhance the transparency of bilateral and multilateral assistance to the security sector, including through broader development assistance. **The cost of SSR processes must be transparent, efficient, and effective.**

It is expected that current reforms led by the UN Secretary-General will reduce fragmentation and improve coherence regarding the management and use of financial resources within the UN. In addition, panellists called for efforts to further exploit the potential of the UN Peacebuilding Commission to serve as a platform to convene all relevant actors within and outside the UN, including: UN Member States; national authorities; UN missions and country teams; international, regional, and sub-regional organizations; international financial institutions; civil society; women's groups; youth organizations; and, where relevant, the private sector and national human rights institutions, in order to ensure predictable financing for peacebuilding.



## Conclusion and way forward

Concluding remarks were delivered by Ambassador Thomas Guerber, Director of DCAF, and Advocate Vasu Gounden, Executive Director and founder of ACCORD. It was underlined that the Roundtable reaffirmed SSR as a core element of the sustaining peace and sustainable development agendas. Nonetheless, the litmus test for ensuring an effective contribution to these agendas will be whether the many opportunities identified at the Roundtable can be successfully implemented into practice. In particular, the following key priorities were highlighted at the meeting as essential to enable SSR to contribute effectively to the sustaining peace agenda:

- **National ownership:** Promote the principle of inclusivity and strengthen the trust between the community and the security sector as a core element of enabling national leadership and ownership. This requires more efforts from international actors to adapt support to local contexts and help build national capacities in areas that can empower national authorities to lead and manage reforms.
- **Partnerships:** Increase efforts to institutionalize cooperation across multilateral organizations and to clarify roles and responsibilities among them. This would enable more coordinated dialogue with national counterparts, and on the basis of shared analysis as opposed to individual engagement. The implementation of recommendations in the mapping study on approaches of multilateral organizations to SSR was identified as an important first step in this direction.
- **Financing:** Ensure that the UN system, UN Member States, and other partners have the necessary tools, capacities, and political support to advance nationally-led efforts as a core element of sustaining peace across the peace continuum. This includes investing financial resources in SSR support to ensure sustainable approaches to long-term reform efforts and fostering commitment to enhance the transparency of international assistance to the security sector.



## Agenda of the Roundtable

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*Co-hosted by Slovakia and South Africa on behalf of the UN Group of Friends of SSR on the eve of the High-Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on 'Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace', New York, 23 April 2018, 3pm-6pm, CR-3 UN HQ.*

**3:00 pm – 3:30 pm**

**Opening key-note speeches:** This panel will aim to contextualise the SSR High-Level Roundtable within the broader agenda of sustaining peace and the High-Level Meeting on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace.

- H.E. Mr. Miroslav Lajčák, President of the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly
- H.E. Ms. Amina J. Mohammed, UN Deputy Secretary-General
- H.E. Mr. Kaya Rala Xanana Gusmão, Former President of Timor-Leste and Eminent Person of g7+

**Chairs:** Co-chairs of the Group of Friends of the SSR

- H.E. Mr. Michal Mlynár, Permanent Representative of Slovakia to the UN
- H.E. Mr. Jerry Matthews Matjila, Permanent Representative of South Africa to the UN

**3:30 pm - 4:15 pm**

**Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences:** This panel will discuss the challenges and opportunities that Member States in both peacekeeping and non-peacekeeping contexts face in operationalizing national ownership, and in particular, in applying the principles laid out in Security Council Resolution 2151.

- **Central African Republic** – H.E. Ms. Marie-Noëlle Koyara, Minister of Defense
- **Mali** – Mr. Ibrahima Diallo, Malian Commissioner for SSR
- **The Gambia** – Mr. Momodou Badjie, National Security Adviser accompanied by the Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, Major General Mr. Yakuba Drammeh
- **Colombia** – Mr. Sergio Londoño, Director General of the Presidential Cooperation Agency (APC-Colombia), and Acting Mayor of the City of Cartagena, Colombia

**Moderator:** Mr. Alexandre Zouev, Assistant Secretary-General for Rule of Law and Security Institutions in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations

**4:15pm – 5:00pm**

**Q & A Session**, including further political interventions from the floor (ministerial).

#### 5:00pm – 5:25pm

**Panel 2: Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support:** This panel will aim to discuss concrete steps to strengthen partnerships between the UN and other actors on SSR, including in the area of financing.

- **African Union** – H.E. Ms. Fatima Kyari Mohammed, Permanent Observer of the AU to the UN
- **European Union** – Mr. René van Nes, Deputy Head of Division of Prevention of Conflicts, Rule of Law/ Security Sector Reform, Integrated Approach, Stabilisation and Mediation (PRISM) at the European External Action Service.
- **UN PBSO** – Ms. Barrie Freeman, Deputy and Political Director, UN Peacebuilding Support Office
- **World Bank** – Mr. Alexandre Marc, Chief Technical Specialist on Fragility, Conflict and Violence.

**Moderator:** Mr. Abdoulaye Mar Dieye, Assistant Secretary-General; Assistant Administrator and Director of the Bureau for Policy and Programme Support at the UN Development Programme

#### 5:25pm – 5:45pm

**Q & A Session**, including further political interventions from the floor (ministerial)

#### 5:45pm – 6:00pm

**Concluding remarks:**

- H.E. Mr. Thomas Guerber, Director, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)
- Advocate Mr. Vasu Gounden, Executive Director, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)



**H.E. Mr. Miroslav Lajčák**  
*President of the 72nd session of the  
UN General Assembly*

Opening remarks to the High-Level Roundtable  
on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace,  
Opening key-note speeches.

23 April 2018 (check against delivery).

Madame Deputy-Secretary-General, Ambassadors Matjila and Mlynár, Excellencies, Dear Colleagues and Friends,

This week, leaders and decision makers will come together, in this building. Their aim is to move closer to a world of Sustaining Peace. And, Security Sector Reform can help to make this happen. That is why today's discussion is so crucial. And, I want to thank Slovakia and South Africa for bringing us together this afternoon. To start us off, I will make two main points.

### *I. The link between SSR and Sustaining Peace*

My first point is very simple: Security Sector Reform is key to Sustaining Peace. For years, the United Nations has been doing good work on the ground. But, we came to see that there were gaps. We placed too much focus on responding to conflict, and its effects, but not enough on prevention. And that is why we are working towards a new approach. We are trying to do more – to grab onto peace, before it slips away. And to make it stronger, after conflict, so it won't break down again. This, in essence, is Sustaining Peace. And, armies, police, and other security actors can play a major role in making it a reality.

- They can maintain stability during periods of high tensions.
- They can work to build trust with – and even among – communities.
- They can step in to protect people from violence and intimidation.

But, this role can be a very negative one, too.

- Security actors can become politicized.
- They can widen divisions.
- They can stoke fears and tensions.
- They can abuse their position, to target and persecute one group or one community.

So, security actors have many powerful tools at their disposal. This goes beyond guns and handcuffs. Instead, they hold the tools that can pull societies back from the brink of conflict, or push them over the edge. And, this is not down to chance. From our experience over the last decade, we can point to firm indicators: effectiveness, accountability, professionalism, and quality of governance. If these elements are present, a security sector is more likely to promote Sustaining Peace.

### *II. Priorities for future SSR*

So, what role can we play, in making sure security sectors can drive peace, not conflict? I will touch on a few areas, as my second point.

1) The first is national engagement: I mention this first for a reason; because, no SSR effort will work without national ownership. And, this means true ownership – from security actors to the people they serve. I am particularly glad to see that our first panel today will focus on this issue. Please be as frank as possible. We all stand to learn from these national experiences.

**“ SSR can be the difference between peace and conflict. ”**

2) Just as crucial, however, is regional engagement: Many regional organizations have their own capacities and policies for Security Sector Reform – for example the African Union (AU) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). We need to complement, and not duplicate.

3) Major work is also needed in the area of gender: How can we build a security sector for an entire society if the needs of half of that society are ignored? But gender is actually overlooked –

a lot. We need more participation of women in SSR. And we also need more gender sensitization and training.

4) Another main issue is financing: It must come from national sources. And it must come from the international community. But, let us be frank; Security Sector Reform is not cheap. It costs a lot of money. But it is far cheaper than responding to an outbreak of conflict. And it is far cheaper than rushing back in after we have withdrawn, because peace has been too fragile to last. And, this is the risk if we don't invest properly in SSR.

5) Finally, coherence, and cooperation: They say too many cooks spoil the broth. And, there are, indeed, a lot of actors working on SSR. But that does not mean we cannot all meaningfully contribute. We just need to be careful; we need strong coordination mechanisms and clear roles. We also cannot see SSR as a stand-alone activity. It is a crucial ingredient of Sustainable Development. In fact, we cannot achieve Goal 16 without it. And, like I said initially, it is absolutely crucial to our wider efforts to prevent conflict and sustain peace. Here, I want to mention the Global Focal Point for Police, Justice and Corrections. It is run by the main United Nations' entities dealing with peacekeeping and development, respectively. It brings different strands of the UN's work together. It supports Sustaining Peace. And it shows that coherence can happen – in real time – on the ground.

## *Conclusion*

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Excellencies,

Security Sector Reform is not merely “important.” We use that word too freely at the United Nations. In fact, SSR can be the difference between peace and conflict; between life and death. That is why, in 2014, the UN Security Council dedicated an entire resolution – resolution 2151 – to it. That is why it is a main component of many United Nations missions around the world – from Libya to the Central African Republic. That is why we have a dedicated Group of Friends on Security Sector Reform. That is why we met last year in New York and Bratislava. And that is why we are here today.

So, let us use our time wisely. Let us share our experiences. Let us come up with ideas and proposals.

Let us focus on how we can make Security Sector Reform stronger, and more capable of supporting Sustaining Peace.

Thank you all again.



**H.E. Ms. Amina J. Mohammed**  
*United Nations Deputy Secretary-General*

Opening remarks to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Opening key-note speeches.

23 April 2018 (check against delivery).

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to join the President of the General Assembly and the many distinguished panelists and guests here today. I thank the Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform for convening this Roundtable.

United Nations support to nationally-driven Security Sector Reform is grounded in the conviction, expressed by the Security Council, that “an effective, professional and accountable security sector without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development and is important for conflict prevention.” The Council has translated this understanding into mandates in more than 15 peacekeeping and special political missions since 2007.

It also figures prominently in the Sustainable Development Goals, and in particular Goal 16 on peaceful and inclusive societies, and effective, accountable and transparent institutions. Establishing and strengthening security is also Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goal 2 of the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States. In short, Security Sector Reform is a core element of the prevention and sustaining peace agendas.

Many States grapple continuously with the challenge of developing professional and accountable security sectors. In developing countries and countries emerging from conflict, reform is both essential to stability and a difficult process to manage. However, in many post-conflict settings, the links between security institutions and the people they must serve have been deeply ruptured. It is essential that we help to build this connection, without which we cannot move forward towards sustainable peace.

The process requires financing. Enhanced governance structures, specialized expertise and equipment, assessment and training capacities, and infrastructure are often needed.

At its heart, Security Sector Reform is about ensuring safety and enabling women, men, and children to live their lives free from fear, go to school, go to the market, and walk on the street at any time without having to worry about attacks, criminal assault, or other forms of violence.

**“ Security Sector Reform is about ensuring safety and enabling women, men, and children to live their lives free from fear. ”**

Looking ahead, allow me to highlight two main points: First, addressing Security Sector Reform challenges during peace processes contributes to stabilization efforts. In contexts such as the Central African Republic, Iraq, Mali, and Somalia, the United Nations will continue to support inclusive national policies, strategies, and dialogue aimed at building professional and accountable security institutions that better protect civilians, including women and children. We will also work for stronger international coordination and commitment by regional and sub-regional organizations as well as bilateral partners.

Second, Security Sector Reform is a preventive measure. When citizens benefit from security, the rule of law, and socioeconomic inclusion, they are less likely to resort to violence to obtain redress for their grievances. In response to growing Member State requests for support, the United Nations is deploying Security Sector Reform advisers in settings such as Burkina Faso, The Gambia, and Lesotho. Through these advisers, UNDP, DPA, DPKO, and PBSO are working jointly to build up capacity, coordinate partners, and provide strategic and technical advice to governments, including by facilitating national security dialogues and the establishment of national security councils and national reform processes.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Security Sector Reform is a vital undertaking. I call on the UN system, Member States, and partners to ensure that we have the necessary tools, capacity, and political support to advance nationally-led efforts as a core element of sustaining peace across the peace continuum.

Thank you.





**H.E. Mr. Kaya Rala Xanana Gusmão**  
*Former President of Timor-Leste and Eminent  
Person of g7+*

**Opening remarks to the High-Level Roundtable  
on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace,  
Opening key-note speeches.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Your Excellency, Miroslav Lajčák, President of the UN General Assembly,

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to express on behalf of the g7+, my sincere gratitude for inviting me to this high-level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform – which is central to sustaining peace; particularly in conflict affected countries. I thank the UN Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform for speaking up in support of such an important matter.

Traumatized by conflict, our people know that security is the most fundamental commodity their State can provide; this is not exaggeration, but a fact. Provision of security is one of the primary pillars of the social contract between citizens and the State. As a citizen of Timor-Leste, a country that I led in a struggle for freedom and peace, I am not here to present a scientific analysis on how important a capable security sector is. But I would like to share with you some of the realities and negative results, the lessons of which can help to guide the undertaking of security sector reform.

Generally, man-made wraths such as aggression, conflict, and civil war leave our societies torn apart. People get divided into warring factions who keep struggling for control over others and the country. In pursuit of power, each faction gets armed and well equipped. An atmosphere of mistrust takes over the bonds that used to connect them. Ethnic and tribal tensions lead to long term blood feuds and vendettas, which make even families so fragmented that achieving social harmony seems next to impossible.

In the initial years after achieving freedom and seeking peace, the societal divisions and mistrust remain visible. Usually a country becomes overwhelmed with the priorities of protecting the borders and maintaining internal security. The

deployment of peacekeeping missions is viewed as an immediate and necessary international intervention. A country would be considered fortunate to receive such missions in an effective and timely manner; otherwise, we have to cling on to the hope of the international diplomatic bureaucracy trying to become involved. Attempting to achieve and maintain the minimum peace through backbreaking efforts, the country becomes an experimental lab for different, if not competing, theories on how to stabilize the country. When this fails, it can lead to a fragmentation of society that will require continuous assistance funded by the taxpayers of the international community.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In Timor-Leste, since our independence in 2002, and starting from zero with little experience, we recognize we made mistakes and endured cyclical periods of instability. Notwithstanding our setbacks, as apprentices of a true democratic experience, we relied on our social infrastructure to bring about peace and stability in such a short period. We have been humble, to learn from the errors we made and move forward and try to put an end to a mentality of conflict.

However, around every two years, Timor-Leste became trapped in a vicious cycle of disorder that resulted in civil unrest. In 2006 this included conflict between our police and our army, which led to killings and around 150,000 people being internally displaced.

As a natural consequence, we asked for the intervention of peacekeepers and UN police. After being deployed in Timor-Leste, the United Nations demanded that the National Police and defence forces not carry arms and remain contained in their respective barracks. However, in 2008, the President of the Republic was shot, and it took more than 2 months for the UN peacekeepers and the UN Police

do something concrete to try to solve the problems. We had to take action, and the government decided to tell peacekeepers and the UN Police to go back to their barracks. As a State, we had to take charge of our trajectory. We had to address our fragility in our own way and on our own terms and in accordance with our context. For that, we undertook a genuine and inclusive dialogue between State institutions, as well as with our communities. Through this process, we solved our problems in 2 years. This was contrary to what the UN agencies had advised us, that it would take between 10 to 15 years, which was consistent with their experiences in other countries.

We also recognized that we had to address the root causes of our problems to achieve permanent solutions. Those solutions had to be rooted in our national context, rather than international theories and solutions that are imposed from outside.

***“ We had to address the root causes of our problems to achieve permanent solutions. ”***

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have shared our lived experiences with other g7+ countries; not to teach them to do exactly what we did. But by sharing our lessons, we warned them against the failure of a one-size-fits-all approach imposed from outside. We promoted the superiority of national interests over the interest of the individual. Under the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood, the principle that is embedded in g7+ Fragile-to-Fragile Cooperation, Timor-Leste extended financial support to countries like Guinea-Bissau, CAR, Sao Tome Principe, and nations affected by Ebola. This support was provided directly through State institutions and their national budget. All we required of them was to submit a report of the output of the support. The underlying principle for such support was our trust in their leadership.

I led a mission to Guinea-Bissau in 2015, where the conflict was not civil but political. Guinea-Bissau needed to hold elections; however, the international community was not ready to help, because it was under international embargo due to repeated coups.

The Government of Guinea-Bissau asked us for 19 million US dollars to conduct their elections. According to estimates by the UN and EU, the election would cost not less than 30 million US

dollars. However, we undertook a re-evaluation of the country's election needs and the cost came to less than 6 million US dollars, which my Government committed to provide. We approached the UNDP asking them to manage the money provided by Timor-Leste, but in response they required an 18% commission. With less than 6 million US dollars, Guinea-Bissau was able to hold peaceful and democratic elections. In light of this fact, I can complain that international aid is ineffective and inefficient. With our practical experience, I am confident to say that international assistance, that taxpayers in donor countries, can work to address our challenges if we reform the system. This ranges from humanitarian and peacekeeping operations to development assistance.

