Welcome to the January 2014 Issue

Dear ASSN Members,

I meant to send you this message much sooner, but got diverted by the many chores that come with a New Year. So, first, with apologies, please accept, on my behalf and on behalf of the Executive Committee (EC), belated but still hopeful wishes for a healthy, peaceful, and fulfilling 2014 for you and yours.

I hope that this brief message will be the beginning of a sustained inter-active communication between you the members and the Executive Committee (EC) of our Network as we move forward. As you know, over the last couple of years, the ASSN has been undergoing a number of changes necessitated by its increased prominence in the African security governance discourse and policy making and, of course, by the need to adapt to an ever-changing environment that is becoming more and more challenging in every respect. These changes are embodied in a series of important decisions made at the EC meeting in Juba in 2012. In December of last year, the EC met again (which is never easy) in Addis to assess the situation since the Juba decisions, to update and refine these decisions, and start to implement them. Given the challenges we continue to face, the decisions made focused on achieving, *inter alia*, the following objectives:

- To make our Network more effective by addressing areas of noticed limitations;
- To reinvigorate the Network and help it meet its commitments to partners;
- To update and bring more coherence and transparency to its governing texts and practices;
- To energise and make more functional and responsive its governing structures and organs;
- To put it on a sound and sustainable managerial and financial footing.

The most important objective of these decisions, however, was to ensure the Network's vitality and sustainability by getting an ever larger number of the Membership durably involved for two critical reasons. First, it is essential to re-emphasise and re-commit to the sense of ownership of the Network by all its members and urge all members to remain connected with and abreast of its day-to-day activities. Second, to play fully its role, ASSN must tap into the wealth of expertise, experience, and dedication that exist among you to help meet the increasing number of commitments it is called on to meet the growing demands of the security situation of our continent. To achieve the objectives set for ASSN at its inception and meet the highest expectations, we need the lasting contribution of all our membership.

Over the last several months, the ASSN has indeed been very busy. Among the many activities we have carried out to help bring about better governance of the security sector on the continent are the following:

- The Development the Operational Guidance Notes (in collaboration with the AU, the EU and the UN) to give effect to the AU SSR Policy Framework (which the ASSN helped draft);
- Applying successfully for an IDRC funded research project on 'Hybrid Security Governance in Africa';
- Continued involvement in support of the SSR process in South Sudan;
- Continued parliamentary capacity building in Liberia and Burkina Faso (in collaboration with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces - DCAF).

As we continue to adapt to new situations and challenges, strive to meet our commitments to various partners, and respond sensibly to an increasing number of requests from a vast array of security governance actors for collaboration or assistance, we - the EC - will continue to work hard to implement the decisions made in Juba and Addis Ababa, and to design ways and means to involve you, the lifeblood of the Network. In that spirit, I urge you to become or remain involved and keep in touch as we start a new year of promise and challenges. In subsequent communications I will, on behalf of the EC, make concrete suggestions on how to get involved.

Let me seize this opportunity to ask those who have not yet done this to contact our secretariat to make arrangements for the payment of their membership dues.

Most sincerely,

Professor Boubacar N'Diaye,
Interim Chair,
African Security Sector Network.
OKEY UZOECHINA published a paper titled ‘Security Sector Reform and Governance Processes in West Africa: From Concepts to Reality.’

The paper was published by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF) as part of its ‘Policy Papers’ Series.

RACHEL WALLBRIDGE completed her one year period with the ASSN, during which she worked as Gender and SSR Officer under the Australian Youth Ambassador for Development (AYAD) programme.

The entire ASSN family warmly thanks Rachel for the excellent work she did for the network and wishes her all the very best in her future career.

MISHECK CHIRWA formally joined the ASSN Executive Committee as Regional Coordinator for Southern Africa.

A retired Brigadier of the Malawi Defence Force, Misheck is a peace and security researcher and lecturer at the Mzuzu University Centre for Security Studies (CSS). He is also the coordinator of the Southern African Security Management Network (SADSEM).

IDADAT HUSSEIN was appointed Director of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) with effect from December 2013.

A lawyer and development practitioner with over a decade of experience, Idayat is CDD’s immediate former Principal Programme Officer and Team Lead for democratic governance.

JANE ABUBAKAR participated in the Advanced Course on Security Sector Reform (SSR) from 11 – 15 November 2013 in Stans-Oberdorf, Switzerland.

Jane is Donor Liaison Officer at the ASSN Secretariat in Accra, Ghana.

RACHEL WALLBRIDGE completed her one year period with the ASSN, during which she worked as Gender and SSR Officer under the Australian Youth Ambassador for Development (AYAD) programme.

The entire ASSN family warmly thanks Rachel for the excellent work she did for the network and wishes her all the very best in her future career.
Workshop on Draft Operational Guidance Notes for AU SSR Policy Framework

In the final week of November 2013, the African Union Commission held a consultation workshop in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to validate three Operational Guidance Notes (OGNs) that will be used in the implementation of the AU Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform (AUPFSSR).

The workshop, organised in collaboration with the African Security Sector Network (ASSN), took place at the Jupiter International Hotel between 25-28 November 2013. Fifty security experts, representatives of RECs, AU Member States, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and researchers took part in the four-day workshop, whose objective was to have the three draft OGNs validated in preparation for their eventual ratification.

The three OGNs will form part of a consolidated body of technical tools and instruments that will be used to operationalise the AUPFSSR, a policy framework developed by the AU Commission with technical support from the ASSN.

Following its formal adoption by the AU Summit in January 2013, the ASSN was commissioned by the UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) and the AU Commission to facilitate the development of the initial three OGNs on (i) Gender and Security Sector Reform; (ii) Conducting Security Sector Reform Needs Assessments; and (iii) The Development of Codes of Conduct for African Security Institutions.

This engagement forms part of a broader multi-year programme to help operationalise the AUPFSSR, as well as to build the AU's SSR capacity by bolstering African ownership in the policy and practice of SSR, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. Titled 'Building African Union Capacities in Security Sector Reform (SSR)', the programme is being implemented in a partnership between the AU Commission (AUC), the European Union (EU), the UN Office to the AU (UNOAU), the SSR Unit in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO SSR Unit), UNOPS and the ASSN.

