KOSOVO'S STRATEGIC SECURITY SECTOR REVIEW
A MISSED OPPORTUNITY?
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I. Executive Summary

The Republic of Kosovo, as a young state, has the need for a well defined security policy on the way forward, to be able to develop properly and to play a constructive part in a complex security world;

The Strategic Security Sector Review process, which ended in 2014, a process locally initiated and owned, but with the support of the international expertise and guidance, was a top-notch product that fulfilled the need perfectly;

So far, none of the recommendations that resulted from the SSSR process have been implemented;

A well coordinated implementation effort by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, with the support from key international players, should not be hard to establish and would enable easier progress and bolster Kosovo's position as a forward-looking partner in the regional and Euro-Atlantic security architecture.
II. Introduction

It has been two years since the end of the Strategic Security Sector Review (SSSR), the only completely locally led, whole of the government, rigorous, transparent approach to analyzing future requirements of its security sector as to appropriately rationalize scarce resources across the security sector. In these two years, the Government of the Republic of Kosovo (RKS) has not taken any action to implement the recommendations of such a vital process to the national interest of RKS.

Since the declaration of independence on the 17th February 2008, the Republic of Kosovo has become a state actor with responsibilities for both national and regional security. The Republic of Kosovo is responsible for ensuring the safety and security of its citizens and for protecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Therefore, the Republic of Kosovo should take more serious steps to exercise its sovereignty in an accountable manner based on the basic values of freedom, peace, democracy, equality, respect for human rights and freedoms and the rule of law. The Republic of Kosovo should be more aware of its responsibilities in the area of security and that the fulfillment of such responsibilities requires a broad, strategic, and whole of government approach. Beyond the internal, local level, this also entails the Government of the Republic of Kosovo considering its responsibilities at the regional and global level.

The necessity to address the security needs of the citizens of the Republic of Kosovo and the institutional needs for Strategic Policy Guidance in responding to the country’s security needs effectively and efficiently, caused the Republic of Kosovo’s decision (March 2012) to conduct a Strategic Security Sector Review (heron after referred to as SSSR). In conducting the SSSR, the Government of the Republic of Kosovo took a whole of the government, rigorous, transparent approach to analyzing future requirements of its security sector as to effectively/appropriately rationalize scarce resources
across the security sector. The results of this rigorous process were clear and concise recommendations, with specific timelines, for the government as a whole and then specifically for each RKS institution which was part of the process. It has been two years since the publication of the SSSR Final Report in 2014, and no actions have been taken to implement the recommendations. As a result, the institutions of the Republic of Kosovo go about their way of working, facing the same challenges that have already been addressed in the SSSR and could be prevented by simply implementing its recommendations. A lack of vertical and horizontal communication continues to be visible and so does the lack of use of a holistic approach in addressing important issues, the lack of long term planning and strategic foresight, the overlap of roles and missions, the lack of capabilities across institutions to conduct their roles and missions, the lack of compatibility between capabilities of institutions who are foreseen to work together, the lack of coordination, etc. The Republic of Kosovo continues to suffer in every aspect, making itself more prone to new threats and risks, while the SSSR implementation is at a complete standstill.

So far, the EU integration process has provided a framework for a way forward in developing the Republic of Kosovo, in addition to strategic partnerships like the one with the United States. Nonetheless, the many examples of post war countries and their security, stability, transition, and reconstruction phases around the world show that a success story can only be achieved when there is self sustainability, local ownership and a sense of citizenry amongst the citizens of that country. The SSSR, by far, has been the only process of this magnitude, initiated by local institutions unilaterally, having identified the need for such a process, creating a process and procedures completely within the local context, and using local resources to identify challenges, analyze them and come up with solutions that work in this environment. Not implementing the SSSR has already started having ramifications for RKS, starting with its economic development, the risk of violent extremism, and a severely challenged justice system, among other things.
The local and global security circumstances, under which the Republic of Kosovo, as a new country, began its existence, could be considered as dynamic, multi-dimensional and unpredictable. New actors, threats and risks of social, economic, political and military nature are but a few characteristics of this new world order which has replaced the once bipolar world. An unprecedented potential, positive yet dangerous, has resulted from the widened communication capacities and open borders, an easier movement of people, capital, goods and services, all resulting from an increasingly globalized world. The new world order and globalization have created risks that can be a threat to the political stability and security of nations. The war against terrorism and the emergence of violent extremism in countries previously deemed moderate is proving that threats to the national security of a state do not come only from other nations, but non-state actors as well. An effective defense from such threats and risks demands an approach that is significantly different from previous conventional methods.

