

Preface

The NATO Istanbul Summit brought with it a reaffirmation of the EAPC's Member States' conviction of the importance of effective and efficient state defence institutions under civilian and democratic oversight and guidance for regional stability and international co-operation in the domains of defence and security. A Partnership Action Plan (PAP) on Defence Institution Building (DIB) was introduced which aims at the re-enforcement of Partners' efforts to initiate and carry forward reform and restructuring of defence institutions in the light of their commitments undertaken in the context of such documents as the Partnership for Peace Framework Document and the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security (*see* <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b040607e.htm>). Given NATO's special focus on the Caucasus and Central Asia as well as Moldova – and, as Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy Günther Altenburg put it at the 2005 PfP Symposium at Oberammergau 'to pay due attention' to the interests of these states, these Partners are especially invited to consider co-operation on PAP-DIB related issues. In the implementation of PAP-DIB objectives, Allies and Partners vowed to explore opportunities to co-operate with international organizations and institutions which share a commitment to and expertise in (assistance to) transition to democracy and democratic institution building (*see* also <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/epub/ekoment/2004/07/040701.htm>).

PAP-DIB – as an integral part of the Partnership for Peace – is focused on the implementation of the following aspects of democratic institution building in the defence and security sphere

- the development of *effective and transparent democratic control* of defence activities (including appropriate legislation);
- the development of effective and transparent procedures to promote *civilian participation* in developing defence and security policy;
- the development of effective and transparent *legislative and judicial*

- oversight* of the defence sector;
- the development of effective and transparent arrangements and procedures to assess *security risks and national defence requirements*;
 - the development of effective and transparent measures to optimise the *management of defence* ministries and agencies and force structures, including inter-agency co-operation;
 - the development of effective and transparent arrangements and practices to ensure *compliance with internationally accepted norms and practices* established in the defence sector;
 - the development of *effective and transparent personnel structures and human resource management practices* in the defence forces;
 - the development of *effective and transparent financial, planning, and resource allocation procedures* in the defence area;
 - the development of *effective, transparent and economically viable management of defence spending*;
 - The development of effective and transparent arrangements to ensure effective *international co-operation* and good neighbourly relations in defence and security matters (*ibidem*).

The *Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces*, an International Foundation under Swiss law with 46 Member States (see annex) focused on the documentation and promotion of good practice in the sphere of Democratic Security Sector Governance is honoured to have been mandated by the Swiss government to co-operate with NATO International Staff, Member and Partner States and their pertinent institutions on the implementation of the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building. During the 5 years of its existence, the Centre has acquired, and in fact, documented its prowess in virtually all PAP-DIB relevant areas, and is now prepared to share its own and make the expertise of its partner institutions available to the PAP-DIB process. The Centre therefore much welcomes the Swiss mandate which enables it to co-operate with NATO IS.

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In preparing these texts for publication, Amélie Baudot and Stefan Imobersteg (both DCAF) have been extremely efficient.

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The Editors

Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building: Concept and Implementation¹

“We have launched today a Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building. We encourage Partners to make full use of this new instrument to build democratically responsible defence institutions.”

Istanbul Summit Communiqué, 28 June 2004

At their meeting in Istanbul, Allied Heads of State and Government launched the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB). EAPC Heads of State and Government also endorsed this initiative. PAP-DIB reflects Allies’ and Partners’ common views on modern and democratically responsible defence institutions. It provides an EAPC definition of defence reform and a framework for common reflection and exchange of experience on related problems. It is to help interested Partners to reform and restructure their defence institutions to meet their needs and international commitments.

PAP-DIB is not an alternative to existing bilateral programmes of co-operation on reform, like the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). On the contrary, it is designed to complement and support these programmes by facilitating EAPC-wide exchange of knowledge and by promoting multilateral co-operation on issues of common concern.

PAP-DIB concept paper defined common objectives for Partnership work in this area and recommended that Allies and Partners exchange relevant experience, foster resource efficiency, and tailor and focus their bilateral defence and security assistance programmes in a manner that helps meeting PAP-DIB objectives. It also recommended that Allies and Partners explore opportunities to co-operate with other international organisations and institutions which share commitment to democratic transformation and security co-operation in the Euro-Atlantic area, in particular the EU and OSCE.

¹ This paper was presented at the first day of the Training Course.

Although PAP-DIB is developed within the EAPC framework and is open to all Partners, in line with NATO's special focus on Caucasus and Central Asia, it may have particular relevance for Partners in those regions, as well as for Moldova.

What are the objectives?

Develop arrangements for democratic control of defence activities

Arrangements for the democratic control of defence activities have to be equally applied to the constitutional, legal, and administrative framework regarding the division of authority and inter-relationships between the executive, legislative and judicial powers in the state. This implies having clear-cut roles in defence and security policy making for President, Government, Parliament and the Judicial Power, as well as established mechanisms and procedures of interaction in decision-making, defined in the Constitution and detailed in the legal and administrative documents.

Effective and efficient government systems have in place checks and balances between the executive and legislative powers, particularly in formulating and implementing defence and foreign policy (mobilisation and war, measures to counter military aggression, participation in multinational exercises and operations, stationing and transiting the national territory by foreign troops, defence and security budget and legislation).

Promote civilian participation in developing defence and security policy

Civilian participation in developing defence and security policy requires:

1. transparency and involvement of civil society in defence and security policy making
2. civilians working in defence institutions, including in leading positions.
3. Transparency with regard to how defence resources are planned and managed by the defence institutions is crucial for building a trustworthy image of the defence forces in the public opinion.
To insure appropriate transparency in this area there is a need for strong interfaces between defence forces and civil society, i.e.

public information structures and mechanisms to provide free flow of information regarding military activities to the media.

There is also a need to educate civil society representatives (journalists, academic commentators, NGO's) in defence and security matters.

4. Good governance of security and defence requires civilian ministers and deputy ministers, as well as military and civilian experts working jointly in the MODs and other defence agencies.

Defence institutions should develop appropriate recruiting, training and retaining (career development, promotion and appropriate pay) policies and programmes for civilians working in the defence and security sector.

Effective legislative and judicial oversight of the defence sector

The Parliament exercises oversight of the defence sector by:

- Initiating, amending and passing laws that define and regulate the defence institutions and their powers.
- Adopting the corresponding budgetary appropriations.
- Approval/rejection of defence and security documents, as well as of peace missions and deployments abroad.
- Participating in decision making on defence procurement and personnel management.
- Holding accountable the executive by: questioning the members of the government, or establishing special commissions to investigate into complaints by the public.

A key issue for effective Parliamentary control of the defence sector is ensuring that Parliamentarians and their staffs do have appropriate defence related knowledge. Their training and education in defence matters should be a top priority.

The judiciary both monitors the defence sector and prosecutes the wrong-doings of servicemen through civil and criminal proceedings whenever necessary.

Judicial oversight means that:

- Constitutional Court evaluates the constitutionality of the president or cabinet as commander in chief. It also interprets the constitutionality of laws.
- judicial branch of government judges lawfulness of military personnel behaviour, including of those operating abroad and of foreign troops stationed on the national territory. It also trials violations of laws on corruption, including those related to defence procurement.

Develop arrangements and procedures for matching capabilities with security risks, defence requirements and available resources.

This would entail:

- a comprehensive analysis of a country's security needs as an essential first step in determining its defence requirements.
- the Executive and the Legislature develop and approve a security strategy. A public information campaign should also be considered.
- developing further supporting doctrines, the most obvious of which would be a Military Strategy which could be combined or separate from others dealing with interior forces, border and coast guards.
- for the armed forces, defence requirements based on the security concept would determine their tasks, from which the size of the forces and equipment requirements could be established.
- developing an implementation plan to determine how to transform the force structure. During this process, it will be necessary to check constantly against available funds to ensure that emerging ideas are affordable.

Optimise management of defence ministries and other agencies responsible for defence matters

With regard to this objective, the major aspects are oversight and coordination.

From the defence perspective, most important relationships are those between the Ministries of Defence, Finance and Foreign Affairs.

Very close co-ordination is required to ensure that defence programmes will be properly funded and that foreign policy goals are addressed. Appropriate strategic and working level committees should be established to co-ordinate work and promote understanding.

With regard to co-ordination with other agencies with responsibilities in the security area, the demarcation of roles and responsibilities must be clear, often enshrined in legislation but also supported by agreements and understandings at ministerial level and below.

National procedures should be elaborated to deal with crisis management at the strategic level. This will entail considerable co-operation across most ministries and will require a senior level committee to oversee the work. To deal with major crises it will be necessary to establish an executive supervising body, probably led by the Prime Minister or President.

Ensure compliance with internationally accepted norms and practices established in the defence sector

At NATO, we include among internationally accepted norms and practices established in the defence sector those provided by:

- the PfP Framework Document and the EAPC Basic Document
- OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, and other relevant OSCE documents
- arms control agreements and treaties (like CFE, Ottawa Convention, etc.)
- international arrangements on non proliferation, export control, WMD and their means of delivery
- international humanitarian law

Under this objective Partners might aim to:

- develop structures and procedures to enforce existing commitments
- train personnel having to implement those commitments
- enhance release of public information on how the country complies with these commitments

Effective and transparent personnel structures and practices

Well thought out personnel policies and sound practices are essential features of an efficient fighting force.

Starting with recruitment and selection policies, the armed forces must have a clear idea of the numbers and standard of individual it wishes to induct and the required standards and procedures should be widely advertised.

Unlike other organisations, the armed forces do not import senior people from outside their own structures. The leadership (officers and senior NCOs) have to be provided from within. It will be necessary, therefore, to have procedures which can identify personnel for advancement and provide them with the necessary training to enable them to fill more senior positions.

In general, the soldier should have the same rights and responsibilities as his civilian counterpart although some freedoms (such as the right to strike) may have to be curtailed. In terms of disciplining offenders it is preferable if civilian rules apply generally, although provision will also have to be made for offences peculiar to maintaining good military order and discipline. Rules for dealing with military offences should be approved by the civilian legislature.

Effective and transparent financial, planning and resource allocation procedures entail:

- having defence institutions applying modern and efficient planning, programming and budgeting procedures, as well as new models for implementing these procedures, such as: Planning Programming, Budgeting and Evaluation System, Defence Resources Management Model.
- developing procedures for auditing and oversight of budgeted funds
- enhancing procedures for letting contracts for equipment or services to support defence sector.

Effective, transparent and economically viable management of defence spending; methods and policies to cope with consequences of defence restructuring

To fulfill this objective, Partners might be working to:

- develop procedures to link defence spending to the overall state budget. This will enhance predictability of the evolution of the defence budget on a medium and longer term (usually it means allocating for defence a certain percentage of the GDP)
- develop procedures to prioritise defence spending vis a vis spending in other areas
- having programmes to deal with socio-economic consequences of defence restructuring, such as: for re-training of dismissed personnel and for re-conversion of military bases

Effective international co-operation and good neighbourly relations

Good neighbourly relations and effective international co-operation in defence and security matters create favourable conditions for conducting thorough defence reforms. Effective international co-operation in defence and security matters provides the necessary ways and means for receiving appropriate international assistance and support to own defence reform efforts.

Practical arrangements to ensure effective international co-operation and good neighbourly relations include:

- Conclusion and implementation of bilateral and multi-lateral military agreements and Memorandums of Understanding. These might include: agreements on additional measures to those provided within the Vienna Document on CSBM's, agreements providing the application of the Open Skies regime, the creation of regional military formations, regular exchanges of defence and security information with neighbour countries, joint military exercises and training.
- Developing regional security and defence co-operation. Regional defence and security co-operation creates mutual respect and confidence and an enhanced security environment. A regional co-operation framework would also increase the sense of

individual responsibility for the common security and would create a framework for developing regional projects, that might attract foreign assistance.

- A sound national system for planning and managing defence and security co-operation, including: appropriate domestic structures and effective working procedures, at both political-military and military level; political guidance and supervision; allotting necessary financial resources.

How it works?

- PAP-DIB is intended to make maximum use of existing EAPC and PfP tools and mechanisms. Conferences, workshops and training courses, bringing together theoreticians and practitioners of defence reform, political and military leaders and experts, are a primary instrument for encouraging dialogue and fostering exchange of knowledge and experience on defence reform. IPAP and PARP serve as primary instruments for tailoring knowledge acquired through PAP-DIB to the individual needs and circumstances of interested Partners. Partners who have not made a decision to participate in PARP, or to develop an IPAP, but who wish to develop further their defence institutions and forces, may use their Individual Partnership Programs (IPPs) to this aim. The IS reports periodically to Allies and Partners on the implementation and development of PAP-DIB and on the overall progress in reaching PAP-DIB objectives.

What has been done so far?

To enhance support for Partners' efforts to achieve PAP-DIB objectives:

- PARP procedures have been adapted to seek information from Partners about their plans to achieve PAP-DIB objectives, as well as about the foreign assistance required;
- a set of PAP-DIB related Partnership Goals (PAP-DIB PGs) have been proposed to Partners;

- PAP-DIB objectives have been included in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Work Programme (EAPWP); which is the basis for all work related to Partnership.
- NATO has started to work with Partners to adapt their individual co-operation programmes to address PAP-DIB objectives;
- the NATO Liaison Officers, recently deployed to Caucasus and Central Asia, are offering assistance and advice on how to make better use of PfP tools in support of defence reform;
- work has started to enhance NATO's educational efforts related to defence reform and to involve educational and research institutions and non-governmental organisations in this effort.

The way ahead

Education for Partners' military and civilian personnel working in the area of defence, and for politicians and civil society is a high priority for further PAP-DIB work. To this end, NATO IS will work with Allied and Partner Nations to further enhance education in support of defence reforms.

NATO's Contact Point Embassies and Liaison Officers for Caucasus and Central Asia will monitor and report elements regarding the progress achieved in reaching PAP-DIB objectives. They will also present recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the overall PAP-DIB implementation process.

Allies and Partner Nations might establish bilateral arrangements with Partners (including twinning and mentoring initiatives) aimed at providing advice and assistance, particularly education and training.

Co-operation with other international organisations should be developed to exchange relevant information, to cross-participate in events and to conduct complementary activities.

What should Partners do to successfully implement PAP-DIB objectives?

- Focus individual co-operation programmes with NATO (IPAP, IPP) on achieving PAP-DIB objectives
- Attach higher priority to education for defence reforms
- Respond to Part I of PARP Survey
- Agree new PG's and work towards their implementation
- Seek bilateral advice and assistance from Allied and Partner Nations
- Make full use of NATO Contact Point Embassies and NATO Liaison Officers.

As Sir Winston Churchill has put it into a famous dictum: "Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all those other that have been tried". Success of PAP-DIB might be measured by the extent to which Partners, convinced of the truth underlying this dictum, apply democratic forms of government, as well as efficient procedures to manage their defence systems.

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Mr. Kakha Sikharulidze

**First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs,
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The reorganization of the MoD envisages the establishment of a highly effective and rational organization from the management of the Ministry and General Staff to the units, which ensures an efficient decision-making process and goes inline with the process of strengthening democratic institutions. The most important component in the reform of the defence system is the improvement of institutional management to secure the democratic control of armed forces, and the improvement of the effectiveness of the defence resource management system.

The paramount importance for Georgia is to modernize its armed forces, to make it NATO compatible and interoperable for further integration into Euro-Atlantic security structures. In this regard, significant steps have been carried out:

Restructuring the Security Sector

As part of the restructuring process of the security systems, all combat units and heavy equipment of the interior troops have been transferred to the MoD. The National Guard has been transformed. All of its combat units and heavy equipment have been transferred to the land forces. The main tasks and missions of the National Guard are: reserve training, mobilization, and on call support to civil authorities in disaster relief operations. The Border Guard Department has been subordinated to the MoI. The Ministries of State Security and Interior have been merged into a single Ministry of Public Security and Police.

As a consequence of these reforms, the only governmental body responsible for national defence is the MoD. The Ministry of Public Security and Police was established as the agency responsible for public

order and internal security. All of the above-mentioned changes have significantly reduced overlapping missions among the different state agencies and have increased the effective distribution of resources among them.

Establishing civilian control over the Armed Forces (AF)

The security sector deals with vital missions of the state. Therefore, it is especially important to have effective democratic control over the security field, as democratic civilian control of AF ensures accountability and legitimacy for the maintenance of state force, and if necessary its use.

Major steps have been taken in this regard in the recent past. Georgia has established a necessary legal base for implementing democratic control over the AF. Several new laws and amendments to the old ones have been passed.

Major mechanisms of democratic control over the military forces are defined in the Georgian constitution, Georgian law on national security, law on defence, law on parliamentary committees, law on trust groups and other legislative acts. The constitution of Georgia draws basic lines in defining responsibilities for the three branches of government: executive, legislative and judicial in the security and particularly defence sector.

The Parliament

Within the limits prescribed by the constitution, the Parliament of Georgia represents the supreme legislative body, defines the main directions of internal and foreign policy, and exercises control over the activity of the government.

Legislative activities: The parliament is responsible for adopting laws.

One of the mechanisms for exercising control over the government defined by law, is the parliament's participation in the process of appointing the highest authorities of law enforcement agencies and the MoD. Parliament discusses and approves the proposed candidates for the highest positions. Once in office, they are obliged to submit full information related to their activities to the proper

parliamentary committees. Members of the parliament are also authorized to raise questions about whether their impeachment is consistent with the circumstances stipulated in the law.

The most important element of the parliamentary control regarding the AF is the defence budget appropriations and oversight of the annual budget execution. This provides transparency and accountability of defence spending.

The security and defence committee of the parliament discusses all defence issues before submitting them to the parliament. These issues mainly obtain legal and budgetary concerns.

The President

The constitution of Georgia defines the authority of the President in controlling the AF. He is the chief supreme commander of the Georgian AF. The President appoints and dismisses the higher command of the AF and approves military ranks above the level of colonel. He presides at the consultative council on national security, the status of which is established by law. The National Intelligence Service is under his authority. The President can declare a general or partial state of emergency in accordance with Georgian law.