The OGNs are intended for use by AU Member States in guiding their own SSR initiatives, with support from the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the SSR Unit within the AU Peace and Security Department (PSD). A number of critical points were raised at the workshop around the following issues:

- **National ownership**: Participants strongly emphasised that the OGNs should put into consideration the political sensitivities that always exist within national authorities when handling SSR processes. They advised the establishment of consultative forums that would ensure that state authorities are well sensitised on the objectives of the security reform processes and are allowed to take ownership of the processes. This sensitisation should also encompass consultations with all national stakeholders involved at different levels, including CSOs, women’s organisations, the youth, private security companies, the media and legislative bodies.

- **Participation**: The workshop underscored the fact that SSR processes in the continent have tended to be top-down in nature and often exclusively dominated by men. It was therefore stressed that the OGNs should clearly state that all SSR processes, including aspects of recruitment, planning, implementation, budgeting, monitoring and oversight should be participatory and should involve all national stakeholders. The participation of women in all security institutions and processes was strongly emphasised.

- **Monitoring and oversight**: The OGNs called for the development of monitoring and evaluation indicators; the strengthening of internal capacities; the provision of gender disaggregated data; engagement of CSOs, particularly women and women organisations, in the collection and collation of sex-disaggregated data; and; promotion of cross-sectoral and departmental cooperation between and among security institutions in the conduct of gender-sensitive Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) activities.

- **Protection and prevention of Women**: Based on global and African-specific normative frameworks, it was emphasised that the OGNs should explicitly guide Member States towards adherence to the normative frameworks for the protection of civilians - especially women and children - in both normal and conflict situations. Proper awareness should be provided for leaders, women organisations and individual women to monitor human rights violations and report to the right channels as appropriate.

- **Financing SSR processes**: The OGN on Gender and SSR emphasised that budgeting and financing of SSR processes should be gender-sensitive, and that women should be involved in the planning, implementation and monitoring of budget disbursements at all stages.

- **Assessment missions**: It was agreed that SSR assessment missions should ideally be participatory, inclusive and necessarily representative of all national interlocutors at various levels, including CSOs, private security providers, and others. These assessment missions should be at two different levels:
  
  a. AU-aided Needs Assessment Missions (NAMs): These should be scoping missions aimed at assessing the broad situation in a particular Member State, identifying primary SSR needs and in an exploratory way having discussions with the Member State to establish what is needed in order to start an SSR process. Reports emanating from such assessment missions should be used to make recommendations to the relevant AU structures and suggest ways forward. A productive NAM process would require about one week to achieve its objectives.

  b. Comprehensive Security Sector Review Process: This type of assessment is required in order to facilitate the design of the actual SSR process. It is an inclusive, nationally driven and expectedly lengthy process. This process, ideally led by the AU, should provide clear in-depth analysis of the situation in the Member State and provide recommendations for comprehensive SSR interventions.

- **Inclusion of private institutions**: In the OGN on the Codes of Conduct for African Security Institutions, the workshop emphasised the need for the inclusion of private security institutions in the draft. Participants also recommended that the drafters of this OGN should provide sample Codes of Conduct in the annexes for easy reference by the users of the OGN.

The workshop concluded with a resolution asking the drafters of each OGN to incorporate all the comments and suggestions emanating from the workshop, then submit the revised drafts to the AUC for further review prior to adoption.

In the same week, the ASSN also held its annual Executive Committee meeting in Addis Ababa for three days between the 27th and 29th of November 2013. One of the highlights of the meeting was the formal welcome of Brigadier Misheck Chirwa, who joined the Executive Committee as the ASSN's new Regional Coordinator for Southern Africa.
Regional Experts attend Executive Course on Gender and Security in Malawi

The South African Defence and Security Management Network (SADSEM) and the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) jointly organised an Executive course on 'Gender and Security' in Lilongwe, Malawi.

The objectives of the one day workshop held on 15 September 2013 were:

- To consolidate input and finalize gender review of Security Sector Governance and Parliamentary Oversight of Defence and Security executive courses
- To validate a draft outline of a new executive course on Gender and Security
- To share lessons and experiences in the delivery of gender-related training and education in the security sectors of the Southern African region.

The workshop brought together SADSEM members including academics and gender experts from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Switzerland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Symposium on Rising Insecurity in North Eastern Nigeria

On 23 October 2013, the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) marked AU Democracy Day with a symposium on rising insecurity in North Eastern Nigeria.

Organised in Abuja, Nigeria, with support from Open Society Initiative of West Africa (OSIWA), the one day symposium drew participation from among members of the Nigerian security sector, including the Nigerian Police, the National Defence College and other relevant government agencies, as well as from civil society, academia, media and the diplomatic corps. The symposium was part of the activity for the Ratification, Popularisation and Implementation of the AU Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance and the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good governance.

In her welcome address, CDD Director Idayat Hassan noted the geographic dimension of insecurity in Nigeria and lamented the slow action of state actors in the face of incessant killings in the country's north.

The event's guest speaker, Professor James Kantiock, presented a paper titled Boko Haram, the Government and Peace Negotiation, in which he decried the colossal loss of life and emphasised the need to engage in negotiations with Boko Haram. The paper drew reference from former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's 'back door diplomacy' during her country's conflict with the revolutionary Irish Republican Army (IRA), and most recently, America's behind the scenes negotiations with the Taliban in Afghanistan. The presentation also examined Boko Haram's demands, which include the Islamisation of Nigeria, the fight against corruption and a quest for justice.

A panel of discussants chaired by Professor Okey Ibeanu and comprising of Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed, Dr. Ukoha Ukwo, Dr. Dayo Oloyemi-Kusa, Professor Okechukwu Ibeanu and the keynote speaker, Professor James Kantiock deliberated on how to best engage the group in negotiations. The presentation and discussants decried the group's lack of organisational structure and examined its demands, particularly the Islamisation of Nigeria, the fight against corruption and the quest for justice. It also noted the practicability and or impossibility of some of the demands due to the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of the country, and emphasised the general need to make effort to bridge the gaps between the rich and the poor.

