

About this publication

Shared governance of the security sector responds to the question of the involvement of all components of a nation in managing their security concerns. Based on human security, the concept of shared governance of the security sector highlights the mechanisms that identify the roles and responsibilities of actors called upon to take ownership of the initiative in a participatory manner, with the necessary oversight and accountability required from any reliable democratic process.

The Malian experience that is presented in this publication shows that the involvement of actors other than the usual sovereign forces to share the security sector management is possible and even more, can be replicated at a regional level, for so little that policy makers in West Africa pledge to develop a common strategy to fight against insecurity.

Shared Security And Peace Governance
The Malian Experience



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CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS | iv |
| FOREWORD | v |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| I. CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS: Security and some related concepts | 6 |
| II. INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT PRIOR TO THE SECURITY SECTOR REFORM IN MALI | 24 |
| 2.1. An Overview of the World Security Situation | 25 |
| 2.2. Africa's Security Landscape | 26 |
| 2.3. Security Challenge in Mali | 29 |
| III. NATIONAL POLICY ON INTERNAL SECURITY AND CIVILIAN PROTECTION IN MALI | 39 |
| 3.1. A National Security Policy: What for? | 39 |
| 3.2. New Security Vision in Mali | 41 |
| 3.3. National Security Policy within the Mechanism of Public Security Policies | 44 |
| 3.4. National Security Drafting Process | 46 |
| 3.5. Strategic Axes of National Security Policy for Internal Security & Civilian Protection | 46 |

| | | |
|------------|---|-----------|
| 3.6. | Implementation Strategies | 46 |
| IV. | SHARED SECURITY AND PEACE GOVERNANCE PROGRAMME | 52 |
| 4.1. | Goals of the Programme | 52 |
| 4.2. | Areas of Intervention | 53 |
| 4.3. | Organisation and Functioning | 54 |
| 4.4. | Resources of the Programme | 58 |
| 4.5. | 2008-2010 Consolidated Results | 62 |
| 4.6. | Partnership | 67 |
| 4.7. | Constraints and Difficulties Encountered | 71 |
| 4.8. | Other Peace and Security Programmes in Mali | 72 |
| V. | OBSERVATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION | 75 |
| 5.1. | Reaction on the Field Actors | 75 |
| 5.2. | Effects of the Programme | 78 |
| VI. | POSSIBILITIES OF REPLICATING MALI'S EXPERIENCE IN OTHER ECOWAS COUNTRIES | 88 |
| 6.1. | The Need for a Common Security Strategy | 88 |
| 6.2. | ECOWAS' and African Union's Security Governance Instruments | 90 |
| 6.3. | Approach towards the Setting up Democratic Governance of the Security Sector Within the ECOWAS Region | 92 |

CONCLUSION 95

APPENDICES 98

Appendix I. Terms of Reference of the Convention for
Security and Peace in Mali 98

Appendix II. General Report on the Convention 115

Bibliography 133

Appendix III. Authors Biographies 135

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AQMI: *Al Qaïda au Maghreb Islamique (Al Qaïda in the Islamic Maghreb)*

AU: African Union

CDAF: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

CEDHD: Centre d'Etudes des Droits Humains et de la Démocratie (Morocco)

CNLCPAL: National Commission for the Fight against the Proliferation of Small Arms

CONASCIPAL: National Civil Society Coalition for Peace and the Fight against the Proliferation of Small Arms

CREN: Coordination pour le Renforcement de l'Exécution Nationale (Coordinating body for Strengthening National Execution)

CSO: Civil Society Organisation

CTB: Belgian Technical Cooperation

DCI: General Directorate for International Cooperation

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African State

FES: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

IGP: Inspector General of Police

MAECI: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

MATCL: Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Government

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MSIPC: Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection

NGO: Non Governmental Organization

OC: Orientation Committee

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PAGRK: Support Project for Strengthening Local Governance in the Kidal Region

PDDRN: Ten-year Programme for the Development of Northern Regions

PGPSP: Shared Governance of Security and Peace Programme

PNSIPC: National Policy on Internal Security and Civilian Protection

PSPSDN: Special Programme for Peace, Security and Development in the North

SIK: Senter for interkulturell kommunikasjon (Inter-cultural Centre for Communication) of Stavegen (Norway)

SSR/G: Security Sector Governance/Reform

SSR: Security Sector Reform

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

ZIC: Wildlife areas

PREFACE

Peace, security, democracy and development are mutually dependent. Only in a peaceful environment can democracy and an economy prosper and only where basic needs are met and fundamental freedoms guaranteed can people be said to live in security. Many West African countries struggle with the provision of security to their citizens. Security threats in the region are numerous: Organized crime, intercommunal conflict, small arms proliferation, natural disasters, religious intolerance and the recent increase in terrorist acts all jeopardize security. Furthermore, poor governance due to corruption, undemocratic policy-making and weak accountability adds to citizens' vulnerability to security threats.

Many states have recognized good security sector governance as a key factor in the improvement of their countries' development and their citizens' well-being. Just what exactly is "good"? And what are appropriate and effective approaches to security sector reform? Because of the diversity in contexts and history of the different states there certainly cannot be an easy answer to this question. Yet, what is possible is to identify cornerstones of successful security sector governance, and to share experience and best practices.

This study on the Malian PGPSP (Programme de Gouvernance Partagée de la Sécurité et de la Paix – Program on Shared Governance of Security and Peace) can serve as an inspiration for policy-makers and other actors concerned with the promotion of democratic security sector governance in the region. The Malian government in 2005 initiated a comprehensive process to identify security challenges, develop a vision of security for the country and install institutional, organizational and budgetary measures to attain the set goals. This process, which included

fundamental discussions on the concept of security and an analysis of the security threats posed to Mali and culminated in the development of sophisticated institutional structures and processes to respond to them, is presented and evaluated in this book.

The program's focus on the inclusion of various actors of state and society in the joint governance of peace and security resonates with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's (FES) conviction that only a democratically governed and controlled security sector is able to effectively respond to actual threats to citizens' security. No one would be better placed to share the experiences with this Malian approach than Dr. Zeïni Moulaye and Mahamadou Niakaté, who not only bring to bear their tremendous expertise and rich professional experience, but in their current capacities are also at the very heart of the process. We would also like to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to the two authors for their excellent work and their continued trustful partnership. The book at hand reminds us about the shared responsibility for peace and security in the region and will surely be of use to all those working towards democratic security sector governance in West Africa.

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INTRODUCTION

The security context in Mali has long been predominantly characterised by growing urban and suburban crime as well as various inter-community conflicts which, in some cases, date back to several years. Such conflicts are spread countrywide and contribute to making security challenge worse, namely: the recurrent rebellion in the North, school-based disturbances and trade unions' restlessness, for instance.

Under these circumstances, right from the attainment of independence up to 2005, there had been no reference framework to address national security policy issues; hence no security vision was defined. Consequently, during the '90s, insecurity-related challenges grew beyond reasonable proportion, mainly due to the 2nd rebellion which affected the country's northern region (1990-1996). The rebellion was inspired by the armed conflicts raging in the sub-region, particularly in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger, Mauritania and Senegal). With the rising phenomenon of organised cross border and transnational crimes (smuggling of cigarettes, alcohol, hard drugs, weapons and even humans, added to the presence of terrorists across the country as from 2003, etc.), the security situation worsened. The extensive geographical area of the country (1 241 328 sq kms) provided a suitable ground for these adverse developments. Large, deserts and unpopulated areas became the dens of armed bands and all sorts of smugglers. These criminals had taken advantage of the lengthy (7 240 km) and porous borders separating the country from Algeria, Niger, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Senegal and Mauritania). Besides, each of these neighbouring countries, at one time or another their history had experienced a major governance-related crisis.

The security challenge, which prevailed in Mali from 1990 to 2000, was and still is a serious threat to social peace, security of persons and goods, political stability and economic development of the country.

In view of the adverse situation, many citizens, elected local government representatives and civil society organisations have had, on several occasions, to remind government authorities, insistently, about their prime responsibilities with regard to security. But, in actual fact, the authorities and people were asking the same question: how to ensure protection against the various internal and external threats confronting the country? How to reconcile the tenets of freedom and democracy with the imperatives of national sovereignty? In other words, how to tackle the problem of insecurity without prejudice to the requirements of national sovereignty? How can the various components of the nation be involved in the management of security-related issues in the country? In short, how to incorporate the security sector into the overall democratic and developmental governance, while ensuring the people's participation, to the largest extent possible and with due respect to democratic norms? How to apply such an approach which is more efficient than force, when combined with decisive actions that are widely seen as transparent and productive?

In the attempt to provide answers that work to all these questions, in 2005, the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection (MSIPC) embarked on a far-reaching think-tank process, which began with local consultations and culminated in a major national forum known as « **National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali** ».

Participants in the said forum, which took place from 21 to 23 November, 2005, made an objective diagnosis about the security conditions prevailing in the country, backed by constructive proposals, suggestions and recommendations deemed suitable

to facilitate preventive, as well as offensive measures to squarely address internal and external security threats.. Moreover, participants adopted a security **vision based on human security and a general strategy based on prevention**. Finally, they adopted 127 recommendations to reverse the then prevailing adverse security trend and move forward to a new security governance in Mali, whereby roles and responsibilities were to be shared between all the security sector's stakeholders. Prominent amongst the said recommendations are¹:

Drafting a National Policy on Internal Security and Civilian Protection ;

Adopting a Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme to support the implementation of the National Policy on Internal Security and Civilian Protection;

Creating a National Civil Society Coalition to back the Security Democratic Governance process;

Setting up the community police force to ensure local security management;

Designing and implementing a communication strategy to promote shared security governance.

The process first led to the implementation of the Shared Security Governance concept through a « **Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP)** ». Then, a « **National Policy Framework Document on Internal Security and Civilian Protection** » was drafted, on the basis of human security concept. Naturally, the whole process aimed at restructuring the security sector in Mali.

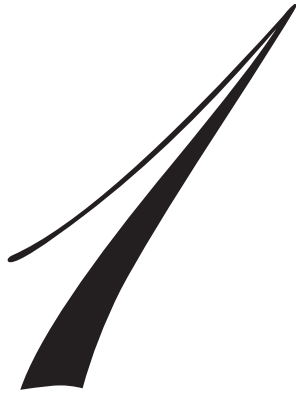
The purpose of this book is to present the Malian experience. In our opinion, it could serve as a basis for reflections leading to thorough and cross-cutting studies in the area of Security Sector Governance and Reform. Meant for the public at large, the book contains clarifications of concepts, thoughts, suggestions and

¹ See appendix II for General Report - National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali

recommendations which may be useful to conduct debates on Security Democratic Governance in West Africa and thereby open the way towards a strategic convergence of efforts against insecurity in general and organised crime in particular.

The book is written in three parts. The first is devoted to conceptual considerations, because it is necessary to comprehend security-related concepts to ensure that stakeholders share the same view on security. The second part is dedicated to the national, regional and international security context and the initiative to reform the security sector in Mali, while the third part summarises the results of this modest experiment on the implementation of Shared Security and Peace Governance concept between 2008 and 2010. It is hoped that this experience will inspire other countries in the sub-region with regard to governance and reform of the security sector, while contributing somewhat to sub-regional integration.

CHAPTER



1. CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS: Comprehending the security-related concepts

The security-related terminology and its derivatives raise a lot of interpretation problems from one country to another, from one political system to another, from a particular period of time to another. This is mainly due to different political and cultural approaches to security issues. However, for some years now, a consensus is gradually emerging, at the national and international levels, on the definition attributable to each term. That is why we deemed it necessary to introduce this book with a definition of security and some related concepts.

But, to be honest, we must say that we do not hold any monopoly of knowledge, or any approach originality. We made this attempt at clarifying concepts on the basis of our own understanding of related notions, while also relying on the definition provided by others (individuals or corporate bodies), such as security specialists, international organisations such as the United Nations Organisations (UNO), European Union (EU), Organisation for Cooperation and Economic Development (OCED), African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), etc.

1.1. Security is a polysemic, cross-cutting and multidimensional concept. It is a mind set, a feeling, a sentiment. In this connection, Montesquieu said that « security is the quietness or peace of mind stemming from the opinion expressed by everyone on safety ». In the conventional sense of the term, security is a situation in which a person or a thing is free from any danger, risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or damage, etc. The modern and holistic concept of security encompasses various areas such as personal security, collective security, social, political, economic, legal, judicial, financial, food,

health, humanitarian, environmental security, etc.

While admitting that security, at times, appears as a matter of perception (protection of the State, protection of citizens and their properties, freedom from threats against the society and its values), it does essentially concern a functional category of supervisory institutions and inter-connected operational departments (ministry in charge of security and security departments). In this regard, security represents a service function of the State whose duty is to protect institutions, citizens and their properties. Therefore, it must be viewed against the background of its military and non-military dimensions. In fact, security includes various functions, namely: defence, law enforcement, intelligence information, management of threats and subversive actions against the State and against peace. It also covers bilateral and multilateral arrangements. Moreover, as a polysemous subject, security has human and developmental dimension which is manifest through the human security and practical micro-disarmament concepts (« exchanging weapons for development » concept initiated by the United Nations during the '90s, in the bid to stop the proliferation of small arms and light weapons). Today, security assumes so much importance that it affects certain fundamental human right values such as freedom, democracy and development.

1.2. Safety. This term is often given the same meaning as security. Safety generally indicates all the required conditions to be out of danger. By extension, it is used to signify freedom from danger and protection against exactions, injustice, attacks and foreign infiltration. It is also the state of mind of a person who is conscious of his/her secured well-being.

1.3. Internal Security. Basically speaking, this term refers to the security of persons and properties, the State and its decentralised departments within a given geographical space. Internal security is articulated throughout the national, federal or regional territory by means of public law enforcement agencies

(police, para-military police, army, etc.) and by means of organised private security services (security and surveillance companies, money conveyance outfits, personal protection structures). Internal security generally aims at keeping public order within a country, the full result of which is absolute absence of any form of disorder and insecurity within a State.

1.4. External Security. This expression refers to absence of external aggression threat against the State. In the conventional sense of the term, it refers to national defence and usually arises when appropriate measures are taken to protect the country against external threats. The means to ensure external security of the State consist of defence systems and mechanism for obtaining external intelligence information to assess possible threats, determine the initiators and sources thereof; they also include the available forces to take appropriate action or measure to counter such threats.

1.5. National Security. Internal Security and External Security form what is ordinarily known as National Security. In a broader sense, it refers to the security of the State and that of persons living under its jurisdiction. From here, we can foresee the preliminaries of human security to be dealt with later.

1.6. Collective Security. The concept of collective security emerged after the two world wars. Having realized the serious threats to international peace and security, the international community did set up an international security system that is based on peace amongst nations. However, collective security should not be confused with collective defence, although both notions are close. In fact, collective defence involves putting in place a defence system that would cover several States and wherein roles and responsibilities shall be shared.

1.7. Public Security. It aims at ensuring protection of citizens, their properties and activities against violence and troubles by the State.

1.8. Private Security. In its restricted meaning, this expression refers to the security of persons. In a wider meaning, it refers to all the means required to protect individuals, corporate bodies and their properties against all sorts of risks, without any State intervention. For instance, security surveillance, cash transportation and personal protection companies provide private security services. They are private commercial firms or enterprises and security service providers approved by the Minister in charge of security and governed by special regulations.

1.9. Civil Security. This is a statutory mission of the State consisting of warning people against any sorts of risks through information, sensitization and alerts.

1.10. Human Security. In the narrow sense, this term means absence of danger, freedom from physical abuse of, or assault against, persons. Here, the State's security gives way to human security. In fact, with the notion of human security appeared the idea that the State should not be the sole object of security. The fuller definition of the concept came to light, for the first time, in the UNDP Human Development Report, 1994, which gave it the recognition. In that document, human security covers the security of both the State and persons. It concerns not least than eight areas, prominent amongst which are: political, economic, food, health and environment areas. According to several sources, in its holistic meaning, human security is defined as freedom from fear and want. Today, it can be understood as protection of persons against real or supposed threats, whether violent or not. These threats may originate from sickness, famine, unemployment, poverty, urban or suburban crimes, terrorism, violation of human rights, environment degradation, natural disasters or political, economic, social, cultural upheavals, etc. They may also be country-based, cross-border or transnational in character, originating from human or natural causes. This human security approach has introduced a new

way of thinking about the threats confronting humans and how to tackle them without prejudice to the State's security, which is the necessary but not adequate basis for the security of persons. The approach gives priority to the satisfaction of security-based primary needs of persons and proposes important changes in international security practice. This is quite obvious, considering that since the end of the cold war, States no longer wage war against each other and the centre of gravity of threats to peace and security has moved from outside to inside countries, thus endangering the populations and development. In the face of such a situation, the human security approach gives top priority to persons rather than to the States. It promotes the citizens' right to live within a secure environment wherein all human rights are protected. It recommends respect for human dignity and the duty to protect people. It compels the States to prevent ethnic conflicts and eradicate impunity within the security forces. Human security aims at placing the person on top of the security agenda and to free him/her from fear and want. It develops a global approach suggesting harmonious articulation of peace, security, democracy and sustainable human development.

1.11. Accessibility to Security. This is the procedure that makes it possible for a person to gain access to information or protected supports.

1.12. Security System. It refers to all the policies, strategies, arrangements, mechanisms, public, semi-public and private structures, operational forces and support staff who work, directly or indirectly for the protection, relief and defence of the State and/or national community. The security system consists of the judiciary and prison system, civil and military intelligence information, public funding, safety of industrial installations, the customs, immigration departments, wild life protection, pre-emptive actions against disasters, either human or natural, training, monitoring and control of these areas. It also encompasses non-conventional and illegal armed actors who

operate on the national territory and/or in a particular region and capable of acting in public view, namely: private or partisan militia, rebel groups, dissident factions, legal forces, networks of organised traffickers of weapons and armed violence, hard drugs traffickers and transborder armed groups. Though outmoded, the concept of security system is often confused with that of security sector.

1.13. Security Sector. The security sector had been for a long time considered as the exclusive area of operation of defence and security forces. Today, the concept has assumed a wider meaning while encompassing not only the security area, strictly speaking, but also all the other related areas, namely: human, food, environment, health, education, employment, housing, etc. Therefore, the security sector covers a wide spectrum of notions, starting from public security institutions and extending to individual actors, through public or non-public corporations and organisations (government-owned structures and their decentralised units, civil society organisations, public or private security enterprises, individuals or groups of individuals). These military, civilian, political, economic, social and cultural organisations contribute, in general, to the formulation, implementation, regulation and control of the national security policies. For this reason, the **security sector is** the target, per excellence, of reform or transformational drives, as far as the security system is concerned.

1.14. Security Sector Actors: This title refers to persons and corporate bodies, as well as institutions in charge of administration, organisation, direction, control and supervision of security services provision. The notion of Security Sector Actors does not occasion any prejudice to the legality or legitimacy of the mandate of certain individuals, groups of individuals, organisations and implementation organs. The **actors** are identified on the basis of a typology which highlights two categories: statutory actors and non statutory actors. Their

assigned **specific** status and function are provided for by laws and regulations within the framework of the Rule of Law. While the issue of the **actors'** status is settled by law, the issue about their legitimacy hangs on the nature of their actual **relationship with** the Rule of Law and populations. The Security Sector so defined is **run** by several State and Non-State **actors**, namely:

- Regular security forces (police, para-military police, etc.);
- Defence forces (army and air force, national guard, the navy, etc.);
- Para-military forces (the customs, forestry authority, Civilian Protection brigade, prison warders, etc.);
- Private security companies (security firms, cash transportation and personal protection companies, etc.);
- Judicial Authorities;
- Private militia (partisan or self-defence corps, etc.);
- Civil Society Organisations (associations, alliances, coalitions, traditional rulers, religious authorities, the media, research centres...),
- Technical and financial partners, etc.