The Cabinet

The Prime Minister is the head of the minister's cabinet. He selects the cabinet and presents it to the parliament for adoption. The cabinet elaborates and implements the overall government policy according to the presidential guidelines and directions adopted by the parliament.

The MoD

Major changes have been implemented in the legislature regulating the defence field. At the beginning of 2004, Georgia appointed the first civilian Minister of Defence who is a member of government. Currently, the MoD is comprised of approximately 85 percent civilians. All the leading positions, from the Minister down to the department directors of the MoD, are occupied by civilians.

According to changes in the law on national defence in 2004, roles and responsibilities between the MoD and General Staff (GS) have been clearly defined. The responsibilities of the MoD are:

- Defence policy and planning
- Defining short and long-term threats
- Exercising oversight on budget expenditures and resource management
- International defence co-operation
- Participation in the elaboration and implementation of international agreements and conventions
- Co-operation with civil agencies
- Development of research and technologies
- Refining defence legislature and ensuring transparency in civil-military relations
- The GS is responsible for the implementation of the policy set by the Ministry, force planning and development, operational planning, command and training of the AF.

Public information and awareness

The MoD of Georgia encourages the participation of civil society in developing defence and security policy. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and independent experts are involved in different defence issues and projects.

Permanent meetings are held at the MoD, where high level officials of the Ministry brief representatives of the mass-media about ongoing processes and changes. This raises transparency, public awareness and confidence towards the military sector.

The Georgian administration code regulates the affairs of the executive branch of the Georgian government and determines public and secret information. According to this code, every citizen has the right to request public information at the administrative institution, to receive copies of such information, except for information that is defined as confidential by law.

Defence budget expenditures are transparent to the corresponding agencies.

Structural reforms and optimization of the management system

To improve the level of management and to ensure transparency in the Georgian AF, several structural changes were carried out in the MoD of Georgia during the years 2004-2005. In particular:

Merger of the finance and procurement departments, which ensures the transparency of procurement and finance management systems.

Division of functions in the logistic field. The J4 is responsible for planning, and the logistic support department ensures the implementation of the planned activities.

The creation of a unified personnel management system – the establishment of a single body is responsible for human resource planning and management, which helps avoid the overlapping and duplication of functions.

Elaboration of conceptual documents and development plans

To effectively implement the defined priorities, the MoD of Georgia, during its strategic defence review, has elaborated and drafted the following conceptual documents:

- Threat assessment of Georgia
- National military strategy
- Concept of development of personnel management system
- Concept of development of recourse management system
- Logistics development concept
- Reserve training concept

To successfully implement the above documents and launch the development plans, the MoD of Georgia has established an effective tool for the decision making process. The recommendations are designed by specialists of the MoD and are then submitted at the political level for consideration. The approved recommendations are then given back to the specialist level for their direct implementation. This scheme allows for an effective chain within the decision making process and establishes the efficient steps needed for the implementation of given decisions.

Establishment of effective defence resource management system

The MoD of Georgia has started to establish an effective resource management system, which includes the development of the integrated planning, programming, budgeting and execution system, to develop the Georgian AF mid-term and short-term development plans and programs based on existing concept documents.

In this context, the MoD of Georgia has created a database, which establishes a resource management system and develops the methodology and basic parameters of the life cycle for all units and equipment in the Georgian AF.

During this process the MoD of Georgia will develop, from 2006 to 2008, development plans and programs in accordance with the three-year budgeting parameters submitted by the Ministry of Finance.

As a result of a significant increase in the defence budget and the implementation of institutional changes, the social conditions of military and civilian personnel have been significantly increased. The appropriate salary slots have been allocated according to the military ranks and civilian positions. An improvement of the allowances system for military personnel is planned for 2005. A substantial improvement of the infrastructure is considered to be one of the MoD's development priorities, relating to aspects like the quality of life. In 2004, a part of the existing infrastructure was improved. For the year 2005, significant funds will be potentially allocated (approximately 30 Million Gel).

Institutional changes and reforms serve as the background for the further enhancement of the NATO integration process.

In this regard, Georgia considers IPAP as a mechanism to enhance political dialogue and consultation between Georgia and NATO and to ensure appropriate cooperation with NATO by encouraging and sustaining relevant reforms in the country.

One of the most important steps has been the start of the strategic defence review process in September 2004, which covers the elaboration of conceptual documents and development plans, and the establishment of optimal force structure in accordance to the available threats and recourses.

The timely and complete fulfilment of IPAP commitments will give Georgia the opportunity to enter a new stage in its relationship with NATO.

Georgia strives to become a valuable partner in the international community by preserving peace and stability. It further considers the participation in international peacekeeping and stabilization operations as a tool to increase the NATO interoperability level in the Georgian AF.

Finally, I would like to stress that the Georgian MoD is confident that it will continue defence reforms aimed at further development, optimization of the management system, improvement of the social conditions of military servants, and the establishment of an effective force structure corresponding to its threats and challenges.

Georgia intends to enhance the level of cooperation with NATO and will continue to contribute to international peacekeeping and stability operations.

The country's efforts will serve as the basis for a safe and secure Georgia, which will become a prosperous nation that is fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic institutions and will be a respected partner of the international community.

H.E. Ms. Nino Burjanadze

Speaker of Parliament, Georgia

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to address the NATO delegation, experts, distinguished guests, and our colleagues. It is indeed my true pleasure to welcome you in Tbilisi, in the Parliament of Georgia.

Georgia is devoted to the idea of Euro-Atlantic integration. I strongly believe that the country will remain on its path of building a democracy that will allow it to become a true member of the Euro-Atlantic community. Full-scale Euro-Atlantic integration is considered to be one of the most essential aspects for the future development of Georgia and serves as our long term strategic objective. Georgia's membership in NATO symbolizes the finding of its final place among the European family of nations. The people of Georgia share the common values of democracy and are ready to contribute to the protection of these values.

Georgia has been in the process of implementing the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP), which is the first step towards NATO. The Georgian government is determined to pursue its intention to implement NATO standards into its AF and defence system. An interagency working group has been established under the supervision of the Prime Minister of Georgia that will monitor the IPAP implementation process and will keep an eye on the activities schedule. The Parliament of Georgia is actively involved in the process as well. It also makes an impartial evaluation of the ongoing reforms.

It should be emphasized that this goal is not only the task of governmental bodies, but it also involves the non-governmental sector and mass media. The society itself is also actively involved in the dialogue on current reforms. Georgia's integration into NATO has become an idea that has had an impact on the entire Georgian society as

well as the political spectrum. The launch of the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institutions Building (PAP-DIB) will serve as another powerful mechanism to help the Georgian authorities lead the ongoing state defence system reforms on the right path.

Regarding the next 12 to 16 months, the country's main priority will be the completion of the implementation of the IPAP that will enable Georgia to adopt the Membership Action Plan (MAP) in the summer of 2006. This will be crucially important for the sharing of experience and in order to take necessary steps for entering NATO. Intensive cooperation with the Baltic and Eastern European States will be of help in the previously mentioned process.

The formation of the security system of the Northern Europe was completed after the NATO Prague Summit. It is now the turn of the Southern and Eastern Europe. The Black Sea region should become an undivided component of European Security. The security of the Black Sea will serve as a natural link between the Baltic Sea and Mediterranean security systems.

The American "Training and Equipment Program (GTEP)" rendered invaluable assistance to Georgia to advance the adoption of the AF to NATO standards. Battalions trained under this program have already become the major bearing of the Georgian army. Soldiers trained under this program are actively participating in peace-keeping operations in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States designed a new "Sustaining and Stability Operations Program (SSOP)" which aims at the further preparation of the Georgian army and can be considered as the natural continuation of the GTEP, which in its turn happened to be extremely effective and successful. The country believes that SSOP will be an additional effective instrument to upgrade the Georgian AF to the NATO level.

There are other significant events which bring Georgia closer to Euro-Atlantic integration. The NATO/PfP liaison officer is already in Georgia, working at the MoD in Tbilisi. The Agreement between Georgia and NATO regarding the Provision of Host Nation Support and Transit of NATO Forces and NATO Personnel has been signed. In the first week of March this year, Georgia hosted the preliminary IPAP implementation assessment mission. The country is also working with the EU on the elaboration of the Action Plan in the framework of the New Neighbourhood Initiative. These activities are aimed at the

successful development of a partnership between Georgia and EU and envisage the support of Georgia in joining NATO.

The presence of Russian military bases in Georgia is among the obstacles hampering the Euro-Atlantic integration process. Ongoing negotiations with Russia have been fruitless due to unreasonable conditions offered by the Russian side to withdraw their bases. Georgia calls upon the international community to put pressure on Russia to fulfil its international commitments undertaken under the Istanbul joint statement of November 17, 1999, for the unconditional removal of its military bases from the territory of Georgia. Georgia is confident that the solution of this issue will contribute not only to the improvement of Russian-Georgian relations, but will also aid in the development of NATO-Russian and EU-Russian relations.

Georgia is convinced that its integration in NATO needs mobilized, well-realized and coordinated activities of the entire Georgian government. Regarding pressure experienced by the non-government sector, media, political and social groups, the government would like to emphasize that it is open to criticism from those institutions in order to avoid any mistakes on the country's path to democracy building.

In conclusion, I would like to express my true optimism that the co-operation of NATO officials and experts with their Georgian colleagues be successful.

Mr. Niculin Jäger

**Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of
Switzerland to Georgia, Armenia, and
Azerbaijan***

Kalbatono Nino, excellences, ladies and gentlemen. It is a pleasure and great honour for me to welcome you to this EAPC PfP conference. I am convinced that Tbilisi offers a good foil to discuss the issue of DIB in a regional setting with a focus on the South Caucasus and Black Sea region. The setting shall inspire us in taking the first steps to implement the PAP-DIB. Ladies and gentlemen, Switzerland feels honoured to co-organize this conference and the subsequent training course together with our distinguished friends from Georgia, NATO IS and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). It is a special privilege for me to be part of the first official DIB event since the adoption of the PAP at last year's Istanbul Summit.

Switzerland has a long-standing and deep interest in the area of security sector reform, and especially in the democratic control of armed forces and border security. My country has been active in this field for several years. We are convinced that security sector reform is an important, if not the most important, step in the overall process of democratic transformation. The armed forces and the defence sector are of central importance to this process and remain the main targets to address. We believe that the security sector, as a whole, must be re-informed, including police forces, the intelligence services and border guard troops. All of those services must work together to render this process successful and to achieve our aim, to bring the security sector

* The author would like to thank Mr. Stephen Murphy for his help and suggestions in revising this paper.

under efficient civilian control and to allow the countries implementing the DIB Plan to meet relevant international standards.

The improvement of civil military cooperation is thereby the key for success. For that reason, Switzerland has supported every effort in the framework of EAPC and PfP to strengthen the democratic reform of the security sector. As early as 2002, we have come forward with a proposal to establish a PAP on SSR. Although such a security reform plan has not come into existence, the ideas behind our proposal have not vanished. They were found again last year as EAPC Heads of States and governments adopted the DIB Plan in Istanbul. Needless to say, Switzerland strongly supported the adoption of this plan, even though we would have favoured an instrument with a broader approach. Nonetheless, we welcome the DIB Plan. It is an overall policy instrument, providing guidelines and fundamental objectives for the development of effective and democratically responsible defence and security institutions.

The democratic control of the defence activities, including appropriate legislation, legislative and judicial oversight of the defence sector, as well as civilian participation in drafting defence and security policy, are key provisions. Equally important is the effective and transparent management of security structures, interagency cooperation, as well as the establishment of export controls on military equipment and technology. At last, but not least, we attach particularly high value on the protection of civil rights and the promotion of international humanitarian law.

Ladies and gentlemen, after several years of discussion, time has now come to move on to the operational level. We are glad that here in Tbilisi the implementation of the Action Plan is about to begin. As the goals are ambitious, the implementation of the plan will be a stony path, but I can assure you that the international community is ready to provide assistance in the demanding task of security and defence sector reform. However, in the end, the political willingness to implement the provisions containing the plan will be each partner's own responsibility.

Ladies and gentlemen, the PAP-DIB could become a remarkable success story, but there is no success without hard work. I am convinced that this conference today and the training course, which will follow, are a good start and soon will bring rewards.

Promoting Stability and Security in the Caucasus and Moldova: Supporting Reforms and Defence Institution Building

***Robert F. Simmons Jr., NATO Secretary
General's Special Representative for the
Caucasus and Central Asia***

Let me begin by thanking you both for your willingness to host this important Conference and to do so in this important meeting site: the Parliament of Georgia.

Secondly, I would like to thank the Swiss authorities and the Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces who together with NATO Studies Centre in Romania have arranged and organised this Conference and the training course that will follow it to implement and introduce the concept of the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB).

To the Conference I would like to welcome the participants of our host Nation Georgia, of Armenia and Moldova and those who come from Azerbaijan. I would have hoped finally that the Government of that country would have permitted official participation to this important Conference.

One of the key and most vital aspects of NATO transformation has been its partnerships.

Along with other aspects, NATO's partnerships have evolved. They were and remain a critical path to membership. They have helped NATO's own capabilities and enhancing the interoperability of Partners with Allied forces in crisis response operations.

Finally, they have been for all Partners a way to enhance and measure their own reform efforts. For Partners from Western Europe, they have helped to find ways to develop their already existing peacekeeping capabilities. And as this Conference shows, for NATO's new Allies they offer opportunities to share their experiences with other Partners.

But since Istanbul, these have been in particular focused on the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia, and my appointment as the Special Representative shows the willingness of the Alliance to implement that new focus.

Some say that these regions have been neglected. Certainly, all of the Partnership programs have been open to all of them and I would hope they have also benefited from them.

From what I have seen they have certainly benefited from training opportunities whilst so many officers from the countries of these regions have attended. They have also benefited from the Science Program and other Programs like the Virtual Silk Highway.

But as our host country manifested more than any other its will to change NATO has adapted the Partnership to meet these new needs which stemmed from the expression of popular will.

These Partners now can benefit fully from the great Spring of Nations which followed the end of the Cold War. Their citizens and their Governments have decided to draw closer to Euro-Atlantic institutions, with membership clearly in their minds. Others decided to improve their relationship with NATO and the EU.

As these countries improve their relations with NATO, the Alliance should be prepared to help them to deal with their problems.

IPAP, in which all countries in the region joined, is the measuring stick on how they are meeting the broad challenge of reform:

- to make the political system more open
- to make justice and order work together under a rule of law
- to reform their defence institutions to overcome the situation from the past and to meet the requirements of the future.

The countries of the region have for centuries been victims of great power manipulation and were devastated by both Soviet Communism and by its collapse. The transformation pains - excruciating as they

would be for any Nation - have been made worse by conflicts, secession, and the presence of foreign troops.

Your countries share a difficult past. But you are not alone, and you are not forgotten. True, the so called "West" has no simple and immediate answers to the problems that you face. But America and Europe do have vital interests in security, prosperity and stability in the Caucasus and around the Black Sea. It is not on a whim that we want to get involved and stay involved. It is political realism that tells NATO Nations' interests are no longer separable from yours; their security depends on yours.

However, the most successful leaders in history were those who knew how to mix sober realism with courage and vision. Does NATO have a vision to combine with our "gut feeling" that our interests are at stake here? Is there a strategy behind our policies? To answer this question, I need to make a short detour through history.

Historically, Nations have employed three ways of securing stability. "Stability through domination" has been tried in many incarnations, but created only short-lived illusions of peace and order. "Stability through balance of power" - was not much more successful, and eventually could not stop the twin cataclysms of 1st and 2nd World Wars.

And then, Western Europe and North America tried a third and quite idealistic concept: "stability through integration". NATO and the EU were born out of this vision. And the vision worked! It worked wonderfully! In a few decades, it eradicated the legacy of conflict and violence in Western Europe. 40 years later, conditions emerged for repeating this experiment throughout Europe. And it has worked again - even in the "unmanageable" Balkans!

Integration works. It can work for you too. NATO's policy of Partnership is about making sure that it does. This policy has always been about sharing with the East the great historic experience of the West. And this policy is now focused on you.

But let me be clear - integration may, but does not have to mean membership in either NATO or the EU. There are different levels and dimensions of this process, and there is a place in it for all Nations. Take Switzerland: it is member of neither organisation but is an integral part of Europe and is helping you - including here and today - to join the family. Then take Russia if you will: with the NATO-Russia Council it

is today more integrated with NATO; it is linked to Western countries and institutions by a multitude of political, economic and security arrangements. We do disagree on many matters, but we also co-operate closely - in a stable framework of institutional co-operation.

The integration project is for all and it will proceed. Those who are truly interested in it will find in NATO a reliable friend and partner. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova, have all expressed their European vocation and I believe all four have a Trans-Atlantic future. But we have to work on it, and we need to work hard.

Integration is not done by decree. It does not just happen. Integration is not about a momentary coincidence of security interests, however vital. It is about common values, common objectives, common institutions, and common policies. A Partnership which is about integration is about much more than military interoperability. Yes, it is important for us to have a Partner platoon in a NATO-led operation. But it is much more important that the platoon return home to a modern, democratic defence system, which will make full and legitimate use of the skills and experience that the soldiers have acquired.

We must be frank - further change in your countries is a necessary pre-condition for their further integration, whatever this integration is to mean. Even security co-operation is not immune to this imperative and NATO leaders agreed at Istanbul that it "is impossible absent basic doctrines and institutions of a fundamentally democratic nature." (Refocusing and Renewal). NATO does not set democratic standards, nor do we seek to impose these standards on our Partners. But we are prepared to help those Nations who wish to pursue these standards, and we will focus our attention and resources on those who truly want to do so.

