



BRIDGING THE GAP DEVELOPING MILITARY CAPABILITY TO MEET EAST AND HORN OF AFRICA SECURITY CHALLENGES



A Synthesis Report of the Proceedings of the Roundtable on Peace and Security
in East and Horn of Africa held at the Lake Victoria Serena Resort Entebbe – April
18 - 19, 2012

**Barbara Ntambirweki Karugonjo
Dr. Arthur Bainomugisha**

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Published by ACODE
P.O. Box 29836, Kampala - UGANDA
Email: library@acode-u.org, acode@acode-u.org
Website: <http://www.acode-u.org>

Citation:

Ntambirweki-Karugonjo, B., and Bainomugisha, A., (2014). Bridging the Gap: Developing Military Capability to Meet East and the Horn of Africa Security Challenges. ACODE Policy Dialogue Report Series, No.19, 2014. Kampala.

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ISBN 978 9970 34 030 9

Cover Photo:

A Uganda Peoples Defense Force soldier under AMISOM on stand by at Medina in Mogadishu, Somalia. (Photo by the NEW VISION)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACODE	Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
IDA	Institute for Defense Analyses
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
RDF	Rwanda Defence Forces
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defence Forces

1. INTRODUCTION

On April 19, 2012, more than 25 members of the armed forces of Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya including civil society representatives, officials from internal & external security organisations, academia and regional security experts convened at the Lake Victoria Serena Resort Hotel, Entebbe, Uganda to discuss the challenges to peace and security in East and Horn of Africa in the next five to ten years. The roundtable was organized by the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) and the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE) in close partnership with Uganda Peoples Defense Forces (UPDF).

The roundtable discussions were intended to identify core security interests, threats at the national, regional and global levels and the necessary military operational capabilities required to meet these challenges. The roundtable also intended to identify gaps in military preparedness at the operational level, to provide a platform to discuss the political and financial capacity required of governments to meet security challenges and understand the role of civil society and regional organizations in promoting and maintaining peace and security.

Background and Rationale for the Roundtable

Over the past two decades, African military forces have been increasingly involved in operations on the continent beyond their national borders. Some of these missions have been peace operations authorized by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and funded by the United Nations (UN), as is the case with Darfur in Sudan and Somalia. Other military operations have been organized under the auspices of regional and sub-regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) or the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Interventions have also been undertaken by formal or informal coalitions, such as the Great Lakes conflict in the 1990s, or unilaterally, as was initially the case with the Kenyan incursion into Somalia that began in October 2011.

East Africa and the Horn of Africa sub-regions are generally conflict prone. Both regions have histories of protracted interstate and intrastate violent conflicts that have sometimes resulted in complex humanitarian emergencies. The main challenges to human security in these regions stem from political instability and state fragility, environmental scarcities and abundance, the proliferation of weapons and flow of refugees, among others.¹ It is security challenges such as these that have prompted military interventions by regional militaries. It is against this background, that the roundtable was organized, to achieve the following objectives;

- To promote a deeper understanding on selected themes that underpin the significance of peace and security in East Africa and the Horn of Africa;
- To identify emerging issues and knowledge gaps, anticipating the future of regional military capabilities for peace and other regional security organizations;
- To initiate a process to build intellectual research networks and discussion forums for African militaries, African universities, and think tanks on issues related to military capability for regional security;
- To promote dialogue and cooperation among the military/security community in the region on peace and security matters.

2. OPENING SESSION

The opening session started with introductory remarks delivered by Godber Tumushabe, Executive Director of ACODE, and Ambassador George Ward of IDA. Tumushabe expressed his sincere appreciation to all participants for honouring invitations to participate in the roundtable. He particularly thanked Ambassador

¹ Rita Grossman-Vermaas; Konrad Huber & Alexandra Kapitanskaya (2010) *Minimizing Threat Convergence Risks in East Africa and the Horn of Africa: Prospects for Achieving Security and Stability*, Washington, DC 20006, The Peace Fund.

Ward and the team from IDA for partnering with ACODE to hold the dialogue which will play an important role in reshaping the discourse on regional security for years to come.

He reiterated ACODE's strategic commitment to bridge the gap between independent policy research and public policymaking through proactive policy outreach and advocacy through the facilitation of public dialogues. He noted that ACODE also deals with issues of social justice and equity and that ACODE strongly believes in the rule of law as the primary foundation of peace and stability and the socioeconomic transformation of regional countries. He expressed ACODE's excitement at co-hosting the roundtable and hoped that this would be the beginning of a partnership that could shape the discourse on regional security for the future.

