Conference Report: Regional Seminar on Civilian Security and Justice Sector Reform in North Africa
Casablanca, Morocco
June 4-7, 2013
for
Department of State International Narcotics and
Law Enforcement Affairs (INL)
Africa and Middle East (AME) Programs

Prepared by
United States Institute of Peace (USIP)
Near East South Asia Center (NESA) for Strategic Studies

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OVERVIEW

The Regional Seminar on "Civilian Security and Justice Sector Reform," held from June 4 – 7, 2013 in Casablanca, Morocco, convened key stakeholders from the Arab Spring and neighboring countries for dialogue on security and justice sector transformation in the region. This event was the first in a series of planned regional workshops that are jointly conducted by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and the Near East South Asia (NESA) Center for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. AFRICOM also participated in the project through its support of the NESA Center. Core workshop content was provided by experts and practitioners from USIP and NESA and other institutions, including Tufts University, the University of Pretoria and the African Security Sector Network, National Defense University, TDInternational, and the African Studies Centre at Coventry University.

Participants in the workshop came from diverse and representative institutions, including civil society, government (e.g. parliaments, ministries, justice sector institutions, police and security forces), the private sector, international organizations, and academia. The total number of participants who attended was 49. Country representation, both official and nonofficial, from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region included Algeria (3), Egypt (4), Libya (8), Morocco (19), Tunisia (7), Turkey (1), and Yemen (2). Also included from the United States were three representatives from AFRICOM, Ms. Leana Lopez from the US Embassy, Tunis, and Mr. Kevin Martidale from the US Embassy, Cairo.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The workshop was organized around plenary sessions, with expert presentations followed by focused, substantive discussions; and breakout groups, which produced a set of recommendations from small-group discussion and synthesis. Participant recommendations were presented in the final session to identify next steps for continued regional engagement and dialogue.

Security and justice sector reform are essential components of stable, long-term political transitions to democratic rule. This first seminar focused on laying out a common framework for discussion and exploring international case studies. The first plenary sessions focused on principles and conceptual developments in security and justice sector reform, while the remaining plenary sessions explored applications, challenges, and lessons-learned from conducting security and justice reform in post-conflict and transitional countries. Plenary sessions were complemented by smaller Breakout Discussion Groups to further refine the focus from a regional perspective. The following provides a brief synopsis of each plenary session.

Plenary Session 1: The Dynamics of Security and Justice Sector Reform in the Arab World in Post-Conflict and Transitional Environments

In this session, Dr. Daniel Brumberg framed the discussion by noting the importance of a regional and historical perspective. Mr. Karim Haggag moderated the session. Security and justice transformation in MENA does not occur in isolation, but rather interacts with the legacy of authoritarian and neo-authoritarian regimes. In this context, security forces and institutions have historically supported corrupt authoritarian protection "rackets." Brumberg noted that, although often overlooked, nondemocratic regimes have constituencies, and the threat of security and justice reform in these states makes these constituencies feel vulnerable—they fear being the "losers" in a new democratic context. Even the security apparatus itself may view itself as among the potential losers in the democratic transition. Security and justice transformation must therefore include how to design a new political pact. "Those who have most to lose must have reassurances that their rights will be protected in a democracy." If this is not achieved, Brumberg warned, then there "is no incentive for reform." The newly-negotiated system must provide guarantees to all parties, including minorities or politically-marginalized groups.

The ensuing discussion with participants focused on models for change, as well as specific questions about internal and external factors to transition, leadership, transitional justice, and the new contract between people and the state. Participants explored the centrality of consensus-making and national dialogue in transitional states, noting that a new constitution can establish common, fundamental principles and reflect international norms. Recent experiences from Tunisia and Egypt were juxtaposed, with participants observing differences between the two cases. Based on the presentation from Dr. Brumberg, participants also considered contextual challenges to democratic transition, which range from internal economic and social factors, to issues involving regional security and outside intervention.

Plenary Session 2: Introduction to Security and Justice Sector Reform

In this session, Mr. Robert Perito and Dr. Richard Shultz described the conceptual basis of SSR, including guiding principles, the whole-of-government approach, key actors, and challenges. Dr. Querine Hanlon moderated the session. Fundamentally, successful SSR ensures that security forces protect people as their primary mandate, rather than privileging the government or political elites. Mr. Perito's guiding principles of SSR include: strengthening governance and oversight; balancing operational effectiveness with institutional support; transparency and public oversight; linking security with justice; local ownership; and the principle of do no harm. From this standpoint, SSR is necessarily a long-term and intensive effort, which is more aptly described as "a long marathon, not a sprint." In addition to the technical aspects of implementing reform, SSR requires political bargaining, negotiation, and coalition-building among stakeholders to establish local ownership at the outset. Participants in the workshop asked about and discussed challenges to civilian oversight of police and military forces, changing cultural norms about police, and the role of third parties in assisting the reform process.

Discussion among the participants demonstrated a growing understanding that transition is a vested, time-intensive process. For example, civilian control of the military is a long-term

endeavor that involves developing expertise where it is needed in the ministries and parliament. Changing cultural norms also requires time.

Plenary Session 3: Designing Security and Justice Sector Reform: South Africa Case Study

In this session, lessons for designing security and justice sector reform were inferred from the South African experience during liberalization from apartheid. Dr. Sandy Africa presented, while Mr. Karim Haggag moderated the session. The South African transition was framed by two narratives: (1) the "total strategy" of the apartheid regime; and (2) the grassroots politicization and liberation movement led by the African National Congress. Particular attention was paid to the interaction between democratic principles and securitization. The session described key tenets in SSR design, including ownership, broad principles, mandates, architecture, inclusion of former combatants, leadership, and truth and reconciliation. Dr. Africa also concluded with a sober evaluation of successes and remaining challenges for the South African security and justice reform.

Several important themes figured heavily in the question and answer session. Participants observed the challenges of neutralizing armed groups and integrating them into new, professional, and apolitical security forces. Based on the South African case, it became apparent that truth and reconciliation processes and confidence-building measures would be instrumental. Participants also asked about human rights, transitional justice, and specific reform projects that could further both goals. Dr. Africa suggested that a human-rights based approach for the security sector could be adopted through the constitution, but emphasized the need for ongoing dialogue from civil society to constitutional courts to evaluate the application of law. In general, the discussion topics signaled an interest on the part of the participants in the wellbeing of diverse actors and groups during democratic transition.

Plenary Session 4: Police and Justice Reform and the Challenge of Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: The Case of Chile

In this session, Dr. Thomaz Costa presented on Chilean reform of the police and criminal justice systems. The session was moderated by Ms. Anne Moisan. Dr. Costa began by describing the background of Chile from the 1970s, when political and social upheaval forced Chile to rearticulate its political, economic, military systems, as well as its views on regional integration. The presentation focused on constitutional reforms that transformed the justice and criminal justice sectors, including the codification of human and political rights, as well as contract rights. Provisions for amnesty were put in place to ensure continuity in the new system. Importantly, the justice system shifted from an inquisition system to an adversarial system. Transparency was conferred through an Office of the Public Ministry, the creation of a public advocate, and cost reforms. According to Costa, the underlying motive behind their reforms was the operationalization of trust.

Building on Dr. Costa's presentation, the discussion by participants explored the notion of trust and dialogue in transitions. Participants also focused on the need for a well-publicized, comprehensive approach for all sectors of society. Trust preserves a supportive relationship between people and leadership, even if the goals of revolution have been delayed or attempted

and failed. Dr. Costa noted important steps that could be taken to establish trust at the outset, such as giving freedom of expression or freedom to assemble. Additionally, discussants raised the issue of facilitating national dialogue between groups. In Chile, national dialogue emerged around concrete issues, such as financing the military or the operation of foreign intelligence overseas.