And we can help a lot! We have unquestioned and unrivalled experience and expertise in defence planning and in defence reform. This is where we can give you what no other organisation and no single country can give: the best available and free-of-charge advice on how to make your defence system an efficient modern organisation, put in service of a democratic society in pursuit of legitimate goals.

Some would say - defence reform is of secondary importance, it can wait, there are more important things to do. Why do it now? Well, I could quote great scholars who have argued that getting your defence institutions right is as fundamental to democracy as freedom of speech

and free elections. The founding fathers of my own country - the United States - devoted much thought to this issue. They found enough space in the US Constitution - as short as they made it - for provisions safeguarding democratic control of the armed forces. This was done for a reason, and this reason is as important today as it was 200 years ago.

Therefore, while offering help in defence reform, NATO is not inviting you on a trip to the margins of democratic transformation. Quite the contrary - we want to help you to get to its core. And, despite a popular misperception, getting there is not terribly expensive either! Real defence reform is actually about spending your limited resources better, smarter, and more efficiently. Ask your Baltic friends. Better yet, ask the Macedonians and Albanians who despite budgetary constraints comparable to yours have made huge progress in a relatively short time. It is not money that makes defence reform tick. It is political will to face the challenge and it is the knowledge how to do it best.

Political will - you have to generate. Knowledge - NATO and Partners like Switzerland have and are offering you. And this - finally - brings me to Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB). For PAP-DIB is about knowledge. It is not a new burdensome paper mechanism. It is not an alternative to IPAP. It is first of all our common definition of what defence and security reform is and what it involves. It is the alphabet of our common language on defence that we need to develop. We worked on it together and we agreed on it together. It is time to make use of this effort.

NATO will work individually with each interested country to implement PAP-DIB. We will tailor our programmes to each country's specific needs and circumstances. There is an obvious degree of mutual confidence which is necessary to carry on meaningful co-operation on difficult reforms. IPAP provides the necessary framework for such work and is not in competition with PAP-DIB. However - as I hope you remember - our ultimate goal is integration, not "splendid isolation." There are issues that are specific to each Partner country and will be dealt with individually - this is IPAP. But there also are issues that are common to many countries and where all these countries can benefit from common reflection and common education - this is PAP-DIB.

And this is what the conference is about. This is what the training course starting tomorrow will be about. This is what modern Partnership is about. We need to develop a common defence culture as an

indispensable condition for taking the great European project across the Black Sea. For that we need common conceptual grounds, we need interoperability of minds as well as interoperability of guns. This is the right way to our common objective: a Europe truly whole, truly free, and truly at peace. If we keep focused on this objective, we will be able to overcome any difficulties we might encounter along the way.

Parliamentary and Executive Oversight of the Defence Sphere

*Mr. Simon Lunn, Secretary General,
NATO Parliamentary Assembly*

Introduction

Let me first express my appreciation to the Georgian parliament and to the joint organizers, NATO and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) for the invitation to speak at this important and timely event.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly (PA) has, over the years, developed a constructive relationship with the Georgian parliament which has enjoyed the status of “associate member” since May 1999. Your parliamentarians have participated in a wide range of assembly activities, sessions, seminars and training programs. We welcomed the pivotal changes here last year which confirmed this country’s aspirations and its commitment to the goal of a European future.

During a recent meeting with speaker Nino Burjandaze, at our secretariat in Brussels, I confirmed our willingness to continue to do whatever we can to assist Georgia and its parliament during this crucial and difficult period of transition. Assisting the development of parliamentary democracy in the transition countries has been a central feature of the Assembly’s work since 1989. Our first partnership seminar took place in Vilnius in December 1991, when Lithuania was facing a number of difficult problems, including, it is appropriate to notice, the unwanted presence of Russian troops.

It is gratifying to know that Lithuania, along with its Baltic neighbours, has been prominent in providing support to Georgia. It is

also good to see that Romania, another new member, is also playing a prominent role at the conference/training course later this week.

During the long process of NATO enlargement, we gathered considerable experience on what needs to be done in the way of reform and how it should be achieved, particularly in the field of defence and security. The evidence for this learning experience lies in the development of MAP's, IPP's and now the DIB initiative. Countries such as Georgia can and will benefit from this experience.

This is certainly true for the theme of this conference 'The Challenge of Defence Institution Building' and my own contribution on 'Parliamentary and Executive Oversight of the Defence Sphere'.

The parliamentary and executive oversight of the defence sector are defining characteristics of the principle of democratic control of armed forces. It is worthwhile to remind ourselves what is meant by the expression and why it is important.

The expression democratic control of armed forces¹ (herein referred to as democratic control) is generally understood as the subordination of the armed forces to those democratically elected to take charge of the country's affairs. In its fullest sense it means that all decisions regarding the defence of the country - the organisation, deployment, and use of armed forces, the setting of military priorities and requirements and the allocation of the necessary resources are taken by democratic leadership and scrutinised by the legislature in order to ensure popular support and legitimacy.

Armed forces must serve the societies they protect and military policies and capabilities must be consistent with political objectives and economic resources.

As a subject, democratic control has become highly visible because very early on in the enlargement process NATO identified it as a principle that countries seeking membership in NATO must implement². However, as would-be-members turned to NATO for help

¹ The definition of "armed forces can cause problems. This presentation will refer to forces under Ministries of Defence. However, in many countries, there are a variety of forces who bear arms and do not fall under the authority of the MOD, for example, internal security forces or para-military. It goes without saying that all forces should be democratically accountable irrespective of subordination.

² The Alliance was always careful to stress that there was no fixed or rigid list of criteria for inviting new members, readiness for membership would be a political judgement based on all relevant considerations.

in the implementation of the principle, it became clear that providing collective guidance was problematic as no single model existed. Differences of history, culture, and geo-strategic location have meant that each member of the Alliance has evolved a different approach to the organization and management of its armed forces.

The essential elements for DCAF

Nevertheless, while no single model exists, it is possible to identify the basic elements that should be present in one form or another to ensure democratic control. Those are:

- Legal and constitutional mechanisms which clarify the relationships between the head of state, the government, parliament and the armed forces.
- An appropriate mix of military and civilian personnel within the MoD (including a civilian Minister of Defence).
- Effective parliamentary oversight to ensure democratic legitimacy and popular support.
- Maximum transparency and openness including independent research institutes and an active and inquisitive media.
- Armed forces at ease with their role in society.

These elements are easy to define on paper. Making them work in practise, however, is another matter. Successful implementation rests on the respective roles of the executive and the legislature, and on the relationship between them. It rests equally on the relationship of both bodies with the armed forces themselves and on the division of responsibility and competence between the political and military sides.

Developing the trust, confidence and mutual respect on which these relationships depend lies at the heart of effective democratic control. This is what it is all about. Building trust, confidence, and respect between the executive and the legislature and between the civilians and the military.

In this presentation, I shall try to indicate with examples drawn from real world experience the problem of turning theory into practice.

Why defence is different

In all areas of government a degree of tension between the executive and the legislators is inevitable, in view of their respective functions. The balance that has to be found is somewhat simplistically described as between “efficiency” and “democracy”.

The need to establish such a balance is both more important and more difficult in the field of defence than other fields of activity. Defence is not just another spending department. It brings with it certain characteristics and qualities that complicate the relationship between the executive and the parliament and increases the inherent potential of friction between the two branches.

First, because defence concerns the security of the nation and involves decisions to commit lives and expenditure for the nation's defence. Decisions of this magnitude impose an additional burden of responsibility on the political leadership to get things right and to ensure that decisions and policies enjoy popular support.

Second, because defence involves the maintenance of armed forces. In any society the military assume a special and distinctive position, chiefly as the principal possessor of weapons and armaments - the “instruments of the state monopoly of violence” as it is sometimes described.

Furthermore, the military also represent a highly and disciplined group, knit together by traditions, customs and working habits, but above all, by the need to work together and to depend on each other in times of crisis and conflict - a dependence which can literally mean the difference between life and death. Such dependence builds strong bonds and loyalties and requires a degree of cohesion and coherence that few other professionals can claim. It is these qualities - discipline, dedication and loyalty - that make the military profession different, and in some ways, distinct from the rest of society.

There is also a natural tendency for the military to believe that military things are best left to the military men. This is understandable as the business of armed forces is to prepare for conflict and the potential loss of life, but it makes the intrusion of outsiders or non-professionals a sensitive issue. Nevertheless, all military activities must, at some stage, come under the scrutiny of the political leadership to ensure that they are consistent with, and reflect, political aims and priorities. No action is

immune from direct or eventual accountability. Implicit in this situation in which the military accept the primacy of politics, is the responsibility of the political side to ensure that it exercises informed judgement.

A final aspect of the civil-military relationship is that the highly organised and structured character of military life tends to give the men in uniform a rather straightforward and uncomplicated view of the world, a view that contrasts and is often at odds with the more complex, and by comparison, apparently “murky”, world of politics. The terms concession and compromise, essential to the balancing and reconciliation of competing interests in domestic and international politics, do not sit easily with the clarity and directness of assessment and decision that are essential characteristics of an effectively functioning military. This can lead to very different perceptions of the same problem and can represent a source of friction between the military and political sides³. At the most extreme it can lead to military interference with, or defiance of, the government of the day. When such episodes occurred it has been frequently because the military men have suggested an allegiance to a higher calling — the nation, the constitution - than the transient government of the day⁴.

³ For a flavour of this difference in perceptions between man in the field (or in this case at sea) and the politicians, see the comments of Admiral Sandy Woodward, Commander of the Falklands Battle Group as he took his force towards the Falklands.

“None of our plans seems to hold up for much more than twenty-four hours, as Mr. Nott (Defence Minister) footles about, wringing his hands and worrying about his blasted career. And the Ministry men play their intricate and interminable games with an eye to the aftermath (‘get in quick if there’s credit, be elsewhere if there’s not)’

In ‘One Hundred Days; The Memoirs of the Falklands Battle Group Commander’, Admiral Sandy Woodward with Patrick Robinson, Fontana, 1992. A thoroughly readable and informative account of the problems of modern warfare including the difficult interaction between the political and military considerations.

Similar frustration was expressed by General Sir Peter de la Billiere, Commander of the British Forces in the Gulf War, during the build up of forces:

“The level of ministerial indecision and looking backwards is appalling and desperately time wasting. There is every likelihood that we shall stay behind while the Americans go to war and our ministers dither over their decisions.”

In “Storm Command, a Personal Account of the Gulf War” by General Sir Peter de la Billiere. Harper Collins, 1992.

⁴ See for example, the well known statement by General Douglas MacArthur “I find in existence a new and heretofore unknown and dangerous concept that the members of our armed forces owe primary allegiance or loyalty to those who temporarily exercise the authority of the Executive branch of government rather than to the country and its constitution which they are sworn to defend” quoted in Telford Taylor, *Sword and Swastika*, p. 354. And in a similar vein ‘I have never served Tsars or Commisars or Presidents. They

Most of our governments have at some time in their history experienced in differing degrees a “turbulent” military. Several members of the Alliance - Turkey, Greece, Spain and Portugal - have experienced such problems in their relatively recent past⁵.

Today, none of the established democracies have serious worries on this issue. The respective roles of the military and civilians are well established and understood - albeit, there are some areas where the dividing line between competences is easily blurred. The significance of democratic control lies elsewhere - in the fact that in any society the military represent a strong corporate body, capable of exerting considerable influence over policy and the allocation of resources. Effective democratic control ensures that the armed forces and their requirements occupy an appropriate place in the nation’s priorities, that they do not absorb an undue proportion of the national resources nor exert an undue influence on the development of policy, and that defence policy is consistent with national goals. If I emphasize the resources element, it is, because it is particularly important in transition countries where resources are scarce and social and economic demands high and that the defence expenditure is appropriate to its country’s security needs and that it is effectly used. For those reasons, it is important to ensure that defence, and the security sector in general, is organised and

are mortal men and they come and go. I serve only the Russian state and the Russian people, which are eternal.” General Lebed quoted in the Financial Times, September 6, 1994.

During the first of the summer schools for CEE parliamentarians organised in the mid-1990s by the NATO PA in conjunction with the George C Marshall Centre in Garmisch, there was considerable discussion of the question of whether there were ever circumstances under which the armed forces have the right to intervene internally: for example, to “save” democracy as when the army in Algeria prevented the fundamentalists taking power, or when there are competing democratic institutions as was the case when President Yeltsin used the Russian army against the Parliament. While it was agreed that there was never any justification for intervention against democratically elected authorities, it was evident that grey areas arose when the democratic legitimacy of the government itself was in question.

This issue also raised questions as to whom armed forces took their oath of allegiance.

⁵ The experiences of Spain and Portugal in making the transition to democracy and returning the armed forces to their appropriate place in society has been particularly helpful to the new democracies. See for example, the Rose-Roth Seminar on “Defence in Democratic Societies: The Portugese experience.” Lisbon 20-22 April 1995.

The particular role of the Turkish armed forces is also frequently noted in discussions of civil-military relations and the influence of history and political culture on the place of the military in society.

managed in a way that maximises military professionalism and efficiency, but also guarantees political control and popular support.

The role of the executive

The executive of any nation comprises the democratically-elected or appointed leadership, whether President or Prime Minister, or both, plus the permanent cadre of civil servants and military officers. It is responsible for allocating defence to its appropriate place in the nation's priorities, for adjudicating between competing claims, and for ensuring defence requirements are consistent with political goals and economic resources. In other words, the executive is responsible for seeing the 'big picture' and for defining the national strategy within which defence must be set. The executive is responsible for the decision to go to war - with legislative approval - and for the strategic command and control of any conflict. Clarity of responsibility and in the line of authority is obviously crucial. In this respect, the judiciary has an important role.

Within the executive, the MoD together with the General Staff (GS) is responsible for the 'hands on' organisation and management of the defence establishment and for the running of the armed forces.

The MoD has to reconcile military requirements with real world political and economic constraints and has also to arbitrate between the various services. The Ministry must also regulate the degree of autonomy of the armed forces and the degree of intrusiveness of political supervision.

In looking at the role and responsibilities of the executive there are three broad areas where political and military interaction is of particular interest.

First, the question of command, where it is imperative that arrangements for the command and control of the armed forces in peace and war must be clearly and unambiguously defined. Where possible, this should be vested in a single individual albeit, subject to the agreement of parliament. In Presidential-parliamentary systems it is critical that the role of the President vis-à-vis the Prime Minister should be clarified. Likewise, there should be no doubt as to whom the Chief of Staff reports, nor the line of authority. This again is easier said than done. No matter how tightly drafted, constitutions and legal frameworks frequently leave room for interpretation, particularly by forceful

personalities. Several Alliance members, old and new alike, have experienced difficulties owing to an unclear chain of command⁶.

Second, the role of civilians in the MoD, working together with, and often alongside their military colleagues, which is a standard feature of most Alliance members. As is the fact that the Minister of Defence has a civilian background. There are a number of reasons for this, notably the fact that a civilian is considered better equipped to take account of broader policy issues and influences, and better able to fight the MoD's corner in the competition for resources. This is not to say that military men cannot bring the same qualities to bear to the position of Minister. However, Western experience suggests that a civilian background is more appropriate to cover the full range of tasks required of the position⁷.

Third, is the perennial issue that permeates all aspects of democratic control — the division of competence and responsibility between the political and military sides. Are there areas which are strictly military only, where the military should be allowed to get on with their business unimpeded by political interference? Common sense suggests yes: that there are areas such as the development of doctrine and tactics and the education and training of armed forces which should be left to the military professionals. Likewise, in conflict situations, it would appear obvious that the handling of operations should be governed by professional military judgement. Nevertheless, practice and experience suggests that at some stage, all areas must be subject to political oversight and accountability.

⁶ Even the American Constitution much admired for the simplicity of its language and clear separation of powers has not escaped unscathed. Under the Constitution, the President is Commander-in-Chief, the Congress has the power to declare war. These definitions leave open the possibility for disputes over authority for those conflicts which fall short of a formal declaration of war, yet require the deployment of American forces. See "Congressional checks on Military Initiatives" by Louis Fisher. *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 109, number 5, 1994—1995 and also "The War Powers at a Constitutional Impasse: a Joint Decision Solution" by Joseph R. Biden and John B. Ritch III, *The Georgetown Law Journal*, Vol. 77, No. 2, December 1988.

⁷ Again during the first summer school for CEE parliamentarians held at Garmisch, the Western assumption that a civilian was best suited for the post of Minister of Defence was hotly contested by some of the CEE parliamentarians, indicating how deeply embedded were the norms of the previous Communist regimes in fencing off the field of defence for the military only.

One of the areas where political and military considerations can frequently collide are in the definition of 'Rules of Engagement' (RoE's) for operations in which military forces are involved. RoE's are guidelines for the armed forces which define their scope of action in carrying out their mission, taking account of the political context. Many of the caveats that restrict the operational effectiveness of Alliance forces in operations like Afghanistan derive from RoE's imposed by individual nations⁸.

The new security environment, in which non-military risks or threats are as significant for our security as military, also increases the blurring of the military and political roles. Furthermore, this new environment and the impact of new technology, in which international events are fed directly into our homes, increases public awareness and the need for accountability to public opinion.

Which leads me naturally to the role of parliaments.

The Role of Parliaments

The importance of parliaments to defence should be self-evident. No defence policy can endure without the support of the public that it is deemed to protect. As the elected representatives of the people, parliamentarians are at the heart of the democratic system. They represent the electorate from whom armed forces are drawn and whose taxes pay for their upkeep. Parliaments perform a dual function. It is their task to explain and justify defence policy and its consequences to their constituents; why defence expenditure is necessary and why the

⁸ Admiral Sandy Woodward, leading his Task Force towards the Falklands and uncertain about the interpretation of the ROE's he has been given, provides a graphic description of a Commander's frustration:

"the picture is gloomy. The politicians are probably going to tie my hands behind my back and then be angry when I fail to pull their beastly irons out of the fire for them."