With regard to the theme and focus of the roundtable, Tumushabe emphasized that the changing geopolitical and economic landscape within the East and Horn of Africa will continue to bring its own new challenges. From a military standpoint, many of these challenges are known, however, contemporary security challenges require the design of strategies that go beyond the traditional military doctrines. With almost all regional countries are challenged by civil conflicts more than external aggression. He pointed out that the security challenge of the future may not be an invading military force, but a hungry and angry population driven by food insecurity and hordes of unemployed youth. In such cases, the traditional military doctrines such as deterrence and pre-emption amongst others may not be the solution which requires to look at the new challenges facing the region.

Tumushabe emphasized that the security architecture and military preparedness must be built around the pursuit of fundamental freedoms and liberties of people. This is because fundamental freedoms are the main building blocks for democracy, business ingenuity, scientific innovation and entrepreneurship. These building blocks will contribute to the initiatives that will ensure the proper configuration of regional military architecture and security preparedness.

In his opening remarks, Ambassador Ward extended gratitude to ACODE for accepting to partner with IDA and the ability to put together such a high level roundtable at short notice. He also thanked his colleagues and the participants for their attendance. The Ambassador specifically clarified on the work of IDA and their presence at the roundtable.



Figure 1: Ambassador Ward giving his opening remarks at the roundtable.

Ambassador Ward gave a historical background of the origins of IDA. The organization was founded in 1956 so as not to lose talent in scientific disciplines that had been formed during World War II. Today, IDA is an independent non-profit corporation and the only client is the United States government. The US government looks to IDA for impartial analyses and non-partisan analyses. IDA operates federally financed research and development centres: the Studies and Analyses Centre and the Science and Technology Policy Centre. IDA's mission is to provide objective analyses of national security issues particularly those requiring scientific and technical expertise and conduct related research on national challenges. Several years ago, IDA started an Africa Studies Programme because IDA President, Dr David Chu, wanted the organization to develop its regional expertise because, unlike other regions in the world, Africa has not been of academic and

analytical focus in the United States like other regions in the world. Currently, there are over a dozen researchers at IDA who work on Africa affairs most of whom have completed studies to PhD level.

The roundtable on the peace and security challenges in the East and Horn of Africa is important because for several decades Africa has been a theatre of civil wars. More recently, Africa has taken a different approach by taking responsibility for African problems. Based on this observation, the roundtable questioned the challenges at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. Specifically, the need to think about challenges at the strategic level as well as the operational level is important as these aspects are often overlooked. African security problems, both internal and external, require specific components of operational capability which must be addressed.

Ambassador Ward concluded his remarks by reiterating that the IDA's role at the roundtable was to listen and not to provide any solution or policy proposal. He assured participants that the Chatham house rule will prevail and no statements will be attributed to any of the participants made at the roundtable. IDA and ACODE have prepared this report which will be shared with all the participants for input which will form the basis for any future analysis. IDA hopes that these discussions will set a positive pace for continued discussions in the future.

3. KEYNOTE ADDRESS: UNDERSTANDING SECURITY & THE SECURITY PROBLEMATIC IN AFRICA

Professor David Francis began the discussion by thanking ACODE & IDA for inviting an academia like himself to discuss Africa's security challenges. He applauded the organizers for bringing together critical stakeholders that are pertinent to developing a common understanding of Africa's security challenges. The cooperation of military and security experts, academia, and policy practitioners

is the way forward in addressing the core issues of current and future challenges in Africa today. He focused his presentation on understanding of the concept of security and what it means to be secure. He emphasized that the understanding of security is important in developing and designing new response mechanisms, structures and institutions to respond to Africa's future security challenges. Therefore it is necessary to understand what security actually means in terms of a conceptual framework, the diversity of the security challenges and the problematic in the context of Africa.

What is Security?

'Security' is a contested concept as there is no consensus on the definition and meaning of security. Rhetoric on 'security' is often based on the understanding that it is used to serve the vested interests of the state and non-state actors with politicians, policy analysts and practitioners have different understanding of 'security'. Depending on their particular circumstances, individuals and local communities employing different understanding of 'security.' Academics also have diverse interpretations of 'security' when looking at the key publications on security. In effect, there is no consensus and security means different things to different people, agencies, and institutions at different times. This makes the concept very difficult to understand and has created problems for policymakers.

Another challenge in understanding the concept of 'security' is the connotations associated with the term. In terms of the political connotation, security is often coupled with high-politics and has emerged as a powerful tool used to set the political agenda. It often determines who gets what, when, why and how. For example, President Bush's war on terror dominated the international security agenda and determined the allocation of resources. In Africa, the Boko Haram threat has transformed the Nigerian political economy and development landscape. The normative connotation perceives 'security' as a public good. 'Security' is about protection and feeling safe, enjoying stability, order and peace and being able to pursue development.