On my visits to CAR, Haiti, and DRC, I observed peacekeeping troops being deployed for years, but with very little impact on peace. Yes, these missions have been helpful in containing the impact of conflict on human lives but have failed to deliver sustainable results. Billions of dollars are being spent on deploying these missions, but we still see little progress. If you walk along the roads in Bangui, you see peacekeeping troops with their tanks and armour, protecting themselves. On the other hand, when you walk into a Government Ministry, you see poorly-equipped offices deprived of even the very basic tools, such as computers or fans, needed by the officials to perform their duties. Yet, when you meet donor officials, you hear them complaining of the non-functionality of Government institutions. How can state institutions become functional if they are under-resourced and have to compete with parallel institutions and systems well equipped and resourced by donors? How can you build a justice system when the Government's annual budget for justice and rule of law is less than one tenth of what donors and UN missions spend on so called, “justice, rule of law and governance” in parallel programs?

I met with youth and women's organizations in Bangui who were passionate and committed to work and stabilize their country, asking me for some assistance and telling me that the UN mission there had more than 500 million dollars, but was doing very little and not involving them in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. I met groups who used to be rebels, who wanted to be reintegrated into society and wanted to serve their country. I asked myself, will donors be humble to invest in the local economy so that these young men and women have employment opportunities? Will the international community trust the Government and support it to implement its DDR program as they committed to under the peace agreement?

For international support to be effective for reforms in state institutions such as security, justice, and rule of law, there is need for local ownership and leadership. This helps to make sure everyone becomes an agent of peace and development.

Excellencies,

I believe it is urgent to think profoundly about the root causes of the problems throughout the world, which appear to be insoluble. To solve them, we should not rely on a scientific approach; rather, we need to find a human solution. The United Nations needs to promote a culture of accountability for all actors. Recently, I was invited to speak at a conference on oil and gas in Abu Dhabi. I told the audience that our countries are so rich in natural resources, yet they are so poor. Their resources are exploited by multi-national corporations, which have no sense of social responsibility to these countries. Even worse is the case where these multi-nationals fuel the conflict so that they can benefit from signing dubious deals once the country is in chaos and has no capacity to realize the faults in those contracts.

The g7+ member countries have had these experiences of dealing with UN peacekeeping troops, with international troops, with multi-national companies, and with donor organizations, while addressing repeated cycles of conflict and violence. Our experiences and perspectives can be helpful in reforming the international efforts to change the approach to cooperation. We just want to make sure that the innocent citizens of these countries do not become the victim of bad policies that emanate from the international community. Hence, I would like to leave you with these key messages:

First: Reconciliation within societies with a bitter past, to reach a brighter future, has been the only viable option to maintain peace and order in a country. Fostering peace through promoting tolerance, forgiveness, and a sense of prioritizing the greater good over personal prejudice should be the basic principle of any type of national and international intervention. This is a matter of belief, which should take place in people's minds and hearts. Forgetting the traumatic past may seem difficult but it is never impossible. Today I am proud to say that my country has proved in reality that the past, however terrifying it might be, can be overcome with a sense of humbleness and forgiveness. We reconciled our enmity with Indonesia, which occupied us for 24 years, and today our two countries live in peace and harmony.

I led a g7+ mission to South Sudan in 2011, where we had a Ministerial meeting. I made a plea to the South Sudanese leaders not to fall into conflict. I warned them that a conflict in such a populous country will take a long time. Today, it is sad to see that they can't seem to overcome their differences in a peaceful way. Why don't they take pity on their own people and set the national interest above their personal differences? It is sad to see that the South Sudanese can't reap the benefit of their own national resources.

***“ Ownership doesn't only mean control over the resources, but it entails owning the challenges and the solution thereto. ”***

Second: National ownership of the process of reform has proven to be central to success. Ownership doesn't only mean control over the resources, but it entails owning the challenges and the solution thereto. Recognition of the unique context and trust in national leadership are the preconditions for realizing this principle.

We had the 4th Ministerial meeting of g7+ in Afghanistan. I was surprised to see with my own eyes how the international community has undermined national ownership by imposing external solutions and ignoring the potential and capacity of Afghans to build their own country. The international media always speak of billions of dollars being spent on Afghanistan since 2001. These billions of dollars are registered as “assistance” to Afghanistan. However, in reality, a larger portion of this assistance has gone to the accounts of international consultancies and multi-national construction companies outside Afghanistan. The blame for failure of impact is put on Afghans. This has been the case in several aid-dependent countries where the country leadership is overloaded with imposed solutions that look good only in theory. Their reliance on international support weakens their voice while pursuing such reforms. My only plea to our international partners is to please help us achieve what we believe is good for us not what you think is workable. Our institutions need to win the trust of our people. The deployment of international troops and programs cannot and will not suffice, nor replace the role of the national institutions. Our partners, thus, have to show humbleness and respect to the national context.

Third and finally: The provision of security, justice, and rule of law has been the most expensive commodity. This continues to be the case, particularly in the initial years of our journey from conflict to resilience. While building resilience in these institutions is a long-term task, it also requires resources at the discretion of the leadership of countries; countries that face several priorities in the immediate aftermath of conflict. Quick and time-bound solutions without consideration of national context and ownership lead to failure in building and sustaining peace. The taxpayer money of donor countries is too valuable to be wasted in failure. Only we, the citizens who have suffered conflict, know the consequences of the failure of peace, which could be avoided with a minor, but the right, investment.

Two years ago, I was invited by a Commission of the European Union to Expo Milano, with the theme: 'Human Rights, Right to Food; What is missing?' I told the conference that what was missing was

peace, because the international community thinks to impose peace is to participate in war. I tried to remind everybody that hundreds of thousands of immigrants to Europe will not return [home] unless they have peace in their countries. When the UN talks about reforming the security sector, I hope that the first efforts should be to put an end to the wars and conflicts around the world.

I would like to conclude by reiterating that the g7+ asks for a change of mindset in the international support system, to build peace and resilience in conflict affected countries. We need to start working on that change of mindset from right here, from the headquarters of the UN. As the UN Secretary-General says, we need to make the UN fit for results. In order to do so, we need to be humble and accept the faults in the existing systems and policies and, thus, reform them for the betterment of us all.

Thank you.



**H.E. Ms. Marie-Noëlle Koyara**  
*Minister of Defence of the Central African Republic*

**Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Messieurs les Co-présidents du Groupe des Amis de la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité,

Mesdames et Messieurs les Représentants des Etats membres, Mesdames et Messieurs les Experts,

Chers Amis,

Permettez tout d'abord au nom du Président de la République, Chef de l'Etat et du gouvernement centrafricain, de vous adresser mes plus sincères remerciements pour avoir invité la Centrafrique à témoigner de l'expérience, des priorités et des besoins de notre gouvernement pour conduire la réforme en cours du secteur de la sécurité, socle du retour à la paix et du relèvement de ce beau pays. Je salue chaleureusement, les représentants de la communauté internationale et du Groupe d'amis pour la Réforme du Secteur de Sécurité (RSS) et en particulier les représentants permanents des républiques Slovaque et Sud-Africaine, à l'initiative de cette rencontre.

Pour ce geste plus que louable, je leur renouvelle notre profonde gratitude et notre reconnaissance pour la contribution déterminante des Nations Unies et de la communauté internationale dans le règlement de la crise centrafricaine. Je me réjouis de cette opportunité spéciale qui m'est offerte pour partager avec vous la vision, les perspectives et les besoins relatifs à la réforme de l'appareil sécuritaire de mon pays.

En effet, face à la dégradation de la situation sécuritaire, l'un des objectifs prioritaires du gouvernement centrafricain est de rétablir la sécurité avec le redéploiement de l'autorité de l'Etat, instaurer la paix par une cohésion sociale retrouvée sur l'ensemble du territoire. Pour ce faire, le gouvernement a mis un accent particulier sur la RSS qui s'avère déterminante pour la transformation de l'appareil sécuritaire et la restauration de l'autorité de l'Etat.

Dès la prise de fonction du chef de l'Etat démocratiquement élu, il fallait créer un environnement propice à la stabilisation et à la reconstruction de notre pays et surtout mettre en place des forces de défense et de sécurité professionnelles, apolitiques, représentatives et équilibrées capables de protéger la population.

Mesdames, Messieurs

Je puis vous assurer que le processus en cours a enregistré des grandes avancées depuis 2016, grâce à l'appui constant de la communauté internationale et de nos partenaires. Parmi ces réalisations, nous pouvons noter la mise en place du cadre politico-stratégique de notre RSS, à travers l'élaboration de la Politique Nationale de Sécurité (PNS), validée par le chef de l'Etat et qui est en attente d'adoption par l'Assemblée Nationale. Cette politique de sécurité définit clairement les missions des différentes forces de défense et de sécurité, inscrit le secteur de sécurité dans une vision plus globale et dans une approche de sécurité humaine, attentive aux aspirations du peuple centrafricain et elle prévoit la mise en place du Conseil Supérieur de la Sécurité Nationale, cadre de l'indispensable contrôle démocratique. Une stratégie nationale de la RSS, incluant trois axes stratégiques majeurs et qui doit permettre de développer les plans sectoriels, a également été approuvée par le Chef de l'Etat dans le cadre de la coordination nationale RSS – DDDR – et Réconciliation Nationale.

En parallèle, la création d'une Commission Nationale de Lutte contre la Prolifération des Armes Légères et de Petit Calibre a pour but de mettre un terme à la circulation illicite d'armes dans le pays. A cet effet, un séminaire régional organisé par le gouvernement, avec le soutien du PNUD et de la MINUSCA (UNMAS), vient de se dérouler à Bangui du 04 au 05 avril 2018 pour poser les bases de la mise en œuvre de cette commission nationale.

Les efforts de sensibilisation de tous les acteurs concernés par la sécurité ont commencé. Le développement d'un plan de communication permettra aussi une large diffusion auprès du grand public et de tous les acteurs de la RSS pour une meilleure compréhension et appropriation de ce processus national. A titre d'exemple la mise en place du système de contrôle démocratique du secteur de la sécurité a débuté en 2017 avec l'implication de la Commission Défense et Sécurité de l'Assemblée Nationale qui a déjà organisé trois séances de formation des députés du 4 au 30 mai 2017 sur leur rôle et maîtrise des dossiers de la sécurité.

**« Le développement d'un plan de communication permettra aussi une large diffusion auprès du grand public et de tous les acteurs de la RSS pour une meilleure compréhension et appropriation de ce processus national »**

Mesdames, Messieurs,

La reconstruction des Forces Armées Centrafricaines (FACA) et des Forces de Sécurité Intérieure (FSI) se fait selon le principe que la RCA est une et indivisible et qu'elle le demeurera. Par conséquent, tout doit être mis en place pour que les Centrafricains vivent en paix et en sécurité sur l'ensemble du territoire national et que le Gouvernement, que je représente, s'emploie à la transformation de notre outil sécuritaire et qu'il redevienne véritablement républicain, pluriethnique, professionnel et au service de la population.

Pour ce qui concerne le secteur de la défense, le cadre normatif cité précédemment est quasiment en place : je peux vous citer le Plan National de la Défense (PND) qui a été approuvé par le Président de la République, Chef de l'État et Chef Suprême des Armées, le 11 septembre 2017. Ce dernier définit l'organisation fondamentale des FACA en une armée de garnison avec quatre zones de défense, choisies en fonction des risques sécuritaires, pour un effectif d'environ 9 800 hommes, endossant des priorités stratégiques claires : la défense de l'intégrité du territoire national, la protection de la population, la participation aux activités civilo - militaires, le soutien aux forces de Sécurité intérieure et la participation aux opérations de maintien de la paix.

Le document d'orientation sur le redéploiement des FACA et le Concept d'Emploi des Forces ont été approuvés en octobre 2017. Le Code de Justice Militaire, instrument essentiel de la lutte contre l'impunité, a été promulgué par la loi du 24 mars 2017.

Un projet de Loi de Programmation Militaire qui a été élaboré et approuvé par le gouvernement sera soumis bientôt à l'Assemblée Nationale. Sa validation ouvrira, entre autres, les perspectives suivantes : mise en œuvre du plan de recrutement indispensable à l'armement des futures unités qui seront formées ou recyclées par l'EUTM et les autres partenaires, poursuite de l'équipement des unités et continuation des activités civilo-militaires dans le cadre de la réconciliation nationale et de la reconstruction du pays.

Le processus d'assainissement des effectifs de la Défense se poursuit à travers le contrôle simplifié de tous les militaires, doublé d'un contrôle physique pour assainir la base de données RH et le fichier de la solde qui ont été effectués au cours de l'année 2017 (au bilan 7269 militaires contrôlés, toutes catégories confondues, sur un effectif théorique de 7791). Nous avons bien conscience qu'en l'état actuel de l'outil judiciaire un processus complet et indiscutable de « vetting » n'est pas encore réalisable. La réforme de la justice, que j'aborderai plus tard, vous le confirmera. La mise à la retraite de 829 militaires à compter du 1er juin 2018 a été confirmée par décrets et décisions en mars 2018, incluant le financement des arriérés de salaire par des fonds américains. Les premiers recrutements, facilités par l'appel d'air de ces départs à la retraite, vont avoir lieu fin 2018. A cet effet le plan de recrutement est en cours d'élaboration (le projet de la Loi de Programmation Militaire prévoit sur 5 ans le recrutement d'un millier de militaires tous les ans).

Les capacités opérationnelles des FACA ont été renforcées avec la formation et l'entraînement de deux (2) Bataillons d'Infanterie Territoriale (BIT) avec le soutien de la mission européenne militaire de formation (EUTM) et d'autres partenaires bilatéraux. Un troisième BIT est en cours de formation. Grâce à une bonne coordination des échanges avec le Comité des Sanctions, l'acquisition d'équipements organiques non létaux et létaux a débuté et se poursuit avec l'appui de nombreux partenaires internationaux.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Dans le cadre de la Réforme de la Sécurité intérieure, suite à l'approbation du Plan de Développement des Capacités de Développement des FSI en novembre 2016, la Gendarmerie et la Police ont connu une montée en puissance de leurs capacités

opérationnelles, en particulier grâce à leur déploiement dans 11 villes du pays. La liste des 500 policiers et gendarmes (dont 116 femmes) nouvellement sélectionnés et recrutés, actuellement en cours de formation, a été publiée le 6 octobre 2017.

Il convient également de noter les principaux résultats suivants :

- Le processus d'assainissement des effectifs de la Police et de la Gendarmerie s'est poursuivi avec 3583 effectifs enregistrés, et un total de 1659 éléments jugés conformes aux exigences de service ;
- La mise à la retraite de 287 policiers a été confirmée par arrêté ministériel, et la liste de 163 gendarmes est en cours de validation ;
- Une base de données de gestion des ressources humaines est en cours de développement et servira à réaligner les grades et les fonctions, et à développer les plans de carrière du personnel ;
- Les commissariats et brigades de gendarmerie ont été réhabilités et équipés dans tous les arrondissements de Bangui ;
- L'élaboration du plan de redimensionnement et de redéploiement a été finalisé et présenté au cours d'un atelier du 20 au 22 mars 2018 et sa validation est en cours.

En conclusion, les lois organiques et loi de programmation des FSI, sont en cours de révision et offrent des perspectives encourageantes pour intégrer les nouvelles approches et modèles des FSI professionnelles, inclusives, républicaines, opérationnelles et de proximité (PIROP).

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Des repères stratégiques dans le domaine de la réforme de l'institution judiciaire et de la lutte contre l'impunité ont également pu être honorés depuis 2016 :

- la Cour Pénale Spéciale créée par la Loi n° 15.003 du 3 juin 2015, pour juger les crimes de guerre et crimes contre l'humanité commis en République centrafricaine depuis 2003, est à présent en place dans des locaux provisoires. Le personnel d'instruction a été recruté et formé et 20 Officiers de Police Judiciaire sont en cours de formation. Le processus des enquêtes et des poursuites pourra démarrer après et les premiers jugements pourraient être attendus au cours du second trimestre de 2019 ;
- la Loi portant création de la Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés Fondamentales (CNDHLF) a été promulguée le 20 avril 2017. Les douze (12) membres de la CNDHLF, dont 4 femmes, ont été installés le 23 octobre 2017 ;
- l'Unité Mixte d'Intervention Rapide et de Répression (UMIRR) des violences sexuelles

faites aux femmes et aux enfants a été installée le 14 juin 2017 et est pleinement opérationnelle ;

- la République centrafricaine a ratifié la Charte Africaine pour les Droits et le Bien-être de l'enfant le 16 août 2017, et le Protocole Facultatif à la Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant et sur l'implication des enfants dans les conflits armés, le 21 septembre 2017 ;
- le Comité paritaire de pilotage chargé de la conception de la Commission Vérité, Justice, Réparation et Réconciliation (CVJRR) a été créé par la Loi du 11 septembre 2017 ;
- la Stratégie Nationale de l'Aide Juridique a été adoptée ;
- les activités judiciaires ont repris dans le ressort des trois (3) Cours d'Appel du pays. Les audiences civiles et criminelles ont pu être organisées par les Tribunaux de Grande Instance de Bouar et Bambari. Une session criminelle de la Cour d'Appel de Bouar s'est tenue du 17 au 27 novembre 2017, et de la Cour d'Appel de Bangui du 8 janvier au 28 février 2018 ;
- en matière de sécurité juridique et judiciaire, la Commission Nationale de l'Organisation pour l'Harmonisation en Afrique du Droit des Affaires a été réactivée et le renforcement des capacités des acteurs judiciaires a été réalisé dans cette direction ;
- le processus de démilitarisation des prisons a commencé avec l'intégration de 32 agents pénitentiaires dans la Fonction Publique en mars 2017 et le démarrage du processus de recrutement de 150 agents pénitentiaires stagiaires en janvier 2018.

**« le monde ne sera pas détruit par ceux qui font du mal mais par ceux qui regardent sans rien faire »**

Les autres secteurs concernés par la sécurité nationale sont en train de développer leurs plans sectoriels (douanes, eaux et forêts, communication, renseignements, contrôle démocratique) conformément à la stratégie RSS citée précédemment mais manque encore cruellement de soutien et d'expertise internationale.