Plenary Session 5: Reform, Transformation, or Construction: The Cases of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire

The cases of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire were considered in this session as comparative examples of transformation in post-conflict states. Dr. Bruce Baker focused on the cases of Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, while Dr. Sean McFate presented on the case of Liberia. Both provided instructive lessons, particularly to inform the Libyan transition. Mr. Robert Perito moderated the session. The cases of Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, and Liberia are similar for several reasons: They featured (1) major international commitment from the UN, NGOs, and other actors; (2) major donor countries vested in each country; and (3) political reform caused problems for reform in the security sector. The presentations were formulated around post-conflict needs, the reform process, and program evaluation. Dr. McFate drew lessons from the experience in Liberia, including demobilization of the militia, engagement with the population, and human rights vetting. Participants from Libya were especially focused on the demilitarization, disarmament, and reintegration issues as they apply to broader security sector reform. Participants reacted very well to these two briefings, which provided detailed steps that they could adapt to their reform efforts.

Plenary Session 6: The Challenge of Security Sector Reform in Tunisia

This panel discussion examined the case of Tunisia, the first country to experience the wave of Arab revolutions, as it addressed the challenge of security sector reform in post-revolutionary transition. Dr. Querine Hanlon identified two key challenges drawn from research and interviews with Tunisian stakeholders that are shaping the pace and design of reform initiatives in Tunisia. These included (1) the long time horizon for SSR and the need to manage expectations and communicate with populations, and (2) the lack of a shared understanding for what reform means in the Tunisian context. Mr. Bassem Bouguerra, President of Tunisian Institutional Reform, reviewed present and future prospects for police reform. He highlighted current programs that his civil society organization is pursuing in partnership with various organizations and units within the police and the Ministry of Interior in Tunisia. Finally, Mr. Dhya Eddine Mourou, President of Tunisian Young Lawyer Association, gave a detailed presentation on the legal challenges of reform, focusing on the struggle to establish judicial independence. Mr. Lawrence Velte moderated the session. The panel experts described the Tunisian reform process as dynamic and circular, marked by ongoing progress, opportunities, challenges, and criticisms.

Discussion centered on the application of best practices and lessons-learned from Tunisia to inform other countries, especially Egypt and Libya. Participants were particularly engaged with this panel, which focused on regional challenges presented from a regional perspective. They examined obstacles to implementing meaningful security and judicial reform in the highly-politicized contexts of Egypt and Libya. From the Tunisian perspective, politicization can be

tempered by pre-oversight in the drafting and ratification of a constitution based on fundamental principles. Mr. Bouguerra also emphasized the role of "bottom-up" approaches by civil society to bolster the reform process. International organizations also have a role to play in building local capacity and expertise.

The speakers reiterated the long-term nature of democratic transition. In response to one participant's question about speeding up the transition process, Dr. Hanlon used the example of police conduct during demonstrations to articulate the importance of balance, prioritization, and sequencing when implementing short- and long-term steps in reform.

Breakout Sessions I and II

Participants were assigned to one of four breakout groups to facilitate more detailed and productive discussion in a small-group setting. During the first breakout session, each group selected a group leader. Participants were asked to define the security and justice sector reform challenges in their countries and more broadly in the region. Participants also began to develop a list of inclusive strategic initiatives for the region and/or their countries.

The second breakout session built on the previous discussion. Participants were asked to draw lessons from the experiences of other countries that would be relevant to the region and/or to their countries. Discussion also focused on lessons from the case studies. For example, was there a preferred sequence for security and justice sector reform initiatives? Participants focused on the cases of South Africa and Chile to better understand why these justice and security sector reform cases are viewed as successes and what specifically made these cases successful. Finally, each breakout group drafted a presentation detailing the group's recommendations for future regional engagement on security and justice sector reform in North Africa. They were encouraged to be specific and to develop recommendations that could realistically be implemented.

The key themes to emerge from the participant discussions during the plenary and breakout sessions can be summarized as follows:

1. **Weakened Security Institutions as a Result of the Arab Uprisings.** A key theme to emerge from the seminar discussions was the degree to which the security apparatus has been weakened as a result of the uprisings, especially in Egypt and Tunisia. This resulted not so much from a loss of operational capacity, but mainly from the loss of legitimacy given that the security apparatus was key in suppressing political dissent, with the consequent serious erosion of public trust in the security apparatus. As noted by one activist, the big problem is "who protects whom from whom? We have also noticed violence against policemen. So they [the police] decide not to risk it. They feel they have no protection from government."

2. **The Problem of Winners and Losers.** The plight of the security apparatus is exacerbated by the lack of a coherent process of 'transitional justice' that can address the past abuses of the security sector without compromising its operational integrity. The result is that the security apparatus is identified in the public perception as among the 'losers' of the transition, but with no formal process for reconciliation and rebuilding trust with the public. As one participant asked, "How do we convince everyone that reconciliation has to be an

integral part of this process? Reconciliation is a must. We focus on punishment and removal of bad-doers from the older regime, but we are not learning from previous international cases where we have seen success in transitioning to stability." Precisely because of this politically difficult environment, SSR efforts have stalled across the region. Another participant noted that "in Egypt there might not be political will for reform. Human rights NGOs see reform as a way to destroy the MOI [Ministry of Interior]... and the security services go crazy when they hear the word reform—they find it insulting."

3. **A Deteriorating Security Environment:** The security apparatus is ill-equipped to deal with a marked deterioration in the security environment, both regionally and domestically. The rise of Salafi violent extremist groups posed a particularly acute challenge.

4. **The Growing Threat of Violent Extremism**: There was a widely shared consensus among participants that one of the principal security challenges in the region is the rise of violent extremism and the cross border threat of violent extremist organizations. There was a great deal of debate among participants about how to define and understand the threat and how best to manage it. Participants supported the idea that greater regional cooperation in managing the rise of violent extremism would be valuable to countries and civil society organizations across the region.

5. **Libya: A Special Case**. With the near complete breakdown of government authority, Libya presents a unique challenge. Unlike the situation in Tunisia and Egypt, the Libyan state has lost the capacity to impose law and order. With the proliferation of armed groups, the state has also lost the monopoly on the use of force. Many participants were particularly interested in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration program (DDR) implemented in Liberia and its applicability to Libya which unsuccessfully attempted its own version of DDR based on financial incentives. It seems they took the money, but did not give the weapons back.

Group Presentations and Recommendations for Further Regional Engagement

The final plenary session outbrief featured presentations from the four breakout groups. Each group designated a representative to present recommendations developed by the group. Dr. Jeffrey Helsing moderated the session.

Participants were asked to produce recommendations for discussions at a smaller focused workshop and at the September regional seminar (the full list of recommendations is available in Appendix E). Among the highlighted recommendations are proposed regional initiatives as well as country specific recommendations.

Participants recommended that future engagement focus on:

- Establishing *a civil-society regional forum* to address broader SSR issues by sharing experiences and lessons learned, drawing on international expertise, and providing political and moral support to national reform efforts.

