

National Security Strategy Development Workshop: North and Eastern Africa

SYLLABUS

Tunis, Tunisia

12-16 August 2019





NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP: NORTH AND EASTERN AFRICA

Tunis, Tunisia 12-16 August 2019

SYLLABUS

Table of Contents

About the Africa Center for Strategic Studies	1
Introduction	3
Map of Africa	5
Session 1: Conceptual Evolution of Security and Strategy in North and Eastern Africa	7
Session 2: The Rationale for National Security Strategy in Africa	9
Session 3: National Security Strategy Development Process	11
Session 4: National Security Strategy Document	13
Session 5: Resources for National Security Strategy	15
Session 6: Overcoming Implementation Challenges	17
Session 7: Oversight Mechanisms and Institutions	19
National Security Strategy Development: Case Studies	21

ABOUT THE AFRICA CENTER

Since its inception in 1999, the Africa Center has served as a forum for research, academic programs, and the exchange of ideas with the aim of enhancing citizen security by strengthening the effectiveness and accountability of African institutions, in support of U.S. - Africa policy.

VISION

Security for all Africans championed by effective institutions accountable to their citizens.

Realizing the vision of an Africa free from organized armed violence guaranteed by African institutions that are committed to protecting African citizens is the driving motivation of the Africa Center. This aim underscores the Center's commitment to contributing to tangible impacts by working with our African partners – military and civilian, governmental and civil society, as well as national and regional. All have valuable roles to play in mitigating the complex drivers of conflict on the continent today. Accountability to citizens is an important element of our vision as it reinforces the point that in order to be effective, security institutions must not just be "strong," but also be responsive to and protective of the rights of citizens.

MISSION

To advance African security by expanding understanding, providing a trusted platform for dialogue, building enduring partnerships, and catalyzing strategic solutions.

The Africa Center's mission revolves around the generation and dissemination of knowledge through our research, academic programs, strategic communications, and community chapters. Drawing on the practical experiences and lessons learned from security efforts on the continent, we aim to generate relevant insight and analysis that can inform practitioners and policymakers on the pressing security challenges that they face. Recognizing that addressing serious challenges can only come about through candid and thoughtful exchanges, the Center provides face-to-face and virtual platforms where partners can exchange views on priorities and sound practices. These exchanges foster relationships that, in turn, are maintained over time through the Center's community chapters, communities of interest, follow-on programs, and ongoing dialogue between participants and staff. This dialogue—infused with real world experiences and fresh analysis—provides an opportunity for continued learning and catalyzes concrete actions.

MANDATE

The Africa Center is a U.S. Department of Defense institution established and funded by Congress for the study of security issues relating to Africa and serving as a forum for bilateral and multilateral research, communication, exchange of ideas, and training involving military and civilian participants. (10 U.S.C 342)

Introduction

Program Overview

Very few North and Eastern African countries have a written, comprehensive and coordinated strategy to pursue their strategic national security goals. Even where written strategies exist, they do not tend to align with current and emerging security challenges across the sub-region. In some cases, countries have sectoral policies and plans with no overarching coordinating document. This workshop aims to examine, and emphasize the value of, a vision-led national security strategy that provides a nation with a clear framework for addressing multifaceted security threats and sustaining human, societal and state security. In this context, participants will consider appropriate definitions, methodology, processes, and mechanisms for the development and implementation of national security strategies. Guiding questions will include:

- 1. How have security and strategy evolved in Africa? What are the implications for addressing the evolving security challenges in North and Eastern Africa? What security, whose security and what is national security? What is strategy and what is the difference between strategy and policy?
- 2. What is the rationale for national security strategies in North and Eastern Africa?
- 3. What are the desirable methodology, processes and elements of national security strategy development?
- 4. What are the elements of national security strategy document? Should it be classified?
- 5. What are the challenges in implementing this strategy document and how to overcome such challenges and ensure democratic oversight?

Academic Approach

Recognizing the diversity of challenges and opportunities in security sector governance, this workshop will seek to more intentionally capture important lessons and sound practices through:

- a) Plenary sessions that reinforce peer learning by focusing on practical applications and sound security sector governance principles;
- b) Small group discussions that reinforce the learning objectives and challenge participants to address both whole of government and more specific technical issues.

