

## **New Style, Topics and Mission at CESS**

CESS has restyled its logo, its letterhead and this newsletter, which subscribers can now receive in full colour at their email address. The remake of the web site will follow soon. Its new address is [www.cess.org](http://www.cess.org).

We also have a new Executive Director, who among other things is in charge of research and *Security Matters*, and our Research Director is now our Research Fellow (see p.6). Besides, we are beginning to look at security sector reform and peace building in developing countries (see p. 5), and we are engaging increasingly in training (see p. 5). To reflect our changing profile, the board of CESS has revised our mission statement to read as follows:

*The Centre for European Security Studies (CESS) is an independent institute for research, consultancy, education and training, based in the Netherlands. Its aim is to promote transparent, accountable and effective governance of the security sector, broadly defined. It seeks to advance democracy and the rule of law, help governments and civil society face their security challenges, and further the civilised and lawful resolution of conflict.*

*CESS is international, multidisciplinary and collaborative. Its work is part of the European quest for peace and security both within and outside Europe. CESS encourages informed debate, empowers individuals, fosters mutual understanding on military and other security matters, promotes and sustains democratic structures and processes, and supports reforms that favour stability and peace.*

Most other things have not changed at CESS. We continue to work on democratic governance in the security sector in Europe, the Caucasus and Turkey. Besides, we continue to treasure and expand the network of friends and colleagues that have contributed to our programmes over the years. It is a pleasure to see some of them, like Anatoliy Grytsenko, rise to positions of great responsibility (see p.6).



*Sami Faltas, new executive director at CESS*

## **Turkish Defence Reform: Sense and Sensitivity**

Even before publication, the Final Expert Report of the international task force on governance and the military in Turkey has been making waves in the press (also see page 7). In this document, the rapporteur of the task force, David Greenwood, describes the recent development of civil-military relations in Turkey and suggests ways to further improve transparency and accountability in defence. It is meant to help Turkey fulfil some of the requirements for accession to the European Union and help the EU assess Turkey's progress in this respect.

Originally, CESS had planned to launch the report on 10 May, but shortly before this date, our Ankara partner ASAM (Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies) withdrew from the project and disassociated itself from the report. Turkish newspapers soon began quoting from the document, sometimes out of context, and criticizing it. On the advice of our other Turkish partners, we postponed publication to the autumn of this year.

To us in Groningen, manoeuvring in this politically-charged atmosphere has been a difficult, but interesting experience. Apparently even sensible and careful suggestions for defence reform can offend Turks who regard their army as the mainstay of their proud and secular republic. We are learning to deal with these sensitivities and promote a frank and constructive dialogue on defence reform between Turkey and Western Europe.

The task force produced its First Expert Report in September 2004 at an international conference in Ankara (see *Security Matters* 13). Subsequently, a few more experts joined the group, and it met twice in the new format, first in Istanbul and then in Ankara. The aim of these round tables was to help rapporteur David Greenwood compile a Final Expert Report. Greenwood's brief was to produce a report that would be a fair and useful account of the task force's work, even if some task force members and partner organizations might disagree with some parts of the document.

CESS and the Istanbul Policy Center now plan to release the Final Expert Report in the autumn of 2005, after talks on Turkey's accession to the EU are scheduled to begin.

page 2  
Turkey, Kosovo  
page 3  
NOSTRUM, Kiev,  
Chisinau  
page 4  
DRINA, Croatia  
page 5  
Georgia, Congo,  
STARLINK  
page 6  
People  
page 7  
Editorial  
(S. Faltas)  
page 8  
Commentary  
(D. Lynch)

### Istanbul Round Table

The task force first met on 17-18 November 2004 in the breathtaking old city of Istanbul. It was timed to fall between two milestones, first the publication of the European Commission's Progress Report on Turkey's compliance with the Copenhagen criteria, and second, the Council of Ministers' decision on a date for talks on accession to begin.

As expected, the keynote speech on changing civil-military relations in Turkey by Alessandro Missir di Lusignano, the desk officer for Turkey at the European Commission's Directorate General on Enlargement, was a highlight. When the European Commission sat down to assess the military and security situation in Turkey, he said, it made good use of the Task Force's First Expert Report. It served as a source of information for the composition of the Commission's Regular Report on Turkey's progress.

