



**AFRICA CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

**Aligning Resources with National
Security Strategies in Africa**

SYLLABUS

**Online, via Zoom for Government
30 November 2021 – 15 December 2021**



AFRICA CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

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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

African countries face challenges in generating, allocating and aligning security sector resources for reasons that include lack of coherent national security strategies. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exposed the challenges of aligning available national resources with strategic national goals while meeting urgent and unanticipated needs. The pandemic has unleashed unprecedented economic uncertainty that poses an enormous challenge to the alignment of resources and implementation of budgets in Africa. The budgets that were appropriated before the pandemics became unable to adjust with far-reaching cuts in public expenditure to meet urgent needs and pressing priorities.

The pandemic has exposed the reactive response that resulted in the misalignment of the available national resources. The states became unable to make strategic trade-offs with the available national resources within the development-security-governance nexus. This calls for the need to revisit the link between national security strategy and budgeting process in allocating, aligning and managing security resources in rational way and within the public financial management principles. As many African countries are in the process of developing and implementing their national security strategies, the application of public resource management principles to the security sector and judicious management and alignment of security resources become both urgent and critical in Africa. These fiscal challenges caused by the pandemic may provide opportunities for rethinking the processes of designing and implementing budgeting and security strategies and how to make such strategies and budget agile and adaptive amid unprecedented uncertainty and shocks.

The three -week virtual academic workshop aims at introducing participants to understand the challenges of misalignment of security resources and to introduce some key concepts, principles and tools for the alignment and adjustment of security resources with national security strategies. These principles and tools will be introduced, analyzed and discussed through interactive plenary presentations and group discussions. The workshop is organized into three plenary sessions: (1) Status of Security Expenditure: Public Expenditure Review; (2) Planning Security Resources: National Security Strategy and Budgeting; and (3) Managing Security Expenditure: Public Expenditure Management. We expect participants to grasp the challenges of misalignment of security resources and to acquire relevant principles and tools for realigning and adjusting security resources with national security strategies in Africa.

Workshop Structure

Plenary sessions will be followed by breakout discussion groups during which participants will have an opportunity to address the issues raised in the plenary in more detail and to share experiences. Plenary sessions will be 90 minutes each following the Africa Center's standard plenary format of moderated discussion between the faculty lead with leading experts or catalysts (60 min, recorded) and then followed by non- attribution interactive Q&A (30 min; participants' audio enabled and not recorded).

Discussion groups will follow the standard, non-attribution format and be 90 minutes in length. The seminar will be conducted in English, French, and Portuguese, participants are required to have professional knowledge of one of these languages. A spirit of academic inquiry and debate will guide the program, which will follow the well-tested Africa Center format of plenary sessions followed by discussion group sessions. Knowledgeable speakers will frame the key issues and engage participants in a question-and-answer during the plenary sessions.

Academic Material

The Africa Center utilizes academic tools to promote frank and open dialogue on critical issues and to lay the foundation for the development of effective peer networking. To facilitate our discussions, we have provided this academic syllabus and recommended readings. We encourage you to consider critically the analyses and content in all the materials provided. In this regard, the readings are intended to foster a healthy dialogue on the security challenges under discussion, which, in turn, will enable you to forge realistic and effective strategies to address these challenges. All workshop materials will be provided in English, French, and Portuguese.

As with all Africa Center academic programs, this seminar will be conducted under a strict policy of non-attribution, which is binding during and after the seminar. We encourage you to share the insights you gain from this seminar with your colleagues, but not to quote the specific comments of your fellow participants. We hope that this will allow you to address freely the sensitive issues under discussion. The views expressed in the readings, case studies, and presentations do not represent the official policy or position of the National Defense University, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government. All program documentation will be posted on the Africa Center website.

The Syllabus

This syllabus provides an overview of academic material and key policy questions related to adaptation and strategic leadership in Africa's security sector. The document is organized along the lines of three sessions for this program. For each session, the syllabus gives a brief introduction and frames questions for discussion. To ensure that you and your colleagues may take maximum advantage of the presentations, we have provided selected articles we strongly encourage you to read. The Africa Center realizes that the syllabus covers more issues and materials than can be sufficiently discussed in the available time. We hope that you will use these materials as resources even after the program concludes. Speakers in the plenary sessions will discuss the current state and scope of security sector resource management trends in Africa after which participants will be given the opportunity to ask questions. These sessions are designed to reinforce peer learning by focusing on practical applications and sound security sector governance principles.

