UNTANGLING THE WEB

A Blueprint for Reforming American Security Sector Assistance

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE UNITED STATES transformed its approach to national security after the attacks on September 11, 2001. As terrorist organizations spread across the globe, so too did the U.S security presence. Now, after more than a decade and a half of costly war, the United States has turned to foreign militaries and police to fight threats before they reach America's borders.

Funding for this approach has shot upward in recent years, while the management system and organizational structures that shape and oversee U.S. engagement with allied and partner forces has not adapted. This antiquated system promotes uncoordinated and incoherent—even counterproductive—relationships and makes it difficult to determine whether the approach is working.

The fiscal year 2017 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), signed into law in December 2016, addresses many of the Department of Defense (DoD)-specific deficiencies. But reforming only the Defense Department and not the State Department or other relevant agencies will fail to address the system's biggest shortcomings and risk exacerbating the current lack of policy coherence. The incoming administration should use the NDAA requirements as the impetus for reforming the way the entire U.S. government approaches American security partnerships.

This report sets out the immediate, concrete steps the next administration can take to reform the security sector assistance (SSA) system.

The Problem

The structural dysfunctions that most significantly undermine the effectiveness of U.S. security sector assistance include: shortcomings in personnel and bureaucratic structure within and across agencies; a mismatch in planning cultures and budgeting timelines; a lack of prioritization; and a dearth of key data.

Within the U.S. government there is no clear center of gravity or authority for SSA. At least 46 different offices or bureaus have an SSA policy or program mandate, which leads to

complicated coordination and implementation across the government. Although the State Department is the lead foreign policy agency, responsible for managing foreign assistance, it is not equipped to coordinate across the increasingly complex and unwieldy SSA system. Coordination between agencies at the working level is ad hoc and inevitably fails to consult and include the right people at the right time. At embassies, though all agencies' representatives report to the ambassador, no one individual tracks issues across the security sector. Without better staffing and training, ambassadors and other senior leaders have neither the information nor the support necessary to direct America's investment in SSA.

Each agency engaged in SSA, and many of the offices within them, run their planning and budgeting processes differently and on their own timelines. Moreover, there is insufficient guidance on which foreign policy priorities should inform planning and programs. As a result, SSA programs are more often a series of isolated activities, rather than part of a deliberate, overarching strategy.

Finally, it is nearly impossible to know how much is spent in total on a country's security sector, or for what purpose. This is because, particularly on the DoD side, combatant commands and offices with programmatic responsibility have their own unique systems to track funding, and often do so intermittently, with varying levels of detail. Additionally, sufficiently specific program goals are not clearly established up front, making it even more difficult to evaluate the impact or worthiness of an investment later on.

Recommended Solutions

To address these issues, reforms are needed at every level of government: at the highest policy-setting level, at the mid-level bureaucracy, and at the embassy and implementation level.

POLICY-SETTING LEVEL

The National Security Council (NSC) should develop a security sector policy framework to help establish clear SSA priorities. The framework should define what is important by listing categories that each represent a reason the U.S. government has an interest in providing SSA. An example of such a framework could include the following six categories:

1. Maintaining access to a base, airspace, ports or for some other transactional purpose;

2. Maintaining a balance of power in a region or against an outside power;

3. Building up a foreign military's capability to fight with the U.S. military or fight with support from the U.S. military;

4. Building up the independent military capability of a country;

5 Promoting internal stability and addressing deficiencies in the rule of law in a particular country; and

6 Building or maintaining a specific functional capability to counter a transnational threat.

The framework is intended to guide a discussion about SSA priorities on a regional basis. Senior agency officials should go through each category and determine which countries in their respective regions merit prioritization. A country could be placed in as many categories as are relevant. A country appearing under multiple categories would indicate that it may require more intensive and multi-agency coordinated planning. Conversely, a country that does not appear in the framework should not be prioritized for significant SSA resources.

The regional framework development process should be run by the State Department with significant input and engagement by senior officials in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), the Joint Staff, and combatant commands. The president should sign off on the final lists of categorized countries. The priorities from the regional frameworks should inform State Department, DoD, and other agencies' plans, guidance, and programs.

WASHINGTON D.C. AND HEADQUARTER IMPLEMENTATION AND COORDINATION

All agencies and sub-agencies (e.g., both the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation) engaged in SSA should identify a Washington-based point of contact for SSA coordination. Agencies or departments that deploy personnel internationally should ensure that their SSA coordinators are aware of such deployments. Agencies also should be required to track funds spent on each SSA program by country on a yearly basis. Key recommendations are broken down by agency below:

National Security Council: The strategic planning directorate should be responsible for overseeing the SSA reform efforts. Security sector assistance should be included in the portfolio of each NSC regional directorate, which should review all SSA activity in their respective regions once a year. At least once every three years, the NSC should commission an independent assessment of the U.S. government's SSA efforts.

State Department: Each regional bureau should identify a security sector lead. The Political-Military Affairs Bureau should be designated as the U.S. government's overall focal point for security sector issues, be renamed the Political-Security Affairs Bureau to signal its expanded focus and mandate, and be adequately resourced to accomplish the increased workload. In addition to its existing responsibilities, the bureau should create a security sector hub, comprised of the Strategy and Plans Office, which should support embassies in the development of their Integrated Country Strategies, and the SSA Interagency Coordination Office to serve as the interagency lead for SSA, staffed with representatives of State Department functional bureaus, USAID, the Joint Staff, and OSD.

Department of Defense: The Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy (OSD Policy) and its Security Cooperation Office should serve as the lead DoD office for oversight of SSA policy. DoD program management responsibilities should be migrated to the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), which should be adequately resourced to accomplish the increased responsibility. DSCA should implement the security cooperation workforce reform requirements mandated in the FY 2017 NDAA and continue to build an enhanced school for security cooperation. Combatant commands should collaborate with the Security Sector Hub throughout their planning and implementation processes.

USAID: The Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance should serve as USAID's security sector lead. USAID should play a key role in the design of defense and other security institution building, and in the design and implementation of monitoring and evaluation of SSA across the U.S. government.

EMBASSY IMPLEMENTATION AND COORDINATION

Each ambassador should be directed to identify a State Department security sector lead to coordinate all security sector-relevant personnel and agencies at his or her embassy. All SSA embassy leads in countries identified as being fragile, politically complex, or having a high-volume of U.S. security engagements should be required to obtain additional training prior to taking the position, provided through new offerings at the Foreign Service Institute. To be eligible for deployments to these complex countries, DoD security cooperation officers should be required to have higher-level certification through DSCA's Defense Institute of Security Cooperation Studies. All SSA-related personnel at embassies should be required to participate in Integrated Country Strategy development and should be required to support the security sector lead as needed.

DATA COLLECTION AND TRACKING

While building a unified system to track U.S. SSA will take time and resources, in the short term, the creation of application programming interfaces (APIs) for each agency, combatant command, or office's unique databases would enable them to communicate with one another. Each combatant command and office responsible for program management should also be directed to immediately start tracking funds by country in their existing databases. These shorter-term changes would then enable the creation of a "dashboard" that visualizes the combined information from each of these databases for everyone in the SSA enterprise.

These recommendations will begin to untangle the security sector assistance knot by improving internal transparency, building a more capable workforce, and developing clearer and more standard processes for planning, budgeting, and programming. Doing so is critical if the United States continues to prioritize assistance to foreign forces as a key element of U.S. national security and foreign policy.

INTRODUCTION

THE UNITED STATES needs a new framework for partnering with security forces overseas. Since 9/11, it has spent more than $250 billion building up foreign military and police. But that hasn't always left the United States safer or its partners more stable and capable. From attempts to build whole armies in Iraq and Afghanistan, to efforts to help Yemen or Nigeria fight terrorism, the overall return on investment has been poor.

This document sets out immediate, concrete steps the incoming administration can take to make American security sector assistance more accountable to the taxpayer and more effective. That is, to transform it from a confusing and inefficient web of U.S. government actors and interests into a more selective, transparent, goal-driven, and coordinated process that is matched to broader U.S. foreign policy objectives.

The analysis and recommendations are informed by comprehensive desk research and interviews with more than 100 people who have designed, managed, and implemented security sector assistance overseas, in Washington, and at combatant commands; policymakers throughout the U.S. government; congressional staff; researchers at think tanks and in academia; and international and civil society organizations that work with those directly affected by U.S. security sector assistance. It builds on previous and existing reform efforts, including the Clinton administration's Presidential Decision Directive 56 on Managing Complex Contingency Operations, the Bush administration's interagency reform efforts, and the Obama administration's Presidential Policy Directive (PPD)-23 on Security Sector Assistance.

What we learned is that no one is satisfied with the status quo.

The Case for Fixing U.S. Security Sector Assistance Now

Supporting professional security forces in partner countries is now central to U.S. efforts to confront terrorism, violent insurgency, and narco-trafficking around the world. This approach is intended to reduce cost and risk fewer American lives in war by providing partners with the capacity to confront threats where they originate. However, countless reports have detailed the failure of U.S. security sector assistance (SSA) efforts, particularly in weak or autocratic states, to bring stability, build capable forces, or effectively combat terrorism.

> We actually know very little about what the United States is spending in each country, and why.

While there is plenty of debate over what is achievable through SSA, we actually know very little about what the United States is spending in each country, and why. Further, there are few ways to judge with any precision what is and isn't working. While funding for this light footprint approach has skyrocketed in recent years, the system that shapes and oversees U.S. engagement with partner forces has not adapted. As a result, U.S. security sector assistance often promotes uncoordinated, incoherent, and even counterproductive relationships with allies, and contentious interactions among U.S. government agencies that require excessive refereeing from senior officials.

Because no one agency or office is responsible for security sector-wide policy, the better-funded programs and agencies often dominate the strategic approach to security challenges abroad. The Defense Department (DoD) is a well-resourced, proactive organization, which means policymakers frequently turn to it to solve problems or respond in time-sensitive contexts. This approach can result in a military-to-military centric policy, even in cases where the core security interest of the United States may have more to do with rule of law or policing issues.

The Department of Defense is required by the fiscal year 2017 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) to make major reforms to its security cooperation system, addressing some of the DoD-specific concerns that have arisen. However, reforming DoD and not the State Department or other agencies will fail to address the most important shortcomings of the current approach and risk exacerbating the current lack of policy coherence. The incoming administration should use the NDAA requirements as the impetus for reforming the system as a whole, with a focus on enabling more objective-driven and well-coordinated policy and programs across the U.S. government.

> Reforming DoD and not the State Department risks exacerbating the current lack of policy coherence.

Structure of the Paper

The first part of this report details the system's most significant structural dysfunctions that undermine U.S. SSA effectiveness. These dysfunctions include shortcomings in personnel and bureaucratic structure within and across agencies; a mismatch in planning cultures and budgeting timelines; a lack of policy prioritization and coherence; and a host of data issues—namely, insufficient clarity, transparency, and monitoring and evaluation.

The second section includes detailed recommendations on how to improve the system, and is subdivided into agency-specific options at three levels of focus. The first, "senior-level policy and strategy," refers to high-level prioritization and guidance from senior leadership that informs country-level and program-specific planning and action. The second level, "Washington and headquarter implementation and coordination," refers to the headquarters bureaucracy through which inter- and intra-agency coordination and management occurs. And the third, "embassy-level implementation and coordination," refers to the point at which assistance or diplomatic action is provided.