During the subsequent discussion, a fundamental point was raised. It is a puzzle why so many Turks are anxious about the secular nature of their state, despite the fact that secularism is enshrined in their constitution and deeply rooted in their political culture. Turkey has been a member of the Council of Europe for 50 years now, and in this context it has embraced fundamental political principles that are much more demanding than the Copenhagen political criteria for accession to the EU. By this reasoning, it ought to be easy for Turkey to meet the political requirements for joining the EU.



*Alessandro Missir di Lusignano*

### Ankara Round Table

The second and last round table of the task force took place on 10-11 February in Ankara and was hosted by ASAM. It continued the examination of civil-military relations in Turkey in the light of the European Council's decision of December 2004 to open accession talks in October 2005. Another objective was to provide the rapporteur with clear drafting guidance for the Final Expert Report.

One of the keynote speeches was delivered by Hannie Pollmann-Zaal, head of the Directorate West and Central Europe of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ms Pollmann described the Commission report of 6 October 2004 as a wake-up call for EU member states. After that date, attitudes in the EU toward Turkish accession became more critical, for reasons that were sometimes unrelated to Turkey. In the Netherlands the government had always adopted a positive attitude with regard to Turkey, but after 6 October, it became more sceptical.

Jos Boonstra of CESS presented a paper in which he advocated an integrated defence organisation for Turkey. He explained that while EU countries differ widely in the way they organise their defence, they all make the military accountable to the minister of defence. This makes the minister responsible for both the civilian and the military branches of the defence apparatus. In Turkey, however, the general staff reports to the prime minister. Boonstra recommended that the Turkish government review its defence organisation. Putting both branches of defence under the minister of defence would offer several advantages, he said. First, it would bring Turkish defence more into line with EU practices and therefore facilitate accession. Second, it would enhance democratic legitimacy by bringing civilians into the day-to-day management of defence. Third, it would make the defence organisation more effective and efficient by avoiding the duplication of functions, bringing together military and expertise to improve the quality of decision making.



*Hannie Pollmann-Zaal*

### *The Kosovo Protection Corps: A Bone of Contention*

2005 promises to be a crucial year for Kosovo. Officially, it is still a part of Serbia and Montenegro (SCG), but the ethnic Albanian majority wants independence. This year the Kosovo issue will continue to make headlines as the talks on the final status of the region are expected to begin.

From 15 to 20 May, CESS fellow Erik Petersen was in Kosovo to conduct research on the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC). The KPC is just one of many issues between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Serbs with their Belgrade allies, but it is a major bone of contention.

The eight main criteria that will determine whether Kosovo is ready for these final-status talks were laid down by the international community in the Standards for Kosovo. The last of these standards concerns the KPC. It is to be transformed into a multi-ethnic body that respects the rule of law and strictly limits itself to its civilian mandate. For an organisation that has at its core a civil emergency task, this is not as simple as it may seem.

After the Kosovo war in 1999 the KPC was developed to demilitarise the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and put it under the effective control of the international community. Although the KPC was given only a civil emergency response task, in many ways it remained a military organisation. It kept military uniforms, military ranks and its command structure, as well as an emblem resembling that of the KLA. More importantly, the KPC members see themselves as soldiers, from their top commander Agim Ceku to field personnel. Erik Petersen was able to interview people at both levels. They firmly believe that under the auspices of the international community the KPC should be transformed into a defence organisation of one type or another.

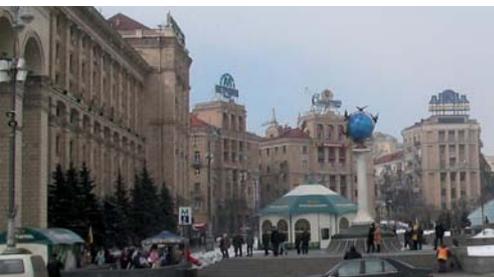
This is exactly why the Kosovo Serbs mistrust and fear the KPC. Instead of a civil emergency response organisation, they see the KLA in another guise. Several Kosovar Serb representatives told

CESS that if the KPC is transformed into some kind of military organisation, "this will not be the only armed organisation in Kosovo". Clearly, they would not consider this a favourable outcome. It is also obvious that their fear of the KPC is exploited for political purposes, both in Priština and in Belgrade.