Dans le cadre de la réconciliation nationale prônée par le président de la république, un projet pilote de DDRR a été lancé officiellement le 30 août 2017. Il a permis d'intégrer 235 ex-combattants dans les FACA qui viennent de suivre une formation de 12 semaines au Camp Kassai à Bangui qui a été

réhabilité grâce à la communauté internationale. Les leçons apprises de ce projet pilote devraient initier la stratégie d'intégration des ex-combattants dans les différents corps habillés centrafricains et, de manière plus générale, lancer la mise en œuvre du plan national du DDRR.

La planification du redéploiement des FACA et des FSI dans la zone de défense de Bouar (garnison pilote) est en cours de finalisation et c'est un projet à long terme qui préfigurera de la future maquette de l'armée de garnison prévue dans le PND. Parallèlement, en début d'année 2018, pour régler les problèmes urgents et immédiats de sécurité et de protection des populations et des institutions de l'Etat, les déploiements conjoints de FACA et de FSI, formées et équipées, en étroite coordination avec la MINUSCA, ont déjà été faits à Paoua et à Obo. De nouveaux travaux de planification prévoient le renforcement de ces deux sites avec des effectifs à hauteur de 200 personnels (une compagnie renforcée) et le déploiement d'une nouvelle compagnie à Bangassou. Cela ne pourra se faire qu'avec la structure et le soutien logistique de la MINUSCA avec laquelle des arrangements techniques doivent être finalisés. Cela ne doit pas faire oublier qu'un soutien robuste à moyen terme devra être apporté en parallèle pour permettre la mise en place d'une garnison modèle à l'ouest du pays (sujet déjà évoqué plus haut).

Mesdames, Messieurs,

En conclusion, toutes ces futures actions prépondérantes pour la reconstruction de l'outil

sécuritaire nécessiteront la mobilisation sans faille du gouvernement et celle non moins indispensable des Partenaires Techniques et Financiers (PTF). Comme nous le savons tous déjà, la réhabilitation de Forces de Défense et de Sécurité est une tâche immense et souvent rebutante pour les partenaires. Dans le cas particulier de la RCA nous nous employons à convaincre nos partenaires que les Forces de Défense et de Sécurité sont et demeurent une base sur laquelle l'Etat peut reconstruire le secteur de la sécurité, mais surtout une garantie de retour de l'autorité de l'Etat. En déployant les FACA et les FSI à travers les zones de défense, nous comptons asseoir la présence effective de l'Etat et créer les conditions pour le développement des autres segments de l'autorité étatique. C'est pour cela que par exemple un comité de coordination et de suivi de la coopération a été mis en place dans mon ministère, comme cadre d'échange d'informations et de suivi pour une meilleure transparence dans l'exécution et l'accompagnement de cette réhabilitation de nos forces.

Permettez-moi de terminer par ces propos d'Einstein « le monde ne sera pas détruit par ceux qui font du mal mais par ceux qui regardent sans rien faire ».

Merci à tous nos nombreux partenaires internationaux, régionaux, multilatéraux ou bilatéraux qui n'acceptent pas de regarder la RCA sombrer dans la crise.

Je vous remercie.





**Mr. Ibrahima Diallo**  
*Malian Commissioner for SSR*

**Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Mesdames, Messieurs, Distinguées invités,

Le Gouvernement du Mali se félicite de la tenue de la table ronde de haut niveau sur la réforme du secteur de la sécurité et remercie les organisateurs pour l'invitation qui lui a été adressée pour y participer. Cette rencontre nous intéresse d'autant plus que la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité est pour nous une priorité absolue et une question d'actualité qui nous mobilise fortement en vue d'aider notre pays à relever les grands défis auxquels il est confronté, mais aussi parce qu'il faut s'engager pleinement dans la mise en œuvre effective et rapide de l'Accord pour la paix et la réconciliation au Mali issu du processus d'Alger.

En effet, les progrès dans le processus de RSS doivent aller de pair avec la mise en œuvre de l'Accord. Cependant, même si nous avons une vision holistique de la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité, la situation d'insécurité que vit notre pays, de même que celle qui existe dans tous les pays environnants, avec des actions terroristes presque au quotidien, entraînant leur lot de morts et de désolation, nous amène à prioriser le renforcement des capacités des institutions de Défense, de Sécurité et de Justice.

En effet, disposer de Forces Armées et de Services de sécurité performants, permettra de répondre aux menaces sécuritaires et de garantir plus efficacement la protection des citoyens et de leurs biens ainsi que celle des institutions, et d'aller vers une mise en œuvre diligente de l'Accord.

Cela explique d'ailleurs pourquoi le Gouvernement, pour faire face aux urgences, a adopté une Loi d'Orientation et de Programmation Militaire et une Loi de Programmation de Sécurité Intérieure, qui sont actuellement en cours d'exécution.

Cela résulte par ailleurs de la volonté du Président de la République, Son Excellence Ibrahim Boubacar KEITA, clairement exprimée lors de son adresse

à la nation en janvier 2014 à la veille de la fête de l'Armée. Il déclarait à cette occasion sa volonté de « restructurer les forces armées et les services de sécurité, en vue d'en faire des forces républicaines, respectueuses de l'Etat de droit, dédiées à la sécurité et à la protection du citoyen malien et de ses biens ; d'en faire le rempart de la démocratie au lieu d'être son ventre mou. Il s'agira alors d'engager, sur des bases consensuelles, une profonde réforme structurelle, pour assainir et organiser l'environnement de notre sécurité ».

C'est pour cela que dès le mois de novembre 2013, un Groupe de Travail Pluridisciplinaire de Réflexion sur la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité (GPRSS) a été mis en place sous la supervision du Ministre chargé de la Sécurité. Ce Groupe de travail était composé aussi bien d'acteurs nationaux que de partenaires internationaux, bilatéraux et multilatéraux.

Les travaux de ce Groupe de travail ont abouti à la mise en place d'un cadre institutionnel le 14 août 2014, comprenant le Conseil National pour la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité (CNRSS), organe politique de décision et d'orientation, disposant d'un organe opérationnel, le Commissariat à la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité, organe opérationnel du CNRSS, et de Comités Consultatifs de Sécurité, placés auprès des Présidents des organes exécutifs des collectivités Région et Commune. Le texte de création de ce cadre institutionnel a, par la suite, été modifié le 9 juin 2016, suite à la signature, le 20 mai et le 15 juin 2015, de l'Accord pour la Paix et la Réconciliation au Mali issu du processus d'Alger. Cette modification avait pour but de prendre en compte certaines dispositions de l'Accord, mais surtout d'assurer une mise en œuvre inclusive non seulement du processus RSS, mais surtout de celle dudit Accord par la prise en compte des mouvements signataires aussi bien au sein de l'organe politique, le CNRSS, que de l'organe opérationnel, le Commissariat.

Cette inclusivité a été également voulue à travers les Comités Consultatifs de Sécurité qui comprennent non seulement les acteurs classiques de la Défense, de la Sécurité et de la Justice, mais aussi les représentants des collectivités, des autorités traditionnelles, religieuses et coutumières, la société civile, y compris les Femmes et les Jeunes. Ces Comités sont chargés d'évaluer la situation sécuritaire, émettre des avis et recommandations et contribuer à l'échange d'informations, à la sensibilisation et à une meilleure prise en compte des problèmes des populations.

Cette volonté d'inclusivité permet sans aucun doute de favoriser la prise en compte des besoins de justice et de sécurité des populations, mais aussi d'élargir la vision nationale de la sécurité.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Ma délégation reflète justement cette inclusivité car elle est composée comme suit :

- Le Colonel Philippe SANGARE, représentant du Gouvernement ;
- M. Abdourhamane MAIGA, représentant de la Plateforme ;
- M. Sidi Ould Al-Arbi, représentant de la CMA ;
- Mme Oumou Sall Seck, représentante des Associations des Collectivités territoriales, mais en même temps de la Société civile dont elle est une grande activiste. Elle est par ailleurs une Femme politique, Maire de la Commune de Goundam dans la région de Tombouctou. A travers elle, nous démontrons également notre attachement à la prise en compte du Genre et de la Jeunesse.
- Enfin, l'Ambassadeur Sékou KASSE, Conseiller diplomatique de Monsieur le Premier ministre.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Le Conseil National pour la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité est présidé par le Premier ministre et comprend les membres du Gouvernement, dix (10) représentants par mouvement signataire de l'Accord, la Coordination des Mouvements de l'Azawad (CMA) et la Plateforme des Mouvements du 14 juin d'Alger (Plateforme). Il comprend également le Président de la Commission de la Défense, de la Sécurité et de la Protection civile de l'Assemblée Nationale, le représentant du Haut Conseil de Collectivités, le Chef d'Etat-major Général des Armées, le Directeur Général de la Police et le Directeur National de l'Administration pénitentiaire et de l'Education surveillée.

Le Conseil a pour mission entre autres, de définir les orientations stratégiques, de fixer les priorités nationales en matière de RSS et de valider les

projets de stratégie et de plans à court, moyen et long terme. De même, dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre de l'Accord, le Conseil participe à la définition des critères, quotas et modalités d'intégration et supervise l'élaboration des listes des combattants des mouvements armés.

**« Cette volonté d'inclusivité permet sans aucun doute de favoriser la prise en compte des besoins de justice et de sécurité des populations, mais aussi d'élargir la vision nationale de la sécurité »**

En ce qui concerne le Commissariat, en tant qu'organe opérationnel du CNRSS, il travaille en étroite collaboration avec la Commission d'Intégration et la Commission Nationale DDR, notamment sur les critères, quotas et modalités d'intégration des combattants en vue de leur adoption par le CNRSS. C'est ainsi qu'il a participé aux différents ateliers organisés par la Commission Nationale Désarmement-Démobilisation et Réinsertion à l'endroit des chefs de base dans les régions du Nord (Tombouctou, Kidal, Ménaka et Gao) en vue de lancer le processus d'enregistrement des combattants des groupes armés ainsi que leurs armes.

Le Commissariat à la RSS a également pris part à toutes les réunions, sous l'égide du Ministre de la Défense et du Haut Représentant du Président de la République pour la mise en œuvre de l'Accord, qui ont permis d'avoir un consensus entre les parties signataires sur les critères d'intégration des combattants dans les corps constitués de l'Etat, y compris les Forces de Défense et de Sécurité.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Il apparaît donc que, au-delà du processus de réforme envisagé, le Conseil National pour la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité occupe une place centrale dans la mise en œuvre de l'Accord pour la Paix et la Réconciliation issu du processus d'Alger, en tout cas en ce qui concerne les aspects sécuritaires. En effet, suffisamment représentatif et réunissant des capacités issues des différentes communautés, le Conseil National doit entreprendre une réflexion approfondie sur la nouvelle vision nationale de la sécurité « compte tenu de tous les facteurs locaux, régionaux, nationaux et internationaux pertinents ».

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Permettez – moi de mentionner quelques actes importants posés par le gouvernement depuis 2013. Il s’agit entre autres de :

- La mise en place du cadre institutionnel évoqué ci-dessus, à savoir, le Conseil National pour la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité (CNRSS), le Commissariat, les Comités Consultatifs de Sécurité ;
- La tenue de la première réunion du CNRSS sous la présidence effective du Premier ministre le 27 octobre 2017 ;
- La tenue de divers ateliers et séminaires de formations et de sensibilisation ;
- L’élaboration d’un avant-projet de Stratégie nationale de RSS qui a été examiné au cours d’un atelier de haut niveau tenu les 27, 28 et 29 mars dernier à Bamako et qui sera soumis très prochainement au Conseil National pour la RSS, pour adoption. C’est l’occasion de saluer la présence à cette importante rencontre de hauts responsables des Nations Unies, dont certains venus de New York. Cet atelier, en plus de l’examen de l’avant-projet de Stratégie nationale, a aussi discuté de deux notions essentielles mentionnées dans l’Accord pour la Paix et la Réconciliation au Mali issu du processus d’Alger. Il s’agit de la Police territoriale et de l’Armée nouvelle reconstituée. Leur examen a permis de poser les jalons d’une discussion tripartite en vue d’une compréhension mutuelle de ces deux notions.

En effet, la Police territoriale doit avoir pour ambition d’assurer la sécurité rapprochée des populations à travers une structure qui se rapproche beaucoup à une Police municipale. Quant à l’Armée nouvelle reconstituée, il s’agira de faire en sorte que la nouvelle Armée soit le reflet de la Nation malienne, dans sa diversité sociale et culturelle, dans laquelle tous les citoyens se reconnaissent et qui sera déployée en fonction des menaces par secteur.

Il ne s’agit donc pas de structures de substitution, mais de structures complémentaires, prenant en compte les diversités sous toutes ses formes ainsi que les femmes et les jeunes.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Comme vous le constatez, notre processus de réforme, de caractère inclusif et en conformité avec l’accord pour la paix, est mené selon les normes internationales, notamment les instruments de la CEDEAO, de l’Union Africaine et des Nations Unies. Il a pour objectif de disposer de forces de défense, de forces de sécurité, de forces économiques et environnementales et d’un arsenal judiciaire capables

d’assurer un système de sécurité globale, soutenu par une justice équitable, en vue d’un développement harmonieux dans tous les secteurs.

Il visera à garantir que les prestataires des différents services soient efficaces, efficaces et performants et qui rendront des comptes à l’Etat ainsi qu’à la population. Ils devront être respectueux des Droits de l’Homme et leurs actions devront s’inscrire dans les normes et standards internationaux. Notre processus tirera sa légitimité d’une mise en œuvre nationale, à la portée des moyens disponibles, même si l’apport des partenaires sera important pour son renforcement.

Enfin, notre processus contribuera à la prévention des risques sécuritaires par la diffusion d’une culture du dialogue et de l’inclusion ainsi que par le renforcement de la collaboration entre populations et Forces de Défense et de Sécurité. De même, les actions de contrôle des organisations de la Société civile, tout comme celles des institutions étatiques, participeront au renforcement de l’Etat de droit et à l’instauration d’une meilleure gouvernance démocratique du secteur de la sécurité.

**« Les deux défis majeurs demeurent l’appropriation nationale et la coordination, toutes deux indispensables pour avoir un processus RSS efficace à souhait. »**

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Nous avons également pris en compte le dilemme de la primauté entre Paix et Développement. Faut-il qu’il y ait la paix pour qu’on aille au développement ou faut-il développer pour avoir la paix ? Notre Gouvernement a voulu faire en sorte que les deux puissent aller de pair. C’est pourquoi dans le cadre de la décentralisation, il a été décidé de transférer les compétences aux Collectivités mais aussi de transférer, d’ici la fin de cette année 2018, les moyens qui s’y attachent, notamment 30% des recettes de l’Etat. De même, il a été décidé d’accélérer la mise en place des Autorités intérimaires et de leur transférer les moyens nécessaires à leur opérationnalisation. Tout cela permettra le retour effectif de l’Administration et la mise en œuvre de projets de développement. En effet, c’est très souvent l’absence de l’Administration, donc de l’Etat, et le manque de développement qui sont mis à profit par les forces du mal pour s’implanter.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Les deux défis majeurs demeurent l'appropriation nationale et la coordination, toutes deux indispensables pour avoir un processus RSS efficace à souhait. Pour notre part, ces questions sont prises en compte essentiellement à travers le cadre institutionnel, dont l'organe de direction est présidé par le Premier ministre. Par ailleurs, la participation de l'ensemble des couches de la société, notamment à travers les Comités Consultatifs de Sécurité, contribue à une appropriation nationale et non à une appropriation seulement étatique.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Les principales difficultés auxquelles le Commissariat est confronté sont, entre autres, le manque d'un siège adéquat, l'insuffisance des ressources financières pour soutenir le programme annuel d'activités et le manque d'équipement, notamment en moyens roulants.

Dans les perspectives, le Commissariat envisage en particulier, après l'adoption de la stratégie nationale RSS, d'élaborer un plan d'actions triennal de financement de cette stratégie, de faire valider les critères et quotas d'intégration des combattants des mouvements signataires de l'Accord, en vue d'un démarrage effectif du processus de DDR.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

L'engagement de nos partenaires à nos côtés reste fondamental pour nous accompagner dans la mise en œuvre du processus, non seulement à travers leur assistance technique et leur expérience mais aussi à travers leur appui matériel et en formation. Cette assistance des partenaires internationaux est déjà visible dans plusieurs domaines, pour appuyer à la mise en place des institutions de défense et de sécurité aptes à répondre aux besoins sécuritaires du Mali. Elle est par ailleurs souvent opérationnelle, notamment à travers les actions conjointes des

Forces de Défense et de Sécurité nationales, de la MINUSMA et de BARKHANE pour lutter contre le terrorisme. Elle reste cependant toujours fortement sollicitée.

Je ne doute d'ailleurs pas un seul instant du renforcement de cet appui, conscients que nos partenaires sont préoccupés par ce qui se passe au Mali, voir au-delà de nos frontières. En effet, les extrémistes font fi des frontières dans leur volonté de déstabilisation de nos Etats. Ils sèment la terreur au sein des populations sans distinction de race, de sexe, de religion ou de frontières. C'est en cela que l'on se rend compte que si la terreur a un nom, elle ignore cependant les limites territoriales, comme nous le constatons tous les jours. Aussi, au regard de tout cela, devrai-je pouvoir compter sur l'accompagnement constant des amis du Mali pour vaincre le fléau de la violence aveugle qui fait peser une sérieuse hypothèque sur nos programmes de développement et sur nos efforts en vue de sortir nos populations de la pauvreté.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Le gouvernement du Mali met tout en œuvre pour que ses Forces de Défense et Sécurité assurent efficacement la protection des populations civiles, deviennent des acteurs de la paix durable et contribuent au renforcement de l'autorité de l'Etat sur l'ensemble du territoire, dans le respect de ses obligations internationales en matière des Droits de l'Homme.