The discussants also identified salient challenges to such an negotiation, including the deep historical and sociological nature of the insurgency and religious conflict in the Sahel; the imposition of the brand name 'Boko Haram' against the group's true ideology; the lack of a political element and structure to table grievances for negotiation, with many of the group's leaders either killed or incarcerated; lack of trust in government, religious and traditional leaders due to the breach of several agreements in the past; the ideological nature of the cause; arms proliferation; the use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs); and the hard stance adopted by the military its engagement with the group.

Based on a general consensus on the need for negotiation, the symposium advised the adoption of a two-pronged approach that will attempt to both combat corruption and pursue negotiations using trusted and prominent members of the society as peace negotiators. This effort would include adopting an African mediation process that leverages local institutions such as the traditional and religious leaders; and adopting short term, medium term and long term intervention approaches with a broad view of addressing poverty.

In addition, the discussants also encouraged the government to identify and block the group's sources of funding, as well as to open discussions with willing factions of the group.
Regional Conference on Conflict and Security Governance in West Africa

The CLEEN Foundation organised a three-day regional conference on Conflict and Security Governance in West Africa.

The high profile conference, which took place on 14-16 January 2014 in Abuja, Nigeria, was organised to examine the prevailing perception that security personnel aggravate conflicts while trying to quell armed violence, an issue that has raised serious concerns among stakeholders in the international community.

It was in this view that the CLEEN Foundation, in conjunction with the Altus Global Alliance, brought together West African security and governance experts to exchange opinions on a study carried out by Altus on Conflicts and Security Governance in the region.

Participants included delegates from the West African countries of Burkina Faso, Ghana, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, as well as participants from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), the Ford Foundation and the African Security Sector Network (ASSN).

The CLEEN Foundation is an institutional member of the ASSN network.

The conference urged West African leaders to collaborate more among themselves and with other stakeholders in the effort to tackle rising violence and conflict in the region. This was among the conference resolutions, which were read out at the conclusion of the forum by Dr. Kemi Okenyodo, Executive Director of the CLEEN Foundation.

Dr. Okenyodo said the region, like other parts of the world, must be decisive in finding lasting solutions to conflict and violence in the region.

She also mentioned that while the conference agreed that democracy and security go together, the way this will be achieved and practised in the various regional countries will be different, adding that the way Ghana is improving is noteworthy to the other West African countries. Dr. Okenyodo stressed that it was necessary to view the conference recommendations in totality as none of them had the capacity, on its own, to solve the existing problems.

Consultative Meetings with Ghana Prison and Immigration Services

The NGO WIPSEN-Africa organised two separate consultative meetings on “Mainstreaming Gender in the Security Sector” with the Ghana Prison Service and the Ghana Immigration Service in Accra, Ghana on 30 August and 10 September respectively. Senior ranking officers and female security personnel from the Ghana Prison Service and Immigration Service took part in the consultative meetings.

WIPSEN-Africa is currently carrying out a two-year project to enhance gender mainstreaming and gender responsiveness within the Ghana Prison Service, Police Service, Immigration Service and Armed Forces, with funding support from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As part of this project, WIPSEN-Africa has been working on a survey of gender sensitivity within each institution.

In order to better achieve the project aims, WIPSEN-Africa developed joint strategies with the four security sector institutions to help enhance gender mainstreaming within each institution. As a starting point, WIPSEN-Africa has so far held consultative meetings with members of the Ghana Prison Service and Immigration Service. The two consultative meetings provided an opportunity for WIPSEN-Africa to hear from the institutions about the gender mainstreaming efforts that they have so far implemented, and also to discuss the existing gaps in terms of gender mainstreaming on both the policy and procedural levels. The objectives of the consultative meetings were to:

1. Develop a common understanding of the gender mainstreaming efforts and gaps within the security sector institutions;
2. Convey the key findings of the survey on gender sensitivity to the heads of the institutions; and
3. To attain commitment from the institutions to support WIPSEN-Africa activities for the implementation of the project.

The meeting with the Prison Service was attended by 12 senior ranking officials and female security personnel, while the one with the Immigration Service has 13 senior ranking officials and female security personnel.

Both meetings saw participants discuss the current efforts and challenges in mainstreaming gender in their respective institutions. WIPSEN-Africa provided them with a summary of the preliminary findings of the survey on gender sensitivity within the Prison and Immigration Services. Both meetings provided a useful opportunity for WIPSEN-Africa to gain a deeper understanding of the levels of gender sensitivity within the Ghana Security Sector through discussions around issues such as recruitment, women’s representation and promotions, training, assignments, infrastructure, maternity and paternity, occupational benefits and marriage policy.

This will allow WIPSEN-Africa to ensure that their future project activities are tailored to the needs and aspirations of women and men within the security sector. This information, and the feedback participants provided on the draft surveys will significantly strengthen the quality of the survey results.

WIPSEN-Africa and the Service personnel in each meeting also discussed how collaboration between the institutions could be pursued and made commitments for taking this collaboration forward, including to share information and formalise the relationship through an MOU. These meetings were an important first step in building the collaborative relationship needed for the institutions to work together to enhance gender mainstreaming within the Ghana security sector.
Beyond Westgate: Security and Accountability in Kenya

By Awino Okech

The Westgate mall terror attack that began on Saturday, September 21, 2013, and ended three days later has generated multiple debates about security in Kenya. Three sets of debates are worth noting here. The first set of debates, are triggered by the efforts of the incumbent government to re-assert control over Kenya's security and therefore project a strong state. These debates are generated from political assertions about Kenya's military strength in the sub-region and renewed performances of international security alliances.