Plenary Sessions: The first plenary session introduces the concept of the Public Expenditure Review and its link with national security strategy development and alignment of security resources in Africa. It examines some of the lessons learned from the Public Expenditure Review (PER) of security sector in Africa and its implications for aligning security resources with national security strategies. The second plenary session examines the core budgeting approaches and principles and how they can guide the planning, allocating, and aligning of security resources through national security. The third plenary session discusses some key principles of public expenditure management and democratic governance in the security sector and why are they so important during uncertainty and crisis. It examines the lessons learned and best practices for effective implementation of public expenditure management and mobilization of security resources in Africa

Discussion Group Sessions: These sessions will provide an opportunity for participants to share experiences and explore some of the issues raised during the plenary sessions. Zoom polling will be used to stimulate discussions. Simultaneous interpretation will be provided in English, French, and Portuguese

Plenary Session 1: Understanding Security Expenditure: Public Expenditure Review

Format: Plenary presentation and moderated question-and-answer session

Objectives:

- Assess the trend and pattern of security/military expenditure in Africa.
- Introduce the concept of the Public Expenditure Review and its link with national security strategy development and alignment of security resources in Africa.
- Discuss some of the lessons learned from the Public Expenditure Review (PER) of security sector in Africa and its implications for aligning security resources with national security strategies.

Background:

The outbreak of COVID-19 has unleashed unprecedented economic uncertainty. This economic uncertainty and the related threats to health and safety pose an enormous challenge to the alignment of resources. Required adjustments in the implementation of budgets in Africa meant that budgets that were appropriated before the pandemic proved less adaptable, resulting in misalignments and erratic far-reaching cuts in public expenditure to meet urgent needs and pressing priorities¹. Whereas budgetary adjustments during the pandemic were most evident in the social sectors, the management of security resources in Africa has equally been affected, but in different ways. Based on the recent report by SIPRI, military spending in Africa grew in 2020 by 5.1 percent, almost twice the rate of world military spending, at 2.6 percent. Despite such an increase in security spending, studies have shown that national security and personal safety indicators in Africa have not improved but deteriorated instead.² Although such an increase in military spending may not be attributed entirely to the pandemic, such an increase underscores the misalignment of security expenditure in relation to non-security expenditure in Africa. This misalignment is well captured by the estimates of the World Bank that the public spending in the non-security sectors declined considerably during the pandemic, particularly education spending declined in 2020 by 4.2 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa, while military spending of Sub-Saharan Africa grew in 2020 by 3.4 percent.

The pandemic highlights the challenge for states in Africa to make strategic trade-offs with the available national resources within the development-security-governance nexus. The World Bank introduced the Public Expenditure Review (PER) as a tool for auditing security sector through the lens and perspectives of public finance. The rationale for undertaking PER is to strengthen the modernization and professionalism of security sectors through sound public expenditure management. In its 2017 report, *Securing Development*, the World Bank shows the challenge of allocating and aligning scarce public resources between security and non-security sectors. Even within the security sector, the report shows the challenges of achieving well-balanced resource prioritization and allocation between the competing subsectors of military, intelligence, police, and justice. An inefficient over-investment in the security sector can divert resources away from other important sectors (like

¹ Anyanwu, John C., and Adeleke O. Salami. "The impact of COVID-19 on African economies: An introduction." *African Development Review* 33, no. Suppl 1 (2021): S1.

² The Institute for Economics & Peace. *Global Peace Index 2020: Measuring Peace in a Complex World*, Sydney, June 2020. https://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/GPI_2020_web.pdf

health, education and infrastructure) with higher value for money, and crowd-out private sector investments that are crucial to stimulating economic growth. The resulting social and economic dislocations may pose a threat to national security, further underscoring the importance of effective and efficient allocation of national resources.

Discussion Questions:

1. Based on your knowledge of your country/region, which sector (security vs. non-security) is receiving more public resources and why?
2. Even within security sector, which subsector (military, intelligence, policy, justice) is receiving more public resources and why?
3. With increased security spending in your country/region, do you think citizens in your country are feeling safer and secured, why or why not?