In the same vein, the Commander of British Forces in the Gulf War, General Sir Peter De La Billiere facing the dilemma that his own ROE's deal with potentially threatening Iraqi aircraft were much more restrictive than those of the American forces with whom he was deployed:

"The politicians are ducking and weaving, and trying to avoid the real decisions they are there for. They love section-commander type decisions, like organising uniforms or deciding on the British Forces' radio. ROE matters, where the future conduct of the war and their own and the Government's position could be in question, they avoid if at all possible."

men and women of the armed forces should put their lives at risk in overseas deployments.

In this respect, it is worth reemphasizing the changed security context in which public support for the maintenance and employment of armed forces must be sustained. Armed forces are increasingly engaged in operations away from national territory, in places like the Balkans and Afghanistan, and in a broad range of contingencies ranging from enforcement to post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction. Public and parliamentary support is as important as ever. There is a further dimension to NATO's new role that has ramifications for parliamentary oversight. NATO's current emphasis on the need for rapidly deployable forces — best demonstrated by the creation of the NATO response force (NRF) — may not be consistent with national requirements for parliamentary approval.

The importance of parliaments to defence is indisputable. However, there is less agreement on what role they should play. The key issue is how much influence a parliament should endeavour to exert over the development of the defence budget and the organisation and running of the armed forces; with what degree of detail and intrusiveness should parliamentarians scrutinise defence?

There is, of course, no single model — Alliance parliaments exert varying degrees of influence and in different ways. The basic distinction to be drawn is between those who exert direct influence through formal powers of consultation and decision and those whose influence is indirect through their ability of a variety of mechanisms and procedures to hold the executive accountable, albeit 'after the event'.

At one end of the spectrum, there is the US Congress which, because of the US Constitution and the separation of powers, plays an influential role in the development of the US defence budget. Congress holds the DoD firmly accountable, often in excruciating detail and in a manner described by some, particularly those on the receiving end, as excessive micro management. Congress has often been seen as the model for those who sought real legislative influence⁹. However, two factors should be noted. Congressional powers are not easily replicated

⁹ This was also because Congress was very quick into the field in providing advice and assistance to the new parliaments, notably through the Congressional Research Service.

as they are obviously a product of, and specific to the US Constitution, and they require substantial supporting infrastructure in the way of committee staff, experts and supporting organisations and therefore substantial resources.

Other parliaments exert less direct influence and play a rather different role. For example, the British Parliament, whose direct oversight consists of voting the defence budget as a global figure once a year, plus various debates. The government does not have to obtain parliamentary approval for specific expenditure decisions. Parliament exerts little influence over the development of the British defence budget as this rests firmly in the hands of the executive. Again, this relationship is a function of British history and the development of a strong executive depending on a highly-professional and relatively insular civil service.

The British Parliament's Select Committee on Defence plays a rather different role in informing public opinion and making defence more transparent through focused hearings and reports¹⁰. Likewise, the National Audit Office, which reports to parliament, keeps the government on its toes by in-depth assessments of various programmes looking specifically to see that expenditure has been used effectively.

Most other parliaments exert considerably more direct influence than the British but fall short of the congressional model. The German Bundestag, the Netherlands and Danish parliaments offer more appropriate models as they enjoy formal consultative powers on issues such as equipment purchases and force deployments. In all parliaments it is the defence committees which provide the opportunity for detailed examination and assessment, supported by Budget and Foreign Affairs Committees. The institutional arrangements to implement parliamentary powers include debates, hearings, written questions and formal enquiries.

Within this overall distinction of direct and indirect influence, parliamentary activity can therefore be grouped into three broad areas: accountability, oversight and transparency.

¹⁰ For a frank assessment of the role of the British parliament, see the presentation of Bruce George MP (Chairman of the Select Committee on Defence) to the Rose—Roth Seminar on “Armed Forces in Democratic Societies” Herstmonceaux Castle, 23 - 26 July 1996.

Accountability

All parliaments hold their government accountable through the annual voting of the necessary funds, whether this is the end of a long process of examination as in the US model or the merely formal endorsement as in the British case. Whatever the model, the 'power of the purse' requires every government to explain and justify its expenditure demands¹¹.

Oversight

However, the crucial issue is the degree to which oversight translates into real influence over the decisions of the executive. Parliamentary authorisation is an important instrument of influence. In many countries, parliamentary authorisation is required for the deployment of forces abroad or for the purchase of major weapon systems.

The real question is how far parliaments should intrude into the making of defence policy and the running of the armed forces: for example, should the parliaments be consulted on the development of strategy and doctrine, or on procurement decision?¹²

Common sense suggests that there are many areas where parliament should not be directly involved in telling the military how to do their business. On the other hand, parliament should be kept fully informed through regular and timely consultation, and all areas should be open to parliamentary oversight and scrutiny. The executive should

¹¹ Accountability is also achieved through hearings or the establishment of special committees to look into specific issues. Examples of the latter were the investigation by the Canadian parliament into the conduct of Canadian soldiers in Somalia, and the enquiry by the Belgian parliament into the events that led to the deaths of Belgian peacekeepers in Rwanda (23). The Parliamentary inquiry into the Canadian Peace Mission in Somalia, Professor Dr. D. J. Winslow, paper presented at the fourth PCAF Workshop, Brussels, July 12- 14, 2002. See also the report of the Belgian Parliament on the murder of Belgian UN peacekeepers in Rwanda, "Parliamentary commission of inquiry regarding the events in Rwanda", Belgian Senate, December 6, 1997.

¹² Some of the new parliaments initially attempted to micro manage their armed forces even attempting, for example, to write military doctrine. Frequently this degree of intrusion was due to the suspicion with which the military was viewed rather than a realistic assessment of what was feasible and appropriate.

have the flexibility to exercise power responsibly but must also always be mindful that parliament is watching.

Transparency

Parliamentary debates and reports help make defence more transparent and increase public awareness and understanding. They play an important role in building the public consensus essential for defence.

Parliamentary activities should form an important part of a general security environment and the creation of a defence community in which security is freely and openly discussed and ceases to be the property and prerogative of a few.

Discussion of the role of parliaments would not be complete without a mention of their role in the broader context of civil-military relations. Parliamentarians form a natural link between the armed forces and the society. Many parliamentarians have particular connections through having military facilities or defence industries in their constituencies or because they themselves have a military background. Defence committees are frequently active in looking after the welfare and rights of soldiers.

What then are the obstacles to effective parliamentary involvement?

Whatever the model and degree of involvement, parliamentary effectiveness depends on parliamentarians being well informed and knowledgeable. However, again the unique characteristics of defence make the acquisition of the required competence problematic.

There are two obvious obstacles — the secrecy and exclusivity which have always been dominant features of the defence world. National security is often given as the reason for denying the provision of information. With the passing of the Cold War, this factor has become less inhibiting but confidentiality still tends to limit the flow of essential information. Frequently, the executive is unwilling to make available the required information, on the grounds of its sensitive nature. Membership of international organisations such as NATO can be used as a reason to withhold information due to the rules of the organisation, which inevitably always work at the level of the most security conscious. Parliaments deal with the issue of confidentiality in different ways. Most receive information from the executive on a ‘need to know’ basis.

Although, as many parliamentarians point out, it is the executive that decides 'the need'. Some hold closed hearings to satisfy the requirement. Some members hold security clearances.

Exclusivity, in the sense of propriety, often felt by military professionals towards their work and their reticence to accept the intrusion of civilians. This reticence is frequently more pronounced towards parliamentarians because of a perceived lack of expertise. In some instances, this is understandable because from the military professionals' point of view 'uninformed' interference can have far-reaching consequences for the lives of service personnel.

This reticence is not just an issue between military and civilians but reflects a more general problem between the executive branch as a whole towards parliamentary scrutiny. No government is particularly enthusiastic to have parliament looking over its shoulder. As a NATO PA member noted recently, 'we have democratic control over the military, but not over the diplomats and civil servants'. However, unwillingness by the executive to cooperate with parliament is ultimately counter productive. Not only is it contrary to the spirit of democracy, it is counter productive because no matter how irritating parliamentary scrutiny can be, parliamentary support is indispensable. Cooperation with parliaments is as the Americans would say, a "no brainer".

A successful working relationship between the three components, or Triad, of democratic control - the civil servants, the military and the parliamentarians — depends on the various parties respecting the competence and professionalism of the others. However, developing this competence and understanding takes time and application. Both are available for the civilian and military professional. Not so for the parliamentarians who are faced with a range of competing domestic demands for their attention. Moreover, in few countries are there many election votes to be gained in being a defence or foreign policy expert.

However, defence is not some form of black art comprehensible only to a privileged and dedicated elite. With the appropriate supportive infrastructure, parliamentarians can develop the competence and expertise necessary to exercise responsible judgement in holding the executive accountable.

Effective parliamentary involvement in defence is best achieved with the help of a supportive infrastructure which should include:

qualified staff to offer reliable and informed advice on government submissions; research departments and independent research institutes to provide in-depth and objective analysis; and a critical and inquisitive media. Parliament should have access to multiple sources of information and to independent counsel so that they are not forced to rely on, or automatically accept, government submissions.

The DCAF handbook on parliamentary oversight of the security sector offers invaluable advice on the overall parameters within which parliamentary involvement in defence should be set. This is required bed time reading for members¹³.

Interparliamentary organisations form an important part of this supportive infrastructure. As NATO's interparliamentary arm, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has long been a transatlantic forum for parliamentary dialogue and a source of education, information and experience for its members. It has played a significant role in assisting legislators to become more effective in influencing national defence policy through their national parliaments; and in holding their executives to account. It has also assisted in making Alliance policies more transparent and, therefore, more understandable to public opinion¹⁴.

A central feature of the assembly's work for the past decade has been the integration of parliamentarians from partner countries into the full range of assembly activities in order to allow them to benefit from

¹³ "Parliamentary oversight of the Security Sector: principles, mechanisms and practices". The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces and the Inter-parliamentary Union.

¹⁴ The NATO Parliamentary Assembly, founded in 1955 with a Brussels-based secretariat, brings together 214 national parliamentarians from the 26 NATO countries, associate delegations from 13 nations, Mediterranean Associate delegations from 3 nations, and 8 with the status of Parliamentary Observer.

The NATO PA is a policy influencing rather than policy-making body. The nature of NATO's intergovernmental decision-making process based on consensus means that the contribution of its interparliamentary counterpart lies primarily in creating greater transparency of Alliance policies and contributing to the development of Alliance-wide consensus. Direct influence on NATO policies lies through national parliaments. Obviously it is to be hoped that in developing Alliance policies, NATO's member governments heed and take account of the collective parliamentary voice as expressed in Assembly debates, reports and resolutions. For a discussion of the role of the NATO PA, see the author's paper presented to the Fourth DCAF Workshop on Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight, July 12—14: "The Role of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly", a paper presented for the seminar on the parliamentary dimension of European Security and Defence Policy, The Hague, 14 May, 2001.

the experience of others. This was largely achieved through the Rose-Roth program¹⁵ which established a special series of seminars, still going to this day, and training courses for parliamentary staff.

The Rose-Roth program has allowed us a first hand view of the experiences and problems of our partner countries.

Needless to say, most of the obstacles described earlier in establishing the norms of democratic control have been exacerbated in transition countries. While all faced similar problems due to their communist past, each has its own specific characteristics. Some had to deal with bloated military establishments and a top-heavy and frequently recalcitrant officer corps¹⁶.

Others had to build their armed forces from scratch. However, no-one starts with a blank piece of paper. They all had to cope with the most burdensome communist legacy of all — mentality and attitude — and the difficulties of inculcating a sense of initiative and responsibility.

For the parliamentary side, there was also the problem of inadequate structures, a dearth of resources, and insufficient expertise to develop the competences necessary to challenge the executive. Much had to be done, and indeed has been done. In many partner countries, the progress has been truly impressive. Mechanisms and practices have been put in place which rival those in some traditional member parliaments.

¹⁵ The Rose--Roth initiative was named after the two members of Congress who initiated the program and scoured the necessary funding through US AID. The Rose- Roth initiative was based on two factors: recognition of the complexity and magnitude of the problems facing the new democracies in developing effective democratic institutions and a determination that the NATO PA could help.

The Rose—Roth outreach program has three component parts: the integration of East European parliaments into all aspects of the Assembly's work, the organisation of special seminars and of staff training for parliamentary staff. Held in partner countries, the seminars (60 to date) provide Alliance parliamentarians with first hand experience of regional problems. They and the staff training program also focus on providing advice and expertise on the development of democratic control. Overall the program has been successful not only in providing practical experience, but also in demonstrating political commitment and solidarity.

¹⁶ The national standing of the armed forces varied greatly from country to country depending on historical experience. In Poland and Romania the military was held in high standing, in Hungary and the Czech Republic not so. However, irrespective of their national standing as a corporate group they were a repository of old thinking and represented an obstacle to successful democratisation.

In conclusion, it is important to stress that putting in place the mechanisms and procedures for effective democratic control and making them work takes time. Building the necessary trust, confidence and respect needed for true cooperation involves a substantial change in attitudes and habits. Furthermore, the democratic control of armed forces is not a fixed point. It is a process that is constantly evolving in all of our countries, largely as a response to changes in the security environment.

This article has emphasised the centrality of relations between the executive and the parliament, and between the military and political sides in providing effective democratic control. In Alliance countries the tensions inherent in these relationships have been absorbed through custom and practice and have become an essential element of the dynamic of democratic government. Likewise, the same process will have to work its way through in the countries that have made and are making the transition to democracy.

Each country has to manage this process in its own way. The final goal is the same – finding an appropriate place for defence and the military in our respective societies. In achieving this goal, ideas and experiences can be shared and lessons learned. But the precise route chosen will be determined by the forces and influences at home.

Developing Democratic and Effective Defence Organisations

*H.E. Dr. Willem van Eekelen, former
WEU Secretary General*

Thank you, chairman. This is my second visit to Georgia. Two and a half years ago, Simon Lunn and I were here together at a Rose-Roth Seminar. I have a vivid memory of it not only because we visited the Pankisi Gorge, but also because they made me 'tamada' and it took me days to recover from that experience.

It is really the implementation that matters. You seem to have wonderful laws and I was impressed by the booklet on Georgian laws that has just been made available to us. But the question remains, not only in the case of Georgia, whether these laws serve their purpose, and secondly, whether they are really being implemented.

I completely agree with Simon Lunn when he emphasises the importance of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. I was a member for eight years and I was always impressed by the importance of parliamentarians from different countries, different backgrounds, different systems to meet together and to reach, which I always called, a process of consensus building. The NATO Parliamentary Assembly is not really to control defence, but it reaches a degree of consensus, which individual members can then use at home in order to control their own defence establishment and the policies of their own government. And I think that it is really the international aspect which is so important because, as Simon already said, there is no single model in democratic oversight of defence.

I would even go a step further and say that there is no single model of democracy. If you compare the United States with the European system, as Simon did, and if you also compare two-party

systems with multi-party systems, where governments are always based on a coalition, you already have a tremendous difference in practice. If it is only a two-party system, most of the decisions are already pre-cooked within the leading party. But if there is a coalition government, then the political play is done at two different levels, one in the cabinet and one in the Parliament, and sometimes those two levels do not coincide and then you may have an early crisis. In any case, you then have to have the ability to match those two levels.

To me, the functions of any democratic system, whether it is in the defence department or in another department, are basically expressed in three words. Those words are: you have to reveal, you have to explain and you have to justify. You have to be as transparent as possible, as Simon explained very well. You have to explain why you are doing certain things and you have to justify in a public discussion and in a parliamentary discussion, why you have done the things you did. And perhaps one of the most important things in that process is that you are able to accept criticism and that you are not taking criticism personally. It could be simply an honest difference of opinion or a difference of accent. In most cases, however, unless you think there has been a case of misappropriation, it is an honest difference of opinion, which you are able to settle in discussion in a democratic way.

I had the privilege to start my career as a diplomat, serving the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands for some time. I subsequently joined politics and afterwards I became an international civil servant. I have experienced all of the different angles in my own career. As some say, I was a poacher turned gamekeeper. I don't know to which under expression in particular that applies. But to me is very clear that the Minister of Defence has to be a civilian. But at the same time I always insist that it is not only a question of the civilian element in a Ministry. It is also a question of the democratic element in the Ministry, because you can have a civilian minister and still have a very authoritarian system. Look at the experience which we have seen in some countries. I think it has to be a civilian because he is better placed in society in general. However, much more important is that he functions in a democratic framework.

Having been Minister of Defence myself, I admit that there always is a certain tension between the military and the civilians, but that is why it is so good to have them within the same department,

because if you cannot settle there, you will only have problems later. Why is there tension? The military, as Simon said, may have by tradition a tendency to say: we know best. But even if they accept that others may know better, they still have their own demands. They think that certain things have to be done. For instance, they may think that they need more funding or certain equipment, which the government finds that it cannot afford. There is tension as a result of this. Even when the military and all militaries in NATO accept the primacy of politics, they often still feel that the civilians and politicians are not paying sufficient attention to their view.

The other side of the coin is that politicians are prepared to take military advice seriously. In my opinion, the military would like politicians to take their professional military advice seriously, so that they can count on the politicians. But in the end it is the primacy of politics, which also means that the politicians take responsibility for what they give to the military. If anything goes wrong and it appears to be the fault of the politicians, the politicians have to take the blame and the responsibility for the outcome. Therefore, developed countries are characterised by many debates. In Britain a debate took place on the Falkland as well as on the Iraq war. In those cases, did the soldiers get what they needed? The entire MoD as well as parliament know that they are being watched by the public. How can you resolve these tensions? A balance of trust, I would say. A balance of trust by the politicians that professional military advice is honest and should be taken seriously, and at the same time, trust by the military that the politicians in their policy and being democratically accountable ultimately have the primacy of politics.