I call them performances because of the foreign policy tensions raised between Kenya and the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) in particular ahead of the March 2013 general elections over their limited engagement with governments headed by International Criminal Court (ICC) indictees. It is obvious that the UK and USA would of necessity continue with security and more specifically defence related matters when managing the international peace and security (as opposed to national reconciliation) as the impetus for a renewed call to defer the ICC cases against the President and his Deputy President. Concomitantly, the role of Kenya's Defence Forces in Somalia has come under sharp focus. The African Union driven ICC deferral campaign has re-centred conversations on accountability, impunity and the democritisation process in Kenya. Does security and in this case the war on terror serve purpose of entrenching non-accountability under the guise of democracy?

The second set of debates, are those animated by reflections about an appropriate counterterrorist response to Al Shabaab, who claimed responsibility for the Westgate attack. Counter-terrorism has provided an opportunity for international actors especially USA to assert the value of the contested United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) to the war on terror in the sub-region. Increasing militarisation in Africa and the militarisation of development are major critiques that were levelled against AFRICOM, which remain pertinent today.

The third and final set of debates, which form the focus of this opinion piece are those that scrutinise the state of our security apparatus in Kenya and the impact of knee jerk reactions by government officials. While evidence of a strong state is expected perhaps even needed in a period of crisis, decisions around security in Kenya are increasingly unsettling for their potential to muzzle public dissent and silence demands for accountability from the various arms of the security sector for their pre-emptive and actual efforts during the Westgate attack. Labelling voices of dissent as unpatriotic reverses the nascent efforts to democritise the security sector and security discourses in the country. In fact, an emphasis on the war of terror in isolation, takes focus away from the internal drivers of insecurity not only for the role they play in creating a fertile ground for radicalisation but also for broader socio-economic and political inequalities that it lays bare. Discussions on holistic security sector reform have therefore re-surfaced in the public domain and I would like to examine their evolution.

Security Sector Reform: Real or Cosmetic?

Conversations on security sector reform in Kenya began in earnest after the 2007–2008 post-election crisis. The reform debate focused on the Kenyan Police Force, since the force was implicated in extrajudicial killings. The National Task Force on Police Reforms was established in May 2009 and mandated to make proposals for re-organising the police. Some of the major changes that resulted from the task force’s work include the National Police Service Act, passed in August 2011, which merged what had previously been two separate police units and established the position of inspector general for the consolidated service. The act also placed limits on the force that police are allowed to exercise, stipulating that an officer may use “force and firearms, if and to such extent only as is necessary.” A civilian board was established to oversee the recruitment and appointment of police officers, to review standards and qualifications, and to receive complaints from the public and refer them to the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA) and other government entities. Since March 2013, the inspector general of police has repeatedly requested an increase in his powers, arguing that his management role is constrained by the current provisions, which give the National Police Service Commission (an independent government commission) responsibility over hiring and firing as well as disciplinary action. The call for police to be able to exercise increased force has now been enforced in the wake of the Westgate attack under the guise of ascertaining security and fighting terror. In fact, increased are the demands by the police force to arm civilians (police reservists) and private security service providers.

In addition to the roll back in the police reform process noted above, the Westgate attack exposed problems in the broader oversight and democratization of Kenya’s security sector. Oversight responsibility for Kenya’s security sector lies with the joint parliamentary committee on defence and national security. However, processes within Parliament reveal how limited the oversight committees are in effectively handling their responsibilities. In October 2011, an intelligence bill made its way through parliament without much debate. A citizen-led watchdog platform pointed out the process flaws and operational loopholes involved in the passage of the law. Unlike other bills, the National Intelligence Service Bill 2011 did not go through a process of Cabinet approval. The bill originated from the National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) and went straight to the Constitution Implementation Commission (CIC) by passing Cabinet scrutiny. The Assistant Internal Security Minister Orwa Ojode at the time stated that his Ministry had not seen the bill and could not interfere in matters of defence and security.

The limitation of parliamentary oversight was further illustrated during a public vetting process for the cabinet secretary for defence, Raychelle Omamo in 2013. When the Cabinet Secretary was questioned about her role in increasing transparency around defence contracting, she argued that this was an area that would remain outside parliamentary scrutiny because of its sensitive nature. Security analysts have noted examples of wide-scale international corruption within defence contracting; such as the 1999 arms deal scandal in South Africa. The consequences of such corruption are clear. Limited oversight of defence contracting can lead to inappropriate equipment purchases and increase budgetary and operational inefficiency. The mantra “on a need to know basis” continues to serve as a veil for massive loopholes in the democratic governance of Kenya’s defence forces.

Further flaws within the oversight framework have become more apparent after the Westgate siege. The joint parliamentary committees on national security and defence publicly pledged to investigate and offer clear recommendations on security sector institutions. The efficacy of the joint parliamentary committee has come under scrutiny due to their co-option into covering up for suspected criminal acts by the security forces during the siege and diminishing the role that the lack of a clear command structure may have played in the protracted four day siege.

What Kenyans must consider

First, beyond the current reforms debate, Kenya needs a process for collectively envisioning a national security policy that would make security forces responsive to citizens and foster an environment of trust and, ultimately, safety. The constitution provides for broad-based citizen consultation; however, the predetermined nature of who is consulted, why, and how has limited robust conversations in the country on security sector reform and civil-military relations.

Second, security reforms in Kenya have focused on the police, but it is clear that other sectors need to be held accountable for their operational capabilities and the state of preparedness in the face of continuing war on terror. With regard to the on-going police reforms, the leadership needed to implement legislated changes has so far been lacking, and the institutional culture within the police remains resistant and unresponsive to a larger democratization effort.
Finally, Kenya’s parliamentary oversight committees face three interconnected challenges. The first is limited knowledge of the security sector they are required to supervise. As a result, only a small cabal of people and organizations understand the true state of affairs in Kenya’s security sector. Second, the lines of accountability limit the demands the committees can make on security institutions and finally the politicisation of oversight has a big role to play in effective execution of their tasks. Security literacy, especially for parliamentary staff who form part of the institutional memory of Parliament, remains urgent. The government must also think through a broader and inclusive oversight mechanism for the security sector as a whole that goes beyond the parliamentary committees. A security sector that is responsive to the nation and citizens it serves and protects must centre their voices.