With this connotation, however, ‘security’ can contradict itself as it can protect some people, groups or states while it may produce insecurity and fear for others. In terms of practical implications, security is not simply an academic and intellectual pursuit. Security is about responding to real issues and real life situations through positive social and political change. The different connotations seem to have a common understanding of security based on state, societal and individual needs. If human security and societal security are not guaranteed then state security will be in danger. At the same time if state security is not guaranteed then societal and human security is also in danger. Security is also synonymous with the accumulation of power and emancipation. The more power one has, the more secure one feels. This becomes difficult in the context of asymmetrical wars, multiple security threats and terrorism. Emancipation is freedom from fear and want, and is often associated with justice and human rights.

Redefining ‘Security’ Today

There has been a paradigm shift in understanding security which has transitioned from a traditional military-centric understanding to a non-traditional soft-edged notion of security. In other words, security is no longer just state-centric, but is also focused at the human and societal level. Security goes beyond the use of force and now includes issues at the environmental, economic security and political levels.

There has also been a tendency to make everything a security issue which is a big problem for military and security agencies. As such, several questions must be asked. What kind of security are we talking about? Who decides what security means? Who determines the security agenda? What/who is the security for? How can we achieve the desired level of security? What will security cost and who will finance it?

Understanding ‘Security’ in the African Context

There are two major arguments. First, Africa demonstrates the limits of the traditional interpretation of security. The traditional

approaches to security, when applied to Africa fundamentally misrepresent and neglect the everyday realities of the multiple non-military sources of the threat to security. In other words, the traditional interpretations of security do not fit well in Africa. Second, the state has become a source of insecurity to the people and society. For example, state military and security agencies engage in violent and illegal activities. In addition, ruling and governing elites can be corrupt as well.

There are three important considerations in understanding the nature of the security problematic in Africa:

1. Heritage/history has created structural problems: The impact of the slave trade economy, colonial legacies, the nature of the cold war politics and the manner in which Africa has been incorporated into the global economy – all continue to impact and determine how security is interpreted and implemented in Africa. For example, France mischaracterized the post-election violence in Cote d'Ivoire.
2. Security threats in Africa are not homogenous or uniform: Different regions are faced with diverse forms and sources of threats to security. In particular, the security challenges of East and Horn of Africa are diametrically different from West Africa.
3. The link between military and non-military sources of threats to security: The non-military sources are poverty, underdevelopment and the gross violations of human rights which can escalate into armed conflicts or civil war. Thus, they threaten security at all levels – individual, societal, and state. This has created a security and development nexus.

Security challenges in Africa include a combination of military and non-military threats. Traditional security threats include wars and armed conflicts, political violence (e.g. 2007 post-election violence in Kenya), criminal and transnational violence, terrorism, militant and radical fundamentalism including nacre-violence (possible link with terrorism) and narco-states (Guinea Bissau). Non-traditional security challenges include natural disasters (floods, famine and

drought); health/disease (HIV/AIDS), resource scarcity (water and land), environmental degradation/climate change, poverty and underdevelopment, internal displacement, forced migration and refugees. A need to respond to issues of youth unemployment and poverty to avert serious security problems also exists.

Professor David Francis postulated that security in Africa requires two basic freedoms; 1) freedom from want such as the material dimensions of the conditions of human existence and 2) freedom from fear or the non-material qualitative dimensions of the conditions of human existence. These two perspectives ultimately link military security threats and non-military security threats which create the base for security challenges in Africa. Referencing the social revolution in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain and Yemen) connected to oil, stability, dictatorship, Israel's national security and the war on terror, Professor David Francis cited these as the roots of violence, based on the failure of the two notions of freedom.

In his conclusion, Professor David Francis highlighted several factors as critical in responses to security challenges. These included the need for military and security agencies to recognize both military sources and non-military sources of security threats and the links between them. Also required was a review of the doctrine and practices of our national armies. This requires a paradigm shift in the training and education of national and regional military security agencies with a focus on respect for human rights and the assurance that military and security agencies are subordinate to civilian authority. Finally, there must be widespread recognition that long-term national, regional peace and security cannot be achieved and maintained by the barrel of the gun. Professor David Francis closed by commending the UPDF army as one that has a developmental approach in maintaining peace and security.

