

## **Right-Financing Defence Transformation in Southern Sudan**

As the Government of Southern Sudan looks to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), it should consider 'right-financing principles' before locking into an unsustainable security sector reform (SSR) agenda. One aspect of the CPA requires the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) to transition the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) from a guerilla militia into a professional army capable of delivering appropriate, accountable and affordable security both for a fledgling state and for its people. In order to do this, and given the likely revenue crunch that any incumbent administration will surely face, the GOSS must downsize the bloated SPLA whilst maintaining national, human and asset security. The 'Right-financing' framework provides both policy makers and national budget and expenditure experts with a practical framework for balancing fiscal constraints against existing security needs. There are four key policy areas in relation to right-financing, as follows:

- building fiscal dimensions to post conflict peace agreements, needs assessments, strategies and expenditure planning;
- Align short-run security policy priorities and spending decisions with long term national budgetary and political realities;
- Move to a service delivery model for the security sector; and
- Strengthen international capacities to support right-financing.

The first policy proposal for right-financing the security sector is to consider fiscal aspects of institutions during the early phase of establishing effective governance structures. While it would be ideal to consider troop levels as early as the peace agreement itself, unfortunately, newly established governments are often former combatants who are reluctant to reduce military spending as they perceive, correctly or incorrectly, that the security threat has yet to fully dissipate. However, if the parties negotiating the peace agreement have the foresight to predict future threat levels and estimate the acceptable level of troops required to combat specific threats, the newly installed government can perhaps create an affordable military whilst avoiding the fall-out from the hard political decision of reducing troop levels.

Secondly, the GOSS must look to balance short, medium and long-term security and development needs against budget constraints in order to ensure that higher level priorities are funded first. Immediately following cessation of conflict, international donors often fund substantial portions of the recurrent wage bill of the military and police in order to ensure that the provision of internal and external security are met, however they rarely consider an exit strategy for bringing these expenditures on-budget. As the budget acts as the core instrument of Government policy, the GOSS will need to fully cost, prioritize and sequence its security

'system', including structures funded via external partners and parallel, as part of the proportional right-financing process.

A third policy consideration would be to move towards a service delivery model which provides service delivery benchmarks to assist the government evaluate progress towards security reform program outcomes. These would be set against a provisional medium term fiscal framework and would reflect the security priorities of post conflict Southern Sudan (i.e. national defence white paper process, proportional right-sizing, demobilization, perhaps even revenue generation). In collaboration with key stakeholders, GOSS would need to establish performance based indicators measuring outcomes, to underpin any security sector reform programme. These benchmarks of success must also be fully costed and finances, inline with the provisional macro-fiscal framework.. Given the structure of the economy, oil revenues are likely to be a major driver of fiscal sustainability and service delivery in the long term.

Finally, in order for GOSS to effectively implement SSR using a right-financing approach, international community support for the SSR process must be cohesive and the provision of technical assistance must remain a high priority to allow the (re)structuring of army and police forces based on solid principles of public administration reform and public finance management. Government and international cooperation partners need to act in a coordinated and coherent manner to avoid mal-aligned SSR strategies that come with a massive price tag due to unnecessarily burdensome structures. Coordination around a single costed security sector strategy is key in this regard. Moreover, any technical assistance to be provided in developing and SSR – Implementation Framework must not only have direct experience with security strategy development and force restructuring, but also public administration and civil service reform capacities to support both military and civilian structures, public finance management expertise, SSR coordination and process management capacities and training and institutional development skills.

In summary, adopting a right-financing approach to security sector reform will put the government of Southern Sudan on a path of fiscal sustainability whilst creating a professional army under civil control capable of providing national, human and asset security. The risks of not establishing any SSR framework upon such a solid foundation will only mortgage the future for any emergent state and its impoverished citizens.

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