The second point I want to raise this morning is that defence policy is a part of security and foreign policy. Defence policy is not something on its own, especially when we have so many different functions of defence. In this part of the world, I suppose that the traditional function of defence is ensuring the territorial integrity and independence of your country. This is more important in the Eastern part of Europe than in most NATO countries. But, nevertheless, defence also has to be a function of an overall foreign and security policy. That is no easy undertaking. I remember the words of Mr. Holbrook after having done his work in Dayton and Bosnia: 'Foreign policy is one damn thing after the other'. And he was quite right. You have to continuously react

to developments. That is why it is so difficult to join a common foreign and security policy within the European Union, because you are not really in Brussels, not really geared to responding to all these little details. On a day to day basis you have to find a general line, but you will probably not be able to go very much further.

Terrorism in particular and the Solana strategy, to a large extent they cannot be solved by military measures alone. The new threats – terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, organised crime – are not really exclusive military threats. And that brings me to the point, Simon touched on it, but perhaps I could take it a bit further, that the security sector is a better word for what we are facing today. The security sector deals with other instruments of the state which have the power to use force. In the semi-military field this sometimes includes forces of the Interior Ministry, the border or coast guards, the intelligence services and increasingly also the police service. The police because it is much more in touch with the individual citizen than most of the military are. Therefore, in my opinion, the individual citizen is much worried about the police behaviour regarding himself in terms of human rights and proper behaviour than he is with regard to the military. At least, when the situation has more or less settled and no actual fighting is going on across the border. I realize that this is a delicate matter, but I would plea to you to consider the security sector in a more general sense.

Speaking about defence, two basic differences can be noticed between the older NATO members and the newer ones as well as certainly the countries of this region. The older members of NATO have moved to a volunteer service, while many of the others and certainly the countries of this region have conscript armies. This makes a tremendous difference in how you manage the system. I was Minister of Defence, when the Netherlands still had a conscript army. But I regarded our military more or less as a training factory of soldiers, that when they finally have learned something, you have to release them from their duty. Now that we have a small army on a voluntary basis, we can train them longer and therefore they are better able to meet the technological demands than the conscripts were beforehand. Although, I must say, that conscripts had a great advantage by coming from all parts of society. Sometimes you would have some fairly well trained people that you could use for a good purpose. If you only need a small army, you have the problem of determining who should serve. Furthermore, if you only

need 30 percent of the young men, then you clearly have a problem in devising an affairs system. Some of the young men have to serve in the army while their colleagues of the same age are able to start their studies and career. This is a question of fairness within the system.

One of my state secretaries had this wonderful metaphor, he said that if you have conscripts, it is like playing football, but there is no opponent, because fortunately, there is no war. Basically, you train on the fields, but you never know exactly how reality is going to be. Of course, the same applies to a certain extent also to a volunteer army. But the main difference to a conscript army lies in the fact, that half of the conscript team does not want to play football, because they would rather be back in society. This means that you have a problem of motivation. How is the problem of motivation solved in a democratic society? This is a question of the curriculum. Are you able to train your soldiers in a way that will benefit them when they return to society? Regarding the role of the parliament, Simon already has made some very important point.

Let me just try to elaborate on the traditional role of the parliament in terms of budgets. That is the traditional role of a parliament determining how much money the government is able to tax from its citizens.

Secondly, there is the question of legislation. I assume that all the countries involved with NATO Partnership for Peace have realized that.

Thirdly, there is the matter of policy. An enormous difference still exists as to what extent the parliament is involved with policy questions. Regarding budgets and legislation, everybody accepts the involvement of the parliament. But the difference in terms of policy is much greater; holding governments, ministers on a day-to-day basis accountable on what is happening in the real world, as Simon called it. Enormous differences still exist.

Then we have to try to put all three functions into logical secrets. Start with the security policy document, a white paper, strategy paper, different modes, but basically, a document which looks into the future. Many countries had a white paper covering period of lets say some ten years. But then they rapidly discover that ten years was far too long, because in the meantime something had happened.

The example of Afghanistan can serve to illustrate this point. The Secretary General at that time, Lord Robertson, always said: capabilities,

capabilities, capabilities, but then Afghanistan came and we were to change our capabilities. Therefore, many of our countries, especially the smaller ones, were in difficulties because we had never thought on sending our forces to Afghanistan and to emphasise on Special Forces, etc., which was quite new to us at that time.

On the basis of the general security documents, which have to be updated, one can see various laws, laws dealing with different aspects of military service, conscription, conscientious objection, martial laws, state of emergency, mobilization, security services and intelligence. I believe I have covered the main ones.

But ultimately, when it comes to the budget, the question comes down to how much is enough, how much are you prepared as a parliament to give to the Department of Defence. And how well is the Department of Defence able to explain and justify to the parliament that it really needs the money. In my opinion, the civil-military relationship is especially important in this process. Because if you have a good civilian element in the MoD, which serves as a good antenna for those political sensitivities, then the chances are better to persuade your government.

But on the other hand you also need a defence committee which has sufficient expertise, that can count/rely on think tanks as non-governmental organizations and which also benefits from the motivation of the member of parliaments. Because in most cases, parliamentarians are not that keen on being the spokesperson for defence and there are normally very few votes for the post of spokesman of defence. In the West, the tendency has changed to the better. Because of all the peace support operations, people are much more interested in the legitimacy, risks and other crucial factors involved. But basically, most people rather become the spokesperson of some other department.

Then I come to the question of procurement. There are many countries where the Minister of Defence is particularly responsible for procurement, but not specifically for the operational side. The relationship between the Chief of Staff, the Chief of Defence and the Minister of Defence is quite difficult in many countries. For example, in Turkey, the situation is still very delicate in terms of how the different positions relate to each other. The same is true for other countries. Regarding procurement, the situation is easier. This is because civil society is directly involved in aspects such as: how is the tax payers

money being spent, to judge presented alternatives and what role the international cooperation plays. At the same time, it has to be clear whether the money invested on procurement is worth its duration over time. You have to consider the life-cycle of a certain piece of equipment. If it was obtained cheaply today, there might be major future maintenance investments necessary and therefore not be a very good deal in the long run. The final point of the cycle concerns the evaluation. Does a system exist in your country which has helped you evaluate your policy paper, legislation, decisions either on procurement, operation, or management, and did the final results match whatever was intended in the original white paper or security strategy? In my opinion, the essence of democracy is that at the end of each evaluation cycle the results match the original intention and that this evaluation presents the start of a new cycle again. Because as a function of the evaluation new requirements are being formulated, which then play their role.

My very last point concerns the question of complaint procedures. Fortunately, in the time we are living a great emphasis is placed on the role of the individual and human rights. Does your system provide for some arrangement of complaint procedure? In any case, in my opinion, there should be an internal inspectorate which guarantees a regulated complaint procedure within the system. After a certain time, most countries, at least old members of NATO, have an ombudsman who is assigned to the military sector. In the case of Germany, the ombudsman is even appointed by the parliament and is completely independent. There also exists the possibility to hire a general ombudsman who takes complaints from the public and society but also deals with the military dimension. The element of the ombudsman increasingly plays an important role, especially for conscript armies. He further is responsible to maintain the balance between, on the one hand, the discipline and the exigencies of the military profession. On the other hand, the level of protection that can be offered to the individual in terms of employment and human rights standards.

My conclusion of this topic says that it is hard work. It is hard work wherever you are, because, on the one hand, there is always pressure between tasks, and resources on the other hand. You will never receive exactly what you like. It will remain a continuous battle. A battle in which everybody has to play his/her part, respects the views of others and ultimately accepts the outcome of democratic processes.

Transparency and Accountability in Defence Management

Dr. Andrzej Karkoszka, Director, Strategic Defence Review, Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Poland

Since Georgia and other countries of this region at this summit aspire to become members of NATO, we must recognise that power point is a requirement. Without power point there is no alliance. I am sorry for troubling you with this, but that is how it goes.

Most of the aspects that I was going to mention were in one way or the other already covered by the two previous speakers. I apologize for being repetitive, but having been in the military executive on the civilian side since 1991, I belong to those who hate parliamentary control and I will preach this again today. I must say that my experiences of going to Parliament to represent the executive and to explain everything to the people, who often do not know what they are asking about, has been a rather contradictory task for me.

I came here as a DCAF speaker, but I come from Warsaw, Poland, and I am also doing the statistic defence review in my country, and I am also the Vice-Minister of Defence.

I would like to try to discuss the basics. I think we always need to remind ourselves what transparency and accountability mean.

Therefore, I came up with the following theory: I regard defence management as a public service like any other. Therefore, the legislative and executive authorities must have the obligation, as was already said before, to account for their actions by revealing, explaining and justifying their plans. They further need to explain how they intend to spend the public money. The term accountability can have different meanings. It can be political, meaning that those who did badly/wrong, have to explain their actions to the public. Regarding financial accountability, it simply means to be correct with the bookkeeping and spending money. If the process is flawed, there are certain consequences to face. There is administrative accountability. Those who do not manage well, should be taken away from the administration, not being promoted and possibly being exposed. Concerning legal accountability, depending on the wrongful action, employees should be persecuted, put to trial, sentenced, punished, or released from this accountability, if they are not guilty. Next comes transparency, which is actually the precondition for accountability. One cannot exist without the other, since they both deal with the provision of information to the citizen, individual and social groups, to institutions and to relations among the institutions,

which allows for the proper management and planning of all different actions. I would like to stress that transparency and accountability are just two elements of the core of the democratic control of armed forces. Others include the decision-making process, where the parliament plays its biggest role, and individual rights, where on the one hand the protection of citizens rights by the security sector is concerned, and on the other hand, the individual rights of the soldiers and members within the security sector structures. Others include the existence of a civil society and free media, as well as an independent judiciary. Transparency and accountability only provide for two of those elements.

What do we intend to make transparently available to the public, citizens and institutions? First, let's consider the defence budgeting and planning. Those issues are extremely complex because they concern the entire range of different actions. If they really are to be transparent, all the different stages, from the doctrines which set the framework, down to priorities and different other elements, have to be considered. This only allows the budgeting and planning to be transparent and understandable, and in no way contradictory.

The next aspect involves the management of the entire system. It is important to stick to the plans made. There have been past situations where plans were announced, which were then to be cancelled in the following year due to a lack of interest. In a real transparent democratic system, such mismanagement is no longer possible. Because the existing terms, dates of implementation and procedures are all set up and are clearly visible.

The military structures and personnel policy should not be known to society. Simply because there is no need for the involvement of society in the structuring of the military. However, if society were to be involved, they would be better informed about the large size of the security sector, its purpose and its policies. Society would then be better connected with the whole system.

In my opinion, countries that announce their strategic doctrine, provide general information about the security sector to their citizens. It further provides guidance to all the institutions of the management system. But it also serves as an explanation to the neighbouring countries and enables them to tell whether their own actions are compatible with this doctrine. The level of credibility of the doctrine can possibly have consequences on the relations between the two countries concerned.

Procurement, another very important element, has already been mentioned by my predecessors. This is a very complex topic, but if one considers that each year billions of dollars are spent on defence systems, this area obviously attracts corruption and mismanagement. The proper procedures of announcing the contracts, running all the processes, spending money, auditing the spending and explaining where all the procurement goes are very important.

International interactions in the defence system. Those cooperation activities should be publicly announced, so that people are informed about the good relations to their neighbours, allies or main partners. People should be aware of the treaties and agreements being

signed. That way they are committing the people without them knowing. In case of possible problems, citizens will not be surprised.

Thirdly, arms transfer. In this case, the level of transparency depends to a certain extent on the trading partner. Some buyers only engage in purchases if the other party does not disclose the information. Unfortunately, such deals exist, but we should avoid them as much as possible. Therefore, the system should control the arms deals as well as the flow of money.

What are the venues of this transparency? Where do they take place?

First of all, the parliament is the venue for the politics of transparency. By being transparent, the parliament allows society to see the links between the executive, military, resources and plans, which as a whole form the defence and security policy, that allows for better understanding.

Secondly, there are several state executive agencies. However, I will not elaborate on them. Willem already recounted all of them. I will turn your attention only to the civilian and military parts of the executive and, only the countries in their period of transition towards a democratic system experience a lack of civilian colours. Here, I am not talking about civilian deputies, but members of the management system, which at the beginning of the process are military members of the security sector that dictate the interpretations, give directions and implement the decisions. While it should be under the influence of civilians that are prepared for the task.

Thirdly, the audit institution. Depending on the country, it tends to be arranged differently. This institution is responsible for ensuring that the money is spent correctly. The institution takes over a very important role, if it functions independently.

Fourthly, the media. There are no doubts that the media is the best instrument of transparency. Attention should be drawn on journalists that focus on the sensational part of the activity of their business. Unfortunately, this tendency is visible in most of our states. The spreading of false information presents a very difficult element regarding the freedom of the media. Every country has to find its own strategy on how to handle this specific issue of abuse. The possibility of advising others does not free them from having their own experiences. Eventually, if the information system, reporting, analysis, or debate in the media is well developed, it will work as the best way of providing transparency and accountability, as well as public and political accountability.

An important element of this transparency system is the academic and analytical world. I am not referring to pure scientific explanations, but to the importance of alternative explanations, which are different from the perspectives of official, leading or dominant institutions. In the end there should be a balanced policy, which takes all interests and views into account.

Finally, there is the judiciary system. The importance and strengths of this system lies in its judgement, which is free from political pressure about guilt or innocence.

Why should we engage in such a complex system? What are the benefits of transparency and accountability?

First and very importantly is the effectiveness of the whole system: effective in terms of spending money, effective in achieving the goals of the nation/state, effective in terms of checking who can do better among the personnel, and as I mentioned before, effectiveness in terms of balanced state and social interests concerning resources. If those aspects are neglected, we might have a very good security sector and defence, but a very weak economy. In the years 1991/92, Poland was under so much pressure to progress economically, that the military budget nearly disappeared. The nation's budget was only 26 percent of the years 1989 and 1990. The military was left in place, the structures existed, but without money there is not much that one can do.

A second very important issue is public confidence. If the executive does not have the public confidence about the work it is doing, a legitimate government cannot exist. Legitimacy is very important when it comes to the domain of security, where police and military actions are concerned. Otherwise, the government and society split apart. The government pursues a policy, that the society does not believe in.

Thirdly, the system of transparency and accountability is a most effective barrier against corruption, nepotism, and neglect. There is no need for me to give further explanation of those individual terms. Simply, each one represents an extremely bad characteristic and is typical for our societies, especially the societies that developed from the post-soviet system.

Fourthly, there is the facilitation of corrective action. Often, it is not enough to only find something not working properly. Through increased transparency, it is easier and there are more possibilities to correct flawed mechanisms. Basically, active measures can be taken against flawed or illegal actions.

If the budget, doctrine, its structures and procedures are all kept secret, other countries might become suspicious and will be afraid that negative actions could be planned against them. Therefore, the countries of a region need to cooperate and emphasis should be placed on the improvement of relations of the countries concerned. Of course, such actions require enough funding for the security sector of each country.

Though this concept sounds nice in theory, there is a tendency for problems to occur during the process of implementation. There is a natural resistance to transparency which often emerges at the political level. Authorities and influential dominant groups are reluctant to disclose such information, because if illegal procedures are revealed, they might face criminal charges. There is also a natural resistance to discuss defence or security matters with the opposition, because it automatically strengthens the position of the opposition. This is considered to be dangerous.

Some of the resistance to transparency is actually understandable. In the past, certain states conducted secret activities and clandestine operations to gain weapons because they were facing an embargo. For the purpose of state security, they have to act in secret. I admit that there are situations when transparency is not compatible with national interests. If a country faces a conflict, there is a natural resistance to disclose information. However, many countries of the former Warsaw Pact that switched to NATO noticed that for the first time being free of any collective arrangements. They could disclose 99 percent of the elements of their security system and still feel secure.

Another form of resistance results from the avoidance of punishment in case of mismanagement. People in charge have no intention to disclose secret material if they have inappropriately, if not illegally, processed information. When they want to cover, they are simply stupid. The lack of professionalism, they protect themselves by lack of transparency.

The next element, which is also my last, is the legacy of the past. In former communist societies, some citizens believed that they were not supposed to have access to accurate state information. What were they supposed to do with this newly available information? Another problem related to their inability to properly understanding the information provided to them. Those are some of the main reasons for why there is a lack of transparency. There is a great need to change that!

How should this issue be approached? I will only briefly comment on this issue because most of it is self-evident. First, there is a need for legal norms of transparency in the constitution, different laws and a procedural element on all the executive levels. One of the most important prerequisites is political will. Authorities must have the will to implement required changes. Usually, they do not. The availability of professional cadres, especially in the Parliament, is necessary to analyse what the executive does. If the processes on the executive level are not well understood by the parliamentarians, there is no basis to ask questions and consequently there is no alternate proposal. The public level of awareness needs to be raised through education and practices. Then we have the technological base, which is already at a more advanced stage, where you have the same language simply in the information documents, in the budgetary and other documents, something which is understood by the other side. But it is especially important for the proper planning procedures.

Instruments for the Parliament such as debates, hearing, interpellations, reports, special commissions, also need to be developed. Transparency also includes governmental documents, white books, analysis, audit reports and the public debate over them. Last but not least, there need to be uncensored media coverage.

I was tempted to provide you with an example of what transparency and accountability mean in real life. In my own practice, especially during my time as Secretary of State, I discovered several cases where the military and security system tried to cover the disclosure of information and processes in the interest of their own institution.

Some of the other cases that I wanted to describe include an over-sophistication of documents. They are not presented to the public, and understandably so. For that reason, the information is only comprehensible to experts. Often, there is also misinformation provided to the public. This includes information which cannot be verified and possibly corrected.