Recommended Reading:

1. Harborne, B., Dorotinsky, W., & Bisca, P. M. (Eds.). (2017). Securing Development: Public Finance and the Security Sector. The World Bank. Pg. 7-14, 25-47.
<http://www.sipotra.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/SECURING-DEVELOPMENT.-Public-Finance-and-the-Security-Sector.pdf>
2. Kuol, L., and Amegboh, J.,2021. "Rethinking National Security Strategies in Africa". *Journal of International Relations and Diplomacy*. Vol 9(1): 1-17
<http://www.davidpublisher.org/index.php/Home/Article/index?id=45454.html>
3. Silva, D., Tian, N., and Marksteiner, 2021. "Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2020". SIPRI Fact Sheet. https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/fs_2104_milex_0.pdf
4. World Bank, 2020. "The Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on Education Financing". The World Bank, May 2020.
<https://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/734541589314089887/Covid-and-Ed-Finance-final.pdf>

Session 2: Planning for Security Expenditures: National Security Strategy and Budgeting

Format: Plenary presentation and moderated question-and-answer session

Objectives:

- Examine the Ibrahim Index of Governance for insights into the trend and patterns of governance reforms and public perceptions of security.
- Discuss allocation and alignment of security resources through national security strategy development and budgeting process.
- Examine the core budgeting approaches and principles and how they can guide the planning, allocation and aligning security resources through national security strategy.
- Discuss the challenges and lessons learned for effective allocation and alignment of security resources through national security strategies.

Background:

One of the core functions of any nation-state is to provide its own security and control over national resources as well as the security and safety of its citizens. Based on its adoption of the human security concept, the African Union (2004:4) requested its member states: “to produce through a fully consultative and participatory process, a well-defined national security strategy based on democratic principles, human security needs, respect for human rights and international humanitarian law.” Despite this request by the AU, most of its member states do not have overarching national security strategies. If such strategies exist, they are classified and drafted without the participation of citizens. Instead, most countries have uncoordinated sectoral security strategies that are formulated with limited involvement of citizens, where the involvement has been induced and financed by external partners. This lack of grand strategy as a reference point for decision-makers in security sector inhibits effective coordination, alignment of resources and leveraging of partnership, prioritization of security threats and shared understanding of national security vision and objectives. Most African countries continue with traditional state-centric and in some cases regime-centric approach to security. Some reports, including that of the World Bank and the Africa Center, recognize not only a deficiency in producing national security policies in Africa, but also lack of a common understanding of the concepts of security and national security.

With the lack of overarching national security strategies and the dominance of state-centric approaches to security, many states in Africa are becoming increasingly incapable of ensuring the security and safety of their citizens. Despite the considerable resources that African states allocate to the security sector, most countries fail to deliver security to their citizens and in some instances, poor governance by states becomes a source of insecurity³. It has been shown that a well-designed and inclusive process for formulating national security strategy produces good strategy and enables decision-makers to plan better for addressing national security threats as well as effecting long-term change for delivering security to state and its citizens (Cancian, 2017). In particular, the United Nations (UN, 2012) provides the rationales for crafting and implementing national security strategy including advancing the delivery of security to people and state

³ Mo Ibrahim Foundation “2020 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG)”
<https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/sites/default/files/2020-11/2020-index-report.pdf>

through informed dialogue and active participation of all stakeholders, provision of national guidance for formation of effective and accountable security institutions, ensuring cost-effective security resource management within national priorities and transparent national budgeting processes, as well as harnessing, leveraging, aligning and harmonizing external partnership and aid.

Although the AU has provided general guidelines for its member states to develop their national security strategies, there are limited tools available to help them in crafting national security strategies. As many African countries have started the process of developing and reviewing their national security strategies, there is a need for a common understanding of the concept of strategy and approaches and processes for drafting national security strategies. Producing a strategy in a consultative and participatory manner in a sector that is overly secretive may be challenging, particularly in terms of consultation and engagement of citizens. Based on a wealth of practical experiences from various case studies, the Africa Center has developed a toolkit for consultation and drafting of national security strategies in Africa.