The scope of the proposed reforms is limited to actions within executive power and achievable in the early days of a new administration. Comprehensive reform will eventually require legislation to make the authorities that guide and fund U.S. security sector assistance more cohesive and drive it toward a whole of government approach.[1] But these recommendations would make the U.S. government's security sector assistance more coordinated, intentional, and transparent.

Scope and Terminology

Within the U.S. government there is much debate over the words used to describe U.S. engagement with foreign countries' security forces and sectors. Each U.S. agency uses its own terminology, resulting in a slew of confusingly similar names and acronyms attached to different agencies, authorities, and program types. Security cooperation, security assistance,

1. As noted above, the FY2017 NDAA includes major reforms to DoD authorities and procedures. No corresponding reform legislation has been undertaken in other agencies' jurisdictional committees.

building partner capacity, and security force assistance are all understood to be different, yet overlapping, concepts. This report uses the term "security sector assistance" (SSA) to capture as broad a selection of agencies, funds, and activities as possible.

SSA refers to the policies, programs, and activities the U.S. government uses to support foreign countries as they help to address U.S. and mutual security concerns, and to enable governments to better enforce the rule of law, protect their citizens, and defend their borders. SSA involves a broad range of U.S. diplomatic, development, and defense tools that combine to address U.S. foreign policy priorities and security interests. SSA activities include training, equipping, supporting, and engaging with: security forces (police, military, paramilitary) and the ministries that oversee them; judiciaries; other civilian government institutions responsible for providing justice, accountability, and good governance; and civil society.

In legislative terms, SSA includes activities authorized in Title 22 and Title 10 of the U.S. Code, as well as those funded and authorized in annual legislation. It includes but is not limited to: Title 22's International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE); Foreign Military Financing (FMF); International Military Education and Training (IMET); Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining and Related programs (NADR); and Peacekeeping Operations (PKO); Title 10's "Section 2282" authority to build the capacity of foreign security forces; the "Section 1004" and "Section 1033" counter-drug assistance authorities; and the Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund (CTPF), among many others.[2] SSA also includes transfers of defense articles under the Excess Defense Articles (EDA) program and may include training exercises between U.S. and foreign forces, including those conducted under the Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) program.[3] SSA also pulls from broader funds such as the Economic Support Fund (ESF), the Human Rights and Democracy Fund, Development Assistance, and the Democracy Fund, among others. All told, it is estimated that somewhere between 130 and 180 relevant legislative authorities comprise SSA for the U.S. government.

2. One of the reforms included in the FY 2017 NDAA is a consolidation of several Title 10 authorities (including those listed here). For example, §2282 and §1033 have been rolled into what is now called §333 authority.

3. In addition to JCETS, SSA may include other funds and authorities under which U.S. and foreign security forces engage with one another. While the primary purpose of those initiatives may be to train U.S. forces or for operational requirements, they may have ancillary benefit to the partner country involved, and in some cases are used to build the capacity of that country's forces for a specific objective. For this initiative, those interactions are included for the purpose of ensuring partner capability assessments and future assistance planning takes the impact of these engagements into account.

MAPPING THE PROBLEM

The section below lays out the core institutional deficiencies that undermine U.S. government SSA effectiveness.

Personnel, Bureaucratic Structure, and Lines of Responsibility

No clear center of gravity or authority, no standing mechanisms for interagency coordination at the working level, insufficient training and staffing

There are at least 46 bureaus or offices with either official or practical responsibility for setting security sector assistance policy or managing that assistance within the U.S. government.[4] However, there is no single node of authority or coordination for SSA within or between any U.S. agency or department.[5] The result is a confusing web of interlocking and overlapping responsibility, with little overarching policy coherence.
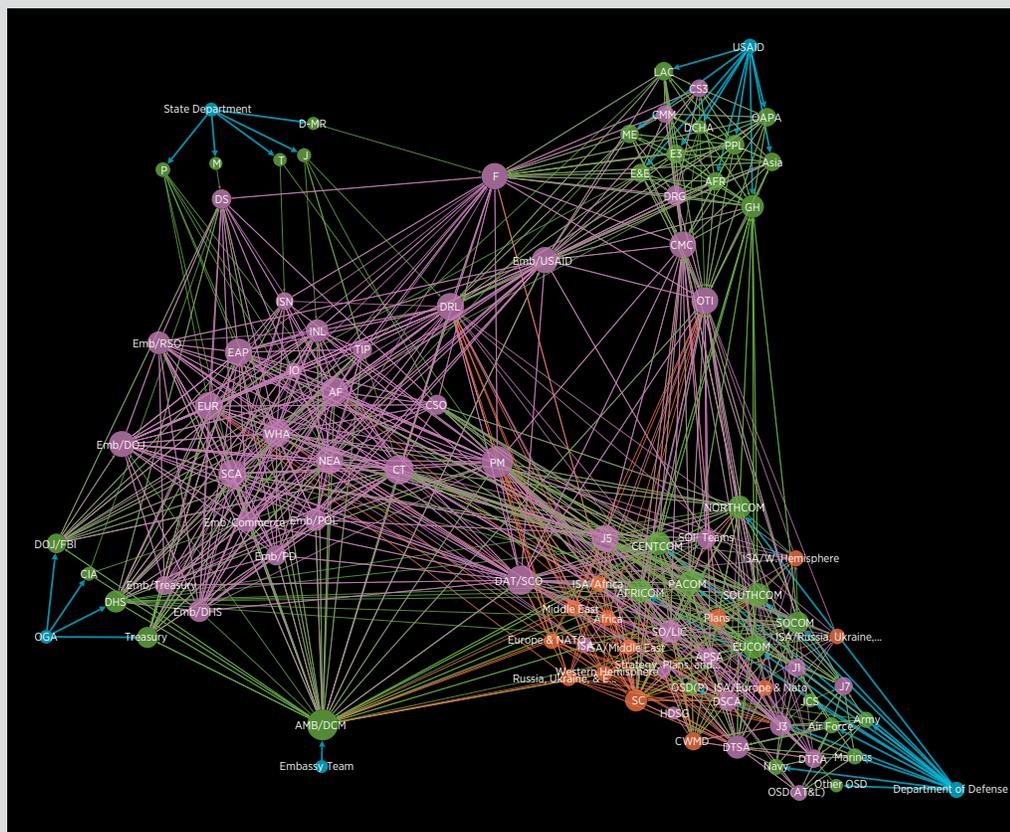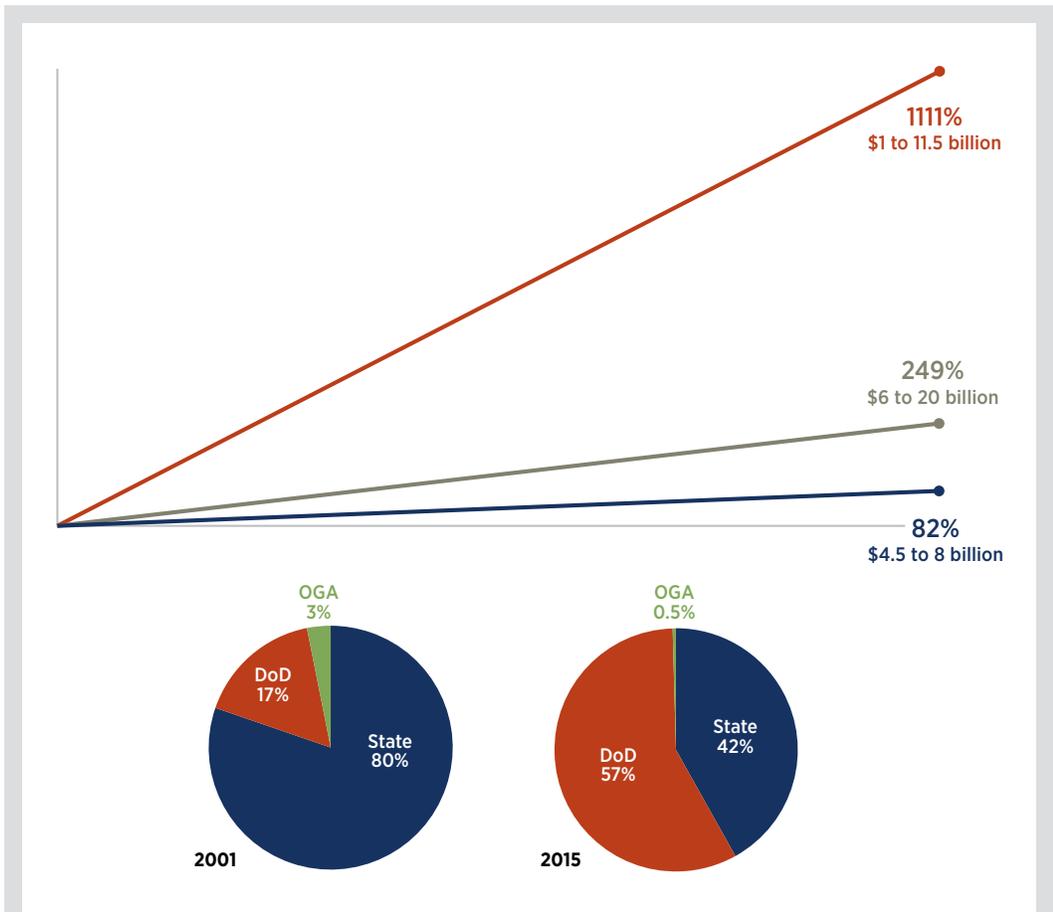

FIGURE 1
This image represents the lines of contact and coordination between the different offices, bureaus, agencies, or other entities responsible for security sector assistance. The larger a node is, the greater the number of its connections to other entities; the closer it is to the center of the web, the more connections it has to parts of the SSA system outside of its own agency. A larger version of this map can be found in Annex A along with an organizational chart of the offices represented in this map in Annex B.

4. SSA policy and programs are created and managed by a number of U.S. government agencies and offices. In addition to the Departments of State and Defense, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Departments of Justice (DOJ), Homeland Security (DHS), and Treasury all play a role. Within DOJ, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), Bureau of Prisons, and the U.S. Marshals Service all have a hand in SSA. Within DHS, Customs and Border Protection, the Coast Guard, and Immigration and Customs Enforcement implement programs. The Central Intelligence Agency also has a role in SSA but will not be discussed within the scope of this project.

5. The State Department's Africa Bureau created a Security Affairs office with the original mandate of providing guidance on and coordination of the region's security sector strategy, to include military, police and justice focused approaches. In practice, the demands on the office have pulled it more in the direction of managing military-related assistance.

FIGURE 2
This figure visualizes the rapid increase in SSA spending after 9/11, and the shift in resources from the State Department to DoD. The line graph shows the total U.S. government (gray), State Department (blue), and DoD (red) percentage increases in SSA respectively. The pie charts show the change in proportion of this assistance administered by the State Department, DoD, and other government agencies, in 2001 and 2015.

Since 9/11, U.S. government funding for SSA has increased approximately 250 percent, reaching at least 137 countries in 2015. At the same time, the proportion of that funding directed by the State Department has decreased by nearly 40 percentage points, while the Defense Department's proportion has increased by about the same amount. By 2015, DoD administered almost 60 percent of all SSA funding across the U.S. government, up from approximately 17 percent in 2001.[6] Most of this new DoD funding has come through one-year temporary authorities granted by Congress and managed by an array of offices that are not always aware of one another's programs or processes.[7] This represents a more than 1,000 percent increase in DoD-SSA-related funding since 9/11 (refer to Figure 2).

