



**NDI Quarterly Report
SECURITY SECTOR REFORM PROGRAMS**

**Global Civil-Military Relations Program
USAID Cooperative Agreement No. AEP-A-00-98-00014-00**

July 1-September 30, 2001

I. SUMMARY

The past quarter was the first in which the Global Civil-Military Relations Program at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) operated without the Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security (PDGS). The Partnership ended its three-year existence on July 7, 2001. Using remaining PDGS funds and new funds provided by the U. S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the program's operation was extended to January 2002. There are indications that USAID may be considering an additional 18-month extension of the program.

During the quarter, the civil-military program, renamed NDI's Security Sector Reform program (SSR) initiated programming in three countries: Indonesia, Nigeria, and Peru. Unfortunately, due to the September 11 attacks and the subsequent increased worldwide security alert, NDI has been forced to postpone its programming in Indonesia and Nigeria. In Indonesia, a conference, originally scheduled for October 2-3, was to focus on the military's involvement in the economy and the newly passed law on foundations. In Nigeria, a workshop for members of the defense committees in the National Assembly, originally scheduled for the first week of November, was planned to build capacity and expertise in the area of defense budgeting. In Peru, a workshop for members of Congress, currently scheduled for early December, will address legislative oversight and defense budgeting. NDI hopes that the Peru workshop will not need to be postponed; NDI also hopes that it will be able to continue programming in Indonesia and Nigeria in early 2002. However, this will depend on the continued evolution of world events and a decision by USAID to support the program's extension.

In addition to the workshops, responding to interest expressed by the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) in Dili, East Timor, the Security Sector Reform team

developed a concept paper, followed by a formal program proposal for civil-military work in East Timor. The proposal has been submitted to the OTI in Washington and is now under final consideration. The team also worked on a series of short research papers, participated in outreach activities at a series of conferences and responded to requests for information on security sector reform from NDI field offices.

II. BACKGROUND

The liberalization and democratization of a military or military-dominated regime does not always lead to the establishment of a stable, consolidated democracy. In many cases, the legacy of military influence in domestic political affairs leaves newly elected leaders without the expertise or institutional mechanisms necessary to assert civilian control of the military. The situation may be further complicated if the military, based upon perceptions of incompetence among the new leaders, resists attempts by civilians to assert control. When such a dynamic unfolds, in the best scenario, it slows democratic development; and, in the worst scenario, it can catalyze attempts by the military to reassert its control over government.

In July 1998, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) entered into a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to create the Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security (PDGS): an information, education and development alliance to promote and support democratic governance through bolstering the capacity of civilian institutions to establish and strengthen their leadership, management, and oversight of their military forces. As previously mentioned, PDGS ended on July 7, 2001, after three years of existence.

PDGS's programs were created and conducted with the cooperation of national legislatures, political parties, civic organizations, academic institutions, the media and civilian members of the defense establishment in newly emerging democracies. These programs consisted of four core activities:

- Publication of a series of practical resource documents for defense policymakers in nascent democracies.
- Development of a web-based governance and security clearinghouse that provides a database of laws and constitutional provisions related to defense oversight, policy directives, "white papers," case studies and civil-military publications that can be accessed by policymakers in democratizing states.
- Development of an educational module or collection of lessons-learned on how to establish and strengthen civilian capacity in military oversight and defense policymaking through the use of democratic processes and procedures.

- Provision of workshops, consultations and programs dealing with various aspects of establishing and strengthening a functional system of democratic civilian control of the armed forces. These activities are country-specific or cross-regional in nature and are based upon requests from governments, political parties, civic groups, journalists and universities.

Although PDGS has ended, NDI continues to promote the goals of PDGS. To the degree possible given its limited resources, NDI will attempt to continue to build on the educational resources developed by PDGS. At present, new funds provided by the global grant are not sufficient to support in-country programs. Thus, pending a global grant extension, much of NDI's immediate energy will be focused on obtaining mission buy-in for new programs.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

During this quarter, NDI's SSR team began to integrate itself as a true functional program working with the Institute's regional programs. As previously mentioned, the team began planning workshops in Indonesia, Nigeria, Peru. The team also worked on developing and elaborating possible programs for work on civil-military relations in East Timor and in Cambodia.

Workshop on the Foundation Law, Military Business, and Reforming the Defense Economy in Indonesia.

NDI's Indonesia workshop was scheduled for the first week in October and was designed to initiate debate among civil society and the civilian policy-makers on how to reform military involvement in the economy. Specifically, NDI's aim was to focus attention on the particular difficulties arising from Indonesian military involvement in business and from Indonesia's reliance on its military business complex as the key source of revenue for defense spending.

This workshop, scheduled to take place in Jakarta, was to engage members of all parts of Indonesian society — representative of NGOs, parliamentarians, civil society leaders, members of military foundations, and reform-minded military officials — and was to serve as the first attempt to develop and promote an agenda for reform. In the workshop, NDI, along with its partners, Indonesian Corruption Watch and Yappika, planned to discuss strategies for converting the new law into practice.

The workshop was to be divided into several sessions; topics to be covered included: the lessons learned from reforming the military economy in other countries where military business has played a significant role; the role of military business in Indonesia; the impact of the Law on Foundations on military business; and the reform of the state military budget. NDI's objective was to bring in international trainers who could use their knowledge of how other countries have reduced military involvement in business to provide suggestions and ideas as to how Indonesian civilian policymakers

could enforce the implementation of the Foundation Law and work towards reforming the military economy.

NDI's SSR team spent considerable time during this period locating trainers, planning sessions, assembling briefing books, and performing other tasks in order to prepare for this workshop.