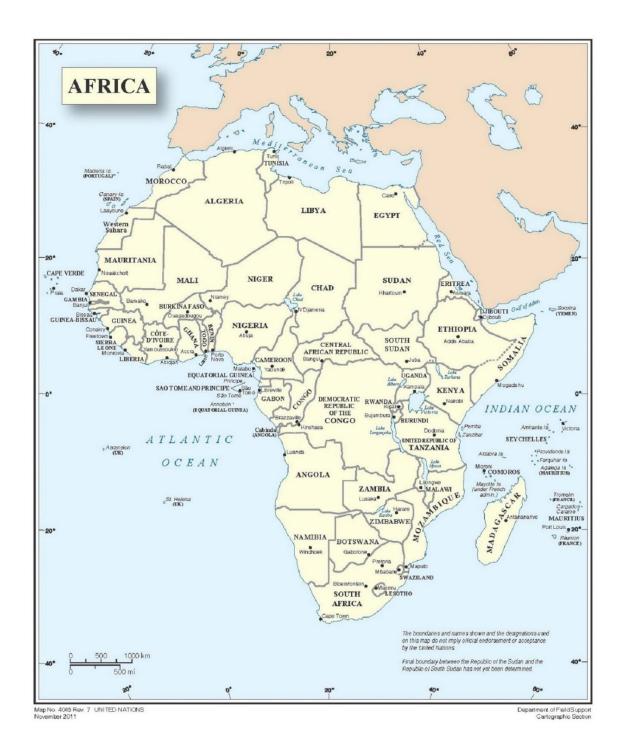
The workshop will be conducted in English, French, and Portuguese. The program will be conducted under a strict policy of non-attribution.

The Syllabus

This syllabus provides an overview of academic goals and key policy questions related to national security strategy development in North and Eastern Africa. For each session, we provide a brief introduction and list questions for discussion. We also include selected articles, whose primary purpose is to help frame the issues within the context of available scholarship and policy documents. The syllabus likely covers more issues and materials than can be sufficiently discussed in the available time. We hope that you use these materials as resources even after the program concludes.

We encourage you to bring questions and suggestions about the materials and the course in general to our attention. The quality of our programs and courses has greatly benefited from the enthusiastic willingness of past participants to offer constructive criticisms and suggestions. We are quite willing to discuss specific topics with you. We encourage you to read the assigned material and actively participate in your discussion groups.

Map of Africa



Session 1: Conceptual Evolution of Security and Strategy in North and Eastern Africa

Format: Plenary Presentations and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Consider the conceptual evolution of security and strategy and its implications for addressing the multifaceted and evolving security challenges in North and Eastern Africa.
- Discuss the current definition of security, policy and strategy and difference between policy and strategy.
- Examine how the formulation and implementation of national security strategy could strengthen the synergic relationships between security, development and governance.

Background

Over the last two decades, the nature of insecurity in North and Eastern Africa has evolved dramatically. On a number of fronts, the region has made significant progress. Nevertheless, many of the key drivers of instability — including civil unrest, social cleavages and governance deficits — persist. A youth bulge has the potential to unlock economic dividends. However, unchecked population growth can destabilize regions with chronic unemployment. Unprecedented economic growth has given rise to a growing middle class, but wealth distribution remains uneven. Desertification and water scarcity threatens to upend pastoralist gazing patterns in North and Eastern Africa. The regional security architecture is also evolving in North and Eastern Africa. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the East Africa Economic Community (EAC), and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) have a challenge of reinforcing democratic norms and principles.

Thus, there is growing recognition that security challenges are interconnected. In North and Eastern Africa, insecurity also cuts across multiple dimensions. Hence the notion of "human security," which upholds the protection of the individual at its core, has risen to the fore. Human security acknowledges the shortcomings of the state- or regime-centric approach. Today's security paradigm therefore unites traditional and non-traditional security perspectives. In a resource- constrained environment, every decision bears a significant opportunity cost. A broader definition of security could justify more investment in poverty reduction programs. State and citizen security should be complementary and mutually reinforcing (the *security-development – governance nexus*).