1.15. Public Security Policies. In general, public policies (or public strategies) constitute a body of coordinated actions and implementation activities aiming at obtaining the modification or improvement of a particular situation. In this connection, there is reference to foreign affairs policy, economic policy, health policy, education policy, etc. The public security policies do not only aim at achieving security in terms of freedom from danger or physical aggression. They also aim at preventing the danger, as well as at creating suitable conditions to provide for essential human needs.. The same view applies to food security policy, environmental protection policy, education policy, employment policy, training policy, etc. In summary, public security policies aim at the attainment of human security in all its ramifications.

1.16. National Security Policy. First and foremost, it is about a strategic vision, a doctrine that is based on a certain number of considerations (economic, social and cultural policies, threats, vulnerabilities, alliances, etc.) which enable the State to fulfill its lawful obligations to protect persons, properties and institutions, with due respect to its international commitments in connection with alliance, integration, respect for human and people's rights. Most of national security policies aim at three fundamental goals: definition of major orientations and basic principles, determination of responsibilities with regard to security, organisation of relationship between the various actors involved in the security sector. In Mali, the National Policy on Internal Security is the immediate responsibility of the President of the Republic who, for implementation purpose, is supported by a national consultative body known as National Council for Internal Security. The Sectoral Security Policies are derived from the National Security Policy.

1.17. Reform of the Security Sector (RSS). This is a **relatively new** concept that is linked to the democratization process and subject to observation of certain good governance principles, such as transparency and accountability on the part of the rulers in order to improve the security situation. The Reform of the Security Sector is the far-reaching transformation of security instruments with the purpose of promoting professionalism within the security forces, encouraging their submission to constituted political authorities, with the obligation to account for their actions. It is generally based on cost-efficiency, effectiveness and excellence. It is a process which aims at changing the paradigm to create the most suitable environment for good governance, growth and development. Such an environment must also facilitate the development of democratic institutions, based on the primacy of the rule of law. In turn, these democratic institutions would help in building up the State's capacities to reduce vulnerabilities and effectively check threats to internal and external security. The reform of the security sector requires at least four fundamental actions, namely:

Definition of a clear institutional framework to ensure security;
Involvement of all the actors in the management of security issues;
Rational allocation of resources to institutions and technical departments of the Security Sector;
Setting up competent and professional security forces which would be answerable before the civilian authorities, in particular through the mechanism of parliamentary oversight.

1.18. Democratic Oversight of the Security Sector. Security departments are public structures. As such, they are accountable to the people, or at least before the people's representatives, namely the parliamentarians. The Republican institutions should be able to question their actions at any time, doing so through the Executive and Legislative Arms of Government, as well as through the Judiciary. Such an oversight should be seen as a mean to guarantee the integrity of security structures and effectively ensure the performance of their lawful functions. The oversight shall be conducted at several levels:

- Administration (hierarchical control action by the supervisory organs of the Public Administration);
- Judiciary (violations of human rights, criminal acts committed, amongst others, by law enforcement agencies);
- Parliamentary (written and oral questions, questioning, motions of censure, parliamentary commissions of inquiry);
- Citizenry (through the Civil Society Organisations, Independent Institutions such as the Ombudsman, the Controller General, the Committee for Equal Access to Public Media or institutional bodies such as Malian Democratic Consultation Forum).

1.19. Governance. It is about the manner of governing, administering and managing in the political area (Political Governance), in the economic area (Economic Governance), in the social area (Social Governance), in the administrative area (Administrative Governance), in the security area (Security Governance) etc.... It is a dialogue-based and decision-making process which involves actors, in a responsible manner, by means of approach policies that would lead to decisions acceptable to the larger number of people, with the common good in view. It can also be a process of decentralizing decision-making, based on partnership, considering the large number of actors involved therein,.

1.20. Good Governance. It is the ability to effectively and efficiently manage public or private resources, in accordance with transparency and accountability criteria. Furthermore, it is the ability to implement relevant policies and cause a democratic oversight on government officials vested with certain authority. Good governance implies efficiency, attracting investments, fighting corruption, mobilising populations for their active participation in development and growth with a combative spirit. It is by relying on good governance that a State can confidently embark on the process of sustainable development. Good governance in the Security Sector hinges on certain key elements such as responsibility, transparency, participation, accountability, dissemination of correct information, respect of human rights and Rule of Law.

1.21. Governance Policy This term refers to all the relations initiated and maintained by the Public Administration with the political actors and the relationship between the latter, the society and the economic, social and cultural stakeholders.

1.22. Security Governance. It is about the manner the Security System is managed in a country, region or a given geographical space. It concerns the various processes of

formulating security policies, executing, regulating and controlling security-related responsibilities. It affects the global structure of security institutions, organs and actors, resources (allocation and use thereof), in interaction with the other public and private sectors, with particular regard to the decision-making process and development. Apart from the institutional actors, security governance requires all the societal regulating and conflict resolution mechanisms which contribute to the promotion of peace, while constantly anticipating threats inherent in community life. The increasing number and complexity of threats to security, as well as the emergence of new actors on the security scene demonstrate that the issue of security can no longer remain the exclusive responsibility of security agencies. Security, according to its new meaning, is a precious public good, the preservation of which should be the concern of everybody, each one at his own level, depending on individual capacities, role and responsibilities. Therefore, security governance should be built on a solid institutional and legal ground, within a healthy and democratic environment. From here, we move into the era of Security Democratic Governance.

1.23. Democratic Governance of the Security Sector. It is about the inclusive management of security-related issues between the security departments and their political, economic, social and cultural partners. It implies adherence of defence and security forces to the principles that underly universal democracy. It requires opening up to the other security actors and their involvement in the design and implementation of security policies, a transparent management of security issues and respect for the rules governing democratic oversight. Furthermore, the democratic governance of the security sector calls for the opening of security departments to the other actors of the security sector and the widest possible participation of government authorities, general public administration, political actors, civil society organisations, the private sector, local authorities, communities and partners in development to the

management of security issues. It requires the integration of the security sector into the overall democratic process and a redistribution of roles and responsibilities between security actors, in a way as to let security become a determinant development factor. Apart from the widest possible participation of all sections of the society in the management of security issues, democratic governance of the security sector supposes submission of security forces to democratic oversight. Direct democratic oversight must be ensured by such institutions as the parliaments which have the powers to check governmental actions. But, in addition, within a democratic context, another type of oversight should be performed by certain civil society organisations which intervene in the area of peace, security and human rights, namely: control by the citizenry. This control, though indirect, seems necessary in as much as it offers the nation's active forces the opportunity to ensure qualitative governance of security. Most experts in this field acknowledge the fact that democratic governance of the security sector hinges on certain fundamental principles, such as:

- Priority given by decision-makers to peace and security, manifestation of political will;
- Integration of the security sector into the democratic process and global development scheme of the country or region ;
- Subordination of security forces to the duly constituted civilian authorities;
- Adherence of security forces to the principles underlying universal democracy;
- Access of security forces to professional training which is compatible with parameters of democratic requirements;
- Management of resources allocated to security, in accordance with the management criteria governing public expenditure, in particular transparency, accountability and oversight;
- Clear definition of rights and obligations of civilian and military actors;

-
- Civilian authorities' right to oversee the security sector's policy;
 - Possibility for the civil society to get involved in the management of security issues and participate, constructively, in the debate on security policies;
 - Active participation the civil society in the implementation of security policies with a view to contributing to the advent of a climate of social peace, security and stability, which is conducive to economic and social development, etc.

1.24. Shared Security Governance. This is the practical version of Security Democratic Governance. Fundamentally, it is based on the judicious distribution of roles and responsibilities among all institutional and non institutional actors of the security sector, namely: the public and private sectors, the political class, civil society, local authorities, communities, technical and financial partners, etc. It presupposes the security forces' adherence to the basic principles of universal democracy, their subordination to the legitimate civilian authorities and submission to the rules of democratic oversight. It requires security departments to open up to the other actors of the security sector, particularly the civil society, while giving them the opportunity to actively participate in the management of security issues in a conscious and responsible manner,. Such an involvement is necessary, in as much as security is a development cost that must be borne by all the security sector actors. In fact, there can be no sustainable development without a reliable security system. Shared Security Governance is an instrument designed to facilitate economic, social and cultural development. As such, it should help create an environment that would attract and encourage local and foreign investments and pave way for sustainable human development.

1.25. Security and Defence. Here are two close concepts, one complementing the other. However, defence should not be confused with security. The purpose of defence is to ensure, at

all time and under any circumstance, in the face of any forms of aggression, the security and integrity of the national territory, while also protecting the populations. It is similar to external security and constitutes a key factor for a country's security. Internal security and national defence form national security, the coordinating body of which, in certain countries, is the National Security Council, generally under the authority of the Head of State.

1.26. Security and Decentralisation. Decentralisation is an administrative procedure whereby the State confers legal status and transfers decision-making power to local authorities (territorial decentralisation) or to customized public services (technical decentralisation). In Mali, local authorities play a key role in the security of persons and properties and, therefore, in Shared Security Governance. They assume specific responsibilities in terms of security, based on the following three enabling instruments:

- The law governing local authorities' administrative autonomy stipulates that a local community authority is primarily responsible for crimes and offences committed in its territory by crowds or demonstrators, whether armed or not, against persons, public and private properties;
- The local authority code confers police powers to the elected local councils in respect of security, safety, peace and public sanitation issues ;
- The provisions of the decree, which set out the prerogatives of, and conditions for appointing, the State's representatives at the local community level, stipulate that keeping public order is the responsibility of the community's ruling body, while the State's representative shall put security forces at its disposal.

1.27. Security and Human Development. Human development is a paradigm that is based on the creation of a suitable environment for human potentials to blossom,

particularly through access to knowledge and acquisition of resources that are necessary to enjoy prolonged, healthy and decent living. These human development dimensions are subject to basic security conditions. In fact, conflicts, war, violences, violations of human rights and reign of terror are factors which inhibit the blossoming of human potentials. On the other hand, a secure environment undoubtedly attracts productive investment, stimulates growth and prosperity, and promotes social well-being and sustainable development.

1.28 Security and Poverty Eradication. Just like poverty eradication, security is first and foremost a long-term strategic vision based on the people's expectations and yearnings. In Mali, the Strategic Framework for Growth and Poverty Alleviation (CSCR) aims at stimulating full and sustainable growth, within a determined period of time, leading to a substantial reduction of poverty. However, the realisation of this goal is subject to the existence of an environment of peace and security throughout the country. Wealth creation requires investments. But without peace and security, there can be no investment. That is one of the obvious links between security and poverty eradication, security and development. Consequently, it appears that, in a country such as Mali, investing in security is as valuable as investing in development.

1.29. Security and Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). The Millennium Declaration, which aims at reducing by half the number of poor people worldwide by 2015, is based on certain fundamental values, such as freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect of nature and sharing responsibilities. All these values influence the existence of security, the latter being an attribute of Shared Security Governance. Besides, three chapters of the Millennium Declaration are devoted to the security area and its environment (Chapter 2: Peace, Security and Disarmament; Chapter 4: Environmental Protection; Chapter 6: Protection of Vulnerable Groups), while each MDG corresponds to a security policy, namely:

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- Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger (**Food Security Strategy**).
 - Promoting gender equality and women's empowerment (**Gender Strategy**).
 - Reducing infant mortality (**Health Security**).
 - Improving mother's health (**Health Security**).
 - Checking HIV-AIDS and other diseases (**Health Security**).
 - Ensuring a sustainable environment (**Environmental Security**).
 - Establishing a World Partnership for Development (**International Security**).

1.30. Security and Sustainable Development. Sustainable development implies a viable economic development (meeting the needs of a generation), that is socially fair (horizontal solidarity) and ecologically reproducible (vertical solidarity and transcending generations). It is an approach that aims at improving the living standard of the populations by means of a responsible management of resources, with a view to ensuring inter-generational fairness, while taking into consideration the inherent economic, social, cultural and environment dimensions of development. In other words, a development process that is based on the management of available resources for the well-being of the present generations, without compromising that of future generations. This duty to provide for the future involves preserving, exploiting, using and securing the planet's natural resources. Therein lies the first link between sustainable development and security. The second link has to do with the role of man. Sustainable development is designed to benefit the present and future generations. Human security chooses man as the centre piece of development. Both concepts therefore share the same vision. Consequently, good security governance should reinforce sustainable development and vice versa.

1.31. Security and Rule of Law. The Rule of Law is understood as the opposite of Arbitrary Rule. It is the primacy of Law. It is not necessarily synonymous to Democratic Rule. Hence, the need to promote the Rule of Law, even under a democratic regime. The Rule of Law is a situation in which the government authorities are subjected to law just as the citizens, with the obligation to follow inherent due processes through the jurisdictional control mechanisms. The Rule of Law is a protection system which shields the citizen against arbitrary rule and makes him feel secure. Therein lies the primacy of the law which contributes to the overall security of persons and the State.

1.32. Security and Gender. Sometimes, it may appear difficult to understand what is exactly meant by the terms « sex » and « gender » and how to differentiate one from the other, since they are closely related. In fact, the word « sex » particularly refers to the biological and physiological characteristics which differentiate men from women. As for « gender » it refers to socially determined roles, behaviours, activities and attributes which are considered as specific to men and women respectively. In other words, « men » and « women » are two categories of sex, whereas the terms « males » and « females » correspond to two categories of « gender ». The sex-related aspects are not quite different from one human society to another. But the gender-related aspects vary sometimes, even substantially. Therefore, gender is about the relations between men and women within a particular society. Within the framework of governance, these relations should be the fairest possible, which constitutes an essential indicator of peace and security. In public security policies, taking the gender issue into consideration requires the following actions, amongst others:

A better participation in the planning process of security issues;

Promoting the culture of peace and human rights education to change mentalities and behaviours;

Capacity-building for women in uniform;
Communication drives to sensitize the public opinion on security problems confronting the populations, with particular regard to women (physical violence, vulnerabilities in time of disasters, etc.).

1.33. Security and Peace. It is often said that there is no security without peace. But, peace does not necessarily entail security, as a country in peace can be subjected to certain forms of insecurity (urban and suburban insecurity, corruption and embezzlement of public funds, various types of trafficking, etc.). It is undeniable that peace does promote a secure environment. But does security inevitably entail peace?

CHAPTER

2

II. INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF REFORM OF THE SECURITY SECTOR IN MALI.

In 2005, when the government of Mali embarked upon the process to reform the Security Sector, the national, regional and international security environment was predominantly characterised by violent conflicts. These conflicts, which endangered the existence of States and communities, originated from internal crises, inter-community strifes, aggressive activities by non-State armed groups, etc. The immediate targets and victims of such violent conflicts are men, women and children, in short the human society. Consequently, neither the economies, nor moral and cultural values were spared, thus worsening the dependence status and vulnerability of African States.

2.1. Overview Of The World's Security Situation

The violent occurrences and global insecurity that characterised the '90s had compromised peace worldwide. The deadly attacks against the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September, 2001, the bombing of a railway station in Madrid on 11 March, 2004, and metro station in London on 7 and 21 July, 2005 and the subsequent war undertaken by the Western World against the terrorists' networks, had all made security to become a key issue in international relations. Every day that goes by highlights the prominence of security, considering news about threats to the security of persons and nations. These perils, which spare neither States nor persons, are known as natural disasters, epidemic and pandemic diseases, ferocious struggles for political power and natural resources, multiplication and exacerbation of internal conflicts, proliferation of small arms, trafficking of drugs and humans, terrorism, etc.

Prominent amongst the deep causes of insecurity, poverty and under-development worldwide is the revoltingly unfair distribution of the world's wealth. In fact, in 2005, out of 6,5 billion inhabitants of our planet, just one (1) billion of persons control 80 % of the world gross domestic product (GDP), while three (3) billion live in absolute poverty, with less than 2 dollars per day. Moreover, there is the obstinate will to frustrate the resolution of mankind's problems, particularly under-development. Development experts are unanimous in affirming that just by mobilising and judiciously investing 150 billion dollars in the developing world (25 billions in Africa) for 20 years, under-development would be eradicated. Meanwhile, official development assistance has been dropping for several years now. In 2004, it amounted to about 78 billion US Dollars².

2.2. Africa's Security Landscape

Africa was one of the most instable continents in the world. In addition to the existing crisis, armed conflicts, terrorism, and pervasive insecurity keep growing, with the inherent trafficking activities of all sorts, vehicle snatching, armed robberies, thefts, rapes, physical abuses, murders, political assassinations, emergence of child-soldier phenomenon, etc.

During the '90s, Africa displayed to the world an unenviable security environment picture wherein certain States had practically lost grip on political, economic and social life. Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Mali, Niger, Sudan, Algeria had been shaken by bloody internal strifes. In certain countries, the populations are often caught in the web of conflicts (rebellions, civil, ethnic and clannish wars, fighting between militia and regular military forces, etc.). The effects of these conflicts, which are often violent, on the populace, had been disastrous. Under these circumstances, while admitting that State's security is

²To view all the figures contained in this chapter, please refer to: *Ze'ini Moulaye, Security Democratic Governance in Mali, a Challenge to Sustainable Development*, Bamako, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005, Page 45 and the following pages.

indispensable for human security, it is not obvious that the security of persons necessarily depends on the security of States. In fact, certain States had been unable to provide their citizens with the most basic security coverage, owing to loss of power and authority, while war lords occupy large areas of their territories (e.g. Somalia).

Thus, the sources of insecurity, instability and underdevelopment in Africa are many and multifaceted. In this regard, it is worth pointing out, amongst others, the following:

- Intra and inter-community conflicts (often resulting from land-related litigations, shortage of natural resources, environmental imbalance, etc.);
- Conflicts of interest or leadership conflicts (traditional chieftaincies, political leadership);
- Relational conflicts between customary law and positive law;
- Religious conflicts (fundamentalism and increasing religious intolerance);
- Economic and financial crimes (counterfeit currency, money laundering, undisclosed funding of political activities, illegal transactions of handicrafts, documents forgery, trafficking of weapons, poaching, etc.)
- Transborder and transnational crimes, particularly hard drug trafficking, illegal migration and terrorism, etc.

Amongst the root causes of insecurity are a crushing public debt shouldered by all the African countries and the rage to conquer or hold on to power, which inhibits creative initiatives and internal dynamism. Added to these are: the ferocious competition for access to natural resources, lack of economic opportunities to develop the huge natural wealth of the continent, endemic unemployment causing thousands, even millions of the youths to wallow in abject misery and, thus, pushing them to the brink of revolt to draw the authorities' attention to their plight, unwittingly promoting delinquency, violence and suicidal migration attempts

across the oceans.

In this almost desperate situation, African people experience the selfishness of advanced countries which are determined to exert domination by force, along with the shameless exploitation of African natural resources, particularly in crisis-affected countries or with weak political leadership.

Nevertheless, Africa's under-development cannot be linked to foreign cause alone. Africa is bedeviled by mis-governance, mainly characterised by counter-productive policies (often with neither vision, nor people's participation, nor democratic oversight) that are implemented by certain leaders with their selfish interests and/or those of their foreign partners in mind, rather than the people's interests;

- A plethora of career-seeking workers in the civil service, rather than true civil servants;
- Corrupt public administration machinery and officials, with poor performance, headed, in some cases, by irresponsible leaders;
- Proliferation of « profiteers » (rather than businessmen) seeking easy and instant enrichment opportunities, moving around the corridors of power and, sometimes, taking the leaders as hostages;
- Sharp drop in education and living standards;
- The structural impoverishment of States which transform the populations into paupers , etc.