Dr. Awino Okech is a research associate with the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town. She is also a member of the African Security Sector Network and serves on the advisory board of the African Peacebuilding Network.

For further reading on this topic, please find Professor Boubacar N’Diaye’s article, Westgate and the Future of Security in Africa, on this link.

Features

Sexual Citizenship and Security
By Xavier Livermon

It was the spring of 2007 and I was preparing to present my work on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) life in post-apartheid South Africa when I received a disturbing e-mail from a good friend of mine. After inquiring about my family and updating me on the latest information about his life he finished the e-mail with this chilling line:

“Do you remember Nkosi? He was raped. They [his attackers] beat him up really badly.”

I could not fathom what was more shocking. The mundane nature of the sentence describing the violent attack or the fact that someone I knew, although not that well was a victim of a violent attack that seemed rooted in his sexual orientation. I tried to find out more information about what happened to Nkosi and what exactly had preceded the attack. My friend was not able to provide much information beyond simply telling me that Nkosi had refused to go to the police and that he had refused to get counselling.

Later in the week, I phoned a friend of mine who was closer to Nkosi to find out more information.

I learned that Nkosi had been at a local tavern and that he had been having a good time with friends. Upon leaving the tavern which was a relatively short distance from his home he was attacked. In addition to being raped, he was beaten severely. According to my informant, one of Nkosi’s attackers had taunted him during the rape by stating that since he was at the bar acting and dancing like a slut, that he deserved to be treated like hers. This was the last time that Nogwaza was seen alive. Her body was found the next day in a drainage ditch next to a rock, used condoms, and a bottle of bear. She had been raped, stoned to death, and murdered. Her case still remains unsolved nearly three years later.

While South Africa has a liberal progressive constitution that protects the rights of its LGBT citizens, the reality on the ground, particularly for the most vulnerable LGBT citizens (those that are black, poor, live in township and rural areas, and are gender fluid or gender non-conforming) is often starkly different. Faced with multiple forms of oppression, they often are unable to access the rights enshrined in the constitution.

What does it mean to be “terrified” to go out at night, or not to be able to enjoy a drink with friends at a local bar for fear that you will be attacked, and to know that this fear or terror is connected to your sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression? How does one live with and within freedom when one’s bodily safety and security is in a constant state of attack? What does it mean for the rights of the constitution to exist on paper but to have limited meaning in one’s everyday reality? What then do you do if you are an LGBT South African and you wish to change this situation?

These are questions that I feel that those of us who are truly interested in creating a secure and safe environment in Africa must ask ourselves. For much of the everyday insecurity that those who live in Africa are faced with related to issues of gender and sexuality. While gender, particularly related to the vulnerability of women and children is central to understanding issues of security in Africa, I challenge those of us who are committed to peace in Africa to think about the forms of insecurity related to LGBTG Africans.

The lessons from South Africa suggest that human rights protections are a necessary but not sufficient step in guaranteeing the safety and security of LGBT citizens. In addition to legal protections, rights must be animated on the ground through political, social, economic, and cultural struggle. Cultural struggles in particular are a fecund site for thinking through issues of safety and security for it is often on the basis of various type of un-African arguments that LGBT citizens are disenfranchised from their communities.

As such, I call for scholars and activists to pay particular attention to the forms of labour enacted by LGBTG Africans themselves to claim forms of belonging both to their communities and to the larger state. What this means is that those of us interested in issues of security may have to look beyond elections, military capacity, and functioning economies and begin to explore the popular, the representational and forms of cultural production such as music, literature, television, film, and new media as active sites through which security is forged in Africa.

* Names throughout this story have been changed to protect the anonymity of the individuals involved.

Xavier Livermon is an Assistant Professor of African and African Diaspora Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. His research interests include examining the role of Africa in African Diaspora Studies, gender and sexuality in the African Diaspora, Black Cultural Studies, and Music and Performance cultures of the African Diaspora. He is a member of the ASSN research network on “Hybrid Security Governance in Africa.”
Since the creation of the gamut of institutions that make up the security sector, the sector has remained instrumental in the protection of lives and property as well as enhancing access to justice. Whilst it can be argued that this is the raison d'être for their establishment, there has been appalling evidence suggesting that security sector institutions have been and continue to be vectors of human rights abuses and violent conflict in many African countries. This can partly be attributed to a trail of structural defects that were carried over from colonialism to the newly independent African states without rethinking. This calls for a critical examination and review of what the security sector institutions stand for, whether they are achieving their mandates in the post-colonial era, what challenges hinder their effective performance and service delivery, and exploring diverse ways in which these challenges can be addressed. Consequently over the past decade, the concept of Security Sector Reform (SSR) has emerged with a vision of making the sector more transparent, accountable and democratically governed so as to end impunity and build the capacities of security sector institutions to adequately respond to the security needs of the general citizenry. One of the emerging subfields of SSR however, is gender and the active participation of women in the largely male-dominated field of security. The gender-specific approach to SSR takes into account the specific needs of men, women, boys and girls through gender mainstreaming and promoting the equal participation of people of all genders in decision-making processes.

The need to integrate gender into SSR processes however failed to gain much attention at national levels despite advocacy efforts mostly by Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). It was not until 2008 that the agenda was recognised at the international level by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in his report on SSR, where he stated that “the integration of a gender perspective in Security Sector Reform is inherent to an inclusive and socially responsive approach to security.” “Gender-sensitive Security Sector Reform”, he went on, “is key to developing security sector institutions and security processes around the world. It is a valuable resource tool that can help policymakers, trainers and educators better understand and demonstrate the linkages between gender and SSR. In early 2013, DCAF added yet another publication to augment the very few academic materials on the subject. Titled A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform, the purpose of the guide is to engage women from civil society in transforming the security sector in their communities and countries. It encourages women to be part of dialogue and decision making and to be involved in SSR to help develop a security sector that is effective and accountable to the people.