The word "strategy" originates from the Greek *stratēgia*, meaning the "art of troop leader; office of general, command, generalship." It has been long been defined as a high-level plan to achieve an objective under conditions of uncertainty. However, given the complexity of North and Eastern Africa's security landscape, a military approach is no longer sufficient. A national security strategy must address the region's multi-faceted security challenges. The process, and the stakeholders, must therefore reflect a "whole-of-society" approach. Thus civil society, the media, and the private sector must also be included in the conversation. A strategic framework prioritizes security challenges and guides instruments of national power. In its absence, state and citizen security will remain elusive.

Success is rarely accidental. Achievements in warfare, chess, politics, sports, or business result

from a strategic approach. In a rapidly changing security environment, resources alone do not assure success. Tackling Africa's security challenges requires a combination of skills, wit, resources, and creativity.

Discussion Questions:

- Is there a need to reform security governance in your country? In the sub-region?
- How has the definition of "security" evolved in your country/ region to reflect the changed security environment? What changes have taken place in your country and subregion?
- How have you applied the concepts of security and strategy in your work?
- Has your understanding of security and strategy changed over time in your country/region and why?
- Has your understanding of the concepts of security and strategy after the first session changed? How and why?

Readings:

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, National Security Policies, and SSR Backgrounder Series (Geneva: DCAF, 2015).

https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/DCAF_BG_9_National%20 Security%20Policies.11.15.pdf

IRIS, 2017. East Africa and the Horn in 2022. Paris: Institute of International and Strategic Relations. https://www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/IARAN-East-Africa-to-2022-revised.pdf.

Boukhars, A., 2018. The Maghreb's Fragile Edges. *Africa Security Brief No. 34*. Washington: Africa Center for Strategic Studies. https://africacenter.org/publication/maghreb-fragile-edges/.

World Bank, 2011, World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development. Open Knowledge Repository. Page 8-15, 45-48 https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4389

Session 2: The Rationale for National Security Strategy in Africa

Format: Plenary Presentation and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Examine the availability of national security strategies in North and Eastern Africa, the level of security, and the quality of governance of the security sector in North and Eastern Africa.
- Assess the utility of having national security strategy in North and Eastern Africa.
- Discuss the perils and challenges of crafting national security strategy in a complex security environment.

Background

African countries have constitutional obligations to provide security to their citizens. Despite this constitutional commitment, many states in Africa are becoming increasingly incapable of ensuring security to all their citizens. The growing human insecurity, the emergence of new security threats and a fundamental change in understanding "security" have necessitated the need to craft new national security strategies or to review the existing ones not only in Africa but worldwide. Some countries have started with a process of reviewing and merging their military/defense white papers and domestic/homeland security strategies into one coherent national security strategy.

Unlike approach to development that has evolved from elites-centric top down to people-centered and participatory, the provision of security in Africa remains a top-down and with minimal involvement of citizens. Despite inordinate state's resources allocated to security sector, most countries are failing to deliver security to their citizens. Most African countries do not have an overarching national security strategies but they do have uncoordinated sectorial security strategies that are largely formulated with limited involvement of citizens and induced and financed by external partners.

This lack of grand strategy as a reference point for decision-makers in security sector may inhibit effective coordination, alignment of resources and leveraging of partnership, prioritization and shared understanding on security objectives and national interests. A change in the way security is perceived, planned and delivered to citizens by states in Africa is necessary to foster good governance and democratic control of the security sector. National Security Strategy Development (NSSD) is about a theory of change and a way to deliver better the security to the citizens. It has been shown that a well-designed process for formulating national security strategy enables decision-makers to plan better for addressing national security threats and interests.

In recognition of the continuing gap between existing approaches to Security Sector Reform (SSR) and deficits in the delivery and governance of security in many of its member states, the African Union (AU) has not only acknowledged the need for the development of national security strategies as a key element of the SSR but it also requested its member states to produce such strategies through a fully consultative and participatory process.

Discussion Questions:

• What is the status of security in your country or region and what are the drivers of such insecurity in your country or region?

