



NDI Quarterly Report SECURITY SECTOR REFORM PROGRAMS

**Global Civil-Military Relations Program
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I. SUMMARY

This past quarter was a productive one for the Security Sector Reform Programs (SSRs) conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). NDI's SSR team held workshops in East Timor and in Cambodia, and in Indonesia continued work with civil society partners on developing a database of military enterprises and foundations and initiated a research program on the role of society in developing and monitoring of security policy.

Also during this quarter, the program began exploring police reform opportunities in Nigeria. Towards the end of this quarter, Dr. Eva Busza, Senior Program Advisor on Security Sector Reform Programs, traveled to the Philippines to gauge interest in possible program work in Mindanao. Dr. Busza's travel to the Philippines is part of her effort to develop more security sector reform programming in Asia. In an effort to foster interest in new programs, the SSR team wrote concept papers for security sector reform work in Pakistan, Nigeria, and Congo and the team continued to write topical papers on various security sector reform themes including: military coups, terrorist groups and intelligence laws.

Throughout this quarter, the SSR team continued to receive numerous requests for information and programming suggestions from the field. With the help of NDI's regional teams, we hope to follow-up on these requests and develop new security sector activities around the world.

II. BACKGROUND

The liberalization and democratization of a military or military-dominated regime does not always lead to the establishment of a stable, consolidated democracy. In many cases, the legacy of military influence in domestic political affairs leaves newly elected leaders without the expertise or institutional mechanisms necessary to assert civilian control of the military. The situation may be further complicated by the military, who upon viewing

the new leaders as incompetent, resist attempts by civilians to assert control. When such a dynamic unfolds, in the best scenario, it slows democratic development; and in the worst scenario, it can catalyze attempts by the military to reassert its control over government.

In July 1998, the NDI entered into a cooperative agreement with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to create a Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security (PDGS)—an information, education and development alliance to promote and support democratic governance through bolstering the capacity of civilian institutions to establish and strengthen their leadership, management, and oversight of their military forces. The Partnership was dissolved in July 7, 2001 after having operated for three years. Resources created by the partnership are still available, however, through the Security Sector Reform Program at NDI.

Since the dissolution of the partnership, NDI's Civil-Military Relations Program has changed its name to the Security Sector Reform Programs to emphasize NDI's priority of working with the civilian side of democratic control and to better reflect the breadth of institutions targeted by this reform: military, police, national security and intelligence agencies, private security agencies, etc. With this slightly refined perspective NDI engaged in a range of innovative programming from a workshop on parliamentary oversight of intelligence to the development of information technology to track military expenditure.

Since the end of the partnership, the program has carried out workshops and conferences in Nigeria, Peru, Cambodia and East Timor and is planning future workshops in East Timor and Indonesia. Among other topics, Dr. Busza is exploring possibilities for NDI to work on police oversight and reform, and on programs designed to mitigate violence during elections. The SSR team hopes to continue producing resources such as modules, papers and curricula to aid international practitioners in security sector reform projects.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Workshops in East Timor

At the end of 2000, the United Nations assisted East Timor in creating a military, the East Timorese Defense Force (FDTL). Accompanying the creation of such a defense force must be the creation of mechanisms to ensure its supervision and management by civilians. Additionally, as new security sector institutions are created, the East Timorese must be also prepared to install parallel structures for the democratic oversight of these institutions. Under a cooperative agreement with USAID, NDI is currently conducting a program to support the democratic development of the security sector in East Timor through confidence-building, education and capacity-developing activities for civilians within society and within newly-elected governing bodies.

Toward this end, NDI is conducting a series of five seminars, each focusing on a different aspect of civilian control of the military. The goal of this seminar series are to: expand

citizen knowledge on the role of the military in a democratic society, help civil society and political parties to establish channels of communication between governing officials and the armed forces, and assist civil society and the media in developing a capacity to monitor the decisions and policies adopted by the executive and the legislature. Through this programming NDI also hopes to address several challenges in the political landscape of East Timor, including the following issues: the absence of civilian professionals well-versed in defense and security affairs; the lack of inter-societal communication networks that can facilitate democratic and consensual policymaking processes; and the dearth of information regarding democratic governance.