However, even in these troubled times there are positive developments that might pave the way for a multi-ethnic KPC in a multi-ethnic Kosovo. In some regions like Peć or Peja, the KPC uses donor money to rebuild the infrastructure in ethnically mixed areas. And because former KLA members are now taking the lead in rebuilding roads and bridges for Albanian and Serb Kosovars alike, they have become pioneers of dialogue and reconciliation. Indeed, they have become bridge builders in more than one sense.

### After the Revolution: NOSTRUM Workshop in Kyiv

Until the Orange Revolution, the Ukrainian government was ambivalent about Euro-Atlantic integration. In mid-2004, Minister of Defence Marchuk officially committed the country to seeking full NATO membership, but to the dismay of many observers in Kyiv, this was overruled by President Kuchma. Since the non-violent upheaval in the last months of 2004 that brought in a government of reformers, there can be no doubt that the political leaders are facing west. In late February 2005, President Yushchenko clearly affirmed Ukraine's wish to join NATO when he attended the summit of the alliance.



*Kyiv's Independence Square, focal point of the Orange Revolution*

CESS believes that the recent turbulent changes have opened a window of opportunity for intensified defence reforms in Ukraine. Under President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Timoshenko, with former Razumkov Centre President Anatoliy Grytsenko as Defence Minister and Leonid Polyakov as his First Deputy Minister, the time seems right for comprehensive reforms of Ukraine's defence and security structures. Indeed, far-reaching reforms are necessary if Ukraine wants its bid for membership to be regarded as an offer that NATO cannot refuse. The Expert Round Table that met in Kyiv on 18 March 2005 in the framework of the NOSTRUM programme ('Needs and Options for Security-sector Transparency and Reform in Ukraine and Moldova') suggested an agenda for such reforms.

At the request of the hosts, the Kyiv-based Razumkov Centre and CESS, James Sherr acted as rapporteur. He is a Fellow at the Conflict Studies Research Centre of the Defence Academy in the UK and a leading expert on Ukrainian defence. Mr Sherr did not mince words when describing governance in Ukraine. Ukraine's legal order is not, and never has been, a civic order, he said. The Ukrainian legal system is contradictory and complex. How can the Ukrainians break out of this vicious circle? he wondered. In every major ministry a team of reformers is in charge, but there are not many reformers in the bureaucracy and the legal system as a whole. Who has authority and for what? Uncertainty this point is a source of much confusion in Ukraine. And when will the relevant documents be ready? Not soon, so much is certain.

Ukrainian bureaucracy suffers from a serious lack of coordination, so the quality of governance is poor. Transparency is lacking too. James Sherr emphasized that in a democracy citizens should always have the right to know. But in Ukraine, information is treated like a strategic commodity instead of a public good. In conclusion, the rapporteur noted that training is crucial when it comes to creating the human resources needed for good governance in the defence sector or any other part of government.



*Defence Minister Grytsenko (centre) joins Round Table in Kyiv*

### NOSTRUM Targets Border Control in Moldova

On 25-26 November 2004, the fourth NOSTRUM event in Chisinau focussed on strengthening border controls in Moldova. Instead of the usual two-day workshop, we organised first an expert round table for experts and practitioners from border control agencies in Moldova and neighbouring countries and next a workshop for a larger audience.

During the expert round table 20 participants identified and discussed the most urgent problems and priorities in strengthening Moldovan border control and management. The model of integrated border management used in the Western Balkans figured prominently in these deliberations. The participants agreed that various agencies dealing with border control should intensify their co-operation and that more outside expertise and assistance was needed. At the end of the day a report was drafted by the rapporteur of the expert roundtable, Professor Herman Hoen of Groningen University, and by the chairman, Andrei Popov, Executive Director of the Association for Foreign Policy in Moldova.



*Workshop Participants in Chisinau*

On the next day a workshop was organised by the Institute for Public Policy and CESS that drew a substantial audience. It consisted of representatives of Moldovan border management agencies (Customs, Border Guards and the Migration Department), other government officials, parliamentarians, NGO representatives, journalists and students. The importance of the event was highlighted by the attendance of interim Minister of Defence Tudor Colesniuc, who had also participated in earlier NOSTRUM events, together with some of his officials. After the presentation of the findings, discussions mainly focused on the Transnistrian segment of the Moldovan border with Ukraine. This border poses a lot of difficulties for Chisinau since it has no leverage over this border. This is one of the main obstacles to the resolution of the conflict between Chisinau and Tiraspol. The smuggling of arms and other contraband is also a threat to Western Europe and NATO.