Lack of economic security only further contributes to political and religious extremism. The high levels of unemployment, extreme poverty, low levels of education and social instability greatly contribute to the vulnerability of the people and only strengthen the sway of political and religious extremist groups. Ensuring favorable conditions for economic security (economic development, favorable conditions for investment, employment, comparative advantage to other state markets) is as important as adequately functioning security institutions, especially in a world going through economic crisis, and facing converging threats.

Global warming and the effects of the temperature rises, including natural disasters with massive human and infrastructural ramifications, combined with the fast spread of contagious diseases bring up a whole new level of risks. This, therefore, requires nations to develop and adopt ground-breaking methods to ensure the well being of their citizens as well as the political stability of a country.
The security situation and the causes of possible threats are multi-dimensional. This means that they are beyond the classical understanding of security and are ever changing. This should therefore inspire the institutions of the Republic of Kosovo to use a flexible approach when laying the foundations for defending RKS at all levels in a realistic, affordable and holistic manner, considering the constant changes in the security environment.

It is clear that in a globalized world, developments from another part of the region or world could affect the security of the Republic of Kosovo. Therefore, the security of RKS is closely connected to the security of the region and wider Europe. A peaceful and stable Europe is dependent upon cooperation between states. On a regional level, security sector cooperation is necessary to combat common threats, but beyond that, to overcome the past and to minimize internal and external tensions and threats. So, the Republic of Kosovo can only be secure in a secure region and a secure Europe. It is in light of the above mentioned security environment, and the strategic goals of the country that RKS wants to be a part of regional and global security structures such as NATO, UN and the EU.

The above mentioned factors were the bases on which the Strategic Security Sector Review initiative was built, making the SSSR a process that considers the wider aspects of security, including human security (unemployment, education, health, justice and rule of law, among others). The future of the KSF was considered as part of the process, in light of its previous mandate and capability restrictions, reviewing its structure, mission and duties, and future size and structure. Detailed plans for the KSF development for the next five years from the publication of the SSSR were laid out. All in all, the SSSR considered, in its analyses, security and justice, the vital aspects of the economy, health and education, and though there are no clear solutions to these wider challenges, they were extensively considered before the publication of the Final Report.
The purpose of the SSSR process was to conduct a whole of the government thorough research/fact based analysis of all the aspects of security in RKS, in the traditional sense and broader human security sense, in order to identify real security needs of the country and its citizens. The SSSR process intended to revise the Republic of Kosovo (RKS) security sector in a way consistent with its legitimate security needs as to make the most effective use of its resources in the process, coordinate roles and missions and be able to give clear strategic level policy guidance to all security institutions, for way ahead. Furthermore, this process aimed at clearly defining roles of each institution in the security sector, in order to avoid duplication and maximize the institutional capabilities – human and financial, in meeting the security needs in an effective and efficient way. The process involved the whole government in assessing the security needs of the country and its citizens, and adequately responded through concrete recommendations for each institution involved.

The SSSR started with the March, 2012 decision by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, launching, for the first time, a process of this magnitude (with more institutions involved than in what is the norm for security and defense reviews in the region and beyond), at the initiative and with the independent efforts of the institutions of the Republic of Kosovo.

Based on the Prime Minister’s Decision to conduct SSSR, the Terms of Reference for the SSSR were created, and later approved by the SSSR Steering Committee. The SSSR Terms of Reference became the basis for the creation of a specific decision-making body such as the Steering Committee, the Inter-ministerial Coordination Group and the Coordinator, the Intra-ministerial Working Groups; the Secretariat and the Spokesperson, vertical and horizontal communication lines as well as the specific phases that the SSSR process would require and the particular tasks for each participating institution.

The Decision making body, called Steering Committee for SSSR,
consisted of a number of ministers, with more integral roles in the review, representatives of the Office of the President of the Republic of Kosovo, representatives from the Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, representatives from the Parliamentary Commission for Oversight of Internal Affairs, Security and KSF, as well as international partners (in an observer role).

Beside the Steering Committee, who was the decision making body, the SSSR process had a Coordinator, who coordinated the work produced in the process by the Inter-Ministerial Coordination Group (IMCG), an inter-ministerial working group comprised of representatives from all involved ministries. These representatives also managed their own SSSR working level groups within their own individual ministries, to deliver relevant information in the process.

