

However, most NGOs have seen their mission as promoting development that targets grassroots or people-centred initiatives. Thus, in development, NGOs will largely be found initiating or participating in projects for social well-being (education, health, entrepreneurial development, etc.). In these areas NGO's are perceived as an alternative to the state in the implementation process. The NGOs' comparative advantage,¹⁵ due to their flexibility, lower implementation costs, and motivation based on shared values and their ability to reach "the people," makes them a suitable vehicle for development operations.

In contrast, on national security issues, the state has always assumed sole responsibility. In effect, there is no alternative paradigm for national security responsibility. While NGOs may question how national security and threats to security are defined,¹⁶ governments in the Horn, as elsewhere in Africa, tend to treat national security as synonymous with security of the power elites. Any threat to the political powers is thus construed as a threat to national security. Thus security forces are sent to quell any expression of opposition to the power elites in the name of maintaining national security. In nearly all the countries of the Horn, the military is systematically co-opted or called upon to protect the regime against any discontented element. NGOs are thus reluctant to address security issues and may be cautious in urging the linking of development assistance to military expenditure, however, with the opening up of political processes, NGOs have become bolder and are now able to venture into areas that previously appeared to be for "authorized personnel" only.

In reality there has always been a concern for trade-offs between defence and development. Yet for many of the Horn countries, security data are never fully identifiable in national statistics, have many gaps, and are thus grossly inadequate for useful analyses. Most

¹⁵See the discussion on NGO comparative advantage in the article by Martina Vahehans, "The New Popularity of NGOs in Development and Cooperation," [journal?] 3 (1994): 20-22.

¹⁶See Peter Nyot Kok's discussion on conflicting concepts of national security in "The Ties That Not Bind: Conflict and Racial Cleavage in the Sudan," in P. Anyang Nyong'o, ed., *Arms and Daggers in the Horn of Africa: Studies on Internal Conflicts* (Nairobi: African Academy of Sciences, 1993), pp. 33-65.