The report on both the expert round table and the workshop in Chisinau is available at [www.cess.org/hp/report.mol.iv.doc.pdf](http://www.cess.org/hp/report.mol.iv.doc.pdf).

On Saturday 27 November a one-day trip was organised to Transnistria's principal city Tiraspol. Participants saw for themselves how the internal border between Moldova and its break-away region is controlled and managed.

### **Serbs and Bosnians Discuss Defence Reform**

The Drina is a lovely river marking the border between Bosnia Herzegovina (BiH) and Serbia and Montenegro (SCG). It inspired the acronym of a project (the Defence Reform Initiative) that aims to promote a dialogue between people from the security communities and the civil society of the two countries. The subject of this dialogue is defence reform and the admission of both countries to the NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme. Both countries face similar – not identical – challenges in reforming their defence structures and in preparing for PfP membership. Besides bringing representatives of the neighbouring countries together to discuss common defence reform challenges, it is the purpose of DRINA to involve young and talented professionals from the executive, the legislature and civil society.

It was on Friday May 13th that the sun started shining in Belgrade after many days of rain. This joyful occurrence coincided with the beginning of our two-day DRINA workshop on democratic reform and control of the defence organisation held in Belgrade's downtown Media Centre. A considerable group of BiH and SCG defence officials, members of parliament and civil-society representatives attended. Jovan Teokarević, who heads the Belgrade Centre for European Integration (BeCEI), had chosen the Media Centre as the venue so as to secure broad media attention, and indeed, the media did not let us down. Under the lenses of many television cameras Pavle Janković (SCG's Assistant Minister for Defence Policy), John Colston (NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning), SCG's man in Brussels, Branislav Milinković, and others spoke on the wish of SCG to develop closer ties with NATO, the progress of defence reform initiated by the MoD and the role that civil society and the media can and should play in monitoring defence reform.

George Katsirdakis, Head of the Defence Co-operation, Defence Policy and Planning Division at NATO, spoke about NATO's Tailored Co-operation Programme (TCP) for SCG. He made it clear that this flexible programme can both facilitate co-operation and

a certain level of assistance. Although political conditions – related to the extradition of war criminals to the tribunal in The Hague – are for the moment holding back SCG's admission to the PfP, this does not mean that the country is isolated from all NATO business.



*B. Milinković, special envoy of SCG to NATO*

We particularly enjoyed the presentation by Borislav Banović who chairs the Committee on Defence in the Union's Parliament. It takes a good speaker to make the work of a committee sound gripping, and Mr Banović rose to the challenge. He described the achievements of the Defence Committee in the first year of its existence: "We started at a level below zero," he said, "and have now arrived at zero, so we have improved." Indeed, SCG needs to pay increased attention to legislative oversight of defence.

The DRINA project is well underway. In the next issue of *Security Matters* we will report on our journey in the company of an SCG delegation across the Drina river to Sarajevo.

### **Croatia and NATO: No Progress in Sight**

In mid-March David Greenwood and Jos Boonstra had the good fortune to visit Dubrovnik, known as the pearl of Croatia, where they attended a Rose-Roth seminar organised by NATO's Parliamentary Assembly: 'Towards Euro-Atlantic Integration: Progress and Challenges in South-East Europe'. One focus of discussion was the possible start of accession talks between the EU and Croatia. However, two days after the meeting, the EU decided to postpone such talks until Croatia is fully co-operating with the war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague. Headline issues like the future status of Kosovo and PfP participation for Serbia-Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina were also the subject of lively debate. Our two CESS colleagues assure us that they were hardly able to enjoy the fabulous city and nearby beaches. They used the opportunity to get up to speed on the latest developments in defence reform in South-East Europe. Among other things, this enabled them to update the CESS study on the Western Balkan countries' credentials for NATO membership and partnership (NCS). We were unable to think of a good acronym for this project.

In July the NCS report was submitted to the sponsor, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It looks at prospects for accession to NATO in Albania, Croatia and Macedonia, which are engaged in the Membership Action Plan, and reviews progress toward the admission of Bosnia Herzegovina and Serbia-Montenegro to the PfP.