- Creating a *regional reform academy* to train and educate regional security sector personnel on police conduct and police reform in accordance with international standards.
- Developing a *regional code of conduct* for the police and other security forces.
- Establishing new curricula in the academies focused on *training a new generation of police and military officers as "civil servants"* who work for the protection of the population.
- Promoting a *Libyan national dialogue* to generate solutions to address the problem of armed groups in a way that enhances the rule of law and complements the state use of force.
- Establishing *positive interactions between the police and the population* through "open house" days at police stations, police and military visits with children at schools, and organized soccer matches between police and citizens.
- Publicizing good and bad police behavior to *build confidence and reinforce the accountability* of the police to the citizens.
- Creating and sharing unclassified versions of military and internal security documents, such as national reform plans, white papers or national strategies, to *enhance transparency and inform citizens* of plans and progress for reform.
- Changing military and police recruiting practices to *attract a broader cross section of the population for the security sector* and allowing police to work in their neighborhoods where they are known and trusted.

The recommendations from each group are included in Appendix E.

From the ensuing discussion, participants recommended the creation of a regional conference taskforce, and nine participants volunteered to convene in the near future to perpetuate discussion, development, and action on conference recommendations.

PARTICIPANT RECOMMENDATIONS

GROUP 1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Address the dual challenge of reforming the security sector and protecting the population while respecting human rights.
- Explore innovative ways to foster regional cooperation to address the threats to border security ranging from illegal immigration, human trafficking, illegal drug and arms trafficking, and terrorist networks.
- Dealing with the challenge of illegally armed groups to establish and maintain the monopoly of legitimate force by the state.
- Promote a Libyan national dialogue to generate solutions to address the problem of armed groups in a way that enhances the rule of law and complements the state use of force.
- Enhance transparency in SSR reform processes including budgets, lines of authority, internal structures, and enhanced civilian oversight mechanisms.

- Promote change management skills to enable governments and civil society to holistically address the complex challenge of SSR within the overall political transition process.

GROUP 2 GUIDING PRINCIPLES

- Guiding Principles:
    - Open and honest channels of communication are critical
    - Dialogue and public education are vital components to any SSR activities and programs
    - Successful dialogue will require (often creative) incentives at the outset, and must be sustained and nurtured
    - The seeds for long-term SSR must be developed in the initial training of all security forces; a comprehensive curriculum that nurtures a new mindset among the security forces and teaches new skills is necessary
    - Justice and security must be addressed at the same time, not sequentially
    - Security is important for all stakeholders (including security forces)
    - Citizenship implies both rights and responsibilities, and is important for all stakeholders (including security forces)
    - It is important to break down the mindset that the people are a threat
    - Symbols and small victories matter

GROUP 2 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 1

- Leverage technology to motivate and capture behavior of the police responding to altercations or requests for assistance. Provides legal documentation/accountability.
    - When they respond to citizens, police are required to activate the recording, both police and citizens know exchange is recorded.
- Publicizing good and bad police behavior builds confidence and reinforces the accountability of the police to the citizens.
- Establish a program of "pilot cities" where the people decide to police the city themselves. If successful, adapt on a larger scale throughout country.

GROUP 2 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 2

- Create flexible sets of recommendations, timelines for execution, and an implementation process that can be tailored to country specifications.
- Establish an overall strategy, strategic plan of execution, and realistic timelines for Security Sector reform. Embedded in the plan is confidence building programs, rights and responsibilities of citizens, human rights, communications, etc.
- The civil society as a whole, the individuals, the media, the military, the police all have constructive roles to play to create a new relationship between the security sector and the citizen.

- Mindset must change. Create a non-threatening/non-confrontational and constructive environment for Police-Civilian interaction –
  - "town meetings" or "Community Councils" with a mutually set/agreed on agenda and schedule of regular meetings. Start with easy topics/joint projects, then harder issues. The public will begin to understand the duties of the police, as well as the helpful skill sets police possess.

GROUP 2 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 3

- Symbols carry emotional meaning in post-conflict/transitional situations.
  - Examples: flag is divisive, change it; changing "police force" to "police services", changing their uniforms and vehicle colors.
- Establish "Open House" days at police stations and have police and military visit children at schools.
- Organize seminars for the security forces to train officers in public relations, communicating interagency, dealing with the media, and most importantly with the public. In addition, establish public affairs offices within the police and military, and man them with the very best, hand-selected officers.
- Establish new curricula in the academies focused on the training for "civil servants" -- the new generation of police and military forces. Courses deal with new challenges these young officers will face – community policing, cyber-terrorism, etc. It is critical that they understand THEY are civil servants, that the people are not a threat, and that they work for the public.

GROUP 2 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 4

- Perception must be changed through a planned communication plan (marketing) targeted at establishing a better understanding and appreciation between the security forces and the public.
- Share/create non-classified versions of military documents such as "White Papers" or "National Strategies" to share with the citizenry, include sharing the national reform plans.
- Change recruiting practices for the military and police to better represent a cross section of the entire population; allow local police to work in their neighborhoods where they are known and trusted.
- Develop programs that address/educate all ages of society – especially addressing building confidence with young children and the "Youth" so they grow up trusting, respecting and admiring the police as servants of the people.
  - comic books depicting the "ideal policeman/woman", sponsoring sports teams with logos on team shirts, TV shows, "shadowing " police at work, paid competitive internships, etc.

GROUP 2 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 5

- Create a data base of "centers of excellence" for general and specialized security sector training that can be provided by other Arab countries.
- Use local celebrities and sport heroes to help promote education of citizen's rights, as well as promoting positive achievements of the security forces – peacekeeping, responding to natural disasters, local community support, etc.
- Establish a Regional Reform Academy focusing on human rights, communications, conflict resolution, crisis management, etc. and recruit the very best instructors from the region.

GROUP 3 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 1

- First recommendation: To establish a regional academy that will, in its initial effort, focus on police and judiciary reform.
    - The intent of the academy would be to prepare professionals who can establish programs to train in-country personnel.
    - Includes collaborative, international support
    - Second recommendation: USIP organizes a conference on steps for establishing the regional academy

GROUP 3 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 2

- Third recommendation: Needs to be attention paid to security threats, in additional to SSR. These include: porous borders, violent extremism, and trafficking of drugs, weapons, and humans.
- Fourth recommendation: Establish a permanent, regional forum that will address broader SSR issues by sharing experiences and lessons-learned, drawing on international expertise.

GROUP 3 RECOMMENDATIONS – SLIDE 3

- Fifth recommendation: To recognize that SSR is necessary to solving the security issues of the region, but it is not sufficient. Larger sources of instability exist, and have to be addressed. For example: youth and unemployment.

GROUP 4 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Regional Reform Academy
- Creating a Yardstick for Progress
- Create Independent Governmental Organization for Human Rights Issues
- Super NGO Committee to Advocate SSR with Governments

- Regional Code of Conduct for Police Forces
- Nonpartisan Security Sector Leadership
- Encourage Influential Think Tanks and Other Organizations, e.g. Freedom House, to Focus on the Police and SSR
- Emphasize Human Rights and Responsibilities in School Curricula

Conference Closing Remarks

Ms. Leana Lopez, Director, International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Embassy Tunis, closed the workshop by citing key lessons and encouraging new momentum for future work based on workshop findings. In her address to workshop participants, Ms. Lopez praised the quality discussion and noted the valuable networks that had been created among participants. These local networks, bolstered by future coordination and leadership from nominated individuals in the regional taskforce, will serve as a basis for continued and invigorated reform efforts in the security and justice sectors. Ms. Lopez encouraged participants to identify more stakeholders and submit specific suggestions to build a substantive agenda for the next workshop in September 2013.

Appendix A: Conference Agenda

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON CIVILIAN SECURITY AND JUSTICE SECTOR REFORM IN NORTH AFRICA
Casablanca, Morocco

June 4-7, 2013

Seminar Agenda and Syllabus	As of: 28 May 2013

        The transformation of the security and justice sectors in the Arab Spring Countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is a challenging and highly political process that will prove critical to the long-term successful transition to democratic rule in the region. The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and the Near East South Asia (NESA) Center for Strategic Studies will jointly conduct this four-day seminar to spark a critically needed dialogue among the Arab Spring countries of North Africa and their key neighbors and to deepen knowledge and understanding of security and justice sector reform processes and practices.

        During the four day seminar, participants from Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia—representing different parts of the security and justice sectors and civil society in their countries, will attend plenary sessions that will feature expert lectures and panels and engage in small group discussions led by moderators from NESA and USIP. The entire four-day program is designed to enable participants to:

- Understand the concepts of justice sector reform and security sector governance,
- Analyze the regional dynamics of security and justice sector reform in North Africa, identifying common challenges as well as regional distinctions,
- Examine security and justice sector challenges in post-conflict and transitional environments, and
- Investigate cases of successful security and justice sector reform elsewhere, drawing lessons learned and identifying implications for the MENA region.

Day One: Tuesday, June 4, 2013

Afternoon   **Arrivals and Registration**

1730-1830   **Late Registration**

1830-2100   **Welcome Reception**

            Welcome Remarks:

            Consul General Brian W. Shukan, Casablanca, Morocco

Ms. Manal Omar, Director of Iraq, Iran, and North Africa Programs,
United States Institute of Peace (USIP)

Ms. Leana Lopez, INL Director, U.S. Embassy Tunis

Mr. Mohammed Belhaj, Director of Global Issues, Moroccan Ministry of
Foreign Affairs

Group Photo

Day Two: Wednesday, June 5, 2013

0900-0945   Welcome Remarks and Introduction to Seminar Program

Mr. Karim Haggag, Visiting Professor, NESA

Dr. Querine Hanlon, Senior Defense Fellow, USIP

Participant Introductions

Faculty and Staff Introductions

**0945-1115   Session 1: The Dynamics of Security and Justice Sector Reform in the Arab
World in Post-Conflict and Transitional Environments**

*The purpose of this session is to explore conceptual developments, applications,
challenges, and lessons-learned for SSR in post-conflict and transitional
societies. Expert analyses, country studies, and policy recommendations help to
frame the discussion.*

Moderator:

Mr. Karim Haggag, Visiting Professor, NESA

Speaker:

Dr. Daniel Brumberg, Senior Program Officer, United States Institute of Peace
and Associate Professor, Georgetown University

Q&A

Readings:

Yezid Sayigh, "Security Sector Reform in the Arab Region: Challenges to
Developing an Indigenous Agenda," *Arab Reform Initiative*, Thematic
Papers no. 2 (December 2007). http://www.arab-reform.net/security-
sector-reform-arab-region-challenges-developing-indigenous-agenda-0

The author describes SSR in the Arab region as a fundamentally political process, which must be attuned to the historical and institutional characteristics of each country. Considerations for successful SSR thus include: an indigenous agenda driven by domestic actors; demilitarization and functional differentiation of internal security forces; and democratization.

Donald J. Planty, "Security Sector Transformation in the Arab Awakening," USIP Special Report no. 317 (September 2012). http://www.usip.org/publications/security-sector-transformation-in-the-arab-awakening.

Arabic translation: http://www.usip.org/publications/security-sector-transformation-in-the-arab-awakening-arabic-version

In the context of democratic movements unleashed by the Arab Awakening, the author asserts the importance of SSR as an integral component of holistic, national transformation. The author provides regional examples to illustrate the key pillars of SSR, and outlines the potential role of the US, EU, and other international actors.

Herbert Wulf, *Security Sector Reform in Developing and Transitional Countries Revisited* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2011). http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/wulf_handbookII.pdf

Even though SSR and political reform are mutually reinforcing, the author suggests that SSR is not regime-dependent, and democratization is not a guarantee of improved security. Adequate civilian oversight, rational allocation of resources, professional security institutions, coherent donor policy, and other factors contribute to the security reform process, which varies by context.

1115-1145   **Break**

1145-1300   **Session 2: Introduction to Security and Justice Sector Reform**

This session focuses on the formative role of security and justice sector reform in transitional environments, based on analyses of historical and contemporary approaches to SSR.

Moderator:

Dr. Querine Hanlon, Senior Defense Fellow, USIP

Speakers:

Mr. Robert Perito, Director, Security Sector Governance Center, USIP

Dr. Richard Shultz, Professor and Director, International Security Studies Program, The Fletcher School, Tufts University

Q&A

Readings:

The International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT), *SSR in a Nutshell: Manual for Introductory Training on Security Sector Reform,* Center for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF), 2012. http://issat.dcaf.ch/content/download/2970/25352/file/ISSAT%20LEVEL%201%20TRAINING%20MANUAL%20-%20SSR%20IN%20A%20NUTSHELL%20-%205.2.pdf.

This training manual, published by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and its International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT), provides a systematic overview of security and justice reform, including cross-cutting themes and best-practices based on collective, professional experience.

DCAF, Security Sector Governance and Reform, DCAF Backgrounder (May 2009). http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Security-Sector-Governance-and-Reform.

In this backgrounder, DCAF/ISSAT summarizes the consensus on SSR theory and practice. Key terms and definitions are presented to form a generic model for application in post-conflict, transitional, developing, and/or developed nations.

1300-1430   Lunch

1430-1600   Session 3: Designing Security and Justice Sector Reform: South Africa Case Study

In this session, lessons for designing security and justice sector reform are inferred from the South African experience during the political liberalization following Apartheid. Particular attention is paid to the interaction between democratic principles and securitization. Additionally, the session considers challenges to SSR – for example, the occasional disconnect between mandated policy and daily operations for security forces.

Moderator:

Mr. Karim Haggag, Visiting Professor, NESA

Speaker:

Dr. Sandy Africa, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Pretoria, South Africa and Member, African Security Sector Network

Q&A

Reading:

Synopsis of article: Sandy Africa, *The Transformation of South Africa Security Sector Lessons and Challenges,* Policy Paper No. 3 (Geneva: Center for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces, March 2011). http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/The-Transformation-of-the-South-African-Security-Sector-Lessons-and-Challenges

The author recounts the transformation of South Africa's security sector during and after Apartheid. The author also proposes recommendations for moving forward based on perceived strengths and weaknesses of the South African reform process.

1600-1630   Break

1630-1730   Discussion

Agenda/Topics for Discussion:

(1) Selection of Group Leaders

(2) What are the security and justice sector reform challenges your country faces? What are the major regional security and justice sector reform challenges?

(3) Begin to identify a list of inclusive strategic initiatives for the region and/or your country.

Group 1
Facilitators:
        (1) USIP – Querine Hanlon
        (2) NESA – Karim Haggag
        Rapporteur: Jeffrey Krentel (USIP)

Group 2
Facilitators:

      (1) USIP –Jeff Helsing
      (2) NESA – Anne Moisan
      Rapporteur: Kip Whittington (NESA)

Group 3
Facilitators:

      (1) USIP – Bob Perito
      (2) USIP – Richard Shultz
      Rapporteur: Winnie Tsang (USIP)

Group 4
Facilitators:

      (1) USIP – Daniel Brumberg
      (2) NESA – Lawrence Velte
      Rapporteur: Ian Garner (NESA)

1730   **End of Day**

      Dinner at Leisure

Day Three: Thursday, June 6, 2013

0900-0905   **Daily Recap**

0905-1030   **Session 4: Police and Justice Reform and the Challenge of Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: The Case of Chile**

This session focuses on issues related to reform of the police and criminal justice systems. Discussion will consider and assess the reforms undertaken by the Chilean government from 2000 to 2005.