Included among the factors underlying insecurity, vulnerability and under-development, is the « silent tsunamis » which kills slowly its victims daily and, drawing little or no public attention. This silent killer manifests itself in various forms, namely: epidemic and pandemic diseases, unending community conflicts, global warming, desert encroachment, drought, migratory locust invasions, food crisis, famine, natural disasters,

road, railway, marine, river accidents and air crashes, etc. The consequences of this security situation are often disastrous to Africa, its populations and economy. They are, amongst others: worsening violations of human rights, increasing human suffering, declining State's authority, weakening democratic process, structural decay of the States, emergence of Non-State armed groups and war lords, increasing impoverishment of the populace and, finally, dissipation of development efforts.

This is the general situation which had inevitably affected, to a large extent, the political, economic, social and cultural development of Mali in varying degrees.

2.3. Security Challenge In Mali³: Threats and Vulnerabilities.

In Mali, a country with longstanding reputation of peaceful, stable and pacific environment, we have been experiencing, from mid '80s, a slow development of high banditry. The situation grew worse with the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, uncontrolled inflow of migrants following the crisis and armed conflicts that broke out in some neighbouring countries, inter-community tensions and conflicts, rising religious intolerance, a spate of riotous protest movements induced by the exercise of democratic rights in public life, multiplication of road and river accidents, etc. Each one of these insecurity factors constituted and still constitutes, nowadays, a threat to social peace, security of persons and properties, as well as to the political stability of the country⁴.

➤ **High Banditry.** Longtime considered as a societal phenomenon of western nations, common theft (burgling jewelry shops, petrol stations or banks, vehicle snatching, hostage taking, etc.) currently constitutes one of the many forms of

³For further details, please refer to: Zeïni Moulaye, Security Democratic Governance in Mali, a Challenge to Sustainable Development, Bamako, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005, 197 pages.

⁴Cf. « *Which Orientations for the National Security Policy?* », A Paper delivered by Mahamadou Niakaté, Inspector General of Police, at the Peace and Security Convention of Mali.

assault against persons and properties in Mali. The phenomenon is alarming and creates a climate of fear and insecurity among the people. The citizens are so much disappointed that they are increasingly pointing accusing fingers to security forces. Now, contrary to the widely held belief that alien residents are the authors of most criminal acts, enquiries conducted on most aggressions proved that, in many cases, the authors are Malians. This is not surprising, considering the impact of the media, particularly foreign films, and the transborder character of new forms of crime. Besides, many young people who had travelled abroad for better prospects but later got disappointed by the crude realities of life in foreign lands, chose to return home, loaded with some quick money-making techniques they had learnt. Another fact to be taken into consideration in analysing the security situation is that, this type of crime is gradually spreading from the city to the countryside, in particular through the highways that are not closely watched by the security forces. Although, in recent time, many security posts have been set up along the highways and have started yielding the expected results, it will take more time for banditry to be squarely checked.

➤ **Religious Intolerance.** Already, in 2000, the « Mali National Prospective Study, 2025 » emphasised that « what we are perceiving as new religion-based manifestations in our country is complex and may constitute either opportunities or threats, depending on circumstances, with regard to the society's development during the next thirty years⁵. », due to inadequate attention on the issue. Religious fundamentalism has started causing worries to the authorities and citizens. In fact, for a long time now, and even currently, religious preaching activities are conducted everywhere and by anybody. In the mosques and public places, injurious or defamatory statements are pronounced, while people are sometimes incited to cause troubles. Preachers of all sorts enter the country or depart

⁵Mali Prospective Study, 2025, Bamako, Presidency of the Republic, 2001, P. 32.

without any serious checking. Islamic networks and sects, under cover of charity organisations, are proliferating in Mali. Though, the constitution provides for freedom of religion and worship, such freedom is governed by law. Dating back to 1961 and somewhat obsolete, the relevant law is the only legal reference instrument on religious issues. It should be respected by the Malian citizens as well as by alien residents in Mali.

➤ **Indiscriminate Circulation of Weapons.** Weapons and ammunitions are subjected to a law dating back to the colonial era but which has recently been adapted to current requirements. Meanwhile, light weapons, made locally or smuggled into the country and other types of weapons of war freely circulate in private hands. The consequences of such a situation can easily be imagined with regard to high crime rate and possible attempts against internal security of the State. Despite efforts made within the framework of ECOWAS Moratorium and Convention on small arms and light weapons, the problem is still quite disturbing for the Malian authorities as well as for the populations.

➤ **Inter-Community Problems.** They are the fallouts of recurrent land-related litigations, chieftaincy and mosque-related issues, post-electoral disputes, at times fuelled by court decisions and implementation of the decentralisation process. However, today, our collective conscience is being questioned, considering the high number of human casualties. Often, inter-community conflicts are recurrent, dating back to years or even several generations. They are kept burning by contradictory decisions taken by the administrative and/or judicial authorities, affecting more than half of the 11,000 villages that currently exist in Mali. These conflicts are real time-bombs which, if ignited, could cause old demons to wake up. They are therefore security problems with unpredictable consequences, often the sources of dramatic situations. Even though relevant solutions belong to other quarters, it is the prime responsibility of security forces to keep a close watch on sources of tension with a view to quick intervention whenever required.

➤ **Rebellion-Induced Residual Banditry.** This is manifest through vehicle snatching and armed robberies. This type of crime is linked to the indiscriminate circulation of weapons and the inadequate security coverage of vast desert areas in Northern Mali. The lure of easy gain and assurance of impunity could make the phenomenon to persist as long as no drastic measures are taken by the political authorities.

➤ **Poor Control of Migrants' Inflow.** Mali is known throughout history as a hospitable land. But this millennium-old tradition should not, in any way, negate the sovereign duty to impose certain basic measures to check persons crossing its frontiers. Similarly, the porous character of these frontiers can never be a pretext for lack of appropriate surveillance forces. With regard to asylum, the Constitution of Mali, Article 12, stipulates that « any person who is persecuted for his/her political convictions, religious beliefs or ethnic origin, may enjoy asylum right in the Republic of Mali ». The national legislation and international conventions which Mali has adhered to set the conditions for enjoying the said asylum right, in particular the obligation to abide by the law and regulations in force to ensure public order.

➤ **School and University Violence.** For not less than two decades now, the school and university circles in Mali have been subjected to disturbances that have led to the cancellation of several academic years. Owing to the utterly offensive behaviours and habits of some pupils and students, new provisions have been introduced into the criminal code. The said provisions are under the following heading: *'Serious Disturbance of Public Order, Obstruction of Highways by Illegal Gatherings, Barricades, and Fire Spots, with the intent of hindering free movement of persons or create panic among the people'*. Despite the prevailing uneasy calm, this is a sector to be constantly and closely watched due to possible manipulations of school and university circles for political ends.

➤ **Road Insecurity.** The spate of democratization of public life and the full exercise of individual and collective freedom have led to the widespread manifestation of defiant behaviours, even towards the government authorities. One of such negative trends lies in the disregard for elementary and basic courtesy rules and non observance of highway driving code. As a result, roads accidents increase daily, often with many people seriously injured and several lives lost.

➤ **Natural Disasters.** When discussing security, civil security is often relegated to the background because disasters and calamities are not part of people's daily life occurrences. Nevertheless, one only needs to refer to the 1973 and 1985 severe droughts, the 2002 and 2003 floods and 2004 locust invasion, to estimate the resultant ravages and human casualties attributable to climate change. This is an area of human security which deserves further attention.

➤ **Threats against Civil Aviation.** Though, serious threats against the civil aviation are not common in Mali, it should be admitted that no country is immune to acts of banditry. Actually, Mali is less concerned by such a threat, but its strategic position makes it a transit zone for terrorists' networks, especially due to inadequate security infrastructures. A terrorist group may, at any time, cross the Malian territory, go and commit criminal or terrorist acts against the interests of another country (the 1998 bomb attacks in Tanzania and Kenya are proofs that such a scenario is possible), or to reach another destination for the same purpose. Naturally, Mali possesses a Civil Aviation Code and Air Safety Plans. Besides, it has ratified all the agreements regarding civil aviation security, but a lot remains to be done to ensure adequate airport safety. In fact, the regulations governing movement of persons and vehicles within the airport area are not observed, just like the prescribed conditions for access to the VIP Lounge and small aircrafts in the parking area. The landing and take-off runway is often indiscriminately crossed by farmers whose farms

and gardens are still located within the airport premises. Parts of the surrounding fencing wall have collapsed, thus providing passage to private individuals and animals. Finally, the airport runway and tarmac are inadequately lit. All these discrepancies have sometimes caused accidents, while, on just one occasion, allowing a person to illegally sneak into the landing gear of a Europe-bound aircraft, endangering his life during landing.

➤ **Security Problems due to Press Freedom.** Although, contrary to what obtained during the first years of the 3rd Republic, incitements to violence, hatred or rebellion against the State's authority are no longer common; there are still some isolated cases of press offences or violation of related code of conduct. The latter is applicable to private media actors (hertzian-based radio broadcasting stations) who may constitute serious threats to internal public order.

Apart from these real or potential threats, the security system in Mali remains particularly vulnerable. There are not less than six vulnerabilities which, in our opinion, are quite critical:

➤ **First Vulnerability: *Near absolute indifference of the citizenry to growing crime rate.*** Although fear, uncertainty, frustration and, sometimes, indignation constitute the ordinary reactions of the citizens to criminal acts and atrocities in Mali, often, most of them do not feel any need to get involved in the efforts to eradicate crime. Security forces always accuse the populations for not cooperating with them, particularly with regard to providing information on bands of criminals. This attitude may be justified by the fact that the citizens have never been involved, and much less empowered in the management of security issues.

➤ **Second Vulnerability: *The Problem of Human Resources.*** Although this a serious issue, it should be relatively considered. The following questions arise: Are security forces

judiciously posted to various parts of the country? Are they rationally used? Are there no imbalances within the forces and between different forces? Do the massive recruitment exercises conducted in recent years take into consideration the indispensable quality and morality standards of security operatives? So many questions on which to ponder within the framework of human resources development.

➤ **Third Vulnerability: *Inadequate Equipment for the Forces.*** Again, it is undeniable that the State has, during the last few years, made tremendous efforts to provide security forces with essential working conditions and logistics. But the manner of using the means put at their disposal does not always follow government's property management standards. Consequently, billions invested to build up the security forces' capacities are yet to produce the expected results. With regard to this vulnerability and other areas, many efforts are required.

➤ **Fourth Vulnerability: *Insecurity Induced by New or Special Crimes.*** This section includes acts of corruption, economic and financial crimes such as currency counterfeiting, money laundering, undisclosed funding of political parties, forgery and use of officials or trade documents, gambling-related offences, violation of business laws, forgery of travel documents and related papers (birth certificates, marriage certificates, national identity cards, etc), trafficking of valuable artistic and cultural objects, trafficking of hard drugs and humans, poaching, smuggling, depreciating moral values, juvenile delinquency, assaults against individual and collective freedoms, cyber crime, etc.

➤ **Fifth Vulnerability: *Absence of Framework to Coordinate Security Forces' Operations.*** There is no formal framework to ensure interaction between security forces and coordination of their operations, much less intelligence agencies. There is no data bank that is common to all the security forces.

Similarly, there are no common and clearly set out employment and public law enforcement conditions and modalities. However, the creation, over ten years ago, of a Ministry exclusively in charge of Internal Security should help to fill these lapses. It is worthwhile pointing out that there has been considerable progress during the past decade, with regard to the organisational system supporting administrative police (joint patrols) and law enforcement operations.

➤ **Sixth Vulnerability: *Absence of Institutional Consultation Framework and Harmonisation of Security Actions.*** In Mali, there are many and different actors in the security sector, namely: the State and its decentralised units, local authorities, private security companies, civil society organisations, the political class, technical and financial partners, etc. But there is no supervisory and umbrella body (such as a national security watch institution), nor any national structure with the responsibility to design the country's strategy on major security issues (e.g. a National Security Council). Nevertheless, the law governing the general organisation of national defence, Article 13, stipulates that the Supreme National Defence Council and the National Defence Committee should be involved in the resolution of security issues. Actually, these two bodies have been set up and are both presided over by the President of the Republic. But are they conversant with the democracy-based political context and the novel approach of Shared Security Governance? The Supreme National Defence Council is made up of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, Ministers in charge of Defence, Security, Foreign Affairs, Territorial Administration, Finance, Planning, Transports, the Principal Chief of Staff of the President of the Republic and the Chief of Defense Staff. But, can this institution alone manage security issues when it is obvious that defence and security, although apparently similar, are separate areas in Mali?

⁹For further information on the composition of the Supreme National Defence Council and National Defence Committee, please refer to Decree No. 98-285/P/RM of 7 September 1998, Articles 2 and 3.

Besides, does the composition of the Supreme National Defence Council and National Defence Committee reflect the representation of all the Security Sector's stakeholders, considering the country's political development? Is it today possible to set up a national decision-making body in charge of security without including therein the Chairman of the High Council of Local Authorities, Ministers in charge of Justice, Environment, Town Planning, Territorial Development, Communication, the Chairman of the Civil Society National Council and the Chairman of the National Youth Council? As for the National Defence Committee, its current composition does not take into consideration certain authorities involved in the management of security problems such as the Defence Chief of the Prime Minister's Office and the Director General of Civilian Protection, amongst others.

Considering this delicate situation, clouded by many sources of insecurity, vulnerability and instability, the government of Mali adopted a framework of National Security Policy and Civilian Protection that would qualitatively improve security governance while combating, in a sustainable manner, internal and external threats to security.

CHAPTER

3

III. NATIONAL POLICY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY AND CIVILIAN PROTECTION

3.1. A National Security Policy in Mali. What for?

Article 53 of the Constitution of the Republic of Mali of 25 February, 1992, stipulates that the Government shall determine and implement the Nation's policy. Each minister shall work out and implement a National Policy covering his own area of competence, pursuant to the decree setting out the specific responsibilities of each member of government.

Presently, the responsibility of working out and implementing the National Security Policy belongs to the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection. However the scope and complexity of security issues have, during the past two decades, assumed extraordinary dimensions, which compelled the Government of the Republic of Mali to organise, in 2005, a major national confab known as « National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali », with the purpose of:

- Meeting security challenges as regards their natures, forms, origins and developments ;
- Involving all sections of the society in the national debate on these security challenges;
- Working out realistic and coherent strategies that are compatible with the national, sub-regional, regional and international environment;
- Evaluating the relevant need and working out a medium and long term implementation programme.

Since the security issue is a common concern that should be carefully addressed and managed, the national strategy for managing security issues should be transparent, holistic, inclusive and credible. It should be adapted to the national and international environment, which implies its interactive character.

Therefore, the National Security Policy is, first and foremost, a matter of adopting a clear, coherent and global strategic vision, which would help in mobilising national solidarity and cohesion around common goals, as well as against common threats. It is also about choosing strategies which will stimulate national awareness, interest and efforts towards specific priority actions. Finally, it is about liaising with the other public policies, towards a harmonious and upstream management of national challenges that may affect the country's security.

In Mali, as in most African countries, fifty years after independence, we are asking fundamental questions such as: Which doctrine, policy and strategy to adopt in order to tackle one security problem or another? Which vision, values, philosophical grounds, policies, judicial options and cultural orientations to choose with a view to providing the people with peace and security? How to reconcile internal security measures with the requirements of democratic freedoms? How to articulate security measures with due respect to ethics, while achieving effectiveness, efficiency and good performance?

In Mali, just as elsewhere in Africa, we failed to take time to think about adopting a vision which should have inspired and guided the existence and operations of security departments. Whereas it is obvious that for any National Security Policy there must be a vision which would incorporate the fundamental values of the country, while enabling the development of a new way of thought that is peculiar to Mali, security-wise.

The National Conference on Security and Peace provided the Malian authorities with the opportunity to opt for a clear security vision for the country, even to adopt a global security strategy that is people oriented, participative and consensus-based.

3.2. The New Security Vision of Mali

In Mali, the security vision is based on human security. The global and integrated approach which stems from this vision commands choosing man as the centre-piece of security and linking development to security, in such a way that security shall become a central axis among the factors that promote development.

The choice of this vision is motivated by the observation that, since the end of the cold war, the States do no longer war war among themselves. The centre of gravity of external threats has suddenly shifted from outside the country to inside, thus bringing to the fore the multitude of internal factors threatening peace and security. Violence has gained ground in all sectors of society. Dangers are increasingly becoming complex. Man is the key target of these threats. Hence the need to review the classical security scheme hitherto centered on protecting the State, pictured from the institutional angle, with a view to building a new security edifice that matches the new threats daring human security.

The Malian authorities think that this positive vision responds to the hope and determination of the Malian people to build a new nation on the foundation of peace and security. It is a security-based approach which compels all sectors (government authorities, general public administration, political class, private sector, civil society, local authorities, communities, technical and financial partners etc.) to work together towards a qualitative change of mentality and behaviour with regard to security. Moreover, this vision aims at attracting investors to promote the country's sustainable development. In fact, it is the conviction of the Malian authorities that if security is centred on man and governed according to democratic standards, it would help in infusing impetus to the development process.

It is therefore on the basis of this new vision that all the Security Sector actors must henceforth conduct their activities. It is on the same basis that security forces should be trained, organised, equipped, supervised and deployed to the operational fields. Similarly, security departments should, as a matter of priority, give preference to protection of persons without neglecting institutions and dependent units.

Besides, since the existing human, material and logistic means are relatively inadequate to ensure full security coverage of the country, other actors of the Security Sector should be involved in order to fill the relevant needs. As a result, the idea of sharing roles and responsibilities between all the actors in managing security issues emerged. The relevant approach is known as « Shared Security Governance ». The Security Sector actors consist of: individuals, government authorities, security and defence departments, general public administration, the private sector, political parties, civil society organisations, local authorities, communities, as well as technical and financial partners who had always been excluded from the security sector due to the sensitive, sovereign and often secret character thereof.

The National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection was worked out on the basis of three fundamental criteria:

- Number 1: The need to build a security with a human face. In other words, developing a security system that respects human dignity and links security to development, in a such a way as development becomes a fundamental dimension of security, while security becomes the cost of development which must be borne by all the Security Sector's actors;

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- Number 2: The widest involvement possible of all the Security Sector actors and sharing roles and responsibilities, both in the design of the National Security Policy and in the definition of strategies and implementation of initiatives. At this stage, it should be recalled that the State always holds the key role of orientation, promotion, monitoring and control of security actions. But its action, which was exclusive, is henceforth complemented thanks to the empowerment of other security sector actors. Towards this end, two orientations were mapped out, namely:
 - ✓ The creation of consultative bodies at the national, regional and local levels, to adequately cater for security issues;
 - ✓ The set up of a coherent communication strategy to inform, sensitize and train decision-makers and the public at large, in order to ensure their adherence to the new security policy and appropriate it..

 - Number 3: Taking into consideration the national, sub-regional, regional and international dimensions of security while formulating target goals. This is necessary, in as much as security challenges are many, multifaceted, complex and, sometimes, unpredictable. Besides, the same challenges manifest themselves to all countries worldwide, at different magnitudes. Consequently, common sense commands connecting strategies (national and international) and pulling available means together to build up capacities to squarely check and annihilate the factors behind internal and external insecurity, particularly transborder and transnational crime.

3.3. National Security Policy within the Mechanism of Public Security Policies in Mali.

Since security is a cross-cutting phenomenon, National Security Policy should take into consideration the other public policies which have an incidence on the promotion of human security. Therefore, the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection, which was adopted by the Government on 20 October, 2010, is the melting pot of existing Public Security Policies, namely the:

- National Poverty Eradication Strategy;
- National Food Security Strategy;
- National Environment Protection Policy;
- National Policy Against Malaria;
- National Strategy Against Highway Insecurity,
- Strategy Against Hard Drugs,
- Strategy Against the Proliferation of Light Weapons ;
- Strategy against Terrorism, etc.