The State Department and other agencies continue to direct over 40 percent of all SSA funds, and they remain significant actors in this space. The most recent SSA interagency directive, PPD-23, identified the Department of State as the lead agency for SSA, which makes sense

6. Based on Security Assistance Monitor Data from 2001-2015. (securityassistance.org)

7. As noted previously, the FY 2017 NDAA includes extensive reforms to DoD authorities, requires a centralized DoD point of contact, professionalizes the DoD workforce engaged in developing and delivering SSA, requires unified budgeting of all DoD funded SSA (including security cooperation line items per military service), and creates new standards for monitoring, evaluating, and reporting on SSA.

given its role in leading and coordinating all aspects of U.S. foreign affairs and assistance. However, the State Department has not yet been equipped to execute this increasingly complex responsibility.

U.S. embassies are State Department-owned, interagency platforms from which all non-wartime international engagement is conducted. The embassy is designed so that an ambassador, as the president's representative, has a complete picture of U.S. interests and actions within his or her country. But when it comes to security sector issues, most ambassadors do not have the staffing or resources necessary to maintain sufficient sectoral oversight of so many funds and organizations. Embassies do not traditionally have any one individual responsible for tracking issues across the security sector, instead relying on individual officers and offices tracking military issues, police issues, and governance and rights issues separately.

While ambassadors sign off on program proposals for their countries, they are most often asked to do so for individual programs, rather than packaged sets of proposals in service of broader strategies. DoJ, DHS, Treasury, and even the State Department's International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Bureau representatives at the embassies run their own unique programs, and DoD's defense attaches and security cooperation officers have dual reporting lines to both the ambassador and their respective combatant commands. So while they are under "chief of mission authority," their primary purpose is not to serve and staff the ambassador. In addition, some embassies have Special Operations Forces (SOF) teams that often choose to coordinate on their in-country activities, but do not fall under "chief of mission authority."[8]

For programs that are targeting transnational or regional issues across multiple countries (particularly non-State or Defense Department programs), these embassy staffing gaps are compounded, as there is no standard point person in charge of efforts that stretch across multiple embassies and ambassadors. In essence, while the system relies on ambassadors to maintain a full picture of country activities, there is no one who maintains a full picture of SSA at the regional or global levels.

These big-picture challenges are exacerbated by bureaucratic failures. The Obama administration did not sufficiently define how and at what level the State Department is expected to facilitate coordination amongst the other government agencies working on SSA.[9] Each DoD program is expected to coordinate with the State Department in different ways, or not at all. While "consultation," "concurrence," or "joint formation" are the terms most often used in the authorizing laws to characterize the level of intended State Department oversight on Defense Department or "dual-key" (State-DoD) programs, each term is not universally understood by all to mean the same thing. Moreover, these requirements are most often focused at the implementation level, late in the process, rather than during the planning stage or at the policy-level.

8. Chiefs of mission (in most cases, an ambassador) have authority over every executive branch employee in their host countries, except those operating under the command of a U.S. geographic combatant commander, or those on the staff of an international organization. This authority requires executive branch agencies to obtain chief of mission approval on the number of staff in country, the focus of work, and in some cases freedom of movement. Though technically not under chief of mission authority, many SOF teams develop memorandums of understanding with the ambassador to more clearly delineate coordination.

9. In the absence of standing bureaucratic coordination structures, a number of State and DoD offices have created ad hoc processes for coordination. Some CCMDs have created "synchronization conferences" to bring DoD security cooperation personnel and some State Department representatives together; the CT and PM bureaus and SO/LIC created a system to coordinate the so-called "2282 authority"; and the State Department and DoD worked collaboratively to develop joint SSA plans for Yemen and the Philippines. These ad hoc efforts at coordination do not always have sufficient representation from all necessary SSA agencies and offices and are often used only in service of single funds or authorities. The CCMD-led efforts, while targeting multiple authorities and fairly standardized, do not include non-military related assistance e.g., INCLE.

In addition to the lack of clear mandates or lines of responsibility within and among agencies, the SSA system suffers from insufficient training and staffing to support decision-making across the sector. With so many funds, authorities, and offices, few people have a grasp of the overarching system, timelines, and individuals with equities, or how they affect one another.[10]

Planning and Budgeting Timelines & Processes

No overarching security sector strategies, mismatched planning cultures between the State Department and DoD, insufficient clarity from the State Department on foreign policy and national security priorities, mismatch in organizational structures built for country or regional focuses

> Current SSA programming is conducted as isolated activities rather than as part of a deliberate overarching strategy.

Each agency, and many of the offices within them, have different planning and budget timelines and processes. For example, within the Department of Defense, each geographic combatant command (CCMD) runs its own security cooperation and exercise planning process, from different headquarter or "J-code" offices. Meanwhile, Department of Defense counterterrorism programs, such as the so-called 2282 or 1208 programs, are managed from the Pentagon in Washington D.C., each with its own timelines and processes. The State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) have yet another set of processes for their programs. As a result, much of the U.S. government's current SSA programming is conducted as isolated activities rather than as part of a deliberate overarching country or regional strategy.

Coherence is further undermined by significant differences between the State and Defense Departments' policy planning cultures. The Defense Department produces a connected series of global, regional, and country plans derived from the National Security Strategy, on the basis of which many funding and programming decisions are made.[11] It has thousands of people throughout its bureaucracy dedicated entirely to producing these plans. The State Department has regional and functional plans, but the documents do not hold the same relevance as in the Defense Department, and the State Department does not have the same level of staffing to support such robust planning. Additionally, the State Department tends towards more reactive policy approaches in an effort to remain responsive to world crises as they arise. USAID works through more established program plans, but they are predominately focused at the embassy level. At the same time, the State Department and USAID's budget process includes more specific and longer-term budgeting than is employed at the Defense Department. The consequence of these mismatched planning cultures is that there is insufficient clarity on core foreign policy priorities to drive program decision-making across an ever-growing web of relevant offices and funds.

PPD-23's solution to this problem was to direct the interagency to focus SSA planning at the country-level through the Integrated Country Strategies (ICS) written by the interagency

10. There is no mandatory SSA training for State Department personnel, including for embassy political-military affairs officers. The voluntary training options available include a two-day political-military affairs course at the Foreign Service Institute (generally considered insufficient in content and duration), and supplemental training material created by the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. State Department personnel can also access the Defense Security Cooperation Agency's Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM), but the material is primarily focused on the military sales process. Defense Department security cooperation officers must attend DISAM but do not receive training on program design or management, monitoring and evaluation, the political context, or on the rest of the SSA apparatus. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency recently renamed DISAM the Defense Institute of Security Cooperation Studies (DISCS) and is in the process of enhancing its offerings to improve the Defense Department's security cooperation workforce.

11. The Defense Department nested strategies include the secretary of defense's "Guidance for Employment of the Force" (GEF) and the chairman of the Joint Chief's "National Military Strategy" (NMS), which inform each combatant command's Theater Campaign Plans, of which Country Plans or Country Security Cooperation Plans are a component.

embassy team every three years. The ICS is intended to drive State and USAID planning and programs as well as to inform the military's CCMD Theater Campaign Plans (TCPs) and Country Security Cooperation Plans. The first ICS documents were prepared starting around 2012, and only one embassy to date has completed an annex specifically focused on the security sector. In that instance, a lack of sufficient staffing, incomplete participation from relevant program offices, and other process issues resulted in a strategy without sufficiently specific, measurable, or achievable objectives capable of driving programs and approaches across the sector. However, CCMDs are referencing the ICSs in planning their security cooperation programs and exercises, meaning that improved ICS content would likely influence DoD plans and programs.

Another complicating dynamic in State Department and DoD planning is that both agencies vary greatly in their bureaucratic centers of gravity. For the Defense Department, the combatant commands, and their service components, a regionally focused set of organizations are the operational focal points with significant policy guidance and input from a number of different offices within both the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) and the Joint Staff. At the State Department, regionally focused bureaus are the center of policy-setting, but the embassy, a country-level organization, is the operational focal point for both it and USAID. As a result, the Defense Department tends toward regional planning, while the State Department and USAID are more naturally built for country planning.

Leadership levels most relevant to SSA programs and policies also differ between the State Department and DoD. As Figure 1 shows, the State Department's most relevant SSA leadership rests at the assistant secretary-level (purple), while the Defense Department is represented by under secretary and deputy assistant secretary-levels (green and orange, respectively). This mismatch creates confusion as to the most natural points of contact and coordination between the two departments.

Regional and Global Policies and Foreign Policy Coherence

Lack of clear regional prioritization and national security and foreign policy coherence to drive the system

In interviews, one of the most common complaints across the SSA spectrum was that agencies were asked to plan and operate without a clear sense of the U.S. government's national security and foreign policy priorities. Those interviewed noted that while they often received

> When everything is treated as a priority, nothing is actually a priority.

an abundance of guidance, it was rarely prioritized, which means that focusing on any country or issue could be justified. And when everything is treated as a priority, nothing is actually a priority. Particularly in the Defense Department, an organization accustomed to incorporating written guidance into its planning process, this lack of up-front policy

prioritization makes it difficult to ensure that everyone is working off of a common operating picture and set of objectives.

As discussed above, PPD-23 focused on bringing coherence to SSA engagement through a country-first approach, using the ICS process. That process, if better implemented, could help to more clearly articulate security sector aims at a country level. It would not, however, bring clarity at a regional or global level or differentiate between the countries most relevant within a region.

With the United States engaging in SSA in so many countries, the lack of clear senior-level guidance on national security and foreign policy priorities makes it difficult to drive discipline across the system and down to the implementation level. In addition, this gap makes it difficult to litigate disputes or inconsistencies between agencies and programs at the working level. As a result, inconsistent SSA approaches are either allowed to continue, or they are elevated to the attention of senior leadership too often and at an unnecessarily specific level of detail.

Data Clarity & Transparency and Monitoring & Evaluation

Insufficient tracking of funds and programs, insufficient awareness of other agencies' programs, no meaningful monitoring and evaluation or statement of goals

With well over 100[12] different security sector authorities[13] and 46 offices with some programmatic or policy control, it is difficult, if not impossible, to systematically track the totality of what is spent on SSA, where it is being spent, for what purpose, and to determine whether the investments were worthwhile. DoD security cooperation is not tracked by country or by goals but rather by program and authority. The State Department and USAID do track "peace and security" and "democracy, human rights, and governance" funding by country, which includes FMF as well as peacekeeping support and much of the non-military security sector assistance. But that figure also includes a number of non-security sector related funding and programs.

There is no central entity or system that tracks all security sector assistance or that then makes that data available to all stakeholders involved.[14] The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) has a database to track the money it manages, though it often has difficulty getting data from implementing programs.[15] Many CCMDs have their own databases to track security cooperation engagements, but the breadth and consistency of data varies between them. The State Department and USAID also have one shared system, connected to the State Department's Office of Foreign Assistance Resources, which tracks all State Department and USAID foreign assistance (development and otherwise). Externally, the most commonly cited government source of data for security assistance is USAID's Green Book, which distinguishes between economic and military assistance. However, Green Book

data does not include most Title 10 authorized aid, nor does it track or differentiate non-military assistance. So INCLE and NADR funding are listed as economic assistance, despite the State Department's inclusion of these authorities in their annual budget request under "International Security Assistance." The result of these incomplete systems and tracking practices is that no one in the U.S. government sees the whole picture of the SSA that is planned for a given country or a retrospective review of all SSA spent over the course of a year.

Currently, for a U.S. ambassador to know what is proposed or planned would require each embassy to build a unique tracking system of its own. At the Washington and other headquarter level, this lack of data clarity breeds mistrust between agencies and offices, which often attribute their lack of awareness of another department's programs to that department's intentional obfuscation, rather than to the more common systemic dysfunction and confusion.

Beyond the difficulty of tracking what is planned and spent in the security sector, the current system does not require agencies or programs to articulate the goals of U.S. engagement in a foreign nation's security sector at a sufficiently specific or measurable level. Because security sector assistance responsibility is spread so diffusely through the U.S. government, sector-wide strategies and objectives are not common. That means it is difficult to determine if a program or fund achieved a goal or was a worthy investment, particularly at an outcome level.[16]

> No one sees the whole picture of SSA planned for a country or a retrospective review of all SSA spent over the course of a year in that country.

A further complication is that the same fund or authority may be used for a variety of purposes. At the implementation level, there is no mechanism to differentiate the purpose of a program beyond the account from which it was funded. For example, IMET can be used to send foreign defense officials to military schools in the United States. The system does not currently require a record of whether an individual is chosen for IMET to enhance the capability of the unit or the force they lead, or whether that official was chosen to help build stronger and closer relationships with the military in that country. Both are valid, but very different, goals. The same applies to assistance provided through FMF, under 2282 authority, or to any number of other authorities or funds.

Seeking such specificity matters both for program design and implementation as well as for policy and strategy. If security sector goals are unclear, agencies have a difficult time determining the best combination of tools and actors to address an identified challenge. At the implementation level, if programmatic intent is unclear, it is difficult to identify how a particular fund or program connects to higher-level objectives.

16. The FY 2017 NDAA requires DoD to establish a more serious monitoring, evaluation, and assessment system. Once implemented, this reform will significantly improve the ability of the U.S. government as a whole to better assess its approach to SSA. But this requirement applies only to DoD, and therefore does not address the need for sectoral strategies against which one could monitor and evaluate all programs.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORMING THE SYSTEM

These recommendations should be seen as a blueprint to start reforming the SSA system at the beginning of the new administration. They are interlocking and mutually reinforcing. No system can work perfectly, and so these reforms target a number of different levels and parts of the system in order to constrain the space for dysfunction, and to limit the impact of certain parts of the bureaucracy resisting reform. Taken as a whole, the recommendations assume senior level buy-in and direction, but each individual recommendation builds in individual office and agency incentives.

Changes are proposed at three levels: at the highest policy-setting level; at the mid-level bureaucracy, and at the embassy level. They should be read as a cohesive proposal and not a series of single recommendations. However, on an individual basis, priority should be given to the recommendations on general guidance to agencies, embassy-level reforms, and State Department reforms.

Level 1: Policy & Strategy

Level 2: Washington and HQ Implementation & Coordination

Level 3: Embassy Implementation & Coordination

FIGURE 3
These are the three institutional levels through which recommendations are applied.

Level 1: Policy and Strategy

CLARIFYING POLICY AND BRIDGING THE STATE AND DOD PLANNING DIVIDE

As discussed in the previous section, the SSA system suffers from a lack of clarity on U.S. government foreign policy and national security priorities. The following recommendations propose a State-DoD-NSC process to define SSA priorities and integrate them into each agency's existing planning processes. Of note, a later section details recommended reforms to the State Department structures managing SSA, and the below section makes reference to some of those new structures.

Often, senior officials are asked to prioritize by determining which countries are "important," which is too broad of a framework for decision-making. A more targeted way to encourage senior-level prioritization is by defining what goals are important and then asking senior officials to apply those criteria against what they know about the geographic regions for which they are responsible. Applied to the SSA problem set, the NSC should develop a

security sector framework that defines the categories of high-level SSA goals most important to the U.S. national interest. These categories should represent the range of reasons why the U.S. government provides SSA to other countries—i.e., what the main objectives of security relationships are. Such a framework should be used to guide agencies in determining priority SSA countries by region.

FIGURE 4
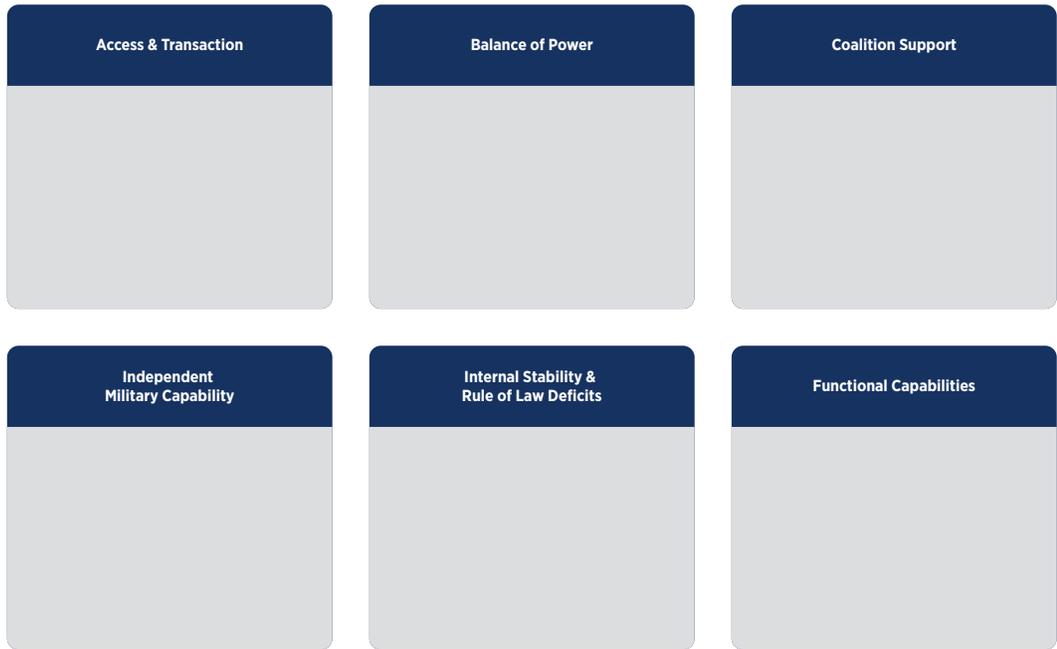
An example of such a framework can be seen above in Figure 4 , with explanations of the proposed categories of U.S. SSA interests as follows:

Access & Transaction: Countries where the primary interest is to gain or maintain access to bases or transit routes, maintain agreements, or other transactional aims (e.g., Bahrain, Egypt, Djibouti).

Balance of Power: Countries through which the United States works and seeks to influence the balance of power within a region or against an outside power (e.g., assistance related to addressing Russia, China, the South China Sea, Iran).

Coalition Support: Countries that assist the United States in an ongoing conflict, including those in which the United States has committed its own forces (such as Afghanistan) and those where it is providing support without its own conventional forces in theater (e.g., Somalia, Nigeria, Syria).

Independent Military Capability: Countries where the ability of the military to operate capably, independently, professionally, and under civilian control is of interest to the

United States. Such countries are often combating external or insurgent threats in their own territories. This category also includes countries contributing significant troops for peacekeeping or stabilization missions. (e.g., Uganda, Bangladesh, Nigeria).

Internal Stability and Rule of Law Deficits: Countries in which weak rule of law systems, low-capacity or abusive policing, corruption, and poor governance create or exacerbate conditions of instability that pose a threat to U.S. interests (e.g., Kenya, Tunisia, Ukraine).

Specific Functional Capabilities: Countries that are a node in a transnational threat and where the United States has an interest in enabling them to play a role in mitigating the use of their territory in that chain. Examples include anti-money laundering, anti-trafficking, and other functional capabilities (e.g., UAE, Jamaica).

An official using the framework should go through each of the six categories and identify countries in their regional purview that should be listed within each category. A single country can be listed under as many categories as relevant, and for regions where a particular category is not relevant, no country is required to be listed. The categories are intended to provide a guide through which senior leaders can articulate and debate the primary interest of U.S. security sector-related engagements in particular countries and regions. The regional lists of priority countries under each of the six categories can then guide the programs and strategies of each agency. Seeing a country listed under multiple categories can also help identify those particular countries in which a more fulsome and dedicated sectoral effort is necessary. On the other hand, a country not listed in the framework should not be prioritized for significant security sector resources. This does not mean that no SSA programming can be undertaken with or in that country. But the focus should be on developing and maintaining good relations and strategic awareness, not tactical training or equipping.

The regional framework process should be completed as follows and should last no longer than eight weeks. It should be conducted primarily through conversations and should not require an extensive clearance process. The intention is for senior officials to provide expert guidance. Limiting the timeframe for the process helps reinforce this intent and preserves more time for agency, embassy, and program planning:

- State Department regional assistant secretaries, in collaboration with the political-security affairs assistant secretary (see page 23, which recommends that the current Political Military Affairs Bureau be renamed the Political-Security Affairs Bureau) should fill in their regions' frameworks as the first draft.

- The regional and political-security assistant secretaries should then share the draft regional priorities with the functional assistant secretaries from the following State Department bureaus and offices: Counterterrorism; International Narcotics and Law Enforcement; Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor; International Organizations;

Conflict Stabilization Operations; and Trafficking in Persons. Those functional assistant secretaries can advocate for any countries they feel are not appropriately addressed in the draft priority list. Disagreements should be litigated through an internal State Department process to finalize the State Department draft.

- Once the State Department reaches agreement on its draft, the regional and political-security affairs assistant secretaries should share the draft regional priorities with the relevant regionally-focused assistant and deputy assistant secretaries of defense.

- The Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (OSD Policy) should confer with the Joint Staff and combatant commanders and then discuss any differences in analysis or prioritization with the State Department assistant secretaries. If agreement cannot be reached between the State and Defense Departments, two different versions of the framework should be presented to the NSC.

- The NSC should seek to overcome any remaining disagreements via a Deputies Committee process and make a recommendation to the president. Once complete, the president should sign the regional priorities documents, which would then stand in force for three years (with yearly reviews and revisions triggered by major events).

- The priorities from the regional frameworks should inform DoD, embassy, and other agencies' plans, guidance, and programs—including in particular, Theater Campaign Plans (TCPs) and country-level Integrated Country Strategies (ICSs).

UNEARTHING AND ADDRESSING TENSIONS BETWEEN SHORT- AND LONG-TERM INTERESTS

Short-term security needs often come into conflict with long-term broader foreign policy interests. SSA officials can use the completed regional priority frameworks to unearth and begin to address a number of these tensions. The following recommendations refer to a few of the ways the completed frameworks could be used to do so.

- As a general matter, for each country listed under more than one category in the framework, the ICS (and its security sector assistance annex) should receive priority attention and support.

- Shortly after the completion of the frameworks, the State Department, with support from the intelligence community and DoD, should conduct a political and security risk assessment of all partners identified in each framework over a five-year horizon. These assessments should include specific information on public sector and security force corruption, popular perceptions of the government and security forces, the human rights record of security forces, and governance capacity and functioning. These reviews would flag factors that could undermine the success of assistance or cases where SSA might actually increase insecurity rather than decrease it.

For partners where the risk assessments identify a high probability of destabilization, political upheaval, economic shock, or other potentially disruptive events, agencies should be directed to work through the Security Sector Assistance Hub (refer to page 24, which recommends the creation of an office to coordinate SSA for the interagency) to reduce or deprioritize assistance if possible, and to otherwise develop joint contingency or mitigation strategies to be approved in the interagency.

In addition to the risk assessment, the SSA hub should develop a list of considerations or additional requirements to be applied to countries included in each framework category. For instance, for fragile countries in the "Coalition Support" category, there may be a need to develop internal governance mitigation strategies or metrics to balance long-term governance issues with short-term tactical needs. If a country appears in both the "Coalition Support" and "Internal Stability and Rule of Law Deficits" categories, such mitigation strategies may be even more important.

> **Regional priority frameworks can be used to unearth the tensions between short-term security and long-term foreign policy interests.**

- After regional priorities are finalized, the NSC should hold a decisional interagency meeting to select up to three countries, drawn from the frameworks, to be considered for long-term, sustained, and whole-of-government security sector assistance or security sector reform (SSR) efforts.[17] These countries should be targeted to receive dedicated funding and senior-level attention in the interagency, using a longer time horizon and a more involved joint-planning process. This would enable the interagency to determine if any countries should be targeted for funding and approaches that look more like "Plan Colombia"[18] than traditional year-to-year efforts. This approach would also prevent senior leadership from asking for a high level of attention and resourcing in too many places around the world.

Level 2: Washington D.C. and Headquarter Implementation & Coordination

PERSONNEL

The following office leadership play key roles in the SSA system and will be essential to the success of this effort.

- Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs/Security Affairs (see page 23)

- Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement

- State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism

17. SSR is distinct from SSA. In their book *Prioritizing Security Sector Reform, a New U.S. Approach*, Querine Hanlon and Richard Shultz Jr. define SSR as a conceptual approach to strengthening, reforming, or reconstructing the human and institutional capabilities and capacities of the security sector to provide security, maintain the state's monopoly of legitimate force, and operate in accordance with democratic principles and rule of law.

18. Plan Colombia is the name for the sustained diplomatic, military, and economic assistance given to Colombia since 2000 to combat narcotics trafficking and militant organizations. Originally enacted by President Clinton and renewed by both the Bush and Obama administrations, Plan Colombia is remarkable among U.S. security assistance programming for its longevity and the depth of U.S. engagement with the Colombian security sector and for its support for Colombian oversight and accountability structures. Over the past 16 years, the United States has delivered at least $10 billion of targeted assistance to Colombian military and police, along with aid for institutional and social development.

- Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor

- Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

- Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict

- Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counterterrorism

- Assistant Secretary of Defense for Plans Strategy and Capabilities

- Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Security Cooperation

- USAID Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance

- USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator of the Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance

- USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator of the Office of Civilian-Military Cooperation

- NSC member responsible for oversight of the reform effort.

GENERAL GUIDANCE TO AGENCIES

The following recommendations relate to all agencies and are intended to address the seams that form when reform efforts focus exclusively on one agency or another.

- All SSA agencies and relevant sub-agencies[19] should be required to identify a Washington-based lead office and individual point of contact for SSA. These agency nodes should serve as the standing point of contact for interagency colleagues and represent that agency in interagency policy meetings as required.

  Entities like the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) or DHS components, which deploy personnel internationally in both operational advisory capacities and in more traditional "assistance" roles, should be directed to ensure that the agency's security sector assistance lead office or point of contact is regularly updated on the location and general activities of all agency personnel deployed at any one time.

  In some cases achieving such oversight may require a technological solution to track deployed personnel, which could be done by sharing data from the electronic country clearance system used by all U.S. embassies.

- All agencies should be directed to track the funds expended on each SSA program by country on a yearly basis. This data should be reported to both State/USAID and DoD[20] and be required by OMB as part of the agency budget submissions.[21] For agencies implementing other agencies' funds, reporting of such data should be required under the terms of the funds' provision.

19. Departments of State, Defense, Justice (DOJ), Treasury, and Homeland Security (DHS), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as DHS and DOJ sub-agencies including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Customs and Border Protection, Coast Guard, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Drug Enforcement Administration, and Secret Service.

20. The FY 2017 NDAA includes a requirement for DoD to submit a Congressional Budget Justification (CBJ) with this information and to report on this data regularly.

21. OMB should include requests for this data in its spring fiscal guidance to agencies as well as in the circular A-11 (which describes the budgeting format the agencies are asked to use to submit their data).

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OVERSIGHT

- While this transition initiative is focused on reforms that could be enacted quickly within the early days of a new administration, the completion of those reforms would likely take one to two years. During that period the NSC senior director for strategic planning should oversee the reform effort.

To manage interagency SSA coordination on a more permanent basis, each NSC regional directorate should include security sector assistance as part of one director's portfolio.

> All agencies should be directed to track the funds expended on SSA by country on a yearly basis.

- NSC regional directors should also convene annual policy reviews of all security sector assistance efforts in their region, in order to make recommendations for future year resourcing and approaches and to ensure interagency awareness and agreement. For regions, issues, or countries in which additional funding is recommended, the recommendation should be accompanied by a list of potential issues or locations that should be considered for a decrease.

- At least every four years, the NSC should commission an independent assessment of U.S. government reform efforts and ongoing SSA, examining policy, process, risk, and outcomes. The NSC should make use of a requirement in the FY 2017 NDAA for an independent quadrennial strategic assessment of DoD security cooperation and expand the scope to assess all U.S. SSA (including non-DoD SSA).

STATE DEPARTMENT-SPECIFIC REFORMS

As discussed in the first section, the State Department is the lead agency for foreign assistance, but it has yet to establish the processes and staffing necessary to play a leading role on SSA. The following are recommendations for how the State Department can more effectively provide leadership for the sector as a cohesive whole.

Each Regional Bureau should be directed to identify a security sector lead office (or individual). The regional security sector lead is not intended to manage programs, but rather to support desk officers on SSA issues, assist in the development of regional security sector policy and strategy, advise bureau leadership on security sector issues, and serve as the main point of contact with other State Department and interagency officials on SSA in their respective regions.

The Political-Military Affairs (PM) Bureau should be directed to serve as the U.S. government's focal point for security sector issues. To signal the official expansion of the bureau's focus from military assistance to the security sector at large, the bureau should be renamed as the

Political-Security Affairs Bureau (PS). The details of how the bureau is reorganized should be left to the assistant secretary, but the following elements should be included:

- PS should maintain its military assistance programming, licensing responsibilities, and other military-related diplomatic responsibilities;

- PS should take over the Security Governance Initiative (SGI),[22] with the eventual goal of expanding the model beyond the Africa region; and

- PS should be directed to create a new security sector hub, comprised of two component parts:

Strategy and Plans Office:

- This office should be created and staffed with 10-20 full-time employees who have a mix of military planning experience, development programming experience (to include specifically democracy and governance programming), monitoring and evaluation experience, and organizational planning and management experience.

- The primary role of this office should be to support embassies in the development of their Integrated Country Strategies (ICSs) and security sector annexes, which should include more specific, measurable, achievable, and time-bound objectives than currently employed.

- The SSA Strategy and Plans office should also review programs against the ICS during each year's budget cycle and review DoD planning documents, such as Theater Campaign Plans (TCPs), Country Plans, and Security Cooperation Plans.

SSA Interagency Coordination Office:

- A coordination office should be created to serve as the working-level central node of the U.S. government SSA system. The main goals of this office are to provide a single, regular point of contact for the interagency to seek information and feedback; to increase interagency awareness of each agency's programs and approaches; and to create a mechanism to identify policy problems or major decision points for senior leadership prior to crisis. This office should also manage the State Department's review and concurrence process for DoD SSA programs and make final recommendations to senior leadership on assistance tranches and concurrence decisions.

- The office should be led by a senior civil service or Foreign Service official, overseeing permanent detailees from: State Department INL, CT, DRL, TIP, and CSO bureaus and offices; USAID; OSD; and the Joint Staff. The detailees should be selected by and maintain a reporting line to their home offices but sit with the coordination office and be reviewed by the head of the office, with input from the home offices.

22. SGI was created in 2014 as a joint endeavor between the United States and six African partners, focused on improving security sector governance. It is unique for its focus on host-nation ownership, U.S. and host-nation joint planning, and the security sector as a whole. It is one of the rare programs set on a longer time-horizon, designed using the expertise of those with traditional development backgrounds, and focused on the systems, processes, and institutions that are necessary for a country to maintain and improve security for its citizens.

º To improve awareness of programs across the sector, the Coordination Office and the Regional Bureau security sector leads should co-convene check-in meetings for a different geographic region each week (every six weeks per region). Embassy security sector leads and combatant command security cooperation representatives should join the check-ins remotely, and other government agency security sector leads should be invited to attend as needed. The meetings should consist of a review of ongoing assistance and plans, a discussion of any issues, as well as discussions about the progress of existing programs, funding proposals for upcoming years, and upcoming policy issues.

º The Coordination Office should also be provided with $50 million drawn from existing flexible funding available to the secretary of state, to be used to address unforeseen imbalances in programming for sector-wide, whole of government approaches. For example, this fund could be used to resource programs enabling parliamentary or civil society oversight, or to support necessary but unfunded development-related efforts needed to counterbalance short-term tactical military assistance, particularly in a counter-terror context. Once the hub is established and has proven a responsible process for using its existing funds, the administration should request that Congress authorize more significant joint DoD-State funds for future years, to be directed through the security sector hub.[23]

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT-SPECIFIC REFORMS

• The Security Cooperation Office in OSD Policy should serve as the lead DoD office for oversight of SSA policy.[24] This office should be given final purview over CCMD security cooperation plans and be responsible for providing guidance on security cooperation priorities, approaches, and monitoring, evaluation and analysis requirements. It should be resourced at a level that enables it to carry out this oversight function.

• As outlined in the FY 2017 NDAA, DoD program management responsibilities should be migrated to the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) with policy guidance and oversight from the relevant OSD Policy offices. DSCA should be appropriately resourced to accomplish this shift in responsibility and directed to continue its existing reform efforts to better integrate and manage the programs for which it is already responsible. This will require moving program management responsibility from a number of OSD Policy's offices, and adjusting DSCA's structure.

• DSCA should implement the security cooperation workforce reform requirements of the FY 2017 NDAA and continue to build the Defense Institute of Security Cooperation Studies (DISCS), focusing on program design, monitoring and evaluation, political context, developmental approaches, and awareness of non-DoD resources and offices.

Efforts should be made to connect DISCS to the State Department's Foreign Service Institute's country and SSA-specific offerings.

- DSCA should work with the U.S. Digital Service and the General Services Administration's in-house digital development office (18F)[25] to develop a plan for consolidating and better integrating DoD databases on security cooperation programs into a new more user-friendly system, accessible at embassies, CCMDs, and at Washington headquarters.

  Such a database should track the status and quantity of funding; location, recipient units and individuals; purpose of programs, and related monitoring and evaluation information.

  As part of this effort, DSCA should replace the multiple existing and separate Military Department-managed information systems currently used to track courses and trainings and the students attending them. The system should allow users to see which individuals in a particular country have received U.S. training or attended a residential course or school, and to the extent possible, track the military careers of those who attended U.S. defense educational institutions. The system should also create a central repository of available U.S. schools and training programs.

  While such a system is planned and built, all CCMDs and Washington-based offices managing SSA accounts should be directed to immediately begin to track funds by country and region, and to record recipients of assistance in their own existing databases.

- Geographic CCMDs, as well as their component commands, should ensure that upcoming exercises and JCETS are communicated to the SSA hub both at the planning phase and in the run-up to implementation.

- DoD Leahy law responsibility and personnel should be moved to the OSD Policy Security Cooperation Office, to better integrate it with the DoD-managed SSA to which the Leahy law applies.

USAID-SPECIFIC REFORMS

USAID is one of the least integrated agencies in the SSA realm but has expertise particularly relevant to defense institution building, monitoring and evaluation, and developmental approaches to programming. The following are recommendations for how the U.S. government could make better use of this expertise across the SSA enterprise.

- The Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA) should serve as USAID's security sector lead, with particular coordination responsibility in the Democracy, Rights, and Governance Center.

25. 18F is a GSA office with the goal of "building 21st century digital government." It is primarily focused on supporting agencies to develop technologies that are easier for the public to make use of. But it has also done some backend work on problematic internal government systems.

- USAID should be designated to play a vital role in the design of defense and other security institution building programming to better incorporate its expertise on institution building in general. For defense institution building, this could be facilitated through existing USAID advisors at CCMDs. For priority SSR countries, or those within the "Internal Stability and Rule of Law Deficit" framework category, USAID should take a lead in developing the institution building component of the SSA plan and ICS.

- USAID should provide guidance to DoD and the State Department, primarily through the PS SSA Coordination and Strategy and Plans Offices and DoD's Security Cooperation Office, on monitoring and evaluation and program design for high priority, long-term, SSA programs.

Level 3: Embassy Implementation & Coordination

- The State Department, in consultation with other agencies, should identify countries with which the United States has a high volume of security engagements and those that are characterized by complex and unstable political-security contexts[26] (e.g., Saudi Arabia and Burundi). These countries are labeled "SSA Designate" countries.

  Each ambassador should be directed to identify a security sector lead at his or her embassy. In countries with few security sector issues, the SSA lead may be a dual-hatted officer. In SSA Designate countries, the ambassador should consider identifying a stand-alone officer as the SSA lead. All Designate country SSA leads should be required to obtain additional training prior to taking the position. Such training, which would be provided through the Foreign Service Institute (with curriculum requirements and input from the Political-Security Affairs Bureau), should educate officers on the components of the U.S. SSA system, program design, monitoring and evaluation, and basic planning.

  DoD security cooperation officers deployed to SSA Designate countries should be required to have completed higher-level certification at DSCA's aforementioned Defense Institute for Security Cooperation Studies. All CCMD security cooperation leadership should also complete higher-level certification through the Institute.

- All SSA-related positions at embassies should be directed to participate in the ICS security sector annex development process.

- All SSA-related positions at embassies should be required to provide information to and collaborate with the embassy's security sector lead.

- The embassy SSA lead should also be responsible for coordination with other U.S. embassies in their region, as well as with other donor country embassies in the host country.

26. If the U.S. government continues its existing efforts to assess state fragility, those states considered to be "fragile" that receive SSA resources should be considered an SSA Designate country.

- Currently, SSA programs are not broadly differentiated by purpose. Even if a program is implemented as part of a security cooperation plan, it is tracked most often by authority or type of funding. When issues arise in an SSA-recipient country, senior policy-makers often request a list of ongoing assistance and training in that country. While compiling such a list is a difficult task in and of itself, it is further complicated by a lack of accompanying information on why the program was initiated in the first place. Was IMET chosen to build a relationship or to improve the skills of the leadership of a particularly important unit? And for programs that have been repeated year after year, how would one know if that program is worthy of continuation? Many of these questions would be resolved with a monitoring and evaluation regime. However, designing and implementing an SSA-wide regime will take a great deal of time. In the interim, the following labeling system could help force more honesty in the system, and thereby drive better outcomes:

    ○ At the most basic level, SSA is generally used either for transactional or symbolic reasons (category I) or to build the capacity of a country to act in the interest of the United States (category II). Both categories might be equally legitimate uses of SSA resources but require different considerations in the planning, monitoring, and assessing phases. For example, the provision of certain weaponry to the Baltic nations may predominately serve a signaling purpose to the region. Whereas the provision of equipment and training to the Ugandan military, is primarily intended to better enable it to fight Al Shabaab in Somalia. Both programs may use the same authorities and funds, but each would require vastly different approaches to determine whether the programs are effective.

    ○ Using these two broad categories, all SSA programs, regardless of agency, authority, or fund, should be labeled at their initiation as either primarily for the purpose of category I or category II (recognizing that most programs are initiated for some combination of reasons). More concretely defined, for category I, the provision of equipment, training, or other assistance is the primary goal in and of itself—usually to maintain access to a base or other facility, build relationships, or signal to regional countries. For category II, the provision of equipment, training, or other assistance is intended to build or improve a developmental capability so that the nation in question is able to actively address a shared security threat. While it is likely that program managers will trend towards labeling all programs as category II, the accuracy of the label is less important than the conversation the process forces and the ability to later connect evaluation to program intent.

    ○ After one to two years of using the categories, the SSA hub should include the global data on category I versus category II programs to inform their recommendations for the upcoming year's budget requests.

- The U.S. Digital Service and GSA's 18F should be directed to build application programming interfaces (APIs) to enable each agency and office's unique databases to communicate with one another. That data should then be shared into a dashboard that is accessible to all security sector leads and key offices, as well as interagency meetings at the White House. As mentioned in the section on Defense Department reforms, each database should be directed to track programs and funds by country, so that the dashboard is able to pull some degree of uniform data across the enterprise.

- The intelligence community, in collaboration with embassies, should be directed to compile security force structure maps, to be regularly updated, and made available throughout the SSA enterprise. These organizational charts should be accompanied by existing assessments on force governance, human rights, corruption, and accountability, particularly in priority countries.

- All SSA program assessments and evaluation should include data on local public perception of the security institutions with which the United States is partnering, analysis on the "reactive behaviors" U.S. assistance might engender or has already catalyzed,[27] whether the assistance provided is being used as intended, and other related questions.

- In the FY 2017 NDAA, the secretary of defense is required to inform Congress of its planned JCETS on a quarterly basis. The secretary of defense should be directed to share the JCET schedule with the secretary of state in advance of the Congressional notice.

- As a matter of policy, the administration should brief Congress on SSA issues jointly and proactively. When the State Department is asked to brief its oversight committees it should bring DoD and representatives from the PS Security Sector Hub and vice versa.

Some of these recommendations will take longer to implement than others. But all of them can and should be initiated at the beginning of this new administration. Doing so would help ensure that U.S. tax dollars are used responsibly and in ways that make the U.S. safer and stronger.

27. Jim Shear in the Winter 2016 Wilson Quarterly recommends the United States "strengthen the analytic pillars of partnering" particularly focusing on "anticipatory perturbation impact assessments." The article is titled *Forging Security Partnerships in Africa: What Lies Ahead?*

ANNEX A: U.S. SECURITY SECTOR ASSISTANCE NETWORK MAP
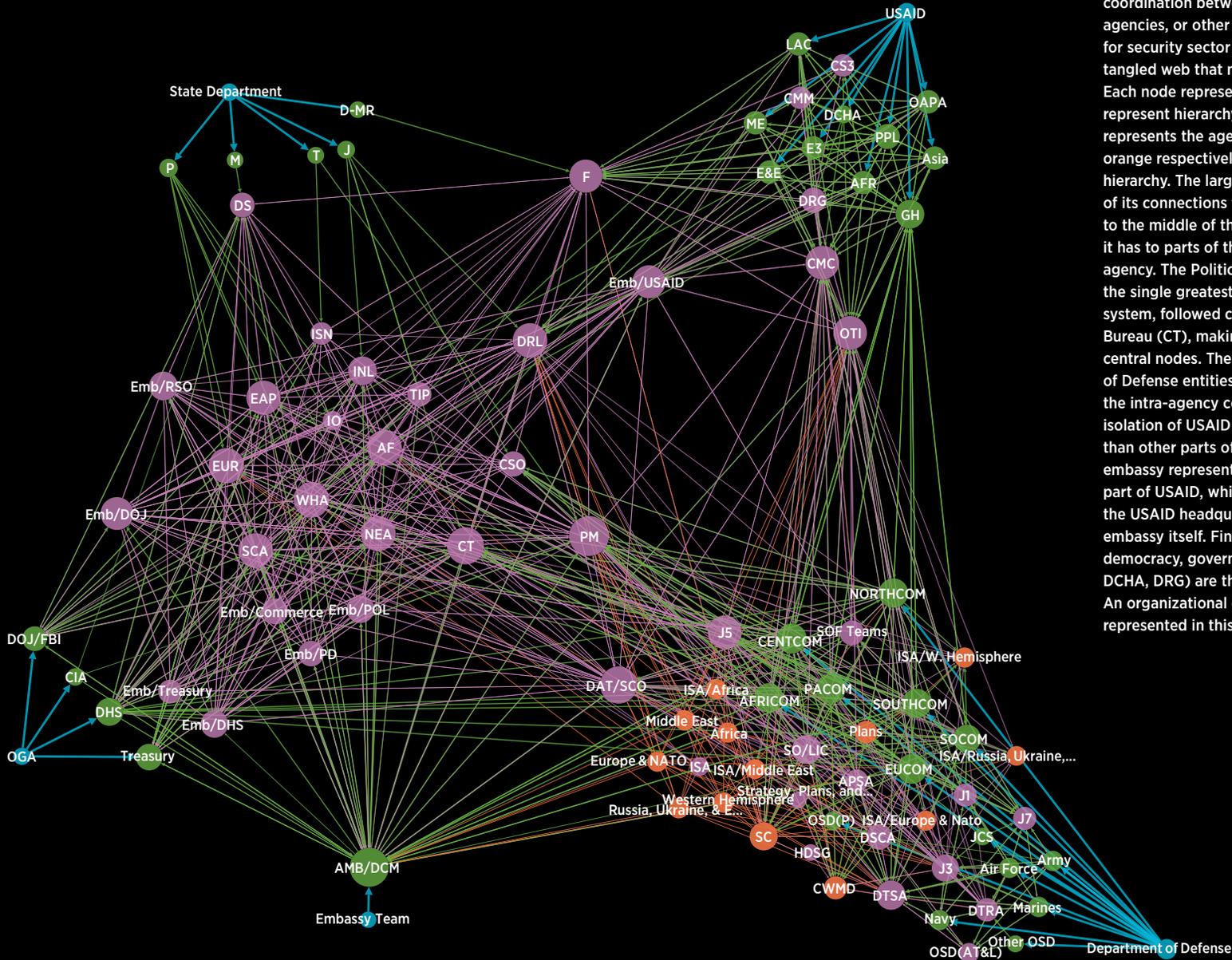
This image represents the lines of contact and coordination between the different offices, bureaus, agencies, or other entities with official responsibility for security sector assistance. It visualizes the tangled web that makes up the U.S. SSA system. Each node represents a distinct entity. The colors represent hierarchy within each institution. Blue represents the agency level and green, purple, and orange respectively represent a further step down in hierarchy. The larger a node, the greater the number of its connections to other entities. The closer it is to the middle of the diagram, the more connections it has to parts of the SSA system outside of its own agency. The Political-Military Affairs Bureau (PM) is the single greatest point of contact within the SSA system, followed closely by the Counterterrorism Bureau (CT), making them the largest and most central nodes. The dense clustering of Department of Defense entities speaks to the complexity of the intra-agency connections at the Pentagon. The isolation of USAID offices suggests it is less integrated than other parts of the SSA system. The USAID embassy representation, is the most interconnected part of USAID, which is why it floats up toward the USAID headquarter offices and away from the embassy itself. Finally, the offices responsible for democracy, governance and human rights (DRL, DCHA, DRG) are the least connected of the enterprise. An organizational chart including the offices represented in this map can be found in Annex B.