- What security strategies do you have in your country or region and is there national security strategy in your country?
- Do you know that your country has committed itself to develop a fully consultative and participatory process of national security strategy and what are the challenges and opportunities for developing national security in your country?
- Do you think there is a need for developing or reviewing the existing security strategies in your country and why?

Readings:

Cancian, M., Schaus, J., Shah, H. and Hopkins, A., 2017 Formulating National Security Strategy: Past Experience and Future Choices. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

https://www.csis.org/analysis/formulating-national-security-strategy

African Union, 2004. *The Solemn Declaration on Common African Defense and Security Policy*. Addis Ababa: The African Union. http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/declaration-cadsp-en.pdf.

Africa Union, 2013. *Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform.* Addis Ababa: The African Union. http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/au-policy-framework-on-security-sector-reform-ae-ssr.pdf

Session 3: National Security Strategy Development (NSSD) Processes in Africa

Format: Plenary Presentations and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Understand some key phases and elements of the national security strategy development process.
- Discuss practical steps for initiating, drafting and approving a national security strategy.
- Examine ways of ensuring inclusive and participatory national security strategy development in Africa.

Background

One of the core functions of a nation-state is to provide for the security and safety of its citizens. Many African states have enshrined this commitment in their constitutions. However, they often fail to uphold it in practice. A shifting security landscape, and a revolution in the definition of security itself, demands a fundamental rethinking of national security strategy development. Decision-makers must prioritize and manage security threats within the context of this new paradigm. A well-designed formulation process is critical to meeting this objective.

A state's unique set of national interests and values will shade the contours of its national strategy. However, these principles are never in stasis. As noted in Session 1, the notion of national security continues to evolve. Some nevertheless caution against an overly expansive definition of national security. Caudle remarks, for instance, that security can be "mean all things to all people or nothing to no one" (Caudle, 2009:8). It should also be noted that policy and strategy are distinct. While national security policy lays out broad priorities within the context of a national vision, the strategy describes how, including with what resources, it means to achieve them.

It is also worth remarking that the process is as least as important as the product. States that have outsourced their National Security Strategies have often failed to implement them. A well-designed process also builds internal and external support for the document itself. Other important elements include a clear understanding of the purpose, scope of coverage, and drafting process. In addition to delivering a baseline for shared principles across security sector institutions, the process provides a framework for cross-government coordination. Other challenges include problems achieving consensus, and difficulty prioritizing security challenges.

In preparation for this Workshop, the Africa Center commissioned a series of case studies. These documents examine national security strategy development processes in a number of African states. These will serve to deepen your understanding of effective approaches to national security and strategic thinking in Africa. You will note that the practices for crafting national security strategies differ across countries. All nevertheless share common features that provide opportunities for peer learning.

Discussion Questions:

- Did you participate in formulating any national policy in your country or region?
- If yes, who initiated the process of drafting such a policy and who were the members of the drafting committee? What were the main steps in the formulation of such policy?
- Do you see any rationale for crafting or reviewing a national security strategy for your

- country or region and why? If yes, do you think the drafting of national security strategy development should follow the same process of formulating other national policies?
- Do you think citizens should be involved in the formulation of national security strategy? Why and how?

Readings:

Cancian, M., Schaus, J., Shah, H. and Hopkins, A., 2017 Formulating National Security Strategy: Past Experience and Future Choices. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

https://www.csis.org/analysis/formulating-national-security-strategy

African Union, 2004. *The Solemn Declaration on Common African Defense and Security Policy*. Addis Ababa: The African Union. http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/declaration-cadsp-en.pdf.

Stolberg, A., 2012. How Nation-States Craft "National Security Strategy Documents. Carlisle: US Army Strategic Studies Institute (SSI). Page 8-17, 11-125 http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1128

Session 4: National Security Strategy Document

Format: Plenary Presentations and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Discuss what a national security strategy document should look like.
- Demonstrate the integrated/holistic nature of the document.
- Explore how it should relate to sectoral, regional and international strategies.
- Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of making the document public or classified.