The originality of the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection of Mali resides, first and foremost, in the participative character of its drafting process. Although the matter is the Government's exclusive responsibility, it is the participants in the National Conference on Security and Peace who devised, amongst others, the broad orientations and strategic axes that served to design the National Security and Civilian Protection Policy.

The conceptual process of the National Security Policy took place in three phases, namely:

- Phase 1: Government dispatched sensitization mission teams to the field; these tried hard to reach the remotest community councils and villages, with a view to raising the various actors' awareness to the need for a national debate on security issues and how to manage them across time and geographical space;

➤ Phase 2: It consisted of organising regional consultations, under the aegis of regional governors, on key topics such as: Transborder Crime Challenge, Proliferation of Light Weapons, Management of Community Conflicts, Urban and Suburban and Road Insecurity, Street Riots and Acts of Vandalism on Public Highways, etc.

➤ Phase 3: It was devoted to organising the « **National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali** », which gathered hundreds of actors from the local, regional and national sectors: government representatives, civilian delegates from the regions, commanders of military regions, heads of regional security departments, as well as representatives of civil society organisations, private sector, political parties, local authorities, technical and financial partners.

The forum enabled participants to:

Review the recommendations from the regional consultation exercises;

Debate thematic papers of strategic interest such as:

- ✓ Security Challenge in Mali, Africa and Worldwide;
- ✓ 21st Century Societies and the Emergence of New Risks within the framework of Sustainable Development ;
- ✓ Precautionary Principle and Prevention Culture in the Management of Security Environment;
- ✓ Security and Decentralisation: The 2025 Challenges;
- ✓ Security and Community Conflicts;
- ✓ Security Actors and their Responsibilities ;
- ✓ Outline of a National Security Policy for Mali;
- ✓ Outline of a Ten-Year Security Development Action Plan.

The said Convention concluded its proceedings with one hundred and twenty-seven (127) recommendations, the most prominent three of which are as follows:

The need for Mali to have a Security Policy Framework Document that is based on a new security vision;
The necessity to work out an implementation and monitoring tool to articulate the National Security Policy ;
The necessity to work out a Long-Term Action Plan covering the practical implementation modalities of the strategic axes underlying the National Security Policy.

3.4. Objectives of National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection.

The general objective of the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection is to ensure the security of persons and properties and promote social peace.

- o **The specific objectives** are three in number, namely:
 - Building up the State's capacities to meet the people's expectations in connection with security ;
 - Involving all actors in the management of security issues;
 - Creating a climate of social peace and stability that is suitable to economic and social development.

3.5. Strategic Axes of National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection.

The National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection hinges on nine priority axes:

- a) **Prevention Culture** by means of permanent presence on the operational field and with the set-up of a reliable and easy to use security data bank in Mali. Presence on the field shall be ensured by multiplying general policing measures, sensitizing and educating the populations. The people's awareness will certainly facilitate security departments' tasks regarding data collection and processing in connection with bands of criminals, their refuges, modes of operation, collaborators or accomplices within the population, etc.

b) Capacity-building of security forces by means of:

- Human resources development through recruitment, training and ethical conduct;
- Rational deployment of security forces across the national territory depending on the nature and importance of threats;
- Joint deployment of forces owing to their relatively inadequate strength;
- Giving priority to the capacity-building of existing structures instead of setting up numerous others difficult to operate;
- Reinforcing internal control.

c) Building up National Capacities to Prevent and Manage Disasters by sensitizing and educating the populations with regard to their daily behaviours in the face of disaster risks and the dramatic consequences of certain behaviours. This approach requires: a national strategy of disaster risks prevention, an action plan and a national platform to coordinate the existing different stakeholders.

d) Checking Insecurity on the Road and River Networks by sensitizing users on the right and wrong behaviours while plying these networks and, where necessary, reinforcing the repression systems to punish traffic offenders and dissuade reckless conduct.

e) Promoting a truly local police, particularly by ensuring permanent and visible presence of security forces around the populace. This implies a rational coverage of the territory through a security surveillance mechanism that is suitable to the actual security needs expressed by the populations. Such an arrangement will lead to a judicious deployment of security units on the field with a coherent distribution of troops thereto.

f) Reinforcing actions against terrorism in all its ramifications, particularly in the Northern regions of the country which are reputed to be the dens of armed bands, networks of drug and weapon trafficking, illegal migrants, residual banditry, etc. Despite some sub-regional cooperation initiatives, especially at the level of certain Saharan neighbouring States, the challenge of controlling these vast desert areas in the North remains lively, as far as security and development are concerned.

g) Implementation of Shared Security Governance. Shared Security Governance implies an enlarged or broad-based participation in the management of security issues. Participation and responsibility-sharing will be articulated through consultative and coordinating bodies consisting of representatives of the different strata of the Malian populace. Within the framework of this participative system, a key position will be assigned to the female gender. The State will assume a predominant role, though it is no longer the sole security actor. In this vein, it should ensure that the other security actors carry on their duties within a clearly defined framework of interdependency, while taking the security dimension into consideration wherever it may be deemed necessary, owing to its cross-cutting character.

h) Consolidating and strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation. In view of the transnational and transborder character of the criminal phenomenon, International cooperation is imperative. In fact, criminal bands are increasingly mobile, moving across several countries, hence the need for Inter-States Cooperation. Such a cooperation drive may be operated by means of legal instruments (treaties, conventions, agreements) or bilateral, regional or multilateral cooperation mechanisms (large joint cooperation commissions, bilateral border committees, joint security commissions, etc.).

i) Implementing a reliable and result-oriented communication strategy. The efficiency of actions conducted within the framework of Security Sector Governance and Reform depends, to a large extent, on the legibility and visibility of target objectives. Besides, no public security policy can have a deep impact on the target groups unless the latter do appropriate the policy with regard to its finality, objectives, scope and expected results. These elementary efficiency criteria require the combination of National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection with a communication strategy that would enable it achieve the maximum of impact on the public opinion. In this regard, the Shared Security Governance assumes its full purpose, as long as the other actors and the media contribute to projecting the State stand point, channelling its message and having its vision shared by all the beneficiaries.

3.6. Implementation strategy.

The implementation strategy of the National Security Policy combines an intervention that is, at times, of maximum urgency (natural disasters or actions required in Northern Mali) with a more structural and strategic support (structuring actions in terms of capacity-building, promotion of social and political dialogue, change of mentalities and behaviours, etc.) which strengthen the bases of an approach with sustainable effects through Shared Security and Peace Governance.

Shared Security Governance is the practical version of Security Democratic Governance. It is fundamentally based on a judicious distribution of roles and responsibilities between all the Security Sector's actors. As such, it constitutes the surest avenue for security departments to fully assume their lawful functions with the maximum chances of success. In fact, on this platform, security departments enter into partnership with the other Security Sector's actors, based on inter-dependency, with focus on results and performances, in order to achieve a qualitative impact on security governance and, by the way, on all-

sector-inclusive governance. In so doing, all the Security Sector's actors shall, as a united team, participate in the creation of general conditions that are indispensable for economic and social development.

With this prospect in view, the Malian Government set up a Programme which is especially devoted to the implementation of this emergent security concept in Mali: **Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP)**.

CHAPTER

4

IV. SHARED SECURITY AND PEACE GOVERNANCE PROGRAMME (PGPSP).

« **Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP)** », is an initiative of the Malian Government. It is the outcome of the strong will of the country's highest authorities and the people's determination to have a better security deal, following the « National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali ». Being an implementation tool of the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection, it functions according to two foremost principles: nationwide implementation and result-oriented management. The Programme implementation agency is the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection. The articulation thereof is ensured by two organs: the Orientation Committee presided over by the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection and the Management Team led by a top official of the Ministry.

4.1. Objectives of the Programme

Global Objective

The purpose of **Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP)** is to contribute in bringing about a climate of security, peace and stability that is conducive to sustainable human development in Mali.

Specific Objectives

The Programme aims at three specific objectives:

- *Supporting the drafting and adoption of the new National Security Policy such as recommended by the National Conference on Security and Peace of November 2005;*
- *Supporting the implementation of this Policy at the national, regional and local levels;*
- *Supporting the edification of sustainable security and peace in the Northern regions of Mali.*

These objectives are in turn broken down into interdependent activities to be conducted in interaction towards attaining the final goals of the Programme.

4.2. Areas of Intervention

The Programme covers the national territory as a whole, with a particular emphasis on the North, owing to pressing security and development problems which are manifest locally and require special attention. It is articulated around the following major activities:

Drafting and implementation of a National Policy Framework Document covering security and Civilian Protection, such as recommended by the National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali;

Capacity-building of security and Civilian Protection departments, civil society organisations, private sector and Local Authorities to ensure mastery of security governance;

Prevention and resolution of community conflicts, in close collaboration with the civil society organisations, Local Authorities' bodies and State's representatives;

Capacity-building on disaster prevention and management;

Designing and setting-up a pilot municipal police scheme;

Drafting and implementing a communication plan to support a shared and decentralised security system;

Preparing a locally-based advocacy and communication plan to promote security and peace in the Northern Regions of Mali;

Promoting peace culture;

Controlling light weapons;

Preventing conflicts and managing security in the « neighbouring countries »;

Discouraging underground migration and combating trafficking of migrants;
Organising a Round Table to mobilise resources in favour of the security sector's refoundation
Supporting the capacity-building of consultative and decision-making structures towards the consolidation of security and peace in Kidal Region.

4.3. Organisation and Functioning.

To ensure an effective conduct of the Programme's activities, a small but dynamic and versatile management team was set up, which used certain management tools to improve performances.

➤ Management Team

The Programme is implemented by the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection (MSIPC). It is headed by a National Director, a top official of the Ministry who retains his position and functions within his Department. This part-time Director is supported by a Coordinator who coordinates the activities of three other experts and arranges for the required working logistics. The Programme Management Team consists of:

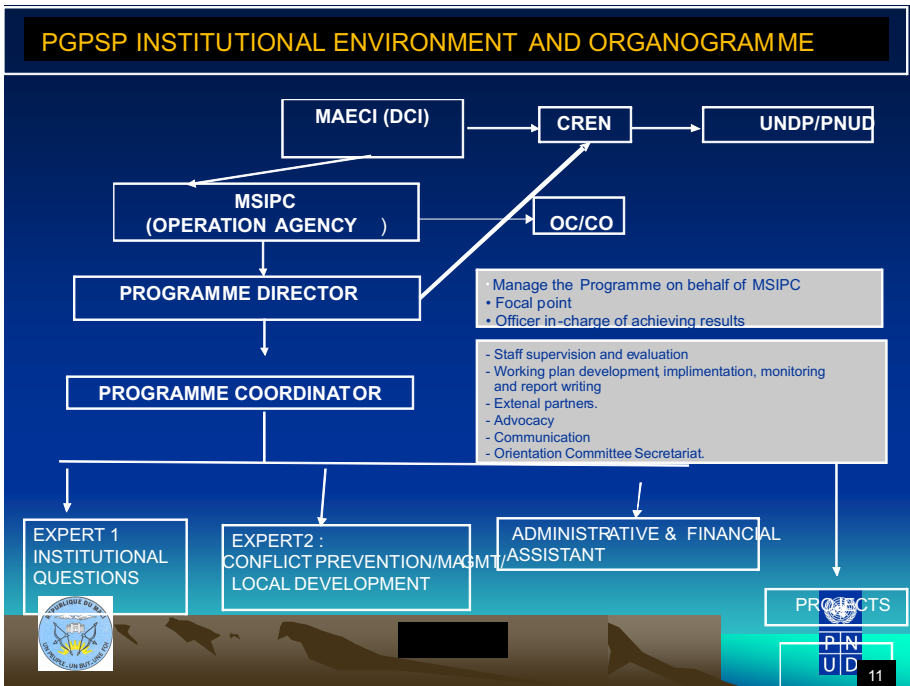
- One National Director ;
- One National Coordinator;
- One Expert in charge of institutional issues of security governance;
- One Expert in charge of conflict prevention and management, as well as local development;
- One Administrative and Financial Assistant.

Although the Programme Management Team is made up of just a few members, it was animated by a solidarity spirit. As such, it is striving to execute the Programme's activities with efficiency, in close collaboration with the beneficiaries and other field actors.

It conducts analyses, provides counselling, technical and/or financial support while backing the activity implementation of institutional and non-institutional actors of the Security Sector.

Taking into consideration the gravity of security issues in Northern Mali, and in a bid to ensure efficiency, the Programme set up a « **Support Project for Strengthening Local Governance in the Kidal Region** », with the purpose of ensuring closer management of security issues and local development.

PGOOA



As the Programme's resources increase, a similar project will be set up in each region of Mali, in harmony with the current decentralisation policy in the country.

➤ **Management Methods**

In the endeavour to ensure good management and transparency, the Programme Team introduced appropriate working methods and designed some monitoring and evaluation tools that are noteworthy.

Mondays and Thursdays are devoted to Programme Review Meetings during which progress reports are minutiously considered, including the quarterly situation reports and the tasks executed by each team member as against established working schedules (achievements, difficulties, lessons drawn, useful measures required towards reaching the target goals of the Programme).

Planning of Quarterly Activities: Activities are planned on a quarterly basis, in accordance with the yearly target goals set out in the Project Document (commonly known as « PRODOC ») At the end of each quarter, an activity and financial progress report is produced and the best management lessons are drawn therefrom. At the end of each year, an Annual Report is presented before the Orientation Committee presided over by the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection.

As for the selection of projects submitted to the Programme for funding, any relevant application should be supported with a document which is drafted according to the eligibility criteria (contained in the « Project Guide »), including an outline of the implementation method and areas of intervention covered in connection with the Programme. In particular, any applicant should meet the following criteria:

- ✓ Must be a State's institution, a non-profit making organisation or an association duly registered in Mali;
- ✓ Must have an appropriate experience or sound knowledge of project management;

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- ✓ Must have a link with the Programme Strategic Framework (vision, strategies, objectives, intervention method);
 - ✓ Must have relevance with one of the Programme areas of intervention.

Besides, the Programme requires that the interests of the most disadvantaged strata of the populace in the target locality be taken into consideration, particularly women and the youths, with a strategy to ensure the appropriation and sustainability of the project submitted for funding. As for the project proposal, specifically speaking, it should be presented as follows:

- ✓ Contents
- ✓ Brief presentation of the applicant
- ✓ Context/Challenge/Rationale of the Project
- ✓ Expected results
- ✓ Activities
- ✓ Roles and responsibilities of the applicant
- ✓ Roles and responsibilities of the beneficiaries
- ✓ Incidence on security and peace in Mali
- ✓ Implementation Schedule
- ✓ Monitoring Plan and Evaluation Schedule
- ✓ Conditions of success/risk factors/result Indicators
- ✓ Sustainability strategy
- ✓ Logical Framework
- ✓ Budget with full breakdowns.

Once the eligibility and presentation criteria are met, each Programme team member shall carry out an evaluation of the requests and give his/her opinion on their pertinence relatively to the Programme goals, the initiators' moral standing and the coherence of the proposed budget. Thus, requests are subjected to thorough examination before joint approval by the Project Selection Committee.

Where a project is approved, an agreement shall be concluded between the applicant and the Programme, which will set out the conditions governing the execution, monitoring and reporting of the project. Subsequently, the project shall be listed as part of the Programme activities during the following quarter.

4.4. Resources of the Programme

4.4.1. Resource Mobilisation Strategy.

To mobilise resources, the Programme borrowed an approach that had been tested elsewhere⁷ and which suggests the following steps:

- Integrating security in democratic governance and global development of the country and turning it into the strategic axis of development;

- Involving partners in development right from the Programme design, to win their support to the stated ideals and their commitment to fund the scheduled activities;

- Identifying internal and external funding sources from which to mobilise resources ;

- Identifying institutional and non-institutional actors as per centre of interest and activity;

- Working out a convincing advocacy plan to win decisive support from all the Security Sector actors and attract fund donors' attention;

- Organising specific meetings with focus on clearly defined topics or centres of interest of technical and financial partners

- Establishing permanent contacts, including the conclusion of agreements, with key partners;

- Close monitoring of financial flow and/or technical assistance, which requires a certain measure of pro-activity;

⁷ Zeïni Moulaye, *Democratic Governance of Security*, op. cit. p. 175 et 176.

Building up the professional capacities of the Programme Team in order to ensure good management and optimum performance, with the ultimate goal of attracting internal and external funds providers;

Devising strong capacities to mobilise resources and implement relevant expenditures;

Ensuring sound management of mobilised resources by applying performance and good governance criteria, in particular result-oriented actions, transparency, effectiveness and efficiency;

Regularly sharing the Programme results and those obtained from common interest analyses with the beneficiaries and partners in development, particularly the financial and/or technical partners;

Creating forums for permanent dialogue and consultation (Orientation Commission, Steering Committee, Consultative Committee or any other similar structure) between the Management Team, the donors and beneficiaries of the Programme in order to share information about the progress situation of projects, results and observed impacts;

Sustaining effort to increase the support and commitment of institutional and non-institutional actors of the Security Sector to the Programme ideals;

Promoting values of integrity, transparency and efficiency in managing funds and conducting activities, in order to achieve the credibility and sustainability of the Programme;

Devising a dynamic appropriation of the Programme by the Programme implementation agency and beneficiaries.

4.4.2. Statement of Resource Mobilisation - 2008-2010

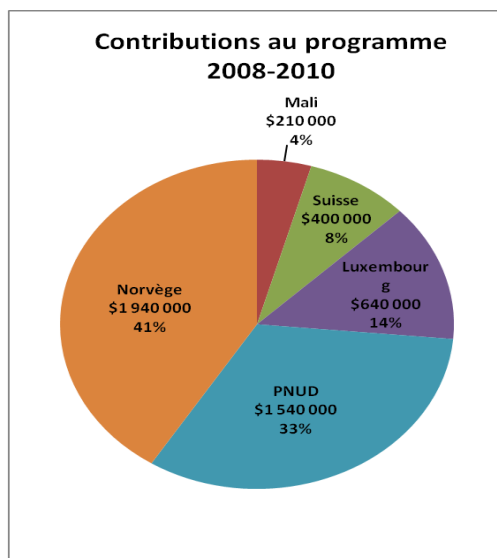
Position of Resources as at 31 December, 2008:

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Total funding | : \$4.434.000 |
| - Government's Contribution (2007) | : \$160.000 |
| - UNDP's Contributions (2007) | : \$1460.000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total resources mobilised as at 31 December, 2008 : | \$1.620.000 |
| Balance to be mobilised: | \$2.814.000. |
| Position of Resources as at 31 December, 2009: | |
| Estimated Budget | : \$2.814.000 |
| - Government's Contribution (2009) | : \$50.000 |
| - UNDP's Contribution (2009) | : \$80.000 |
| - Luxembnourf's Contribution (2009) | : \$640.000 |
| - Switzheland's Contribution (2009) | : \$200.000 |
| - Norway's Contribution (2009) | : \$500.000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total resources mobilised in 2009 | : \$1.470.000 |
| Total resources mobilised as at 31 December, 2009: | \$0.040.000 |
| Balance to be mobilised: | \$1.344.000 |
| Position of Resources as at 31 December, 2010: | |
| Estimated Budget | : \$1.344.000 |
| - Switzerland's Contribution (2010) | : \$200.000 |
| - Norway's Contribution (2010) | : \$1.440.000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total resources mobilised in 2010 | : \$1.640.000 |
| Total resources mobilised as at 31 December, 2010 | : \$4.730.000 |
| Surplus, relatively to total initial funding | : \$296.000 |

Table of Breakdown of Contributions per Partner as at 31 December, 2010.

| PARTNER | YEARS | CONTRIBUTIONS |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Government of Mali | 2007 and 2009 | \$210.000 |
| UNDP | 2007 and 2009 | \$1.540.000 |
| Luxembourg | 2009 | \$640.000 |
| Switzerland | 2009 and 2010 | \$400.000 |
| Norway | 2009 and 2010 | \$1.940.000 |
| Total = | | \$4.730.000 |

DIAGRAM 1 Partners' Contributions to the Programme - 2008-2010



As can be observed, the year 2010 was highlighted by an appreciable level of additional resource mobilisation. In fact, Switzerland and Norway renewed their contributions and confidence to the Programme. By tripling the amount of its first subsidy, Norway made it possible for the Programme to definitely cover the total financial need and to look ahead into the future with optimism.