These seminars bring together interested East Timorese civil society groups, academics, senior media editors, Constituent Assembly members, political party members and FDTL members to discuss and debate issues surrounding security sector reform. Sessions are led by domestic and international experts who provide technical advice and create an opportunity for participants to solve problems and develop action plans. The purpose of the seminars is to encourage civilians to develop advocacy and watchdog functions.

On March 14, 2002, NDI, in conjunction with National Research Center (CNIC) of the National University of East Timor (UNTIL), hosted the first of its Civil Military Relations seminars on the “Role of the Military and Police in East Timor’s Democracy.”

It was a landmark occasion for several reasons:

- It was the first program ever conducted to jointly engage members of the East Timor Defense Force, the East Timor Police Service and the Constituent Assembly in a public debate on the role of the military and police in a East Timor’s nascent democracy.
- The Seminar was attended by nearly half of the East Timor Defense Force High Command in addition to a large percentage of the Dili based officer corps of the East Timor Police Service.
- Approximately 10 percent of the Constituent Assembly, including the Deputy Speaker, attended the seminar with most members being drawn from the National Security and Defense Committee, despite the body being in the final days of debates on finalizing the constitution.
- Two Independent yet influential members of the Council of Ministers attended the seminar one of whom (a close associate of both the Chief Minister and Presidential candidate Xanana Gusmao) has been *de facto* Minister of Defense since the East Timor Defense Force’s establishment in February 2001.
- The seminar gave rise to the lead story on the nightly television news on East Timor Television (TVTL), in addition to being the subject of a front-page article in The Timor Post, one of East Timor’s two national dailies.

Speakers included General Saiyud Kerdphol (Retired), Former Supreme Commander, Royal Thai Armed Forces and leading Asian NGO Activist (Chairperson, ANFREL), Brigadier-General Taur Matan Ruak, Chief of the Defense Force, East Timor Defense Force (ETDF); Chief Superintendent Paulo Martins, Chief East Timor Police Service

(ETPS); and Sr. Paulo Assis Belo, (PD), Chairman Committee One, National Security and Defense, Constituent Assembly.

Considering the personal histories of the East Timorese panelists, the initial presentations were passionate and vigorous. The presentation of the Thai general met with considerable approval—many in the East Timorese leadership openly admire the Thai experience. Following the presentations a series of statements and questions ranging from polemic to minutiae ensued. Issues that elicited considerable interest were the theory of the role of the armed forces in a “peacetime” democracy, the subject of ex-guerrillas and their role in society-at-large and vis-a-vis the uniformed services specifically. Other contentious subjects included the exclusion of a large number of pro-independence Falintil guerrillas from the East Timor Defense Force and the recruitment procedures of the police and the armed forces—which have seen Indonesian era police being incorporated into the service. Interestingly, at no stage did a discussion of structural civilian oversight mechanisms arise.

Approximately 120 individuals participated in the seminar. Attendees included political party representatives, the heads of the U.S., Australian, Portuguese Missions (with junior representation from the Chinese and Korean Missions), representatives of UNTAET PKF, CIVPOL, Human Rights, Political Affairs, Office of the SRSG as well as the Independent Electoral Commission. International and local NGO representatives also attended the seminar. USAID/OTI had two representatives present. As it was held at the university, there were a number of university staff and students present including the Rector, Vice-Rector and Dean of the Faculty of Political Science.

It is important to highlight the fact that public debate on substantive security and defense issues is virtually unknown in East Timor. As a follow-up to the seminar NDI is collating a transcript of the proceedings and distributing materials to the speakers, attendees and interested parties in four languages (the two "official" languages of Portuguese and Tetum as well as the two "working" languages of English and Indonesian).