Background

A national security strategy is a powerful strategic communications tool. It articulates the strategic vision for the country, and clearly conveys intent to both friends and foes alike. This vision should provide a clear picture of national goals to be achieved over a given time period. The document should be based on a realistic assessment of current and projected internal and external threats.

In North and Eastern Africa, formal, publicly-accessible national security strategy documents are the exception. Many states have defense policies, military strategies, or defense white papers. These are developed by the Ministry of Defense, and directed towards state security. Countries may also have sectoral strategies to address, for instance, maritime insecurity or terrorism. In many cases, these sectoral policies and plans lack coherence. They are developed in the absence of an overarching, coordinating strategy.

While national security strategy documents should allow for regional and sectoral strategies, it must be noted that these documents are not sectoral. They should be comprehensive, reflecting threats to both state and citizen. Their development follows a standard and near-universal cycle including initiation, drafting, conciliation, and approval phases. Because of hard choices about resource allocation, the document must reflect principles of suitability, sustainability and feasibility.

Even when a strategy is developed and announced, the document itself is often classified. This poses a number of challenges, not least among which are: inadequate national ownership; poor management and use of security sector resources; and fragmented coordination. When strategic objectives are defined by the state alone, the final product will reflect narrow, state-centric interests. In a citizen-centric document, security priorities will be known, shared, and owned by all citizens.

While national security strategies vary from state to state, they share three overarching themes: perceived domestic and international threats, challenges and opportunities; roles and responsibilities of implementing agencies; and the state's role in the international system. Above all, a national security strategy should be the product of a collaborative process. If the goal is to realize a more inclusive document, then the citizen must be at the center of its development.

Discussion Questions:

- How are sectoral strategies integrated into a national security strategy? Why?
- Have you engaged in drafting any aspect of your country's security strategy? If so, can you describe the contours of the document? Is the strategy public or classified? Is it integrated with other sectoral strategies and sub-national levels?
- If you were charged with drafting or reviewing your country or (sub) regional security strategy, what would the document look like? How would you integrate other sectoral strategies and sub-national level?
- How often should the document be revised? Should the review process follow a schedule?

Reading:

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Tool 2: Security Sector Reform Programming, International Security Sector Advisory Team. (Geneva: DCAF, 2015).

 $\underline{https://issat.dcaf.ch/Learn/Resource-Library2/Tools/Tool-2-Security-Sector-Reform-Programming}$

Aeby, M., 2018, Peace and Security Challenges in Southern Africa: Governance Deficits and Lacklustre Regional Conflict Management, *Policy Note No. 4:2018*, Nordiska. https://nai.uu.se/news/articles/2018/05/17/092409/index.xml

Session 5: Resources for National Security Strategy

Format: Plenary Presentations and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Understand how resources are mobilized and allocated for the development of national security strategy and its implementation.
- Probe how national security strategy development helps in aligning resources (internal
 and external) and leveraging partnership (regional and international) to achieve national
 security objectives.

Background

Resource management has far-reaching implications for national security in Africa. An effective national security strategy will align spending with security. When spending and procurement decisions are not grounded in strategy, scarce resources may be squandered on unnecessary equipment and inappropriate ventures. As spending in security sector, defense, public safety and justice, usually carries a heavy fiscal burden and makes up significant portion of national budgets, it is essential that security sector to be integrated in the budget cycle through NSSD driven by data and evidence generated by tools such as public expenditure reviews to ensure that resources are allocated according to coherent policies. This will make security services operate by the same standards of accountability as other elements of the public sector.

In North and Eastern Africa, efficient resource management is especially important. North and Eastern Africa lays claim to vast hydrocarbon fields, fishing stocks, and mineral deposits, its vast population continue to subsist below poverty line. These natural resources have the potential to generate tremendous wealth in the form of corporate taxes, royalties, and fees. However, effective rates in North and Eastern Africa are below the global average. Moreover, as recent years have demonstrated, commodity-based revenues are at the mercy of global shocks. Domestic revenue generation also remains anemic. It is therefore important to enhance the tax effort and improve domestic resource management.