The next element to be discussed is accountability, which plays an important role within the institution, especially among the differently ranked personnel. The tendency prevails to cover the happenings inside the corporate groups, to avoid the disclosure of any wrongful doings. This is a most difficult task, since good colleagues or even friends might have been involved in illegal activities. Therefore, certain information is still withheld from the public.

Finally, we have to recognize the power of the monopoly of information. Often, only few people possess the crucial information. This automatically makes it more difficult to demand and obtain the wanted information.

Armenian Perspective

***Mr. Mher Shahgeldian, Chairman,
Standing Committee on Defence, National
Security and International Affairs,
National Assembly, Armenia***

I am pleased to present our vision and approaches on the subject-matter. I would simply like to specify that my report not only covers legal aspects, but also non-legal aspects. It will have a wider scope and will cover our approaches to cooperation and program projects in the sphere of cooperation with the Euro-Atlantic structures.

Dear colleagues, dear ladies and gentlemen! Within the framework of the international relations, the 20th century was marked by the end of the ideological conflict of the Cold War. As a result of this, the traditional approaches, created before to ensure state security, have lost their relevance. The following questions emerged: What kind of a world are we living in? And the main point is, what kind of world will mankind have in the 21st century? Answers to these questions can be found on the path to the multilateral cooperation. It is clear anyway that in the modern world states are not able to fulfill their national interests, especially in the sphere of international relations and security, while they are isolated from the interests of the world community. In this respect, it is necessary that both the international strategy and the systems of security are suited to modern threats and challenges.

Globalization has turned the world into a single mechanism. But at the same time, the field of security still involves many different things. The way out can be found with the formation of a new world structure. This world structure should be democratic and reflect the vision of different nation-states.

This demands the adaptation and modernization of concepts of security and traditional approaches to the liquidation of threats. It is also necessary to take into account that the character and essence of national security of any state depends on its geographical situation, territorial and human resources, economic, military, cultural, scientific and other strategically important potentials. The countries of the Southern Caucasus, including Armenia, possess limited resources and the factors influencing their regional security, therefore, are more pronounced.

Today the world community is guided by democratic values, and democracy is the guiding principle for the state, society, and the individual. The maintenance of democratic values in a nation-state also guarantees their continued existence, because the world community is united around this idea.

Guided by these democratic values and taking into account regional development, Armenia, in the process of the construction of its defence system and the realization of military reforms, is guided by a principle of gradual, but uncompromising reforms. The goal of reform in the defence sphere is the establishment of the Armed Forces in a way which meets the requirements and challenges of the 21st century. The Armed Forces must be ready to ensure the security of the state. At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish military reforms and evolutionary development of the armed forces. It is possible to try to make reforms in two to three years, but it could require many years for full military construction, which will transform these reforms into reality. The full technological cycle includes not only cognitive components, from vivid contemplation to abstract thinking, but also engineering components, - from them to practice.

The technological cycle does not come to an end when the formula is written down, but when it becomes a technique or reality. From this point of view the process of the realization of reforms demands much effort and study. The analysis of the world experience, the methods of their performance in different countries and the results received are very important.

We are glad that within a very short period of time we could achieve appreciable success. This success includes, the armistice achieved in 1994. After the armistice, the mechanisms of democratic and civil control began to develop quickly in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia. This development has been dictated by the needs and requirements of civil society. In subsequent years, these mechanisms were established by law, and they continue to develop. The secret is in the correct use of both reformers and stabilizers. In Armenia it is understood that support of society is necessary for ensuring the security of the state, and this support can only be provided by civil democratic control over the sector of defence. These questions automatically fall within the general attention of the country's population.

Within the framework of this policy, respective divisions in military departments have been created, which provide for continuous relation with civilians, public organizations and representatives of press. The decision was adopted to include these programs in the process of planning and analysis, that is the PARP, and in individual partnership action plan with the NATO, IPAP. The document will soon be submitted to the North-Atlantic Council.

As to the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building, that is PAP-DIB, I think, that PAP-DIB can become an excellent conceptual base for the realization of reforms in the sphere of defence. The elements of PAP-DIB can be introduced in the above mentioned cooperation programs with the NATO, as well as in the state programs.

As to the parliamentary control over the sphere of security and armed forces, that is the basic part in which Parliament is engaged in and which concerns civil control, I would like to say that this issue is very important for Armenia. It is included, as one of the basic components, in our project on the IPAP.

These are some main aspects:

First of all, there is increasing transparency in the discussion of the military budget and the general budget for security issues. From year to year, budgetary discussions become more open, and we would like to achieve that rational point, which is necessary for balance. This involves, on the one hand, the precise parliamentary control over sphere of security, and on the other hand, the provision of defence and security.

One more very important component: is the work with conceptual aspects. Parliament takes an analytical approach and represents the basis for perception and understanding of the logic of military reform.

In the sphere of legislative activity, here the creation of a sufficient professional level both for experts of the Commission on Defence and Security and for the corresponding services of National Assembly, is very important. The mechanisms needed for reform will be created by adoption of one or another legislative act.

One more very important direction for us which also involves our cooperation with public organizations, is the consideration or reception of information on the day-to-day service of soldiers, private men, and sergeants in the Armed Forces. From this point of view, the cooperation with corresponding departments of the executive authority, with the Ministry of Defence and security services, is necessary. The more information that is submitted, the more transparency in society, especially for public organizations, public politicians and the mass media. In this respect, we consider the National Assembly, as an institute which can attach, on the one hand, executive authority in the state, and on the other hand, the public organizations, like the Parliament. The Parliament is a representative body where the permanent debates take place and where opinions are confronted.

In conclusion I would like to add that the establishment and development of a democratic society, the increase of public consciousness and the reassessment of existing values are rather complex issues. They do not only depend on the governmental authorities. In these developments, participation is required of the whole societies, including the public institutions.

I am confident that this action also will promote development both democratic structures and stability in our region, will promote creation of those mechanisms, which we really want to create, and one of these mechanisms is the civil control over the sphere of security.

Mr. Kakha Sikharulidze

**First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Georgia**

The reorganization of the MoD envisages the establishment of a highly effective and rational organization from the management of the Ministry and General Staff to the units, which ensures an efficient decision-making process and goes inline with the process of strengthening democratic institutions. The most important component in the reform of the defence system is the improvement of institutional management to secure the democratic control of armed forces, and the improvement of the effectiveness of the defence resource management system.

The paramount importance for Georgia is to modernize its armed forces, to make it NATO compatible and interoperable for further integration into Euro-Atlantic security structures. In this regard, significant steps have been carried out:

Restructuring the Security Sector

As part of the restructuring process of the security systems, all combat units and heavy equipment of the interior troops have been transferred to the MoD. The National Guard has been transformed. All of its combat units and heavy equipment have been transferred to the land forces. The main tasks and missions of the National Guard are: reserve training, mobilization, and on call support to civil authorities in disaster relief operations. The Border Guard Department has been subordinated to the MoI. The Ministries of State Security and Interior have been merged into a single Ministry of Public Security and Police.

As a consequence of these reforms, the only governmental body responsible for national defence is the MoD. The Ministry of Public Security and Police was established as the agency responsible for public

order and internal security. All of the above-mentioned changes have significantly reduced overlapping missions among the different state agencies and have increased the effective distribution of resources among them.

Establishing civilian control over the Armed Forces (AF)

The security sector deals with vital missions of the state. Therefore, it is especially important to have effective democratic control over the security field, as democratic civilian control of AF ensures accountability and legitimacy for the maintenance of state force, and if necessary its use.

Major steps have been taken in this regard in the recent past. Georgia has established a necessary legal base for implementing democratic control over the AF. Several new laws and amendments to the old ones have been passed.

Major mechanisms of democratic control over the military forces are defined in the Georgian constitution, Georgian law on national security, law on defence, law on parliamentary committees, law on trust groups and other legislative acts. The constitution of Georgia draws basic lines in defining responsibilities for the three branches of government: executive, legislative and judicial in the security and particularly defence sector.

The Parliament

Within the limits prescribed by the constitution, the Parliament of Georgia represents the supreme legislative body, defines the main directions of internal and foreign policy, and exercises control over the activity of the government.

Legislative activities: The parliament is responsible for adopting laws.

One of the mechanisms for exercising control over the government defined by law, is the parliament's participation in the process of appointing the highest authorities of law enforcement agencies and the MoD. Parliament discusses and approves the proposed candidates for the highest positions. Once in office, they are obliged to submit full information related to their activities to the proper

parliamentary committees. Members of the parliament are also authorized to raise questions about whether their impeachment is consistent with the circumstances stipulated in the law.

The most important element of the parliamentary control regarding the AF is the defence budget appropriations and oversight of the annual budget execution. This provides transparency and accountability of defence spending.

The security and defence committee of the parliament discusses all defence issues before submitting them to the parliament. These issues mainly obtain legal and budgetary concerns.

The President

The constitution of Georgia defines the authority of the President in controlling the AF. He is the chief supreme commander of the Georgian AF. The President appoints and dismisses the higher command of the AF and approves military ranks above the level of colonel. He presides at the consultative council on national security, the status of which is established by law. The National Intelligence Service is under his authority. The President can declare a general or partial state of emergency in accordance with Georgian law.

The Cabinet

The Prime Minister is the head of the minister's cabinet. He selects the cabinet and presents it to the parliament for adoption. The cabinet elaborates and implements the overall government policy according to the presidential guidelines and directions adopted by the parliament.

The MoD

Major changes have been implemented in the legislature regulating the defence field. At the beginning of 2004, Georgia appointed the first civilian Minister of Defence who is a member of government. Currently, the MoD is comprised of approximately 85 percent civilians. All the leading positions, from the Minister down to the department directors of the MoD, are occupied by civilians.

According to changes in the law on national defence in 2004, roles and responsibilities between the MoD and General Staff (GS) have been clearly defined. The responsibilities of the MoD are:

- Defence policy and planning
- Defining short and long-term threats
- Exercising oversight on budget expenditures and resource management
- International defence co-operation
- Participation in the elaboration and implementation of international agreements and conventions
- Co-operation with civil agencies
- Development of research and technologies
- Refining defence legislature and ensuring transparency in civil-military relations
- The GS is responsible for the implementation of the policy set by the Ministry, force planning and development, operational planning, command and training of the AF.

Public information and awareness

The MoD of Georgia encourages the participation of civil society in developing defence and security policy. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and independent experts are involved in different defence issues and projects.

Permanent meetings are held at the MoD, where high level officials of the Ministry brief representatives of the mass-media about ongoing processes and changes. This raises transparency, public awareness and confidence towards the military sector.

The Georgian administration code regulates the affairs of the executive branch of the Georgian government and determines public and secret information. According to this code, every citizen has the right to request public information at the administrative institution, to receive copies of such information, except for information that is defined as confidential by law.

Defence budget expenditures are transparent to the corresponding agencies.

Structural reforms and optimization of the management system

To improve the level of management and to ensure transparency in the Georgian AF, several structural changes were carried out in the MoD of Georgia during the years 2004-2005. In particular:

Merger of the finance and procurement departments, which ensures the transparency of procurement and finance management systems.

Division of functions in the logistic field. The J4 is responsible for planning, and the logistic support department ensures the implementation of the planned activities.

The creation of a unified personnel management system – the establishment of a single body is responsible for human resource planning and management, which helps avoid the overlapping and duplication of functions.

Elaboration of conceptual documents and development plans

To effectively implement the defined priorities, the MoD of Georgia, during its strategic defence review, has elaborated and drafted the following conceptual documents:

- Threat assessment of Georgia
- National military strategy
- Concept of development of personnel management system
- Concept of development of recourse management system
- Logistics development concept
- Reserve training concept

To successfully implement the above documents and launch the development plans, the MoD of Georgia has established an effective tool for the decision making process. The recommendations are designed by specialists of the MoD and are then submitted at the political level for consideration. The approved recommendations are then given back to the specialist level for their direct implementation. This scheme allows for an effective chain within the decision making process and establishes the efficient steps needed for the implementation of given decisions.

Establishment of effective defence resource management system

The MoD of Georgia has started to establish an effective resource management system, which includes the development of the integrated planning, programming, budgeting and execution system, to develop the Georgian AF mid-term and short-term development plans and programs based on existing concept documents.

In this context, the MoD of Georgia has created a database, which establishes a resource management system and develops the methodology and basic parameters of the life cycle for all units and equipment in the Georgian AF.

During this process the MoD of Georgia will develop, from 2006 to 2008, development plans and programs in accordance with the three-year budgeting parameters submitted by the Ministry of Finance.

As a result of a significant increase in the defence budget and the implementation of institutional changes, the social conditions of military and civilian personnel have been significantly increased. The appropriate salary slots have been allocated according to the military ranks and civilian positions. An improvement of the allowances system for military personnel is planned for 2005. A substantial improvement of the infrastructure is considered to be one of the MoD's development priorities, relating to aspects like the quality of life. In 2004, a part of the existing infrastructure was improved. For the year 2005, significant funds will be potentially allocated (approximately 30 Million Gel).

Institutional changes and reforms serve as the background for the further enhancement of the NATO integration process.

In this regard, Georgia considers IPAP as a mechanism to enhance political dialogue and consultation between Georgia and NATO and to ensure appropriate cooperation with NATO by encouraging and sustaining relevant reforms in the country.

One of the most important steps has been the start of the strategic defence review process in September 2004, which covers the elaboration of conceptual documents and development plans, and the establishment of optimal force structure in accordance to the available threats and recourses.

The timely and complete fulfilment of IPAP commitments will give Georgia the opportunity to enter a new stage in its relationship with NATO.

Georgia strives to become a valuable partner in the international community by preserving peace and stability. It further considers the participation in international peacekeeping and stabilization operations as a tool to increase the NATO interoperability level in the Georgian AF.

Finally, I would like to stress that the Georgian MoD is confident that it will continue defence reforms aimed at further development, optimization of the management system, improvement of the social conditions of military servants, and the establishment of an effective force structure corresponding to its threats and challenges.

Georgia intends to enhance the level of cooperation with NATO and will continue to contribute to international peacekeeping and stability operations.

The country's efforts will serve as the basis for a safe and secure Georgia, which will become a prosperous nation that is fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic institutions and will be a respected partner of the international community.

Moldovan Perspective

Col Tudor Colesniuc, Deputy Minister of Defence, Moldova

I would like to thank the organisers for the invitation to participate in this conference and to represent my country, though it does not belong to the region concerned. My many thanks also go to the Georgian hosts for their great hospitality.

It was appropriate to invite the Republic of Moldova to this forum, because the problems faced by this region are also faced by Moldova. The countries of the Southern Caucasus and Moldova practically have the same history and therefore face the same problems. The discussion of those problems at this forum is very important.

I am a member of the MoD and have a military background. Unfortunately, our MoD pursues a one sided, often narrow minded path, which sometimes results in disagreements with civilians.

As a representative of the MoD, I allow myself to speak about the real situation in my country and, specifically, about the reforms we have started to carry out in the military sphere.

Let me start with the fact that after the last parliamentary elections previously irreconcilable opposition parties united. Their common purpose – European integration, unification and economic development of the country – served as a binding power and allowed them to push forward their demands. As a result, considerations have been made concerning military reforms.

Regarding reforms, the Minister of Defence plays an important role. He will either have a military or a civilian background. Fortunately, in my country, a civilian was appointed as Minister of Defence. A civilian Minister of Defence is a crucial step towards more efficient military reforms.

Our MoD and General Staff have already been restructured according to the recommendations provided by our partners of the North-Atlantic Block. But let me once again go back to the issue of mentality. More than once I have addressed this issue to my colleagues at the MoD, emphasizing that transformation within the MoD is absolutely necessary. Unfortunately, each department chief/director intends to prove the opposite, that the tasks within the MoD can only be realized by military personnel. This tendency reflects a conservative mentality, which does not provide for a possibility to advance. However, there is a chance for change in the near future. Efforts towards the reorganization of the structure of the MoD and General Staff need to be authorized and realized.

My short report mainly focuses on the reform of the Armed Forces, specifically the national army. The Moldovan Armed Forces consist of the following three components: national army, forces of carabinieri and frontier troops. Since the national army almost exclusively includes military aspects; the political, parliamentary and civil control will mostly be excluded from discussion.

The security interests of any country, the Republic of Moldova included, are directly related to geopolitical and geo-strategic changes on the European continent and in the region. Today, Ms. Nino Burjanadze, chairman of the Parliament of Georgia, mentioned that the presence of Russian troops on Georgian soil complicates and intensifies the situation. The same is true for the Republic of Moldova. The presence of Russian troops, which should be perceived as the guarantor of stability and peace in the region, are not always perceived as such.

Our state repeatedly expressed its concern about the Russian presence in the region of Transdnestria. In my opinion, progress can only be achieved if the Russian observers withdraw from the region of Transdnestria. Only if Transdnestria becomes more constructive and open, can common decisions on necessary changes be adopted. Unfortunately, the Russian side often represents a non-constructive, at times even destructive position. For example, in the village of Dorotskoe all roads have been blocked since last October, leaving the people without the possibility to cultivate the land. A consensus should be found by all five sides to avoid further stagnation of this situation.

Regardless of all the economic and social problems our country has faced, we consistently have moved forward towards integration into the European and regional system of security and cooperation. This strategic goal is supported by the country's leadership and its population.

During the pre-election campaign, one of the opposition parties emphasised that integration into Europe would free the path for NATO military patrols to trample on Moldovan land. Unfortunately, their conservative training inhibits them from thinking in a more modern fashion. I talked to some of those representatives and asked them if they could indicate one European country, that is either integrated into NATO or is a part of the European Union, which has complained about NATO violating the sovereignty of its land. Most eastern European countries, countries of the formerly Warsaw Treaty, have voluntarily entered the North-Atlantic Block. Most of them seem to be doing well as a result. The same is true for the Baltic States.