Studies have shown that a national security strategy that is developed through inclusive and participatory process is likely to be effective and efficient in guiding budgeting in the security sector in terms of mobilization, realignment, allocation, and management of security resources (Layton, 2012). The budgeting approaches, whether top-down or bottom-up process, have been exposed by the COVID-19 as reactive rather than strategic and have resulted in misalignment of allocations and at times have even exceeded the available national budget envelope⁴. This calls for the need to revisit the link between national security strategy and the budgeting process in allocating and managing security resources in a rational way guided by the public expenditure management principles. There is also a call for people-centered and participatory budget approaches to ensure the legitimacy and accountability of the budget, not only for citizens that contribute with their taxes to fund the provision of public activities, but also for those who benefit from the public services (Ipek, 2018). Also, the adherence of budgeting for the security sector to the budgetary principles of comprehensiveness, discipline, specification, periodicity, accuracy, predictability, legitimacy, contestability, transparency and accountability will enhance the alignment of resources with national security strategies in Africa⁵. In particular, the budgetary principle of “contestability” is critical for the allocation and alignment of security resources as it calls for equal competition of all public sectors for funding during the budget planning to ensure the value for public funds and sound public policies such as national security strategies.

Discussion Questions:

1. Have you participated in the design or drafting of any public policies? Can you share the process and its importance in delivering public service?
2. Based on your knowledge of your country/region, which sector (security vs. non-security) should be allocated more public resources and why?

⁴ Curristine, Teresa, Laura Doherty, Bruno Imbert, F. Rahim, Vincent Tang, and Claude Wendling. "Budgeting in a Crisis: Guidance for Preparing the 2021 Budget." IMF Fiscal Affairs special series on covid-19 (2020).

⁵ Harborne, Bernard, William Dorotinsky, and Paul M. Bisca, eds. Securing development: public finance and the security sector. World Bank Publications, 2017. Pg.107

3. Even within security sector, which subsector (military, intelligence, policy, justice) should receive more public resources and why?
4. Why do you think having the national security strategy that is developed through inclusive and participatory process will help in effective allocation and alignment of security resources?

Recommended Readings:

1. Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2021. "National Security Strategy Development in Africa: Toolkit for Drafting and Consultation". NSSD Toolkit: Page: 11.
2. Harborne, B., Dorotinsky, W., & Bisca, P. M. (Eds.). (2017). *Securing Development: Public Finance and the Security Sector*. The World Bank. Pg. 7-14, 25-47.
<http://www.sipotra.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/SECURING-DEVELOPMENT.-Public-Finance-and-the-Security-Sector.pdf>
3. Ipek, E., 2018. "New Approaches in Public Budgeting". *Public Economics and Finance*.
<https://www.intechopen.com/chapters/64648>
4. Kuol, L., and Amegboh, J.,2021. "Rethinking National Security Strategies in Africa". *Journal of International Relations and Diplomacy*. Vol 9(1): 1-17
<http://www.davidpublisher.com/Public/uploads/Contribute/60a72058556ba.pdf>
5. Layton, Peter (2012) 'An Australian National Security Strategy: Competing Conceptual Approaches', *Security Challenges*, 8 (3), pp 103-120.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26462882.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab8c6885b857d0c8bdb8a2a44b1213f33>
6. Cancian, Mark (2020) '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>
7. UN (2012) 'United Nations Support to National Security Policy- and Strategy-Making Processes', *Security Sector Reform Integrated Technical Guidance Notes*, New York: United Nations.
https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/un_integrated_technical_guidance_notes_on_ssr_1.pdf

Plenary Session 3: Managing Security Expenditure: Public Expenditure Management

Format: Plenary presentation and moderated question-and-answer session

Objectives:

- Discuss some key principles of public expenditure management and democratic governance in the security sector and why are they so important during uncertainty and crisis.
- Share challenges of introducing and implementing the principles of public expenditure management and resources mobilization in the security sector, particularly in off-budget/military businesses, payroll and procurement.
- Examine the lessons learned and best practices for effective implementation of public expenditure management and mobilization of security resources in Africa.