The following points were addressed in the Question and Answer portion of the session:

- How do you think we can immunize African countries/armies from military coups? Professor David Francis identified Latin America as an example that underwent important developments in leadership, particularly democratic leadership, citing the clear definition of the role of the military (training and education has evolved beyond the traditional role).
- How can we create the best mix of an army that implements its mandate properly by addressing both external and internal threats?
- How can the army remain independent from politicians who want to fight their own wars?
- How can we predict that a humanitarian crisis is likely to happen in a particular country in order to prevent it? One participant pointed out that in the East and Horn of Africa, Kenya had been considered as an “island of peace” before it was blown off by the election violence in 2007. How do we mitigate these kinds of situations?
- Participants observed that the presentations in this session did not address the nexus between intelligence and regional security yet intelligence is a very crucial component for ensuring peace and security;
- Participants also observed that security has changed from the traditional meaning which only focused on state security to human security. Consequently, it was agreed that youth unemployment, famine and hunger constitute insecurity.

4. OVERVIEW OF FUTURE CHALLENGES TO STATE AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN THE EAST & HORN OF AFRICA

The Horn of Africa is not only defined by its geographical location, but also its conflicts which are exacerbated by the continuous struggle for regional hegemony among its constituent states. The East and Horn of Africa region is comprised of states that belong to different conflict systems including the Horn of Africa, the East African Community, Great Lakes systems and COMESA (the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa). The East and Horn of Africa can be defined primarily by Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).



Figure 2: A cross section of the participants at the roundtable

The IGAD region comprises of seven states which are characterized by sharp differences in political, economic, and social systems which all have different forms of systems of government. The states are Kenya, Uganda, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, and Southern Sudan. Although these countries vary in terms of strengths, capability and size, the pattern of problems affecting

them is similar. The security complex affecting all these countries is represented by an enduring pattern of conflict between incumbent regimes and opponents operating from neighbouring countries. Therefore, this forms an interesting basis for analysis of regional security issues.

One of the biggest challenges the Horn of Africa is facing is severe food insecurity with more than seven million people in need of humanitarian assistance. The worst affected areas are Eastern Ethiopia, Northern Kenya and Somalia. Poverty and underdevelopment has also affected over 70 million people in the Horn of Africa. Poverty coupled with fragile ecosystems and socioeconomic environments can exacerbate competition for scarce resources and further increase vulnerability of the marginal populations. Therefore, ensuring food security should be one of the top priorities in the region.



Figure 3: Dr. Mesfin Gebremichael and Prof. Elijah Mushemeza keenly following the proceedings.

A future source of insecurity in the Horn of Africa will be porous borders and conflicting political interests. As neighbouring countries have provided a safe haven or concerted operational support to rebel groups in the region. Tanzania, Sudan, and Uganda share a border with the DRC which has witnessed large

scale violence and displacement over the last decade. The open waters of the Indian Ocean and the piracy that has expanded far beyond Somali territorial borders and now constitute an ungoverned space for potential penetration by terrorist groups seeking avenues for exploitation. The virtually unpoliced 5,000 km coastline extending from Somalia through Kenya to Tanzania benefits traffickers as well. Porous borders also raise the issue of smuggling nuclear source material between certain countries. The East and Horn of Africa present numerous opportunities for acquiring or transmitting radiological materials through the region. For example, the DRC has uranium mines and a Regional Centre for Nuclear Studies in Kinshasa (the nuclear research facility known as CREN-K).

Discussions also focused on the recent discovery of oil in Kenya and Uganda and the impact of the oil curse. Fears exist that Kenyan and Ugandan experiences may be similar to that of the Nigerian experience and other oil producing countries in Africa currently embroiled in violent conflicts. Unless a transparent legal and policy framework is crafted before oil begins to flow. Fears exist that multinational companies may marginalize the communities in the process of oil exploration and extraction, leading to frustration, hopelessness and violence.

The next source of conflict that is likely to emerge in the region is around the River Nile Basin. The regional countries including Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia and Tanzania are contesting the colonial agreements signed by the British colonial government which give the Nile waters to Egypt and Sudan. These countries want to renegotiate the colonial agreements so that the waters can be shared equitably. The other likely cause for future regional insecurity is the Gibbe III Dam that is being built in Ethiopia (and borders Turkana) with assistance from the Italian government. This area has been a source of livelihood for the Turkana people and may cause conflict in the future. Given that Lake Turkana has already diminished to a third of its original size.

