

Young Experts' perspectives on the ECOWAS Security Architecture.

Fostering peace, security and democracy in West Africa is one of the main objectives of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In 12 essays, young West African experts examine challenges and suggest some perspectives on the ECOWAS security architecture. The publication is the outcome of the "Get to know the ECOWAS" program which brought to Abuja young experts and activists working in various positions towards peace and security from various ECOWAS member states to meet and exchange with officials of the ECOWAS institutions.

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"Get to know the ECOWAS"

Peace and Security in an ECOWAS of the people.



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5 - 13th Oct. 2010

"Perspectives on the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture"

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GET TO KNOW THE ECOWAS
Peace and Security in an ECOWAS of People.
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ABOUT FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is a German private, non-profit organization committed to the ideas and basic values of social democracy, working in more than 100 countries world-wide.

In West-Africa, FES comprises of seven country offices. Beyond their work on the national level, the national offices jointly work on three major issues on the regional level: Economic and Social Policy, Security Policy and Electoral Processes. West African country offices also contribute to FES's work on continental and global levels.

Rendering security policy development and implementation more democratic is the principal goal of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Regional Security Policy Project West-Africa. Within the context of this project, FES provides experts and policy-makers platforms to exchange experiences and develop strategies to address security threats and improve the security architecture.

PREFACE

This document is the result of the study visit programme "Get to know the ECOWAS Peace and Security in an ECOWAS of the People" organized from 5th to 13th October 2010 in Abuja, Nigeria. This programme was initiated by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's (FES) regional security policy project in West Africa and aimed at familiarizing young West African experts with the ECOWAS security architecture and its institutions.

In the course of the week, the 12 young experts and activists from seven (7) ECOWAS member countries met and exchanged with various representatives of the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security at the ECOWAS Commission, officers of the ECOWAS Parliament and Judges of the ECOWAS Court of Justice.

We hereby express our gratitude to all executives of the various ECOWAS institutions that kindly took time to receive the group and engage in frank discussions.

The participants greatly appreciated these opportunities to meet and engage ECOWAS officials and to learn about the organization's ambitions and instruments in preventing violent conflict and fostering peace and security in West Africa. As all participants work towards these goals in various positions in their home countries already, we hope the insights and contacts they gained in Abuja will assist them in their daily work and strengthen the links between national and regional initiatives. After all, the "Get to know the ECOWAS" program aims at strengthening knowledge of the ECOWAS architecture in member states and to enlarge the pool of West African experts

advising and engaging the ECOWAS institutions in the field of peace and security.

This document therefore introduces these experts and compiles their perspectives on aspects of the ECOWAS security architecture. They are adding their voice to the already quite resonant one of all the experts here and elsewhere who are working tirelessly to politically, structurally and functionally strengthen the ECOWAS as a guardian of peace, democracy and security.

Encouraged by the positive feedback of both participants and ECOWAS officials, FES is committed to continue the "Get to know the ECOWAS" program to contribute to a better understanding of the organization's ambitions and instruments, to enlarge the pool of ECOWAS experts, to strengthen the links between national and regional initiatives and to thereby contribute to the achievements of ECOWAS' "Vision 2020 of an ECOWAS of the people".

Sebastian Sperling
Regional Coordinator
FES Regional Office Abuja

Simon Asoba
Project Manager
FES Regional Office, Abuja

"GET TO KNOW THE ECOWAS" PROGRAMME REPORT
By Shola Bridget Omotosho, Participant.

INTRODUCTION

1. In its Vision 2020, the ECOWAS aims to move the Commission from an ECOWAS of nations to an ECOWAS of the people. The 'Get to Know ECOWAS' programme is a step towards achieving this objective as it brings together young experts from the fields of peace and security from across member states of the ECOWAS to visit the ECOWAS institutions in Abuja and especially the Department for Political Affairs, Peace and Security.
2. The programme aims at familiarizing these experts with the operations and administration of the ECOWAS institutions, the ECOWAS security architecture and mechanisms of conflict prevention and management. It thereby allows these experts to facilitate national initiatives for a better understanding, further improvement and implementation of ECOWAS's security architecture in their respective countries. Finally, the programme allows a new generation of qualified experts on security policy in West Africa to strengthen their profile and to access or establish regional networks.
3. Twelve participants (four women and eight men) were selected by FES country offices from Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea (Conakry), Mali, Nigeria and Senegal based on set criteria. Outlined below are briefs of

the sessions of this first visit project conducted from the 5th to the 13th of October, 2010 in Abuja.

I-OPENING SESSION

4. The opening remarks were given by the Regional Coordinator Sebastian Sperling with a speech on the context and objectives of the programme. He emphasized that the programme was a maiden episode and its success rests solely with the participants. The meetings with the ECOWAS teams, as pointed out, will be what participants make of it and he advised participants to make use of the opportunities they get to interact and obtain as much information as possible.
5. Participants then introduced themselves and their affiliations within their various countries, while also throwing light on the specific areas of interest they have in the ECOWAS as well as their expectations of the programme.
6. A presentation was given by Dr. Zeini Moulaye, a WANSSED member, providing an overview of Security Challenges in West Africa. In his presentation, the multifaceted definitions of security were highlighted with specific priority given to human security. Challenges facing security in the sub-region were summarized into poor political leadership, criminality, conflict in communities, conflicts in local leadership, family/ethnic disputes as well as other silent tsunamis that pose threats to security like climate changes, diseases (epidemics and pandemics) and exploitation of resources. In his conclusion, Dr Zeini surmised that there

can be no democracy or growth without peace; there is need to fight poverty and create social justice; there is need to embed autonomy and accountability in security systems; the need for all partners and actors to prioritize security and invest in it cannot be over-emphasized.

7. Pet project for participants: Led by Sebastian Sperling, this session gave the opportunity to participants to develop clearly their areas of interest going forward, as relates to the ECOWAS. While each participant proposed a topic, the team jointly assisted to phrase essay topics.

II- VISIT PROCEEDINGS

8. The afternoon of the first day was dedicated to a tour of the ECOWAS Commission Headquarters in Asokoro, Abuja. A tour guide was assigned and participants visited and had a brief session at the administrative office of the commission and the auditorium. Participants visited the library and were given some of the ECOWAS' official documents and publications.
9. The second day started with the visit to the Department of Political affairs, peace and security where the Head of the Security Desk, Major Abdourahmane Dieng walked the participants through a brief history of the ECOWAS and the place of the Security Division as a unit under the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security-DPAPS. He threw light on the role of the WAPCO (The West African Police Chiefs) and the CCSS (Committee of Chiefs of Security Services for the Gendarmes). With a colossal role to play, the major

challenge he pointed out was the lack of manpower in his division.

10. The visit continued with the Directorate of Political Affairs where the Director, Dr. Jonas Hemou, and two of his colleagues, Mr. Eyessan Okorodudu and Mr. Frank Afanyankossou presented the directorate. Three major divisions of this unit highlighted were: (1) Conflict Management (2) Democracy and Good Governance (3) Electoral Assistance Units. In this meeting the Conflict Prevention Framework was discussed with emphasis on 5 areas (a) Preventive Diplomacy (b) Media (c) Gender (d) Security Governance and (e) Democracy and Political Governance. Mr. Okorodudu spoke about the face of the Democracy and Good Governance unit giving insight into the different programmes currently being implemented. Mr. Frank on the other hand discussed the Preventive Diplomacy, speaking about the different Councils of Mediation. One major challenge pointed out in this meeting after the questions and answers session was the fact that ECOWAS Mediations is limited by respect for sovereignty and would not interfere in internal conflicts where the Heads of States do not allow.
11. The afternoon of this second day was dedicated to the Peace fund which was presented by Mr. Brown Odigie. In his presentation, the participants learned about the protocols that led to the establishment of the Peace Fund and how this Fund is being generated from the foreign exchange incomes of member states. Also worthy of note is the fact that international organisations and government also contribute to the cause of the Peace

Fund. Its three focal areas are (a) Conflict prevention and capacity building, (b) Humanitarian activities to post conflict areas and for their reconstruction, electoral assistance, economic activities like microfinance and (c) Actual deployment and mobilization of resources on peacekeeping.

12. The third day of the programme started with the visit to the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) with the presence of six staff of this division. In this meeting, an elaborate presentation of the Operational Framework of the ESF was made by Col. Paul Aliu Koroma. He highlighted that the mission of the ESF was to mobilize, in readiness for deployment to areas of need, a force of military, police and civilian personnel from across the ECOWAS states. Questions for this unit include the legal framework that supports their intervention programmes and the role of other units of the ECOWAS like the early warning units and the Council of Mediation in their work. An interesting discussion emerged on how the military perceive the consolidation of democracy.
13. The programme continued with a Meeting with the Commissioner of DPAPS, Gen. Mahamane Touré who threw light on the four arms of the Architecture for Peace and Security of the ECOWAS which are (a) early warning (b) mediation council (c) council of the wise and (d) standby force. In his discussions, the Commissioner spoke about the challenges faced in the department. He was clear on the fact that funding or finance was not the problem, rather political constraints. The meeting proceeded with very rich

discussions on politics and the Commissioner's experiences with member states.