**Methodology**

Considering the Republic of Kosovo, as an independent state, was conducting a whole security sector review for the first time and on its own, it inquired specific subject matter expertise from research and political scientists who had already aided other countries in the specifics/methods of conducting such a process in a thorough, concise and valid way. Therefore, in the SSSR process, the Republic of Kosovo was aided by the Defense Institute Reform Initiative (DIRI) team, a team of security experts who gave RKS institutions advice strictly confined to the methods of how to adequately conduct such a complex process. The DIRI support was channeled in a very productive way, by creating an Executive Plan which laid out their support in helping the RKS institutions be able to meet their goals of producing the required results for each phase of SSSR.

The Government of the Republic of Kosovo created the structures
that were going to carry the weight of conducting the SSSR, starting from the decision making body all the way down to the working group levels, and got these structures appropriately staffed and approved. It created management and oversight tools that would help manage the whole process, from giving out tasks, to monitoring to evaluation of progress. It held regular meetings at the different levels, in order to keep the set pace of the process and make sure the phases are completed in set deadlines. And finally, it tasked, monitored, advised, and produced documents relevant to the particular stages of SSSR, and jointly reached consensus on them, after which it got them approved at the SC.

The results of this thorough, methodical, analytical look at the security provided a precise depiction of the shortcomings of the security sector as it was (2014) and gave way to a clear sight of the “the room for improvement”.

**Phases**

Per the approval of the Steering Committee, the SSSR process had very specific phases which it had to undergo before its final recommendations. The ten phases intended to get the SSSR process to be as thorough, detailed and credible in its outcomes as possible. Each phase had a specific expected initial outcome, which after production by the IMCG, went to the SC for approval.

*Strategic Security Environment and Threats & Risks Assessment.* In analyzing the security environment, it was asserted that the Republic of Kosovo like other countries from the region and beyond, was facing different threats and risks which may affect its security. Consequently, in looking at the security environment, a risks and threats assessment was developed, upon which a detailed threats and risks plot and probability chart was constructed, as a way to
prioritize the most likely situations in the security environment.

The purpose of the Threats and Risks Assessment was to use these prioritized cases to develop scenarios, as hypothetical planning tools, to evaluate the necessary capabilities of the institutions and to evaluate the ability that the security structures had, to face a range of possibilities. The threats and risks were divided into internal and external, malign and accidental and in between these categories, then analyzed for their probability.

**National Security Interests and Objectives.** Naturally, national interests and objectives of the Republic of Kosovo were developed in parallel with the upper mentioned process, as to address in the most realistic way the situation locally, but also having in mind the vision of the Republic of Kosovo, for its role in the region, and globally.

**Defense and Security Policies and the Security Sector Architecture.** Defense and Security Policies of the Republic of Kosovo were also developed in parallel, as the Republic of Kosovo aimed to lay out clear goals. These crucial strategic documents, the national interests and objectives and the security and defense policies, developed thoroughly and jointly with all institutions involved in SSSR, then became the guidelines for the process as a whole, but also the bases for the new national security strategy and national response plan. In parallel but also as a result of the previous stages, the security sector architecture of RKS was created, as an important element in the way forward.

**Roles and Missions.** The twelve scenarios developed by the IMCG gave way for a thorough analytical look at the roles and missions and capabilities of all institutions. This in return made it possible to
go through the scenarios and see what roles and missions (and capabilities) each institution should have in order to respond adequately in each scenario.

**Capability Analysis.** Furthermore, the scenarios were extremely useful tools to conduct capability analysis where required capabilities were identified as well (which then could be used for the KSF force development among others), identifying key tasks for security sector institutions in the future.

Capability analysis proved to be a very important part of the SSSR, since it allowed identifying a gap between then current and future capabilities which had to be established. At the same time, to be able to prepare adequately for making decisions on if, what and when new capabilities had to be adopted, a parallel cost analysis was done, where the input of the Ministry of Finance, and the Prime Minister’s Office and its guidelines were crucial.

**Cost Analysis.** This process prioritized and planned, to get to the best possible options developed for final recommendations. This second half of the process involved bringing together all the information/data and products produced, in creating a prioritized list of capability gaps, assessing options and cost for high-priority gaps and developing a final list of prioritized gaps with accompanying options and cost estimates.

**Final Report and Publication.** Drafting the final report, lucidly stating recommendations drawn from the whole process and then the approval of the SSSR Recommendations, in parallel with developing a public affairs guideline for the Government of the Republic of Kosovo entailed the very last stages of the process.
The results, despite the process and procedural challenges and the capacities of institutions involved, ultimately reflected the thoroughness and the whole of government approach on the way forward for the security sector of the Republic of Kosovo. Most importantly, it addressed the vision of the government and matched it with the most viable options, cost wise. The outcome of the SSSR, reflected the validity of the process and at the same time produced options that, if implemented, would have enabled the Republic of Kosovo to have a more efficient and effective security sector, but not only that.
Almost two years after the publication of the Analysis of the Strategic Security Sector Review of the Republic of Kosovo, by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, there has been no movement at all to implement the recommendations of this process of national importance. Despite the RKS institutions’ human capital and time invested, strategic partners’ financial and human expertise commitments, the significance of the process, the importance of its recommendations’ implementation to national security, the RKS Government has done nothing to start a phase two for this process, implementation.