Legend:
- Agency
- Sub-Agency Level 1
- Sub-Agency Level 2
- Sub-Agency Level 3

ANNEX B: ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

This is an organizational chart of the U.S. security sector assistance system. Agencies are listed at the left-hand side of the page, with hierarchical bureaus and offices listed to the right. Each one of these offices is represented in the U.S. Security Sector Assistance Network Map (see Annex A).

STATE

D-MR	P		T	J	M
F	AF	EAP	EUR	NEA	SCA	WHA	IO		PM	ISN	CT	INL	DRL	TIP	CSO	DS

DOD

OSD(P)	ISA	APSA	SO/LIC	STRATEGY, PLANS & CAPABILITIES	DSCA	DTSA	OTHER OSD
	Africa	Europe & NATO	Middle East	Russia, Ukraine, Eurasia	W. Hemisphere			SC	Plans			DTRA	AT&L IAC

JCS	CCMDs & Components	AFRICOM	EUCOM	PACOM	SOCOM	SERVICES	AIR FORCE	MARINES
J5	J7	J1		CENTCOM	NORTHCOM	SOUTHCOM			ARMY	NAVY

NSC

USAID

DCHA	E3	GH	PPL	AFR	ASIA	E&E	LAC	ME	OAPA
CMC	CMM	DRG	OTI									

OGA

DHS	DOJ	TREASURY
CBP	Coast Guard	ICE	Secret Service	FBI	ATF	BOP	DEA	

EMBASSY

AMB/DCM	OGA	DOJ Embassy Representation	TREASURY Embassy Representation	DHS Embassy Representation	DAT	SOF TEAMS
RSO	POL	USAID	PD	Commercial					SCO	

STATE DEPARTMENT
AF: Bureau of African Affairs
CSO: Bureau of Conflict Stabilization Operations
CT: Bureau of Counterterrorism
D-MR: Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources
DRL: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor
DS: Bureau of Diplomatic Security
EAP: Bureau of East Asian and Pacific
EUR: Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs
F: Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance Resources
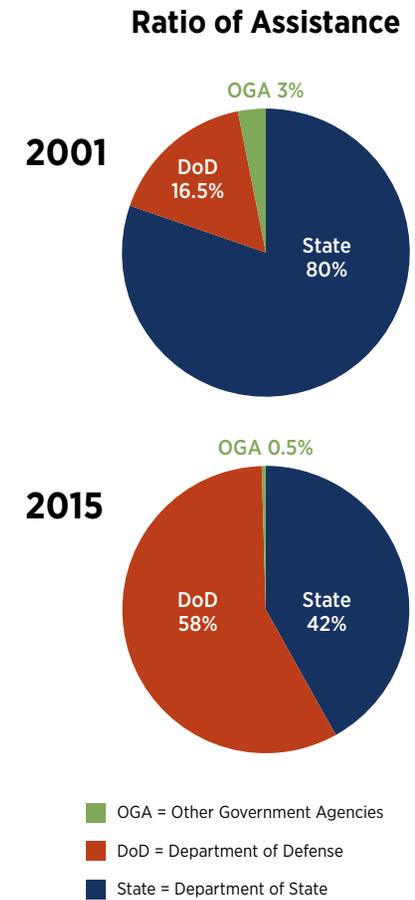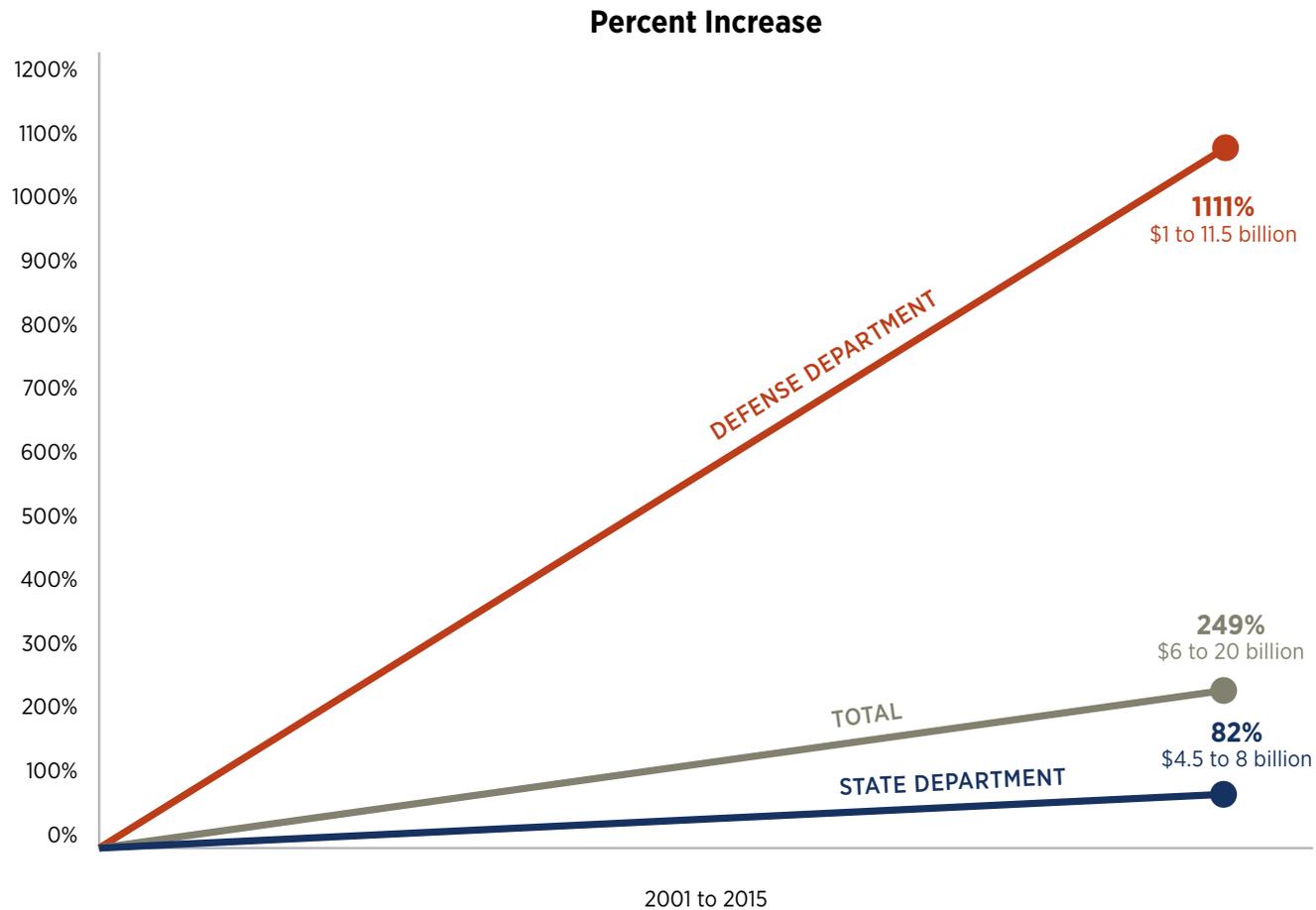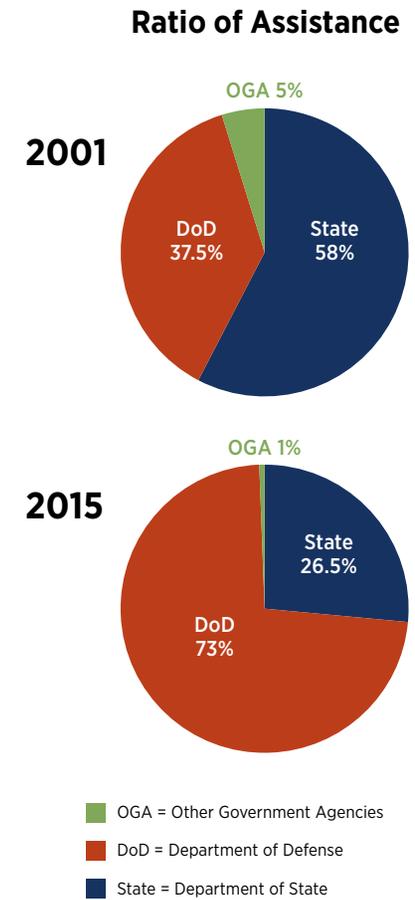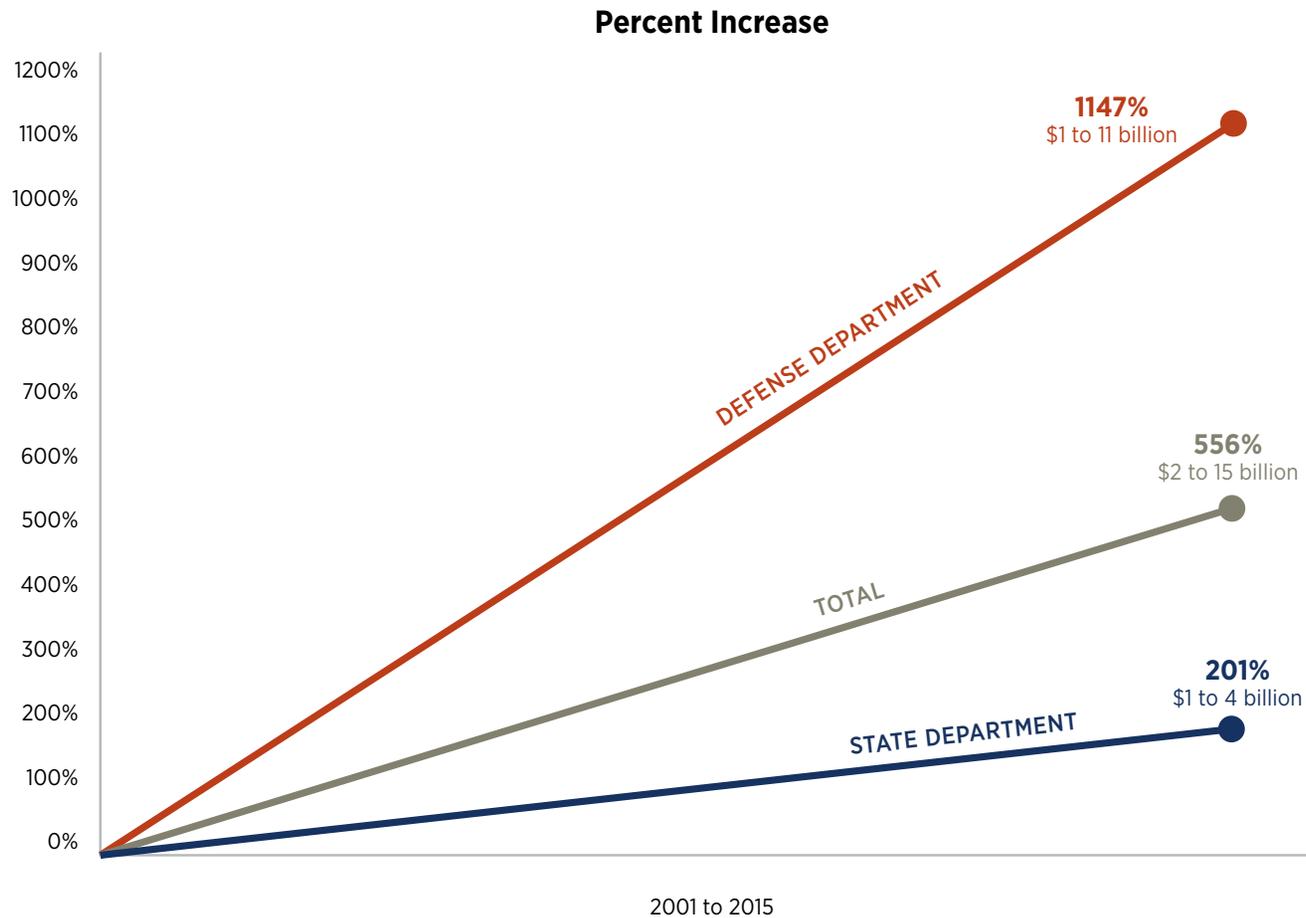**INL:** Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs
IO: Bureau of International Organization Affairs
ISN: Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation
J: Undersecretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights
M: Undersecretary for Management
NEA: Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
P: Undersecretary for Political Affairs
PM: Bureau of Political-Military Affairs
SCA: Bureau South and Central Asian Affairs
T: Undersecretary for Arms Control and International Security
TIP: Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons
WHA: Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
AFRICOM: Africa Command
APSA: Asian and Pacific Security Affairs
AT&L: Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics
CCMDs: Combatant Commands
CENTCOM: Central Command
DSCA: Defense Security Cooperation Agency
DTRA: Defense Threat Reduction Agency
DTSA: Defense Technology Security Administration
EUCOM: Europe Command
IAC: Information Analysis Center
ISA: International Security Affairs
JCS: Joint Chiefs of Staff
NORTHCOM: Northern Command
OSD: Office of the Secretary of Defense
OSD-P: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