The following policy interventions and proposals were recommended to deal with future security challenges in the region;

- It was observed that while the sub regional organizations (namely IGAD and EAC) play an important role in the region, they need to reform their functions and mandate to scale up their roles in promoting regional security. Most importantly, the two institutions should support each other's role in regional security and establish the necessary institutional changes to enhance regional security;
- In resolving conflicts in the East and Horn of Africa, the remedy is for Africans to find African solutions to African problems. Home grown solutions are likely to be more realistic, cost effective and durable;
- Regional integration should be promoted to deal with regional issues which transcend national borders. African states acting within regional mechanisms should intervene if neighbouring states are likely to collapse;
- Civil-military relations need to be promoted with a focus on reducing the power of the gun to change the scenario of a predatory militaries;
- Peace and conflict studies must be assimilated into the curriculum at all levels to inculcate a culture of tolerance in society;
- A robust transparent and accountable legal and policy framework must be established in the natural resources sector;
- An African Security Council must be established and tasked with containing and ending African conflicts;
- An extensive and comprehensive security sector reform of the military and police force within the East & horn of Africa must be pursued;

- National reconciliation must be promoted to restore broken relationships for cohesive, non-violent living despite radical differences. This is a long term process that is vital to overcoming hostility and mistrust between divided societies.

5. ASSESSING THE CAPACITY OF EAST AFRICA'S MILITARIES TO ADDRESS FUTURE SECURITY THREATS

The speaker began with an overview of the regions operational capacity in addressing future security threats. Militaries in East Africa region share similarities in their historical background due to their foundations in colonial legacies and post-independence history. Most militaries emerged from the remnants of colonial arms and were deficient in the skills needed to properly maintain weaponry at operational capacity.



Figure 4: General Charles Mwanzia making a presentation at the roundtable.

Operational capacity is the military's ability to achieve their desired effect in a specific environment. This is defined by three interdependent factors: combat readiness, sustainable capacity and force structure. East Africa region militaries have continued to struggle to achieve the desired combat readiness due to lack of adequate resources, among other reasons. This has often resulted in an unsustainable capacity to achieve the desired mission.

The speaker continued with an overview of the militaries in the region including The Kenya Defence Forces who enjoy a good reputation and consist of the Army, Air Force, and Navy. They are also involved in peacekeeping missions and have, historically, acquired and used Western equipment. However, this has changed over time in favor of a mix between Western and Eastern equipment with compatibility existing as a challenging issue. The Kenya Defence Forces has been undergoing an upgrade of their military capabilities to achieve the required competence in being able to respond to new threats. This has seen the inclusion of a Chinese Z-9 Anti-Armor helicopter, Norincco WMZ 551 6x6 and OTT M-26 MRAP Armored Personnel carriers from China and South Africa respectively. The Force replenished its lethal F5E/F Squadron to full strength with tigers from Jordan. In October 2011, the Kenya Defence Forces joined the war against Al Shabaab in Somalia and have demonstrated great success in driving the terrorists away from the Kenyan border. In April 2012, they joined AMISOM under the command of the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF).

With regards to the UPDF, they are composed of an army (including a marine unit) and an airforce. Through extensive military training, the UPDF has become a professional military force, having been battle-tested in military operations in the region. The acquisition of SU30 Superiority fighters from Russia elevated the UPDF to rank among the elite African forces in terms of operational capability. The UPDF has often "risen to the occasion" in the region which has increased their capabilities and built on their experience. For example, the UPDF assumed leadership of the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) which has been a source of pride in Uganda and the region.

The Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) is comprised of the Rwanda Army, the Rwanda Air Force, and the Rwanda Defence Force Reserve. RDF was born out of a liberation force known as Rwanda Patriotic Army and the original name was changed by law in 2002. The young force soon grew to maturity with their liberation combat experience led by highly educated leaders through concerted training efforts and the sourcing of professional military training assistance from Kenya and Uganda. Regional military training assistance enhanced the regional relations and dispelled suspicion among regional countries, ultimately enhancing security. RDF has maintained Russian, Chinese and French military equipment to meet their operational mission requirements. Uniquely, their mission includes a contribution to the development of the country. RDF currently ranks among the most professional forces in the region, having had combat experience as well as being a regular force in UN peacekeeping missions.



Figure 5: General Koech making a presentation at the roundtable.

With regards to East African intelligence agencies, government agencies are responsible for the collection, analysis or exploitation of information and intelligence in support of law enforcement, national security, and defense and foreign policy objectives. In most East African countries, military intelligence is subordinate to national intelligence. The challenge for intelligence is that it

has become an elite privilege that is maintained to protect the ruling regimes. This situation inevitably culminates into rampant corruption and poor management of national security services. Corruption, poor ministerial planning and a lack of oversight have left many sub-Saharan African armies and intelligence services ill-prepared for the current challenges. Thus, Security SSR should be aimed at making intelligence more accountable to the people by changing the focus of intelligence agencies from regime security to state security.