## After the Revolution: Reforms in Georgia

In the first week of February Jos Boonstra made a fact-finding trip to Tbilisi. He attended the high-level conference on the South Caucasus in the 21st century, where he caught up with experts from the Caucasus region. The event was overshadowed by the news that Prime Minister Zurab Zhvania had died of asphyxiation the night before the conference began. President Saakashvili took over his role as speaker.

However, the main purpose of the visit was to see if there is a need in Georgia for CESS initiatives and co-operation. A few months earlier CESS had received a request from the Center for European Integration Studies (CEIS) to include Georgia in the NOSTRUM programme. Boonstra spoke with many security experts, visited Parliament and several NGOs and learned that there certainly is some scope for CESS activities in Georgia. We have therefore included Georgia in the new STARLINK programme suggested to the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see below).

## Fighters Become Farmers in Congo Brazzaville

The lady at the World Bank office welcomed Sami Faltas with a smile. "Ah, le missionaire!" It was January 2005, and he had arrived in the Republic of Congo on a mission to assess a government programme funded by the World Bank. In the last ten years, the country had gone through several periods of armed conflict, but now most fighters were trying to make a living as farmers or shopkeepers. The Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (EPRD) that he was to evaluate had provided assistance to several thousand of these former Ninjas, Cobras and Cocoyes.

It was an interesting but confusing trip. "In 2004, before I joined CESS, I had evaluated a similar programme carried out by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Congo Brazzaville, so I knew something about the country and its ex-combatants," Faltas says. "Yet when interviewing people, I found it hard to distinguish fact from fiction. Checking stories is notoriously difficult in Central Africa. In places where people are not free to speak their mind, statistics are dubious, newspapers fail to report the news, and bookshops are non-existent, you have no choice but to rely on the grapevine and on foreign media. So you end up writing a report full of question marks."

Other experiences were more encouraging. Thousands of people who had led a life of violence now seem determined never to go back. Instead of waiting for their commanders to formally discharge them, they had walked away from the militias and started looking for a new livelihood amid conditions of mass unemployment. Clearly, the EDRP had helped them to face this challenge. By doing so, it had helped to restore peace and stability to the country.

Of course, the peace remained fragile, and the EDRP was less effective than it could have been. Amazingly, the government had not even tried to disarm the former fighters. Besides, instead of co-operating with the earlier UNDP/IOM programme, the EDRP drove it out of business. Finally, like most reintegration programmes, the EDRP gave benefits to former fighters, leading them to believe they were entitled to such privileges, but virtually none to war-affected communities, making them feel abandoned and resentful. This started the CESS researcher thinking about



*The men say they are ex-combatants running a farm funded by the World Bank*

alternative approaches to what is called Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). These will be discussed in future issues of *Security Matters*.

Why is CESS taking on such subjects, and what are we doing in Central Africa? In line with our new mission statement (see p.1), we are supporting the European quest for peace and stability both within and outside our continent. Helping to prevent war in the former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, West and Central Africa and other parts of the world is an important part of Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Netherlands is a strong supporter of this effort. In fact, it is the main donor to the World Bank's demobilisation and reintegration effort for Central Africa, which sent Sami Faltas to Brazzaville.

## STARLINK: Training Courses for Security Sector Reform

'Security, Transparency, Accountability and Reform: Linking the Security sectors of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine to the European Mainstream' (STARLINK) is the name devised by Jos Boonstra for a programme that CESS hopes to launch this summer. We have proposed it to the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a successor to NOSTRUM.

If funding is approved, STARLINK will build on the results of NOSTRUM by focussing on continued defence reform in Ukraine and Moldova, but it will be different from NOSTRUM in several ways. Its main focus will be Ukraine, one of the most important countries in the region, with huge opportunities for improving defence governance, and Moldova, but it will also cover Georgia, and explore possibilities for capacity building in Armenia. Defence experts from Bulgaria, Poland and Romania will join Western European colleagues in helping Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine to develop the human resources needed for security sector reform.

The main thrust of STARLINK will be the development, testing and launching of training courses. For this purpose, STARLINK will commission the development of modules, i.e. generic training packages, on various aspects of security sector reform. These can then be combined to form training courses adapted to the needs of a specific audience in a particular time and place. Our aim is to develop such training material, test it in cooperation with local partners in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, and then help the local partners to gradually take over these activities.