By and large, actions that have been taken in furtherance of the gender and SSR subject are poorly documented. In 2009, the Instraw and DCAF Toolkit on Gender and SSR was the first comprehensive overview on the topic, covering a broad range of institutions with examples of best practices from all over the world: police, defence, justice, penal, border management, parliamentary oversight, national security policy-making, civil society oversight, monitoring and evaluation and gender training for security personnel. It sought to fill the practitioners’ gap with guidelines for integrating gender into SSR.

In 2011, DCAF again published Gender and Security Sector Reform: Examples from the Ground, which gives concrete illustrations of ways in which gender perspectives have been integrated in different security sector institutions and security processes around the world. It is a valuable resource tool that can help policymakers, trainers and educators better understand and demonstrate the linkages between gender and SSR. It is a valuable resource tool that can help policymakers, trainers and educators better understand and demonstrate the linkages between gender and SSR. Furthermore, even these countries are becoming more secretive about the instances like South Africa, where these are at first readily available. However, even these countries are becoming more secretive about the developments notwithstanding, records of women’s participation in the security sector are poorly documented. Cheryl Hendricks, an expert in the subject laments that “despite the participation of women in the liberation and rebel armies, very few were included in Africa’s post-colonial armies, the reconstituted armies of post-conflict states or were beneficiaries of DDR programmes. In fact, it is hard to obtain any information on how many women actually serve in the militaries in the respective African countries.” Hendricks further notes that “from the Military Balance, one can discern overall force size, equipment and budgets of African militaries, but unable to provide data on the number of women in these services, except in a few instances like South Africa, where these are at first readily available. However, even these countries are becoming more secretive about the information.”

Correspondingly, scholarly materials on the gender and SSR subject are relatively few. Much of the literature on the subject generally exists in the form of handbooks, toolkits, survey reports, discussion papers and conference reports. Historically, the Instraw and DCAF Toolkit on Gender and SSR was the first comprehensive overview on the topic, covering a broad range of institutions with examples of best practices from all over the world: police, defence, justice, penal, border management, parliamentary oversight, national security policy-making, civil society oversight, monitoring and evaluation and gender training for security personnel. It sought to fill the practitioners’ gap with guidelines for integrating gender into SSR.
Additionally, some institutions like the Women, Peace and Security Institute at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) are in the process of developing a compendium which documents the achievements of women in the security sector.

**Why Gender and SSR?**
A number of reasons have been espoused to justify the need to mainstream gender into SSR. However, a review of the efforts made at effective gender mainstreaming in the security sector so far reveals that the inclusion of women in the security sector is definitely in consonance with international instruments like the Beijing Declaration, CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 among others and encourages an increased participation of women in the sector.

Further, it increases overall operational effectiveness especially in cases where security personnel have to respond to cultural/religious gender issues in communities and also harnesses the different strengths and skills of both men and women. It additionally makes the security sector more representative and minimises violence against women. It also enhances opportunities for women to rise through the ranks as more gender-responsive policies are promoted within the sector.

**(SSR and Gender: Examples of Good Practices)**

**Sierra Leone**

Within the Security Sector in Sierra Leone, the Armed Forces has developed the Gender and Equal Opportunities Policy as part of its reform strategy to inform and drive the aspiration for accelerating and attaining gender equality and mainstreaming within the force. The Police on the other hand also have the Recruitment and Promotions Policy, the Gender Mainstreaming and Sexual Exploitation, Abuse and Harassment Policies to protect both personnel and accused persons in custody from sexual and gender based violence related abuses.

The Accelerated Promotion Scheme implemented by the Police has seen an increase in female enrolment as well as faster progression of women through the ranks. The very first female Brigadier has also been appointed by the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF).

**Cote d'Ivoire**

Cote d'Ivoire's Army has made efforts to adopt gender-sensitive infrastructure, particularly when it comes to washrooms. Also, renovations have been made to the dormitories of the Armed Forces Training School (AFTS) to respond to the needs of women.

In the police force on the other hand, a reporting and sanctions procedure for sexual harassment and other gender based violence has been institutionalised. Witnesses of these facts are required to make verbal or written report to their immediate superiors who are required to sanction in accordance with the regulation of general discipline and the penal code. Moreover, heads of departments are much more aware of the conditions of women, so pregnant women in particular are not sent on field duties.

**Liberia**

At the end of the civil war, the UN mission in Liberia (UNMIL) set a 20 percent quota for women's inclusion in the police and armed forces, and the police further established a Female Recruitment Programme. Unfortunately however, the lack of educational qualifications among potential female recruits posed a challenge. The Programme consequently selected 150 women to attend classes to receive their high school diplomas. These women, in return, promised to join and serve in the police service for an agreed minimum number of years. Affirmative action of this kind expanded the pool of female police recruits without having to lower essential qualifications.

Further, a cavalcade of police officers, including female officers, and representatives from the Ministry of Gender and Development periodically visit markets, churches and schools to recruit women into the Liberia National Police (LNP). Through music, short speeches and the distribution of posters and t-shirts, they describe the roles that women can play as police officers. These recruitment campaigns attempt to dispel the myth that women lack the physical strength to do police work, focusing on police duties requiring different abilities, such as performing community service and providing help and assistance to citizens. The LNP also holds regular “Community Forums” with community leaders in each district, during which they describe the career opportunities for women police officers and distribute material on the application process.

Liberia also has remarkable women's engagement with the security sector. Women engage more in activism and advocacy, mediation and negotiation at community level. Liberian women are also engaged in regional and sub-regional peace negotiations and conflict mediation processes through networks like the Mano River Women's Peace Network and the Liberia Women Peace Initiative.

**Identifying the gaps and shaping the future of Gender and SSR in Africa**

In spite of the gains made in advancing the gender and SSR agenda, crucial gaps continue to exist in the field. To a large extent, these have to be examined more critically with some renewed commitments by all stakeholders to promote women's participation in the security sector in a bid to realise the transformative effects of integrating gender into SSR.

To begin with, there is an urgent need to begin to document and analyse the contributions of women in shaping the security sector - be it in terms of the attainment of higher level positions, participation in peace negotiations, peace missions, security-related parliamentary portfolio committees, etc.