As at 31 December, 2010, the Programme had gotten all the estimated funds provided for in the Programme Document, even in excess of the estimated figure.

4.5 Consolidated Results of the Programme (2008-2010)

The first Three-Year Phase of the Programme started on 1st October, 2008. Between December 2008 and February 2009, the National Director and the Coordinator of the Programme crisscrossed the major parts of the country to reconstitute the results of the « National Conference on Security and Peace in Mali » of November 2005. In the course of their working tour, they presented the Programme, its philosophy, political and legal foundations, objectives, expected results, possible impacts on peace and security in the country. The presentation exercise was, everywhere, preceded by a retrospective review of security challenges in Mali, the security-related stakes and correlation with development. The objective of this approach was to raise the interest of the audience regarding an area that is little known to the public at large, in order to win the populations' support to the new Governance of the Security Sector embarked upon by the government, while also seeking the involvement of all the actors concerned, towards reaching the target goals.

a) Results per Activity.

Between October 2008 and December 2010, the Programme Team planned a total of eighty-seven (87) activities, seventy-nine (79) of which were executed. The activities were progressively implemented as against the annual target results. Generally speaking, the Programme relied on three types of major activities, namely:

- **Institutional support to various ministerial departments through study projects that could be quickly conducted to bring about the desired climate of peace, security and stability, namely:**

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- A National Policy Framework Document on Internal Security and Civilian Protection;
 - Study to create a data base on crime in Mali;
 - Pilot Project Study on the Community Police in Mali;
 - Study concerning the communication strategy and communication plan of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection.
- **Information, sensitization and training actions, within the framework of capacity-building of Security Sector actors by means of:**
- Conferences, seminars, round tables and symposiums;
 - Training or refresher courses within and outside the country.
- **Prevention, management or conflict-resolution actions by means of:**
- Promotion of social and political dialogue;
 - Inter-community meetings and other similar consultation forums.

Within the framework of institutional support, the Programme Team worked towards supporting the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection (MSIPC) in drafting a National Security Policy. The « National Policy Framework Document on Internal Security and Civilian Protection » was adopted by the Council of Ministers held on 20 October, 2010. The presentation exercises thereof were conducted throughout Mali, in the bid to ensure its appropriation by the Security Sector actors, as well as outside the country (regional and international workshops) on the occasion of capitalisation and experience-sharing meetings in the area of Governance /Reform of the Security Sector.

Moreover, the Programme Team strived to promote the concept of Shared Security and Peace Governance countrywide by providing financial and technical support to activities aiming at the capacity-building of institutional and non-institutional actors of the Security Sector. In practical terms, several conferences run by the Programme Team or other experts were organised, support was provided to information, training, sensitization or communication actions through seminars, colloquii, symposiums and round-tables. In the same vein, technical supports (analyses, studies, management tools) were provided to enhance decision-making process and to assist in drafting basic orientation documents such as:

- ✓ A communication strategy and communication plan to promote Shared Security and Peace Governance;
- ✓ The study to set up a data base on crime in Mali.
- ✓ The Community Police Pilot Project.
- ✓ A study on the actual gender position within Mali's Security Sector.

Each of these unprecedented documents can be useful to the ministerial departments directly concerned (Ministry of Security, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Women Promotion), as well as to academic and research institutions.

Besides, the Programme granted tens of requests from institutional and non- institutional actors of the Security Sector (security departments, armed forces, civil society organisations, Local Authorities, etc.) and provided technical support to some of these actors, particularly civil society organisations and Local Authorities, in conducting their activities.

In the areas of conflict prevention, management and resolution, the Programme Team initiated a set of missions within the country to conduct the census of localities affected by community conflicts, identify the most suitable solutions and the major actors

which may contribute to the implementation of such solutions. The relevant census map having been draw up, several activities were organised, the impact of which will ultimately enable a better management, even final resolution of most of the conflicts identified through the census.

The Programme provided full and varied support to the Local Authorities to organise inter-communal or inter-community gatherings. These large scale dialogue and consultation forums, where peace, security and local development issues were addressed, constitute valuable platforms to involve communities in conflicts management.

With regard to the consolidation of security and peace in Northern Mali, the Programme's support mainly focused on Kidal region, as well as on security forces whose initiatives made it possible to ensure the security of persons, properties and investments. The impact is felt through a substantial drop of insecurity rate in the 8th region. A particular action drew the attention of the national and international opinion: bomb disposal exercise in the Tinzawatene locality, a township located across Mali and Algeria frontiers. Occupied in 2007 by rebels and then planted with bombs and explosives, including private houses, it was subsequently deserted by its inhabitants.

In October 2009, with the financial support of the Programme, the Army Engineers Corps cleared the bombs and explosives from the said township and along the surrounding road networks. The security impact was immediately felt: the populations returned to their homes, children resumed schooling activities, health centres reopened to cater for the sick, while the low-keyed economic activities of the desert area resumed. This local action was reported in a United Nations news bulletin owing to its highly positive impact on human security. This is a local action that won a resounding international acclaim thanks to the Programme support.

b) Results per Objective.

With regard to the three fundamental objectives assigned to the Programme against the 2008-2011 Period, the mid-term outcome is outlined as follows:

- ❖ **Global Objective 1:** *Providing support to the drafting and adoption of the National Security Policy recommended by the National Conference on Security and Peace.*
 - **Major achievement:**
 - ✓ **A National Policy Framework Document on Internal Security and Civilian Protection** (adopted by the Council of Ministers).

- ❖ **Global Objective 2:** *Supporting the implementation of the Shared Security and Peace Governance Scheme at the national, regional and local levels.*
 - **Major achievements:**
 - ✓ **Capacity-building of Security Actors :**
 - ✓ Thirteen (13) Conferences on Security Challenges in Mali and Institutional Responses, Reform of the Security Sector and the PGPSP (Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme) were organised in the 8 regions of Mali and Bamako District, at the National Assembly, Economic, Social and Cultural Council, National Police School, “Gendarmerie” School and at the National Council of Civil Society;
 - ✓ One (1) Round Table on Human Security and Security Governance, organised in

-
- partnership with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF);
- ✓ Thirty (30) Security Agents were trained in Equipment Accounting;
 - ✓ Fifty (50) Security Agents were trained in Airport Safety;
 - ✓ One hundred (100) Security Agents were trained in Public Accounting;
 - ✓ One (1) feasibility study on community police is in progress;
 - ✓ One (1) study on setting up a data bank on crime in Mali completed;
 - ✓ One (1) study on communication strategy and communication plan completed for the benefit of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection.
- ✓ **Prevention and Management of Community Conflicts, Social and Political Dialogue:**
- ✓ Seven (7) requests were funded, which concerned conflicts prevention and resolution in Kayes, Sikasso, Mopti, Gao and Kidal regions, as well as in the District of Bamako;
 - ✓ Ten (10) information and sensitization missions on security issues and non-institutional responses conducted with the technical and/or financial support of the Programme;
 - ✓ Ten (10) inter-community or inter-communal meetings held with the technical and/or financial support of the Programme.

❖ **Specific Objective 3: *Supporting the edification of sustainable security and peace in Northern Mali.***

➤ **Major achievements:**

- ✓ Set-up of a « Support Project for Strengthening Local Governance in the Kidal Region » (3 Years);
- ✓ Bombs and explosives clearance operation in Tinzawatene township and surrounding areas in favour of 2,257 persons;
- ✓ Six (6) information and sensitization actions conducted in Kidal region;
- ✓ Five (5) inter-community gatherings in Gao and Tombouctou regions, with the Programme support.

In short, the Shared Security and Peace Governance, which is based on human security and prevention culture, is making progress in Mali. The main actors of the Security Sector are increasingly conscious of their roles and responsibilities which they earnestly assume. Relations between the civilian populations and the military are improving and actions are being jointly undertaken by the official security departments and civil society organisations working in the areas of peace, security and human rights. These developments can be observed through several inter-community conferences and gatherings, training seminars, sensitization actions and other capacity-building activities organised or supported by the Programme.

Technical and financial partners appreciate this approach that is based on human security and prevention, as well as the close link established between security and development, local development in particular. They also appreciate the fact that government did incorporate security in the overall democratic and developmental governance of the country. That is the reason why they were quite willing to provide qualitative contributions to the Programme, and are still providing same, with more commitments to do so.

4.6. Partnership

Within the country, sensitization drives towards the State's institutions, the army and security forces, political parties, civil society organisations, local authorities and communities made it possible for the public at large to have a better knowledge of the Programme and let it assume prominence in the endeavour to promote Security Democratic Governance. In general, the Programme has won a good corporate image and is often solicited by various actors of the Security Sector (institutions, political parties, civil society organisations, etc.) for information or training sessions in the security area, particularly human security.

The Programme has warmed up its relationship with the supervising authority, the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection (MSIPC), by building up the capacities of the latter's staff in various security and management areas. Besides, the Programme sponsored the drafting of a communication strategy, in favour of the Ministry, to support Shared Security Governance and another study towards setting-up of a data base on crime in Mali.

In support to the decentralisation process, the Programme sponsored a study concerning the « Pilot Project for Community Police in Mali », the results of which will be put at the disposal of the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Authorities (MATCL). The Programme plans to support MATCL in implementing this Project in about ten Local Authority Areas. Certain Local Authorities, particularly in the North, namely: Kayes, Mopti and Sikasso, benefitted from the Programme full support within the framework of the prevention and management of community conflicts.

In cooperation with the National Commission Against the Proliferation of Light Weapons (CNLCPAL), a working schedule was drawn up for 2011 to jointly conduct information, sensitization actions and capacity-building of actors working

against the proliferation of light weapons and trafficking of weapons of war.

Civil Society Organisations (CSO) which operate in the areas of security, peace and human rights, as well as certain political parties benefitted from the technical and/or financial support of the Programme within the framework of actions to build up the capacities of Security Sector actors.

Outside the country, the Programme has won a reputation now transcending the frontiers of Mali and Africa. The participative method applied by the government to conduct the process of setting up the Programme is particularly appreciated.

Since the Programme was set up, it has been visited by many delegations, in particular from the United States of America, Canada, Algeria, Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland. Financial partnership started with a contribution from UNDP which backed the Government right from the inception of the think-tank process. In view of the complexity of security issues, the considerable related needs and the scope of the Programme, it became imperative to source for additional funds. As a result, gradually, other financial and technical partners teamed up with the UNDP, such as Luxembourg, Switzerland, Norway, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), the Intercultural Communication Centre (SIK) of Stavegen, Norway, the Moroccan Centre for Human Rights Studies and Democracy (CEDHD), etc.

Today, the Programme (PGPSP) is often mentioned as « a Reference » amongst the implementation tools of Governance and Reform of the Security Sector in West Africa. In 2009, for instance, the Programme's technical assistance was sought for by the ECOWAS Commission to conceptualise the Reform of the Security Sector in West Africa and draft a « Framework Project for

Democratic Governance and Reform of the Security Sector within the ECOWAS Region ». In 2010, on the occasion of the 50th Independence Anniversary of African countries, it is the ECOWAS Parliament which solicited for an expert of the Programme to present a Paper on the achievements over the past 50 years with regard to security and conflict mediation in West Africa.

4.7. Constraints and Difficulties Encountered

Like any innovative project, the Programme is encountering some difficulties generally induced by the administrative red-tapism, poor quality of projects submitted for funding and the bill of related activity reports. Considering the peculiar character of the security area which, for quite a long time, had been the exclusive preserve of public security departments, the Programme has had, at times, to contend with the difficulty to find qualified human resources to conduct certain specific studies (Communication Strategy for Shared Security Governance, Data Base on Crime in Mali, Community Police Pilot Project, etc.).

Furthermore, the Security Sector's reform process is still running at a slow pace while the dynamics of appropriation by the security forces remain extremely poor. As for the army, for now, it appears insensitive, but not opposed to the Defence Sector reform.

However, the reform processes of the Defence and Security Sectors are undissociable and inevitable considering the current African democratisation context which affects State's institutions.

4.8. Other Peace and Security Programmes in Mali

Apart from the Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP), there are three other government programmes dealing with the areas of security management and development issues, namely:

Ten-Year Programme for the Development of Northern Regions (PDDRN). An outcome of Kidal Forum, March 2007, it consists of thirty-nine (39) projects and programmes and covers such diverse areas as agriculture, animal husbandry, infrastructure, hydraulic system, health, education, ex young rebel militants reconversion programme, etc. The Programme is under the authority of the Prime Minister, Head of Government;

Support Project for Strengthening Local Governance in the Kidal Region (PAGRK). It is a Three-Year Project funded by Luxembourg. Its purpose is to strengthen Local Governance in the Kidal Region. In this connection, it remarkably supports community activities within the framework of social dialogue in order to consolidate peace, security and promote development in the Kidal region. It also contributes to the capacity-building of different Security Sector actors and to speeding up decentralisation process. It is under the supervision of the Governor of Kidal Region and under the authority of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection;

Special Programme for Peace, Security and Development in the North (PSPSDN) It is an 18-Month Emergency Programme (2010-2012), initiated by the President of the Republic to provide infrastructural facilities designed to facilitate the return of public administration, defence and security agencies to the Northern regions. In general, it aims at substantially reducing the causes of insecurity and terrorism in Northern Mali by means of security, communication and local development actions. Specifically speaking, it aims at the following goals:

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- ✓ Reinforcing the national security infrastructure in Northern Mali;
 - ✓ Enhancing governance by means of a better performance of public administration and local authorities;
 - ✓ Promoting economic and social development activities;
 - ✓ Informing and sensitizing the populace, while raising their awareness on threats to national security.

CHAPTER

5

V. OBSERVATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

As soon as the Programme was set up, the Team realised the need to win massive support from institutional and non-institutional actors of the Security Sector to the new security vision and global strategy, which were adopted by the Convention and subsequently validated by the government through the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection. Consequently, it embarked upon a series of tours across the country with the following three objectives in view:

- Making the new security vision widely known in Mali;
- Explaining to the different actors the rationale behind the Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (objectives, expected results, areas of intervention, management approach to security issues, etc.);
- Identifying field of activities to be supported, stakeholders, the orientations required to enable the different actors to fully play their roles and assume their responsibilities within the framework of Security Democratic Governance.

At first, reaction on the field was rather cautious. Today, it is quite enthusiastic.

5.1. Reaction from Field Actors

No doubt, owing to the sensitive character of security (a sovereign area that is shrouded in confidentiality), hitherto exclusively reserved to security departments, the institutional and non-institutional actors (in particular the public administration and local authorities) were initially cautious, even sceptical and, at times, suspicious viz-à-viz the reform process. But, gradually, they came to perceive the value of the new approach adopted by the Malian authorities and finally urged the Programme to extend its actions country-wide.

First to support the Programme are the highest Malian authorities, namely the President of the Republic and the Minister of Security and Civilian Protection who, at the National Conference on Security and Peace, confirmed the Government's will to follow the path of democratic governance of the Security Sector.

Then the civil society's support followed. In fact, few months after the Convention, several civil society organisations working in the areas of peace, security and human rights, united under the National Civil Society Coalition for Peace and Against the Proliferation of Light Weapons (CONASCIPAL), spontaneously decided to give their support to the Government's efforts to reform the Security Sector and promote Security Democratic Governance. In January, 2007, CONASCIPAL, with the support of the Belgium Technical Cooperation (CTB), organised the « First National Forum of the Civil Society on Security Democratic Governance in Mali ». The Acts of this forum were published under the headline: « Civil Society and Security Democratic Governance⁸ ». The said Acts continue to inspire the action plans of CONASCIPAL which benefits from the Programme's (PGPSP) constant support to execute its activities, with particular regard to actions against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the District of Bamako.

The third key support came from the communities of Northern Mali, particularly from the « Network of Advocacy for Peace, Security and Development in the Northern Regions of Mali ». The Network was set up on November 2, 2009, in Kidal. It professes to be a multi-operator and multi-ethnic platform emerging right from within the communities and regrouping over 350 villages and nomadic settlements in the North. It is mainly working towards social cohesion and development of communities in the Northern Regions of Mali, through the culture

⁸ Zeïni Moulaye (under the supervision of), *Civil Society and Security Democratic Governance*, Bamako, CONASCIPAL-CTB, 2007, 103 pages

of peace, civic education, conflict prevention, community dialogue and conciliation. The Programme gave the Network a decisive support for its launching and organisation of certain inter-community meetings in partnership with the Embassy of Switzerland Federation in Mali.

With time, the populations, everywhere across the country, manifested their full support to the Programme through many project initiatives covering information, sensitization and training actions, as well as intra and inter-community gatherings, etc. Certain civil society organisations, which were already operating in the field for quite a long time before then, expressed the desire to enter into formal partnership with the Programme. Subsequently, community leaders, who turned out in large numbers at the gatherings organised under the aegis of State's representatives, hailed the proactive approach of the Programme Team which rekindles their confidence, encourages and supports the State's presence by their sides. This is particularly true with communities of Northern Mali which, following the rebellion that broke out in the early part of the '90s, powerlessly witnessed the public administration structures crumbling down or being withdrawn from the regional capitals.

Now, faced by scores of project proposals, the Programme Team acted with utmost prudence, conscious of the fact that in this type of exercise, it is not always easy to differentiate honest individuals or corporate bodies from those driven by selfish intents and the thirst for easy enrichment. Therefore, precautionary upstream and downstream measures were taken by means of appropriate criteria governing drafting of requests for funding, production of detailed implementation and financial reports, to ensure a judicious allocation of the Programme's resources.

With regard to the relatively positive reactions of field actors to the Programme and the relevant reform process, one negative factor is regrettable: the poor level of appropriation by the security

forces. Nevertheless, they are constantly involved in all the Programme activities, while laudable supports are being granted to build up their capacities. This may be due to the natural human resistance to change, which is a factor to take into consideration to achieve any qualitative change, with particular regard to Security Sector's reform. It is therefore necessary to multiply sensitization actions towards security forces and concentrate on the parameters for attaining radical change of mentalities and behaviours. These are the tasks, amongst others, that shall be done by the Programme in the forthcoming months.

The foregoing notwithstanding, the enthusiasm manifested towards the Programme by the civil society and Local Authorities, as well as the commitment of certain technical and financial partners, constitute good reasons for the Programme Team to feel satisfaction and renew its collective energy to move further forward while enhancing performances.

5.2. Effects of the Programme.

It would have been easier to speak about the impacts of the Programme but, admittedly, it is difficult to mention impacts just upon two years' experiment in an area where results are slow to come by, difficult to quantify and, at times, imperceptible. It would be preferable to talk about results and, at best, about effects. Now, for a better appraisal of the effects, it is useful to underline two facts:

- Combating insecurity is a permanent undertaking, the effects of which cannot be quantified as it would with regard to infrastructures or production activities. The notion of security hinges not only on actual or anticipated threat, but also on virtual or potential risk. Beyond objective and material insecurity, there are, in fact, the subjective and immaterial aspects of insecurity. Otherwise said, apart from any real manifestation of

insecurity, the mind set, fear, anguish and stress, for example, constitute additional forms of insecurity that, at times, are more aggressive than physical attacks. According to an eminent security expert, « nowadays, the main torments assailing mankind are not so much tangible sufferings, but unknown and unpredictable threats. We are not so much concerned by visible risks but, rather, by dangers that cannot be perceived, which can virtually befall unsuspecting victims at a time one hardly expects – and against which we are ill-prepared and inadequately protected... With regard to terrorism which is our major concern, it is its unpredictable character that is more worrisome⁹. ».