Budgeting processes should be also transparent. State-sanctioned secrecy has underwritten spiraling and often unsustainable spending sprees. Budget opacity is also inefficient. It drives weak procurement systems and wasteful personnel spending. These have dramatically eroded security sector efficiency and operational effectiveness. Transparency also provides for public buy-in of defense policy and spending objectives. This allows constituents to shape the trajectory of their state's security strategy.

Many African countries require some level of support to sustain their security sectors. External security assistance therefore represents a crucial source of revenue. This can take the form of grants, equipment transfers, soft loans or technical assistance. However, these revenue flows can be counterproductive without a credible national security strategy process. Indeed, several country case studies indicate that the national security strategy itself was externally financed. Outside funding threatens to undermine ownership and sustainability.

Some practitioners believe that security objectives should determine resources. The finance minister will bring the necessary resources to bear for their implementation. Others support a means-driven model. They argue that security strategy should be tailored to resource availability

(both national and donor resources). Ultimately, the process should be collaborative and iterative. A national security strategy without resources (institutions, people, budgets, equipment) will not be worth the paper it is written on unless it is subjected to budgetary planning and proper oversight.

Discussion Questions:

- 1. How resources are (internal and external) mobilized for, and allocated to, security institutions and agencies in your country/region?
- 2. How does a national/regional security strategy help to align resources with security threats?
- 3. What are some of the challenges associated with external security assistance? How does a national security strategy facilitate alignment of external assistance with domestic priorities?
- 4. Should resource availability drive strategic objectives, or vice versa?

Readings:

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, "Tool 4: Effective Management of External Support to Security Sector Reform," International Security Sector Advisory Team. (Geneva: DCAF, 2015).

https://issat.dcaf.ch/Learn/Resource-Library/Tools/Tool-4-Effective-Management-of-External-Support-to-Security-Sector-Reform

Harborne, B., Dorotinsky, W. and Bisca, P., 2017. Securing Development: A Guide to Public Expenditure Reviews in the Security and Criminal Justice Sectors. Washington: World Bank Group. Page: 64-69, 105-119

 $\frac{http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/784781496312346560/Securing-development-public-finance-and-the-security-sector-a-guide-to-public-expenditure-reviews-in-the-security-and-criminal-justice-sectors$

Session 6: Overcoming Implementation Challenges of National Security Strategy

Format: Plenary Presentations and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Understand how national security strategy defines responsibilities for its implementation.
- Discuss the mechanisms and institutions for security sector interagency collaboration, coordination, harmonization and decision-making.
- Recognize the importance of flexibility and capacity for adaptation in the implementation of a national security strategy.

Background

The previous sessions examined various aspects of the strategic formulation process, from drafting to dissemination. This session will discuss its implementation. A national security strategy will designate the roles and responsibilities of the institutions charged with carrying out objectives. The document will also designate mechanisms to coordinate their activities and decisions. As discussed in previous sessions, a comprehensive review of national security threats will inform division of labor. Certain roles are defined constitutionally or via legislation. However, the national security strategy development process provides an opportunity to collectively assess the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of relevant institutions in addressing security challenges.

Once roles and responsibilities are clearly defined, primary and secondary roles must be delineated. In lieu of a detailed implementation plan, some countries have developed separate, sectoral implementation strategies. These contain key performance indicators and verification methods for specific security institutions and agencies.

Whatever form a specific implementation plan takes, it must have flexibility and adaptability built into it. The document must acknowledge the changing nature of North and Eastern Africa's security landscape, and provide relevant ministries and agencies with the resources to adapt and react accordingly.

Discussion Questions:

- Have you ever been involved in drafting any security strategies for your country/region? If yes, does said strategy have an implementation plan and what are its key elements? What were key challenges in implementing said strategy?
- How are roles and responsibilities assigned to security institutions and agencies in your country/region? Are there overlaps in these roles and responsibilities, and how are they addressed?
- Do you think national security strategy development may help in assigning roles and responsibilities and improving coordination in security sector, and if so, how?