Next quarter, NDI will be conducting the second of these seminars. The topic will be “The Economics of Defense and Security.”

Activities in Indonesia

Earlier this year OTI concluded its support for NDI’s civil-military program in Indonesia. Nevertheless, NDI has decided to incorporate some security sector programming into its Indonesian Civil Society Program. While these activities no longer fall under the auspices of the global cooperative agreement, they do draw on the human resources in Washington, DC whose existence is made possible by support from the global grant.

This quarter, NDI conducted two programs in security sector reform. First, the Institute decided to foster greater research in the arena of security sector reform by holding a competition for monies to support two three-month research projects whose objectives are:

- To give alternative perspectives on *national security policy* and to trace the implications of such policies for the democratic transition and civil society; and
- To give policy recommendations based on this research to strengthen civil society's capacity to monitor the security sector.

The institute encouraged competitors to submit proposals that would either examine the expansion of the Kodam or alternatively explore the growth of paramilitary groups--specifically those tied to political parties. In future quarters, the research conducted will be presented in a series of open lectures and NDI hopes to attract newspaper coverage of the findings.

Second, NDI signed memoranda of understanding with two Indonesian civil society groups: Yappika and Indonesia Corruption Watch. These civil society groups will be developing a web-based database on military foundations and their business activities; this database will be advertised and made available to the general public. NDI believes that this concrete tool for civilian monitoring and oversight will help civilians monitor non-state military income. Publicly available documents such as media reports, annual financial statements, academic studies, unclassified government documents and land certificates will be gathered together in the database in an easy to search configuration. This resource promises to be of great value to researchers, policy-makers, and policy advocates.

In September 2002, NDI is planning to publicize this database by holding an international conference in Jakarta on the topic of the military and business. This conference will be funded by monies held-over from the previous civil-military global cooperative grant.

Security Sector Reform Programs in Cambodia

Since December 2001 under the auspices of a cooperative grant provided by USAID and directed at increasing citizen involvement and awareness, NDI, in partnership with the Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), co-hosted a series of conferences on civil-military relations in Cambodia. These conferences brought together leaders from civil society, the Cambodian government, the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces, and the international community to address key issues such as demobilization and the role of civil society in military reform. While these activities did not fall under the auspices of the global civil-military cooperative agreement, they do draw on the human resources in Washington, DC whose existence is made possible by support from the global grant.

On January 14, CICP held a press conference to release their Policy Brief on civil-military relations issues. This document outlines the recommendations that emerged from the December 14, 2001 national conference sponsored by NDI. The press conference was well attended by both international and domestic media outlets.

In addition, this quarter NDI worked with CICP to organize three civil-military relations roundtables. These three roundtables are part of a yearlong series of nine roundtable

discussions being organized by CICP and NDI. The discussions introduced a variety of relevant civil-military topics to government officials, representatives of civil society organizations, military officials, journalists and students. Following each of the roundtable discussions, various recommendations were made to increase understanding between civil society and the Cambodian military.

The first roundtable, entitled “Demobilization and Civil-Military Relations in Cambodia: Problems, Achievements and What Can Be Done?” was held on January 24, 2002 and sought to increase civil society and government support for improved living conditions and training for demobilized soldiers. The key speaker of the roundtable, Major General Meas Savorn, Deputy Director General and Director of Military and Civilian Affairs of the Ministry of National Defense, stressed the importance of retaining a sufficient number of defense personnel in the context of demobilization, strengthening the quality of the armed forces and strengthening respect for the human rights of demobilized soldiers.

The second roundtable, entitled, “Enhancing the Role of Parliament in Defense and Security: What Can the Parliament Do to Enhance Its Role in Defense and Promotion of Civil-Military Relations?” was held on February 18, 2002. Speakers included Major General Mam Sopheat, Director of the Department of Legislation of the Ministry of National Defense and Mr. Stephen Pak, Executive Director of the Cambodian Institute of Human Rights. They emphasized the need for the courts and media to be independent and neutral in relation to the armed forces. Following the discussion, several recommendations were proposed on how parliament and lawmakers could expand their roles in the protection of defense and security issues.