Training promises to become an increasingly important part of CESS's work, with an emphasis on the development of training material rather than the delivery of courses.

## PEOPLE

### Ukrainian Minister Was a CESS Fellow

In the mid-1990s, a young Ukrainian called **Anatoliy Grytsenko** came to Groningen to join CESS as a fellow. As a gift, he brought us a bottle of liquor, now empty, in the shape of a warrior (see photo). Grytsenko was enrolled in the European Fellowship Programme and wrote the first Harmonie Paper ever. Back in Ukraine, he joined and later led an influential think tank in Kyiv called the Razumkov Centre. In March 2005, President Victor Yushchenko appointed him Minister of Defence. His colleague at the Razumkov Centre, **Leonid Polyakov**, another friend and associate of CESS, became deputy minister. CESS is delighted at this news. We extend our warmest congratulations and best wishes to both colleagues.

The book that Grytsenko wrote at CESS, *Civil-Military Relations in Ukraine: A System Emerging from Chaos*, deals with the problems in Ukraine regarding the political organisation of national defence, which confronted the government with agonising difficulties. Several Ministers of Defence came and left without achieving much in the way of better governance. On taking office eight years later, Grytsenko found that most problems remained to be resolved. On 18 March 2005, at a Kyiv round table organised by CESS and the Razumkov Centre, he described some of the challenges he faces (see p.3). Knowing their commitment to good governance, we think our friends Grytsenko and Polyakov will set in motion a process of fundamental defence reform. CESS will contribute whatever it can to this effort.



### Changes in CESS Leadership

In the seven years that **David Greenwood** has been with us, he has been the intellectual mainstay of CESS. The word 'doyen' fits him perfectly in both its meanings, 'senior member of a body or group' and 'one who is knowledgeable or uniquely skilled as a result of long experience in some field of endeavour.' For health reasons, Greenwood is stepping down as Research Director and editor of this newsletter. At his own suggestion, we will now call him our Research Fellow. Fortunately for us, he will remain deeply involved in CESS projects. We anxiously await his verdict on the restyled version of *Security Matters*.

**Margriet Drent** used to be our Executive Director, but she left last year to pursue a Ph.D. In December, Sami Faltas took over. He is also the new editor of *Security Matters*.

**Sami Faltas** was born in Egypt in 1950, but grew up in the Netherlands and is a Dutch citizen (see photo on p. 1). He has published widely on international issues, especially disarmament and post-conflict peace-building. He holds a doctorate from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. Before coming to CESS, he was a programme director at the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), where he dealt with issues like small arms control and the demobilisation of combatants. Unlike many people at CESS, Sami Faltas does not consider himself an expert on Central or Eastern Europe, but has worked in various other parts of the world, especially in Africa. His interest in the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of Combatants

(DDR) is generating new activities at CESS. This summer, he will move with his wife and youngest daughter into a house on the outskirts of Groningen. He claims that cycling to the office and back will work wonders for his physical condition.

"I am happy to be back in the Netherlands, and delighted to discover Groningen," he says. "Living in Bonn for six years, I grew to appreciate Germany more and more. I also realised how attached I am to Holland. When I applied for this job, CESS was not unfamiliar to me. I knew Peter Volten, and I had worked with David Greenwood and Jos Boonstra, so I looked forward to joining them. What was new to me is the fascinating network of scholars, politicians and NGO people that CESS has developed over the years in Central and Eastern Europe. It's a wonderful asset."

### Thanks to Michiel, Erik and Sander

In recent months, two students and a graduate from Groningen University joined CESS and made excellent contributions to its work. We also enjoyed the company of Michiel, Erik and Sander. Thanks guys, all the best, and please keep in touch.

**Michiel Smit** is a student of International Relations at Groningen University, and calls his experience at CESS "very worthwhile." "It is fascinating," he adds, "to see how organisations like CESS make a small, but valuable contribution to the 'construction' of security in Europe." He finds it appealing that CESS is now broadening its scope to look at other parts of the world beside Central and Eastern Europe. "I have naturally also learned from being involved in the daily activities at CESS and seeing how such an organisation 'survives'."