Without delving into great detail of the institutional specific recommendations, the general recommendations provide a fact based argument that the RKS institutions are way behind in implementing the SSSR Recommendations. To better and in a self explanatory way understand the importance and possible ramifications, it is important to look into each general recommendation.

The first general recommendation is “Constitutional and legislative revision: The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo and respective legislation should be revised accordingly to reflect on recommendations of the Security Sector Strategic Review.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) This recommendation has not been implemented yet.

The second recommendation is “National Security Strategy: To facilitate the implementation of the recommendations included in this SSSR, the Kosovo Security Council shall, in coordination with the President of the Republic of Kosovo, direct a review of the existing National Security Strategy and develop a new National Security Strategy for approval by the Government and submitted to the Assembly for final approval. This review and presentation of a new National Security Strategy for approval shall occur NLT end of
September 2014.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) This recommendation has not been implemented and its deadline has been surpassed by almost two years.

The third recommendation “National Response Plan: Ministry of Internal Affairs shall lead an inter-agency effort to review, revise, and publish a new National Response Plan. Taking into consideration the recommendations included in the SSSR, this review shall examine, but not be limited to, the following areas as part of a government wide effort to improve Kosovo response capabilities: equipment standardization across ministries; operation centers (e.g. are there too few too many, should the mix be altered, exercises (e.g., how many, types—joint, field versus table top--., schedule, etc.); and command and control relationships. The review and publication of a new National Response Plan shall occur NLT 2015.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) This recommendation is also a year late in delivering.

The fourth recommendation “National Defense Strategy: The Ministry of Defense shall write a National Defense Strategy document and present it to the Kosovo Security Council for review prior to approval by the Kosovo Government. The document will describe how the Ministry of Defense and the Kosovo Armed Forces will support the implementation of national interests and objectives as established in the National Security Strategy. The National Defense Strategy will describe the future security environment as it affects the planning of the Ministry of Defense and the Kosovo Armed Forces. It will describe Armed Forces structure, modernization plans, infrastructure requirements, projected budget requirements and other elements that are relevant for understanding and supporting the establishment of a long-term defense program. In addition, the organizational structure of the Ministry how it operates to implement the Minister’s oversight, management, administration, and policy guidance for the future military force shall be articulated. The National Defense
Strategy shall be produced NLT end of December 2014.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) This is yet another recommendation that is a year and half behind its implementation deadline.

The fifth recommendation and though not in chronological order, the key recommendation to making all other recommendations possible is “SSSR Implementation Plan: The Office of the Prime Minister shall be responsible for managing, coordinating, and monitoring the development of a master inter-ministerial SSSR Implementation Plan based on the individual ministry implementation plans. The master Implementation Plan will at a minimum identify each directed action/recommendation that has been identified in the SSSR; which Ministry and which office in that Ministry has primary responsibility for each directed action/recommendation; what other departments and agencies, if any, must play a role in the implementation; when the action will be completed. The Office of the Prime Minister shall establish an inter-agency working group structure with appropriate sub-committees to assist in the management of the SSSR Implementation Plan. Inter-agency working group in close cooperation with OPM coordinates the development of individual ministry action plans to implement recommendations of the SSSR. The SSSR Implementation Plan shall be developed and published NLT 2nd Quarter 2014 and revised as required.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) Without an implementation plan, there can be no implementation. Considering the implementation plan and the authority to oversee implementation were designated within the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), it suffices to say that without this recommendation being implemented, nothing else can happen, as planned. The OPM so far has taken no action in this aspect, and therefore, this recommendation is two years behind the deadline set, and approved then by the OPM, endorsed as a strategic document of the OPM.
The sixth recommendation is “Assembly Committees: Office of the Prime Minister shall work with the Assembly to revise the current oversight responsibilities of the Committee on Internal Affairs, Security and Supervision of the Kosovo Security Force and create two new oversight committees: one that focuses on Ministry of Internal Affairs and the other on the new Ministry of Defense. The Office of the Prime Minister will initiate this recommendation NLT 4th Quarter 2014.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) This is another recommendation a year and a half behind its deadline.