PGPSP is a governance structure and not an operational body. It does not intervene in the field within an operational framework. It supports the action of different Security Sector actors in terms of advisory counselling, information and sensitization, with the aim of ensuring a true appropriation of the vision, principles and objectives of the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection. It is precisely a Governance Programme, which should exert influence on mentalities and behaviours. To be objective, current actions cannot be expected to yield the desired fruits in less than five to ten years' time, even within a longer period of time. But one fact is certain: the process embarked upon will have a positive impact on the institutions, security and defence departments and communities, as well as on the climate of peace and security.

Moreover, the Programme supported several institutions of the Republic (National Assembly, Economic and Social Council, Ministries, etc.). It also assisted several communities, local authorities and civil society organisations, in their prevention and

⁹Javier Solana, « *The New Power Syntax* » in Les Echos N°3725, 16 August, 2011, p. 9. European Union's Representative for Foreign Policy and Security, former NATO's Secretary-General, Javier Solana is now a Senior Agregation Graduate in Foreign Policy in Brookings Institute and Chairman of Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics.

conflict resolution actions, particularly inter-community conflicts. These forums of dialogue and consultations made it possible to launch fruitful debates on key challenges such as rural land tenure system, political leadership and/or traditional chieftaincy related conflicts, management of natural resources, even issues concerning mosques and religious properties, territorial delimitation, management of local conventions, etc.

From these debates, peace makers and security actors have often drawn lessons and relevant recommendations which tremendously contributed to preserving social peace and human security, essential factors for harmonious and sustainable development. The belligerent flame was often tempered and, at times, existing or new conflicts were resolved in the affected areas. The following three examples are noteworthy:

- ✓ On the Dogon Plateau, Guinna Dogon Association succeeded, following several inter-community meetings, in persuading protagonists to sign a ten-year « agreement » whereby the opposing parties will abstain from engaging any form of hostilities during that period, which allows for more than enough time to definitively resolve the differences;
- ✓ In Kidal Region, hostilities were about to break out between certain communities (Ifoghas, idnanes, etc.), following the 2007 elections. In 2010, thanks to the PSPSP's and partners' support, combined with Government's efforts and interest shown by some goodwill persons and organisations, the sword of war was buried following major inter-community meetings;
- ✓ In Gao Region, a mission conducted by the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection, financed by the PGPSP, helped to bring the Tuareg and Fulani Communities together to find peace after several months of bloody clashes.

Owing to the importance of inter-community meetings, a Programme's delegation crisscrossed the country with the aim of identifying areas of conflicts and drawing up the relevant map towards the socio-ecological zoning of the different regions of Mali. The delegation facilitated the intervention of local authorities. It also supported civil society organisations in project formulation and in animating consultations in several localities. In the same vein, the Programme organised a « Symposium on Social Dialogue and Inter-Community Meetings » which made it possible to evaluate the consultation process with field actors and to define new lines of thought to consolidate peace and security. The edition of the Symposium's Acts is in progress. The said Acts will be useful to the communities, field actors, decision-makers and researchers.

Furthermore, the Programme gave capacity-building assistance to the National Commission against Proliferation of Light Weapons and its units in Gao and Kayes regions. The activities Commission's activities took the form of campaigns to inform and sensitize the populations, particularly in school and academic circles, on the dangers of Proliferation of Light Weapons and the need to develop a culture of peace and non-violence.

Apart from these results, we feel that the following three main achievements are adequate enough for capitalisation, consolidation and even fructification:

Firstly, the Programme contributed to improving the global governance of security in Mali. First of its kind since the country gained independence, it offered the authorities, as well as the populations of Mali, the opportunity to promote a new security vision which is based on human security, sharing of roles and responsibilities among the different actors of the Security Sector. The strategy to involve stakeholders, particularly the civil society, in the prevention and management of conflicts and natural disasters, is

gradually taking root. This is proved by the communities' suddenly rediscovered inclination to get organised and participate in the local management of security issues. Certainly, if this communities' trend to ensure their own security is maintained and consolidated, the security system in Mali would increasingly become efficient. This is probably one of the best and most pertinent indicators of advancement in the area of security in modern Mali.

Secondly, the financial and technical supports given to the public administration, local authorities and civil society organisations intervening in the areas of peace and security, as well as to the capacity-building of defence and security agencies, contributed to a large extent in reducing tensions between the civilian populations and the military, subduing social unrest and smouldering anti-social behaviours. At the communities' level in particular, there is a gradual renewal of confidence, while security actors have been made aware of the need to focus efforts on preventive approach as a general strategy to entrench peace and security. It is true that security, in a country, cannot be evaluated in terms of arrested criminals or quelled riots. It can rather be measured by the number of dangerous situations that are successfully prevented. Actually, one of the Programme's approaches consists in assisting actors of the Security Sector to manage, upstream, situations likely to degenerate and thus preventing them from playing the role of fire fighters once the crisis breaks out and conflict erupts.

Thirdly, the Programme implementation did speed up the Security Sector's reform process. The latter was started right from the 1991 Revolution, with uncoordinated actions, particularly think-tank

initiatives within the National Police Force, and civilian-military parleys. But now, the Programme made it possible to define a vision and devise a global strategy which led to result-oriented actions within the framework of the National Policy for Internal Security and Civilian Protection. It also helped to:

- Strengthen confidence between the civilians and the military (men in uniform, generally speaking);
- Consolidate professionalism in the security forces, mainly through capacity-building actions in various areas;
- Assist security forces to recognize the principle of their subordination to the civilian authorities;
- Build up the capacities of the Defence, Internal Security and Civilian Protection Commission of the National Assembly, regarding approach to democratic control of security through parliamentary mechanisms, etc.

Fourthly, the Programme's support to security reinforcement in the North, in particular the project specially devoted to the management of peace, security and local development issues in the Kidal Region, tremendously contributed to reducing the rate of violence and insecurity. Though, armed groups have not totally disappeared, while all sorts of trafficking activities are still going on, it can be observed that inter-community meetings are multiplying, which help to reduce social tension. Moreover, the State has resumed its presence in the region with the installation of security structures. All these actions would be unreliable without a good communication policy. Now, a precious contribution of

the Programme is the communication strategy of the Ministry of Security desired to promote interactions between security departments and other actors of the Security Sector.

These achievements, although modest in character, seem of capital importance because they positively affect human well-being. Characteristically, human resources are the best wealth of a nation. If the Malian citizens are now aware of the pertinence of such a vital endeavour - investing in peace, security and stability - the target goal is seemingly attained half-way. As for the remaining half, political will, conviction and steadfastness will surely help to achieve it through social equity, creation of a suitable environment for individuals and communities to blossom, fostering a climate of peace and security to promote sustainable development. That is exactly the essence of Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme in Mali.

In the same vein, to be objective, the insecurity phenomenon in Mali should be relatively considered. It is quite obvious that the Malian authorities are making serious efforts to fight insecurity in all its ramifications. This fact can be perceived through the multiplication of security checking posts countrywide. In addition, there is a strong commitment on the part of communities and civil society organisations to support security departments in their bid to ensure sustainable peace and security. The proof of such a commitment can be observed on the field, while related results are concretely perceptible. Generally, for some years now, relative peace is taking shape in the conflict-affected areas across the country, with particular regard to community conflicts, thanks to the peace-making efforts initiated by the communities themselves. Even though some aspects of organised crime (such as trafficking of hard drugs and weapons, networks of illegal migration actors, presence of AQIM in the Sahel and Sahara areas) persist, urban and suburban banditry, as well as transborder crime are being subdued. These positive

manifestations are partly owed to sustained information, sensitization and training actions conducted by the Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP).

Besides, if human security is understood as freedom from fear and wants, then it could be said that PGPSP's field action has had remarkable incidences on the behaviour of security departments, government authorities and populations.

Regarding freedom from fear, here are two examples, amongst others:

Following the Programme-supported operations to clear bombs and explosives from Tinzwatene (near the border with Algeria), the populations who ran away from the locality, during rebels incursions, have returned in large numbers to resettle down. They are reopening schools, health centres, markets, etc. Lorries and trailers are again plying the highways, while cattle herds are also treading the pastoral paths that were abandoned quite a long time ago. Over 2,250 persons thus regained their freedom to live. Life has reclaimed its right over fear ;

In January 2010, while almost all the development activities grinded to a halt, no donor, not even an NGO dared investing in Kidal Region due to insecurity, the PGPSP financed the visit of an important delegation to the region, consisting of five members of government, about twenty heads of diplomatic mission and cooperation office, including the United Nations System, to relaunch development activities in the region. Shortly thereafter, most of the partners who took part in the visit swung into action and resumed development projects in the region (even moving as far as to reputedly dangerous areas, security-wise, such as Abeibara).

As regards freedom from wants, the PGPSP set up a project in Kidal, with the aim of ensuring security of persons, properties and investments, while supporting all development actors (defence and security departments, local administration units, local authorities, NGOs, technical and financial partners, etc.). Linking peace, security and development is the vocational occupation of PGPSP. In fact, this Programme's approach did inspire the Malian authorities. When designing the Strategic Growth and Poverty Alleviation Framework (CSCR 2012-2017), peace and security were listed first among the top priority areas of intervention covered by the strategic axis number one: Governance. This is evidence that the endeavour of institutional actors of the Security Sector to appropriate the Programme is steadily gaining ground

By considering that the CSCR, which also incorporates the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is the only reference framework for development policy in Mali, it is easy to observe that the PGPSP supports all the public security policies and national development strategies. Under these circumstances, investing in the security area in Mali is equivalent to invaluable investment in development.

Now, in view of the foregoing, can the Malian experiment of Shared Security Governance be applied in other countries of the sub-region, especially within the framework of an enhanced security integration process in the ECOWAS Region?

CHAPTER

6

VI. POSSIBILITIES OF REPLICATING MALI'S EXPERIENCE IN OTHER ECOWAS COUNTRIES

Relatively speaking, it is difficult to perceive how the Malian experience can be integrally repeated in other countries of the sub-region. However, it may inspire Mali's neighbouring countries which may be facing the same security challenges. Actually, the scope, diversity, complexity and the unpredictable character of insecurity factors require that West African States search for a common security vision and harness their resources to build up capacities to tackle and annihilate adverse forces behind insecurity. In this connection, it would be advisable that the Malian experience be used as a catalytic strategy to strengthen sub-regional integration with regard to peace and security.

6.1. The Need for a Common Security Strategy

There are at least four arguments in favour of a common security strategy and harmonised actions within the ECOWAS Sub-Region.

The first is similarity of security challenges facing all the ECOWAS Member Countries, due to geographical, historical, economical, social and cultural links. Moreover, the porosity of frontiers makes it possible for an insecurity factor in one country to easily spill over to neighbouring countries, even spreading to the sub-region as a whole, with unavoidable consequences. In West Africa, experience in the past twenty years showed that each conflict that erupts in one country is a potential contamination threat to its neighbours. Naturally, such a situation requires that conflict resolution strategies that have proved quite suitable and successful in a

neighbouring country be considered, in order to draw useful lessons therefrom. But, experience also revealed that the danger may originate from another region (e.g.: terrorism in North Africa which slowly but steadily penetrated the Sahel and Sahara regions, or raging piracy in East Africa which has induced sea banditry in the Gulf of Guinea). In this case, it would be wiser to search for a sub-regional security policy based on a common understanding of security danger and adherence to common standards in order to reinforce response capacities as against insecurity factors, whether internal or external, within the framework of a fruitful cooperation. Everywhere in the sub-region, there is increasing and pressing demand for security and peace by civil society organisations, elected people's representatives, local authorities, communities, citizens, in short by the populace as a whole. Meeting this demand is, in itself, a security imperative;

The second is that, today, the scope and complexity of insecurity factors, which are tied to the disturbing issues of poverty and misery, require a cross-cutting, global and integrated approach to the issue of security. In this connection, first and foremost, political will is quite essential. Such an approach also requires bringing up real problems, opting for a prospective vision while anticipating the most pertinent solutions and preferably choosing strategic planning to address security challenges. Even in this case, the chances of success depend on the possibility for each neighbouring country to take similar steps, hence the need for a collective security policy.

The third is the need to struggle hard and ensure a climate of peace and security without which no investment is possible, much less development. For, development is closely tied to investment. No fund donor will go and invest anywhere without making sure there is a climate of social peace and security (from the physical, legal and judicial view points). As a result, security is considered as the cost of development, while development is a fundamental dimension of security. The triple peace-security-development parameter is an essential prerequisite for any security vision.

The fourth is that security is not so much the outcome of military force, but the result of combined psychological factors and satisfaction of human needs that eliminates material poverty. Security is also about the people's ability to participate in the decision-making processes that affect their individual life. Therefore, a specific and realistic strategy of good governance of the Security Sector would be quite relevant. The current democratic context seems suitable for such an orientation, otherwise said, to the refoundation of the Security Sector and good management of security issues which would enable West African countries to enter a new era of security.

6.2. ECOWAS' and African Union's Security Governance Instruments

Already, it is reassuring that a good number of instruments designed to facilitate Governance of the Security Sector have been adopted by the African regional and sub-regional bodies. The bases of a normative framework exist at both the ECOWAS' and AU's levels. But, much remains to be done to link theory to practice with regard to democratic governance of the security sector:



AT THE LEVEL OF AFRICAN UNION

- Constitutive Act of African Union, July 1999;
- African Charter of Human Rights and People, 27 June, 1981.
- Mechanism for Prevention, Management and Conflict Resolution, 29 June, 1993;
- Decision on Unconstitutional Changes of Government, 14 July, 1999;
- Declaration for the Framework of Rapid Intervention against Unconstitutional Changes of Government, 14 July, 1999;
- Solemn Declaration on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa, 12 July, 2000;
- Protocol on the Creation of Peace and Security Council, 9 July, 2002.



AT THE LEVEL OF ECOWAS

- Revised ECOWAS Treaty;
- Non-Aggression Protocol signed in Lagos on 22 April, 1978;
- Mutual Defence Assistance Protocol signed in Freetown on 29 May, 1981,
- Declaration of Political Principles on Freedom, People's Rights and Democratisation, 6 July, 1991;
- Mechanism for Prevention, Management and Conflict Resolution, Keeping Peace and Security, 10 December, 1999;
- Bamako Declaration on the African Common Stand regarding the Proliferation, Movement and Illegal Trafficking of Small arms and light weapons, 1st December, 2000;
- Additional Protocol to the Mechanism for Prevention, Management and Conflict Resolution, Keeping Peace and Security, in respect of Good Governance and Democracy, 21 December, 2001;

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- African Common Stand on the Review Process of the United Nations' Action Programme on Small arms and light weapons, January 2006;
 - Convention on Small arms and light weapons, Ammunitions and other Related Materials, 14 June, 2006;
 - Framework of Conflict Prevention, 18 January, 2008.

6.3. Approach towards setting up Democratic Governance of the Security Sector within the ECOWAS Region

On the basis of Mali's modest experience, we would be tempted to suggest that more forums be created to promote exchanges, consultation, collaboration and cooperation drives, in the area of democratic governance of the security sector. In particular, it would be advisable that West African political and military leaders be made to understand that security has lost the status of « no go area », but it has, instead, become an open sector, relatively speaking. As such, it should be considered as a national concern. In this vein, each ECOWAS Member State would be requested to:

Organise a democratic debate on the issue, according to formula deemed the most appropriate (conventions, national forum, national dialogues, national conferences, colloquii, symposiums, round tables, etc.). The purpose of such an organisational structure or body would be to: Seek ways and means of Integrating the security sector in the democratic and global developmental process of the country by means of reform; Set up a broad-based coalition of civil society organisations to support such a reform both at the design and implementation stages; Obtain the largest possible support and active participation of the governmental authorities, general public administration, political class, private sector, civil society, local authorities, communities and partners in development.

Each State could act on the basis of a coherent, interactive and

three-step approach, as follows:

The first step would consist in organising local consultations with the purpose of informing, sensitizing, raising interest, attracting the commitment to, and participation of various actors in, the democratic debate on security issues. Such local and national consultations should draw up a forthright and objective diagnosis of the security situation, while formulating the most appropriate recommendations which, if implemented, would enable the country to efficiently tackle all forms of threats to peace and security.

The second step would be to hold a National Forum on Peace and Security, which will conduct a more comprehensive debate, following the local consultations on the actual situation, and outline essential directives for a National Security Policy and Reform Programme (inspired by the ECOWAS basic principles as set out in its Action Plan on Governance/Reform of the Security Sector in the Sub-Region);

The third step would be devoted to working out essential documents based on the recommendations formulated by the various consultation forums, namely:

- A National Security Policy Framework Document or a National Security Strategy ;
- A Security Sector Reform Programme, backed by an Operational Action Plan (Three-Year, Five-Year or Ten-Year Duration) ;
- A Communication Strategy to accompany and support the implementation of National Security Policy and Security Sector Reform Programme.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

Within the present context of advanced globalisation, which is perceived by certain observers as a golden opportunity to seize, and by others as the imposition of a sole thought, an era of frustration, injustice and even hidden domination agenda, the analysis of the actual situation in Mali, in the all-inclusive area of peace, security and development, reveals a lot of inadequacies and huge needs which are not attended to. They constitute potential obstacles to the processes of entrenching democracy and promoting development. Today, the country is largely exposed to a multitude of threats and vulnerabilities linked to climate changes, proliferation of weapons, drug trafficking, terrorist threats, consequences of conflicts in the neighbourhood, epidemic and pandemic diseases, the contagious effects of political instability, economic and financial crisis, etc.

Under these circumstances, it appears urgent to tackle the identified security challenges with result-oriented counter-measures. This cannot be done by one country alone but collectively, within the framework of inter-State cooperation based on mutual confidence. In the same vein, a participative and planned governance of the security sector is imperative. Such a process is today sought for everywhere by the West African populations. It is feasible under the present context of democratisation in the sub-region. The only requisite is to capitalise on inter-dependency, good practices and fruitful consensus between States towards adopting a common strategy against insecurity in general and organised crime in particular, a strategy that is based on Shared Security Governance, within the framework of a « **REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA** ». Such a conference will discuss and develop a certain number of standards and regulations which will make it possible, on the one hand, to move towards harmonizing the normative framework of security and, on the other hand, towards improving the global security situation in the ECOWAS Sub-

Region. The latter will then be ushered in a new era: of security, *an era of peaceful existence and coexistence*.

With good governance and the enhancement of other development parameters, rather than be seen as the outcome of military force, security would simply turn out as the fruit of dialogue and consultation, the effect of democracy and respect of human rights, the fall-out of improved educational and living standards, the consequence of economic prosperity and social well-being. Then, West Africa (Mali in particular) would not only experience peace, security and stability, but also attract productive investments and benefit from a veritable political, economic, social and cultural development.

Appendices

APPENDIX I.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND PEACE IN MALI

I. BACKGROUND

For about fifteen years, Mali has been confronted with unabated insecurity, fostered by several and unending intra and inter-community conflicts, « residual banditry » following the end of armed rebellion which affected the Northern part of the country between 1990 and 1996, urban and suburban crime characterised by armed robbery, highway criminal hold-ups, vehicle snatching, deadly road accidents, etc. In addition, the country has to contend with Algerian Islamists who, sometimes, use the uncontrolled Malian Sahara region as their rear base, and the repercussions of raging crises and conflicts in the sub-region, prominent amongst which are the massive inflow of refugees and displaced persons, widespread illicit trafficking activities, in particular the proliferation of light weapons which is facilitated, to a large extent, by the porosity of the country's seven (7) borders. This situation has been made worse no thanks to the powerlessness of the State, invisibility of government authorities in certain regions of the North, the glaring inability of the security forces and security departments (police, gendarmerie, national and civilian protection brigade) to squarely meet security challenges.