Je rappelle enfin que la volonté politique manifeste du Président Ibrahim Boubacar KEITA, ajoutée à l'engagement des partenaires aussi bien nationaux qu'internationaux, dont la MINUSMA, partie prenante dans la Réforme du Secteur de la Sécurité au Mali conformément à son mandat, constitue un gage sûr pour la mise en œuvre de la RSS dans notre pays et pour laquelle chaque malien est appelé à apporter sa contribution.

Je vous remercie de votre aimable attention.



## Mr. Momodou Badjie

*National Security Adviser of The Gambia*

**Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

### *Background*

Concerns about adequate provisions of security to The Gambia are as old as the history of the country itself, as there was a deep-seated apprehension internationally about the country's security, and political and economic viability, when it gained independence from Britain on 18 February 1965.

It was therefore not surprising that the founding fathers' pre-occupation and primary objective after independence was to maintain territorial sovereignty and security, as well as a foreign policy that promotes and attracts economic resources to support domestic development goals and regime legitimacy.

The first president, Sir Dawda K. Jawara, pursued modest development goals, a moderate foreign policy, and adhered in principle to political democracy, human rights, and open economy through a security apparatus that was loosely organized around a Ministry of Interior with a Ministry of Defence. However, in 1981 and 1994, this first regime/republic faced coups; it survived the first but was ousted in the second by young military officers led by Lt. Yahya Jammeh, which saw the birth of the second republic.

Constitutional arrangements in The Gambia were established, and the Constitution continued to be amended to suit former president Jammeh's political agenda. The security sector was compromised and over the 22-year reign of the president, the security actors under his employ applied the instrument of security in a nefarious manner, suppressing the society for much of that period. Ensuring the suppression was a fundamental flaw of the Constitution, designed to preserve power and control of the defence and security forces by muzzling the press, outlawing and suppressing opposition political parties, constant harassment, arbitrary arrests, and even extra-judicial killings, amongst others abuses of the rights of the Gambian people.

The 2016 presidential election and the rise to the mantle of leadership by His Excellency, President Adama Barrow, changed the status quo. In President Barrow's own words, "when my administration was sworn in last January, it was clear to us that we were taking over a security sector that had been deeply politicized and not responsive to the needs of the Gambian people." Meaning, the Barrow administration inherited a security apparatus that needed immediate, comprehensive review and reform, as well as the strengthening of justice and security institutions to render them accessible and responsive to the needs and rights of all Gambians.

Security sector reform in The Gambia was aimed at ensuring the sector upholds the rule of law and democratic principles of transparency and accountability, as well as creating a secure environment that is conducive to sustainable development, poverty alleviation, the right to collective participation and association, and the overarching issues of civilian control, management, and indeed oversight.

In The Gambia, efforts are afoot to ensure the SSR aim to enhance the effectiveness, efficiency, and accountability of the security services to the state and the people, without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and rule of law, thereby laying the foundation for peacebuilding and socioeconomic development. In order for the security sector to be an effective apparatus for peacebuilding and indeed a peace maintenance tool, it needs to be as representative of the State's people as possible, by being diverse ethnically and in many other respects. Experience indicates that peace is likely to be everlasting only if the security needs of Gambians are addressed in parallel with the political and socioeconomic aspects of post-authoritarian reconstruction.

This presentation examines the Gambian Government's approach to security sector reform and its broad strategic plan, and further explores the vital foreseeable role of security sector reform in The Gambia in post-authoritarian peacebuilding and sustainable development.

### *The broad approach of SSR-The Gambia*

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SSR-The Gambia is the brainchild of His Excellency, President Adama Barrow, who wasted no time in approaching multilateral and development partners, namely the United Nations, African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), European Union (EU), World Bank (WB), and International Monetary Fund (IMF), to reform the country's institutions with a view to restoring democratic governance. ECOMIG forces deployed by ECOWAS have provided some respite in the immediate short term, but this well-meaning support is not likely to be a sustainable option, thus the urgent expressed commitment of the Government to carry out comprehensive security reform in the shortest possible time with the support of its development partners. In order to carry out the desired reforms, the Government of The Gambia commissioned an in-depth assessment to inform programming. The collaboration of GOTG and its partners led to the development and approval of a UN Peace Building Project geared towards supporting the SSR initiative.

## ***“ Women’s participation in all aspects of political decision-making must be actively promoted ”***

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A Steering Committee proceeded to commission a Twenty-Seven member Working Group (TWG) to carry out the requisite comprehensive assessment of the security and justice needs of the State, as a basis for the envisaged security sector reform. The members of the TWG were drawn from all security services, other relevant Ministries, and civil society organizations (CSOs) including youth and girls' groups. A five-day induction training, to harmonize the understanding of the team in general, and specifically on SSR Assessment, was supported by the UN in collaboration with selected human resources drawn from the Gambian citizenry.

The SSR Assessment sought to evaluate the current security context, and challenges, gaps, and malfunctions that exist within security institutions. The Assessment covered two categories, namely:

1. Situational Assessment, which focused on public/personal security in the country, recent risks and threats to national security, the political situation, and general perceptions of security.
2. Institutional Assessment provided information on several aspect of security institutions: the legal and institutional framework of the security sector, governance and oversight of the security sector, formal and informal mechanisms to prevent violence and crime, and capacity and management issues.

The assessment methodology took the form of desk review, nationwide consultations, data collation, analysis, drafting, and validation of the report. The key findings of the Assessment revealed major gaps, limitations, malfunctions, and general problems:

1. Within the Governance and Oversight thematic area: Archaic legal and regulatory frameworks; an absence of overarching policies and standing operational procedures in management and administration of institutions; an absence of a policy framework to address interoperability of the security sector in times of emergencies; and weakness or absence of fully functioning oversight Ministries of Defense and Interior, the National Assembly, and CSOs.
2. Within the thematic area of damaging legacies of the past regime: A dearth of appropriate infrastructure; persistent challenges of appropriate management/storage of the stockpile of large quantities of assorted arms, ammunition, and explosives left behind; a significant proportion of security institutions operating from unsecured properties/facilities, most of which are in dilapidated condition; the size and disposition of the sector demands rightsizing, considering the scarce resources and economy of the country; unclear national security architecture; a weak, manipulated, or non-existent constitutional and legal framework; and a lack of appropriate/basic equipment and training for security forces to carry out their function properly (a lack of capacity).

Key Recommendations on overarching issues, capacity gaps in civilian management and oversight, post-authoritarian legacies, and crosscutting challenges.

Finally, the SSR Assessment Report was submitted to the Government in December 2017 and was endorsed in February 2018, securing an executive directive to proceed to the next phase – SSR Programme Design.

### *Building capacity*

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The Assessment findings revealed huge capacity gaps and, as a result, there will be a need to build the capacities of both institutions and personnel. A Nine-pillar capacity development plan was proposed as follows: (i) Governance, (ii) Human resource development, (iii) Oversight, (iv) Human Rights Mainstreaming, (v) Policy Development and Implementation, (vi) M&E, (vii) Resource mobilization, (viii) Communication Development, and (ix) Infrastructure and equipment acquisition.

### *Challenges and way forward*

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The establishment of the Office of National Security (ONS) is yet to be accomplished. Challenges include:

- Funding and mobilization of experts
- Inter/intra-coordination of partners. One step taken by SSR-The Gambia was to establish a five-prong coordination mechanism comprising: (1) The National security Council, chaired by the President; (2) The Steering Committee (Project Board), chaired by the Vice President; (3) The Heads of Institutions forum, chaired by the National Security Adviser; (4) International Adviser Group, and (5) SSR-The Gambia Focal Points in the various security institutions.
- Expectations are too high on SSR deliverables; there is a need to manage expectations
- Engaging National Stakeholders, including civil society organizations (CSOs)
- Lack of modern equipment
- Capacity building of ONS governance and oversight frameworks
- Building capacities and recognizing local ownership

### *Timelines and monitoring mechanisms*

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The need to match timeframes with ambitions and circumstances on the ground became pressing and prompted the production of a work plan. The building of capacity of oversight responsibilities of the ministries of Defence and Interior, the National Assembly, and civil society organizations is one approach intended to improve monitoring mechanisms. As is the establishment and reactivation of the dysfunctional Institutions Service Council and committees with oversight responsibilities.

### *Priorities to achieve reforms*

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In order to achieve reform, SSR-The Gambia will focus on:

- Developing overarching frameworks including a National Security Policy and other legislative frameworks
- Enhancing capacity of the security sector and strengthening competences
- Enhancing legislative frameworks
- Addressing relevant infrastructural inadequacies

### *Gender mainstreaming and roles of specific groups*

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The Gambian Government found it imperative to include gender and women's issues explicitly in the SSR-The Gambia programme. Similarly, youth and girls' issues also took centre stage in the SSR process. The scourge of violence against women, whether it is perpetuated at home or in public spaces, must be addressed as a matter of extreme urgency through legal reforms and legislative support, and by public education. Women's participation in all aspects of political decision-making must be actively promoted. In the case of youth, they requested improvements in their relationships with security institutions, as they feel stereotyped. Youth called for strong collaboration with security institutions to enhance national security. The National security Policy and other legal instruments thus needed to establish a directive for equal opportunities to be extended to both men and women.

***“ Security sector reform in The Gambia was aimed at ensuring the sector upholds the rule of law and democratic principles of transparency and accountability, as well as creating a secure environment that is conducive to sustainable development, poverty alleviation, the right to collective participation and association ”***

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## *Conclusion*

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Security sector reform in The Gambia is at its infant stage, therefore enormous work, including the cost estimates process, still need to be conducted to get the security system to its desired level and respond to the needs and aspirations of Gambians. The security sector has been used and abused in the past 22 years, and thus there is a need for intensive training to enhance professionalism at all levels. There is also a need to bridge the gap between citizens and security systems to allow for cordial civil-military relations and community policing. A work progress chart indicating results achieved so far and going forward is [available]. One imperative is to support processes, systems, and mechanism for accountability and control, particularly by Parliament and line ministries. The SSR process is also mindful of the importance of participatory governance and has therefore opened space for media, think-tank, and CSO (Ambassadors of Peace and WANEP) engagement.

Finally, it is important to note that SSR-The Gambia is without a lead country and it is soliciting the support of a lead country in guiding the process to successful implementation.







## Mr. Yakuba Drammeh

*Deputy Chief of Defence Staff of The Gambia*

**Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Co-Chairs, Excellences, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you most sincerely for the opportunity to discuss this important issue with this esteemed gathering. At the outset, allow me to extend on behalf of my delegation and the Government of The Gambia, warmest congratulations to you, the co-chairs of the United Nations Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform; namely, Slovakia and South Africa, for organizing this very important session and equally for inviting me to make a statement on the theme: “Security Sector Reform and Sustainable Peace” from The Gambia’s perspective.

In a similar vein, I wish to register profound thanks to the Office of the Rule of Law and Security Institutions in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Bureau for Policy and Programme Support of the United Nations Development Programme as well as the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces for the continued guidance and support.

Let me also extend immense gratitude to the United Nations Peacebuilding Committee for the exceptional role it continues to play, especially in the context of supporting peace efforts in conflict-affected countries. In particular, I bring special greetings to the Vice Chair of the Commission, H.E. Ambassador Cho Tae-yul.

Co-Chairs,

The Gambia acknowledges with great satisfaction the important role and complementary relationship between security sector reform (SSR) and sustainable peace and the leading role of national authorities in developing an inclusive and balanced national vision on SSR, informed by the needs of its population. This is succinctly captured in United Nations Security Council resolution 2151.

In this brief, the terms “military” and “armed forces” will be used interchangeably to mean the same throughout.

It would be recalled that on 1 December 2016, Gambians went to the polls to elect a new president as provided for under Section 46 of the 1997 Constitution, in what was apparently described as a free and fair election. On 2 December 2016, the Independent Electoral Commission announced the results of the elections, thus declaring Adama Barrow the duly elected winner. In a surprise move, incumbent former President Yahya Jammeh initially conceded defeat but later reversed his decision, alleging voting irregularities and fraud. What ensued afterward was a serious political crisis that almost divided the nation. To put it in perspective, The Gambia drew very close to a civil conflict.

Never in our nation’s history had we been gripped with anxiety and fear that provoked a mass exodus of Gambians and non-Gambians alike into neighbouring countries. This was precipitated by the uncertainties that accompanied the political impasse.

The situation further threatened the nation’s peaceful co-existence and, in its wake, the political, social, and economic fabric of the society was seriously challenged. Nevertheless, our firm resolve and determination to settle the political impasse in a more peaceful way – consistent with our deep-rooted culture of tolerance, strong religious beliefs, and mutual understanding gained international prominence once again. Former President Jammeh, faced with considerable international and regional pressure, eventually stepped down on 21 January 2017 and went into exile in Equatorial Guinea, thus creating the enabling environment for the President-elect to assume the mantle of leadership of the country.

Co-Chairs,

It is instructive to note that during this difficult period in our nation's history, the military exhibited consummate professionalism in the context of ensuring that its members comported themselves and strictly adhered to the dictates of the Constitution and refrained from any involvement in the political crises, but (at the same time) made sure that the verdict of the people was respected to the letter, without fear or favour. The position of the military was clear to all contending parties; this was a political issue and therefore would require a political solution.

***“ The Gambia acknowledges with great satisfaction the important role and complementary relationship between security sector reform (SSR) and sustainable peace and the leading role of national authorities in developing an inclusive and balanced national vision on SSR, informed by the needs of its population. ”***

The GAF (Gambia Armed Forces) had prided itself as a vibrant, competent, disciplined, and enviable military in the region until the advent of the Second Republic, when the GAF witnessed a gradual erosion of professionalism within its rank and file. This issue became more pronounced from 2006 to 2016, owing mainly to direct and indirect executive involvement in the day-to-day administration of the GAF. Apparently, direct political interference and subjugation of the armed and security forces had contributed to weakening the efficiency of the security services.

Following recent developments in The Gambia's political landscape, the need to redirect the focus and thinking of members of the Armed Forces cannot be over-emphasized. Invariably, a thorough review of the security apparatus with a view to

making it more professional and responsive to its constitutional mandates is needed. This could take the form of tailored Security Sector Reform (SSR).

The start of the new political dispensation, in January 2017, brought in its trail a renewed sense of vigor, determination, and optimism for the Gambia Armed Forces as we set for ourselves ambitious and yet attainable targets, which are designed to consolidate on the gains thus far achieved in our ardent striving to reorganize and restructure the GAF. This well-considered decision is based on the premise to have a vibrant, effective, and legitimate armed forces that is transparent, subordinate, and accountable to civilian authority; is responsive to the needs and aspirations of the public; whose actions are firmly rooted within the rule of law and other international best standards; and which adequately addresses its international obligations in the area of peacekeeping operations. This calculated move could be viewed in the context of the envisaged SSR that constitutes part of the wider reform agenda for “The New Gambia.” Experience has shown that restructuring and reorganization exercises in all human endeavours come with associated challenges and opportunities.

The success of such exercises will depend to a large extent on concerted efforts and commitments by all key players (both local and international) in adequately addressing the most identified and pressing challenges. The challenges could range from infrastructural development (for both office and dwelling accommodations) and security perimeter fencing, to training and health facilities, to communication equipment and vehicles for home-use and peacekeeping operations, as well as other essential equipment that influences the soldier's ability to effectively and efficiently perform his/her well-defined constitutional mandates and other assigned roles and functions.

A summary of some reform measures taken in the Gambia Armed Forces:

1. Withdrawal of the military from non-traditional military or security duties and engagements to the barracks and instituting full accountability of personnel, including weapons and other controlled stores.
2. Recovery of arms and ammo from the State House and other places owned by the former president, and the destruction of surplus and obsolete munitions throughout the country.
3. Full staff audit to ensure payroll is sanitized.

4. Retirement and resettlement of some senior officers, to give way for new leadership in the military including the posting and appointment of new formation and unit commanders.
5. Re-orientation of the thinking of new military leadership and a redefinition of the role of the Armed Forces in the new democratic dispensation.
6. Aggressive public relations campaign to restore the confidence of the civilian populace in the Armed Forces. This takes the form of sensitizations, community service, regular press briefings, and outreach visits and engagements.
7. Strengthening of international cooperation and improving relations with partners through the appointment of Defence Attachés to Foreign Missions.
8. Review and update of operational and administrative instruments such as Terms and Conditions of Service (TACOS) for Officers and Soldiers, Table of Organisation & Equipment (TO&E), Operational and Administrative Doctrine, amongst others.
9. The establishment of the High Level Disciplinary Committee to check the excesses and conduct of senior officers. It serves the primary purpose of oversight and accountability.
10. The establishment of the Procurement and Contracts Committees and an internal auditing system to ensure all GAF procurements and contracts are in accordance with the Gambia Public and Procurement Authority (GPPA) and financial regulations, with the primary aim to minimise fraud, waste, and mismanagement of funds.
2. Lack of complimentary logistic requirements for peacekeeping operations.
3. Lack of proper infrastructure for dwelling accommodation and office use. The issue of accommodation is an important aspect of management in the military. Experience has shown that it is very difficult to assess the state of readiness, discipline, regimentation, and esprit de corps of troops under command, especially when they are spread around a town. This is one of the serious concerns confronting GAF at the moment.
4. The issue of rightsizing the armed forces as it is being advocated by interest groups would inevitably require retrenchment of some members. Rightsizing the armed forces and a corresponding well-thought-out compensation are required to ensure a smooth transition from military to civilian life, considering the possible security implications as a result of poor planning.
5. Predictable and sustained funding of the SSR process.
6. Fulfilment of financial pledges. It should be noted that some of these pledges, though made by our development partners, have not been fully forthcoming at the most appropriate time of the reform. It is important that these and subsequent security sector reform pledges are made available, and at a time that is actually very cardinal to ensuring a successful SSR process.
7. The need for security perimeter fence at all military installations.
8. The need for training and medical facilities.

A summary of some of the challenges faced by GAF:

Despite the achievements thus far registered on the current drive to reorganize and restructure the military, it would be important to highlight some of the challenges of the ongoing reform process, notably in the areas of storage facilities for arms and ammunition, logistics support for peacekeeping operations, rightsizing the armed forces, and infrastructural development, as well as timely, predictable, and sustained funding of the SSR process. Challenges include:

1. Lack of proper storage facilities for the arms and ammunition retrieved from the State House and other secret bunkers.

In conclusion, co-Chairs,

With the dawn of this new political climate, bringing with it tremendous challenges and opportunities, there is the need for all Gambians and non-Gambians alike (most importantly our bilateral and multilateral partners) to play constructive and determined roles in shaping the destiny of “The New Gambia.” With genuine and shared commitments and determinations by Gambians, the development partners, and international organizations, it is hoped that we shall emerge from the prevailing challenges as a vibrant and prosperous nation.

On the part of the GAF, we have undertaken bold steps in the recent past to carry out restructuring

and reorganization exercises in preparation for the proposed SSR process. It is hoped that the outcome of the SSR process can be one that produces an impressive professional military that zealously fulfils its defined roles and functions, structured according to these functions: accountable and subordinate to civil authorities and strictly adhered to the rule of law and international humanitarian law.

Accordingly, as members of the Armed Forces, we envision an armed force that would regain its past glory with a great sense of pride and accomplishment, grounded strictly on its well-defined constitutional mandates.

This brings me to the end of my brief and I thank you all for your rapt attention.





**Mr. Sergio Londoño Zurek**  
*Director General of the Presidential  
Cooperation Agency of Colombia and Acting  
Mayor of the City of Cartagena*

**Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on  
Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace,  
Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR  
Experiences.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Dear all, good afternoon, distinguished guests,

First of all, I want to thank the Governments and delegations of Slovakia and South Africa for your kind invitation to participate on behalf of Colombia in this Roundtable about such key issues such as the links between Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace. You have invited me to talk about our experience after the very informative presentation by Mr. Alexandre Zouev, Assistant Secretary-General for Rule of Law and Security Institutions at the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

I want to begin by referring to the two main pillars when it comes to guaranteeing peace and security, and on the other hand, to discuss the meaning in practice, for a country like Colombia, of concepts like prevention in order to build a sustained peace; or, as we called it in our “Peace Agreement,” a stable and lasting peace.

In that sense, and as we see it in my country, those two elements are part of a continuum that, in no way, is limited to signing a Peace Agreement. After more than fifty years of internal armed conflict, and throughout our modern history, Colombia has had to face particular challenges affecting national security and the lives of our citizens: a fierce war against the drug cartels in the 1980s and 1990s; the emergence of paramilitary groups in the 1990s and early 2000s; and a major humanitarian crisis with the confluence of violence caused by the internal armed conflict in the late 1990s, to name only a few. As a result, we had to invest important financial resources in fighting the conflict, preventing the central Government from investing these public funds in fighting poverty and inequality, which at the same time made the conflict persist. But, how did we move from such a difficult internal situation to being an international source of South-South cooperation in security matters?

I’m going to briefly talk about the importance of building institutional capacity in my country and how we see it, then I’m going to discuss the Peace Agreements, and I’m going to end with some conclusions regarding our experiences and look forward to our post-conflict period.

### *Construction of institutional capacity*

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Sometimes we have to state the obvious, and in this case, the obvious is that in Colombia we understood that rule of law, institutional capacity, law enforcement, and basic security are intrinsically fundamental to preventing conflict and maintaining a peaceful coexistence. In Colombia, we faced an internal armed conflict, not only the confrontation of guerrilla groups against the State authority but, in addition to that, after decades of a strong left-wing guerrilla war, Colombia witnessed the emergence of a complex paramilitary phenomenon, which presented a new threat to Colombia’s national security.

One of the main factors that enabled the conflict to endure was its close ties with the global illicit drug problem, permeating the conflict and fueling violence as a consequence of drug production and drug trafficking. Colombia has fought a fierce war against illicit drug cartels and their scourge for more than three decades. During the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, the relationship between criminals and drug trafficking organizations, such as the cartels and the actors in the armed conflict, increased its intensity. In the 1990s, killings of our police officers, our judges and magistrates, and our journalists didn’t cause us to hesitate in fighting back, and it was precisely during this difficult time that the tide was turned.

Colombia received aid from different countries, mainly the US, to strengthen and professionalize our Armed Forces, in a well-known strategy called “Plan Colombia.” Nowadays, we have one of the largest armies in the region. We went from 231,000 armed forces members in 1999 to 481,100 in 2016. Thanks to the strong support of Plan Colombia, we strengthened our Armed Forces, which was a key development in bringing the State presence and services back to often forgotten and isolated regions in far-off rural areas of our country. However, to get there, Colombia had to learn a number of lessons the hard way and now, after almost 20 years of uninterrupted struggle, my country offers international cooperation in fields where before we were not only plagued with problems but were unjustly considered the source of problems.

***“ We know that unmet tasks related to establishing a democratic, accountable, and stable security apparatus in post-conflict situations threaten peace and stability in other places ”***

Today, the Colombian Government offers assistance and training on combating transnational organized crime as well as combating drugs, through our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, our Ministry of Defense, and the Presidential Agency for International Cooperation, to more than 30 countries around the world, including Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, Panamá, Costa Rica, Belize, Haiti, Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, México, Surinam, Kazakhstan, and Paraguay, of which around 10 are in Africa, including Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Cameroon, Guinea Bissau, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Liberia, Namibia, Egypt, and Senegal.

I have to point out that the Colombian conflict widened the separation of two Colombias: 76.4% of Colombia’s population lives in urban centers, but people living in rural areas have faced the brunt of the conflict, reflecting the persistent gaps and disparities in income, opportunities, and welfare for people living in rural areas in comparison to those in cities. Extreme poverty in remote rural areas, combined with a lack of opportunities and lack of State presence, enabled violence to

flourish and the presence of illegal armed groups. In that sense, and having walked that perilous path, when preparing for the post-conflict situation after the signing of the Peace Agreement, the Colombian Government understood that peace is not only about a laying down of weapons by former combatants, but also addresses issues, as mentioned by SG Guterres, like social and rural development, and as recently as last week by the Security Council – during the presentation of the Verification Mission report on the implementation of the peace agreement – which highlighted the challenges and enormity of the task in our hands. This is why the implementation is not a one-time event or limited to enacting laws or making grand statements.

For Colombia, it means a long-term project, of an initial 15 years, whereby the nation as a whole, and the Government in particular, have to:

- (a) Ensure their reintegration into the social fabric and into the social and economic offerings of the central Government;
- (b) Provide the accompaniment to improve the quality of life for the demobilized population and their families; and
- (c) Construct a co-responsibility framework that, on the one hand, supports the demobilized to return and coexist constructively in their family and community environment, and on the other, commits former members of illegal armed groups to overcoming their illegal activities.

Colombia spent several years improving our internal situation, in overcoming the great threats to our democracy and, in some ways, that isolated us from the world. However, even before the peace process began, the national Government began implementing a series of changes in the defense sector, to have efficient Armed Forces in the performance of their constitutional duties, while respecting human rights and international obligations. Despite all these major efforts, we acknowledge that Colombia continues suffering challenges in the more far-off rural areas where a Government presence is needed, and we continue to work on their full development to extend full opportunities for investment and cooperation.

In Colombia, we know that unmet tasks related to establishing a democratic, accountable, and stable security apparatus in post-conflict situations threaten peace and stability in other places, and we have a duty to prevent this from happening in our country.

## *Peace process*

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Now, let me refer to the Peace Agreement and to the challenges we face in the implementation and post-conflict stage. The Peace Agreement, along with the first Special Political Mission and the current Verification Mission, has taught us lessons about the core values residing in the sustainable peace agenda. Rather than an all-encompassing structure, sustaining peace represents a matter of national ownership and tailor-made processes, focused on the construction of national capacities.

Sustainable development, social cohesion, gender parity, and the protection of human rights are all elements that integrate a comprehensive culture of prevention as the backbone of sustaining peace. For us, it is clear that there is no peace without sustainable development, and there is no sustainable development without peace. The SDGs reflect this principle in Goal 16 for peace, justice and strong institutions, over which we had very difficult negotiations precisely because the notion of having elements of rule of law in peaceful societies was something that in many occasions, in the history of the United Nations, had been separated from the concept of sustainable development.

Colombia, as a post-conflict society and also a middle-income economy, experienced a long-lasting conflict that divided our population along the lines of urban and rural areas, but our institutions are on the road to building the capacity to sustain peace throughout the whole territory. Both spheres need the encouragement and implementation of sustainable development initiatives and institutional support. The peace talks were based on a limited agenda that had as its fundamental objective the ending of the armed conflict, dealing with 5 fundamental issues that allowed the conflict to exist and to persist: rural development, political participation, end of the conflict, the problem of illicit drugs, and victims. However, as it is rightfully understood by the United Nations in its documents and resolutions, there is not a single model for security sector reform, and it usually includes defense, law enforcement, and intelligence services, and in some cases, it also includes the judicial sector. I make this remark to point out a fundamental issue of the Agreement: from the beginning of the talks, the Government's position was that necessary reforms in the Colombian defense sector (as in, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, as well as the National Police) would not be negotiated with the FARC. We considered that this was an issue that should not be negotiated with an illegal armed group.

That being said, different issues contained in the Agreement can be understood as contributions to SSR. Allow me to mention some of them:

- The National Commission on Security Guarantees: The agreement pointed to the necessity of creating a National Commission on Security Guarantees, chaired by the President, aimed at planning and monitoring public and criminal policies, to dismantle any criminal organization that threatens the implementation of the Agreement and the peacebuilding.
- Special Investigation Unit for the dismantling of criminal organizations: Established with the aim of ensuring the effectiveness of the fight against criminal organizations and their support networks, including those which have been labeled as successors of paramilitaries.
- Comprehensive Protection Program to former combatants: The national Government undertook a commitment to implement a comprehensive protection program aimed at protecting the members of the new political movement or party that emerges from the transition of the FARC-EP to legal activity.
- The Comprehensive System for truth, justice, reparation, and non-repetition: This consists of different judicial and non-judicial mechanisms to achieve the greatest possible realization of victims' rights and accountability for what happened. The System will apply to state agents who have committed crimes in the context of and due to the armed conflict. And this is very important, since a fundamental element of SSR is of course to have accountable institutions and personnel. This allows an institution to take the measures needed to prevent the repetition of inappropriate or criminal conduct.

***“ Sustainable development, social cohesion, gender parity, and the protection of human rights are all elements that integrate a comprehensive culture of prevention as the backbone of sustaining peace. ”***

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## *Conclusion*

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I want to conclude with one idea that I want to leave with you today: peace is always an investment. The achievements and successes in our country have demanded that our state Government and society welcome the growing number of people who voluntarily leave the armed groups that, for decades, fought against them.

We have understood that the way to be a more secure country for our own people is with investment and development, with plans and programmes that allow their social, economic and community inclusion to encourage peaceful coexistence and avoid, in particular, their return to illegality.

Thank you very much.







## H.E. Mr. Didier Reynders

*Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium*

Statement from the floor at the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace,  
Panel 1: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences.

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Monsieur le Président de l'Assemblée Générale,  
Madame la Secrétaire Générale Adjointe,  
Messieurs les Présidents du Groupe d'Amis de la Réforme du Secteur de Sécurité,

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Je voudrais tout d'abord saluer l'initiative prise par l'Afrique du Sud et la Slovaquie d'organiser cet échange à la veille de l'évènement consacré à la « paix durable ». Les deux concepts sont intrinsèquement liés: comme l'indique l'intitulé de la table ronde d'aujourd'hui, tout le monde s'accorde désormais à dire que des forces de défense et de sécurité réformées sont presque toujours une condition essentielle pour la sortie de crise durable.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Le 21 février dernier, j'ai eu l'honneur de présider avec le Ministre Amon-Tanoh un séminaire de haut niveau organisé par la Côte d'Ivoire et la Belgique consacré à identifier les leçons apprises des processus de réforme du secteur de la sécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest en général, et en Côte d'Ivoire en particulier. Permettez-moi, Monsieur le Ministre, de saluer à cet instant la mémoire de l'Ambassadeur Tanoh-Boutchoué. Lors de ce séminaire en février dernier, son professionnalisme et sa bonne humeur m'ont frappé et je vous présente mes condoléances pour la perte d'un diplomate de haut vol qui représentait dignement et efficacement votre pays ici à New York.

Monsieur le Président,

Je voudrais saisir l'opportunité aujourd'hui de résumer brièvement quelques conclusions pratiques identifiées lors du séminaire consacrée à la RSS en Afrique de l'Ouest.

Celles-ci résultent du débat entre experts réunis ce jour-là, dont beaucoup travaillent au jour le jour dans des pays en voie de sortie de crise, en partenariat avec leurs pays-hôtes.

Tout d'abord, l'inclusivité est indispensable. Trop souvent, des minorités régionales sont laissées de côté. Par ailleurs, alors qu'elles constituent souvent la majorité de la population, les femmes ne sont pas suffisamment -et parfois même pas du tout- incluses dans les processus de RSS. L'apport de la société civile doit également être valorisé. En d'autres termes, afin de favoriser une sortie de crise durable, un rapport réinventé entre forces de sécurité et population civile doit être instauré. Cette relation de confiance n'en sera que renforcée si les forces de sécurité réformées reflètent fidèlement la société dans toute sa diversité.

Ensuite, la volonté politique nationale doit être forte et claire. Sans vision nationale bien articulée et surtout sans engagement de long terme du gouvernement toute réforme en profondeur est impossible. C'est encore plus vrai quand il s'agit de réformer un pilier fondamental d'un Etat, ses forces de sécurité.

Les Nations-Unies peuvent jouer un rôle-clé de coordination de l'action de la Communauté internationale en appui aux efforts nationaux. Trop souvent encore, il existe une duplication entre divers partenaires, bilatéraux ou multilatéraux. Cette coordination doit également viser à ne pas surcharger inutilement les capacités souvent faibles des Etats sortant de crise. Les efforts en cours en vue d'une coopération plus structurelle entre l'ONU, l'Union européenne et l'Union africaine vont certainement dans la bonne direction et j'espère qu'ils pourront aboutir prochainement à des solutions concrètes sur le terrain.

A ce titre, au moment où le Secrétaire Général a initié un ambitieux processus de réforme des Nations-Unies, il est également clairement apparu à quel point la collaboration au sein de la famille onusienne est cruciale, en particulier entre les

**« la volonté politique nationale doit être forte et claire. Sans vision nationale bien articulée et surtout sans engagement de long terme du gouvernement toute réforme en profondeur est impossible »**

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missions politiques ou de maintien de la paix d'une part et des équipes-pays d'autre part. Cette relation devient capitale dans le cas de transition -au moment où la mission est clôturée- comme c'était récemment le cas en Côte d'Ivoire ou actuellement au Libéria.

Divers intervenants lors du séminaire de février dernier ont également insisté sur l'importance de se donner du temps: la réforme du secteur de sécurité ne se réalise pas en un tour de main, c'est plutôt un effort de longue haleine qui connaît parfois des contre-temps. Le soutien des partenaires doit donc lui aussi s'inscrire dans la durée si l'on ne veut pas hypothéquer les résultats engrangés en début de processus. Dans ce contexte -et je crois que ce sujet sera abordé plus amplement au cours de vos travaux aujourd'hui- le financement des processus de RSS par les partenaires doit demeurer prévisible et durable.

Monsieur le Président,

Ces quelques éléments, bien qu'issus d'un retour d'expérience limité à l'Afrique de l'Ouest, sont applicables au-delà de cette région. Mais les succès qui y ont été engrangés en matière de RSS sont à saluer. Ils peuvent servir d'exemple et d'inspiration non seulement à d'autres Etats sortant de crise ou à leurs pays partenaires mais aussi à notre organisation commune que sont les Nations-Unies afin qu'elle devienne véritablement cet outil de paix durable que nous souhaitons.

Je vous remercie.



**H.E. Ms. Fatima Kyari Mohammed**  
*Permanent Observer of the African Union (AU) to the UN*

**Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 2: Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Excellencies, Distinguished participants,

Let me start by congratulating the co-chairs for convening this very timely and very important High-Level meeting on SSR and sustaining peace. I also thank the organizers for giving us the opportunity to share the perspectives of the African Union on such an important issue.

Indeed, the discussion of SSR and sustaining peace is all the more relevant in the African context, given that Africa is generally recognized as the theatre where the vast majority of SSR processes take place. Therefore, today's meeting is especially opportune as it attempts to forge a common understanding not only on challenges, but also and most importantly on the necessary ingredients needed to ensure successful SSR processes.

In this context, partnership and financing remain absolutely crucial. Yet, we need to bear in mind that no progress can be achieved in this regard without getting the politics right. Because, beyond structures, laws, and technicalities, SSR remains a highly political process, and previous experiences have clearly shown that attempts to implement it in a purely technical manner are often doomed to fail.

Having said that, I wish to focus at this stage on the core issues entrusted upon this second panel: partnerships and funding for SSR.

### *I. Partnerships*

Coherent, complementary, and coordinated partnerships are indispensable for successful SSR processes. In the process leading to the adoption of the AU Policy Framework on SSR in 2013, and since then, the AU has established and invested in a number of partnerships, with the United Nations, inter-governmental organizations, experts' networks, and civil society groups. However, we consider that some of our strongest partnerships are the ones cultivated with

the Member States, Regional Economic Communities, and Regional Mechanisms.

I am proud to note that we have been present and actively engaged over the past years in countries where SSR processes are underway or being developed. These include Madagascar, the Central African Republic, and Guinea Bissau, among others. These experiences have informed and guided the AU's engagement with a range of actors and stakeholders. We strongly believe that there is much scope for mutual gain in the collaboration between the AU and international, multilateral, and regional organizations. I am pleased to share some of the lessons learned, and perspectives on how partnerships can be leveraged to advance SSR, including the crucial financing aspect.

We can point to a number of factors that contribute to the success of partnerships for SSR. The AU-UN cooperation is embedded within the broader frameworks of the long standing Ten-Year Capacity Building Programme for the African Union, and more recently, the Joint Framework for Enhancing Partnerships on Peace and Security, signed in April 2017. This has allowed the two institutions to promote and integrate SSR within the wider initiatives of conflict prevention, management, and post-conflict reconstruction.

The UN Group of Friends of SSR has also been greatly supportive of the AU SSR efforts over the years. I seize this opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to the Group through its esteemed members and co-hosts of this Roundtable. Through the Group of Friends platform, I believe we have made progress in aligning regional and international visions and approaches to SSR. This was outlined in the opinion piece co-authored in 2016 by the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security and the Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

Partnerships with entities such as the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) and the Geneva Centre for

the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) have enabled the AU to tap into a wealth of international, but most importantly, African experts – who possess a deeper understanding and appreciation of the context and political realities.

**“ Common challenges include divergent priorities and a lack of clarity over the roles of respective support providers. ”**

Partnerships are not without challenges, but from them we can distil important lessons for the future. Common challenges include divergent priorities and a lack of clarity over the roles of respective support providers. These challenges come to the fore especially where there is no clear coordination mechanism. There is also the tendency of assistance providers to engage national authorities without consulting the relevant regional actors to identify synergies and eliminate duplication and competition. Therefore, and for SSR partnerships to succeed, it is necessary to prioritize long-term gains at the national level over the narrower institutional targets of support providers.

SSR is not a linear process and can often be interrupted by operational constraints and political setbacks. It requires all support providers to maintain strategic focus and long-term engagement, and to relate to each other, as well as to the context, with patience and humility. We must also realize our weaknesses and capitalize on points of strength in achieving sustainable goals.

Through the African Peace and Security Architecture, we have learned to apply the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity, and comparative advantage, which continue to govern the relationship between the AU and sub-regional organizations on one hand, and between the AU and the UN on the other. These principles can have a positive impact if adapted and applied to the SSR context.

## *II. Funding*

Please allow me to now turn to the aspect of SSR financing. The primary, obvious challenge in SSR is that most countries embarking on such processes are emerging from conflict and thus are unable to secure and allocate the required financial resources.

Right from the starting point of peace processes, peace agreements should include the financial dimensions of SSR. All financial decisions concerning the security sector should be aligned with broader national

economic and political priorities. At the implementation level, a good starting point for the international community would be to strengthen the capacities of post-conflict countries to mobilize, allocate, and spend public resources including on SSR. Countries should have the capacity to allocate resources according to well-defined priorities, both across sectors and within the security sector, ensuring that expenditures are transparent, efficient, and effective.

The AU encourages all its Member States to make an effort to allocate resources for SSR, and for security sector financing in general. No matter how modest, such national allocations can demonstrate a strong sense of commitment and leadership. The AU recognizes that full dependency on external donor support calls into question the level of national commitment and erodes ownership, particularly when such financing is short-term and incommensurate with needs, which is often the case.

While we recognize and appreciate the considerable and indispensable support provided by donors, there is a tendency for some to focus on quick results – the so-called low hanging fruit. This often results in funding activities that are low on a country's list of priorities and do not necessarily contribute to building the institutional capacities and structures required for long-term impact. Additionally, States, as well as assistance providers, may be discouraged from applying for funding that involves laborious and time-consuming reporting requirements that exceed their capacity to comply.

While the AU is not a donor organization, it can assist its Member States in mobilizing resources for clearly-defined and articulated programmes that are nationally owned. We gained this experience through mechanisms such as the African Solidarity Initiative (ASI), which encourages South-South cooperation and support in peacebuilding.

The AU is committed to continue working with partners and friends of SSR on translating these lessons learnt into practice, and in addressing the challenges and gaps that prevent us from reaping the full benefits of meaningful partnerships in SSR.

I wish to recall that in 2014, the AU convened the first Africa Forum on SSR, which provided a platform for dialogue and exchange for government officials and experts and an opportunity to capture lessons from SSR processes in Africa. I am pleased to inform you that the second Africa Forum will be held later this year. I believe this will be yet another opportunity to promote and build results-oriented and cooperative partnerships for SSR in Africa.

Thank you for your kind attention.



## Mr. René Van Nes

*Deputy Head of Division of Prevention of Conflicts, Rule of Law/SSR, Integrated Approach, Stabilization and Mediation (PRISM) at the European External Action Service of the EU*

Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 2: Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support.

23 April 2018 (check against delivery).

Let me start by thanking the organizers for this initiative that highlights how security sector reform is not only reserved for conflict or post-conflict settings but is also an essential element of conflict prevention and to “sustaining peace.” Insecurity and instability are in fact frequently generated or exacerbated by a lack of effective and accountable security systems.

Like all public sectors, the security sector has to renew and reform itself to improve, on the one hand, its inclusiveness, integrity, and governance, and on the other hand, its effectiveness in countering insecurity, which jeopardizes any efforts towards development and any results once achieved.

### *“Nationally-owned” SSR*

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Let me also make a point related to the topic of the previous panel – “national ownership” – which we consider extremely important as well because it is an essential condition for the effectiveness and sustainability of any support to SSR. In the “EU-wide strategic framework to support SSR” (the EU SSR policy adopted by the European Commission and endorsed by the European Council in 2016), we thought that this principle deserved to be specifically addressed.

For the EU, “national ownership” goes beyond a government’s acceptance of international actors’ interventions. In our view, reform efforts should be rooted in a country’s institutions, including through budgetary commitments; owned by national security and justice actors; and above all be considered legitimate by society as a whole. This means that national actors should steer the process and take overall responsibility for the results of interventions, with external partners providing advice and support.

It also means that all stakeholders, including marginalized groups, should be involved; otherwise, we can’t talk about “national ownership” but only about “national government ownership.”

For the EU therefore, the concept of “national ownership” is strongly linked to the concept of inclusiveness and, for this reason, when supporting SSR, the EU in general wishes to promote participatory processes that include civil society.

### *International collaboration in the EU SSR policy*

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Collaboration with international partners and the UN in particular, at field and headquarters levels, is a priority in the EU’s support to security sector reform. The “EU-wide strategic framework to support SSR” puts great emphasis on coordination with international partners, and even commits the EU to “promote a comprehensive international engagement around a single security sector support strategy to be developed together with the partner country.”

### *Existing collaboration*

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This is beginning to happen in some contexts. In CAR for example, the UN and the EU signed a “joint MINUSCA-EU Delegation/EUTM RCA support plan on SSR and the rule of law,” which outlines common objectives, the tasks of each organization, and collaboration mechanisms.

We also have good practices in non-mission settings, such as in The Gambia, where a joint ECOWAS-UN-EU SSR scoping mission took place and resulted in coordinated and complementary support actions at both the diplomatic and operational levels.

### *How to improve collaboration in general*

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However, there is clearly room for improvement. We just talked about national ownership. The basis for any SSR support is a dialogue with the national authorities. Such dialogue should not be carried out individually by each international partner; this is ineffective and can even be counterproductive. It

**“ A coordinated or even joint dialogue on SSR can only be based on shared analysis of the security sector and of how the security sector is anchored in a wider political, economic, and social context. ”**

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has to be carried out jointly or at least in a coordinated way by the relevant international partners. But a coordinated or even joint dialogue on SSR can only be based on shared analysis of the security sector and of how the security sector is anchored in a wider political, economic, and social context.

Shared analysis is essential to having a common understanding of the challenges of the security sector of a partner state, and to developing a shared vision of how to support the national authorities in facing them. On this basis, all international actors supporting SSR may agree with the national authorities on the conditions for SSR support and the common objectives that each organization should contribute to achieve coordinated and complementary support actions.

This means collaborating at the earliest stages of engagement, which is still not happening enough, even if there are some positive exceptions such as The Gambia case I just mentioned.

### *Concrete collaboration measures being discussed*

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An EU-UN-AU-OSCE SSR workshop at the expert level took place in March to discuss improved collaboration among these institutions on the basis of the report Supporting Nationally-led SSR: Mapping the Approaches of Multilateral Organizations, produced by DCAF. Since then, DPKO and EU SSR services are in contact to identify and put into practice concrete and immediate collaboration measures; whenever possible, involving other multilateral organizations, in particular the African Union.



## Ms. Barrie Freeman

*Deputy-Head and Political Director of the UN Peacebuilding Support Office*

Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 2: Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support.

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to join the High-level Roundtable on SSR on the eve of the High-level Meeting on “Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace.” My thanks to Ambassador Michal Mlynar of Slovakia and Ambassador Jerry Mathews Matjila of South Africa for their initiative in organizing this event, and for their invitation to PBSO to participate. It is excellent that we are joined by H.E. Mr. Miroslav Lajčák, President of the General Assembly, and distinguished representatives from The Gambia, the Central African Republic, Timor-Leste, Colombia, Slovakia, and South Africa, representatives of Member States, UN colleagues, and others who recognize that SSR is a vital component of peacebuilding.

I welcome this panel’s focus on partnerships and funding for SSR support, which flows well from the previous panel on national ownership. These are key themes of the 2016 twin resolutions on sustaining peace, and of the Secretary-General’s more recent report. All aspects of peacebuilding – and especially SSR – require coherent and coordinated approaches by all partners, and adequate funding across the life of programmatic activities and other initiatives. Strategic plans without the funding to implement their recommendations remain words on a page, creating false hopes and ultimately frustration that can contribute to relapses into conflict. Let me make three points in this respect:

First, effective SSR support requires coordinated partnerships between national, multilateral, bilateral, and UN actors. The UN-World Bank study *Pathways for Peace* highlights the importance of civilian engagement in SSR. SSR is only effective when grounded in consultative processes that involve citizens themselves, parliaments, and civil society – who all have a role to play in defining secu-

rity needs as they relate to human security – the heart of SSR – and ultimately in exercising effective civilian oversight of the security sector.

**“ External actors have a responsibility to coordinate their interventions in support of SSR [...] and leverage each other’s comparative strengths ”**

External actors have a responsibility to coordinate their interventions in support of SSR – especially in countries where donor funding is limited – and leverage each other’s comparative strengths; for example, the multilateral organization that provides training, the bilateral mission that provides equipment, and the international organization, such as the UN, that provides technical advice on the development of normative frameworks and their implementation. These partnerships should holistically reflect the nexus between peace, security, and development by helping national actors use SSR as a framework to create safer and more secure environments where development can thrive, and also where humanitarian needs are met and human rights respected. Getting these pieces of the puzzle right is what leads to sustainable peace.

In its approach to funding projects, the Peacebuilding Fund looks to bring different partners together towards shared goals. In Lesotho, for example, the Peacebuilding Fund is supporting a partnership between UNDP, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the EU to stabilize the security sector and reduce political tensions stemming from the 2017 elections.

Partnerships also play a critical role in the Central African Republic, where the PBF has contributed to an innovative effort led by MINUSCA and the Government to recruit police and gendarmes as part of the country's overall SSR program, with a focus on geographic representation and inclusion and the identification of capable women and youth candidates. The PBF has also supported a partnership between the Government and the Mission to develop an SSR communications plan designed to build awareness and trust between the population and security services. It will ultimately include the development of messages for a variety of media on the human security principles and priorities that underpin the Government's SSR strategy, and the holding of public forums and "open door" days by the Police and Gendarmes.

The Peacebuilding Commission plays an important role in this regard as well, fostering partnerships with a broad range of actors, including international financial institutions and the private sector, to support peace initiatives – including SSR – in countries as varied as Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Sri Lanka, and Sierra Leone. In this regard, the PBC has become an increasingly useful space to promote South-South cooperation and promote the sharing of expertise and experiences.

Second, and central to the Secretary-General's Report, sustaining peace means enhancing international coherence and breaking down silos within the UN across peace and security, development, human rights, and humanitarian action in support of nationally-owned initiatives.

The Report emphasizes the importance of joint analysis and planning linked to programming. In developing SSR strategies and approaches, all actors

need to analyse and understand the root causes of conflict, including their impact on state weakness and the failure of security institutions to protect civilians and guard borders from external threats. Integrated planning early and throughout the life-cycle of a mission is essential; and this must include our work in SSR.

For example, in The Gambia, the Peacebuilding Fund is supporting the Government's SSR program, designed to rebuild the credibility of security institutions through improved governance and oversight. The project has brought together the Government, UN actors, the EU, the AU, ECOWAS, and the World Bank (which is leading a review of security sector public expenditure) to conduct a joint and comprehensive security sector assessment to guide institutional reforms.

Finally, adequate, predictable, and sustained financing for peacebuilding initiatives is critical in all that we do – especially in the area of SSR, where unfulfilled funding promises have led to incomplete efforts. The Secretary-General's Report outlined several options on financing of peacebuilding activities, around which we welcome a comprehensive discussion with Member States.

The coming days will be a chance to unpack what has been achieved in the two years since 2016, and to forge our joint path ahead. We welcome a constructive and continuing dialogue on enhancing partnerships and funding for peacebuilding and sustaining peace, building on the Secretary-General's Report at the High-level Meeting and beyond, especially to achieve the "quantum leap" in funding for the Peacebuilding Fund called for by the Secretary-General.

Thank you.





## Mr. Alexandre Marc

*Chief Technical Specialist on Fragility, Conflict and Violence at the World Bank*

Presentation to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace, Panel 2: Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support.

23 April 2018 (check against delivery).

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I am extremely pleased to participate in this very important meeting. One of the main messages of the pathways for peace report is that both the national and the international community need to give much greater importance to the connections between security, development and peacebuilding and that having efforts at improving inclusive security, inclusive development and inclusive peace in an integrated fashion is the only way we can progress on the agenda of prevention. There are many reasons why this link is so important:

1. It is clear that the lack of accountability of security forces and the lack of a sense that these forces are serving the citizens is a major trigger of violent conflict in today's world. For the preparation of the report we have analyzed the result of a number of surveys and assessments which highlight that a large portion of people joining extremist groups mention a difficult encounter with security forces, time in prison and perception of unfair justice as a trigger in the decision for joining violent extremist groups.
2. Unless there is a minimum of security for citizens it is impossible to roll out the type of development interventions that can address the socio economic and cultural grievances of various groups. Security forces are essential in providing this security in full collaboration with local communities and in a way that is accountable and perceived as serving citizens.

3. Security forces and security provision, including justice represents an important part of most country's budget and therefore ensuring that security is provided in a cost-effective way, minimizing corruption and with effective approaches to manage the budget is very important for the overall effectiveness of the State and ultimately for its legitimacy.
4. One of the characteristics of today's conflict is the number of non-state armed forces participating in violence, some linked to the state while others linked to a large variety of interest groups. This situation contributes to fast escalation of violence, general insecurity and to reducing the legitimacy of the State. An effective state security force and justice system is essential in addressing this serious challenge.

***“ Unless there is a minimum of security for citizens it is impossible to roll out the type of development interventions that can address the socio-economic and cultural grievances of various groups. ”***

The World Bank is committed to contribute as much as it can, under its mandate, to strengthen the security, peacebuilding, security nexus. It has contributed through groundbreaking work with the UN on public expenditure review methodology for security and justice sectors. This approach is summarized in the book “securing development”, and the World Bank has carried out such reviews in more than 20 countries so far.

We have supported countries with their citizen’s security strategy as in the case of Brazil and with justice sector reforms but for the moment it is still limited. We plan, however, to do more in these areas and this is typically an area where strong collaboration with the UN is essential.

As part of the countries where the World Bank, in collaboration with the UN, plan to roll out the recommendations of the report, a strong attention will be given to strengthening the security, development, and peacebuilding nexus.

Thank you

***“Security forces and security provision, including justice represents an important part of most country’s budget and therefore ensuring that security is provided in a cost-effective way, minimizing corruption and with effective approaches to manage the budget is very important for the overall effectiveness of the State and ultimately for its legitimacy.”***

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## H.E. Mr. Thomas Guerber

*Ambassador, Director of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces*

**Concluding remarks to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace.**

*23 April 2018 (check against delivery).*

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my pleasure to provide some closing remarks at this High-level Roundtable on SSR and Sustaining Peace. The afternoon's discussions have been very rich, and a summary would not do justice to all of the important points made. However, I will provide a few reflections on some of the key issues addressed.

The first panel has underlined the difficulties in operationalizing national ownership. The experiences we have heard today show that there are still many challenges to translating ownership into practice. While there has been progress in terms of supporting national actors in developing an inclusive national vision for SSR, predicated on national dialogue and the development of national security policies, strategies, and plans, more needs to be done to place national actors at the centre of coordination, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation efforts. While national capacity development efforts are important, in DCAF's experience, there is a need to ensure that this is part of a broader institution-building strategy which clearly sets out how responsibilities will be transferred to national stakeholders.

In terms of national ownership, we have heard that another key concern is the principle of inclusivity. What does inclusivity, or ensuring that no one is left behind, mean for SSR support? On the one hand, it means ensuring that the security sector is representative of different ethnic, religious, and other groups. On the other, it also requires looking at the degree to which legitimate state institutions deliver security to all people, regardless of race, religion, or gender. Consequently, any approach to strengthening the national ownership of SSR should be based on the understanding that the composition of the security sector should reflect the social, ethnic, and geographic diversity of the country and that all members of society should be equally served.

This is essential for sustaining peace. Indeed, if this ambition is not met, the security sector may play a potential role in reinforcing tensions across the very population it is meant to protect.

The second panel has examined the need to enhance partnerships, as well as sustainable funding, as necessary steps to strengthen efforts to sustain peace.

***“ More needs to be done to place national actors at the centre of coordination, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation efforts. ”***

While it is important to strengthen partnerships across a range of actors, allow me to dwell on those between multilateral organizations. Despite many examples of cooperation among these organizations, there are still persistent challenges to their institutionalization. The mapping study on the approaches of multilateral organizations to SSR support that DCAF has conducted at the request of DPKO and in cooperation with the AU, EU and OSCE, has demonstrated that there is a need to enhance the effectiveness and predictability of international support to SSR, including through greater clarity of roles between these multilateral organizations. The study has identified many opportunities for enhancing cooperation, several of which have been mentioned here today, but also others, including: prioritizing an agreement on coordination methodologies; conducting more joint assessment missions; sharing information on leveraging the SSR expertise available among other organizations and partners; and identifying lessons from already-existing coordination mechanisms to

replicate these elsewhere. Moreover, many of these recommendations may also be relevant to explore with other organizations present here today. It was gratifying to hear today from representatives of the AU, the EU, and the UN, among others, that there have been positive experiences on cooperation and that several initiatives are underway to further improve these multilaterals' coordinated approach to SSR.

One of the obstacles to well-coordinated, effective, and long-term SSR support is the existence of sustainable financial resources. CAR and The Gambia's representatives have pointed out their immediate financial needs. Without sustainable funding, the comprehensive support needed to provide support to SSR from an institution-building perspective will not be forthcoming. The international community needs to further develop and

implement ideas for preventing the fragmentation of support in the important area of SSR, which as we know, is one of the pillars for sustaining peace. Some important concrete steps have been identified here today, including for example fostering international commitment to enhance the transparency of bilateral and multilateral security sector assistance, including through the tracking of ODA funding.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The sustaining peace agenda provides us with an excellent opportunity to take stock of avenues for strengthening SSR support. Ultimately, however, the litmus test for ensuring that SSR can effectively contribute to sustaining peace will be whether the many opportunities identified here today can be translated into practice.

Thank you.



## Advocate Mr. Vasu Gounden

*Executive Director of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes*

Concluding remarks to the High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace. 23 April 2018 (check against delivery).

Thank you very much,  
Mr. President of the Central African Republic,  
Co-chairs, Friends of SSR, Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen.

Let me start by saying that both the PGA and the DSG raised three issues in relation to SSR, and these were effectiveness, professionalism and accountability of the securities services. Let me say why this is such a complex issue.

I want to raise two experiences. The first: Ambassador Matjila and I were both part of a liberation struggle in South Africa and we were both part of a very professional, very effective and very accountable security service. The only problem was it was accountable to a very brutal apartheid regime and not accountable to the public. This is the first complexity and difficulty of the issue of having an effective, professional and accountable security service.

The second: we have been as ACCORD working the last 25 years in almost all the protracted conflicts on the continent of Africa. We're also involved, Mr. President, in supporting the Central African Republic through ECCAS and through the European Union as well as the government of Norway. Again, the issues are extremely difficult.

There are four issues around security sector reform. The first is, why is security sector reform important? The second, what in security sector reform is important? The third would be, who is important in security sector reform? And fourthly, when is security sector reform important?

Let's start with the first, why is security sector reform important and why is it crucial today?

Firstly, there is an evolving shift in the environment of conflicts, and that has to do with five factors: (1) exponential population growth, (2) rapid organization, (3) declining economies, (4) climate change that is moving people increasingly to the centre, and (5) diffusion of technologies. All of the convergence of these five factors is shifting the theatre of conflict from borders into urban areas. The prognosis for the next decade across the world and particularly where we work, on the continent of Africa, is that conflicts will shift to urban areas.

That means that most governments will bring out the police forces in order to deal with conflicts in urban areas. They won't come with the military; they will come with the police force. The problem is that police forces are generally much more politicized, less professional, badly trained and badly equipped. All of them resolving issues will exacerbate the issues in terms of conflict. I think that that becomes the first major problem that we will experience, and this is why today security sector reform is extremely important.

In that context, what in security sector reform is important?

Again, referring to what the PGA and the DSG said about local ownership, effectiveness, professionalism and accountability. The key shift here has to be from state ownership to national ownership, this is the key distinction. In most places we find that the security services whether that's intelligence services, police services or the military, are

state owned, state responsive and not nationally owned and not nationally responsive to the general population. Again, we have to talk about professionalism, accountability, independence and training of security sectors that are more responsive to the general public and being a true national security service as opposed to a state security service.

***“ There is no beginning or end to security sector reform. It has to be a continuous process throughout the entire conflict spectrum. ”***

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Who is important when talking about security services and security sector reform?

Generally, when talking about the security sector, we are referring to the intelligence services, the police services, the military, etc. but I think what we have to talk about in the context of security services, and in the reform of security services today is not just looking at the technical aspect, as you correctly pointed out Minister, relating to these security services. If we have to talk about prevention, and we have to talk about sustainable development, then we have to talk about not just

the security services but the general population. The challenges are how we include the general population in security sector reform, and how we educate the general public about its rights and obligations when it comes to the security sector. If we don't educate the general population, particularly about its rights, then they are more vulnerable to exploitation in situations of conflict. This has to become a very key feature of what we do in terms of a holistic approach of security sector reform.

Finally, when is security sector reform important?

There, I think there is no beginning or end to security sector reform. It has to be a continuous process throughout the entire conflict spectrum, whether that is prevention, resolution or post-conflict reconstruction. We have to talk about security sector as a continuous process and as the DSG said, it is a key part of prevention and of sustaining peace.

Therefore in the interest of time, let me say in conclusion, that there can be no pathway to peace and no sustainable development without security sector reform.

Therefore I'd like to again congratulate the co-chairs for convening this extremely important conversation about security sector reform as we talk about a pathway to peace and sustainable development.

Thank you very much.

# High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace

*Co-hosted by the Permanent Missions of Slovakia and South Africa to the United Nations*

23 April 2018

## Background

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1. The High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Sustaining Peace took place on 23 April 2018 in New York, on the eve of the High-Level Meeting on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace from 24-25 April 2018. The Roundtable confirmed the contribution of SSR to the sustaining peace agenda by highlighting lessons from national SSR experiences, and recognizing the significance of partnerships and adequate funding for SSR.
2. The Permanent Missions of Slovakia and South Africa to the United Nations, co-chairs of the United Nations Group of Friends of SSR, co-hosted the Roundtable with the support of the SSR Unit in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Bureau for Policy and Program Support at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).
3. The Roundtable was opened by H.E. Mr. Miroslav Lajčák, President of the UN General Assembly, Ms. Amina J. Mohammed, Deputy Secretary-General, and H.E. Mr. Kaya Rala Xanana Gusmão, former President of Timor-Leste. The Roundtable benefitted from the participation of H.E. Mr. Faustin-Archange Touadéra, President of the Central African Republic; H.E. Mr. Didier Reynders, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Affairs of Belgium; H.E. Ms. Marie-Noëlle Koyara, Minister of Defence of the Central African Republic; H.E. Ms. Fatima Kyari Mohammed, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations; Mr. Ibrahima Diallo, Commissioner for SSR of Mali; Mr. Momodou Badjie, National Security Adviser, and Major General Mr. Yakuba Drammeh, Deputy Chief of Defence Staff of The Gambia; Mr. Sergio Londoño Zurek, Director General of the Presidential Cooperation Agency of Colombia; Mr. René van Nes, Deputy Head of Division of Prevention of Conflicts, Rule of Law/Security Sector Reform, Integrated Approach, Stabilisation and Mediation (PRISM) at the European External Action Service of the European Union; Ms. Barrie Freeman, Deputy and Political Director at the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office; Mr. Alexandre Marc, Chief Technical Specialist on Fragility, Conflict, and Violence of the World Bank, Mr. Rüdiger König, Director-General for Humanitarian Assistance, Crisis Prevention, Stabilisation and Post-Conflict Reconstruction at the Federal Foreign Office of Germany and Mr. Paul Picard, Deputy Director for Operations Service of the OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre. Panels were facilitated by Mr. Alexandre Zouev, Assistant Secretary-General for Rule of Law and Security Institutions, DPKO, and Mr. Abdoulaye Mar Dieye,

Assistant Secretary-General, Assistant Administrator, and Director of the Bureau for Policy and Programme Support at UNDP. In addition to the panelists and speakers from the floor, representatives from 44 Member States<sup>2</sup> attended the event, as well as representatives from across the UN system and non-governmental organizations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Belarus, Canada, China, Czech Republic, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Lichtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Morocco, Malaysia, Namibia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Romania, Qatar, Singapore, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom, United States, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Zambia.

<sup>3</sup> International Peace Institute, United States Institute of Peace, NGO Committee on Sustainable Development, Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria).

4. The interventions undoubtedly affirmed that SSR is an essential element in the quest for political solutions to conflict, the prevention of conflict or relapse into violence, and the laying of a foundation for the rule of law and democratic governance. As reflected in Security Council resolution 2151 (2014), “an effective, professional and accountable security sector without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development and is important for conflict prevention.” And as noted in the Secretary-General’s second report on SSR (A/67/970–S/2013/480), “effective governance and oversight of the security sector to mitigate its politicization or instrumentalization can be vital to conflict prevention.”

## Focused seminars highlight SSR challenges in advance of the High-Level Roundtable

5. In 2017, the co-chairs of the Group of Friends of SSR hosted two events that highlighted a number of important challenges to SSR, namely: the High-Level Dialogue on Global Experiences in SSR in New York on 11-12 May 2017, with a focus on conflict prevention and sustaining peace on the African Continent, and the High-Level Conference on the Role of Security Sector Reform in Sustaining Peace: Challenges and Opportunities hosted by Slovakia in Bratislava on 5-6 June 2017, focused on the Sustaining Peace agenda as an approach to preventing the outbreak, continuation and recurrence of conflict and which required collective efforts across the entire peace continuum.
6. Subsequently, on 21 February 2018, the Permanent Missions of Belgium and Côte d’Ivoire to the United Nations co-hosted the High-Level Seminar on SSR in West Africa: Learning Lessons towards Sustaining Peace, focused on the importance of the SSR agenda across the entire peace and conflict spectrum, with emphasis on the United Nations’ role in coordination, and the importance of national leadership, gender and inclusivity, representative and trusted security services, and adequate financing for SSR.
7. Most recently, on 1 March 2018, the Permanent Missions of Germany and Ethiopia to the United Nations co-hosted the Policy Discussion on SSR in South Sudan, during which participants noted the need for continued international engagement on SSR to shape peaceful settlements to conflict, as windows of opportunity are often quite narrow, as well as financially sustainable SSR processes and donor coordination.

## Observations and recommendations emerging from the Roundtable

8. In his opening remarks, the President of the UN General Assembly emphasized the role that security actors can play in maintaining stability, building trust between the state and communities, and protecting people from violence if they are effective, accountable, professional, and properly governed. The President of the UN General Assembly also noted the efficacy of the Global Focal Point for Police, Justice and Corrections, a DPKO-UNDP co-chaired approach to ensuring that reform efforts are coherent and focused on sustaining peace on the ground. In her remarks, the Deputy Secretary-General underlined the important role of



SSR in peace processes, stabilization, transitions, prevention of conflict, contexts, across the entire peace continuum and as part of the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. She called for people-centered SSR that has significance in the lives of individuals, together with the need for enhanced governance, financing, expertise, and assessments for the security sector. Mr. Gusmão emphasized that security is the most fundamental service provided by a state to its people, and a primary pillar of the social contract. He noted the importance of reconciliation; the centrality of national ownership to ensure that all citizens are agents of peace and development efforts; and the need for resources in support of nationally-determined SSR priorities and processes.

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9. The Roundtable's first panel discussed national ownership and leadership on SSR and the importance of national policy and governance frameworks, as well as the inclusion of women and representation of diverse sectors of society in SSR processes from the outset. The DPKO SSR Unit, SSR components in peacekeeping, special political missions, and non-mission settings, and the Inter-Agency SSR Task Force have considerable experience supporting nationally-led SSR processes, including in relation to Sustainable Development Goal 16. The Roundtable panelists and speakers at preparatory events identified the following key observations and recommendations:
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- i. **Parties to conflict should reflect their commitments to SSR in peace processes and agreements.** SSR provisions and terms of reference should be embedded where possible and appropriate in peace accords and new political architectures as early as possible, with dedicated, nationally-led implementation and monitoring mechanisms established as to monitor the impact of SSR on national policies, strategies, and democratic governance. In South Sudan, the absorption of armed groups into the security sector without sufficient commitment to the 2005 peace agreement or resolution of ongoing divisions among the parties contributed to a relapse into conflict. The security sector split along political fault lines and continues to divide in accordance with ethnicity, regional interests, and local security and economic allegiances. In Colombia, the Government felt it was inappropriate to discuss defence sector reforms within the peace talks with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), but the 2016 Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace does contain important commitments relative to security, including a commitment to form the National Commission on Security Guarantees, a Special Investigation Unit to dismantle organized criminal networks, a comprehensive protection plan for former combatants and a comprehensive approach to truth, justice, reparation and measures to prevent repetition of serious crimes. In Côte d'Ivoire, the SSR process fostered the commitment of former armed groups to a unified Ivorian state, including through the integration of approximately 9,000 former combatants into the security forces. In Mali, the defence and security provisions of the 2015 peace agreement stipulate the principles of inclusivity and substantial representation in the security sector, progressive redeployment, fundamental reforms, and the establishment of the National Council on SSR. United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) SSR supports the implementation of these provisions, which allude to the sensitive political issue of armed group representation in the security sector and the criteria for their integration. It will be important to reflect commitments to an inclusive and accountable defence sector and internal security forces within the African Union-led African Initiative for Peace and Reconciliation in the Central African Republic.
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- ii. **National political efforts to consolidate peace and prevent relapse into violence should determine the parameters for United Nations SSR mandates in peacekeeping and special political missions.** In Côte d'Ivoire, the UNOCI SSR component coordinated international support

to the nationally-led SSR process, with particular focus on supporting the development and implementation of the National SSR Strategy. Support for a national inclusive dialogue platform around SSR/human security constituted a neutral, voluntary and inclusive mechanism to sustain peace and improve confidence, ownership, and transparency around SSR, fostering public accountability of security policy that complements formal democratic oversight functions. In Mali, the MINUSMA SSR team helps national institutions implement the SSR measures of the peace agreement, including the strengthening of: the National Council on SSR, which oversees the formulation of a new national security vision and strategy; the Integration Commission, which is responsible for designing criteria and quotas for integration of former combatants; and the High Commissioner for SSR. The Government of Mali intends to pursue development and SSR in tandem, while grappling with the challenges of integration, coordination of international SSR assistance, and defining a national vision for the security sector. In Liberia, United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) supported the Government in the revision of the 2008 National Security Strategy, advised on enhancing the professionalization and accountability mechanisms for the security sector, and coordinated international assistance for SSR including the transfer of security responsibilities to the Government.

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**iii. As part of UN support to national ownership, the composition of the security sector should reflect the social, ethnic, and geographic diversity of the country and all members of society should be equally served, including women and children.** Inclusion can be facilitated through exchange and consultation mechanisms, joint seminars, and trainings, as appropriate. In the Central African Republic, MINUSCA supported the DDR/SSR/National Reconciliation Committee in developing the National SSR Strategy in 2017. The former lays out a comprehensive approach to the construction of effective, accountable, and ethnically and geographically representative security institutions capable of protecting the entire population as well as state institutions. The latter describes a gradual process of standing down of fourteen major armed groups from across the country, some elements of which would integrate into the national uniformed services. The pilot DDR programme of the second half of 2017 supported 439 elements from armed groups, which represented a wide array of communities from geographically diverse areas, and integrated 240 into the armed forces. In Mali, the institutional framework for SSR, which is broad and highly inclusive of all parties to the 2015 peace agreement. The Government of Côte d'Ivoire requested UNOCI to facilitate Military Interactive Sessions to build trust and cohesion among existing members of the armed forces and newly integrated ex-combatants, and to discuss the army-nation concept, gender, and human rights. Women and youth associations were also invited to participate. The Government continued the sessions after six months of UNOCI support. UNOCI also supported local security governance, both by sensitizing local populations to the National SSR Strategy, and by facilitating the establishment of local security committees comprised of regional officials and local security institutions, which assist in early warning and link the capital with localities, in line with the Strategy.

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**iv. Confidence-building measures can build trust between citizens and professional, accountable security providers.** In contexts where the security sector has committed human rights violations, SSR processes emphasize the importance of restoring popular trust in reformed security forces. Transitional justice, clear criteria for entry into the reformed security services, and the tangible provision of security for the population can, when provided at the appropriate times, foster reconciliation and contribute to a new social contract. SSR support can be catalytic to

other peace processes, especially in settings where requested by national authorities. In The Gambia following the political transition in 2017, the Government is undertaking a series of civilian-military engagements and surveys to build citizens' confidence in the armed forces and internal security services, demilitarize rule of law institutions, and promote the role of the police. The UN has supported a Security Sector Assessment, National Security Advisor, and a Technical SSR Working Group comprised of members of the Government and civil society. In Timor-Leste, following a breakdown in security governance and oversight in 2006 and 2008, and subsequent conflict between the military and the police, the Government faced pressures to prioritize stability over individual accountability for past violations. However, together with national reconciliations efforts, a package of laws passed by the Government in 2011 on internal security, national defence, and national security, did succeed in enhancing parliamentary oversight of the security sector. In Côte d'Ivoire, UNOCI support to confidence building measures provided an underpinning to the establishment of inclusive Regional Security Councils, deepening the territorial dimension of the national SSR process and improving local security governance.