Moderator:

Ms. Anne Moisan, Professor, NESA

Speaker:

Dr. Thomaz Costa, Professor of International Security Studies, College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University

Q&A

Readings:

Marangunic, A. and T. Foglesong, "Charting Justice Reform in Chile: A Comparison of the Old and New Systems of Criminal Procedure," *Vera Institute of Justice*, New York, 2004. http://www.ssrnetwork.net/uploaded_files/4154.pdf.

In this comparative study, the authors analyze empirical data on court cases to determine the difference between old and new Chilean justice systems. Findings center on two parameters: (1) system agility in case resolution; and (2) convictions within a reasonable time frame. The study provides important observations regarding improvements to security and justice systems, including new metrics for evaluation and potential areas for further research.

Fensom, M. "Judicial Reform, Military Justice, and the Case of Chile's *Carabineros*," prepared for delivery at the Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 2006. http://www.law.ufl.edu/_pdf/academics/centers-clinics/institutes/lpap/case_chile_carabineros.pdf

The author examines judicial reform in Chile, aimed at reversing systematic judicial manipulation that began under Salvador Allende and continued through the military dictatorship of Pinochet. In particular, the author documents subversion of justice by military and paramilitary institutions, including the Carabineros. *The cultural and institutional challenges of consolidating democracy and restoring civilian control of the military are identified.*

1030-1100   **Break**

1100-1230   **Session 5: Reform, Transformation or Construction: The Cases of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote D'Ivoire**

The cases of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote D'Ivoire are considered in this session as comparative examples of transformation in post-conflict states.

Moderator:

Mr. Robert Perito, Director, Security Sector Governance Center, USIP

Speakers:

Dr. Bruce Baker, Professor of African Security and Director, African Studies Centre, Coventry University, UK (Sierra Leone and Cote D'Ivoire)

Dr. Sean McFate, Vice President TD International, LLC (Liberia)

Q&A

Readings:

John Blaney, Jacques Paul Klein, and Sean McFate, "Wider Lessons for Peacebuilding: Security Sector Reform in Liberia," *Policy Analysis Brief* (The Stanley Foundation, June 2010). http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pab/LiberiaPAB610.pdf.

The authors draw lessons for SSR from the approach in Liberia after 2003, following the departure of President Charles Taylor and fourteen years of civil war. What worked in the Liberian transition informs reform processes – for example, emphasizing the cooperative role between disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) and SSR in securing state monopoly of force and the rule of law.

Sean McFate, "There's a New Sheriff in Town: DDR-SSR and the Monopoly of Force," in The Monopoly of Force: The Nexus of DDR and SSR, Melanne Civic and Michael Miklaucic, eds. (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011): 213-232. http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CD4QFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fkms1.isn.ethz.ch%2Fserviceengine%2FFiles%2FISN%2F138812%2Fichaptersection_singledocument%2F36105aad-e1fd-424f-8357-c914f1db57f2%2Fen%2Fchapter%2B12.pdf&ei=qDkRUerJHof00QG8zICIAQ&usg=AFQjCNH7Uh6ZLZPSot_heX0rUbnYGdW84g&sig2=OLasX4KGHWxSTJcZC67rKQ&bvm=bv.41867550,d.dmQ

The author explains the essentiality of establishing state monopoly of force to uphold the rule of law. To this end, DDR and SSR are the primary tools available to assist fragile or failed states in transition. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the author contends that DDR and SSR are integrated, iterative programs (rather than separate); the author also gives guidelines for practitioners seeking to implement both.

1230-1400   Lunch

1400-1545   Session 6: The Challenge of Security Sector Reform in Tunisia

The panel discussion will examine the case of Tunisia, the first country to experience the wave of Arab revolutions, as it addresses the challenge of security sector reform in the post-revolutionary transition.

Moderator:

Mr. Lawrence Velte, Professor, NESA

Speakers:

Dr. Querine Hanlon, Senior Defense Fellow, United States Institute of Peace

Tunisian Speaker: Mr. Bassem Bougerra, President, Tunisian Institutional Reform

Tunisian Speaker: Mr. Dhya Eddine Mourou, President, Tunisian Young Lawyer Association

Q&A

Reading:

Querine Hanlon, "Security Sector Reform in Tunisia: A Year After the Jasmine Revolution," *USIP Special Report* no. 304 (March 2012). Arabic translation: http://www.usip.org/publications/security-sector-reform-in-tunisia-arabic-version.

The author examines progress made, current status, and prospects for SSR in Tunisia, as the country transitions from authoritarian to democratic rule. Negotiating a new social contract between the government and civilian populations will require transformation of the Internal Security Forces and Ministry of Interior, whose responsibilities and oversight must be clearly established by legislative mandates.

1545-1615   Break

1615-1745   Discussion

Agenda/Topics for Discussion:

(1) What lessons can you draw from the experiences of the countries we have learned about today that are relevant for the region and for your country?

(2) Are there important lessons to be drawn from these cases about sequencing security and justice sector reform initiatives?

(3) What made the South African and Chilean justice and security sector reform a success?

(4) Prepare group recommendations and presentations for the combined session on day four.

Group 1
Facilitators:
> (1) USIP – Querine Hanlon
> (2) NESA – Karim Haggag
> Rapporteur: Jeffrey Krentel (USIP)

Group 2
Facilitators:
> (1) USIP –Jeff Helsing
> (2) NESA – Anne Moisan
> Rapporteur: Kip Whittington (NESA)

Group 3
Facilitators:
> (1) USIP – Bob Perito
> (2) USIP – Richard Shultz
> Rapporteur: Winnie Tsang (USIP)

Group 4
Facilitators:
> (1) USIP – Daniel Brumberg
> (2) NESA – Lawrence Velte
> Rapporteur: Ian Garner (NESA)

1745   **End of Day**

1830   **Depart for Farewell Dinner**

1900-2100 **Farewell Dinner**

Day Four: Friday, June 7, 2013

0830-0835 **Daily Recap**

0835-1035 **An Agenda for Continued Regional Engagement and Dialogue**

Reports by Team Leaders of Groups 1, 2, 3, and 4

Facilitator: Dr. Jeff Helsing

1035-1100 **Break**

1100-1110 **Concluding Remarks and Farewell**

Ms. Leana Lopez, INL Director, U.S. Embassy Tunis

Participants Depart

1230-1400   Lunch (Optional)

Day Five: Saturday, June 8, 2013

Faculty and Staff Depart

Appendix B: Conference Speaker Bios

NAME	TITLE
Ms. Manal Omar	*Director of Iraq, Iran, and North Africa Programs*, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)
Ms. Leana Lopez	*Director,* International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Embassy Tunisia
Mr. Karim Haggag	*Visiting Professor*, NESA Center for Strategic Studies
Dr. Querine Hanlon	*Senior Defense Fellow*, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)
Dr. Daniel Brumberg	*Senior Program Officer*, United States Institute of Peace and Associate Professor, Georgetown University
Mr. Robert Perito	*Director*, Security Sector Governance Center, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)
Dr. Richard Shultz	*Professor and Director*, International Security Studies Program, The Fletcher School, Tufts University (Civilian Sector)
Dr. Sandy Africa	*Associate Professor of Political Science*, University of Pretoria, South Africa and Member, African Security Sector Network
Dr. Thomaz Costa	*Professor of International Security Studies,* College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University
Dr. Bruce Baker	*Professor of African Security and Director*, African Studies Centre, Coventry University, UK (Sierra Leone and Cote D'Ivoire)
Dr. Sean McFate	Adjunct Professor, College of International Security Affairs National Defense University (Liberia)
Col Anne Moisan, USAF (Ret.)	*Associate Professor,* NESA Center for Strategic Studies
Dr. Jeffrey Helsing	*Dean of Curriculum,* Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)
Mr. Lawrence Velte	*Associate Professor, NESA Center for Strategic Studies*