The third roundtable entitled, “Challenges of Reintegrating Soldiers into Society—What Can Civil Society Do?” focused on civil society challenges in reintegrating demobilized soldiers into society. The March 20 workshop was widely attended and resulted in the formulation of eight recommendations, including suggestions on how to strengthen relations between NGOs and the Ministry of Defense, and how to conduct an assessment of the needs of soldiers so that NGOs can provide necessary services and undertake better follow-up on the location and services provided to demobilized soldiers.

NDI also assisted CICP in launching a research component of the project, thus undertaking a more in-depth look at prospects for civil society’s role in reforming the military. The research, which includes the findings of the December 2001 national conference, notes taken from the roundtables and interviews conducted by the CICP in areas where demobilized soldiers reside, will be summarized in a series of reports. A draft of the first report in the series was completed during this quarter as was the translation and distribution of selected speeches from the national conference.

Security Sector Reform Assessment Mission to Mindanao

In late March, Dr. Busza traveled to the Philippines to explore possibilities for initiating security sector reform work in Mindanao. After consulting with a variety of academic

specialists, politicians, and NGO workers, she concluded space might exist for NDI to work with the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) on building civilian governance capacities with regard to oversight of the security sector: specifically the police.

A 1996 peace accord between the government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) gave ARMM the right to develop its own regional police force. While plans to create such a force seem to be underway, little attention has been given to questions of how this force will be managed and overseen by civilians. There is some indication that the USAID Mission might be interested in supporting work in this area, provided that there are no legal impediments to working with local government on police reform issues. At present, NDI is trying to decide whether it should undertake an assessment mission to Mindanao to get a better sense if such a project would be feasible. A great deal will depend on whether the Mission is willing to fund such a program and whether proposed funding levels are sufficient for opening an NDI office either in Manila or in Mindanao.

Program Ideas for Nigeria

In late March, NDI's SSR team began examining two issues of great concern in Nigeria: the possible role of the security forces in upcoming elections; and the much needed reform of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF). In the former case, the SSR team circulated an in-house concept paper proposing a number of activities that could be undertaken alone or in combination to help mitigate violence around elections. Some of the team's ideas included the following:

- *Town Hall Meeting Series.* NDI could organize a series of town hall meetings to allow the public to voice their concerns about violence in the upcoming elections. These discussions would be chaired by local- or state-level government officials and would include the directors of relevant ministries and agencies, police chiefs and officers from all levels, and regional military leaders. The press would be invited to attend and the meetings would be recorded for possible rebroadcast over local radio stations in order to reach areas where meetings were not held.

The discussions would be moderated to achieve a number of goals:

- 1) To offer the public a chance to air their grievances to the relevant officials able to address their complaints;
 - 2) To allow citizens to better understand the concerns of security officials;
 - 3) To serve as an early warning tool by allowing citizens to identify possible hotspots; and
 - 4) To develop recommendations on the role that the police and the military should play on Election Day.
- *A March for the Vote.* Violence is often used in elections as a tool to intimidate specific groups of voters or society as a whole from participating. To help reduce the ability of factions to use violence in this fashion—and to hopefully reduce the overall

level of violence as a result—NDI would work with local civil society groups to organize and publicize a “March for the Vote.” The March would proceed through communities to the polls and back through the community to allow voters a safe passage. The March would work in cooperation with local police or military forces, which would provide an escort for the March. The press would be encouraged to cover the March and government officials and local celebrities would be asked to participate. The event would offer a constructive way for communities and police, under high public scrutiny, to work together on Election Day.

- *Abuse Watch.* By working with existing election monitors and by creating new monitoring systems, NDI would assist Nigerians in monitoring violence and abuse by the security services. Organized by a core group of civilians, violence transformation groups, and rights-oriented NGOs; an Abuse Watch network would serve as reporting mechanism for both domestic election monitors and society at large.

Domestic election monitors would be trained to recognize and report abuses by the military and police. A standardized form would be created for reporting these abuses, and Abuse Watch agents would remain in close contact with domestic monitors throughout the polling process. For the public, Abuse Watch would establish and publicize a hotline that would collect public complaints of abuse, violence or disenfranchisement by the security services.

Abuse Watch agents would collect complaints, report them to the relevant government agencies, and then follow up on individual reports to advocate for punishment of perpetrator and compensation of victims. A formal and well-publicized system for reporting abuse has a number of benefits:

- 1) Centralizing information on violence and abuse, which will be useful in preventing future incidents;
 - 2) Assisting in the provision of justice, as many of these incidents would otherwise go unreported or would be reported only to local agents uninterested in perusing justice;
 - 3) Anonymous reporting encourages citizens to report crimes without fear of retribution; and
 - 4) Reporting violence gives people an alternative to participating in violence; when people feel that they have nowhere to turn they all too often engage in reprisal attacks, which only serve to escalate violence.
- *Work with state governors.* NDI would engage state governors to help them work through formal and informal networks in order to define the role of the military and police in addressing election violence. The sorts of structures and procedures that NDI could help the governors to develop will depend upon their particular interests, but could include any of the following:
 - 1) Defining a ‘Code of Conduct’ or a ‘Standard Operating Procedure’ for election-related military and police activity.

- 2) Developing an Early Warning System for election violence. Such a system not only helps the security services to more effectively curb violence and deters violence from occurring in the first place, but also promotes greater confidence and participation from the electorate and generates confidence and security among security officers—it is uncertainty and confusion that often lead officers to lash out asymmetrically against civilian and engage in abuses of civil rights.
 - 3) Developing a formal and permanent structure for civilians to report abuses by the police and military – ideally an independent structure made up of civilians with some oversight over the security services. Such a structure would be similar to the Civilian Complaint Review Boards found in many large cities in the United States.
- *Work with the National Assembly.* NDI would continue its work on Security Sector Reform with the defense-related committees in the National Assembly working on bolstering oversight of the military around elections. NDI could help parliamentarians to strengthen their oversight of military operating and training procedures with regard to elections and to develop mechanisms to address the legitimate concerns.

These activities would certainly not be able to prevent violence in Nigeria on Election Day. However, the SSR team believes that addressing the role of the military in the exercise of elections is necessary for Nigeria. Not only are these sorts of activities a necessary component of any strategy to reduce election violence, but also are necessary to promote the peaceful democratic transfer of power following elections. Adequate civilian control of the military, and military respect for the election process, are vital to preventing military officers from employing extra-constitutional means to contest or overturn the election.

Some of the ideas described above are being discussed internally and the Central and West Africa Team will decide whether they want to incorporate them larger NDI proposals to the USAID mission.

In addition to developing these ideas, this quarter the SSR team prepared materials on the oversight of the police in a democracy for an NDI sponsored meeting or the Nigerian Governors' Forum, which will convene in mid-April.

Security Sector Reform in Pakistan

Encouraged by certain developments in Pakistan and the new opening for political development work which has emerged, the SSR team developed a concept paper for engaging in security sector reform programming in Pakistan. Reform of the security sector is important for Pakistan. With a military government willing to make some internal security sector reforms, NDI can help the Pakistanis in such areas as strengthening civilian policing, supporting grassroots democratic institutions and increasing education in defense and security affairs. Building upon a previous assessment done in Pakistan on local body elections, NDI can use its knowledge of the country and

its connections within the government to strengthen civilian oversight of the security sector. For the continuation of democracy in Pakistan, an assurance to civilians that civilian lawmakers can deliver internal security is a necessity.

Security Sector Reform in Congo

In response to a request from the Office of Transitional Initiatives (OTI) in Washington, the SSR team put together a concept paper for a possible six-month program in Congo that would help support the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD). NDI suggested that it could organize grass-roots debate and discussions on the military, police and security through a comprehensive media program. This program would inform the public on the current state of security related policy, procedure and organization; would offer a forum for citizens to participate in debate and dialogue on security related topics; and would suggest strategies for improving their situation by offering advice on living in the current situation and contributing to reform.

The SSR team suggested that various media could be used so as to maximize the proportion of society reached. Some examples of media projects that NDI could develop include:

- A radio or television show that brings in Congolese and other African experts to speak on a particular topic related to the security sector and then allows citizens to call-in with their own questions and comments and discussion. The panelists would then analyze this discussion and offer suggestions for reform.
- A program targeted at youth addressing specific the transition from being a soldier to being a citizen. Specific subjects could include: how to deal with trauma and where to seek help; HIV/Aids prevention and treatment; options for new careers and how to get the education and experience to integrate into civilian life; how to deal with friends who did not take arms; and how to be a democratic citizen. Given the large number of children forced into combat and recent attempts on all sides to demobilize child combatants, this show has a large potential audience. Many of these children and young people are orphaned, have parents who are still involved in the conflict or have been geographically separated from their families. For youths with nowhere else to turn, this sort of programming could provide a valuable service.
- A program on demobilization and transition targeted at adults. In Sierra Leone Search for Common Ground developed a program "Troway Di Gun," in which two reintegrated ex-combatants discussed topics such as: the opportunities existing for ex-combatants in the civilian sector, the key obstacles ex-combatants were likely to face when they abandoned their guns, and strategies for coping with the stress and difficulty of adjusting to normal life.
- A program targeted at women in which a circle of women gather to discuss how violence has affected their communities and the expectations they have for future law and order. These women could discuss difficult issues such as what someone should

do when they see violence in their communities, how to deal with your family members returning from combat, how women can help rebuild and rehabilitate their communities where very few return from combat.

- A weekly newspaper column addressing various topics. Readers would be encouraged to write in with their questions about issues related to the current military or police, or the future transformation of the armed forces. A defense journalist would write a brief, informative article on the week's topic and then select and answer a few questions related to that topic.
- A series of articles or pamphlets including topics such as: "Know your rights," or "What sort of questions should you be asking of your military," or "What to do when you are stopped by the police." These pamphlets or articles would inform citizens of what rights exist under current law and what mechanisms exist for redressing violations. Others may encourage citizens to think about rights that they do not currently have, and encourage them to demand additional rights from their government. This message could also be conveyed through an infomercial-style television or radio program. It might even be possible to commission a singer to compose a simple song or jingle to help citizens to remember their rights.
- A series of cameos featuring "a day in the life" of a soldier, police officer, customs officials, and UN monitors or militia members. The crew would follow the selected person all day and allow them to describe what they do, how they felt about their job, what they liked and did not like and what they wanted to change. Stories could be intertwined to include the stories of civilians who frequently interact with the military or police: local merchants, local government officials, lawyers and judges, etc. The show would help citizens to better understand the security and defense services and how they operate. It may also help both citizens and security officials to recognize how the security sector interacts with society, and promote conciliation by placing a story and a face with the various actors in society and the security services.

Such a program would bring a number of important benefits. First, while a civil society better informed on military issues could be a vital asset to the ICD process, its value is independent of the Dialogue. The program's success, therefore, would not depend upon a successful conclusion to the ICD, and programming could move forward regardless of fits and starts in the ICD process. Second, the debate could help bridge the gap between civil society and the elite by providing venues for society to articulate their views. Third, the radio and television programs and the discussion in newspapers would help to prepare society-at-large to play a role in civilian oversight of defense and security policy and could also induce new or existing civil society groups to adopt security sector oversight as an issue of concern. Fourth, a comprehensive media campaign could generate grass-roots support of change, providing the momentum to overcome stalls in the elite bargaining process. Finally, the program could serve to build bridges between communities that have become alienated and isolated from each other during the years of civil war. History shows us that the recognition of common views and discussion of common problems can help to unite people and dissipate conflict. Furthermore, by

promoting understanding of the militarized forces in society, by encouraging citizens to decide what aspects of the militarized groups they accept, and by helping them to find non-violent ways to control and change those things that they do not accept, the program could make significant contributions toward conflict reduction and reconciliation in the DRC.