Coming back to the question of military reform, the imperfection of the modern military security system of the state is not exclusively a problem of this region. There is a global need for the adaptation to new realities, risks and tasks. In the Republic of Moldova, the concept of military reform was approved in 2002 by the Parliament of the Republic.

Now that the plan for the realisation of this reform has been developed and has been approved by the government, the country is working on its realisation. This past Thursday, the President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, arrived at the MoD. He introduced the newly appointed Minister of Defence. For the first time he was appointed at the end of December and then again after

the elections. That is the reason why he was introduced twice. The President confirmed and emphasized that the MoD in particular, and all the structures providing security, should strengthen their cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance in the sphere of security and in the program Partnership for Peace. To fulfil these instructions and to specifically provide for the reform of the Armed Forces, additional efforts are necessary from the side of the MoD.

The concept for the reform of the Armed Forces has been divided into three stages until the year 2014. The first stage, concerning the years 2002 until 2004, intended to conform the legal basis to the new requirements. The second stage, concerning the years 2005 until 2008, provides for the reorganisation of the structure of the MoD and General Staff. The last stage of the reorganisation takes place between 2009 and 2014. This time period envisages the equipment of the army. In parallel to those three different stages, preparations are underway for the achievement of European standards, which would allow the participation of Moldova in various joint operations, joint manoeuvres and other joint actions.

Regarding the MoD, an effort has been made towards the reform and modernisation of the national army. The country has also further increased its participation in the Program Partnership for Peace.

There are, of course, problems that still exist, such as a shortage in state finances, which may affect the realisation of the country's plans. However, I do agree that certain reform arrangements can be carried out without major funding.

In my country, the military, as part of the ministry, believes to have major control over the Armed Forces. Regarding the budget, however, control is exercised by the Parliament. The procedures and discussions on the assignment of posts are similar to how they were described by my Georgian colleague.

There are some other problems with the privacy of statutory acts. We publish usually what we want, but sometimes I think more in a democratic way than my colleagues. For example, a confidential order to confer a rank of major to captain Petresku was recently brought to our notice. Why need this be a secret? Well, the statutory acts require confidentiality when it comes to this procedure. It is time to reconsider these statutory acts.

In conclusion, I would once again like to emphasize that we, the representatives of Moldova, have to change our mentality. We have to think in a modern way in order to effectively deal with change. Therefore, we must move forward towards democratic reforms.

Annex I: Armenian Perspective

***Mr. Mher Shahgeldian, Chairman,
Standing Committee on Defence, National
Security and International Affairs,
National Assembly, Armenia***

Спасибо большое, господин председательствующий. Рад буду представить Вам наше видение и наши подходы по тематике. Хочу просто уточнить, что мой доклад будет касаться не только правовых аспектов. Он будет иметь более широкий охват с той точки зрения, что наше видение и наши подходы охватывают, в принципе, комплекс, в котором также будут наличествовать и правовые аспекты в определенном смысле, и наши подходы к сотрудничеству, и наши подходы к тем программным проектам, над которыми Армения работает в деле сотрудничества с евроатлантическими структурами.

Уважаемые коллеги, уважаемые дамы и господа! В рамках международных отношений 20 век ознаменовался завершением идейных и принципиальных конфликтов Холодной Войны. В результате всего этого потеряли свою актуальность традиционные подходы, созданные до этого по обеспечению государственной безопасности. Возникли вопросы: в каком мире мы живем? А главное, в каком мире будет жить человечество в 21 веке? Ответы на эти вопросы в условиях противостояния глобальным угрозам и вызовам можно найти на путях многостороннего сотрудничества. И так ясно, что в современном мире ни одно государство не может реализовать свои национальные интересы, особенно в сфере международных отношений и безопасности в отрыве от широких интересов мирового сообщества. Здесь необходимы и международная стратегия, и системы безопасности, адекватные характеру современных угроз и вызовов.

На данном этапе развития мир под воздействием глобализации превращается в единый механизм. Но в то же время в области безопасности нужно еще сделать очень многое. Выход может быть найден на путях формирования нового мироустройства. Такое мировое устройство должно быть демократическим и многосторонним. А это требует адаптации и модернизации концепций безопасности и традиционных подходов ликвидации угроз. Также следует учесть, что характер и сущность национальной безопасности каждого государства во многом зависит от его географического положения, территориальных и человеческих ресурсов, экономических, военных, культурных,

научных и других стратегически важных потенциалов. Страны Южного Кавказа, в том числе и Армения, имеют ограниченные ресурсы и, вследствие этого, факторы, воздействующие на региональную безопасность, выражаются в более сгущенных оттенках у нас.

Сегодня мировое сообщество руководствуется новыми идеями, идеями демократических ценностей, и не случайно, что демократия, как основной принцип существования государства, общества, индивидуума, а также реальная гарантия для их существования объединяет мировое сообщество вокруг этой идеи.

Руководствуясь этими демократическими ценностями и учитывая региональное развитие, Армения в процессе строительства своей оборонной системы и осуществления военного строительства руководствуется принципом постепенных, но непреклонных реформ. Целью реформ в сфере обороны является установление вооруженных сил, формирование вооруженных сил, соответствующих требованиям и вызовам 21 века, готовых всецело обеспечить военную безопасность государства. В то же время надо различать военные реформы и эволюционное развитие вооруженных сил. Реформы можно постараться сделать за 2-3 года, но для полноценного военного строительства, которое превратит эти реформы в реальность, может понадобиться много лет. Во всех сферах производственная цепочка состоит из следующих главных компонентов, и это также относится к военному строительству. От живого созерцания реальностей к абстрактному мышлению и от него к практике. То есть полный технологический цикл включает в себя не только когнитивную, от живого созерцания к абстрактному мышлению, но и инженерную, от него к практике, составляющую.

Производственный цикл заканчивается не тогда, когда записана формула, а когда она стала техникой и реальностью и дает свои результаты. С этой точки зрения процесс осуществления реформ требует многих усилий и в этом плане очень важны изучение и анализ мирового опыта, методы их исполнения в разных странах и полученные результаты.

Нас радует, что за очень короткий срок мы смогли достичь ощутимых успехов. Эти успехи были обусловлены, в первую очередь, достигнутым в 1994 году перемирием, после чего в вооруженных силах Республики Армения стали быстро развиваться механизмы демократического и гражданского контроля. Это развитие было продиктовано нуждой и потребностями гражданского общества. В последующих годах эти механизмы установились законами, и они продолжают развиваться. Секрет состоит в правильном использовании как реформаторов, так и стабилизаторов. В Армении хорошо сознают, что для обеспечения военной безопасности нужна поддержка общества, а это можно обеспечить только способом гражданского демократического контроля над сектором обороны, так как эти вопросы автоматически окажутся под всеобщим вниманием населения страны.

В рамках этой политики в военных ведомствах были созданы соответствующие подразделения, которые обеспечивают непрерывную связь с гражданским населением, с общественными организациями и представителями прессы. С этой точки зрения в то же время, хотя сейчас вопрос не состоит в создании абсолютно новых механизмов общественно-гражданского контроля, но исходя из необходимости в их продолжительном развитии, было принято решение включить эти программы в процесс планирования и анализа, то есть PARP, и в план действий индивидуального партнерства с НАТО, то есть IPAP, документ презентации которого скоро будет представлен Североатлантическому Совету.

Что касается плана действий партнерства по строительству оборонных институтов, то есть PAR-DIB, я думаю, что PAR-DIB может стать отличной концептуальной базой для осуществления реформ в сфере обороны, элементы которого можно внедрять как в выше сказанных сотруднических программах с НАТО, так и в государственных программах.

Что касается уже, значит, парламентского контроля над сферой безопасности и вооруженными силами, то есть той основной частью, которой мы занимаемся в Парламенте и которая относится именно к гражданскому контролю, я хотел бы сказать, что здесь, мы в Армении обращаем очень большое внимание. И это включено, как один из основных компонентов, в наш проект по IPAP. Есть несколько главных аспектов в этом отношении. Первое, это все большая и большая транспарентность во время обсуждения военного бюджета, и вообще бюджета в области безопасности. Из года в год во время обсуждений бюджета все в большей степени оно становится открытым, и мы хотим, и мы достигнем именно того рационального момента, той рациональной точки, которая необходима для баланса, с одной стороны, четкого парламентского контроля над сферой безопасности, с другой стороны, для обеспечения обороны и безопасности.

Еще одна очень важная компонента- это работа с концептуальными аспектами. Работа с концепциями, с доктринами, аналитический подход, который осуществляется в нашем Парламенте, является базой, является основой для восприятия и для понимания логики реформирования военной области для парламентариев.

Область законотворческой деятельности. Здесь очень важно, и мы также стремимся к этому, создание достаточного профессионального уровня и для экспертов Комиссии по Обороне и Безопасности, и для экспертов соответствующих служб Национального Собрания, для того, чтоб быть в состоянии анализировать те последствия, те механизмы, которые могут возникнуть и будут созданы на основе или вследствие принятия тех или иных законодательных актов.

Еще одно очень важное направление для нас - это, и здесь мы работаем в сотрудничестве с общественными организациями, это, скажем так, рассмотрение или получение постоянной информации о каждодневной службе солдат, рядовых, сержантов в

вооруженных силах Армении. С этой точки зрения и также в других аспектах сотрудничество с соответствующими ведомствами в исполнительной власти, то есть с Министерством Обороны, со службами безопасности чрезвычайных ситуаций и так далее, у нас здесь нет, не возникает проблем, но в то же время мы считаем, что чем больше будет представлена информация, чем больше будет возможность, чем больше будет транспарентность для общества, особенно для общественных организаций, для публичных политиков и для средств массовой информации, тем меньше будут вопросы, тем меньше будет непонимание со стороны общества. И в этом отношении мы рассматриваем Национальное Собрание, как институт, который может состыковать, с одной стороны, исполнительную власть в государстве, с другой стороны общественные организации постольку, поскольку Парламент, как представительный орган, как орган, где проходят постоянные дебаты, сталкиваются мнениями, он в большей степени соответствует вот этим положениям.

В качестве заключения я хотел бы добавить, что установление и развитие демократического общества, повышение уровня общественного самосознания и переоценка существующих ценностей является довольно комплексным вопросом и не зависит только от государственных властей. В этих развитиях требуется участие и общества в целом, в том числе, и общественных институтов. Это очень важно.

Уверен, что и это мероприятие будет способствовать развитию как демократических структур, так и стабильности в нашем регионе, будет способствовать созданию тех механизмов, которые мы действительно хотим создать, и одним из этих механизмов является гражданский контроль над сферой безопасности.

Я благодарю Вас за то, что Вы терпеливо выслушали меня.

Спасибо.

Annex II: Moldovan Perspective

Col Tudor Colesniuc, Deputy Minister of Defence, Moldova

Спасибо, господин председательствующий, уважаемые дамы и господа. Позвольте мне поблагодарить организаторов этой конференции за приглашение участвовать в ней и представителям нашей страны, хотя не являемся страной данного региона, непосредственного региона, а также поблагодарить и принимающую сторону за то гостеприимство, кавказское гостеприимство, за то внимание, которое они оказывают, я думаю, что всем делегациям.

Я думаю, что это решение о приглашении Республики Молдова на этот форум, очень важный форум, где приглашены страны Кавказа, очень правильное, потому что те проблемы, с которыми сталкивается данный регион, они присущи и для Республики Молдова. Мы имеем практически одну и ту же историю, одно наследство, я имею ввиду современную историю, одно наследство с теми же проблемами. И обсуждение данной проблематики на таком форуме, я считаю очень значимо и за это еще раз хочу выразить свою благодарность.

Я как раз из той категории, о которой сегодня говорилось, то есть я из Министерства Обороны, но пока занимаю военную должность, являюсь военнослужащим Министерства Обороны, которое имеет такую направленную, одно направление, узкое направление мышления и может быть иногда возникают разногласия с гражданскими. А в подтверждение этого прямо сейчас хочу сказать, что насчет этого направления, что нередко офицеры, военнослужащие являлись в авангарде многих социально-политических реформ и в Европе, и в мире.

Уважаемые дамы и господа! Я являюсь представителем Министерства Обороны, но позволю себе высказать и некоторые свои личные высказывания. Думаю, что мои коллеги из разных министерств, даже из КГБ есть, да? Но я буду говорить о том реальном положении, которое есть в нашей стране, о тех реформах, которые мы проводим, начали проводить, вернее, и в военной области.

Начнем с того, что после выборов, вот последние выборы в Парламенте, у нас в принципе объединились усилия и оппозиции, той непримиримой оппозиции, которая была всегда в противовес правящей партии, они объединились. Почему? Потому что одни и те же цели, стратегические цели: европейская интеграция, объединение страны, экономическое развитие страны. И лидер той

оппозиционной фракции Рожка, который все время был самым заядлым врагом руководящей партии, он сказал, что если у нас цели совпадают, почему я не буду вместе, рядом с руководящей партией, если одни и те же цели, одни и те же стратегии. Была принята декларация всех партий, фракций, вернее, парламентских фракций о сотрудничестве по решению наиболее важных задач.

Исходя из этого, значит, я позволю себе высказать некоторые соображения, то, что касается военных реформ или реформ военной области.

В первую очередь, я считаю, будем ли мы менять, реформировать структуру, будем оснащать армию любыми видами вооружения, если не будет реформирован менталитет, образ мышления? Он будет военным Министром Обороны, как здесь отмечалось уже сегодня, или будет гражданским Министром Обороны, если у него тоталитарное мышление, консервативное мышление, никаких реформ, никаких прогрессов у нас не будет. И может быть даже военный Министр Обороны и может иметь прогрессивное, демократическое, либеральное мышление, которое может привести к хорошим результатам. К счастью, у нас назначен гражданский Министр Обороны. Это очень важный шаг в решении вот этого субъекта военной реформы о назначении гражданского лица на должность Министра Обороны.

Мы сейчас уже подготовили структуру Министерства Обороны и Главного Штаба, в соотношении которое нам рекомендуют, наши партнеры по Североатлантическому Блоку, соотношения гражданские и военные. Но опять возвращаюсь к менталитету. Я со своими коллегами из Министерства Обороны не один раз по этому поводу говорил, что надо в чем-то лимитироваться, надо понимать, что эти преобразования абсолютно необходимы. Но каждый из начальников управлений, департаментов начинает доказывать обратное, что вот именно вот эта структура, где военные в Министерстве Обороны, если там будет гражданское лицо, то задачи не будут выполнены. Или же сократить эту структуру здесь и перевести в Главный Штаб, то же самое. Не только здесь эта структура. Это говорит о том, что это консервативный менталитет, он не дает продвигаться вперед. Но уже разработана, я уже говорил, что уже разработана эта структура Министерства Обороны, Главного Штаба и в самое ближайшее время мы будем уже, к концу мая, оно должно быть утверждено и будут начинаться уже преобразования, практические преобразования в реорганизации Министерства Обороны и Главного Штаба, то, что касается, значит, структуры.

У нас, я подготовил маленький доклад, что касается реформирования вооруженных сил, больше всего национальной армии, потому что у нас вооруженные силы состоят из трех компонентов: национальная армия, войска карабинеров и пограничные войска. Но остановлюсь на национальной армии, хотя здесь чисто военные аспекты, то есть реформирование Министерства Обороны без политического, парламентского,

гражданского контроля. Этот параграф у нас не входит в данном материале, я имею ввиду.

Здесь говорилось о том, что действительно интересы безопасности каждой страны и Республики Молдова, в частности, непосредственно связаны с изменением геополитической, геостратегической обстановки на европейском континенте и в регионе. Сегодня госпожа Нино Бурджанадзе, Председатель Парламента Грузии говорила о том, что присутствие иностранных войск на территории страны, они усугубляют ситуацию. То же самое и в Республике Молдова. Присутствие российских войск, которые должны бы как бы являться гарантом стабильности, гарантом мира в регионе, не всегда являются такими.

Наше государство, наше руководство неоднократно обращалось к мировому сообществу о том, чтобы изменить этот формат наблюдения, этот формат присутствия в приднестровском регионе. Я думаю, что только меняя формат присутствия наблюдателей в приднестровском регионе возможны какие-нибудь сдвиги в лучшую сторону. Пока будет в прежнем формате, никаких изменений не будет, потому что российская сторона часто принимает неконструктивную, деструктивную позицию приднестровца и никаких решений нельзя принимать. Один пример, значит, в районе одного села, села Дороцкое. Там перекрыли все дороги, и люди не могут выехать обработать землю, и вот этот конфликт с октября месяца, он заморожен и никак не решается. А должно быть консенсус, то есть все пять сторон должны принимать одно решение. Если один из присутствующих, один из участников не согласен с этим решением или с предложением, решение не принимается.

Не взирая на все экономические и социальные проблемы, с которыми наша страна сталкивается в настоящее время, мы последовательно продвигаемся по пути интеграции в европейскую и региональную систему безопасности и сотрудничества. Мы объявили эту стратегическую цель, руководство поддерживает, население поддерживает.

И опять, возвращаясь к менталитету, особенно в предвыборной компании наблюдалось такое, что одна из оппозиционных партий, девиз у них был предвыборный, что если вы будете голосовать с руководящей партией, будет интегрироваться в Европу, военные патрули НАТО будут топтать нашу землю. Ну, с некоторыми представителями я разговаривал, так и говорю, что вы мне покажите хоть одну страну Европы, которая интегрирована в НАТО или в Европейский Союз, которая бы жаловалась, что военные патрули НАТО топчут их землю. Страны восточной Европы, бывшие страны Варшавского Договора, они добровольно вступили и вступают в Североатлантический Блок, в Европейский Союз. Значит, им хорошо так, и они так и поступают. Страны Балтии, бывшего Советского Союза точно так поступают. Почему же вы думаете, что если даже будут структуры НАТО на нашей территории, вы считаете, что это будет хуже, чем сейчас? Они понимают по-другому. Консерватизм, вот этот

менталитет старой закалки, старой гвардии не дает им возможность думать по-современному, думать по-новому.