Security forces which, for quite a long time, had been militarised were given their civilian role in 1993. However, the expected measures to help them fulfill their new missions failed to materialise. Though security forces often accomplish praise-worthy feats in their operations with little means, the reality is that, today, it is quite difficult for them to discharge their lawful duties. Human resources are inadequate, Infrastructural facilities are

obsolete and unsuitable, essential equipment items are outdated or unusable, procedures are old-fashioned, logistics are ridiculously poor and budget provisions insignificant relatively to the assigned missions.

Meanwhile, security requirements are increasing, becoming more complex and pressing, due to the democratisation and decentralisation processes, cross-border crime and international terrorism.

Faced with such an unpleasant situation, security forces and security departments decided to make an actual situation analysis and brainstorm on their general operating conditions, within the framework of a wide consultation drive involving all the sectors of the society. The aim is to bring up powerful ideas which would enable them to ensure the security of the country as a whole, under the best conditions possible, with the support of government authorities, political class, civil society, private sector, technical and financial partners. The ultimate goal is to integrate the Security Sector in the global democratic governance. Needless to say that security is a precious public property and a cost to be borne to achieve development. Managing security requires a collective commitment of the society. The disturbing national and sub-regional security situation notwithstanding, the said goal could still be achieved, considering the seemingly favourable conditions for the emergence of a new governance of peace and security in Mali. In fact, the country is making tremendous efforts to entrench democracy and respect of human rights. Individual and collective freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution.

The President of the Republic has taken a range of good governance measures, particularly through consultative bodies such as the Presidential Investment Council. As for the government, it has adopted a State Reform Programme, with the purpose of raising living standard, reformulating missions, roles and responsibilities of the different components of the society.

At the grassroots, the citizens actively participate in the management of public affairs and implementation of economic, social, cultural and democratic development programmes. The decentralisation policy has introduced new relations between the populations and security forces. Within few years, the effective presence of local police will further bring the people and security forces closer. That would be the beginning of a more direct and logical democratic oversight.

But these political and social advancements are not enough to guarantee development in the country. A climate of peace, security and stability must also prevail. Such a climate is conducive to investments and sustainable development.

Towards this end, the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection has decided, within the framework of government's activity programming, to organise the « NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN MALI ». This is a process involving all the components of the Malian society. Its purpose is to build up capacities to prevent and manage general security problems, while facilitating the emergence of a new governance of peace and security. The new approach is in line with the global strategy to alleviate poverty, consolidate democracy and good governance in the Republic of Mali.

The Convention will take place during 2005, under the high patronage of the President of the Republic. It is scheduled to last for three days and will be attended by between 200 and 300 participants from all the regions and social sectors of Mali, as well as by representatives of the Malian populations living outside the country and partners in development.

II. FINAL GOAL OF THE CONFERENCE

Contributing to the Advent of a Climate of Peace, Security and Stability, Prerequisite for Sustainable Development in Mali.

III. OBJECTIVES.

The Convention aims at four (4) target objectives:

Identifying the ingredients of a National Security Policy through the examination of, and debate on, security issues in Mali, as viewed from different angles

Moving the different components of the Nation to actively participate in the design and implementation of the Policy, through a coherent and harmonised security Programme

Gathering the necessary inputs to draft an orientation and programming law bill on security

Setting up a framework of consultation, coordination and participative management of security issues, to facilitate collaboration between the State and its different partners.

IV. EXPECTED RESULTS.

Two (2) fundamental documents are expected from the Convention, namely:

A National Security Policy Framework Document;

A Ten-year Programme for the Development of Security Forces and Departments.

V. ORGANISATIONAL SET-UP.

The organisational set-up will consist of one (1) Organising Committee, six (6) Sub-Committees and one (1) Secretariat. It will be under the responsibility of a Coordinator-General.

5.1 Organising Committee.

The Organising Commission's activities will be as follows:

Invitations

Facilities
Reception and Protocol
Accommodation
Meals and Refreshments
Secretariat
Security
Health
Transports
Communication
Coordination of national and international participation tasks

5.2 Sub-Committees

Under the supervision of the Convention's Coordinator-General, tasks will be shared between the following Sub-Committees:

Sub-Committee 1: Reception / Protocol /Accommodation

Sub-Committee 2 : Security

Sub-Committee 3 : Health

Sub-Committee 4 : Finance

Sub-Committee 5 : Transports

Sub-Committee 6 : Communication

Sub-Committee 7 : Secretariat

5.3. Coordinator-General.

The mission of the Coordinator-General is to:

Coordinate the preparatory proceedings ahead of the Conference

Articulate synergy between the Organising Committee and The Sub-Committees

Ensure efficiency of the Secretariat's services and documentation management before and during the Forum

Facilitate access by the media to information (prepare press kits, documentary kits, press releases and

communiqués, conferences, press lunches etc.)
Ensure good diffusion of information to participants and the public

Work closely with the Rapporteur General and Rapporteurs of the different workshops, towards an efficient and methodic restitution of the Conference conclusions.

5.4. Additional Specialist Services

Additional professional services (national and/or international) might be required to ensure an efficient organisation of the Conference, in particular:

National Consultants, to support the consultative, organisational and drafting processes of the Conference

International Consultants, to enrich the debate by means of friendly countries' experiences, and improve the quality of expected results by means of lessons drawn from security governance.

A Team of Communication Consultants, to raise the interest of the public at large and promote their participation in the debate. The team will conduct a fixed communication action shortly before, during and shortly after the Conference, particularly by:

Publishing articles in newspapers and magazines before, during and after the Conference

Diffusing reporting or documentary news via TV and Radio broadcasting services

Organising thematic debates on certain radio broadcasting stations and with the national TV broadcasting service

Designing a friendly and inter-active internet web site with the main role of attracting participation of Malians within the country and in the diaspora to the think-tank exercise

on security governance in Mali, as well as facilitating the contributions of seasoned internet users (specialists of security issues and/or development).

VI. WORKSHOPS, THEMES AND SUB-THEMES OF THE CONFERENCE

Proceedings will take place with five (5) workshops and will be centred on 5 themes and 21 papers. A Moderator will be assigned to each workshop, as well as two Rapporteurs who will work closely with the Rapporteur-General. The Rapporteurs shall work collectively, while relevant tasks shall be distributed according to needs. Their mission is to:

Summarise the workshops's proceedings

Identify relevant security problems

Identify avenues for solutions to the problems

Highlight the bases of the National Security Policy

Highlight the axes of the Ten-Year Programme for the Development of Security Forces and Departments

Ensure the scientific monitoring and qualitative drafting of final documents.

THEME 1: The 21st Century Society and the Emergence of New Risks within the Framework of Sustainable Development.

Paper 1: Security Challenges in the Poverty Alleviation Strategies

Paper 2: Continentality and Organised Cross-border Crimes

Paper 3: Security and Proliferation of Light Weapons

Paper 4: Security and Trafficking of Children

Paper 5: Highway Security and Increasing Dangers

Paper 6: Collective Security in the face of Disasters-Related Risks

**THEME 2: Precautionary Principle and Prevention
Culture: Towards Collective Responsibility in
the Management of Security Problems**

Paper 1: Diagnosis of individual and collective behaviours that promote insecurity

Paper 2 : Place and Role of Prevention in the Reduction of Insecurity-Related Risks

Paper 3: Information-Related Challenge in Tackling Insecurity

Paper 4: Towards Coordination of Synergies in Tackling Insecurity

THEME 3: Security and Decentralisation: The Inherent Challenges by 2015

Paper 1: The Impact of Decentralisation on the Efforts to Ensure a Secure Environment

Paper 2: Security of Communities: The Inherent Challenges and Stakes

Paper 3: Local Police Force: Limits and Constraints of Decentralised Local authorities.

THEME 4: Security and Community Conflicts

Paper 1: Intra and Inter-Community Conflicts as Factors of Insecurity

Paper 2: Traditional Mechanisms for the Prevention of Community Conflicts

Paper 3: Place and Role of Communities in Security Governance

THEME 5: Security Actors and their Responsibilities.

Paper 1: Actual Security Situation in Mali

Paper 2: Strengths and Weaknesses of the Present Security System in Mali

Paper 3: Outlining a Master Scheme for Security in Mali

Paper 4: Responsibility of the Civil Society in Security Management

Paper 5: Women and Youth in Mali Facing Security Challenges

THEME 6: Testimonies

Testimony 1: A Former Minister of Internal Security

Testimony 2: A Former Minister of Territorial Administration

Testimony 3: A Former Minister of Defence

Testimony 4: A Former Director-General of Police

Testimony 5: A Former Director-General of Gendarmerie

Testimony 6: A Former Chief of Staff of the National Guard

Testimony 7: National Association of Retired National Police Officers of Mali

VII. GUIDELINE TO THE PROCESS AND DEBATE

7.1. Key Factors. Proceedings will be conducted with a constant endeavour to:

Support the Ministry in its bids to ensure a wide involvement of representatives of all the social strata, as well as partners in development, in the debate on security problems in Mali

Identify the problems and avenues for solutions, which

would help in drafting the National Security Policy, the Ten-Year Programme for the Development of Security Forces and Departments of Mali and the Security Programming Law

Create conditions for a wide support of government authorities, political actors and the civil society to the process of working out a new approach to peace and security in Mali

Attract the commitment of technical and financial partners towards funding the Ten-Year Programme

7.2. Participation

Participation is subject to the provision of:

Adequate technical, material and financial means in order to ensure a wide participation and qualitative debate

An advertising and publicity campaign scheme to sensitize the population and foreign partners on the holding of the « Conference for Peace and Security in Mali »

A mode of methodically selecting participants from within and outside the country

A representative selection of participants from the Malian Civil Society

Free meals and coffee breaks

Perdiems payable to certain participants officially registered in order to motivate them, etc.

7.2.1. Guidelines to ensure the Civil Society's Participation in the Debate

The Civil Society is little involved in security governance. However, the poor security situation, the multitude of social conflicts, their violent character and unpredictability require the Civil Society's involvement in the bid to bring about a climate of peace and security. That is why its active participation in the design, drafting and implementation of the National Security Policy is

essential. That would be a quite original approach, relatively to the old system of managing security issues in Mali. Moreover, it would make it easier for the populations to appropriate the new approach under consideration. Furthermore, the civil society's advocated participation would give security forces a relief in their efforts to implement policies and boost chances of success. In fact, the civil society organisations could play a key role in the implementation of a new security policy since they are directly in touch with the populations. They could easily conduct sensitization, education and peace culture campaigns. It is therefore advisable to identify and target key organisations whose contribution to the debate will be qualitative enough and which might, subsequently, facilitate the set-up of coalitions and networks to support the new security approach. Gathering civil society organisations into coalitions and networks is essential, because it would make it possible, first, to have strategic social partners, secondly, to develop synergies of action and learning effects, and thirdly to act within a common and logical framework, directed towards a global objective: the New Governance of Peace and Security in Mali.

In this exercise, women and youth organisations should also be given a key role to play, as they are already key players in the traditional conflict management mechanisms, owing to their extraordinary mobilisation capacity. Moreover, the women and the youths are the most populous components of the society, yet the most vulnerable to insecurity.

The Women: Mobilisation of women will be organised upon two axes: sectoral gathering and cross-cutting challenges. At the sectoral stage, the following associations can be solicited and encouraged to participate: CAFO, Women Jurists, Women Entrepreneurs, Women Communicators, Women Trade

Unionists, Women Engineers, Informal Sector Women, Widows of the Army and Security Forces, Parliamentary Women and Women Ministers, Christian Women, Muslim: Women, etc. At the cross-cutting stage, to be taken into consideration are challenges such as Women's Rights and Violences Inflicted upon Women, as an avenue to invite some women through such organisations as AMDH, APDF, AJM, etc.

The Youths: The youths, who account for over 70 % of the population, were the spearheads of March 1991 events which culminated in the advent of democracy in Mali. They also played an active role in recent achievements through decentralisation policy. But they are still marginalised, relatively speaking, and unemployed. They could consider Peace and Security Governance as a new challenge to be met. Towards this end, they should be encouraged to brainstorm on peace, security and development problems, and take an active part in the Conference proceedings. The resulting youth coalitions and networks, a kind of resource centres that would produce social protection animators, could prove to be a powerful lever to implement the new peace and security approach at the level of decentralised structures (including schools, universities, « grins » etc.) countrywide. Therefore, the following bodies, amongst others, could be invited to take part in the Conference, namely: the National Youth Council of Mali, the youth wings of major political parties, associations of rural youths, organisations of young urban residents, and the youths of certain important «grins» of Bamako, etc.

Judges and Judiciary Officials There are 6 professional corporations: Judiciary Officials, Lawyers, Registrars, Court Bailiffs, Judicial Police and Auctioneers.

Other Civil Society Stakeholders: They could be organised into three categories for the purpose of their participation, namely: major private business actors, the media and trade unions.

7.2.2. Guidelines for the participation of partners in development

Technical and financial partners who were met in connection with the Conference, unanimously agreed on the need for a « New Peace and Security Governance in Mali ». They all consider that security governance is an essential condition for their activities as it will largely contribute to bringing about an environment wherein their development projects and actions will be more sustainable. Most of them would welcome an active participation of civil society actors. But they have little information about the process embarked upon. They would therefore like to be carried along in the implementation of the Project.

It is necessary to motivate the interest and earn the contribution of partners in development by regularly providing them with full information on the development of the « New Peace and Security Governance ». It is even desirable to involve them in the process right from the inception. The Ministry and UNDP could create a coordination platform, such as a « Consultative Committee of Technical and Financial Partners » and organise, periodically, 'information and consultation meetings. Doing so will reinforce actions in progress and ensure a greater commitment of partners as to the funding of Action Plans. A good and personalized communication strategy will, eventually, be adopted to approach those who are hesitant or who show little interest, in order to seek their involvement.

7.3. Production of Basic Documents

Documents to be produced and distributed to participants shall be as follows:

- General Programme of the Conference

- List of themes and time schedule of related papers to be delivered

- Actual situation statements or reports.

The opening speech of the President of the Republic and address of the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection shall be distributed to participants immediately after the opening ceremony.

Distribution of other documents shortly before may make it easier for participants to understand the conferences, induce a more fruitful discussion and a better appropriation of themes. Certain special studies may be conducted by Malian or foreign consultants in order to stuff debates. All the documents should be of qualitative standard and speedily distributed to help participants prepare for constructive debates.

7.4. Operational Planning of Actions

Method: During the Conference, each workshop's proceedings will be covered by a four-part report:

1st Part: The problems

2nd Part: Avenues for Solutions

3rd Part: Axes of National Security Policy

4th Part: Actions to be conducted (what should be reformed within the security system to solve problems and enable the realisation of proposed solutions.

The capacities of the Ministry should be built up by soliciting the services of one or two planning/management experts to work out the Ten-Year Programme and related Budget Estimates.

VIII. BUDGET ESTIMATES COVERING THE CONFERENCE

To view the breakdowns of the total budget covering the Peace and Security Conference, please see Annex III.

*Conclusion And
Recommendations*

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to experience, any reform – as the issue is about reform - is first and foremost a matter of policy which is closely linked to communication. Then, in practice, it becomes a technical matter.

The new mode of Peace and Security Governance in Mali, which will stem out of the Conference, is subject to prerequisites that must be evaluated. They are, for instance, political will, development standards of security departments, morality of security forces (ethical and discipline standards, corruption prevention norms), their capacity to resist undue influence from the political authorities and money enticement from other other quarters, with the country's development in focus. For, there is no security without development, just as there is no development without security. Indeed, the successful implementation of the new Peace and Security Governance in Mali requires the commitment of all the nation's components.

Therefore, it is imperative to involve all the stakeholders (government, public administration, political parties, civil society, private sector, technical and financial partners, etc.) towards building the new Peace and Security Governance, based on powerful coalitions, a good communication strategy, far-reaching, sustainable and permanent actions. Such coalitions and actions will start from the grassroots to the summit, from the local authorities to the governmental level, through the regional authorities. The ultimate goal is to build up Mali's capacity to prevent and, where necessary, to adequately manage current and emerging insecurity phenomenons, such as economic and financial crimes and terrorism which disturb social peace, destabilizes democratic institutions and compromise development prospects.

With regard to risks, experience teaches three capital lessons that are pertinent to this type of process:

Absence of collaboration, which is a failure risk;

Inadequate communication and information on the Project, with the attendant risk of reducing the number and quality of participants and, in particular, the commitment of partners

Difficulty in mobilising the Civil Society around the Project.

Taking these three lessons into consideration, we would make three recommendations:

Setting up a united organisational team that will be dedicated, open to collaboration from all well-meaning quarters

Regularly providing the highest authorities of the State with progress reports on the process and sharing key subjects and issues pertaining to the Project with all the internal stakeholders

Maintaining a good, free and direct dialogue with the technical and financial partners, within a coordination and consultation framework.

Finally, it should be underlined that, despite the manifestation of political will, there is still the risk of an ineffective appropriation of the Conference's results. In fact, certain stakeholders may resist required changes that the new peace and security approach implies. To minimize such a risk, the Ministry should organise, shortly after the Conference, regional restitution seminars in order to validate the results. That would be another way of demonstrating to the populations that their view points matter, their aspirations are taken into consideration, their support is required and their involvement in the implementation of the Conference's recommendations is necessary for the success of the new Security Policy.

APPENDIX II.

GENERAL REPORT - NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND PEACE IN MALI Bamako, 21 - 23 November, 2005

Under the High Chairmanship of His Excellency, Mr. Amadou Toumani Touré, President of the Republic, Head of State, took place, at Salam Hotel, Bamako, from 21 to 23 November, 2005, the Conference on Peace and Security in Mali.

In attendance were 245 participants representing the Security Forces (Police, Gendarmerie, Civilian Protection, and National Guard), the Armed Forces, Regional and National Public Administration Departments, the Civil Society Organisations, Socio-Professional Organisations of the Private Sector, representatives of International Organisations as well as highly qualified resource persons in the areas of peace, security and development.

Organised under the aegis of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection, the Conference is part and parcel of the Government Activity Programme Framework. Its main purpose is to build up the capacities to prevent and manage general security issues and to pave way for the emergence of « Security Democratic Governance in Mali ».

I. FINAL GOAL OF THE CONFERENCE

The National Conference on Security and Peace is the beginning of a participative security governance process which should definitely and qualitatively contribute to the advent of a climate of peace, security and stability, an indispensable condition for attracting investments and promoting sustainable development in Mali.

The « Security Democratic Governance » blueprint that will stem from the Conference is part of the global strategy to alleviate poverty, consolidate democracy, ensure respect of human rights and promote good governance in the Republic of Mali.

II. OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

By undertaking the National Conference on Security and Peace, the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection had four (4) fundamental objectives in view; namely:

Identifying the ingredients of a National Security Policy through the examination of, and debate on, security issues in Mali, as viewed from different angles

Moving the different components of the Nation to actively participate in the design and implementation of the Policy, through a coherent and harmonised security Programme

Gathering the necessary inputs to draft an orientation and programming law bill on security

Setting up a framework of consultation, coordination and participative management of security issues, with the involvement of all the security actors (government authorities, public administration, decentralised communities, political class, civil society, private sector, technical and financial partners etc.).