The seventh recommendation “NATO Working Group: The Office of the Prime Minister shall establish an inter-ministerial working group for the primary purpose of developing recommendations, ideas, and actions that the Government of Kosovo can initiate to improve its relationship with NATO to put Kosovo on the path towards participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace program with the ultimate goal of NATO membership. This working group shall be led by the Minister of Defense with senior representatives from each ministry that participated in the SSSR. The working group may form sub-working groups as required. The NATO working group shall be established NLT 3rd Quarter 2014.” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) This crucial recommendation, for aiding RKS in its aspirations to get closer to NATO and establish a formal relationship, is a year and a half behind its deadline.

Finally, RKS keeps spending its own funding and foreign support in expensive education of its youth abroad, some of which chose to never come back. It has been a public concern, the loss of human capital/brain drain, and the deficit of human capital in certain areas. Nonetheless the SSSR recommendation “Program on National Security and Defense: Based on the recommendation of the Ministry for Kosovo Security Force and the endorsement by the Ministry of Education Science and Technology in this SSSR, Prishtina University will establish a defense and security curriculum to
educate and train university students in order to assist in developing future leaders for both the Ministry of Defense and the Kosovo Armed Forces. The curriculum shall be developed and ready for implementation NLT 2016” (Government: Republic of Kosovo, 2014) is yet to be implemented, with no actual steps having been taken.
As intended, the SSSR process was a serious, methodical, analytical process, which was conducted quite successfully, through a whole of the government approach, in order to develop a response to security needs in line with financial abilities. The final recommendations of the SSSR process reflect its thoroughness and accuracy in identifying the needs of the RKS security sector and its citizens and potential solutions, upon which the future for the security sector should be built. Based on the recommendations of the SSSR, published almost two years ago, the implementation should have started right away, as foreseen by set deadlines in the general and specific recommendations. This means, parts of implementation should have been underway already, and the security sector should have been on its way to improvement by now. This has not happened. In the meanwhile, RKS keeps facing the same national and human security challenges, except from a more vulnerable position, having not made improvements in addressing those challenges at any point during these last two years. A timely manner of starting to implement the SSSR recommendations could have had RKS already on its way to a success story, in all aspects. As to why this has not happened, considering its significance, there have been many speculations, but in reality, this is yet to be understood. The SSSR process was a process that could lead RKS towards international requirements for new capabilities, especially in regards to the Kosovo Security Forces (KSF). This would in return contribute to the building of future Defense Institutions with needed capabilities but also institutions which would contribute to regional stability and a future force which could be a leader through niche capabilities and a valid contributor to International peace keeping missions. Beyond the KSF, the recommendations of the SSSR, if implemented by the government, would have significantly improved other institutions in the RKS as well, contributing to stronger and more efficient and effective institutions. Though the visible results are subject to debate, it is safe to contend that the improvements, if not in the short term, in the midterm would have been visible even to the ordinary citizen.
The recommendations of this review, if implemented adequately, would address the wide gamut of national and human security challenges mentioned in the background section of this paper, therefore the threats and risks foreseen, violent extremism being one of the more recent concerns. This would allow RKS to have room for peace, stability and economic development, which would then contribute to improving RKS’ role in the Region but also its ability to faster and better integrate into the Euro Atlantic structures it aspires, such as the EU and NATO. A successful implementation would contribute to the human security of every individual living in the RKS, allowing them to see improvement in their economic security, health security, food security, political security, economic security, and therefore ending the social exhaustion in the country, restoring hope and the ability to see their future here in Kosovo, not abroad.
VII. Recommendations

The Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) should establish an SSSR Implementation Team, which would be in charge of carrying out the SSSR Implementation from the OPM as recommended under the fifth SSSR Recommendation.

The Office of the Prime Minister / SSSR Implementation Team should then establish the implementation vertical and horizontal structures (inter-agency working group structure with appropriate sub-committees to assist in the management of the SSSR Implementation Plan).

This OPM SSSR Implementation Team should review/update the SSSR Report and Recommendations with all the institutions involved (through their involved representatives) to take note of all the processes that have been ongoing since the end of SSSR, within line institutions and at the central level, even if not directly linked to SSSR, in order to enable a well coordinated approach during implementation.

The OPM SSSR Implementation Team should draft the master SSSR Implementation Plan, based on individual ministry action plans to implement recommendations of the SSSR.

The OPM SSSR Implementation Team should monitor implementation and report on regular bases to the OPM/Prime Minister on progress.

The OPM should use its government meetings to get regular report on progress directly from the Cabinet Ministers, as a way to increase accountability.
VIII. Bibliography