The concept paper also suggests some follow-up activities. One suggestion is the creation of a public opinion barometer of Congolese attitudes towards the armed forces, perceptions of challenges related to demobilization and reintegration of soldiers, and views on the shape and role that the various armed forces should play in the future. Such a tool would help to identify obstacles to and opportunities for future security sector reform. Another suggestion is to work with the transitional authorities that will be responsible for implementing the decisions of the ICD. A third suggestion is to assist Congolese non-combatant parties to remain engaged in the formation of security sector policy and oversight of security organs in the months and years following the ICD.

The SSR team is currently waiting to hear from OTI as to whether they are interested in any of these ideas.

Security Sector Reform in Peru

In the early part the quarter, NDI sought funding from OTI to help Peru define its national defense and security interests through the writing of a white paper. NDI believes that civilians are still largely unable to control and manage the Peruvian military. While the government has created a Commission for the Restructuring of the Armed Forces, which announced a series of legal and constitutional amendments that form a part of their military rebuilding plan, the government has yet to define the nation's national security strategy and priorities. NDI believes that the definition of these strategies and priorities is a necessary precursor to the development of guided and cohesive recommendations by the Commission for Restructuring the Armed Forces. NDI further believes that the production of a defense white paper could offer a valuable opportunity to construct an inclusive process that invites members from all walks of Peruvian society to participate in the creation of national defense strategies and priorities.

While the transitional government of Valentin Paniagua encouraged the Defense Ministry under the directorship of Minister Ledesma to draft a white paper, there are few indications that this document received much support from the outside world. In a concept paper that the SSR team presented to OTI we highlighted several activities that NDI could undertake to inform the development of a white paper and enhance the participatory nature of its development. Unfortunately, this proposal was rejected.

Conference Participation and Outreach

This quarter, SSR team members continued their attempts to do public outreach and educate the Washington development and policy community on the importance of conducting security sector reform programs. Conferences attended this quarter included:

- Addressing Transnational Threats in the Asia-Pacific Region, National Defense University;
- Civil, Military, and Political Cooperation in Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Rebuilding, Georgetown University; and
- Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Really Another Man's Freedom Fighter, John Hopkins University.

In addition, Dr. Busza was invited to lecture at Carlisle Barracks to a group of officers enrolled in an EIMET program on security sector reform.

IV. EVALUATION

The SSR team's recent programmatic successes and exploration of new opportunities for security sector reform are contributing the development of this important aspect of democracy strengthening. The workshop in East Timor allowed NDI introduce the security sector reform debate in a newly independent country. With recent workshops in Nigeria, Cambodia, Peru, and East Timor, the SSR team is beginning to gain attention both inside and outside of NDI. Increased inquiries to work with the program only prove this point. Future workshops in East Timor, Indonesia and Nigeria and possible program work in Congo and Mindanao present additional opportunities for the SSR team to highlight the importance of civilian oversight of the security sector. As the only non-government organization in the U.S. actively engaged in global security sector reform issues, NDI needs continued support from USAID to engage in this field. Unfortunately, the prospects for real growth and expansion of the program seem weak given the continued lukewarm interest expressed by most USAID Missions.

V. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The SSR team will work with NDI's regional teams to hold workshops and other programs worldwide focusing on security sector reform. The SSR team will continue its programs in East Timor and will provide support to programs in Indonesia and Cambodia. We will also focus our attention on trying to develop security sector reform programs in Nigeria, Mindanao and Congo. Finally, in future quarters the SSR team hopes to publish some case studies on military and voting, coups, and intelligence laws. These papers will serve as useful resources for our security sector reform programs. An additional paper on terrorism and democracy is also being considered.