14. The afternoon of this third day was filled by a visit to the Situation Room of the Early warning system ECOWARN. The participants were received by the entire team of the ECOWARN headed by Col. Yoro Koné and an elaborate PowerPoint presentation on the operations of the unit was made. The ECOWARN designed an information collection system which has about 94 indicators. This information is fed into a programme which is updated by selected agents across the countries. The system works on three focal points: (i) government and civil society (gathering of information), (ii) Heads of Bureau (for quality control), (iii) Analysts (for development of early warning products).
15. In the evening, the young experts participated at a book launch organized by FES for a publication of a study on the "Role of ECOWAS in conflict management: the cases of Guinea and Guinea Bissau".
16. The fourth day of the programme was assigned to the visit of a training centre, the National Defense College of Nigeria (NDC) which is one of the ECOWAS Centers of Excellence. The visit started with a meeting with the Dean of the African Centre for Strategic Research and Study, Dr. Istifanus Zabadi, WANSERD Co-Coordinator, and his team of 5 colleagues. He gave a brief background of the NDC and its strategic role and approach to Security Sector Reform. The focus of the NDC in this regard is the inclusion of a subject of SSR in the curriculum of the

main college. He advocates strongly for the strengthening of all actors involved in security (civil society; research institutions; non-governmental organizations...). The College trains senior officers nominated by the ECOWAS from across the sub-region and runs also Certificate courses in Defense and Security Management. Questions from participants included the level of participation of women in the trainings, involvement of the police as a security provisioning agent. While the college makes specific requests for female participants, they still do not have the kind of responses they desire. From the first quarter of the year 2011, the college begins training police officers as part of its contribution to the policing mandate of the standby force.

17. The NDC afterwards took the team on a tour of the premises. The first visit was to the museum which houses the roll call of graduates of the college, outstanding alumni members as well as a collection of artifacts and souvenirs. The team was also taken to see the auditorium, library and officers' mess.
18. The fifth day which was a weekend was spent touring Abuja city, its political sights and its environs.
19. The second week of the programme started with another visit to the library of the Commission and participants were given more time to peruse the Commission's publications. A rich presentation of the ECOWAS publications was made to participants.

20. The afternoon was dedicated to presentation on International Assistance to ECOWAS Security Architecture. In this session, an overview of international military advisory assistance to the ECOWAS was given by Col. Wolfgang Hirsch who is the German military advisor to the ECOWAS. The GTZ security assistance and the FES regional security policy project's objectives, partners/networks, instruments and activities were presented to participants. Questions among other in this sessions bordered around the political status of FES and its sources of funding.
21. The last day of visits started with a visit to the ECOWAS Parliament. In this meeting, the participants were hosted in one of the committee rooms of the ECOWAS Parliament. The meeting was led by Mr John Azuma, Director of Admin and Finance (also the Deputy Secretary General) and Dr Kabir Garba, Bureau Manager. The pair gave an insight into the establishment and functioning of the Parliament since its first session which held in January 2001. The Parliament has a supposed membership of 115 provided by the different states in proportion to their population but currently seats 108 as members from Cote d'Ivoire have not taken their seats. Some of the challenges facing the Parliament include their inability to make and enforce decisions at the national levels and indirect election of members from the respective national parliaments which increases their dependence upon national politics. Concrete steps are however, being taken to tackle these issues so that strength and autonomy of the ECOWAS Parliament can be achieved.

22. The second ECOWAS institution visited was the ECOWAS Court of Justice. The team was hosted by the Honorable Judge Nana-Daboya, President of ECOWAS Court of Justice with three of her peers, the clerk of the Court and other staff. She told the team that although the text that preceded the Court of Justice was made in 1991, the court was set up in 2001 with 7 judges called the Judges Pioneer. One of the major roles of the court is to interpret and apply the Protocols written by the founding fathers of the Community which makes the Court the most important unit of the Commission by her consideration. She further described an “Advisory opinion” which is a mechanism of the court for early warning, but however stated that the court has been unable to get member states to implement the "Opinion" and this is one of the major challenges of the Court. Another constraint she saw was the dire need to have staff trained in languages and also staffing the Court with interpreters. Questions to the court centred on its scope and jurisdiction, sanction mechanisms, among others.
23. In the evening, a dinner was offered to the participants where the team had a refreshing moment sharing ideas about the entire project so far.
24. In the last day of the programme which was kept for evaluation and follow up perspectives, the participants made a declaration on their desire to form a network which should take the form of a working group of young experts in the field of peace and security where information can be shared across the team (e.g. through an email group). Participants were invited to affiliate

their organization to WANSED if they want to maintain linked and keep being informed and involved in actions on security policy and democratic governance. WANSED membership forms were given to participants who wanted to affiliate their organization.

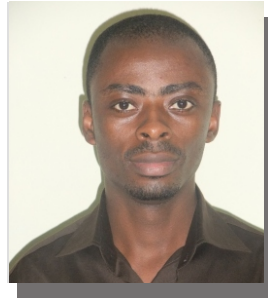
25. As regards the presentations of the pet project that was agreed upon at the beginning of the programme, the team was split into three groups of four each. The groups were formed for participants to do a brief presentation of their write-ups and have it critiqued and analyzed by other members. The meeting led to another review session of the follow up projects and the final write ups were submitted.
26. In the closing session, FES team addressed the participants thanking them for their cooperation and determination through the entire period. The team also responded through a spokes person, appreciating the efforts of the FES in organizing the event and recognizing the individual efforts that went into making the project a success. Evaluation forms were distributed to participants to assess the program and make recommendations for improvements. The project documents were shared.

**PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES
ON THE ECOWAS PEACE
AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE**

FRANK OSEI OKYERE (LIFA)

Research Associate

Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping
Training Centre [KAIPTC] - Ghana



Frank Okyere is a Research Associate with the Research Department of the KAIPTC. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration and is also a Licensed International Financial Analyst among other professional qualifications in the field of finance.

He is part of the KAIPTC ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) Project Team which supports the ECOWAS Commission in the operationalization of the ECPF through policy research, dialogue and advocacy. His personal interests include transnational organized crime, natural resource conflicts and governance as well as the development of risk assessment modules to contribute to global peace and security.

building for Integrated Peace Support Operations.

Adopted as one of three ECOWAS Centres of Excellence, the KAIPTC is tasked with delivering training programmes for both military and civilians at the operational level. These internationally recognized professional training courses are designed to equip personnel with selected skills and competencies required to meet Africa's present and future complex peace and security challenges.

The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre [KAIPTC] was established in 2003 to conduct training and research into conflict prevention, management and resolution as well as innovative thinking in, and regional capacity

EMERGING SECURITY THREATS IN WEST AFRICA: MONEY LAUNDERING AND TERRORISM

Regional peace and security in West Africa has been under considerable attack from transnational organized criminal networks in recent years, with the resultant effect of devastating loss of lives, valuable properties and socio-economic consequences beyond measure. Drugs, arms and human trafficking, cyber crime, money laundering, and goods smuggling are highly prevalent across West Africa, with many states acting as both transit and destination points.

Money laundering has been broadly defined, just as the scale and platform upon which it is perpetuated, to include the process of taking the proceeds of criminal activity and making them appear legal or as the name suggests, washing 'dirty' money or turning 'dirty' money into 'clean' money. Terrorism is increasingly gaining grounds in West Africa due to the ability of terrorists to finance their activities with proceeds from exploitation of the sub region's abundant natural resources. Aided by porous borders, corruption of state and non-state institutions, rigid secrecy rules, flourishing black markets and lax systems of monitoring suspicious activities, terrorists increasingly perceive West Africa as a safe haven. The nexus of money laundering and financing of terrorist groups grows stronger as the illicit trades generate the financial wheels upon which acts of terrorism thrive. Terrorist organizations have increasingly been involved in drug trafficking, and money laundering offers the financial infrastructure that lubricates their operations.

The issue of security within the West African region has been one of constant academic discourse and policy advocacy within socio-political spheres. The increase in the perpetuation of organized crime across the porous borders has also advanced with sophistication of methods. The implications of these acts on socioeconomic and political stability have drawn international focus to the role of the sub-region in the laundering of money, the trafficking of illicit drugs, small arms and humans as well as the financing of terrorism.

Several relevant international and regional legal instruments have been enacted with the objective of combating money laundering and terrorism such as *the 1988 UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, (Vienna Convention)*, *2000 Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Convention)* and *2003 UN Convention Against Corruption*.

The African Union in recognition of the fact that organized crime and terrorism violate basic human rights especially the rights to life and development, freedom of expression and freedom from fear adopted the *OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in 1999*. In 2003, the African Union further enacted the *Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption* to accentuate its role in the global fight against organized crime.

At the regional level, the fight against money laundering and terrorism permeates the security architecture of ECOWAS. The creation of the Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA) in 1999 with a

mandate which was later revised in 2006 to integrate counter-financing of terrorism is an example. Article 3 (d) of *the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security* prescribes improvement of cooperation in several areas including the control of cross-border crime and international terrorism. Article 49 also enjoins ECOWAS member states to implement strategies to combat money laundering by tightening loopholes that enable criminal activity to thrive within the region. The *2001 Supplementary Protocol* has similar provisions on terrorism and directs the Department of Political Affairs, Defence and Security to initiate joint activities for national agencies mandated to prevent and combat terrorism. Again, Article 58 of the *ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework* on Cross-border initiatives acknowledges the linkage between cross-border crime and exploitation of natural resources, money laundering, drug and human trafficking and arms proliferation.

Money laundering and terrorism no doubt impact regional security. In spite of the increasing consensus on the fight against organized crime, money laundering and terrorism continue to grow in dimension and with enhanced sophistication. The escalating spate of transnational crime has equally led to the influx of currency sometimes disguised as foreign direct investment into the sub region with the potential of crippling the financial systems. Corruption of law enforcement, undermining the rule of law, capital flight and accompanying loss of revenue to government are all symptomatic manifestations of money laundering and terrorism. If not checked, these could potentially turn West Africa into a lawless and intractable Narco Region.

Most West African states have anti-money laundering regulations that are either outdated or merely warming the shelves whereas laws on counter-terrorism and counter-financing of terrorist activities are nonexistent. These present daunting challenges in the fight against money laundering and terrorism. The apparent 'top-down' approach to combating terrorism and money laundering has not been very effective in West Africa. Perhaps, operational structures are woefully inadequate to addressing such complicated activities or the approach to fighting organized crime has been mislaid. The political will to fight organized crime is not backed by concrete action at the state level as tainted funds are sometimes used to finance political activity.

RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

Empowerment of independent security agencies mandated to combat organized crime should assume a central and proactive role within the region. Community-based suspicious activity reporting systems (vigilante groups) could also be developed to feed into national and regional frameworks. Such systems would augment collective responsibility to protect our region and thereby prevent crime in all its forms. The idea for such approach stems from the principle and belief that money launderers and terrorists are like squatters; they live among us, outwitting and undermining our fundamental human security while we are less vigilant.

ABDUL-JALILU ATEKU

Researcher Lecturer

University Of Ghana-legon ;
Accra, Ghana



Abdul-Jalilu Ateku obtained his B.A (Hons) in Political Science with Sociology at the University of Ghana, Legon with a First Class Honours in 2005. He holds a Master of Philosophy Degree in Political Science from the University of Ghana. He is currently a Researcher and a Tutor in Political Science at the University of Ghana, Legon. His major works include: Challenges of Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa: The Case of Liberia and Human Rights and Ghana's Fourth Republic, 1992-2008: An Assessment. His research interests are in peace, conflict and human rights in Africa. He has also assisted in a number of researches undertaken by both local and international research groups including local justice delivery by Center for Democratic Development 2009, The Hunger Project by Yale University, USA and Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) in 2008, Baseline surveys of selected Micro and Medium Enterprises in Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana by ISSER and sponsored by German Technical Co-operation (GTZ) in 2007, Child labour in Cocoa Growing areas in Ghana by Tulane University, USA/ISSER in 2007 and Political Parties Financing in Ghana by the Department of Political

Science, University of Ghana, Legon with support from Northwestern University, Illinois, USA and CODESRIA in 2007.

The Department of Political Science, University of Ghana-Legon is one of the earliest departments established by the University in the 1960s. Its main function is training manpower required for the development of Ghana and beyond. Currently it is one of the largest departments in the University and offers both graduate and undergraduate programmes in various specialized areas such as International Organizations and Diplomacy, Comparative Politics and Development and Public Policy/Public Administration. Courses such as Human Resource Development, Human Rights in Africa, Identity and Conflicts in Africa, Political Theory, Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies are offered both at graduate and undergraduate levels.

INTERDEPENDANCE OF POVERTY AND SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA

Generally speaking, the importance of security of states cannot be underestimated in the development of democratic governance, particularly in the West African sub-region where the states immediately after their attainment of independence came under the rule of constitutional dictatorial regimes and later military autocracies, and for about two decades ago, the region became a hotbed for violent conflicts. Today, the democratic wave of competitive multi-party elections in Africa not only liberalizes the political landscape to ensure state-society engagements, but as a mechanism for conflict resolution.

Against the backdrop of its history of political crisis and conflict, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), formed primarily as an economic grouping has over the years been transformed to deal with peace and security challenges facing the region, with specific focus on human security. It is in the light of providing adequate and protective human security to its people that led to the transformation of the sub-regional body from “ECOWAS of states to ECOWAS of people” to be achieved in the year 2020, and the main propelling ingredient in this transformation is the Security Sector Reforms (SSR).

This paper argues that since human development is the focus of this transformation, any attempt at reforming the security sector must consider the main “enemy” of the people of the region which is poverty. Poverty and security are interdependent. Studies and country experiences have shown that conflicts often

stem from two key factors that form a vicious circle. The first is extreme poverty which disproportionately affects some social groups. The second is poor governance in the management of national wealth and public goods and services. Poverty is a condition in which there is the shortage of essential basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, health, shelter and safe drinking water which determine the quality of life of a person or people in society. Limited or no access to opportunities such as education and employment which are also routes to escape poverty are themselves indicators of poverty. On the other hand, historically, the term security had a military connotation. For instance, questions such as: is our country well resourced to quell internal disruptions and external aggressions are raised when discussing security issues of a country. Today, the security of a nation-state goes beyond the military might of a country to include issues such as individuals' access to food, water, shelter, education, and health among others. For the region to be secured, governments must first establish their legitimacy by providing these basic services mentioned. This therefore implies that national security cannot be discussed without reference to the indicators of poverty.

In recognition of poverty as a major threat to the region's security, ECOWAS beyond its legal instruments and guidelines, in its Article 41(a) of Conflict Prevention Framework places a specific moral obligations and legitimacy on Member States to intervene to curtail the unacceptable levels of deprivation in West Africa to protect human security by taking measures to address the direct and root causes of intra and inter-state conflicts that put populations at risk. Article 25 of the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance also recognizes poverty alleviation as an important ingredient

for peace. It states inter alia” Member States agree that poverty alleviation and promotion of social dialogue are important factors for peace”

However, available statistics on the progress of countries towards the Millennium Development Goal One (MDG 1) in the region indicate that the fight against poverty by 2015 is not encouraging in the West African sub-region. A recent release by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), a think-tank based in the United Kingdom indicates that only Ghana is likely to achieve the MDG 1 in the sub-region which has already generated heated debate among development experts/analysts in Ghana. Indeed, in spite of the implementation of national poverty reduction strategies, a lot of countries in the sub-region have symptoms indicating that progress towards achieving the MDGs remains unattainable.

On the basis of rising deprivation and the need to adequately secure the region, poverty alleviation programmes must not only be incorporated in the security sector reforms but requires strong political will to vigorously pursue development oriented policies in member states.

JOSHUA O. BOLARINWA

Research Fellow

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
(NIIA) Lagos, Nigeria



Joshua Olusegun BOLARINWA is a Research Fellow, Division of International Security and Strategic Studies, Research and Studies Department of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) Lagos. He is a graduate of the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) Ile-Ife, the University of Ibadan (UI) and the University of Lagos (UNILAG) Nigeria, where he earned B.A (Hons) History and Economics, M.Sc. Peace and Conflict Studies (International Relations), M.A History and Strategic Studies; and M.Phil International Relations and Strategic Studies respectively (with specialization in Peace and Conflict Resolution). He teaches international relations, peace studies and conflict resolution at the Lagos State University and National Open University of Nigeria (Part time Basis) respectively. He also obtained a special certificate from the United Nations/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/International Peace Academy on Understanding the United Nations in New York. His research interest is in Security, Defence and Strategic Studies; Peace and Conflict Resolution, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peace Building, Gender Studies, Humanitarian

Intervention, Refugee Studies, IDPs and Migration Studies etc. He is a member of the Nigerian Society of International Affairs, Society for Peace Studies and Practice, Historical Society of Nigeria, Nigerian Institute of Management and the Nigerian Red Cross Society among others.

He has attended several National and International Conferences, Seminars and Workshops. Bolarinwa has published in the area of Conflict and Disaster Management, Security Issues, Gender, Peace Keeping, Post-conflict Reconstruction, Corruption, Migration and Human Trafficking, etc...

The objectives of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) are to encourage and facilitate the understanding of international affairs and of the circumstances, conditions and attitudes of foreign countries and their peoples; to provide and maintain means of information upon international questions and promote the study and investigation of international questions by means of conferences, lectures and discussions, and by the preparation and publication of books, reports, or otherwise as may seem desirable so as to develop a body of informed opinions on world affairs; to establish contacts with other organizations with similar objectives.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ECOWAS PEACE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

One of the core objectives of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is the undertaking by member states to work to safeguard and consolidate relations conducive to the maintenance of peace, stability and security within the region (West Africa) as spelt out in article 58(1) of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty. To strengthen the ECOWAS's capacity in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, member states adopted in 1999, the protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, otherwise known as ECOWAS Mechanism which entered into force the same year. The Revised Treaty in article 2(f) paid particular regard to the need to “establish a regional peace and security observation system and peacekeeping forces where appropriate” to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in West Africa.

In reality, the sub region has continued to witness rapid structural changes and development in the security frontier since the 1990s. These changes and developments have deflated the focus on economic integration as security dynamics have taken the centre stage in the sub region. Thus, beginning from the 1990s, major contradictions in the sub region have shifted attention from economic union to issues of security regimes which owed its origin to incessant military coups and particularly the unpleasant scenario created at the end of the cold war which aggravated the burden of development and

security challenges of the sub region within member states as intra-states conflicts.

Indeed, ECOWAS which was originally conceived as an economic scheme had to veer into security as the main focus, making it the primary focus for regional integration that if there is security there would economic development and integration. In 1978 ECOWAS put in place the Protocol on Non Aggression and in 1981 the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defense was endorsed by ECOWAS member states. The protocols were intended to address intractable inter-state conflicts among its members who were having difficulty in creating economic integration. However, these security measures were imperfect, as they could not tackle intra-state conflicts. Thus, between 1989 and 1998 ECOWAS could not manage well the sporadic conflicts that ravaged the sub region which led to the loss of several lives and the destruction of resources and property. It was this that prompted ECOWAS to begin series of consultation with security stakeholders and the civil society. So in 1999, ECOWAS rolled out the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, otherwise known as ECOWAS Mechanism. The objective of this mechanism among others are; to prevent, manage and resolve internal and interstate conflicts, strengthen cooperation in the area of conflict prevention, early warning, peacekeeping operations, the control of cross border crime, terrorism and proliferation of small arms and anti-personnel mines, maintain and consolidate peace, security and stability in West Africa.

The institution of the Mechanism includes the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, the Mediation and Security Council and the Executive Secretariat; these

institutions are being supported by organs like the Defense and Security Commission, the Council of Elders, the establishment of ECOWAS Standby Force for the maintenance of peace and security. One major aspect of the reform process is the establishment of an elaborate Early Warning System (ECOWARN), known as Observatory and Monitoring Centre with four zonal offices across the region. The Mechanism is further strengthened by the supplementary protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. It enables ECOWAS get involved in election monitoring and assistance and create enabling environment for democratic governance, especially the democratic governance of the security sector, human rights, humanitarian law and democratic principles. The ECOWAS Peace Fund (2004) and ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework of 2008 are also part of the security arrangement for the sub region to overcome the enormous security challenges.