Appendix C: List of Breakout Group Assignments

Breakout Group #1

Farah (Main Plenary)

Facilitators: Querine Hanlon and Karim Haggag

Country	Name	Title and Department	Organization
Algeria	HE Mr. Mihoubi Elmihoub	Former Ambassador/Minister of Communications & Culture	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Egypt	MG(ret) Mohamed Said Kadry	Military Advisor/Chief Security Studies Unit	Al Ahram Center for Political & Strategic Studies
Libya	Mr. Marwan Tashani	President	Libyan Judges Organization
Morocco	Mr. Abdelmounaim El Farouq	Chief Division of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs/Global Affairs	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Morocco	Ms. Hind Zaimi	Head of Security Issues Unit	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Morocco	Mr. Hicham Bellaoui	Magistrate	Ministry of Justice
Morocco	Mr. Rabi Belmokhtar	Police Officer	Ministry of Interior
Morocco	Professor Mohammed Ben Hammou	President	Moroccan Strategic Studies Centre
Tunisia	Mr. Dhya Eddine Mourou	Vice President	International Association For The Support of Politcial Prisoners
Tunisia	Commander Anis Kassis	Judge Military Courts	Ministry of Defense
United States	Mr. Philip McDaniel	Social Scientist/J2 Social Science Research Branch	U.S. AFRICOM

Breakout Group #2

Menara Conference Room

Facilitators: Jeff Helsing and Anne Moisan

Country	Name	Title and Department	Organization
Algeria	Dr. Arslan Chikhaoui	Chairman	Nord Sud Consultancy Centre
Egypt	Dr. Abdumagoud R. Dardery	Member of Parliament/University Professor	Egyptian Parliament
Libya/Morocco	Mr. Youness Abouyoub	Political Advisor & Special Assist to the Director Security Sector Advisory & Coord Division	Security Sector Advisoy & Coord Division - United Nations
Libya	Mrs. Iman Ben Younis	Civil Society Activist	
Libya	COL Youssif El Barasi	Director/Chief of Defense	Ministry of Defense
Morocco	Mr. Abderrazzak Laassel	Head of Security And Social Global Issues Division	Ministry of Foreign Affaris and Cooperation
Morocco	Mr. El Habib Belkouch	President	National Council of Human Rights
Morocco	Ms Mouna Bellaoui	Magistrate	Ministry of Justice
Morocco	Mr. Mohcine Khamlichi	Counsellor of Foreign Affairs	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Morocco	Mr. Mohammed Abkari	Controleur General/General Adminstration National Security	Ministry of Interior
Tunisia	Mr. Bassem Bouguerra	Executive Director	Tunisian Institutional Reform
Turkey	Mr. Ahmet Ekici	Chief Superintendent/ Foreign Relations Department	Turkish National Police
United States	Mr Kevin Martindale	Second Secretary	U.S. Embassy, Cairo

Breakout Group #3

Koutabia Conference Room

Facilitators: Bob Perito and Richard Shultz

Country	Name	Title and Department	Organization
Egypt	COL Dr. Ibrahim H. Omar Elghazawi	Expert Law Enforcement Establishment Reforms	Ministry of Interior
Libya	Dr. Abdelmonen H. Alyaser	Congressman	General National Congress - Libya
Libya	Mr. Ali Mabrouk Alafi	Department Head Preventive Security	Ministry of Justice
Morocco	COL Hassan Amaghdir	Gendarmerie Royale	National Defense Adminstration
Morocco	Mr. Hamid Boujrada	Head of the Division of Documentation Information General Directorate of Civil Protection	Ministry of Interior
Morocco	Mr. Mohammed Ennajayl	Head of the Arab Liaison Office/General Adminstration of National Security	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Morocco	Prof Nadir El Moumni	Project Manager Legal Affairs	National Council of Human Rights
Morocco	Dr. Mohamed El Senoussi	President	The New Mediterranean Foundation & The Moroccan Council For Affairs
Morocco	Ms Nezha Riki	Head of Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Unit	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Tunisia	Ms. Haifa Baachaoui	Project Manager	Tunisian Institutional Reform
Tunisia	Mr. Marwan Kablouti	America's Desk	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
United States	CDR Marc Guarin	Office of Legal Council	U.S. AFRICOM
Yemen	LTC Abdulrahman Yahya Hanash	Engineer	Ministry of Interior

Breakout Group #4

Oudaya Conference Room

Facilitators: Daniel Brumberg and Lawrence Velte

Country	Name	Title and Department	Organization
Algeria	Mr. Ali Salah Ben Hadid	Lawyer	A.S. Ben Hadid & Associates
Egypt	Dr. Ihab Youssef	Secretary General	People and Police for Egypt
Libya	Mr. Ahmed Farah Mohamed Abu Kraa	Deputy Head of Human rights Dept & Official Spokeperson of the Judicial Police	Ministry of Interior
Libya	Mr. Tarik B. Benomar	Chief of the Local Council Zwara	Libyan Governemnt
Morocco	Mr. Mohammed Amine Belhaj	Director of Global Issues	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Morocco	Mr. Abdellah El Belghiti	Procureur General du Roi Aupres du Tribunal de Premier Instance de Casablanca	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
Morocco	Ms. Sara Bezzazi	Administrator General Directorate for National Security	Ministry of Interior
Morocco	Mr. Nadir Elmounmni	Project Manager Legal Affairs	National Council of Human Rights
Morocco	Dr. Najib Mokhtari	Professor and Director of Studies Languages, Culture and Civilizations	International University of Rabat
Morocco	Dr. Hassan Rahmouni	Professor/Attorney/ Public Law	Hassan II University
Tunisia	Mr. Dhaker Aloui	Lawyer/ Transitional Justice Expert	Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center
Tunisia	Mr. Mahmoud Kaabach	Judge	Ministry of Justice
United States	LCDR James Hoey	Interagency Branch Chief	U.S. AFRICOM
Yemen	CPT Ali Mohammed Salem Qasem	Director Secretary	Ministry of Defense

Appendix D: Final Outbriefs from each Breakout Group

Final Outbrief Session: An Agenda for Continued Regional Engagement and Dialogue

Facilitator: Dr. Jeffrey Helsing

Group 1:
Good morning and thank you. I must commend the members of the group for good discussion and insight into SSR and justice sector reform. I am pleased to speak on their behalf. I start with the recommendations. First, is to address the dual challenge of reforming SSR, and protect the population while respecting human rights. The main issue is this double challenge and dual implementation. We understand there may be a contradiction between security and civilian protection. We have to emphasize human rights, these are contractual and non-contractual mechanisms, and have to prompt different states to ratify the different human rights charters. In Libya, the Convention on the Prevention of Torture was not ratified. Other conventions which protect human rights, guarantees, and freedoms – I believe the states should ratify them. Also, such conventions should be integrated into the constitutions, especially states in the process of writing constitutions.

The second recommendation is to explore innovative ways to foster regional cooperation to address border security, from illegal immigration and human trafficking to terrorist networks. After the revolutions and the weakness of the state, there were obstacles for state institutions and for borders of various states. This has led to immigration from African countries (i.e. the south of Libya is flooded with illegal immigrants) to North Africa. Waves of immigration have led to instability and depleting state resources, including security. There has to be cooperation with neighboring countries in this regard. There is the case of drug trafficking, because the large Saharan area is used as a transition area for such drugs. Arms trafficking is another fallout of the revolution. My country has a big role in that respect – there are a lot of arms trafficking from Libya to other countries. Cooperation with regional nations is needed to prevent arms from getting to terrorist groups. These terrorists are a big obstacle to the stability of the region.

The third recommendation is about dealing with the challenge of illegally armed groups, to establish and maintain the monopoly of legitimate force by the state. Only the state can have monopoly of force, deterrence – any arms should be in the hands of the state. Any arms outside will undermine the process of reform and lead to security threats to citizens. The state is the official authority.

The fourth recommendation is limited to Libya, because of the large number of illegally-armed groups in Libya from the revolution aftermath. We should promote a Libyan national dialogue to generate solutions to address issue of armed groups that enhances rule of law and complements the state use of force. After elections, there is no reason now for armed groups outside of the official framework of the state. To deal with this is not wishful thinking, but we need to work hard. We need an integrated national dialogue that is comprehensive and led by political authority – all should participate in this dialogue in the Libyan society. There should be an appropriate solution for dismantling of armed groups and collecting the weaponry. On the other

hand, we need to use the armed groups in the armed forces, because these armed groups have been next to armed forces of the state. For their integration, they should be legally integrated to support authority of the state and promote stability of the state. This requires in-depth thinking, without international support – because I believe this is the mission of the Libyan political authority. Every region has its own specificities, because of the large geographic area. I hope dialogue will be broad-based. There is tribal influence in some regions – we must include all stakeholders (sheiks, religious leaders, etc.)

The fifth recommendation is to enhance transparency in SSR processes, including budgets, lines of authority, internal structures, and enhanced civilian oversight mechanisms. Without credibility, we cannot hope to get to security reform. The reforms can be adoption of legislation with input from all stakeholders and civil society, so people know what happens in SSR. The reform is done on a scale of priority, depending on expertise of different sections.

The sixth recommendation is to promote change management skills to enable governments and civil society to holistically address the complex challenge of SSR within the overall political transition process. What we mean is that we should deal with the system in a comprehensive way. If we don't have skills to manage change in a professional way, that will be handicap. It is not enough to have a plan or vision, but we need capacity. The reform should include all sectors, and should not be limited to a component of SSR. These are all the recommendations on which we agreed.

Group 2:
Briefly, a few principles are important to note. For example, open and honest channels of communication are critical. Justice and security must be addressed at the same time. Also, our fifth principle is that justice and security must be addressed at the same time. Also, symbolism is important. We have many principles, but they are provided on the slide, so I will talk about recommendations:
- Leverage technology to motivate and capture behavior of the police responding to altercations or requests for assistance. Provides legal documentation/accountability.
- When they respond to citizens, police are required to activate the recording, both police and citizens know exchange is recorded.
- Publicizing good and bad police behavior builds confidence and reinforces the accountability of the police to the citizens.
- Establish a program of "pilot cities" where the people decide to police the city themselves. If successful, adapt on a larger scale throughout country.
- Create flexible sets of recommendations, timelines for execution, and an implementation process that can be tailored to country specifications.
- Establish an overall strategy, strategic plan of execution, and realistic timelines for Security Sector reform. Embedded in the plan is confidence building programs, rights and responsibilities of citizens, human rights, communications, etc.
- The civil society as a whole, the individuals, the media, the military, the police all have constructive roles to play to create a new relationship between the security sector and the citizen.
- Mindset must change. Create a non-threatening/non-confrontational and constructive environment for Police-Civilian interaction –

- o "Town meetings" or "Community Councils" with a mutually set/agreed on agenda and schedule of regular meetings. Start with easy topics/joint projects, then harder issues. The public will begin to understand the duties of the police, as well as the helpful skill sets police possess.
- Symbols carry emotional meaning in post-conflict/transitional situations – some countries more than others.
  - o Examples: flag is divisive, change it; changing "police force" to "police services", changing their uniforms and vehicle colors.
- Establish "Open House" days at police stations and have police and military visit children at schools.
- Organize seminars for the security forces to train officers in public relations, communicating interagency, dealing with the media, and most importantly with the public. In addition, establish public affairs offices within the police and military, and man them with the very best, hand-selected officers.
- Establish new curricula in the academies focused on the training for "civil servants" -- the new generation of police and military forces. Courses deal with new challenges these young officers will face – community policing, cyber-terrorism, etc. It is critical that they understand they are civil servants, that the people are not a threat, and that they work for the public. Another recommendation is the opening of a police academy, so that this perception of the police officer is changed. People can perceive police stations no longer as places of torture, etc. The mention of the English word of "civil servant" – we need to have the equivalent in Arabic.
- Perception must be changed through a planned communication plan (marketing) targeted at establishing a better understanding and appreciation between the security forces and the public.
- Share/create non-classified versions of military documents such as "White Papers" or "National Strategies" to share with the citizenry, include sharing the national reform plans.
- Change recruiting practices for the military and police to better represent a cross section of the entire population; allow local police to work in their neighborhoods where they are known and trusted.
- Develop programs that address/educate all ages of society – especially addressing building confidence with young children and the "Youth" so they grow up trusting, respecting and admiring the police as servants of the people.
  - o comic books depicting the "ideal policeman/woman", sponsoring sports teams with logos on team shirts, TV shows, "shadowing " police at work, paid competitive internships, etc.
- Create a data base of "centers of excellence" for general and specialized security sector training that can be provided by other Arab countries.
- Use local celebrities and sport heroes to help promote education of citizen's rights, as well as promoting positive achievements of the security forces – peacekeeping, responding to natural disasters, local community support, etc.
- Establish a Regional Reform Academy focusing on human rights, communications, conflict resolution, crisis management, etc. and recruit the very best instructors from the region.

Group 3:
Good morning. For the third group, we have five recommendations. First, to establish a regional academy that will focus on police and judiciary – human rights and communication to begin with, then other courses in the future. The courses will be like training of trainers, preparing professional who can establish program to train other personnel. This includes international support.

The second recommendation is that USIP will organize a conference to discussion the academy.

The third recommendation is that in addition to SSR, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and others need to focus more on security threats including borders, violent extremism, and trafficking.

The Fourth recommendation is to establish a permanent regional forum that will address broader SSR issues by sharing experiences, lesson-learned, and international expertise.

Lastly, we need recognize that SSR is necessary but not sufficient. Other issues like youth employment can also lead to security problems.

Group 4:
Thank you, sir. It is always a challenge to go last. On behalf of group 4, I have benefitted so much from the discussion and networking, and we all feel the same. We as a team want to emphasize the regional reform academy to create a yardstick to measure reform. Encouraging think tanks and others like Freedom House to guide the process, to understand where they are going. On a regional level, we should create an independent organization for human rights with regional code of conduct for police forces. Also, the group will link to governments, communicate with them. We should also assign a Minister of the Interior with a non-political background (especially in countries like Egypt, Yemen which are extremely partisan). Apolitical Minister of Interior will give credibility to the Ministry and regime itself. Last is education, which is important. How are we to be a partner to embedding security in the country? In school, we should teach people what are his rights and responsibilities regarding the police are. Whether he becomes a police officer or doctor, the teaching will be embedded and integrated into his future.