Background

The delivery of security services is linked not only to the allocation and controlling of public resources but also with the behavioral norms for allocating and controlling public expenditure to achieve the preferred outcomes. The report by SIPRI shows considerable improvements in transparency in military sector with useful budgetary information is now becoming more readily available. Despite such improvement, the World Bank in its 2017 report recognizes that security sector unlike other sectors in Africa claims substantial part of national budgets but is not adequately subjected to public scrutiny and democratic control. This necessitates the need to introduce and situate Public Expenditure Management (PEM) in the security sector. The PFM covers the mechanisms through which public resources are collected, allocated, spent and accounted for. In other words, it involves the whole budget cycle, public procurement, audit practices and revenue collection. A national security strategy that is developed through inclusive and participatory process with in-built effective and adaptive monitoring system will make the PEM in security sector agile and adaptive to uncertainty and crisis.

The most important aspect of the PEM is the implementation of an appropriation act as a legal instrument for budget execution. It spells out how public revenues are to be collected, spent and accounted for. Key aspect of the PEM is the Domestic Resource Mobilization (DRM) that determines the size of resource envelope. Domestic resource mobilization is not only a barometer of state's capacity, legitimacy and national ownership but it is also a litmus test of how state can deliver and discharge its core functions. Despite the improvement in the DRM in Africa, there is a relatively low level of tax efforts in Africa with significance reliance on a narrow tax base. The collection of domestic revenues in the security sector is even very challenging in a sector that is characterized by secrecy. The World Bank shows significant off-budget revenues in the security sector. There is a growing concern about the efficacy of the engagement of military in businesses and private sector (Diwan, 2020 and Sayigh, 2019).

Also, the way public revenues are spent and accounted for is an integral component of PEM. There is growing evidence that shows the difficulty of integrating security sector into regular government PEM systems and adhering to its key principles. According to the World Bank, security sector in some countries is treated differently and it is hardly subjected to external audit, public scrutiny and oversight. This has resulted in a significant gap between approved budgets and actual expenditures in the security sector and in some instances security expenditures are not included in the budget and if included they are not disaggregated under the pretext of confidentiality and secrecy. There is also a growing concern about the level of transparency in payroll and procurement, as the major budget items, in the security sector. Integrating the security sector into the national budget system and promoting PEM in the security sector in Africa remain a real challenge due to the dominant culture of secrecy and confidentiality as well as high-level of corruption perception in this sector.

Discussion Questions:

1. Do you think the security institutions and agencies should follow the key principles of public expenditure management such as contestability and transparency and why is it important?
2. Do you think security institutions and agencies are following the key principles of public expenditure management? Are security budgets made public in your country?
3. Because of the sensitive nature of activities of security sector, the security budgets and expenditures should be classified and kept secret? Do you agree or disagree and why?
4. What needs to be done to improve the public expenditure management of the security sector in your country/region?

Recommended Readings:

1. Kariuki, Elizabeth, "Domestic Resource Mobilization", Managing Security Resource in Africa Symposium, 2019. Washington: Africa Center for Strategic Studies.
<https://africacenter.org/wp.../01/MSRA-A2-EN-Domestic-Resource-Mobilization.pdf>
2. Harborne, B., Dorotinsky, W., & Bisca, P. M. (Eds.). (2017). Securing Development: Public Finance and the Security Sector. The World Bank. Pg. 7-14, 25-47.
<http://www.sipotra.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/SECURING-DEVELOPMENT.-Public-Finance-and-the-Security-Sector.pdf>
3. Boly, A., Nandelenga, M. and Oduor, J., 2020. "Mobilizing Domestic Resource in Africa for Inclusive Growth". *Africa Economic Brief* Vol 11(3).
https://www.afdb.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/aeb_volume_11_issue_3_mobilizing_domestic_resource_in_africa_for_inclusive_growth.pdf
4. Tian, N., Wezeman, P. and Yun, Y., 2018. "Transparency in Military Spending in Sub-Saharan Africa" *SIPRI Policy Paper* 48. <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2018/transparency-military-spending-sub-saharan-africa-higher-expected-new-sipri-report>

5. Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2021. "National Security Strategy Development in Africa: Toolkit for Drafting and Consultation". NSSD Toolkit: Page: 40-42.
6. Sayigh, Y., 2019. "Owners of the Republic: An Anatomy of Egypt's Military Economy". Carnegie Middle East Center, November 18. <https://www.meforum.org/61827/how-egypts-military-owns-the-economy>.
7. Diwan, I, 2020. "Armed Forces in Power and Business". Carnegie Middle East Center, October 26. <https://carnegie-mec.org/2020/10/26/armed-forces-in-power-and-in-business-pub-83030>