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- v. UN coordination of support for nationally-led SSR efforts should seek to ensure continuous support as peacekeeping or special political missions drawdown.** The full assumption by national authorities in post-conflict settings of security and SSR tasks requires careful planning and ongoing international support. Both national political and economic commitment and dedicated resource mobilization are critical to sustain progress. In Liberia, the Justice and Security Joint Programme 2016-2019 among the Government, UNMIL, and UNDP was designed to ensure seamless support for SSR during the Mission's draw-down. During the mission transition in Côte d'Ivoire, UNOCI's sustained coordination of international assistance to the national SSR process with partners and the UN country team enabled the formulation of a nationally-owned Programme Document to gather international technical and financial assistance to SSR priorities, and promote sustainability of critical initiatives.

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- 10.** Participants on the panel on partnerships and financing for SSR noted the role of regional, sub-regional, and bilateral partnerships in supporting nationally-owned SSR processes, and called for United Nations coordination of these complex and sensitive processes. Nearly all participants underlined the importance of coordination both at the national and international levels. Discussants noted the role of the international financial institutions in SSR, and observed that security and justice public expenditure reviews are valuable analytical and planning tools. More specifically:

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- i. The UN plays a significant role in the coordination of international support to SSR, and there is a need to develop enhanced capacity and methodologies for this coordination with other international partners.** Coordination of SSR support among international actors is key to avoiding overlap and duplication of activities, enhancing coherence and efficiency, ensuring sustained approaches through the nexus of peacekeeping and development through a sector-wide response, and reconciling the diverse agendas of multilateral and bilateral actors. Joint planning should be undertaken wherever feasible, including in such sustaining peace settings as The Gambia and Burkina Faso.

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- ii. There is a need to enhance the effectiveness and predictability of international support to SSR, including greater clarity of roles between the UN, EU, AU, and OSCE.** The July 2017 joint support plan on SSR and the rule of law in the Central African Republic between MINUSCA,

the EU Delegation, and EU Military Training Mission in the Central African Republic (EUTM RCA) offers a strong example of the potential of institutionalized cooperation agreements on SSR support. MINUSCA and the EUTM worked jointly with the Government to develop the national defence plan, the military programming law, and operational plans for the deployment of the FACA in joint operations with the MINSUCA Force. The Security Council can play an important role through the provision of strong SSR coordination mandates for peace operations. In light of resource limitations, there is a need for international commitment to ensuring that well-planned, longer-term, and sustainable investments are made in SSR through a sector-wide approach.

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**iii. The international community should commit to enhancing transparency of bilateral and multilateral security sector assistance, including in financing for SSR through ODA and other support.** Participants noted that at the country level, all security sector assistance and funding should be tracked to facilitate transparency and foster national and international commitment to building governance and oversight structures to ensure sustained reforms. This would facilitate coordination and contribute to building security sectors which can be maintained by national governments.

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**iv. International support for the reform of the defence and internal security forces as part of a credible nationally-led peace process can help ensure that national resources are available for social and economic development in addition to the extension of state authority across the country.** Colombia attributes the bilateral assistance provided for the strengthening of the national armed forces with ensuring Government's ability to direct resources to development, restoration of state presence and services to rural areas, and the fight against drug-trafficking and organized crime.

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**11.** The Roundtable also points to the utility of country-specific meetings of the Group of Friends, including on countries transitioning from peacekeeping to sustaining peace and development contexts. The co-chairs of the Group of Friends have resolved to hold such meetings as appropriate going forward.

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# High-Level Roundtable on Security Sector Reform and Sustaining Peace

*Co-hosted by Slovakia and South Africa on behalf of the UN Group of Friends of SSR on the eve of the High-Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on ‘Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace’*

New York, 23 April 2018.

*Prepared by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)*

## Introduction

The ‘Sustaining Peace’ agenda has emerged as a new approach to preventing the outbreak, continuation, and recurrence of conflict. The concept recognizes that building peace should not be limited to post-conflict contexts, and requires strengthening linkages across all three pillars of the United Nations’ engagement and at all stages of conflict.<sup>4</sup> The focus on sustaining peace has resulted in a renewed emphasis on prevention, which is understood to comprise “activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict, addressing root causes, assisting parties to conflict to end hostilities, ensuring national reconciliation and moving towards recovery, reconstruction and development.”<sup>5</sup> The foundations for sustaining peace can be derived from the UN Charter, which calls for the need to save “generations from the scourge of war.”

The important role of security sector reform (SSR) in sustaining peace is clearly reflected in Security Council resolution 2151 (2014), which notes that “an effective, professional and accountable security sector without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development and is important for conflict prevention.”<sup>6</sup> SSR is of significant importance in supporting efforts to prevent violent conflict. As noted in the Secretary-General’s second report on SSR, “effective governance and oversight of the security sector to mitigate its politicization or instrumentalization can be vital to conflict prevention.”<sup>7</sup> More often than not, public grievances and violence against the state are driven by politics of exclusion, which may result from an unrepresentative or abusive security sector, or by its failure to protect citizens against security threats and human rights abuses.<sup>8</sup> Building more inclusive security and justice institutions also lies at the heart of several Sustainable Development Goals, in particular Goal 16.

The United Nations is already engaged in SSR support in a number of contexts, and much has been achieved in relation to setting up dedicated structures for support and strengthening the policy and guidance framework<sup>9</sup>. However, for SSR to effectively live up to expectations regarding its important contribution to sustaining peace, there is a need for the UN to address a number of remaining challenges. First, an overarching challenge is that SSR has typically been perceived as being exclusively under the remit of the Security Council’s peacekeeping agenda. There is a need to recognize that the role of SSR in prevention and sustaining peace requires going beyond post-conflict contexts, and is of importance to the broader General Assembly with many Member States having rich experiences in nationally-driven SSR. Second,

<sup>4</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 2282, S/RES/2282 (2016), April 27, 2016, preamble.

<sup>5</sup> UN Security Council, “Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations and conflict prevention: a collective commitment,” S/2015/730, September 25, 2015, para. 14.

<sup>6</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2151, S/RES/2151 (2014), April 28, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> UN, “Securing States and Societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform,” Report of the Secretary-General, A/67/970-S/2013/480, August 13, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> See United Nations-World Bank, “Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict (Main Messages and Emerging Policy Directions),” 2017.

<sup>9</sup> In 2008, a dedicated SSR Unit was established within DPKO, and an Inter-Agency SSR Task Force was set up which promotes system-wide coherence in SSR support by bringing together the principals from 14 different UN agencies. The UN’s policy and guidance framework for SSR is reflected, among others, in the two UN Secretary-General Reports on SSR of 2008 and 2013, UN Security Council resolution 2151, and the UN Integrated Technical Guidance Notes on SSR.

another key challenge is the lack of predictable and sustainable funding, both in terms of ensuring that mandates match capacities but also in enabling flexibility to adapt to evolving needs. Finally, a related challenge is the need to strengthen partnerships among multilateral organizations and the broader international community, to ensure coherence and complementarity of support towards the achievement of national strategic priorities.

Against this background and in line with the cardinal principle of national ownership, while the primary responsibility for driving efforts to sustain peace lies with national authorities, there are increasing calls to re-think the approaches of the United Nations and the broader international community to supporting these efforts. The High-Level Roundtable will seek to examine the role of SSR in the sustaining peace agenda. This background note provides an overview of the two main panels on:

- learning from nationally-owned SSR experiences; and
- enhancing partnerships and funding for SSR support.

Furthermore, the note includes a set of questions each, to help guide panel discussions.

## Panel I: Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences

### National Ownership and SSR

The Sustaining Peace resolutions have reaffirmed “the importance of national ownership and leadership in peacebuilding.”<sup>10</sup> This is also echoed in the UN Secretary-General’s Report on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace which has underlined that the UN’s efforts should be focused on three inter-related key principles: reinforcing national ownership, developing context-specific responses, and ensuring the effective delivery of results on the ground.<sup>11</sup> National ownership is also the cardinal principle of SSR. As noted in UN Security Council resolution 2151, this consists of “reaffirming the lead role of national authorities in developing an inclusive national vision for security sector reform, coordinating the implementation of the vision, dedicating national resources towards national security institutions, and monitoring the impact of the security sector reform process.”<sup>12</sup>

While national ownership is crucial to both broader efforts to sustain peace, as well as to SSR more specifically, in practice, more should be done to place this crucial principle at the core of externally-assisted SSR processes. Indeed, the success of international support ultimately hinges on the extent to which all actors are contributing to a **common goal in line with national priorities**. While there has been progress in terms of supporting national actors in developing an inclusive national vision for SSR, predicated on national dialogue and the development of national security policies, strategies, and plans, more needs to be done to place national actors at the centre of coordination, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation efforts. Similarly, while national capacity development efforts are important, there is a need to ensure that this is part of a broader institution-building strategy which clearly sets out how responsibilities will be transferred to national stakeholders.

Moreover, international actors need to support reflection at an early stage on what can be done to encourage the **affordability of national reform initiatives**, including by conducting public expenditure reviews. This goes hand-in-hand with the understanding that the national financial responsibility for SSR processes is an essential element of national ownership. For instance, while international actors paying for

<sup>10</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2282, S/RES/2282 (2016), April 27, 2016, preamble.

<sup>11</sup> UN, “Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace,” Report of the UN Secretary-General, A/72/707–S/2018/43, 2018, para. 36.

<sup>12</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2151, S/RES/2151 (2014), April 28, 2014, preamble.

the salaries of security sector personnel as a temporary measure to ensure peace has become common practice, this raises important questions as to the sustainability of such approaches. National ownership therefore has important implications for the provision of international support to SSR. At the same time, consideration must be given to the reality that approaches to strengthening national ownership may vary according to the context.

Finally, national ownership is sometimes reduced to meaning ‘Government ownership.’ For this reason, the term ‘local ownership’ has emerged in some academic debates to emphasize the need to understand ownership beyond state actors, to also include whole-of-society approaches. This background note uses ‘national ownership’ in the broad sense, which goes **beyond state actors to include engagement with governmental actors, civil society, academia, and the media**. Ensuring that national reform processes are driven by the host Government, while promoting inclusiveness, is another challenge which is often encountered to fully operationalizing national ownership.

## Learning from Nationally-Owned SSR Experiences

An important starting point for identifying opportunities for strengthening national ownership would be to learn from national actors that have engaged in nationally-driven SSR processes. At the recent High-Level Dialogue event in New York, participants noted that further efforts are needed to identify and disseminate good practices in the area of SSR based on national SSR experiences that are nationally owned. This is in line with UN Security Council resolution 2151, which reiterates the importance of sharing experiences and expertise on security sector reform among Members States<sup>13</sup>.

While recognizing that each national reform must be context specific, there is much to be gained from sharing experiences in the operationalization of national ownership in practice. Similarly, it would be useful to gain insights into the application of related principles laid out in UN Security Council resolution 2151, such as promoting inclusive approaches to SSR, including the participation of civil society, and ensuring women’s equal and effective participation in the SSR process.

This session will explore the challenges and opportunities faced in translating these principles into practice in both peacekeeping and non-peacekeeping contexts. This includes both the challenges faced by national actors in operationalizing national ownership and other principles, as well as the challenges faced by the international community in supporting national ownership.

<sup>13</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 2151, S/RES/2151 (2014), April 28, 2014, para. 18.

### *Questions for discussion:*

1. What are the challenges and opportunities faced by national actors in operationalizing national ownership?
2. How can international actors better promote national ownership? How should approaches to national ownership adapt according to peacekeeping and non-peacekeeping contexts?
3. What lessons from nationally-driven SSR processes can be identified regarding the application of key principles laid out in UN Security Council Resolution 2151?

## Panel II: Enhancing Partnerships and Funding for SSR Support

### Partnerships for SSR Support

The recent Report of the UN Secretary-General on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace underlined the need for strengthened partnerships to meet the ambitious goals that have been set by the sustaining peace resolutions.<sup>14</sup> This is also of key importance in the area of SSR, which requires a variety of actors to provide the comprehensive support needed to balance support for the reform of individual components of the security sector with sector-wide initiatives that address strategic governance, management, and oversight aspects. As noted in the UN Secretary-General's Report on SSR of 2008, partnerships are considered "vital in providing effective support and expertise and adequate resources to national security sector reform processes."<sup>15</sup> The lack of more systematic cooperation among actors leads to missed opportunities to address many of the common challenges faced in the provision of assistance to national reform processes, including how to better optimize the human and financial resources available.

<sup>14</sup> UN, "Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace," Report of the UN Secretary-General, A/72/707-S/2018/43, January 18, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> UN SG Report (2008) on "Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform," A/62/659-S/2008/39, January 2008, para. 63.

Partnerships for the effective delivery of SSR support in the context of sustaining peace therefore need to be enhanced at both the regional and international levels. At the regional level, the sustaining peace resolutions call for enhanced **South-South cooperation**. The UN has an important role to play in supporting exchange of expertise and experiences between governments, organizations, and individuals in developing and fragile countries. The UN, as well as regional organizations, should support the creation of political spaces where Member States can share experiences. Further efforts are needed to explore the possibilities offered by such horizontal relationships between Member States in support of national SSR processes and to capture the lessons of South-South cooperation that can be applied to SSR. This may also require overcoming political and other barriers, such as a lack of dedicated budgetary provisions for such cooperation.

At the international level, strengthened efforts are needed to ensure that all actors have a shared understanding of priorities and are engaged towards achieving a common nationally-driven goal. With the increasing involvement of **multilateral organizations** in SSR support, partnerships are particularly required, to enhance the effectiveness and predictability of multilateral support to SSR. One of the findings from a mapping study mandated by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in cooperation with the African Union, the European Union, and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, is that dialogue on the modes of cooperation in the area of SSR often fails to take place until actors are on the ground, when it is too late to realign resources, thus leading to gaps in the provision of support as well as potential duplication.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, while much progress has been made in strengthening cooperation among these actors, for instance on the basis of joint assessments, there is still a need to ensure that these efforts translate into concrete results through the joint interpretation of findings and the adaptation of support accordingly.

<sup>16</sup> Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Supporting Nationally-Led Security Sector Reform: Mapping the Approaches of Multilateral Organizations (2018).

Finally, in order to address sustaining peace across all three pillars of the UN – peace and security, human rights, and development – there is also a need for enhanced **cooperation within the organization**. Strengthening collaboration between peace and security and development actors is important to ensure that relevant information from actors on the ground is shared and can contribute to information on security trends as input to early warning. Moreover, development actors can contribute expertise in the broader area of public administration reform, which is often lacking among SSR experts in the field. Similarly, more efforts are needed to strengthen linkages between the peace and security pillar and the human rights pillar. Human rights



actors can provide knowledge on root drivers of conflict related to social and political exclusion and human rights violations, which are often early warning indicators for the risk of conflict<sup>17</sup>. More efforts are therefore required to connect these actors to one another and ensure that they are working towards a common goal. To facilitate such cooperation in the area of SSR, it will be necessary to reinvigorate the UN Inter-Agency SSR Task Force, which serves as a single resource point for Member States and UN field components for SSR-related policy advice and technical support.

<sup>17</sup> The United Nations Approach to Sustaining Peace: Insights for the High-Level Meeting on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace of the General Assembly on 24-25 April 2018, Meeting hosted by DCAF under the auspices of the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform and with the participation of the President of the UN General Assembly, February 27, 2018.

## Funding for SSR Support

As Member States and multilateral partners increasingly look to the UN to take a central role in supporting the coordination and monitoring and evaluation of SSR support, the issue of **financing is important to ensuring that the organization's resources match mandates and needs on the ground**. The sustaining peace resolutions call for more predictable and sustained financing to assist countries in sustaining peace. And as noted in the recent Report of the UN Secretary-General on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace, adequate, predictable, and sustained financing is needed to overcome challenges related to “fragmentation across the system, competition for resources, lack of risk tolerance and speed, weak links between analysis and implementation, and insufficient dedicated resources to address conflict risks, including in transition settings.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> UN, “Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace,” Report of the UN Secretary-General, A/72/707-S/2018/43, January 18, 2018, para. 38.

In the area of SSR, predictable and sustained funding is a key challenge that is further compounded by the reality that donors are often seeking quick results, which opposes the nature of SSR programmes, which require long-term support to transformative processes. Moreover, the yearly budget cycles of the organization often hamper the ability to plan for long-term support. Inadequate access to funds also impedes the rapid leverage of necessary capacities and expertise to provide SSR support according to evolving needs.

Recent developments have sought to improve sustainable financing, including in the area of SSR. For instance, the decision to include operational funds in assessed budgets for peacekeeping missions has provided access to funds for a range of activities, including capacity building, temporary consultancies, and technical expertise not available in the mission. However, these funds remain limited and there have been challenges in disbursing these to implementing partners. Moreover, as noted in a thematic review on SSR in peacebuilding, “as PBF funding is only short-term in nature, PBF funding cannot be expected to address all SSR priorities.”<sup>19</sup> There is therefore a need to further reflect on how SSR relates to decisions on funding allocations, including through Official Development Assistance (ODA). Current efforts to strengthen financing for sustaining peace could be used to further explore entry points for SSR-related financing mechanisms.

<sup>19</sup> UN Peacebuilding Support Office, Thematic Review of Security Sector Reform (SSR) to Peacebuilding and the role of the UN Peacebuilding Fund, 2012, p. 6.

This session will explore the challenges and opportunities for strengthening partnerships in the area of SSR, including avenues for enhancing predictable financing.

### *Questions for discussion:*

1. What are the challenges and opportunities for South-South cooperation in the area of SSR? What experiences exist and what can be learned from these?
2. What incentives can be developed for increasing cooperation across multi-lateral organisations, including within the UN system?
3. What concrete steps could be taken to enhance predictable and sustainable financing for SSR support?