Smit's main tasks were organising a roundtable in Kyiv and a workshop in Moldova. He also contributed to research on Turkey's defence organisation in a comparative European perspective. "It has been a great pleasure to work with the CESS staff as an intern and the two 'excursions' to Moldova and Ukraine were the icing on the cake for me. And, oh yes, I will certainly miss the wonderful and sometimes heated, discussions during the coffee breaks. I think they are priceless for one's development and way of thinking." Whatever the subject was, we could always count on Michiel for a dissenting opinion.

**Erik Petersen** recently graduated from Groningen University with a major in International Relations. His fellowship (April-June 2005) focussed on a region he is quite familiar with, the former Yugoslavia.



"Although it's small, CESS has a lot of knowledge stored within the organisation. For almost ten years they have been organising workshops, training courses and conferences on democratic defence reform in transitional countries. It was this expertise I hoped to learn from. And I have," Petersen adds. Previously, he served as an intern at the Netherlands Embassy in Sarajevo, and at the Netherlands Mission to the United Nations in New York.



Building on his knowledge of the region, he organised the CESS workshops in Belgrade and Sarajevo as part of the project Defence Reform Initiative (DRINA), which helps practitioners from both countries to exchange experiences in the field of defence reform. He also visited Priština and is drawing up a proposal for a new project on Kosovo.

"Groningen students usually come to CESS, as interns, before graduation," Erik says, "but I think a fellowship is also an interesting option after graduation, because it gives you a bit more practical and research experience."

**Sander Jansen** is nearing the end of his internship at CESS and is working on our Turkey project. He is studying International Relations in Groningen and hopes to graduate in the summer of 2005. Sander says, "I am interested in Turkey's political development, especially in the context of democratic theory and political culture. CESS gave me an excellent opportunity to find out more about this topic."

Sander's M.A. thesis is about the effects of different concepts of power on the nuclear non-proliferation policy of the US and France in the Middle East. Like Michiel and Erik, Sander throws himself passionately into CESS's coffee break discussions. "I realise that not everyone is interested in my favourite academic topics, but I am flexible and quite able to talk about really important things, like football, on which I am an expert too."

## Editorial

### Turkey: A Long Hot Summer

Before he finalised the report of the international task force on Governance and the Military in Turkey, rapporteur David Greenwood revised it several times, mainly in response to the concerns of our Ankara-based partner ASAM (see p. 1).

Nevertheless, ASAM disassociated itself from the report just before publication. Soon stories with titles like 'A Report that has Angered Ankara' began appearing in the Turkish press. Unfortunately, readers cannot make up their own minds about the report, because it has not yet been released. This is all the more regrettable because some newspapers quoted sections of it out of context and by doing so distorted the content. When the document is published in Turkish and English this autumn, we will try to set the record straight.

But I cannot wait until then to rebut an allegation printed by *The New Anatolian* on 11 May 2005. According to this story, ASAM chairman Ambassador Gündüz Aktan said that his organisation withdrew from the task force when "the rapporteur's anti-Turkish approach became quite apparent."

This is nonsense. In his report, David Greenwood praises Turkey for the progress it made between 2002 and 2004 in reforming civil-military relations and goes on to show how further progress might smooth the path to EU accession. He makes every effort to be even-handed, and it is grossly unfair to accuse him of adopting an anti-Turkish approach.

It is also an insult to the members of the Task Force who accepted the report as a fair record of their work. Would highly respected Turkish scholars like N.Narlı, A.Karaosmanoğlu, A.Evin, M.Heper and M.Şahin condone a report that was hostile to their country? Of course not.

Clearly, some Turks are unhappy to see the role of the armed forces in politics critically discussed, especially at a time when the EU requires further defence reform as a condition for accession. There is also a fear that political support for Turkish accession is dwindling in Western Europe. Many analysts take the

rejection of the European draft constitution in France (and to a lesser degree in the Netherlands) to mean no to Turkish accession. Besides, many see the EU's decision of 16 March to postpone accession talks with Croatia as a bad omen for Turkish accession. Finally, Turkish nerves are on edge as a result of various other issues and controversies, not all related to defence. These include the persecution of Armenians in 1915, the recognition of Cyprus, the Council of Europe's assessment that former PKK chief Öcalan did not receive a fair trial, a return to armed violence in the southeast, and concerns about northern Iraq. All in all, Turkey seems to be having a long hot summer.