More empirical evidence is also required to explain the ways in which women in conflict zones protect themselves. This is also relevant to how women in other spaces access security and the implications of this for the ways in which security is currently framed and provided.

Further, as efforts at bringing traditional/customary security and justice institutions into the SSR fold advances, there is a need to critically examine how gender-responsive the practices of these institutions are in terms of providing security and justice for men and women who are unable or unwilling to access the formal security and justice institutions.

It would equally be helpful to have country specific case studies on Gender and SSR across the continent for comparison, experience sharing and lessons learned.

To date, the extent to which religion impacts on the Gender and SSR agenda has also not been fully explored and not much attention has been given to SSR and Gender, as well as SSR in North Africa even though some organisations like the UN and DCAF are making inroads into the region. With the current wave of democratisation sweeping through the region, SSR would be extremely useful to the people.
In a number of conferences and workshops on the subject, the issue of physical training has been a bone of contention. Whilst some females have noted that the physical training is what deters them from enrolling in the security sector institutions, the issue of whether or not men and women should receive the same physical training regardless of their biological differences because they will be performing the same functions also stands unresolved.

Again, in view of the fact that security sector institutions make use of both physical strength and intellectual capabilities, it is time for gender-responsiveness in SSR, in addition to addressing the recruitment of physically challenged persons who are intellectually endowed into these institutions. Hitherto, the criteria for the physical screening exercises undertaken as part of the recruitment process into these institutions disqualify this category of persons who could be tremendously resourceful in gathering intelligence for instance. In effect, nobody in society should be excluded from the SSR. The process must, as a matter of necessity, be all encompassing in order to adequately respond to the security needs of every person, especially now that the focus has drifted from state-centred security to human security. It is hoped that as we move from the rhetoric to concrete steps for leveraging gender mainstreaming in the African security sector, Africa will soon realise the full transformative effects of this process.

Jane Abubakar is the ASSN's Donor Liaison Officer. She holds a Masters degree in Humanitarian and Refugee Studies from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and a BA in Political Science and Philosophy from the University of Ghana.

MEMBER SPOTLIGHT: Paul Chiy

Paul Chiy is a Lawyer, Chartered Arbitrator, Scientist, and Security and Justice Advisor from Cameroon.

He is a Barrister of the Supreme Court of Cameroon, a Barrister of England and Wales, and a Solicitor-Advocate of England and Wales. He is also a Chartered Information Technology Professional; a Chartered Biologist of the Chartered Institute of Biology; a Member of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators; and a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Legal Executives.

Paul's experience spans the public and private sectors of both developed and developing countries and straddles all the three arms of government (the judiciary, executive and legislature). He is currently a Deployable Civilian Expert (DCE) with the UK Government's Stabilisation Unit, as well as a member of the UK Civilian Stabilisation Group (CSG) in the Oversight and Accountability area. Between December 2010 and July 2012, he was the Legal Advisor to the UK Department for International Development (DFID) on the Sierra Leone Justice Sector Development Programme (JSDP) and its successor, the Access to Security and Justice Programme (ASJP). He also advised on anti-corruption and electoral programmes and as an Accountability and Governance Adviser to DFID South Sudan.

From 2009 to 2011 he was a Senior Legal Consultant with CLAS Legal Limited, a law firm in Freetown, Sierra Leone, where he advised on various aspects of Security and Justice in addition to providing bespoke legal and financial services to domestic and international private sector clients and donor agencies.

He previously headed the disputes and regulatory compliance departments at Sherman Phillips Solicitors in London; served in various legal capacities for over seven years with the UK Office of Gas and Electricity Markets (Ofgem); served for seven years as a magistrate on the Cambridge Bench; and worked as a researcher at the University of Cambridge and the University of Wales, Bangor.

His numerous academic credentials include a PhD from the University of Wales, Bangor; a Master of Law from Queen Mary, University of London; an MSc from Anglia Ruskin University; a Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice; a Bachelor of Laws; and a BSc from the University of Wales, Bangor.

In 1998 he was featured in the prestigious publication Marquis Who's Who in Science and Engineering among other achievers who have demonstrated “outstanding achievement in their field of endeavour and who have, thereby, contributed significantly to the betterment of contemporary society.”

At the moment, Paul is also a visiting professor at the Catholic University of Cameroon.

PUBLICATION: Masculinities, Militarisation and the End Conscription Campaign: War Resistance in Apartheid South Africa by Daniel Conway

Published by Wits University Press, Johannesburg

The book ‘Masculinities, Militarisation and the End Conscription Campaign’ explores the gendered dynamics of apartheid-era South Africa’s militarisation and analyses the defiance of compulsory military service by individual white men, and the anti-apartheid activism of the white men and women in the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), the most significant white anti-apartheid movement to happen in South Africa.

Military conscription and objection to it are conceptualised as gendered acts of citizenship and premised on and constitutive of masculinities. Conway draws upon a range of materials and disciplines to produce this socio-political study. Sources include interviews with white men who objected to military service in the South African Defence Force (SADF); archival material, including military intelligence surveillance of the ECC and ECC campaigning material, press reports and other pro-state propaganda.

The analysis is informed by perspectives in sociology, international relations, history and from work on contemporary militarised societies such as those in Israel and Turkey. This book also explores the interconnections between militarisation, sexuality, race, homophobia and political authoritarianism.

This book is essential reading for scholars and students interested in South African liberation history, militarisation, gender, conscientious objection and peace activism. It will appeal across disciplines of international relations, sociology, politics and history.
Call for Consultants

Second ASSN Call for Security Sector Reform Consultants

Following the adoption of the African Union’s Security Sector Reform Policy Framework (AU-SSRPF) by the 20th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union in January 2013, the African Security Sector Network (ASSN) signed a Grant Support Agreement with the UN Office of Project Services (UNOPS) to develop a number of guidance tools and other instruments to support the implementation of the AU-SSRPF. A copy of the Terms of Agreement can be viewed on this link.