Возвращаясь к реформе непосредственно и беря во внимание вот эти факты, несовершенство современной системы военной безопасности государства, новые угрозы, возникшие не только в регионе, но и в мире в целом, возникла необходимость адаптации к новым реалиям, рискам и задачам. И, как следствие проведения вот этой реформы, которую мы спланировали, утверждена концепция военной реформы в 2002 году Парламентом Республики.

Сейчас разработан план реализации, утвержден правительством этот план, и мы уже интенсивно работаем над выполнением этого плана. В четверг в Министерстве Обороны был Президент Республики, Главнокомандующий вооруженными силами, представлял нового старого Министра Обороны, который был, значит, назначен. Первый раз он в конце декабря был назначен, но и сейчас после выборов его же назначили, и представлял его, и Президент подтвердил и подчеркнул, что Министерство Обороны, в частности, и все структуры, обеспечивающие безопасность, должны усилить сотрудничество с Североатлантическим Альянсом в проблемах безопасности, в программе Партнерство во имя Мира. Это предполагает дополнительные усилия со стороны Министерства Обороны для того, чтобы выполнить эти указания, выполнить тот план, в первую очередь, который предусматривает реформирование вооруженных сил.

Концепция реформирования вооруженных сил у нас разбита на три этапа – до 2014 года. Первый этап 2002-2004 – это предусматривает приведение правовой базы в соответствие с новыми требованиями, второй этап – 2005-2008 год, который предусматривает уже реорганизацию структуры Министерства Обороны, Главного Штаба. 2009-2014 год – это последний этап реорганизации. Здесь предусматривается и оснащение армии. И параллельно с этими этапами идет подготовка, то есть достижение тех стандартов, европейских стандартов, которые бы позволили участвовать в различных совместных операциях, в различных совместных учениях и других мероприятиях.

Ну, в перспективе замысла Министерства Обороны является достижение минимального необходимого оборонительного потенциала, реформирование и модернизация национальной армии, продолжение активного участия, я уже говорил и сейчас оно усилилось, участие в Программе Партнерства во имя Мира и выполнение взятых Республикой Молдова обязательств в данном Партнерстве, достижение национальной армией максимальной совместимости с армиями европейских стран.

Конечно, не все идет так гладко, есть проблемы, в основном они связаны, сегодня этот вопрос затрагивался не один раз, в первую очередь он связан с финансовыми возможностями страны, не с возможностями, а с нехваткой финансов, поэтому мы встречаем очень много трудностей в реализации данных планов. Но

я согласен с тем, что есть некоторые мероприятия, некоторые действия которые можно провести в плане реформ, можно провести без особо больших затрат. Как это говорилось сегодня, политический, гражданский, парламентский контроль над вооруженными силами. И говоря о парламентском контроле, мы считаем, что мы военные, как часть Министерства, считаем, что у нас налажен этот контроль, может быть, не в полной мере, не все вопросы взяты на контроль, но то, что касается распределения бюджета, контроль за исполнением бюджета, эти вопросы четко взяты на контроль Парламентом.

То же самое, как мой коллега из Грузии говорил о том, что все те процедуры о назначении на должности, обсуждения, они практически аналогичны с грузинской стороной и мне не хочется их повторять. Я не знаю, если там идут слайды, потому что мы здесь отметили даже то, что мы намерены конкретно по частям, по подразделениям, что будет (...)

Здесь действительно есть проблемы и у нас, не так гладко. Мы публикуем обычно то, что мы хотим, а люди хотят большего. Я, как представитель консервативного департамента, но иногда мыслю и более демократично, в пятницу, значит, коллеги из стран бывшего Советского Союза знают, что по пятницам доводятся там, приказы, распоряжения. Значит, доводят приказ, секретный приказ: присвоить воинское звание майора капитану Петреску. Ну, я спрашиваю, значит, лица, который отвечает за эту секретность, говорю, какой же секрет в том, что капитан получил звание майора? Ну, так предусматривают нормативные акты. Я говорю, ну что нельзя пересмотреть, нельзя переделать эти нормативные акты? И вот действительно есть издержки в этом плане на уровне Министерства. Я не говорю в плане общества в целом.

Заканчивая свое выступление, не хочу задерживать Ваше внимание, потому что я последний выступающий, и уже время подходит к концу, вы устали и хочу просить извинений за то, что я так долго задержал. Заканчивая свое выступление, я еще раз хочу подтвердить, подчеркнуть, что в первую очередь мы должны изменить свой менталитет, я отношусь – мы -это представители Молдовы, потому что изменение структуры, изменение вооружений, других материальных средств, оно не даст результатов, если человек не думает по-современному, демократически, либерально будет проводить те реформы, которые проводят прогрессивные страны, прогрессивные регионы. Спасибо. Я готов Вам ответить на вопросы, если они будут.

Annex III: PAP-DIB Factsheet

“We have launched today a Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building. We encourage Partners to make full use of this new instrument to build democratically responsible defence institutions.”

Istanbul Summit Communiqué, 28 June 2004

1. WHAT IS IT? WHAT IS THE VALUE ADDED?

- ✓ At Istanbul, NATO’s efforts to promote defence reforms received a new focus when the EAPC Heads of State and Government endorsed the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB). PAP-DIB reflects Allies' and Partners' common views on modern and democratically responsible defence institutions. It provides an EAPC definition of defence reform and a framework for common reflection and exchange of experience on related problems. It is to help interested Partners to reform and restructure their defence institutions to meet their needs and international commitments
- ✓ PAP-DIB is not an alternative to existing bilateral programmes of co-operation on reform, like the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). On the contrary, it is designed to complement and support these programmes by facilitating EAPC-wide exchange of knowledge and by promoting multilateral co-operation on issues of common concern.
- ✓ PAP-DIB is a part of NATO’s offer to work with other international actors, in particular the EU and OSCE, to promote democratic change and security co-operation in the Euro-Atlantic area.
- ✓ Although PAP-DIB is developed within the EAPC framework and is open to all Partners, it has particular relevance for Partners in Caucasus and Central Asia, as well as for Moldova.

2. WHAT IS IT TO ACHIEVE?

- ✓ PAP-DIB work requires pragmatic, patient and persistent efforts to achieve the following ten objectives (PAP-DIB Decalogue):
 - ❑ develop effective and transparent arrangements for democratic control of defence activities;
 - ❑ enhance civilian participation in developing defence and security policy;
 - ❑ develop effective and transparent legislative and judicial oversight of the defence sector;

- ❑ enhance assessment of security risks and national defence requirements; develop and maintain affordable and interoperable capabilities matching these requirements and international commitments;
- ❑ optimise the management of defence ministries and other agencies having associated force structures;
- ❑ develop arrangements and practices to ensure compliance with international norms and practices in the defence sector, including export controls;
- ❑ develop effective and transparent personnel structures and practices in the defence forces;
- ❑ develop effective and transparent financial, planning and resource allocation procedures in the defence area;
- ❑ develop effective management of defence spending; develop methods and policies to cope with socio-economic consequences of defence restructuring;
- ❑ develop effective international co-operation and good neighbourly relations in defence and security matters.

3. HOW IT WORKS?

- ✓ Conferences, workshops and training courses, bringing together theoreticians and practitioners of defence reform, political and military leaders and experts, are a primary instrument for encouraging dialogue and fostering exchange of knowledge and experience on defence reform. PAP-DIB also makes maximum use of the existing PfP tools and mechanisms. The Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) and the Planning and Review Process (PARP) serve as primary instruments for tailoring knowledge acquired through PAP-DIB to the individual needs and circumstances of interested Partners. Partners may also use their Individual Partnership Programmes (IPP) to develop further their defence institutions and forces.
- ✓ NATO International Staff (IS) reports periodically to Allies and Partners on the implementation and development of PAP-DIB, and on the overall progress in reaching PAP-DIB objectives.

4. WHAT HAS BEEN DONE SO FAR?

To enhance support for Partners' efforts to achieve PAP-DIB objectives:

- ❑ PARP procedures have been adapted to seek information from Partners about their plans to achieve PAP-DIB objectives, as well as about the foreign assistance required;
- ❑ a set of PAP-DIB related Partnership Goals (PAP-DIB PGs) have been proposed to Partners;
- ❑ PAP-DIB objectives have been included in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Work Programme (EAPWP); which is the basis for all work related to Partnership.

- NATO has started to work with Partners to adapt their individual co-operation programmes to address PAP-DIB objectives;
- the NATO Liaison Officers, recently deployed to Caucasus and Central Asia, are offering assistance and advice on how to make better use of PfP tools in support of defence reform;
- work has started to enhance NATO's educational efforts related to defence reform and to involve educational and research institutions and non-governmental organisations in this effort.

5. THE WAY AHEAD

- ✓ Education for Partners' military and civilian personnel working in the area of defence, and for politicians and civil society is a high priority for further PAP-DIB work. To this end, NATO IS will work with Allied and Partner Nations to further enhance education in support of defence reforms.
- ✓ NATO's Contact Point Embassies and Liaison Officers for Caucasus and Central Asia will monitor and report elements regarding the progress achieved in reaching PAP-DIB objectives. They will also present recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the overall PAP-DIB implementation process.
- ✓ Allies and Partner Nations might establish bilateral arrangements with Partners (including twinning and mentoring initiatives) aimed at providing advice and assistance, particularly education and training.

Co-operation with other international organisations should be developed to exchange relevant information, to cross-participate in events and to conduct complementary activities.

Annex IV: DCAF Activities in the Caucasus 2001-2005

Projects 2002

- **Conference – ‘NATO and Democratic Civil Control of Armed Forces’ – Armenia**
NATO Office of Information and Press and the Yerevan Press Club - Presentations
- **Conference – ‘NATO and Democratic Civil Control of Armed Forces’ – Azerbaijan**
NATO Office of Information and Press and the Baku Press Club – Presentations
- **Stock Taking on the Standing of Security Sector Reform in Georgia**
A DCAF staff member initiated research with CCMRSS in Tbilisi mapping the Georgian security sector. See http://www.dcaf.ch/news/PfP_Reichenau1103/Papers/Fritz.pdf
- **NATO – PA Rose - Roth Seminar – Georgia** (co-sponsored by DCAF)
For a report on this seminar for parliamentarians see <http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?TAB=298>

Projects 2003

- **Collection of Georgian Security Sector Laws (Security Sector Legal Assistance)**
Extant acts collected and translated into English during 2003 for publication in 2004.
- **Conference – ‘Democratic Control over Armed Forces’ (Tbilisi)**
In support of the Estonian Ministry of Defence – ISAB organized Conference a DCAF member presented a paper on ‘Civilians in Defence Ministries’.
- **PfP Consortium - SSR Working Group Meeting - ‘Security Sector Governance in Southern Caucasus’** Joint Meeting with the Regional Stability Group in Southern Caucasus and South Eastern Europe, Reichenau, Austria. Further information available at http://www.dcaf.ch/news/PfP_Reichenau1103/mainpage.html

Projects 2004

- **DCAF-IPU Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector – Georgia**
Published March 2004, launched at the Georgian Parliament in May 2004. 1000 copies distributed, of which c. 500 went to MPs and parliamentary staffers and the remainder to the media and civil society groups. An electronic version is online at http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/epublications/Handbook_georgian/coverpage.JPG
- **DCAF-IPU Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector – Armenia**
Published and subsequently launched at the Armenian Parliament in June 2004. 1000 copies distributed, of which c. 500 went to MPs and parliamentary staffers and the remainder to the media and civil society groups. An electronic version is online at http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/epublications/Handbook_arm/coverpl.jpg
- **DCAF-IPU Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector – Azerbaijan**
Published in May 2004 and launched at the Azeri Parliament in September 2004. 1000 copies distributed, of which c. 500 went to MPs and parliamentary staffers and the remainder to the media and civil society groups. An electronic version is online at http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/epublications/Handbook_azeri/coverpage.JPG
- **UNOMIG –Policing Standards Mapping Exercise - Georgia**
During late 2004 a DCAF team conducted a mapping survey, analysis and needs assessment of contemporary policing standards and needs assessment
- **Collection of Georgian Security Sector Laws (Security Sector Legal Assistance) - Georgia**
Extant acts collected and translated into English during 2004 for publication.
- **58th Rose-Roth Seminar – Azerbaijan**
In November, a DCAF staff member attended the seminar to discuss democratic control issues within regional and NATO DIB (Defence Institution Building) Programme contexts. For further information see <http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?CAT2=0&CAT1=0&CAT0=578&SHORTCUT=642>

Projects 2005

- **Partnership Action Plan – Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB) Regional Conference and Training Course - Tbilisi April 2005 (with NATO IS, Georgian & Swiss Missions to NATO)**

In April 2005 two consecutive events used the conceptual framework provided by PAP-DIB to discuss the principles of democratic oversight, accountability and transparency in the context of security sector governance and to qualitatively deepen the partnership relationship between EAPC countries and those in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Participants from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia attended both events. For further information see

http://www.dcaf.ch/news/SSG_Tbilisi0405/mainpage.html The conference proceedings will also be published in late 2005.

- **NB** The event was subsequently highly commended by EAPC Ambassadors meeting at NATO IS in Brussels on 11th May, the lessons learned have been incorporated into planning discussions for a similar PAP-DIB event for Central Asia to be held in Turkey (with the cooperation of MoD Turkey) in March 2006.
- **Georgian Security Sector Laws (Security Sector Legal Assistance)**
All extant acts relating to the Security Sector translated and published in English as 'The Security Sector Laws of Georgia', available at:
http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/epublications/SeSec_Georgia/contents.html
- **Georgian Security Sector Governance Self-Assessment**
Completing the research begun in 2002, the findings of CCMRSS' research were published along with papers by Western experts mapping the current status and prospects of the Georgian Security Sector as 'After Schevardnadze: Georgian Security Sector Governance After the Rose Revolution' available at:
http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/epublications/Georgia_SSGovernance/contents.html
- **Translation Programme**
During 2005 DCAF studies on the **Transformation of Police in Central and Eastern Europe**, and the **Intelligence Oversight Handbook** will be translated into Azeri and Georgian.

Possible Projects 2005

- Ongoing invitation to DCAF organized **Black Sea Region Seminars** on Security Sector Reform.
- **Georgia – PAP-DIB Support – Workshops & Conferences**
DCAF is prepared to assist Georgian institutions, including the Parliamentary Defence Committee and civil society with implementation of the NATO-Georgia Partnership Action Plan in the formats already used by DCAF in Ukraine.

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Annex V: DCAF Activities in Central Asia

Projects 2003

- **OSCE Trans-Asian Forum (Almaty) June 2003**
Deputy Director Dr. Philipp Fluri attended the OSCE – PA Trans-Asian Forum in Almaty, Kazakhstan between June 7th-9th 2003.
- **International and Regional Security Policy Course – OSCE Academy (Bishkek) October 2003**

Between 29 September to 3 October 2003 two DCAF experts and one DCAF invitee participated in a course on ‘International and Regional Security Policy’ organized by the OSCE Diplomatic Academy together with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), under the patronage of the OSCE Centre in Bishkek.

DCAF Senior Political Advisor Andrei Karkoszka, Senior Fellow Wilhelm Germann, and Swiss Parliamentarian Andi Gross made presentations and led workshops.

Twenty professionals from the Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Presidential Administration of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan took part in the seminars. The Course provided participants with intensive training in select areas as of international security policy, security governance, human security and regional issues. Participants mainly explored the interface of regional security dynamics with the new emerging security challenges. <http://www.osce-academy.net/en/news/>

Projects 2004

- **PfP Consortium Conference on Regional and International Cooperation in Central Asia** November 2004 (Reichenau)

DCAF, through the combined auspices of the PfP Consortium Study Groups 'Regional Stability in Central Asia', 'Combating Terrorism' and the PfP Consortium Security Sector Track, organised a conference on 'Facing the Terrorist Challenge – Central Asia's Role in Regional and International Cooperation', to be held in cooperation with the Austrian Landesverteidigungsakademie in Reichenau, Austria. Professionals from Central Asian countries were invited to participate along with Western experts. The conference followed the same format as the similarly organised 2003 conference on 'Security Sector Governance in the Caucasus: Challenges and Visions', and the are findings available at <http://www.bmlv.gv.at/wissen-forschung/publikationen/verlag.php?id=22>

Projects 2005

- **DCAF-IPU Handbook for Parliamentarians on Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector: Kazakh & Krygyz Versions**
 - The DCAF-IPU Handbook has been translated into Kyrgyz and was published in July 2005. An electronic version is available at http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/e-publications/handbook_kirgiz/coverp1.jpg
 - During 2005 the DCAF-IPU Handbook will also be translated into Kazakh and possibly other Central Asian languages, with a view to publication and launch events in the relevant countries during 2006. The Kyrgyz version was published The book is already available in Russian <http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/e->

[publications/Handbook_rus/contents.html](http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/Handbook_rus/contents.html) For further details about the Handbook project see <http://www.dcaf.ch/handbook/about.html>

- **Possible Cooperation with Danish Institute for Human Rights on Policing Issues**
Possible assistance to DIHR Tajikistan programme.

Planned Projects 2006

- **DCAF-NATO IS-Swiss Mission to NATO PAP-DIB Regional Conference for Central Asia** Following on from the April 2005 DCAF-NATO IS PAP-DIB Regional Conference and Training Course for the Caucasus in Tbilisi, the 2006 Regional Conference for Central Asia will be held in Ankara or Istanbul during the first half of the year, courtesy of arrangements made by the International Security Policy Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey in coordination with Swiss Embassy in Ankara. The subsequent training courses will, at this stage, be held in Central Asia itself.

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