III. PROCEEDINGS

The National Conference on Security and Peace took place in the « Marhaba » Hall of Salam Hotel. It was highlighted by two major events: a solemn opening ceremony presided over by the President of the Republic and a plenary session which, for three days, was animated by a range of relevant Papers that dwelt on the country's global security concerns.

3.1. OPENING CEREMONY

The opening ceremony was highlighted by the welcome address of the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection and the opening speech of the President of the Republic. In attendance were: Members of Government, Representatives of the Republic's Institutions, the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, International Organisations and over 200 guests who came from all the regions of Mali.

In his welcome address, the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection, Colonel Sadio Gassama, emphasised that « the National Forum which opens today is not just another seminar, colloquium or national conference. It is the answer to an imperative question: the need for the State to assess its achievements so far with regard to the people's security, to make a self-criticism and devise the most suitable strategies to meet the yearnings of the hardworking populations. » The Minister reviewed the security situation in the country, which has been quite disturbing for the past few years, and said that it would be a gross mistake to think that disasters, calamities and other threats to security only befall others. Therefore, considering the multitude of security threats hanging over the State as well as over the citizenry, Minister Sadio Gassama called for the design and implementation of a new security approach that is based on a long-term vision and participative method. «The struggle against insecurity, he said, should necessarily be included in our national poverty alleviation strategy, because no viable development action can take place today without integrating therein the security dimension. That is why the government felt obliged to organise this National Forum so that each component of the nation may bring its modest contribution to the search for adequate and realistic solutions to security concerns. The ultimate goal is to devise and implement a security governance system for Mali... It is this new approach and strategic vision which constitute the foundation of National Conference on Security and Peace. »

In conclusion, the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection expressed the hope that the National Conference on Security and Peace would enable the nation's representatives to succeed, through a participative and consensus method, in producing concrete proposals easily transformable into action programmes for implementation to ensure protection for the people and their properties, as well as to promote economic, social and democratic development of Mali.

In his opening speech, the President of the Republic hailed the initiative of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection, while emphasizing the need to ensure the return of State's authority, reinforcement of security of persons and properties, moral up-building of security departments, respect of law and order by the citizens and set-up of a mechanism that would lead to a better country-wide security coverage. He emphasised that we are living in a world context that is characterised by militarisation of the civilian society and demilitarisation of war: growing insecurity, pervasive lawlessness and violence, multiple internal conflicts, armed robberies in urban, suburban and rural areas and on highways, cross-border crime, movement of light weapons and widespread trafficking activities. Considering this situation, the President of the Republic wished that the present forum would provide the opportunity to « draw useful lessons from our daily endeavours to preserve security and peace. » He pointed to the need to provide security forces with the means that would enhance their mobility and response ability as against the sophisticate arms and weapons used by bandits. « The solution, he stated, resides in the rational deployment of security forces across the country (patrols, security checking posts), with particular regard to cross-border cooperation through information sharing and sustained collaboration between our countries. »

While referring to the principle of Precaution and Prevention Culture, the President of the Republic stressed the need to inculcate the concept in children, first within the family circles and then at school. He suggested that children be fully made aware of security issues through relentless sensitization, information and education efforts. The Head of State said, for the sake of increased efficiency and sustainability, security actions should be covered by enabling budgets at the level of local authorities, the same way as it is done with health or educational facilities. « He went on: for each decentralised entity, there must be a Security Unit, involving all the political, administrative and technical actors » for, « an harmonious development process which takes into consideration the human and social dimensions, in short the people's well-being, contributes to the consolidation of a suitably secure and peaceful environment.. »

To conclude, the President of the Republic and the Minister of Internal Security and Civilian Protection expressed, turn by turn, their vote of thanks to all the technical and financial partners who kindly supported the process of launching the National Conference on Security and Peace. They called on the other partners in development to kindly team up with Mali towards the design and implementation of new security governance system.

3.2. PROCEEDINGS IN PLENARY SESSION:

The proceedings of the National Conference on Security and Peace started with an introductory theme on security challenges in West Africa, followed by the restitution of regional consultations.

A. SECURITY CHALLENGE IN MALI AND WEST AFRICA

Under this introductory theme, participants were provided with a summary overview of the security situation in West Africa which, in many respects, underlies the security landscape

of Mali. Upon analysis, it was observed that the sub-region is one of the poorest and more unstable regions in the world. To prove this, between 1963 and 2005, the sub-region accounted for 31 military Coups d'État, out of 73 that took place on the continent. During the last decade, the sub-region had to contend with two civil wars, in Liberia and Sierra Leone respectively, rebellions in Mali and Niger, a secessionist movement in Senegal, crises, wars and other armed conflicts which destroyed resources, infrastructure and, sometimes, the State's institutions, torn apart the socio-economic fabric and broke social cohesion down. Alongside these armed conflicts, and more often in their trail, we powerlessly witness relentless insecurity characterised by thefts, armed robbery, vehicle snatching, gangsterism, physical violences, rapes, murders, increasing high urban and suburban banditry, cross-border and other organised crimes, etc.

The causes of Insecurity are generally linked to the crushing weight of foreign debt, the do-or-die struggle to conquer political power, as well as to ferocious rivalry to gain control of natural resources, lack of economic opportunities, bad governance, and endemic unemployment, which particularly affects the youths, poverty and misery, marginalisation and exclusion, etc.

The consequences of insecurity can be summed up to growing human misfortunes (amputations of hands, arms or legs, etc.), increasing violation of human rights and international humanitarian rights, destabilisation of the State's institutions, weakening State's authority, emergence of non-State armed groups and war lords, structural impoverishment of the populace, fragilisation of efforts to entrench democracy and, finally, dissipation of political, economic, social, cultural and democratic development endeavours, etc.

In summary, the negative incidences of tensions, crises and armed conflicts on the political, economic, social, cultural, democratic, humanitarian, ecologic and psychologic life are

simply beyond assessment. That is a humanitarian situation beyond human endurance, morally unacceptable and politically dangerous, to which people in the ECOWAS Sub-Region must oppose a stiff resistance, particularly by developing a new security governance which would consolidate the democratic process and sustainable development of the sub-region, i.e. « Security Democratic Governance ». Such new governance requires that man be placed at the centre of security and that the Security Sector be integrated into the global democratic process, in such a way that security would become a key factor of development, even a priority. It also requires the active participation of all the development stakeholders (government authorities, public administration, political class, civil society, private sector, partners in development, etc.) in the management of security issues. It implies a redistribution of powers, as well as a fair sharing of roles and responsibilities among all the security actors. It calls for a direct and indirect democratic oversight, just as observance of certain good governance criteria.

B. RESTITUTION OF REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS

Following a wide exchange of ideas and view points on the actual situation, participants formulated the following recommendations:

1. Concerning the Proliferation of Small arms and Light Weapons:

- Setting up regional and local commissions against Proliferation of Light Weapons;
- Creating a common data base for all security departments;
- Carrying out a census and identification of traditional and locally-made weapon manufacturers;
- Sensitization, conscious awareness-raising and moralisation of producers of artisanal weapons;

-
- Marking weapons to make it easier to trace the production source;
 - Reinforcing existing legislative provisions with a special article covering weapons of war;
 - Drafting a communication strategy to combat the Proliferation of Light Weapons;
 - Building up the capacities of security forces through training, equipment, information and interaction with the populations towards an adequate operational coverage of the country;
 - Developing and multiplying disarmament actions that are suitable to the local situation;
 - Securing and adequately managing the different arms and ammunitions depots belonging to Security Departments and Armed Forces;
 - Ensuring thorough morality-related enquiries prior to issuing permits to possess and carry arms;
 - Involving elected local representatives and NGOs in training, informing and sensitizing the populations on the dangers of Proliferation of Light Weapons;
 - Involving the populations in combating the proliferation of light weapons and ammunitions;
 - Imparting impetus to military district units;
 - Reinforcing frontier control measures;
 - Setting up a coordination commission for the purpose of liaising between the authorities in charge of security, justice and public administration with a view to organising periodic exchange and information meetings;
 - Reviving the national weapons recuperation policy by means of development projects and programmes funded by partners in development;
 - Strengthening the visibility of government authorities in the country's northern regions;
 - Initiating and developing a true peace culture.

2. In the area of cross-border crime, vandalism and robberies:

- Providing the youths with employment opportunities by ensuring the continuation of the Youth Employment Promotion Agency's activities;
- Introducing a communication policy to raise awareness on the consequences of vandalism;
- Implementing stiffer repressive laws against violent rioters;
- Preparing prisoners for reinsertion while still in detention;
- Social watch with a view to nipping down in the bud any smouldering resumption of criminal activities;
- Constructing prison facilities that are suitable to the realities of the society;
- Strengthening the civil society's involvement in the security area;
- Sensitizing the citizenry on the best way of collaborating with security forces with regard to information, while reassuring possible informants of their protection;
- Building up the operational capacities of departments in charge of security;
- Further training of security operatives;
- Strengthening the moral aspect of recruitments into the law enforcement agencies;
- Redeploying security forces in a way as to ensure full coverage of the national territory;
- Developing a prevention policy;
- Taking into consideration the social welfare of security personnel;
- Reinforcing the participation of security forces in peace keeping operations to enable them acquire knowledge of human rights and gain international experiences;
- Reintroducing civic and moral education in primary school syllabus;
- Drafting social development policy in respect of township wards;

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- Encouraging the enactment of municipal police units;
 - Creating consultation frameworks for crime prevention;
 - Imparting fresh impetus in sub-regional and international cooperation drive with the purpose of sharing information and implementing joint actions;
 - Reinforcing control of movements across frontiers by increasing the strength of security forces in those areas;
 - Training security personnel in computer technology and cybercrime detection;
 - Setting up a national data bank for the registration of births, deaths and marriages;
 - Equipping security forces with computer-based information terminus to enable them have easier access to the national birth, marriage and death registry;
 - Rehabilitation and/or creation of security check-posts and “laissez-passer”;
 - Organising regular meetings for cross-border authorities;
 - Carrying a comprehensive census of alien residents and ensuring a permanent and efficient monitoring of inflow of foreigners;
 - Creating an air force base in the North, with appropriate military equipment (helicopter, etc....);
 - Strictly enforcing national regulations and bilateral agreements regarding transhumance;
 - Banning issuance of special hunting permits to foreign VIPs and empowering regional public administration units to issue hunting permits for Cynegetic Interest Areas (Zones d'interet cynégétique - ZIC).

3. In the area of road/highway and riverway Insecurity:

- Introducing compulsory driving permits and use of head caskets for motorcyclists;
- Increasing highway vertical and horizontal traffic signboards;
- Regulating speed bumps

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- Regulating public transportation system and the movements of special convoys (funerary and marriage convoys) ;
 - Enforcing respect of regulations governing official public works on highways and roads;
 - Banning the use of mobile phones on the steering;
 - Dislodging illegal occupants from public places;
 - Updating the registry of accident statistical data;
 - Strict enforcement of vehicle technical inspection and issuance of driving permits;
 - Training drivers, informing and sensitizing the population;
 - Including highway code in school curricula and syllabuses;
 - Regulating the movement of cycle or motorcycle-driven carts, as well as the use of tinted glass cars;
 - Setting up accident relief posts and equipping them with logistic means, medical and drug kits;
 - Running first-aid induction courses for the benefit of drivers;
 - Improving communication networks;
 - Reinforcing human and material resources of security checking posts;
 - Enhancing the operational standard of fire and relief brigades by equipping them with adequate intervention logistics;
 - Regulating the sales of inflammable products (hydrocarbons, dangerous chemicals);
 - Enforcing compulsory use of safety belts by vehicle users and head caskets by cyclists and motor-cyclists;
 - Regulating river transportation system (control of passenger and goods carriage, determination of specific ports);
 - Reinforcing cooperation between Civilian Protection structures and river transporters;
 - Training navigation crew in piloting, rescue and emergency signals;
 - Encouraging consideration of meteorological data before passenger boarding and departure of vessels;
 - Discouraging, by means of law enforcement, mixed river transportation of passengers, cereals and animals;

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- Equipping vessels with relief materials and fire-fighting instruments (fuel reserves);
 - Equipping vehicles with fire extinguishers;

4. With regard to growing religious Intolerance

- Creating a framework for consultation between the different religious denominations, under the auspices of government authorities;
- Restructuring the relevant laws and regulations to adapt them to the current environment;
- Taking into consideration, in the recruitment of security personnel, the need for profile diversification (e.g. candidates with sound knowledge of Arabic languages), based on the security forces' adaptation requirements and on the need to modernize the State's security systems.

5. With regard to community conflicts:

- ✓ Taking steps to speedily resolve conflicts;
- ✓ Strictly enforcing court verdicts;
- ✓ Setting up within the Local Authority s conflict prevention committees;
- ✓ Jointly managing natural resources;
- ✓ Disseminating and implementing the provisions of Pastoral Charter (translated into national languages) ;
- ✓ Reviewing the laws governing village chieftaincy matters and land tenure code;
- ✓ Setting up a mechanism to combat cattle stealing;
- ✓ Constantly searching for out-of-court or peaceful resolution of community conflicts;
- ✓ Continuing training sessions for State's representatives, elected local counsellors and community leaders in conflict prevention and management;
- ✓ Involving community radio stations in the prevention of community conflicts;

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- ✓ Promoting in villages and hamlets the culture of peace, peaceful coexistence and love for the neighbour;
 - ✓ Establishing regulations governing religious preaching activities;
 - ✓ Reviewing laws governing worship practices;
 - ✓ Involving the populations in the management of land-related conflicts through the set-up of prevention and litigation settlement commissions in villages;
 - ✓ Realising consensus schemes to rehabilitate and manage environment;
 - ✓ Reinforcing the operational means of security forces - creation of a perfect harmony between the judges, justice officials and public administration within the framework of advisory support-in the performance of their respective duties;
 - ✓ Validation of minutes drafted by community conflict resolution committees or court verdict pronounced by judges.

C. PRECAUTIONARY PRINCIPLE AND PREVENTION CULTURE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

6. Regarding collective security against disaster risks:

- Imperatively taking into consideration land and pastoral issues in anti-desertification policies;
- Reinforcing the forestry departments and the culture of environment consciousness among the populations;
- Implementing an appropriate response policy against natural disasters.

7. Concerning increasing lawlessness and vandalism:

- Introducing civic education in school curricula;
- Creating a Supreme Security Council for Crisis Prevention and Management;

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- Adopting a law governing public order and defining the responsibilities of different security actors relatively to public administration;
 - Equipping law enforcement agencies with the appropriate human and technical means to respond to specific needs or situations (strength of security forces relatively to the importance of demonstrators);
 - Organising a national conference on beggars and juvenile delinquency.

8. With regard to information to combat insecurity:

- Facilitating the emergence of an information culture;
- Professionalising informants;
- Developing the function of informant by granting him/her the necessary status and incentives;
- Creating a structure to animate and coordinate different information departments.

9. As for joint and harmonious drive against insecurity:

- Taking into consideration the gender issue in the definition of security policy of Mali through recruitment exercises and functioning of security departments;
- Reinforcing the staff strength and means of security departments;
- Enhancing practical synergies within and between departments;
- Creating a national security observatory,
- Setting up, at the highest level of governance, an orientation and decision-making structure to coordinate interactions against insecurity.

D. DECENTRALISATION AND SECURITY

10. With regard to the impact of decentralisation on the management of security environment:

- Transferring resources to the local authorities;
- Proceeding on with the deconcentration of Civilian Protection departments;
- Making key officials within the Local Authority s safe, namely the mayors and their deputies.

11. About the issue of municipal police units

- Need to create municipal police;
- Holding a forum on the issue.

E. SECURITY ACTORS AND THEIR RESPONSABILITIES: ACTUAL SECURITY SITUATION IN MALI

12. With regard to the operational capacity-building of security forces

- Continuing gradual equipment of security units with material means (vehicles, fuel and ingredients, communication means, estate facilities);
- Substantially increasing security forces' numerical strength through further recruitment exercises;
- Realising an enhanced country-wide coverage by setting up more security units and repositioning existing units..

13. About improving security forces' working methods:

- Encouraging the units to display more thoroughness in the search for, and analysis of, prospective information;

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- Strengthening cooperation between the departments in charge of security forces' registry, to facilitate research, administrative and judicial investigations,
 - Setting up a coordination unit for security forces at the national and regional levels.

14. About cooperation between security forces, the populations and private security actors:

- Facilitating contacts and information sharing between security departments and the populations by assuring the latter of their safety.
- Setting up a cooperation framework between the security forces, private security actors and civil society organisations.

15. Concerning the role and place of women in security governance:

- Need for a deeper involvement of women in:
 - ✓ The structures, mechanisms and design processes, drafting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of security policies and programmes;
 - ✓ The preventive alarm system, peace culture education, human rights education;
 - ✓ Conflict resolution management and prevention: They can assist security departments by providing them with information on daily life realities;
 - ✓ The design of development programmes and security policies,

16. Place and role of the youth in security governance:

With regard to the youth's participation in the new security governance, it is necessary to:

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- Create forums for democratic dialogue and consultation between the youths and security departments
 - Evolve mechanisms enabling the youth to participate in the new security governance
 - Support platforms for exchanges on, and harmonisation of, youth-based actions to promote peace, security and development
 - Support the youth's actions oriented towards sensitization, information and culture of peace and security.

F. CHOOSING NEW NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY ORIENTATIONS

Participants recommend that the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection take all necessary measures and steps to produce, at the earliest time possible, the following documents, in consonance with the results of the Conference's proceedings:

One multiple-year security development document or programme, supported by an implementation strategy and of a communication plan

One National Security Policy Framework

One draft law bill covering security orientation and programming

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APPENDIX III.

AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHIES

Zeïni MOULAYE

Born in 1954 in Gao, Mali, Zeïni MOULAYE has Doctorate Degree in Political Science, with specialisation in International Relations and Communication. A Former Minister, he held the positions of Deputy Director-General, Political Affairs, Ministry of External Affairs of Mali and Special Adviser to the President of the Republic of Mali. As a freelance consultant since 1994, he served as Political Consultant to the Canadian Cooperation Office in Mali and Special Consultant to the « Coordination and Assistance Programme for Security and Development (PCASED) », an UNDP regional programme covering the 15 ECOWAS Member Countries. Since 1st October, 2008, he holds the position of Coordinator, « Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP) », an UNDP/MALI joint project.

Dr. Zeïni MOULAYE is the author or co-author of several books published under the aegis of FES, including « *Security Democratic Governance in Mali: A Development Challenge* » (1985), « *The National Assembly of Mali under the Third Republic* » (1987), « *Governance of Justice in Mali* » (1988). He is a founding member of WANSED (West African Network on Security and Democratic Governance).

Mahamadou NIAKATE

Born in 1950, Inspector General of Police Mahamadou Niakaté is Secretary-General of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civilian Protection of Mali since October 2011. He had previously held the position of Inspector-in-Chief of Security and Civilian Protection Departments for ten years, September 2001 to September 2011.

He has a Masters Degree in Public Administration (having attended Mali National School of Administration and Koulikoro Police Senior Staff School, Mali). He also occupied several positions in the Malian Administration, namely: Director of Cabinet, successively to the Minister of Internal Security and Minister of Territorial Administration and Security, Council-General of Mali in Algeria and Inspector of Security Departments. Currently, he is the National Director of the Shared Security and Peace Governance Programme (PGPSP).

He is also serving as the Chairman, Mali's Police Officers Reform Commission and member of the following bodies: Inter-Regional Implementation Committee for the Ten-Year Northern Region Development Programme (PDDRN), Steering Committee of the Special Programme for Peace, Security and Development of Northern Mali (PSPSDN), Supreme Council of Mali National Police Officers, and Supreme Council of Mali Civilian Protection Officers. Mr. Mahamadou Niakaté is a holder of several civilian and military diploma awards in Mali and abroad.