Workshop on Defense Budgeting and Fiscal Oversight of the Nigerian Armed Forces

NDI's SSR team also spent considerable time during the quarter planning a workshop on defense budgeting and fiscal oversight in Nigeria. The workshop was designed as a follow-up to a workshop run by NDI last June entitled "The Role of the Legislature in Providing Civilian Oversight of Defense Policy and the Armed Forces." With assistance from its international trainers and local defense budget experts, NDI planned to work with members of the four Nigerian Defense Committees and their staffs to address some of the complexities of defense resource management and oversight. NDI was also planning to invite representatives from the Nigerian Ministry of Defense and the Finance Ministry.

During the workshop, the SSR team planned to cover topics such as the role of the legislature in setting national security priorities, balancing national interests and constituency interest as a member of a defense committee, the role of defense committees in the budget process, developing systems for accountability and oversight of funds, and reducing the ability of the military to use business and economic interests to circumvent congressional budget guidelines. NDI hopes to reschedule this event for 2002.

Workshop on Legislative Oversight and Defense Budgeting in Peru

The NDI SSR team also began preparation for a workshop on legislative oversight and defense budgeting in Peru. The workshop is directed primarily at members of congressional defense committee, but NDI also hopes to involve members from the finance committee, some experts from civil society and members of the executive branch of government. Currently, NDI is in the process of identifying participants, securing buy-in from the Minister of Defense and members of the defense committees, and defining specific agenda items that NDI trainers will address.

Security Sector Reform in Cambodia

During the quarter, NDI learned that its proposal for work with civil society in Cambodia had been approved; the proposal included provisions for work on security sector reform. NDI's SSR team had participated in the development of the proposal and is currently doing preliminary work on its programming in Cambodia.

The goals of NDI's program will be to support efforts to enhance civilian understanding of and input into the state's defense and security policy-making process. NDI will support existing Cambodian NGOs, helping to increase their knowledge of

military issues by providing advice and financial assistance. NDI will work directly with civil society organizations to begin the dialogue on the role of the military in a democracy and to raise awareness among civilians about civil-military issues.

At present, NDI has decided to conduct its security sector reform programming in Cambodia through the provision of a sub-grant to a Cambodian NGO that will organize a series of national dialogues on civil-military relations. In adopting this strategy, NDI hopes to build civil society's familiarity with discourse on civil-military relations, to raise the confidence of civil society organizations as they engage in discussions with the government and military on security issues, and to encourage civil society organizations to advocate for responsible security policy.

NDI's Proposed Program in East Timor

Finally, during the quarter, NDI submitted a proposal to OTI to conduct a program in East Timor designed to support the democratic development of the security sector through confidence-building, education and capacity-developing activities for civilians within society and within newly-elected governing bodies. The proposed program would focus on expanding civilian knowledge regarding the role of the armed forces in a democratic society; helping civil society and political parties to establish channels of communication between governing officials and the armed forces; and assisting civil society and the media to develop a watchdog capacity to monitor the decisions and policies adopted by the executive and the legislature and to oversee military personnel behavior.

In order to promote the healthy, democratic development of the security sector in East Timor, NDI's proposed program is designed

- To expand citizen knowledge about the role of the military in a democratic society and to facilitate the emergence of a public debate.
- To help civil society and political parties establish channels of communication between governing officials and the armed forces through which they can express their preferences and affect policy.
- To help civil society and the media develop a watchdog capacity allowing them to monitor decisions and policies adopted by the executive and the legislature and oversee armed force personnel behavior.

NDI's proposed activities include the establishment of a working group, dialogues, expert consultations, research materials and support, and focus group data collection and analysis.

The Institute hopes to receive official confirmation in November that OTI is willing to support the Institute's proposed work in East Timor.

IV. NDI PROGRAM OUTREACH

NDI's SSR team participated in three key outreach activities during the quarter: a U.S. Marine organized workshop on East-Timor and Indonesia, the Geneva Centre Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF) Workshop on Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector, and a National Defense University sponsored conference on new strategic realities in the Western Hemisphere. At all three events, conference participants expressed a great deal of interest in and enthusiasm about SSR programs at NDI. DCAF, in particular, was interested in finding ways to coordinate future activities with NDI's SSR programs. To date, the SSR team has agreed to share some resource materials with DCAF. The team has also discussed the possibility of sharing trainers for individual activities and perhaps exploring opportunities for security funding for joint programming.

V. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

It is difficult to predict, given current international developments, when NDI will be able to reschedule the workshops postponed this quarter. While it is unlikely that NDI will be able to conduct programs in Indonesia and Nigeria in the next quarter, the SSR team hopes that these programs can be implemented early next year. In the meantime, over the next quarter, the team intends to conduct activities in Peru and in Cambodia and to prepare the groundwork for initiating NDI's proposed program activities in East Timor.

In addition, over the next quarter, the SSR program will continue its research-oriented activities, writing papers and analyses on the military and voting, a research paper on coups d'état, and intelligence laws. These resources will serve as useful tools in future security sector reform programming. The SSR team will also explore opportunities for convening a conference on the demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers. Such a conference would bring together a group of experts who could discuss comparative experiences on this problem and discuss the lessons learned from engaging in these activities. The Center for Children's Development at Georgetown University has expressed interest in working on this project with NDI.

Finally, NDI will use additional funds committed by USAID to support continued outreach to USAID missions and to maintain a Washington-based staff that will continue to manage in-country programs and compile and distribute materials on security sector reform to civilian policymakers.