Due to resource constraints and ruling authorities, East and Horn of African defense forces vary in terms of equipment, recruitment, training and operational capability. Most countries have relied heavily on strategic partners for support in equipment procurement and specialized military training. New studies indicate that strategic partners have now diversified their support areas in security from peace and security to democratic governance, human rights, migration, energy and climatic change. Indeed, in most external support policies, military support will only continue to diminish over time. Thus, it is important to develop well-coordinated strategic and security intelligence to combat terrorism and organized crime so that militaries will be able to effectively deal with future security challenges.

The following points were raised during the Question and Answer portion of the session:

- One participant proposed that as part of ensuring regional security for the Horn and East Africa, there is a need for investing in military diplomacy among regional countries to build trust and confidence as a long-term vision. This point was supported by other participants who suggested that a sort of plan identifying the intelligence, equipment and budget be developed. It was however that for such a corporate plan to work it should be included in the security sector reform processes.
- It was also observed that intelligence agencies in most African countries focus on protecting regimes in power instead of focusing on national security. Participants wondered whether

this was a contradiction when the intelligence bodies are protecting the government that has been democratically elected;

- Regarding military capability, a participant observed that the greatest threat to military capability in most of Africa was the state itself. He noted that security forces in most cases are run by people who are not properly trained resulting into mismanagement and security lapses;
- It was also noted that intelligence agencies must be accountable to the people. In Libya before the collapse of the Gaddafi regime, for example, national security focused on the security of Gaddafi and his family which made the country vulnerable to external attack. Participants also observed that some leaders channel a lot of money to intelligence agencies at the expense of other productive sectors of the economy. A major weakness is that most of the funds channeled to intelligence are considered classified and not open to public scrutiny. Parliamentary committees must ask questions. How do we make intelligence agencies accountable? Could Security Sector Reform be the answer?

6. ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY: LEADERSHIP, TRAINING, MILITARY HERITAGE

The presenter provided some insights into the Ethiopian Army's capability, training and leadership experiences. Accordingly, military capability is the ability to achieve a specified wartime objective such as winning a war or battle, destroying a target or managing asymmetric warfare. In contemporary military thinking it is mainly about the deterrent capability of armed forces. Military capability comprise of four major components: 1) Force structure involving the numbers, size and composition units; 2) modernization such as technical sophistication, units of weapon systems and equipment as well as the operational competencies

of forces; 3) readiness of the military to provide capabilities required by combatant commanders to execute assigned tasks; and 4) sustainability to maintain the necessary level and duration of operational activity to achieve military objectives.

The speaker also provided a brief background of the Ethiopian army which has been operating in an environment in which conflict is common, having participated in several peacekeeping operations including Sudan and Somalia. Over the years, the Ethiopian army has been tested by foreign aggression as well as internal instabilities. In keeping with the principle of collective security, over 48,500 Ethiopian troops have served in different UN and AU missions.



Figure 6 : General Yohannes contributing to the discussion at the roundtable

In terms of organization, the Ethiopian army is divided into the following branches: the army, navy, air force, and air defence. Those wishing to join must be eighteen years of age and the army welcomes a fair representation of ethnic groups. Comprised of four military regions and reserves each with infantry and mechanized units, the army has dedicated combat support and service support elements. It is well equipped with MBT (Main Battle Tank) and Anti-tank Missiles includes small and medium armaments, towed military trucks for army mobilization purposes.

In terms of training, forces train as they fight as the conflicts in the 21st century are asymmetric in nature and surrounded by uncertainties. Dealing with the unexpected requires rapid adjustment to actual situations and training doctrines stress soldiers and leaders by putting them in unfamiliar circumstances and forcing them to think creatively. There have been a few challenges regarding training capability including a lack of functional training for officers and other organizational skills. There are also challenges in mission-specific training as troops operate inside communities, different cultures and terrain where the nature of conflict varies inside and beyond its borders.

Military capability is affected by several factors including the frequently changing nature of conflicts and unpredictability of security situations as well as the scattering of military forces, fighting on many fronts. There also exists a high dependence on foreign technology and assistance limited access to regional warning information systems with military. Limited financial and logistical capabilities create issues whilst humanitarian assistance related to training components remains crucial and includes disaster preparedness and response, law of armed conflict and child protection. The presenter suggested that armies within the East and Horn region should focus on Security Sector Reform to maintain professionalism and support democratization. Policy makers, security institutions and tax payers should guarantee military capability, ownership and professionalism as Security Sector Reform will guarantee a better prepared army in the region for the future.

The second speaker gave an overview of leadership training and military heritage in the Horn of Africa region. He started by stating that there is a paradigm shift from the state centric understanding of security to human security. The speaker based his presentation on the facts and figures in the table below.

Table 1: Facts & Figures of the East and Horn Region

AFRICAN COUNTRY	ACTIVE TROOPS	RESERVES	PARAMILITARY
Egypt	450000	254000	405000
Eritrea	202000	250000	0

Sudan	104500	0	95000
Ethiopia	182500	0	0
Tanzania	27000	80000	1400
DRC	83800	0	1400
Rwanda	61000	0	10000
Uganda	60000	0	1800
Burundi	40000	0	5500
Somalia	4000	0	0
Kenya	24120	0	5000

The table illustrates the number of military and paramilitary forces across the region by country. The number of troops hosted by a country coincides with the increased number of refugees across the region (of the 22 million refugees in Africa, 15 million of these refugees are in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa). The concentration of troops in the region is inordinately huge and the speaker questioned whether the presence of these troops was for genuine legitimate national needs. Highlighting that military presence does not exist for the sake of luxury national interests must be addressed with issues such as food insecurity, medicine and lack of infrastructure being confronted.

The presenter advocated for long term strategic thinking for the region over the next five to ten years, suggesting that greater engagement between regional military forces will ensure that resources used in resolving conflicts and maintaining peace are cheaper and legitimate. Moving forward, the presenter suggested the need to focus on confidence-building measures, joint training and regional exercises to remove suspicions in the region. For example, he suggested the establishment of pacts for mutual defense in the region to reduce the large amount of defense expenditures illustrated in the above table. The extra money should be invested in primary schools, universities, infrastructural development, the promotion of the rule of law and human rights as some states have used security to oppress their citizens and engage in unnecessary expenditure. The Indian Ocean is another issue, given the imports and exports which pass through, suggesting the development of a joint naval capability.

7. CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS IN EAST AND HORN OF AFRICA REGION

The discussion started on a positive note with the recognition of achievements in regard to civil-military relations. In recent years, regional trends have been positive in terms of establishing democratic governments which form a strong foundation for sustainable peace and stability. While countries are at different stages of democratic development, at least all of them have been holding periodic elections to elect presidents, members of parliament and local leaders. It should be noted that the majority of the population in most countries in the region is now aware of their civic and human rights. The presenter gave the example of Uganda where military, police, and representatives of prisons are mandated to report to Parliament on issues of human rights annually. This has promoted accountability and gives the military more legitimacy and a vote of confidence from the public. It was also noted that most countries in the region have undertaken security sector reforms of the police and military forces.



Figure 7: General Kale Kayihura speaking at the military roundtable

While the success of such reforms will need time to establish the degree to which security forces have become accountable to civilian

leadership, the example of Kenya (where the military did not interfere in the 2007 electoral violence) is a good indication that the military respects their constitutional mandate. Uganda also provides another example where the military has representatives in parliament and has provided a bridge between the military in barracks and the civilian leadership. This model has ensured that the military does not interfere in politics.

Despite the achievements over the years, a number of challenges are emerging, including threats of terrorism and those stemming from fragile economies. Policing is difficult as the street is becoming a new theatre of war as existing threats often exist as combinations of civil disorder and elements of terrorism. As such, there is an urgent need to strengthen civil society and establish good civil-military relations across the region although the military should remain contained to an extent. Citing the UPDF as an exemplary military force for the rest of the region the speaker highlighted the need to examine policing doctrines, structure and organization to allow the military to develop the responsive capacity to support the police when appropriate.

The presenter observed that interaction between the military and society is very important to security in the region. He also noted that the attitude of the military personnel is very important in shaping civil military relations as history and development of civil-military relations is very complex given varying historical experiences among countries. Highlighting the importance of the political economy in society, it was noted that (with good leadership and a sound economy) civil-military relations can be enhanced. Good leadership provides an avenue for fair defense investment that will ultimately boost military capabilities. Another factor critical to influencing civil-military relations is the de-politicization and professionalism of the military. De-politicization involves removing the military from everyday party activities and ensuring that the military avoids taking positions in public policy debates. This practice varies in the region, but typically occurring in countries that practice multiparty democracy.

The presenter noted that most countries in the East and Horn of Africa have disconnected the military from party activities.

Furthermore, it is important to stick to the constitutional mandate of the military. The degree to which the military adheres to constitutionalism, notwithstanding the practice, shapes the development of civil-military relations. With regard to the way forward, key values that need to be promoted to enhance civil-military relations were identified as being the establishment of civil bodies with independent oversight agencies like Parliament and civil society and adherence to the rule of law, international law and domestic constitutions, and respect for human rights. Lastly, the presenter noted that meaningful engagement with civil society is essential to the promotion of civil-military relations.