And yet I see no reason to believe that Turkey's quest to join the EU is now certain to fail. As long as the political commitment to discuss accession constructively remains firm on both sides, progress may be slow, but it will continue. Nor do I see any particular reason why civil-military relations should become a stumbling block on the road to accession. As long as reforms continue, and they are properly communicated and discussed, I think the difficulties of this dossier will be overcome. I hope and expect that the process of Turkish defence reform that accelerated in 2002 but came to a halt in 2004 will be resumed. Ankara knows this is necessary to meet the requirements of the EU.

But will the reforms be properly communicated and discussed? After all, politics is more about perceptions than about realities. To be successful, reforms must capture the interest of serious journalists and gain the support of the people that count. Opinion leaders and civil society in Turkey need to be informed and invited to comment on the reform process, so that they grow to understand and appreciate it. And if the reforms are supposed to suitably impress the European Commission and the governments of the EU, then politicians and public opinion in Western Europe must also be informed and heard, so that they begin to understand and appreciate the changing role of the military in Turkey. None of this has even been attempted so far. In the coming year, civil society organisations like IPC in Istanbul and CESS in Groningen hope to promote such dialogue and debate.

# Commentary

## No Longer Forgotten

*This article was written by Dov Lynch, a Senior Research Fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, and a major contributor to the NOSTRUM programme at CESS. He contributed the chapter 'Moldova and Transnistria' to Security-Sector Reform and Transparency-Building, published in 2004 as Harmonie Paper 17<sup>1</sup>, and presented a paper on 'NATO and EU Enlargement in Moldova's Security Strategy' at the NOSTRUM workshop in Chisinau, 1-2 April 2005<sup>2</sup>.*

In some respects, Moldova's greatest problem since 1992 has been to ensure that it is not forgotten. This small European country, sandwiched between Romania and Ukraine, on the northern rim of the Black Sea, indeed, has often been simply forgotten. Somehow, despite a history similar to that of the Baltic states with their incorporation into the USSR in the Second World War, Moldova never received similar international attention. Somehow, despite having suffered an internal conflict and enduring a separatist state within its borders since 1992, Moldova was not able to gain significant support from the Euro-Atlantic community. Somehow, despite having agreed to withdraw its troops from Moldova at the OSCE Istanbul summit in 1999, Russia succeeded in not fulfilling this obligation.

This situation is finally changing. In December 2004, Moldova became part of the first wave of Action Plans negotiated with the EU in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy. In March 2005, the EU Council designated a EU Special Representative to the Moldovan conflict with its separatist region. Moldova's immediate neighbours, Ukraine and Romania, after a decade of difficult relations, have become in 2005 close allies of Moldova's determination to join Europe. Clearly, the 'correlation of forces,' to use Soviet military parlance, is changing in Moldova's favour.

And yet, everything remains ahead for the Moldovan leadership in terms of undertaking the difficult reforms listed in the EU Action Plan and in terms of seeking reasonable compromise with the separatists on the left bank of the Dnestr. A key task also is that of security sector reform. In this area at least, the work of the Centre for European Security Studies, through the NOSTRUM programme, has demonstrated that Moldova has not been forgotten. The NOSTRUM mandate was unique in Moldova in its breadth and width. All aspects of security sector reform, a notion



*Dov Lynch*

until then very poorly known in Moldova, were broached in the course of the project, from border troops, to intelligence services, police forces to the armed forces. A unique aspect of the project was its ability to mix high-level Moldovan officials with officials and experts from European partners, who were able to share their experience of undertaking such reform. If anything, the project has been a vast and successful learning process for a key Moldovan audience into the complexity, challenges and stakes of security sector reform. However, as the project comes to an end, the hard work must begin now in Moldova in clarifying the role of the multiple security services, ensuring adequate budgeting for reform and determining Moldova's long term security orientation. Certainly, the NOSTRUM concept merits consideration for replication in other deserving neighbours of the enlarged EU.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.cess.org/cess/harmonie.htm>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.cess.org/hp/Report.Mol.V.pdf>

### In Security Matters 15:

- **Presentation of Report on Turkish Defence Reform**
- **DRINA project meets in Sarajevo**
- **Training programmes for security sector reform**
- **Demobilisation without Camps**

## Colophon

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