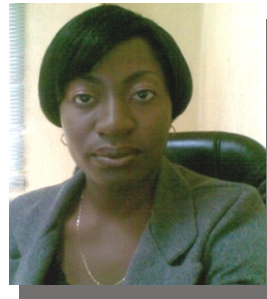
With this security architecture put in place, the challenge here is the political will to implement and carry out this regional security arrangement in member states as they differ in culture, colonial history and political developments. Thus, there is need for reorientation of the leadership and creating enabling environment for democracy, ECOWAS needs to focus on the workability and the application of the regional security architecture in space and scope for enhancing peace and stability in the sub region. ECOWAS should also make the issue of security sector governance for service delivery crucial in a holistic manner that involves the Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, Armed Forces, Paramilitary, Civil Society, Research Institutions and other stakeholders. ECOWAS needs to move from 'rhetoric to action', from programmes to implementation. Finally, the Community should also place more emphasis on preventive diplomacy especially in the area of Early Warning

that will lead to Early Response as the cost of prevention is lesser than the cost of reconstruction or peace building.

SHOLA BRIDGET OMOTOSHO

Programme Officer, Research And Planning

Cleen Foundation, Lagos,
Nigeria



*The CLEEN Foundation is a non governmental organisation that **promotes public safety, security and accessible justice** through empirical research, legislative advocacy, demonstration programmes and publications, in partnership with government and civil society.*

Shola Omotosho has for the past four years been a research administrator in the field of public safety and security in Nigeria, with the CLEEN Foundation and has coordinated and analysed data for national and sub-regional studies in the field. The thirty year old is a graduate of Education and Economics and has growing interests in development and measurement of indicators on safety and security. She has received the InWent trainings on 'Measuring Democracy, Governance and Human Rights' and 'Public Relations and Statistics.' She has to her credit, the successful coordination and data analysis of the National Crime Victimization and Safety Surveys (2006, 2010), Pre and Post Election Surveys (2007), the Afrobarometer Governance Survey (2008). She worked as a Research Associate on the United Nations Rule of Law Indicators Project in Liberia (2008) and the World Justice Index Project (2008) in partnership with the Vera Institute of Justice, New York.

STRENGTHENING POLICE INTERNAL CONTROL MECHANISMS IN WEST AFRICA: PROMOTING AN EXTERNAL CHANGE FROM WITHIN

Security provisioning agencies are crucial to the success of any security reform efforts and the core focus of such efforts must include among other things, the enhancement of capacity and promotion of accountability. Accountability is very important to policing; law enforcement agencies as well as individual police officers should be held accountable for their actions. There has been growing interests in police accountability on the part of police managers, policy makers and security scholars in recent years and this has culminated into an emphasis on the use of external oversight mechanisms to report and check police misconducts. However, with very mixed performance records, limited resources, limited capacity and low verifiable impact on police misconduct, the huge investments put on external oversight structures appears to have not been matched by significant and verifiable concrete outcomes. Lessons learnt indicate that for external oversight mechanisms to be effective, it needs to be complemented by internal control systems. There is no gainsaying the fact that no external oversight mechanism will have the extensive capacity to record or investigate police misconduct as the police themselves. Beyond the issue of capacity, it is a known fact that for change to be sustainable in any institution there must be an element of ownership in the processes that lead to the change. Therefore, there is need to grow the mechanism of police accountability within the system itself. Reiner (2000:174) states: “accountability institutions will only be truly efficacious in affecting police practices if they win over and work in conjunction with internal disciplinary and self controlling processes.”

Of course, there already exists internal control mechanisms within the police across the sub-region, but generally speaking, the internal investigations of citizens' complaints about police misconducts have been criticized as poor and unfair. For the internal disciplinary system of the police to play the expected complementary role, they need to be effective, rigorously enforced through both formal and informal means and more importantly internalized by the officers in such a way that it would influence their attitudes and organizational culture (Chukwuma, 2003). Unfortunately, the internal control systems in many police forces in West Africa are not clear, not rigorously enforced or internalized by police officers.

There is, therefore, the need to embark on a comparative study of internal control systems of police forces in West Africa as a first step in identifying problems militating against their effectiveness and mapping possible intervention programmes that could be implemented to strengthen them. The study will also aim to identify evidence of good practices, which can be shared and possibly replicated in the sub region, while specifically addressing the following questions: What currently exists in the internal processes of police disciplinary control system in terms of its structure and framework? What specifically are they empowered to do? What procedure(s) guide their practice? What output/outcome flow from the practice? What role for civil society? What is working in the current system? What is not working? Why? What could be done to improve what is not working?

The way forward would be to integrate the findings and recommendations of this study in the form of a 'Comparative Report' and/or a 'Good Practice Guide' on

police internal control systems in West Africa, into the activities of the representatives of the West Africa Police Chiefs Committee (WAPCCO) for discussions, adoptions and dissemination across the sub-region. It would also be imperative to hold dialogues among police, oversight agencies, donor community, ECOWAS and the media on the findings of such a study. If properly harnessed, this would to a great extent, harmonise and strengthen police accountability policies across the sub-region. The justification for this initiative is based on the fact that the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance embraces the norms and principles of accountability, transparency and professionalism as critical elements of the democratic governance in the security sector. Also of critical importance is the role of the police as the first agent in provisioning human security, with more direct contact with the citizens than any other security agency and the need for democracies to build cordial police-community relationships.

COULIBALY MAMADOU

Researcher

Universite De Bamako, Mali



Coulibaly Mamadou was born on 22nd February, 1977 in Mopti and holds a Senior Secondary certificate in biological sciences. After obtaining a Master's Degree in Economics at the University of Bamako, he pursued postgraduate studies in Governance and Management of Research and Higher Learning Institutions at *Universite Cheick Anta Diop* in Dakar as well as International Security and Defense at *Universite de Grenoble II in France*. He is a lecturer and research fellow at *Universite de Bamako* and has been lecturing in economics since 2005. He was also the Secretary General of the Union for Peace Party and People's Progressive Movement in 2007 and 2009 respectively; and has been deputy coordinator of the club "*Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie (AUF)*" of Mali for academic excellence since 2008. These courses were backed by seminars and conferences attended in France, Mali, Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire as well as training courses and studies at PMU-Mali, centre for strategic studies and *Agence universitaire de la francophonie*. He is currently interested in security issues within the ECOWAS space.

ANALYSIS OF POSSIBILITIES OF ECOWAS INTERVENTION IN THE SAHELO-SAHELIAN STRIP

ECOWAS has been evolving since 1975. From a medium of economic integration, it is now serving as a tool for foreign policy for Member States without however replacing them. Following armed conflicts and internal unrests which are retarding development in Member States, ECOWAS is gradually contributing to peace keeping and restoration of security as well as democratic governance. It has therefore defined a conflict prevention framework. ECOWAS is politically weak since it is an intergovernmental organization and not a supranational one, leaving room for Member States to manoeuvre. From the Revised Treaty through the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security of December 1999 to the Conflict Prevention Framework of 2008, ECOWAS has set up mechanisms and principles for the intervention of armed forces placed at its disposal by Member States for peacekeeping and security restoration operations within their borders.

The expansion of external interventions of such an organization must be supported by institutional and operational resources. With regard to institutional resources, ECOWAS has to a large extent relied on the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security and its divisions and units. These institutions and bodies are striving to meet expectations since they use mechanisms that need to be fully applied and strengthened to enable ECOWAS play its role in the establishment of regional

security as stated in the Conflict Prevention Framework Document under articles 68 and 69.

On the legal front, the following issue needs to be raised: **Why is ECOWAS not reacting to crimes and aggressions being experienced by people in the Sahelo-Saharan strip?**

To provide an answer to this question, it is appropriate to refer to the operational resources and possibilities available to ECOWAS on one hand, and international legal instruments on the other.

ECOWAS can gain some ground only if it has adequate operational resources. In this regard, the issue of civilian and military capacity is very key, hence the need to set up a mechanism for building such capacities.

Since the 1980s to date, peacekeeping missions have been the only “strategic” element that helps in meeting, to a limited extent, the objectives and ambitions of ECOWAS external intervention. To fill this strategic gap, Member States within the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council must work towards developing a real strategy.

With regard to the possibilities that may help ECOWAS intervene in the Sahelo-Saharan strip, it is necessary to understand and know the groups of people who are perpetuating this crimes and aggressions and their country of origin within the strip. Like in most neighbouring countries, the development of the northern regions of Mali has lagged behind; this is moreover one of the reasons advanced by rebel movements. There are political and identity demands that cannot be resolved

through military interventions. This justifies the option of a peaceful settlement of the northern conflict which led to the laying down of arms and the peace flame in 1994 under the auspices of the UN, OAU, EU and ECOWAS.

It therefore appears that a collective military intervention could be considered as interference in internal affairs prohibited by international law as well as a violation of one United Nations principles.

At the end of the 2000s, most countries in the Sahelo-Sahelian strip were confronted with the same problems combined with various cross-border threats, thus raising the question as to who are these groups of people and the essence of their claims. It would not too much of an exaggeration to state that following interventions by the US led coalition in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the expansion of terrorism has weakened significantly in this areas and has now shifted to the Sahelo-Sahelian strip. Through their contact with AQMI, groups of individuals have lost the political essence of their claims and citizenship.

For the sake of ECOWAS' identity, if a military intervention should be conducted in the Sahelo-Sahelian strip, it must lead the operations while observing the mechanisms and principles which form the basis of its legitimacy. In this sense, it is important to know if existing legal international instruments allow ECOWAS to conduct a military intervention at the request of Member States sharing the Sahelo-Sahelian strip and if it can have adequate operational resources given that this involves cross-border security of ECOWAS Member States and non members, including Algeria, Libya which can be hostile to such an intervention.

The legal approach is based on mechanisms and principles of the various relevant sub regional and regional protocols as well as international law and the UN Charter. Thus, the mechanisms and principles which form the basis of a possible ECOWAS intervention have been ratified by all Member States (excluding Mauritania) for the restoration of peace and security in specific contexts and when the general security of Member States is threatened. Beyond the internal legal framework which must be of interest to ECOWAS, there is the issue of territorial integrity and national sovereignty of non ECOWAS members. Algeria has used its own territory to fight efficiently against the Salafists and track them to other territories. Mauritania is doing the same. This could be an option for ECOWAS to intervene within the borders of Member States sharing the Sahelo-Saharan strip through the right to take legal action and the defence agreement concluded with non members. As regard the international legal framework, sections VI and VII on peacekeeping and the use of force respectively could justify a possible ECOWAS intervention just as the UN is committed to restore peace in UN Member States when peace and security are really threatened in this zone. ECOWAS can request for assistance from the UN under section VII in the form of an authorization to use force or fight against international terrorism. These two instruments have already been used by the United States and NATO to intervene in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

It is important to stress that ECOWAS cannot have the capacity to intervene in the Sahelo-Saharan strip without reforming the security sector and building the capacity of civilian and military actors.

ECOWAS is therefore being called upon to:

- Promote its early warning system to enable all Member States benefit from such a tool ;
- Ensure a greater involvement of the Mediation and Security Council to initiate a preventive diplomacy in the Sahelo-Sahelian strip;
- Involve international and regional organizations in a possible intervention to gain legitimacy from the international community;
- Set up a system of cooperation, intelligence, military and technical assistance in order to prepare the armed forces at its disposal for an effective regional operation.

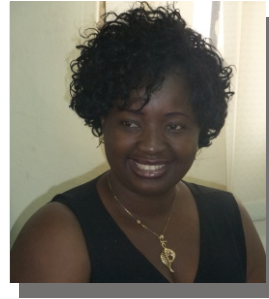
LINKS WITH ECOWAS

- Security Division (WAPCO: Committee of Police Chiefs and Chiefs of Defence Staff)
- ECOWAS stand-by force

GONAIRI LOU YOUNAN EDWIGE

Research Analyst

Ministry in charge of Defence and
Civilian Protection, Côte d'Ivoire



GONAIRI Lou Younan Edwige was born on 11th October 1978 in Bouake, Cote d'Ivoire. She holds a Masters in English and is not affiliated in any organization but is interested in issues of peace and women's security.

GENDER IN ECOWAS' SSR APPROACHES

The Economic Community of West African States was established in 1975 to promote the integration of Member States. However, it has been confronted with major conflict management problems. How can economic integration be achieved when countries are thrown into a state of unrest? When neighbours are killing each other? When nations are imploding?

The issue of security quickly became a priority in the guiding principle of the organization. In Member States, the security sector portrays several characteristics: some reflecting the repressive colonial system; others are deformed by leaders with ethnocentric, misogynist and chauvinist tendencies; some are disfigured by internal or external conflicts where there are all sorts of human rights violations especially against women, or worse still others are undermined by corruption and all kinds of vices.

These systems are unable to guarantee people's security. There is therefore the need to reform them. But what kind of reform is appropriate for ECOWAS Member States? What stakeholders must intervene in this transformation process? What importance is attached to gender in the security sector reform policy?

The security sector reform aims to transform the sector's institutions into more accountable, transparent and democratic and efficient entities. The mainstreaming of gender in the SSR process is important as it would contribute to the establishment of a sector that satisfy the needs of men, women, the girl and boy child

ECOWAS has placed a premium on the delicate gender issue by establishing a gender directorate thus implementing a policy which increasingly involves women as development actors in the social sector. The organization considers gender equality as a major concern.

The component on the role of women in the area of peace and security of the **ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework Document** is intended to facilitate the implementation of the UN Security 1325, thus offering women THE opportunity to play an active role in conflict resolution and peace building.

However, does this mean that there is an ECOWAS SSR policy and a well defined protocol that Member States must apply to letter in furtherance of security reform?

Article 74 of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework Document (ECPFD), paragraph e state that: “*ECOWAS shall develop and facilitate the implementation a set of practical guidelines to direct activities of all actors implementing or supporting Security Sector Reform (SSR) initiatives in the sub region*”. This is a welcome development knowing that the Community has taken measures to have the right to oversee this critical, long and costly but necessary exercise of SSR, specific to all Member State depending on the nomenclature and composition, size of security actors and history. A case in point is that of Guinea Bissau which ECOWAS is supporting in its SSR. It would be important that in the Member States, actions are backed by a firm political will without which nothing can be done. This would involve wining the trust of our technical and financial partners and international organization (FES, UNDP, UN, UE, GTZ) that have constantly lend their support in these

reform projects (brainstorming, workshops, conferences, financial support, etc.).

The last conference of security sector experts which was held from 22 to 24 June 2010 in Saly, Senegal aimed at identifying concrete measures to establish and strengthen the place of gender in ECOWAS SSR initiatives. According to participants, the conclusions of these sessions could serve as reference for national or regional reform policies.

Our findings show that after holding several seminars and consultations with various experts, ECOWAS is poised to produce a framework document specially dedicated to SSR issues. And we believe that, in view of the various actions, it will place a premium on gender equality in the implementation of SSR.

What can we finally conclude?

Given that security is a prerequisite for sustainable development, the transformation of a national security sector could enhance social and economic development. In view of its participatory nature, governors must take into account all stakeholders by ensuring greater civil society involvement in the transformation process.

The Gender and Human Development Department of ECOWAS must ensure that specific measures are taken to avoid that gender issues considered at the conception of programmes are pushed aside at the implementation stage of the reforms.

To conclude, we expect that ECOWAS will achieve its prime objective of economic integration. But beyond this objective, transforming the organization into an ECOWAS of peoples by

2020 will guarantee a sub region devoid of conflicts, stable and peaceful.

LINKS:

- The ECOWAS Centre for Gender and Human Development,
- Department for Political Affairs, Peace and Security.

JULIEN NOUNONTIN OUSSOU

National Coordinator

WANEP-Bénin



Winner of the 2007-2008 awards under the Young Research and Actions Grants for Disasters Reduction Programme, holds a Masters Degree in Geography and is currently pursuing a Post Graduate Diploma in Project Management and Local Development.

He has been a committed activist since 2002 working on issues such as human security, peace building and promotion, human rights and good governance and has a wealth of experience in action-research.

Julien OUSSOU was also the Benin (civil society) focal point for the ECOWARN system from 2006 to 2009 and a member of the ECOWAS Emergency Response Team (EERT). He has expertise in the organization of colloquia, and seminars in his areas of work.

WANEP-Benin (www.wanep-benin.org) is a member of the WANEP regional network (www.wanep.org) operating in the 15 ECOWAS countries in the areas of conflict prevention, promotion of the culture of peace and non violence. It is also active in social life sectors through networking, action-research, capacity building, advocacy and sensitization ...

ECOWARN'S IMPACT ON SECURITY IN ECOWAS MEMBERS STATES

Prior to the nine (9) days of « Get to know the ECOWAS » involving meetings and exchanges with officials of the ECOWAS Department of Political Affairs Peace and Security (DAPPS), the theme “ECOWARN's Impact on security in ECOWAS Member States” was chosen in order to find solutions to some recurrent issues that have for a long time remained without solution. In this article the term “impact” means the effect and/or influence produced by ECOWAS Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN) both in terms of the ECOWAS policy of preventive diplomacy and in Member States as well as grassroots communities.

Given the definition of the acronym « ECOWARN » it is just appropriate to ask questions about warning issues as well as responses offered by this system, which involves among other actors, civil society. After a brief profile of ECOWARN actors, the various impacts will be addressed namely (a) the invisible impacts in ECOWAS countries, b) the tangible impacts in ECOWAS countries as well as (c) challenges to overcome in order to achieve ECOWAS Vision 2020.

Several categories of actors are involved in the implementation of ECOWARN, namely: the regional organization, « ECOWAS », its Member States, Civil Society and experts. An analysis shows that the local populations are hardly involved and focal points or their NGOs do not have the resources to deal fully with the situation. Besides, a management personnel based in Abuja, with the support of experts, produce reports for policy makers, certainly making an impact which is difficult to assess up till today.

¹A programme organised by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung from 5 13 October 2010 for 12 young experts from six ECOWAS countries (Benin, Ghana, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali and Senegal).

a. INVISIBLE IMPACTS IN ECOWAS COUNTRIES

It is difficult to bet on the fact that the data analyzed are read by policy makers. In addition, it is easy to observe that these analytical reports are sources of information that should lead to actions at the national level. This is the case of monthly policy briefs on countries currently in crisis like Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Niger and Cote d'Ivoire... Aside the thematic reports on drug trafficking and the proliferation as well as trafficking of small arms, the security situation in ECOWAS countries are documented in daily bulletins, weekly reports, monthly situational reports, early warning reports, quarterly, half-yearly and annual reports on peace and security. To support these products, ECOWAS countries profiles with a focus on the history of conflicts and risks evaluation are made available. However, the dissemination has been limited though many organizations can use the knowledge to fashion out interventions in their countries. Consequently, the fact that the bulk of the information is based on geographical references gives the hope for more visible impacts on the ground.

b. VISIBLE IMPACTS IN ECOWAS COUNTRIES

These are responses on the ground, meaning the category of impacts identifiable by all. They can be divided into subtle impacts which escape us and expected but non-existent impacts.

The “subtle impacts” cover all initiatives that form part of preventive diplomacy². In practice, these include preparatory and administrative activities that lead to declarations, visits of good offices, fact finding missions and nomination of a special

² Section VIII, paragraph 48 to 51 of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework Document January 2008

representative, electoral assistance and facilitation of the International Contact Group and appointment of an ECOWAS mediator. Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire are examples of countries that are currently benefitting from such initiatives. The proof of these subtle impacts are visible on the ground since some beneficiary countries “raise objections” to some initiatives as was the case during the nomination of the mediator for the crisis in Guinea. The challenges at this level call for more flexible procedures to ensure greater effectiveness and avoid loss of time, a rare commodity in crisis situations. Beyond these objections, other elements make it difficult to achieve the expected results.

While calling for urgent solutions to the crisis plaguing their communities, some ECOWAS citizens condemn the ineffectiveness of ECOWARN. They expect from ECOWAS, solutions that are directly applicable without the long diplomatic dance. However, according to the Revised Treaty³, Member States are sovereign and ECOWAS can only intervene with their consent. This provision limits and will for a long time limit some expected actions given that the principle of subsidiarity which allows interventions under the ticket of the “duty to protect” can only be applied when the situation has deteriorated significantly. It is therefore urgent to identify regional approaches to the resolution of local conflicts. This comes up as one of the major challenges to overcome in order to achieve the vision 2020 of moving from “ECOWAS of States to ECOWAS of peoples”.

³ Article 58 of the Revised ECOWAS Treaty

a. CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO ACHIEVE VISION 2020

Ensuring that the ECOWARN system benefit from advantages of the civil society based early warning system without failing like previous systems poses a number of challenges. These involve among others:

- Establishing an inclusive early warning mechanism in each country in order to raise confidence in the system;
- Showing commitment and strengthening support for those who can intervene without waiting for the outcome of diplomacy at the local level, whether it is civil society or policy makers...
- Institutionalising and strengthening feedbacks to the grassroots about ECOWARN to make it an accessible tool in the hands and at the service of people.

LINKS:

Three divisions under DAPPS are concerned by this article. These are: Early Warning Division; Political Affairs Division and Security Division

Dr MOKTAR ADAMOU

Researcher- Lecturer

University of Parakou, Benin Rep.



African Network on Security and Democratic Governance, African Security Sector Network, Global Consortium on Security Transformation...

Mocktar Amadou is a Doctor of Law and Criminal Science, Lecturer at the University of Parakou (Benin), Member of Alioune Blondin Beye Peace Academy (ABBBAP) in Benin.

The Alioune Blondin Beye Peace Academy (ABBBAP) was established in Benin in 1999 in honour of Alioune Blondin Beye, then UN Secretary General Special Envoy in Angola (killed in a plane crash while on a mission), ABBAP's objective is to conduct studies, research and implement appropriate measures for conflict prevention, resolution and management in Africa. On many occasions, it initiated national and sub regional debates (which brought together researchers, teachers, parliamentarians, political actors and civil society) on issues concerning small arms, privatisation of the security sector, security governance, democratic governance, security sector reforms or culture of peace. It maintains very good relations with the Benin parliamentary select committee on defence and security. ABBAP is member of international networks such as West

IMPORTANCE OF TRADITIONAL MECHANISMS IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN ECOWAS SECURITY POLICY

Generally, Africa appears as a permanently unstable region and a space of tensions and disparities. Without denying that the continental historical process both in the past and today, reveals bloody shocks and quite a number of intra and inter-community conflicts, an objective analysis of ethnographic sources and data shows that the Black African civilization is defined mainly in terms of dialogue, compromises and coexistence and peace. Conflicts between social groups were successfully resolved through negotiations and arbitration using ethnic and cultural affinities and alliances. But due to a growing popular urban culture, countries were not able to institutionalize the appropriate capacity for non violent management of conflicts or potential conflicts. As a result, our modern mechanisms of arbitration and preventive management of conflicts seem not to have viable alternatives accepted by the people. Meanwhile, threats of tension are dangerous and constant in West Africa. The establishment of a Security and Mediation Council is a welcome development but its modes of operation are not fully effective. As it stands out in various debates conducted with different members in charge of security issues (Directorate of Political Affairs and Security as well as its divisions) conflicts could not be managed and settled without mediation mechanisms that are built on age-old positive cultural values and equipped with modern, reliable and democratic institutions. Therein lie the importance and relevance of this brief reflection.

I- DEEP ASPIRATION FOR PEACE

In most Black-African societies, the deep aspiration for peace have led to the development of normalisation techniques with the aim of preventing or at least curbing violence and armed conflicts. This has led to a wide range of dissuasive practices and modes of preventing conflicts as violence is channelled through specific socio-political structures as well as tacit or oral conventions of judicial or the supernatural and religious nature. In case of failure, there are also mechanisms that help to restore peace when it is disturbed as a result of apparently unrelenting antagonisms. In fact, traditional African societies did not lock themselves up in an absolute logic of confrontation. To break deadlocks and avoid chaos, space was always provided for parties to the conflict to initiate procedures for the restoration of normalcy and peace.

II- RETURN TO OUR ROOTS: PAX AFRICANA

This involves conducting, within the framework of research, deep investigations, reflections and pooling of experiences through different cultures and various actors that were directly or indirectly involved in conflict situations, gathering their experiences and analyzing them in order to come up with proposals that are likely to contribute to resourcing and equipping conflict prevention, management institutions in West Africa. The ECOWAS Revised Treaty of 24th July 1993 falls within this logic as it stresses on the need to “*to resort, when necessary, to conciliation and mediation procedures and other modes of peaceful settlement of disputes*” (Article 58-e). Since the Mediation and Security Council takes, on behalf of the Assembly of Head of State, decisions on all peace and security

issues, and implements policies on conflict prevention, management, settlement, peace keeping and security, it would be advisable to set up a permanent centre of strategic studies on modes of conflict regulation. The role of this centre will essentially be to conduct investigations and research on traditional mechanisms and serve as an intellectual support not only to the Mediation Council but also to the Directorate of Political Affairs, Peace and Security as well as its various units and propose appropriate mechanisms based on the specificities of each conflict.

CONCLUSION

Values, principles and rules making up the positive traditions of prevention and peaceful management of conflicts must be improved and integrated into the range of regulatory instruments at the local, national and regional levels. Concretely, this involves implementation of the Pax Africana Concept developed a few years ago by the historian, Ali Mazrui, through reformed ECOWAS institutions and promoting an “afro-centric responsibility” that will ensure that the Pax Africana concept is not exploited by foreign powers.

KARAMOKO DIAKITE

Acting Secretary General

West Africa Network on small arms in
(RASALAO-CI)



Karamoko DIAKITE holds a post graduate diploma in private law and has a judicial career at *the Univerisité Nationale de Bouake*. He is also a human rights activist and a member of the Ivorian Human Rights Movement (MIDH) where he chairs the Technical Committee on Finance. In view of his dynamism, he was chosen to represent the movement in the Ivorian Coalition of Human Rights Advocates (CIDDH) and the Network of Action on Small Arms in West Africa, Cote d'Ivoire Chapter (RASALAO-CI) where he holds respectively the position of Secretary General. In addition, he participated in several programmes, seminars, workshops, project implementation, surveys on human rights violations, sensitization campaigns and training courses, including:

- A specialized training course on small arms and light weapons (SALW) in West Africa on the theme « **Managing Cross Border Security** » at the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KA IPTC);

- A brainstorming workshop on the theme « **Parliament, Public Security and the Issue of Small Arms** » organized by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; etc.

Established on 21st July 2007 in Abidjan and comprising sixteen (16) Ivorian civil society organizations and coalitions, the Network of Action on small arms in West Africa (RASALAO-CI) deals with small arms and light weapons (SALW) and human security issues. It is led by a seven (7) member executive Committee. Its objectives are to:

- *Contribute to the realisation of a secured, peaceful environment conducive to the development of Cote d'Ivoire ;*
- *Serve as a forum for exchange of information, experience and strategies in order to fight against the proliferation and illicit trafficking of SALW in Cote d'Ivoire ;*
- *Work towards reducing the causes of demand as well as the negative impact of SALW in Cote d'Ivoire;*
- *Serve as a source of solidarity for all those who are working on issues related to small arms and are likely to be affected due to their work or to be victims of small arms.*

ECOWAS SECURITY POLICY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TRANSBORDER CRIMES

In accordance with the founding treaty of 28 June 1975, the mission assigned to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is to achieve a common market in West Africa and establish a monetary and economic union through cooperation and economic integration. In practice, it is confronted with issues of insecurity and instability in Member States. In spite of actions and initiatives taken, the security issue remains a great source of concern and an obstacle to the “consolidation of a peaceful, stable and democratic environment”. To accelerate the integration process, the founding treaty was revised on 24th July 1993 in Cotonou to find solutions to gaps observed in implementing the desired integration. To address the major challenge in terms of security, the Revised Treaty introduced article 58 to deal with the issue of regional security. In fact, Members State undertook to work towards the preservation and consolidation of relations conducive to peace, stability and security in the region.

However, the issue of cross border crimes remains a source of concern and complex. This is due to the development of new forms of crime within the ECOWAS space. These new crimes are drug trafficking, human trafficking, trafficking of stolen vehicles, cigarettes, small arms, terrorism, piracy... etc. Today, these crimes have turned this space into a transit point for narcotic drug traffickers after the closure of the Caribbean route. In addition, terrorist activities are gaining grounds within the ECOWAS space.

The combined effects of these crimes are the decline in investments, capital flights, lack of development in local communities, etc. Worse still, cross border crimes constitute an obstacle to the free movement of persons, goods and capital which is the fundamental principle of the ECOWAS integration policy. In sum, they have become a threat to political and institutional stability in Member States, with Guinea Bissau being the most obvious example.

Are ECOWAS instruments and tools effective to fight this scourge?

To answer this question, there is the need to present the legal and institutional framework set up to fight against this scourge. In fact, it is section 68 of the ECOWAS conflict prevention framework document on (CPFD) which deals with ECOWAS initiatives in the fight against cross border crimes. However, this legal framework is too broad to bring concrete solutions to these devastating new crimes. It is to fill this gap that, at the institutional level the Security Division was established under the Commission for Political Affairs, Peace and Security. But what has been the effect of actions taken by this division? One of the achievements of this Division is the establishment of the Committee of Heads of Police and Chiefs of Staff (WAPCO) based on Chapter X of the Protocol on conflicts prevention, management and settlement, peace keeping and security in order to ensure a close collaboration among security services of Member States. Though this collaborative framework exists, it is not as operational as expected. Similarly, the Committee of Police Chiefs which should be the backbone of this Division is confronted with the problem of membership, especially with the case of gendarmes who do not exist in Anglophone countries.

Besides, the Division lacks the necessary human resource and logistics.

In terms of challenges and prospects, it is important to make the collaboration among security services of Member States much more operational. This requires the establishment and adoption of a common sub regional training manual on the fight against these new forms of crimes. The Division must therefore be equipped with adequate human resource and logistics to enable it fulfill its mission while establishing a specific framework for each type of crime like the Convention on SALW. This process aims to create a specific framework for each crime in accordance with the determined priorities. This is the price to pay to turn the ECOWAs space into a peaceful and secured environment conducive to investments and development as well as the free movement of persons, goods and capital as desired by the founding fathers. The Heads of State's vision is to move from an ECOWAS of States to an ECOWAS of peoples depends on this.

LINK:

Cross border crime remains a major challenge addressed mainly by the Security Division in collaboration with the ECOWAS Unit on Small Arms and Light Weapons.

DORCAS NEMA DIONE

President Of Respfeco-guinea

Women's Network for Peace and Security
within the ECOWAS Space
(RESPFECO)-Guinea (Conakry)



Dorcas Dione is graduated from *Ecole Nationale des Postes et Télécommunications of Kipé/Conakry* (National School of Post and Telecommunication School) in 1988. She was head of Division at MUTRAGUI, Automobile Guarantee Fund/Insurance Institutions between 2000 - 2005. She has undergone training in SME organization and management techniques, conflict prevention, post conflict management and settlement techniques (mediation, advocacy election monitoring, communication, SSR, etc.) organized by WACSI at the Kofi Annan Centre. She is a member of the West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP Guinea) and National President of REPSFECO Guinea.

REPSFECO aims to coordinate and optimize women's roles and initiatives in conflict prevention maintenance of peace and security, post conflict reconstruction operations, promotion of human rights, especially the rights of women and other vulnerable groups to ensure lasting peace in West Africa.

The Women's Network for Peace and Security within the ECOWAS Space (REPSFECO), (repsfeco_guinee@hotmail.com), made up of organizations working for peace and security in West Africa, was established in July 2009 under the initiative of the ECOWAS Gender Development Centre (EGDC). The Guinean chapter comprises several women's organizations whose competence in peace issues is recognized in Guinea and West Africa.

GENDER INTEGRATION IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS WITHIN THE ECOWAS REGION

The West African region experienced armed conflicts which led to serious humanitarian crisis marked by the internal displacement of several millions of people and refugees, destruction of infrastructure, social, economic and cultural disintegration, requiring several billions of dollars for reconstruction and resettlement of displaced persons.

In spite of the downward trend in these conflicts in recent years, security and peacekeeping are major concerns in the West Africa, especially the inclusion of gender specific needs.

ECOWAS' CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE

Faced with armed conflicts and their consequences and knowing that peace and security are necessary for development and constitute a prerequisite and component of any progress, ECOWAS has made peace and security one of its focus in order to ensure the security of Member States, their territories, institutions and protection for people and their properties.

Today, there is no need to demonstrate ECOWAS' efforts with the return of peace in countries such as (Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire etc...) as well as the initiative to establish the rule of law in some Member States, notably Guinea Bissau, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire by providing support for electoral processes in these countries and setting up a contact group on the Guinean crisis.

Efforts made by ECOWAS to mainstream gender are remarkable. This is reflected in the establishment of a gender department within the Commission and the ECOWAS Centre for Gender Development (ECGD) based in Dakar which is working for women's emancipation at all levels (i.e. establishment network of young women leaders of ECOWAS, REPSFECO etc...).

WOMEN'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Women's role in peace keeping operations is increasingly being considered as critical by most leaders, given that it is currently an undeniable fact that the success of collective efforts for peace and security depends on the ability to ensure women's participation in peacekeeping and security operations.

Though women and children bear the brunt of conflicts, they are raped by soldiers deployed to protect civilians (case of Liberia and Sierra Leone) and socio-cultural burden way heavily on them (genital mutilation, forced marriages etc...), they have demonstrated their capacity to intervene in the restoration of peace in local communities as well as at the national and regional level.

However, women are unfortunately underrepresented in peacekeeping and security operations, the security sector seems closed to women though they are instruments of peace and their method of conflict resolution is peaceful.

It must be recognized that without women's involvement in the struggle for peace and security there can be neither sustainable peace nor reliable security...

Despite the efforts made by ECOWAS and in view of the numerous security challenges confronting West Africa in terms of insecurity resulting from the quest for power and control over the management of resources and the fact that the leaders are often involved in these conflicts, there is still the need to support women's organizations working in the area of peace to ensure:

- Women's full participation in the restoration of peace in ECOWAS Member States;
- Women's involvement in the restoration of the rule of law and democracy;
- Women's involvement in dialogue and mediation initiatives.

To achieve these objectives, women's organizations need help to:

- Ensure women's participation and representation in peace and security initiatives;
- Facilitate gender mainstreaming in the security sector reform;
- Promote the prevention and fight against gender based violence
- Ensure the protection of women and girl's rights;
- Build capacity in leadership and lobbying to compel leaders or policy makers to ratify and implement

instruments governing peace and security in our countries in the interest of our populations ;

- Develop initiatives for the promotion of resolution 1325, 1820 and CEDAW etc...
- Contribute to the implementation of gender equality and equity principles and promotion of African integration within the ECOWAS space;
- Facilitate the exchange of experience between women's organization dealing with peace and security within the ECOWAS space and other regions in Africa in order to be well equipped to push leaders of our countries to adhere to conventions governing countries to guarantee sustainable peace and an improvement in human security.

It is appropriate to remind all social classes of the recommendations in Resolutions 1325 and 1820, the Convention on the Elimination of Violence against Women ... (CEDAW). It is important to notice that the awareness on these instruments should not only be done by women but by all.

POSSIBLE LINKS

- Department of Humanitarian Affairs and Gender Development
- Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security

ALIOUNE BADARA GUEYE

Consultant - Researcher

Dakar, Senegal



Alioune Badara GUEYE is a graduate officer of Ecole Spéciale Militaire of Saint Cyr in France (1998). He served in the Senegal Armed Forces until 2002. He also holds an MBA (2004).

As a consultant and researcher, he collaborates on a regular basis with civil society organizations working on Peace and Security issues in Africa.

His areas of research are Defense Resource Management, Regional Security in West Africa as well as Democratic Governance and Security Sector Reform.

ARMED FORCES AND SSR IN THE ECOWAS' REGION

Obviously, defense forces in West Africa are still plagued with some inadequacies that are not conducive to the implementation of effective defense and security policies.

Initially, marked by the effects of poor transformation at independence, the shortcomings of the Defense Forces have been worsened with time by choices made by leaders who are not prepared to ensure the coherent professionalization of their entire defense machinery.

In the end, these defense forces are saddled with organizational structures, modes of operation and equipment that do not allow them to address all the current challenges. Two major constraints require strategic thinking.

On one hand, the scope of threats is wider and these are rarely confined to one country, and modes of action are not easy to control. On the other hand, development efforts will require the implementation more relevant activities at the national and sub regional level (humanitarian missions, natural disasters, etc.).

Thus, pretending to deal singlehandedly with these new dimensions, using the existing schemes that are obviously quite ineffective, is bound to fail.

Evidently, the challenges require collective and structured responses based on adequately configured defence tools.

These responses must flow from strategic responses and must not be

limited to one off improvement in personnel structure, finances and materials even if there is a great temptation to deal, first of all, with this structure which truly remain problematic in some countries.

It is important to have a deeper reflection on objectives being pursued by envisaging a sub regional framework within which the Defence Forces maintain operational skills to deal with national duties while developing those that will enable them play a role within a context involving other countries (for example, the ESF framework).

To implement these changes, Security Sector Reform programmes offer viable alternatives.

SSR is a relatively new concept whose definitions, scope and implementation modalities are still subjects of discussions.

However the interest in SSR seems quite obvious for ECOWAS to strive to develop a framework of action for SSR in the sub region. Currently, this document is at the conceptualisation stage, but one can already identify some important points to be taken into consideration at other stages of the process, namely the political will, role of parliamentarians and necessary ownership of the SSR by the Defence Forces.

In fact, the challenges are prominently political. To ensure this commitment, a coordination framework can be set up to assess national situations, develop proposals for implementation and adequate monitoring through regular situation briefings.

This unwavering political commitment should facilitate reflections on the legal framework (to be harmonised based, for example, on language frameworks, namely English, French and Portuguese), strategic coherence (meaning the political link defined between the purpose and effort) operational effectiveness (coherence, structure,

facilities and objectives).

In addition, at the level of national parliaments, some challenges must be addressed in order to successfully establish all these programmes. There is, first of all, the need to reflect on issues related to the sensitization, ownership of the challenges over time and the development of internal expertise in this area.

The development of this expertise can follow two axes.

Firstly, to achieve the expected civilian democratic control, there is the need to generate interest in this reform and address the lack of skills among parliamentarians. Capacity building activities should enable them to participate in the debates, orientation, implementation and control of defence policies of Member States.

Later on, in view of the high turnover of parliamentarians, which is not conducive for the development of internal expertise, it is necessary to fall on experts attached to Committees on Defence and Security.

To play their role, parliamentarians must have decision-making aids i.e. adequate and coherent legal, internal expertise, tools for monitoring and evaluating DSF activities (while guarding against the development of impunity within these forces), etc.

Finally, SSR like any other programme aimed at bringing structural changes must first of all overcome the challenge of ownership by the stakeholders concerned.

The level of anchoring as well as the duration and pace of these programmes cannot be achieved without good preparation, taking into account historical realities and internal dynamics of each army of the sub-region as well as political, social and economic challenges of the countries concerned.

The development of SSR tools could begin with EOWAS establishing standards that are binding on Member States and parliaments.

These legal, financial, and human and material resource tools could be based, for example, on the development of a code of conduct and ethics, a significant improvement in the quality of preparation (through the definition of standards in terms of initial and continuous training curriculum, with emphasis on some themes such as DIH and gender) and living conditions of Defence Forces, as well as equipment and reconversion programmes, etc.

LINKS WITH ECOWAS

While drafting this essay, visits and presentations made by the Commissioner in charge of DAPPS, the Head of Security Division, the Peace Fund and P.Os of the ECOWAS Stand by Force (ESF) enabled us to have a better grasp over the SSR challenges in the region and particularly the role and place of Defence Forces in the implementation of the sub-regional security architecture.

MAME DIOR SARR

Project Officer

MALAO (West Africa Movement against Small Arms), Dakar, Senegal



Mame Dior SARR is graduated in Master 2 in Cooperation and Solidarity, International Law at the University Jean Moulin-Lyon III, France.

MALAO is a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) founded in July 1999 in Senegal as part of the Abuja Moratorium implementation activities. Its vision: A West African region and a Senegal free of the proliferation and trafficking of illegal SALW to ensure sustainable development in peace and security. Its Mission: Strengthen citizen's involvement in the fight against SALW and their effects, based on the fundamental notion of respect for life and promote the culture of peace through information, communication, education and research. Its Specific Objectives are to reduce the proliferation and illegal trafficking of SALW and their effects in Senegal; to transform violent attitude and establish a peaceful Senegalese and West African civil society.

GENDER DIMENSION OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PROLIFERATION OF SALW WITHIN THE ECOWAS SPACE

"Easy to obtain and manipulate, small arms and portable arms have been the main, if not the sole means of combat used in majority of the most recent conflicts (...) In the hands of irregular troops who are least concerned about international humanitarian law, these arms have made a great number of victims"⁴.

From the Liberian conflict to that of Sierra Leone in the 2000s and without forgetting the many conflicts between States and armed groups in Africa, small arms and light weapons (SALW) are currently common in conflict spots on the continent. Even though most conflicts are waged with SALW and these arms are the main tool of criminal groups, they were until the mid- 1990s completely excluded from negotiation processes concerning the limitation, control and reduction of armament systems.

The proliferation of SALW is a destabilizing factor for ECOWAS Member States and a threat to peace and security of people. Countries in the West African sub-region have suffered the effects of the proliferation of SALW. They have increased the intensity and impact of intra-state armed conflicts and account for the direct victims of civil wars in countries like Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone. SALW also contributed extensively to the thousands of deaths indirectly linked to a conflict as a result of forced displacement and lack of access to health services. Aware of the fact that there can be no economic integration without sustainable peace in the region, ECOWAS

established a legal instrument i.e. the Convention on the fight against SALW which was signed in 2006 and came into force in November 2009.

Due to their vulnerability resulting from their social status, women form the bulk of direct and indirect victims of the proliferation of SALW. The impact of the proliferation of SALW on one of the pillars of development in the West African region calls for a greater gender sensitivity in the definition of peace and security strategies.

WOMEN, AN IMPORTANT SECTION OF VICTIMS OF SALW

Conflicts resulting from the proliferation of SALW do not present the traditional forms of fighting. Civilians are in the front line and account for 90% of victims of armed conflicts, with the greater proportion being women and children. This vulnerability of women is sustained by cultural, economic and political factors. Gender based violence is not a product of conflict; it is a tool used strategically to perpetrate and exacerbate violence. This explains why gender and SALW is an important theme that must be taken into consideration during discussions on security and development.

A special role must be entrusted to women in the fight against the proliferation of small arms as:

- From the cultural point of view, men and women do not consider the issue of SALW from the same perspective; men and women have specific responsibilities; in our African society, there are many clichés deeply

⁴ Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General of the United Nations

entrenched in the collective and individual sub conscience such as: « arms are not part of women's issues », “this does not concern them”, “it is men's affairs” a real attribute of masculinity. It is therefore crucial to allow men and women to participate in all aspects of the post conflict reconstruction process in a society. This will not only empower women and ensure gender equality but also constitute a decisive measure to achieve lasting peace.

- From the economic point of view, women are particularly vulnerable when they are left alone to fight for the survival of their families and provide resources for the home as is the case in Liberia where women are the backbone of agriculture. They account for more than half of the agricultural labour force and produce more than half of the national agricultural output. The upsurge in cases of aggression and rape against women in rural areas where agricultural activities are carried has compelled women to seek refuge in urban centres, in the quest for relative security. The two direct effects of this terror are the drop in agricultural production and increased poverty among women.

However, when it come determining conflict prevention and management strategies, women voice are not given equal importance. All over the world, men are leading participants in peace negotiations while women are excluded, their specific needs and experiences are not taken into account.

Thus, for example, in the Casamance conflict, the involvement of women's organisation, women priest and custodians of tradition and NGOs in the peace process in Casamance is

recognized in principle but their representation remains weak in peace negotiations. In addition, in view of their weak presence in decision making bodies, their interest are not adequately taken into account in the region's policies and programmes.

Given that in Africa, more than anywhere else, women play an essential role in the family and they constitute its nucleus, mainstreaming gender in the conception and implementation of the fight against SALW will be guarantee its effectiveness. This concern for involving women in peace and security issues is stated in the Preamble and article 23 of the ECOWAS convention on SALW, echoing the spirit of Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security which recognizes the complex issues of excluding women from peace negotiations. However gender mainstreaming in the campaign against the proliferation of SALW remains weak.

It appears therefore that women's role in the fight against the proliferation of SALW must be addressed within the framework of gender analysis.

Experiences acquired during the campaign “let's control arms” and other campaigns to fight against the proliferation of SALW could be strengthened through an analysis of best practices in terms of involving women.

POSSIBLE LINKS:

- ECOWAS Small Arms Unit
- Gender, youth, civil society employment and drug control Directorate

Programme

Tuesday, 05th October 2010

8.30-9.00 Registration of participants

9.00-12.30 I/ Welcome address & Introduction

9.00-9.10 Welcome Address by Sebastian Sperling, Coordinator FES Abuja

9.10-9.20 Presentation of programme and participants

9.20-10.10 A. Overview of Security Challenges in West Africa and the Role of ECOWAS

9.20-9.40 Overview of Security challenges in West Africa
By Dr Zeini Moulaye

9.40-10.10 Discussion

10.10-10.30 *Coffee break*

10.30-11.00 B. Presentation of FES & WANSED

10.30-10.45 Presentation of WANSED, a Network dedicated to democratic security policy
By Dr Zeini Moulaye

10.45-11.00 Discussion

11.00-12.30 C. Study project of Junior Experts Frame presentation by Sebastian Sperling

12.30-14.00 *Lunch break*

14.00-17.00 II. Visit ECOWAS COMMISSION- DPAPS

- Guided tour of the ECOWAS Commission, Asokoro
- Visit of the ECOWAS Library
By Barou Luther, DPAPS

Wednesday 6th October 2010

9.00-12.30 Visit ECOWAS Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security-DPAPS

9.00-10.00 Presentation: the **Security Division**, By Maj. Abdourahmane Dieng, Director

10.00-10.30 Discussion

10.30-12.00 **Directorate of Political Affairs**
Presentation: Preventive diplomacy in ECOWAS & ECPF by Dr Jonas HEMOU, Director of Political Affairs Division

12.00-14.30 *Lunch break*

14.30-15.30 Continuation of visit to the directorates of DPAPS
Democracy and Good Governance Division
Presentation of the Division by Eyesan Okorodudu, PPO

15.30-16.30 **ECOWAS Peace Fund**, by Brown Odigie

Thursday 7th October 2010

Continuation Visit ECOWAS Departments related to Security issues

9.00-11.00 Visit to the **ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF)**, Presentation By Col Zannoubo Vinagnon, PPO, ESF Transmission

11.30-15.20 Presentation of the DPPAS by **the Commissioner**, Gen. Mahamane Touré

16.15-17.30 Visit to the **ECOWAS Early warning** System's situation Room -
Presentation by Col. Yoro Koné, Director

19.00-21.30 Book Launch: "The Role of ECOWAS in managing political crisis and conflict: the case of Guinea & Guinea Bissau"

Friday 8th October 2010

III/ Visit to Training Centers

Visit to National Defence College-NDC (Ecowas Center of Excellence)

- 9.00-12.00
- Guided tour of NDC
 - Presentation: Role of civilian actors in SSR process by Dr Istifanus Zabadi

14.00-17.00 Continuation DPAPS: **Small Arms Unit**: Presentation by Dr Cyriaque Agnekethom, Director

Saturday 9th October 2010

10.00-17.00 **Touring Abuja City and environs**

Monday 11th October 2010

9.00-12.30 ECOWAS Commission Library visit

12.30-14.00 *Lunch*

14.00-17.00 IV/ International Assistance to ECOWAS Security Architecture

- Presentation German Military Advisory to ECOWAS By Col. Wolfgang Hirsch
- Presentation GTZ assistance to ECOWAS by Nana Odoï
- Presentation FES Regional Policy Project by Sebastian Sperling

Tuesday 12th October 2010

9.00-11.00 **Follow up with Junior Expert on Study projects**

11.00-18.00 **V/ ECOWAS Parliament & ECOWAS Court of Justice**

11.30-14.00 **ECOWAS Parliament:** Presentation by Mr John Azuma, Director Administration and Finances of Ecowas Parliament

14.30-15.00 *Lunch*

16.00-18.00 **ECOWAS Court of Justice:** Presentation by Hon. Judge Hadjia Awa Nana-Daboya, President of Ecowas Court of Justice

19.00-21.00 **Closure dinner**

Wednesday 13th 2010

9.00-13.00 **Wrap up of Programme**

- Feed back on Perspectives from Junior Experts and follow up of the programme
- Evaluation

Lunch & Closure