The last presenter provided a historical background of civil-military relations which date back as far back as the ancient Greece-era with several armies adopting an approach to win the hearts and minds of the people during war. There have been recurrent themes in academic literature on the interaction between the military and the civilians/state, including displacement or the threat of displacement of government by overt military actions. Early analysts tended to look at the military institution as “an alien and demonic” political group, incapable of interacting with other social groups but able to act against them. The history of civil-military relations dates back to the writings of Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz, both of whom argued that military organizations were primarily the servants of the state/civil authority. Wars and conflicts are usually unpopular to the masses with this scenario becoming exacerbated when the public knows little or nothing about the reasons for and progress of the war.

With regard to the UPDF, the history of civil-military relations dates back to the NRA bush war struggle that led to the successful defeat of the dictatorial governments of Idi Amin and Milton Obote. The presenter noted that the UPDF holds an annual celebration, the “Tarehe sita” armed forces week; during which several civil-military activities are held. Civil-military coordination in the UPDF has always worked as a force multiplier and has led to acquisition of vital information with limited resources.

The presenter cited the 1995 Constitution of Republic of Uganda, Articles 209 (b) and (c), which stipulate that the UPDF should

cooperate with the civilian authority in emergency situations and in cases of natural disasters to foster harmony and understanding between the defense forces and civilians. Thus, civil-military relations must be included in national constitutions and as regional security mechanisms as directed by the heads of states. The governments must manage national relations in accordance with the people's aspirations to avoid disconnect between the leaders and the citizens. For healthy civil military relations to exist, political actors across the political divide must respect the constitution. The military in this region must be enabled to build capability to ensure stability and be able to cooperate with civil authorities in emergency situations. The military must also grow to support productive and development activities.

The modern concept of military operations under civilian authority is that military operations now take place within a wider political spectrum. The military needs to take into account social, political, cultural, religious, economic, environmental and humanitarian factors when planning and conducting operations. With the UPDF, history has demonstrated that the uniform should not be a source of fear but one of hope and inspiration to the people of Uganda. The UPDF strives to protect, respect civilians, observe human rights and engage in humanitarian work as a service organisation and views the relationship with the population as symbiotic. The presenter concluded by encouraging the rest of the region to emulate UPDF's ideologies and to continue to develop interoperability.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS & NEXT STEPS

The concluding remarks were delivered by the organizers Ambassador Ward (IDA) and Dr Bainomugisha (ACODE).

Ambassador Ward emphasized that the role of IDA was to listen and take notes on the issues that were emerging during the discussions. He provided impressions on what was discussed and the way forward for future engagement noting that he impressed by the level of expertise and frank discussions. He also pointed out

that the participant's dedication to regional security is remarkable with each of the countries represented being involved in at least one voluntary military operation around the region. He noted that to an outsider observer there is evidence of a great sense of cooperation among the represented nations adding that this level of cooperation brings together effective practices that bode well for the future. The institutions in the region overlap and an issue of central importance on the regional agenda is pushing ahead regional integration at the state (security) level which may be implemented more effectively.



Figure 8: Dr Arthur Bainomugisha (ACODE) discussing the way forward

Ambassador Ward noted that new security challenges are emerging, including piracy, the trafficking of drugs and people, the need to protect new oil and gas resources and counterterrorism despite old challenges continuing to pose threats to the internal stability of the state. States are waging battles on multiple fronts, which make decisions on training, leadership and procurement even more important. He emphasized the need for mutual support and cross-fertilization among military, civil society, and academic representatives. He believed a gathering such as the Security Roundtable was extremely beneficial and asked for opinions and recommendations from the participants.

There was a consensus that timing was an issue. A longer meeting (1.5 days) would leave room for more constructive engagement as the appetite for more discussions was apparent. Others suggested that representatives from the political class should be invited to the next round table with participants concluding that the gathering was stimulating, informative and intellectually rewarding.

The following actions are to be pursued as a result of the roundtable;

- A complete report of the proceedings will be circulated to all participants for comments as communications are maintained on a virtual basis.
- The theme of the next meeting will be more specific to allow greater depth in discussing security issues across the region, ideally occurring within the next six months.
- ACODE will continue to establish constructive engagements on security with regional militaries across the region.
- Dr. Bainomugisha requested all the participants to contact IDA and ACODE for any queries or issues of concern.

Dr. Bainomugisha thanked the ACODE team, particularly the Chairman of ACODE Board of Trustees, for participating actively and effectively in the discussions. He thanked the UPDF leadership particularly the Chief of Defence Forces, General Aronda Nyakairima and Prof. David Francis, University of Bradford as well as officials from both internal and external security organizations for taking off time from their busy schedules to attend the round table. He ended his remarks by thanking IDA for choosing ACODE as a partner in shaping the regional security architecture for the East and Horn of Africa.

Annex: List of Participants

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ISBN 978 9970 34 030 9



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