PACOM: Pacific Command
SC: Security Cooperation Office
SO/LIC: Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict
SOCOM: Special Operations Command
SOUTHCOM: Southern Command
USAID
AFR: Bureau for Africa
ASIA: Bureau for Asia
CMC: Office of Civilian-Military Cooperation
CMM: Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation
DCHA: Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance
DRG: Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance
E&E: Bureau for Europe and Eurasia
E3: Bureau for Economic Growth, Education and Environment
GH: Bureau for Global Health
LAC: Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean
ME: Bureau for the Middle East
OAPA: Office of Afghanistan and Pakistan Affairs
OTI: Office of Transition Initiatives
PPL: Bureau for Policy, Planning and Learning

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES
ATF: Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives
CBP: Customs and Border Protection
DHS: Department of Homeland Security
DOJ: Department of Justice
FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation
ICE: U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement

EMBASSY
AMB/DCM: Ambassador and Deputy Chief of Mission
Commercial: Commercial attaché from the Commerce Department
DAT: Defense Attaché
PD: Public Diplomacy
POL: Political section
RSO: Regional Security Office
SCO: Security Cooperation Office
SOF Teams: Special Operations Forces Teams

Percent Increase

1200%
1100%
1000%
900%
800%
700%
600%
500%
400%
300%
200%
100%
0%

1111%
$1 to 11.5 billion

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

249%
$6 to 20 billion

TOTAL

82%
$4.5 to 8 billion

STATE DEPARTMENT

2001 to 2015

Ratio of Assistance

2001

OGA 3%
DoD 16.5%
State 80%

2015

OGA 0.5%
DoD 58%
State 42%

■ OGA = Other Government Agencies
■ DoD = Department of Defense
■ State = Department of State

This image demonstrates the rapid increase in SSA spending after 9/11 and the growing primacy of DoD in U.S. engagement with foreign security sectors. In 2001, total spending on SSA was between $5.5 and 6 billion. By 2015, that number had grown to just shy of $20 billion, an increase of 249 percent. However, most of that increased funding went to the Department of Defense: SSA funding directed by DoD went from just under $1 billion in 2001 to approximately $11.5 billion in 2015, an increase of 1,111 percent. During that same period, State Department SSA increased by 82 percent, from $4.5 billion to over $8 billion. Corresponding to these trends, the proportion of U.S. security assistance funding administered by State and DoD changed significantly as well. In 2001, over 80 percent of all SSA spending was directed by the State Department, while DoD directed close to 17 percent. By 2015, the numbers had almost reversed, with a majority of SSA funding—almost 60 percent—directed by the Pentagon and around 42 percent directed by the State Department. In other words, the pie grew, but DoD got significantly more of it.

*Figures rounded and sourced from the Security Assistance Monitor

Percent Increase

1147%
$1 to 11 billion

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

556%
$2 to 15 billion

TOTAL

201%
$1 to 4 billion

STATE DEPARTMENT

2001 to 2015

Ratio of Assistance

2001

OGA 5%

DoD 37.5%

State 58%

2015

OGA 1%

State 26.5%

DoD 73%

■ OGA = Other Government Agencies
■ DoD = Department of Defense
■ State = Department of State

*Figures rounded and sourced from the Security Assistance Monitor

Foreign Military Financing for Egypt and Israel are predictably significant portions of U.S. SSA each year. If one excludes these legacy programs from consideration, the SSA funding trends for the State Department and DoD are even more dramatic, with lower dollar but much greater percentage increases. When excluding Egypt and Israel, total SSA funding across the U.S. government went from around $2.3 billion in 2001 to just under $15 billion in 2015, a 556 percent increase. The DoD share increased by 1,174 percent, from just under $1 billion to almost $11 billion. By comparison, State Department SSA funding for the same period increased by more than 200 percent, from about $1.3 billion to approximately $4 billion. Likewise, the proportion of SSA funds directed by DoD went from close to 40 percent in 2001 to almost 73 percent in 2015, while the State Department's share declined from around 58 percent to about 26 percent.
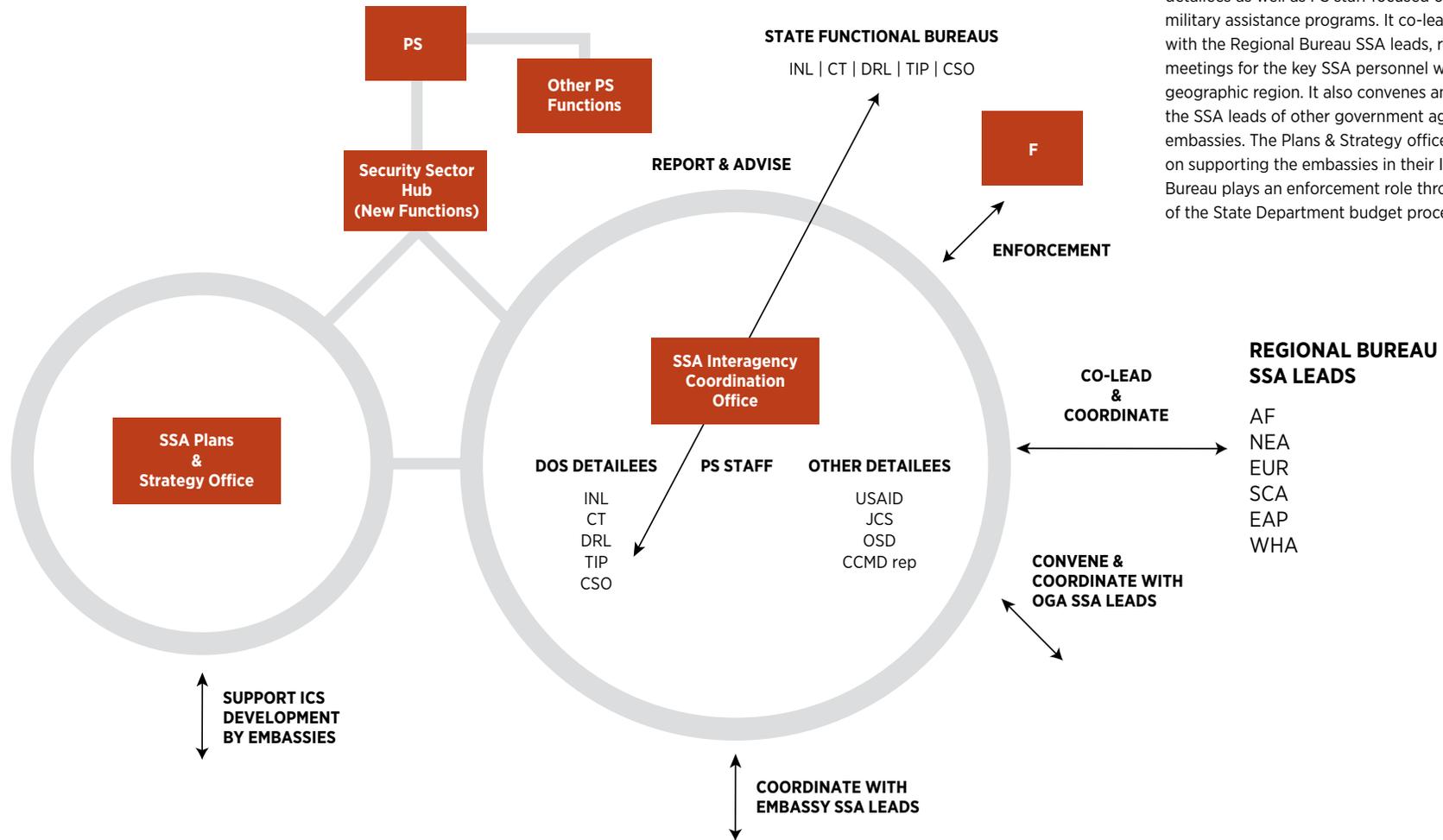
ANNEX E: SECURITY SECTOR FRAMEWORK WORKSHEET

This is a sample security sector policy framework worksheet. It includes recommended categories representing the range of reasons why the U.S. government provides SSA. This single sheet of paper would be used by senior leadership to fill in country names below category titles, with one sheet for each region.

Access & Transaction	Balance of Power	Coalition Support

Independent Military Capability	Internal Stability & Rule of Law Deficits	Functional Capabilities

This image visualizes the proposed Political-Security Affairs Bureau's Security Sector Hub offices and their connections to the rest of the SSA system. In this graphic, the Coordination Office is composed of State and external detailees as well as PS staff focused on the bureau's own military assistance programs. It co-leads and coordinates with the Regional Bureau SSA leads, regular check in meetings for the key SSA personnel working on each geographic region. It also convenes and coordinates with the SSA leads of other government agencies and U.S. embassies. The Plans & Strategy office primarily focuses on supporting the embassies in their ICS processes. The F Bureau plays an enforcement role through its stewardship of the State Department budget process.

PS

Other PS Functions

Security Sector Hub (New Functions)

SSA Plans & Strategy Office

SSA Interagency Coordination Office

STATE FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS
INL | CT | DRL | TIP | CSO

F

REPORT & ADVISE

ENFORCEMENT

DOS DETAILEES
INL
CT
DRL
TIP
CSO

PS STAFF

OTHER DETAILEES
USAID
JCS
OSD
CCMD rep

CO-LEAD & COORDINATE

REGIONAL BUREAU SSA LEADS
AF
NEA
EUR
SCA
EAP
WHA

CONVENE & COORDINATE WITH OGA SSA LEADS

SUPPORT ICS DEVELOPMENT BY EMBASSIES

COORDINATE WITH EMBASSY SSA LEADS

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