Dr. Helsing:
There were common threads that I heard from all 4 groups, which are critical pillars to base future orientation as we go forward and work together. Some common themes were:
1. The importance of dialogue and communication, as each working group emphasized. Both within society, security sector reform should be inclusive of all stakeholders, but also this applies to the regional dialogue and communication. There is an emphasis on local needs and regional approaches
2. Transparency, because it is critical to the development of open societies to model transparency

3. Emphasis on education and training, both regionally in academies but at the initial states of security force development. There were also references to the importance of changing mindsets, perceptions. Symbols figure into the important use of communication.
4. Understanding or sharing what works – monitoring, evaluating, sharing programs, projects, successes, failures. It is important to share those things and understand why things did or did not work.

A couple groups noted that it's important not to do SSR in isolation from what else occurs in a country. We also heard a strong argument that SSR should be done with justice sector reform. From group 3, there was the notion of not ignoring the economic and social contexts. These are all very important threads or themes that can help inform the work from the groups.

Mr. Haggag:
Thank you to the four groups and spokespersons. I find the recommendations very valuable. The objective of the conference is not for a detailed action plan – the objective is more modest, which is to mobilize and stimulate thinking and ideas that can trigger an action plan. As a part of our discussion, I would like to point to an idea – the setting up of a regional framework to trigger the reform process in Arab countries. The reason is that we can implement this proposal through NGOs represented here – for example, creating a regional coalition, even if it's modest. Reasons are multifold: (1) support for the reform process in Arab countries, and a regional label for security reform to show moral support reform efforts; (2) [a regional coalition group] would be most appropriate for adopting our proposals, such as a regional code of conduct; (3) If there is a regional title that can be referenced towards for the reform process, it would be an appropriate setting to attract international support and donors – if they see real movement from the region itself. This is a call for thinking about this proposal and ways of implementing it in the future.

Dr. Helsing:
Thank you. The organizers, and all of you, can think about how all of us institutionally can actually build upon this. The idea of a taskforce or mechanism dialogue and expand on recommendations would be particularly useful. Like this idea, the organizers are committed to reconvening this group and others. There is a mechanism and process to move forward. Suggestions for how to continue that over the summer would be useful. Feed those ideas in as well.

One point I want to make is that going back within your NGOs, your colleagues, your country – one way you get support and generate specific ideas that can then leverage for more resources/support broadly is to return to this setting and say – "In discussion with colleagues, there is support for this or that." The more that we can develop tangible support, the easier it will be to get support for real action plans that link to realities. This is a two-part process – emerging from countries, and laying groundwork and creating leverage.

Dr. Brumberg.
It has been an interesting few days. Karim managed to summarize, concretize a lot of my ideas in flawless Arabic. Regional: regimes have gotten together to push authoritarian regimes in the past, so the idea of getting ministries of interiors to talk about reform is an interesting idea. For example, this implicates the regional centers. One idea that I am surprised we haven't heard

much about is the role of the media, TV. These issues should be amplified in the public space of the media. Engage journalists and, without jeopardizing Chatham House rules, have journalists write about these issues in an informed, critical way. Everyone should go back and speak with journalists, talk about the conclusions, and gets the journalist and television media to cover with follow-on pieces.

Dr. Costa

I would like to continue with the notion of a practical proposal. Three points: (1) to what extent a regional academy really results in change back in the country? The experience in Western Hemisphere is that countries have different speeds, politics, and achieves things at different rates – execution in the beginning should be by country. The reason is that you'll be able to maximize resources from outside with results. (2) Important that we first interact with individuals, and then with institutions. The formula what may be useful is that: what are the individuals from the target organization? For example, could be police, justice system, office of budget, parliament, etc. These will help you bring about change. Also includes civil society – in Latin America, civil society includes entities that do not depend on funding from the state, even if it has statutory mandate. (3) Regional countries and different speeds – there is a whole universe of best practices, including adult education, how to deal with group of individuals, etc. I can share my notes about these mechanisms.

Mr. Perito:

Excellent set of recommendations, Thank you. In my opening comments, one of the SSR principles in its current phase is to "think globally and act locally." There are a number of issues that regional: common failings of regional governments, border control, trafficking – and also regional solutions for academy, dialogue, etc. The most useful recommendation is that we all start locally; each of us an agent for change. And Chairman, your point about keeping tracking of our achievements and reporting back when we next meet is important. So now, we have an overall framework, individual task, and goal of reporting back.

Dr. Helsing:

In the last few minutes, drawing on a basic community organizing principle. A good community organizer would say we will not leave room until we have a taskforce. Essentially, we need individuals to step up and volunteer to be a core part of this larger group to continue momentum for reconvening in summer or fall. Does not mean, as Bob said, that all of us should not be working in our local contexts. But it strikes me that there is an opportunity and means to continue this by creating a taskforce – I am a bit nervous about the term, because it implies developing policies, recommendations, etc. – but this would mean thinking further and taking the initiative based from what has been developed in this conference. We need one person from each country to be part of a Taskforce going forward. [Volunteers were identified.]

All of us owe it to the volunteers to help them. It is incumbent on all of us to reconvene and to build upon discussions.

Appendix E: Closing Remarks

Ms. Leana Lopez Closing Remarks:
I think we've had a rich discussion, which is indicative of our wonderful organizers – USIP and NESA. Their work is demonstrated in the exceptional quality of participants. Let's thank the organizers. This seminar has been inspirational for me as a regional outsider. NESA will send thumb drive to all participants with all notes and readings. It will also include a group photo, yearbook, and contact info. We have all attended many conferences, with no follow-on. I hope you have learned something that we can take back to spark change. Perhaps most valuable is the networks we have created. We have seen good recommendations, with broad support, which is indicative of collaboration and linkages that we were hoping to form. We hope to have follow-on conference in fall, so please send ideas and we can put together an agenda that is specific. We hope many of you will participate again to deepen our relationships, and we also hope to include new people. We have been reminded of serious security challenges – in checking the news, I learned that two Tunisian soldiers and a Turkish policemen died yesterday. I am reminded of ongoing challenges in the region. For me, there are two key takeaways from this seminar: first, SSR is a political, rather than a technical endeavor. I represent the US Dept State, INL, US Embassy in Tunisia, but also the donor community. While we will continue to support SSR efforts, these must be led by the countries themselves. I want to be here to help you all, but the impetus for change is from each country. (2) The theme of leadership, both raised by our speakers and our discussion. It takes leaders to garner political will and push for change. We think you are the leaders – within government and civil society to push that change. With that, I call on Karim Haggag to wrap up. Thank you for coming, and I hope you found this conference as valuable as I did.

Mr. Haggag:
Thank you, Leana, for your support for the conference and the caucus. Also, I want to recognize US AFRICOM: please stand. Special thanks for Morocco hosts – Ms. Nezha Riki – who have been generous in receiving us, but also providing wonderful interpretation. I would like to thank our interpreters. Also, thank you to our distinguished speakers that have done tremendous job in framing this topic. [Lists all speakers]. Now, most of the people you've seen and interacted with, but others we have not seen, because they do the real work – special recognition to organizers to Ryan Schray and Jessica Spencer. Also, RAs Ian, Kip, Jeff, and Winnie. Almost last but not least – to my colleagues at USIP and NESA – Manal Omar, Joyce Kasee, and Jeff Helsing. From NESA, Larry Velte. Last but not least – Anne Moisan and Querine Hanlon. That brings us to a close. Thank you to all of you.

CIVILIAN SECURITY & JUSTICE SECTOR REFORM
IN NORTH AFRICA

Casablanca, Morocco
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