UNOPS support is within the framework of the project “Building AU Capacities in SSR - A Joint UN/EU Support Action”, which seeks “to build African Union capacities in the key peacebuilding area of SSR through a partnership between the African Union, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the European Union with the aim of better positioning the AU to support national authorities with effective SSR implementation to advance social justice and sustainable peace”. The ASSN’s role is consistent with the tripartite agreement between the UN, AU, and the ASSN, requiring the ASSN to provide technical support to this project.

The ASSN seeks duly qualified individuals/consultants to lead respectively on the following:

4. “Operational Guidance Note on SSR Training.”

Note that:

a. This assignment is expected to be both consultative and collaborative in approach. The lead consultant will work with and be supported by ASSN and other experts and stakeholders (a core team and reference group) as agreed between the consultant and the ASSN;

b. There will be at least one consultation workshop to review initial drafts and recommend revisions as necessary.

The consultant will be responsible for:

• Taking the lead in drafting the document in question;
• Ensuring quality and timely delivery of interim and final draft; and
• Presenting the draft document during the consultation workshop(s), noting inputs and feedback, and modifying the draft to reflect such input and feedback as may emanate from the workshop(s).

It is expected that the successful candidate will have:

• Substantial policy and practical experience at a senior level in the specific thematic area;
• Familiarity with SSR concepts, policies, and implementation; and
• Excellent writing skills

Competency in one or more AU languages in addition to English would be an advantage but is not a requirement.

The work assignment will commence immediately an appropriate candidate is identified, or as soon thereafter as feasible.

Please submit a current CV and an expression of interest detailing qualifications and experience by email to elom@africansecuritynetwork.org or by regular mail to:

Elom Khaunbiow,
African Security Sector Network (ASSN),
27 Kofi Annan Avenue,
North Legon, Accra, Ghana,
P.O. Box AF2457 Adenta,
Accra, Ghana

CLOSING DATE: 24 March 2014

Only successful candidates will be contacted. Those who applied in the first (2013) call for consultants and want to be considered for this second competition may indicate if they want their earlier application revived for this purpose. Applicants may express interest in a maximum of two consultancies. Preference will be given to applicants from the African continent and diaspora, as well as those with a significant history of SSR-related work, research or scholarship on the continent, with no regard to nationality.

ASSN members are particularly encouraged to apply.

Full details about the consultancy are available here on the ASSN website.
The African Security Sector Network (ASSN) was founded in 2003 to help harmonise the various African organisations carrying out activities in the broad areas of Security Sector Reform (SSR), Security Sector Transformation (SST) and Security Sector Governance (SSG).

Our fundamental objective is to facilitate progress towards the achievement of Effective and Democratically-Governed Security Sectors across the African continent. We pursue this mission by spearheading and implementing programmes aimed at strengthening the capacities of African governments, National Security institutions, Parliaments, Intergovernmental Organisations and Civil Society groups to undertake and own SSR programmes. The ASSN also strives to expand the concept of African SSR through sustained research, publication and training.

The driving vision of the ASSN is that of an African Security Sector that is Democratically Governed, People-Centred, Well Managed, Accountable and Effective in supporting and sustaining Human Security.

**OUR PRIMARY TOOLS ARE:**

- Advocacy and facilitation of emerging SSR and SSG networks;
- Promotion of inclusive dialogue and informed debate around issues of Security and Justice, designed to influence decision-makers and policy processes;
- Enhancement of Security literacy among the continent’s policy- and decision-makers and the general public, through training, education, and dissemination of resource materials;
- Support for policy and institutional development, via applied research and provision of advisory and consultancy services;
- Building of capacity within the Security Sector, as well as relevant policy and oversight organs;
- Promotion of an African-centred focus through dissemination of African ‘best practices’ in the areas of SSR/SSG; and
- Functioning as a continental information repository on SSR/SSG.

**ASSN STRATEGIC PRIORITIES**

In the short to medium term, the bulk of the ASSN’s efforts will be channelled towards the following strategic priorities:

1. Assisting the African Union (AU) and various Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to develop and deliver on their SSR/SSG agenda, in accordance with the ASSN’s MOU with the AU, and a related tripartite agreement between the AU Commission, the UN and the ASSN;

2. Assisting African countries (particularly those undertaking SSR as intrinsic part of their transition from situations of conflict to peace) to plan and implement SSR programmes, and to better comply with AU/REC SSR frameworks and standards;

2b. Addressing current gaps in SSR and integrating excluded programmatic elements, particularly those that strengthen Governance and improve Security and Justice for the poor and vulnerable such as the following:

   (i) Strengthening the Gender dimensions of SSR/SSG;
   (ii) Forging closer links between SSR, Justice and the Rule of Law;
   (iii) Integrating private, informal and customary Security and Justice institutions into SSR, in recognition of the often crucial roles they play in providing Security for the poor and ensuring social peace and stability;
   (iv) Engaging Intelligence organs and facilitating Intelligence reforms.

3. Building the capacity of National Legislatures and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to engage with SSR/SSG and to better conduct their Security Oversight responsibilities;

4. Running a ‘Next Generation of Security Analysts’ Programme, which entails building the capacities of young professionals in policy, research and advocacy around SSR/G.

If you are interested in supporting our work in any of these areas, or generally in collaborating with the ASSN on related projects, please contact our Donor Liaison Officer on info@africansecuritynetwork.org.
Our Regional Hubs

In West Africa

African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR)
Accra, Ghana
Website: www.africansecurity.org
Regional Coordinator: Dr. Uju Agomoh

In East Africa and the Great Lakes Region

Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC)
Nairobi, Kenya
Website: www.srickeny.org
Regional Coordinator: Lt Col (Rtd) Jerry Kitiku

In the Horn of Africa

Centre for Policy Research and Dialogue (CPRD)
Juba, South Sudan
Website: www.cprdsr.org
Regional Coordinator: Professor Medhane Tadesse

In Southern Africa

Southern African Defence and Security Management Network (SADSEM)
Mzuzu, Malawi
Website: www.sadsem.org
Regional Coordinator: Brig (Rtd) Misheck Chirwa

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