Readings:

Caudle, S., 2009. "National Security Strategies: Security from what, for Whom, and by What Means". Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management Vol. 6(1): pp: 1-26). https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/jhsem.2009.6.1.jhsem.2009.6.1.1526/jhsem.2009.6.1.1526.pdf

Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces., 2018, "Fragility Forum 2018: Can Security Sector Reform Prevent Conflict, Geneva: DCAF. https://www.dcaf.ch/fragility-forum-2018-can-security-sector-reform-prevent-conflict

Session 7: Oversight Mechanisms and Institutions

Format: Plenary Presentations and Moderated Question-Answer Session

Objectives:

- Explore how effective oversight of the security sector enhances democratic control, accountability, and transparency.
- Demonstrate the need to improve information flows between civilian authorities and military officials while also building capacity on both sides.
- Build on understanding institutional framework for oversight

Background

In North and Eastern Africa, security sector governance remains a highly political endeavor. Security bodies thus remain susceptible to a culture of *military exceptionalism*: the notion that national security is a no-go zone for civil authorities. The challenge, then, is to provide for effective oversight of security institutions within the context of inclusive, democratic processes. This can prove to be a delicate balancing act. Professional military establishments must be willing to submit to civilian oversight. At the same time, they must be strong enough to resist being drawn into politics. A national security strategy can establish, and reinforce, baseline standards of accountability and transparency.

Formal oversight institutions can be internal or external. External mechanisms include watchdog agencies, parliamentary subcommittees, auditors and accountants general, and the judiciary. Internal agencies consist of departmental ombudsmen, internal affairs, and internal whistleblower protection offices. Parliament and other external agencies serve to generate political will for effective enforcement. Internal mechanisms, meanwhile, are better positioned to detect infractions. In this sense, the two should be mutually-reinforcing. Informal organizations, such as the media and civil society, serve an equally important function. They expose conflicts of interest, corruption, and waste. By guarding the guardians, they provide another layer of redundancy in the oversight architecture. These bodies also facilitate information flows, educate the public, and monitor the efficacy of the oversight process.

A number of challenges arise from the over-classification of security activities. In 2015, only seven African states published disaggregated defense figures, and 40% released nothing at all. Coordinated oversight and empowered parliamentary committees could provide a solution for monitoring classified issues. The *Transparency International* Defense Corruption Index identifies five risk areas (political, financial, personnel, operations and procurement) and 29 sub-categories. These can be used as benchmarks for monitoring progress.

Parliamentary committees play a central role in security sector oversight. Too often, however, interaction between military and civilian institutions is adversarial and unproductive. In this region's nascent democracies, some elected parliamentarians see this forum as an opportunity to "control" the security forces. Unfortunately, most elected representatives understand little about security or strategy. Security forces are equally ill-informed on issues like national budgetary parameters. Some states have taken steps to empower independent audit and investigative committees to oversee the security realm, but challenges remain.

Discussion Questions:

- Which institutions play security sector oversight roles? Is civil society engaged in such oversight, and how? Are there feedback mechanisms between and among these oversight institutions?
- How would you describe the relationship between security sector bodies and parliament and civil society? Are there tensions between oversight and sensitivity in security and how tensions could be addressed?
- Are their gaps in capacity, skills and knowledge between parliamentarians overseeing security sectors and members of security sector and how such gaps could be narrowed?
- How could an inclusive national security strategy improve the oversight of security sector institutions and agency?

Readings:

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces., 2015 "Parliaments," SSR Backgrounder Series (Geneva: DCAF, 2015). http://ssrbackgrounders.org/fall.php?p=22&l=EN

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces., 2015 "Oversight and Guidance: Parliaments and Security Sector Governance," Geneva: DCAF, 2015. 125712 https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/Oversight%20and%20Guidance%20Parliaments%20and%20SG_eng.pdf

Transparency International., 2015 "Government Defense Anti-Corruption Index." Transparency International Defense and Security.

https://government.defenceindex.org/#close

National Security Strategy Development: Case Studies (Working Drafts)

• Botswana: English

• Burkina Faso: English

• Côte d'Ivoire: English

• Liberia: English

• Madagascar: English

• Nigeria: English

Senegal/Sénégal: English

• South Africa/Afrique du Sud: English

South Sudan/Soudan du Sud: English

Other Documents

- A National Security Strategy Primer
- National Security Strategy of the Republic of Liberia
- National Security Strategy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria