

SECURITY MATTERS

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WHAT A DIFFERENCE A YEAR MAKES

At the start of the fourth quarter of the year 2000 you would have found the staff at the Groningen Office of the Centre for European Security Studies (CESS) in a subdued mood. Slobodan Milosevic still clung to power in Belgrade, so it seemed unlikely that we would be able to extend the scope of our South-East European Initiative to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Assembling a donor consortium for our envisaged education and training effort in that region was proving difficult anyhow; and there appeared to be only limited interest in our ideas for engaging local experts in collaborative research on the area's security concerns. Generating support for planned inquiries on (Western) European defence futures was proving an uphill struggle as well, frustrating a desire to 'grow' this research side of our business.

You would certainly not have bet that in September 2001 we would have already held a first, and successful, workshop in Belgrade and that our parliament and parliamentary staff education programme (DEMCON-SEE) would be up and running, inaugurated formally with a flagship event in Bucharest. Nor would you have foreseen that a few weeks later we would be able to look forward to the imminent start of a parallel eight-country research enterprise to explore how security co-operation in South-Eastern Europe might be taken forward and how experience in reforming national defences in the region might be shared.

In addition, you would have dismissed out of hand suggestions that by that stage the Centre would also have earned

acclaim for (a) initial work on rebalancing (Western) European defence efforts and (b) its substantial 'policy support' study on the preparedness for NATO accession of the nine aspirant states taking part in the Membership Action Plan (MAP); both of which were completed by mid-year.

That, though, is how it is in our world. Ups and downs are the name of the game. Not that the outlook now is totally unblemished. Far from it. Our major education programme is not yet fully funded for 2002. Our new multinational research venture is 'for one year only'. However, we are in a better frame of mind this year, as we offer each other - and readers of *Security Matters* - the season's greetings and best wishes for a successful, if busy, New Year.



David Greenwood, Djuro Kovacevic, Dusan Mihajlovic and Jovan Teokarevic at the Belgrade Workshop, September 2001.

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At the successful launch of the DEMCON-SEE programme in Bucharest (see page 3) OSCE Parliamentary Assembly President Adrian Severin said: *'This conference is about reform priorities for the security sector. What really has priority is the reform of mentalities. In this region we still want to develop ourselves while ignoring our neighbours. This kind of thinking has no future. People should start to think regionally. We are lacking the regional approach in South-East Europe.'*



Report launched in The Hague

On the occasion of the Netherlands' Atlantic Commission's one-day Conference on 'The Membership Action Plan (MAP) and NATO Enlargement in 2002' - held in The Hague on 30 November 2001 - CESS Director Peter Volten presented a copy of the Centre's latest publication *Organising National Defences for NATO Membership: the Unexamined Dimension of Aspirants' Readiness for Entry to the Secretary-General of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Frank Majoor*. The work was alluded to extensively during the day's proceedings.

Programmes

The last business of our Programme on European Security 1999-2000 (PROGRES) has finally been completed. In November, CESS published the reports of the five PROGRES research teams, as a volume in our own Occasional Papers series, *Harmonie Papers*. (For details, see the *Publications* section of the Newsletter.)

The PROGRES 'model' is the basis for our next collaborative research undertaking. Early in 2002 the Centre will launch a new investigative exercise involving participants from eight countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Slovenia and Romania. The selected research themes are incorporated in the title of the venture, which is *Enhancing Security Co-operation and Defence Arrangements in South-Eastern Europe*. We expect that this ESCADA programme also will yield an important publication.

Our main programme-in-being, however, is a training enterprise – the *Democratic Control: Parliament and Parliamentary Staff Education Programme for South-Eastern Europe (DEMCON-SEE)*. For more on this see p. 3 opposite (and the following pages).

Projects

We continue to be actively involved – through Research Director David Greenwood – in another enterprise with a South-East European focus, viz. the *Initiative on Transparency of Military Budgets* developed by Bulgaria (with the United Kingdom's help) in 2000 and formally inaugurated in March 2001.

A proof copy of the project's first contribution to international transparency, a *Yearbook on Defence Spending in South-Eastern Europe 2001* has now been produced and was reviewed at an end-November meeting of the Initiative's consultative Academic Working Group (of which Greenwood is Co-Chair).



The Initiative on Transparency of Military Budgets has made a promising start. 'I expect the Yearbook to evolve into an invaluable work of reference,' says CESS' Research Director David Greenwood.

Publication is expected before the end of the calendar year. Work will then begin in earnest on a second work, a *Survey of Defence Budgeting Processes* in the region. This is scheduled for distribution early in 2002.

All the Centre's staff were involved in the contract research study on aspects of NATO's 'second wave' enlargement which was a major preoccupation in the second quarter of 2001. This task was duly completed in mid-July.

It is possible that we will take on another 'policy support study' in the not-too-distant future. There is some interest in the work CESS is doing as part of its *European Defence Futures* portfolio. At present the only inquiry underway is the *Rebalancing European Defence Efforts* exercise that is being done under NATO's (Institutional) Fellowship scheme.

Proposals

As an independent not-for-profit enterprise, without corefunding, CESS has to pay a lot of attention to money-raising. Accordingly it always has proposals in the pipeline for future projects.

Higher Defence Studies and Military Education in South-East Europe

Earlier this year CESS has had preliminary contacts in Bulgaria on developing a regional approach to advanced military education in South-East Europe. With apparent support at the DEMCON-SEE Regional Meeting for similar ideas, CESS now wants to look further into the possibilities. Therefore, the Centre is currently contemplating to undertake a study to in-

vestigate Options and Prospects for Co-operation in Provision for Higher Defence Studies and Advanced Military Education in South-East Europe, examining various ideas that are already circulating about this, including initiatives already proceeding in an uncoordinated way. Pending funding, a feasibility study could be finalised in six months.

Policy Advice on European Defence Capabilities

Work on the NATO Institutional Fellowship is proceeding. In mid-2002 CESS will hand in the final report. Meanwhile, a similar study to reshape defence efforts of current – but also including prospective – EU and European NATO-members is under consideration. Our Report *Organising National Defences for NATO-membership: The Unexamined Dimension of Aspirants' Readiness for Entry* (see *Publications*) showed that almost all Membership Action Plan states are embarking on long-term programmes to equip and restructure their forces. In order to optimise the total European output in the long run decisions taken now and in the coming years could be crucial. If sufficient funding can be secured, CESS plans to produce a report with policy advice on current plans and future provisions to optimise defence capacity.

People

Programme Manager **Sander Huisman** is spending November and December 2001 on a visiting fellowship at the WEU Institute for Security Studies in Paris. He is examining how EU enlargement towards Lithuania and Poland will affect the Russian region of Kaliningrad, and how this development might pose new problems for the exclave itself and for the relationship between the EU and Russia. In order to provide new policy alternatives Huisman will evaluate the current policies of the EU and Russia, and assess them vis-à-vis those of Lithuania and Poland. (Our Programme Manager will be one of the last visiting scholars at the WEU Institute. On 1 January 2002 it becomes the European Union Institute for Security Studies, or EUISS).

DEMCON-SEE CALENDAR

7-10 February, Bucharest, Romania

Enhancing Policy and Financial Accountability

14-17 February, Belgrade, FRY

Setting up Mechanisms for Democratic Oversight

7-10 March, Sarajevo, BiH

Parliaments and Security Sector Reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina

4-7 April, Skopje, Macedonia

Essentials of Legislative Oversight

2-5 May, Sofia, Bulgaria

Promoting Effective Legislative Oversight over the Security Sector

13-16 June, Belgrade, FRY

Development of Legislative Instruments for Security Sector Oversight

PARTNERS

Albania: Study Center on Parliamentary and Democratic Practices (SCPDP), Tirana; *Bosnia-Herzegovina*: Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI), Sarajevo; *Bulgaria*: Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS), Sofia; *Croatia*: Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb; *FRY*: Institute for European Studies (IES), Belgrade; *Macedonia*: Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (ISPPI), Skopje; *Romania*: European Institute for Risk, Security and Communication Management (EURISC), Bucharest.

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DEMOCRATIC
CONTROL
SOUTH
EAST
EUROPE

NEWS

About DEMCON-SEE

Democratic Control: Parliament and Parliamentary Staff Education Programme - to promote effective legislative oversight of the security sector in **South East Europe (DEMCON-SEE)**

On 1 January 2001 the Centre for European Security Studies embarked on a three-year programme for parliamentarians and parliamentary staff from seven South-East European countries. These countries are: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Romania. DEMCON-SEE aims to contribute to democracy-building and good governance in individual countries by providing elected representatives (and their staff) with the knowledge and skills they need to exercise effective oversight in the security area. It also wants to contribute to democracy-building and conflict-prevention across South-East Europe by facilitating exchanges on security-sector affairs among legislatures.

The Centre has engaged seven partner-institutions from the South-East European region to help execute DEMCON-SEE. See box on the left.

Over the course of three years a sequence of intensive 'national' training sessions and workshops will be held in each of the participating countries as well as two regional working-meetings. The venture is part of the Stability Pact's 'Quick Start Package' and is financed until mid-2002 by contributions from the Dutch, Swiss and United Kingdom governments and the SFMO-Foundation from The Netherlands.

To keep participants, partners and others informed about DEMCON-SEE, future issues of *Security Matters* will carry a special 'News' section on the programme.

Excellent Inaugural Event in Bucharest

The Centre for European Security Studies, in co-operation with the EURISC Foundation, formally initiated its DEMCON-SEE programme at a Regional Meeting held 27-30 September in the Palace of the People in Bucharest. The event was staged under the title 'Parliaments in South East Europe and Reform Priorities for the Security Sector'. There were around 100 participants, including some 50 parliamentarians and their staff from seven South-East European countries.



James Lyon, Liviu Muresan, Raymond Detrez, Peter Volten and Adrian Pop at the Regional Meeting in Bucharest, September 2001. See report overleaf.

Regional Meeting

Bucharest, Romania

Parliaments in South-East Europe and Reform Priorities for the Security Sector

Much of the success of the Regional Meeting in Bucharest (September 2001) was owed to the excellent job the seven partner institutions within DEMCON-SEE did in selecting delegations from their countries. From most of the participating countries a well-balanced group was present and active.

The magnificent Human Rights Hall was the setting of the plenary sessions. The first day plenary gatherings were devoted to the role parliaments should play in security sector reform and what has to be done to improve legislative oversight of the security sector. Prominent speakers were enlisted to illuminate these subjects. What worked well at this event is that plenaries were intersected by discussions in small, parallel Working Groups. For instance, Working Group debate on various forms of South-East European regional co-operation led to concrete ideas in the field of advanced military education and higher defence studies. Most argued that any 'regional defence college' should be open to civilians including legislators and their staff. Another broadly supported idea was to find some institutionalised form where inter-parliamentary exchange can take place. CESS' Director, Peter Volten, urged the parliamentarians in his concluding remarks to take action in this field themselves (although CESS can provide some assistance).

Towards the end of any event, most participants tend to run out of energy. Not so at this Meeting, because two excellent and very provoking speeches were delivered by James Lyon (International Crisis Group in Serbia, United States) and Raymond Detrez (Professor at the University of Gent, Belgium). James Lyon warned for a misuse of the tragic events of 11 September for own nationalistic agendas on the Balkans. Confirming the presence of terrorist cells in the region, he labelled as most dangerous and conflict-produc-

tive attacks directed at minorities. Raymond Detrez noted a remarkable continuity of the Euro-Atlantic community's involvement in the Balkans during the last three centuries. He criticised absence of consistency in Western policies on how the right of self-determination is addressed in this region.

Back in Groningen, the CESS staff wrote a full report of the proceedings of the Meeting. This has been distributed to all participants and is available upon request to cess@let.rug.nl.

Visit to the SECI Regional Center for Combating Transborder Crime

Participants in the Regional Meeting had a chance to visit the SECI-Center for the Combat against Transborder Organised Crime, which is located on the top floor of the Parliament building in Bucharest. A special Working Group session was devoted to evaluate this regional initiative, started in January 2001. Liviu Muresan (Director of EURISC, co-organiser of the Meeting) – himself very much involved with setting up the Center – chaired this session. The SECI Center has been set up through the political support and participation of 11 South-East European countries. It aims to share intelligence, investigate, harmonise national legislation and to provide training for officials in the field. The pooling of information has already led to the dismantling of one criminal network in South East Europe. The Centre works on a modest annual budget. The focus of the discussion was on the fact that this small budget is provided for solely by the South-East European countries and that no Western sponsor has been found willing to provide financial support. Participants felt that this is a

commendable and useful initiative for which more support should be mobilised.

Partner Profile

The European Institute for Risk, Security and Communication management (EURISC), was founded as an independent NGO in 1995. The Institute aims to promote the 'security culture' as a basis for a new European security architecture and to encourage co-operation among experts and researchers. Activities of EURISC focus on research, information and education.

EURISC has been a longstanding partner of CESS. EURISC and CESS used this experience to organise the first event of the DEMCON-SEE programme. The team of EURISC (Marius Anca, former CESS-intern Dorlin Muresan and George Grama) did a great job of making this first large Regional Meeting a success. CESS looks forward to liaise once more in February 2002 when there will be a jointly organised Workshop for Romanian legislators in Bucharest.

Workshops

Belgrade, FRY

Essentials of Legislative Oversight

On 14 and 15 September the first national workshop of DEMCON-SEE took place in Belgrade. The event was opened by Serbian Minister of Interior Dusan Mihajlovic and as a result received considerable media coverage. The Minister congratulated the organisers – CESS and Yugoslavia's Institute for European Studies (IES) – for addressing the issue of democratic control over the armed forces, as this is one of the reform priorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). In the country there are several 'groups' of



Programme Manager Sander Huisman introduces CESS Associate and DCAF Senior Fellow Jan Trapans at the Belgrade Workshop.

armed forces – such as the army and the police plus some para-military and para-police bodies. The question is with which instruments these forces should be brought under democratic control, and what kind of role the parliament should play in this process.

The workshop addressed practical issues to acquaint parliamentarians and others from the FRY's 'security community' with several aspects of democratic control. After an introduction on the basics of legislative oversight, an experienced parliamentarian from Lithuania (a 'transition' state) and one from the Netherlands (a 'mature' democracy) spoke about their countries' practices. Then two local experts addressed the audience on the most pressing issues in the FRY today: effective monitoring of the army and all internal security forces.

After the closing session, which considered how national parliaments could contribute to stabilising South-East Europe, two striking conclusions could be drawn. First, many parliamentarians do not exactly know their 'rights' to monitor the armed forces and hold the executive accountable in this respect. Secondly, although the government acknowledges the need for promoting democratic oversight and transparency, it is not acting accordingly due to political and societal circumstances. Much remains to be done, and CESS and IES therefore look forward to the second workshop. This is scheduled for 15-16 February 2002.

Partner Profile

The Institute for European Studies (IES) from Belgrade is the only research institution in FR Yugoslavia devoted to the comprehensive study of the political, economic and cultural processes in Europe. The research is organized in the form of a five year global project covering a range of topics and subtopics. The results of the research are published as monographies, collection of articles, chronologies, ad hoc analyses. During the last decade the IES has published over 40 various publications, both in Serbian and in English. The Institute promotes interdisciplinary comparative and theoretical research, but is also engaged in policy oriented stud-



Ljubodrag Grbic, Ida van Veldhuizen Rothenbücher and Durda Adlesic at the Zagreb Workshop, October 2001.

ies. It has sustained a policy of cooperation with institutions and universities in Yugoslavia and abroad.

The IES has organized numerous conferences, round tables and seminars. The DEMCON-SEE programme is the first joint CESS-IES undertaking and with a successful Workshop in September behind us CESS is looking forward to the next event in FR Yugoslavia in February 2002.

Zagreb, Croatia

Enhancing Democratic Control over the Armed Forces

Legislators and their staffers from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Romania convened at the Croatian Parliament, the Sabor, on 26 and 27 October 2001. They participated in the parliamentary workshop *Enhancing Democratic Control over the Armed Forces in Croatia*, organised by CESS and the Institute for International Relations. The event addressed common challenges and obstacles to the establishment of sound frameworks of democratic control over the armed forces in their countries. Other participants in this parliamentary workshop came from across the Croatian academia and governmental offices. Many different points of view were aired, not only from various professional backgrounds (e.g. parliament versus government), but also from other neighbouring countries.

This aspect was one of the most valuable for the attendees, since for the last decade many contacts had been non-existent in the region. In this workshop they met again, they learned from each other, and they established contacts again after many years (e.g. for a Croatian-born parliamentarian from the FRY, this was the

first possibility to visit his native country in 12 years). In addition, a visible proof of the timeliness of the theme of the workshop was the considerable media attention, resulting in broadcasts on radio and television, and newspaper articles. Finally, the fact that the Deputy Minister of Defence opened the workshop could be considered as recognition by the government of the focus on enhancing democratic control over the armed forces.

Partner Profile

In Croatia, the DEMCON-SEE programme is conducted in cooperation with the Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb. Dr. Mladen Stanicic is our contact person. IMO is a public, non-profit, policy research organization. The Institute aims to increase public awareness of policy issues in the fields of international relations and communication, as well as of the Croatian international position, by disseminating knowledge through research, publishing journals and books and organising international conferences, educational seminars and training courses. IMO is one of the major publishers of books in the English language in Croatia in the field of international relations and economics, environmental policy, European integration processes, and culture and communication. IMO is also the Croatian depository of the European Union (EU) Documents and the home of the European Documentation Center. In October 2002 CESS and IMO will jointly organise a second workshop within DEMCON-SEE in Croatia.

Tirana, Albania

Essentials of Legislative Oversight

From 8-11 November the first workshop in Albania was organised in Tirana in cooperation with the Tirana-based Study

Center on Parliamentary and Democratic Practices. An intern from Albania, Elga Mitre, spent some time in Groningen in October/November to help to prepare the event. The workshop in Albania dealt with 'essentials' of legislative oversight (also the title of the event). The curriculum covered the 'first principles' of legislative oversight, an introduction to practice in mature democracies and the more 'advanced' transition states, an assessment of the challenges Albania faces and an initial mapping of reform priorities in Albania in order to achieve a more effective role of the legislature in holding its government to account. Moreover, the event featured special sessions on counter-terrorism and the role of the parliament; and on engaging the independent media for influencing security policy.



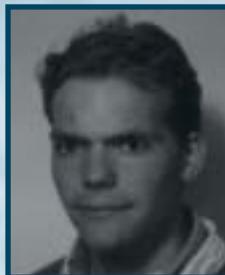
Arian Starova, Robert Zeldenrust, Jos Boonstra and Richard Cohen at the Workshop in Tirana.

Partner Profile

The Study Center on Parliamentary and Democratic Practices (SCDP) based in Tirana, aims to develop and enhance parliamentary activity, legislative processes and parliamentary democracy through studies and research, organisation of activities and training in this field. The founding members, who served for a long time as advisors in the People's Assembly, set up the Center as a non-political and non-profit making NGO. The Center has been involved in various projects on enhancing the effectiveness of the legislative process, training of legal officers and the increase of trustworthy relations between deputies and the electorate. Sokol Berberi is the Executive Director of SCPDP and closely involved in the DEMCON-SEE Programme. He served in parliament as a Legal Advisor to Parliamentary Committees and to the Presidency of the Parliament.

Interns

My name is Peter Abbink and I'm a 26 years old student. I am studying Central- and Eastern European history at the University of Groningen. Since



Peter Abbink

September I am an intern at CESS. Before I came to CESS I already completed an internship at the Security Department of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, I still wanted to know more about CESS. I wanted to have a glimpse behind the scenes of this NGO, whose director, Peter Volten, was one of my teachers. CESS offered me an internship. I am a part-time intern, for two days a week, because at the same time I am following lectures and I am preparing my final thesis. In July 2002 I will graduate. In the first six weeks of my internship I assisted in the DEMCON-SEE programme. Nearly three weeks after I started at CESS they offered me the opportunity to attend the Regional Meeting in Bucharest. This was actually my first time in South East Europe. It made a big impression on me, in the positive sense. I have met a lot of very interesting people. I learnt a lot about democratic control of the security sector. What impressed me most was the strong sense of solidarity after the terrorist attacks of 11 September, which existed among the participants of the Regional Meeting. This put me in a high mood for the future of the region. After the Regional Meeting I wrote a large part of the chapter concerning the proceedings of the review report of the meeting. Everybody can blame me for the extraordinary length of the report. Now I am busy with other things at CESS. I am organising the library and I am writing an article about problems with democratic control of the security sector in the Netherlands. I enjoy it very much to work at CESS. I am learning a lot.

Almost two years ago I had the opportunity to attend an intensive Summer School on International Relations and Political Science in Tirana. It was that the time I really discovered my real interest and skills in such an interesting but challenging area.



Elga Mitre

When I was flying to Netherlands for my internship in CESS, I could hardly believe that I was not dreaming. It was a new leaf in the book of my life. Being freshly graduated I had many questions and not enough answers for my future career.

My internship in CESS, my assistance in organizing the Workshop "Essentials of Legislative Oversight" in Tirana, Albania met my expectations and was also rewarding to me. Day to day work, assisting in the office, programming even the slightest details, arranging everything and everybody took me so much in it, that I almost forgot it was a few days I was working there. And it was me, who was bringing 'Albania' in Groningen, especially in CESS, and believe me it is not easy at all. Two countries, two cultures, many differences. Countries do not differ from each other only because they are situated in two different parts of the world, only because they have different cultures, only because they speak different languages. What makes two countries really different, to my opinion, is the way they are governed and ruled. Development is a process, which most of democratic countries cannot escape now, but still there are challenges. As an undergoing stream, this is the main idea that the workshop is supposed to bring. And I am sure it is going to be a success.

I would of course reserve my last words for CESS staff, whose hospitality and support made me feel home, and also helped me a lot in my ongoing learning process. Today I can really confirm that I learned how to open doors...

Publications

Two new numbers in our *Harmonie Papers* series were published in November 2001. The findings of the research Working Groups which met under the aegis of our Programme on European Security 1999-2000 (PROGRES) have finally seen the light of day – as Margriet Drent, David Greenwood and Peter Volten (editors) *Towards Shared Security: 7-nation Perspectives*, *Harmonie Paper* No. 14. A Staff Report on aspects of the 'second wave' NATO enlargement candidacies of the nine countries taking part in the Membership Action Plan (MAP) process has been released under the title *Organising National Defences for NATO Membership: the Unexamined Dimension of Aspirants' Readiness for Entry*, *Harmonie Paper* No. 15. Both works are obtainable from the Centre at a cost of Euro 14 a piece.

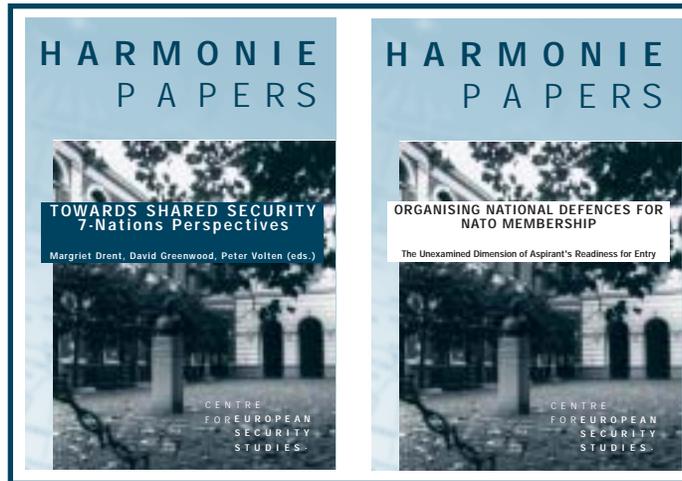
A revised version of a Special Issue in the same series, Herman Hoen (editor), *Governance Structures in Central and Eastern Europe*, issued by CESS in September 2000, was published commercially earlier in the year. With the new title



Herman Hoen

Good Governance in Central and Eastern Europe: the Puzzle of Capitalism by Design, the work has appeared in the Economies and Societies in Transition series of the publishing house Edward Elgar.

Programme Manager Sander Huisman has an article in the September 2001 issue of the Dutch journal *Atlantisch Perspectief* entitled 'NATO membership for the Baltic States: a logical choice'. The piece assesses the defence reforms of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania of recent years, as well as the forms of trilateral cooperation that the trio have initiated. Huisman's conclusion is that the Baltics have made the best preparations of all nine MAP-states. Even though their defence capabilities are modest, they are also highly compatible and interoperable with NATO forces. It would therefore



The latest two issues in our Harmonie Paper Series

make sense if an invitation were extended to all three at NATO's Prague Summit in November 2002.

The November 2001 issue of *Atlantisch Perspectief* carries a companion piece, on Slovenia, by Margriet Drent. Under the challenging title 'Slovenia and NATO-Enlargement: Shortcomings of the Favourite' our Executive Director questions Slovenia's eligibility for NATO membership in a number of fields. She notes the slow process of restructuring the

Public Activities

At CESS we receive frequent invitations to undertake outside speaking assignments. Several were fulfilled in the second half of 2001.

Margriet Drent spoke at a workshop on 'Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector of Transition Countries' organised by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and held from 5-8 July in Brussels. She explained the experience of CESS to a session on the Role of NGOs in Parliamentary Assistance and the Security Sector.

In September, Peter Volten was on a panel at a meeting in Groningen convened to debate how the West should respond to the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. At this well-attended event – organised by a consortium of student-bodies – live satellite connections made possible discussion with participants in the United States.

Research Director David Greenwood ful-

filled two engagements in October. In the middle of the month he delivered a paper entitled 'Promoting Defence Budget Transparency in South-Eastern Europe' to an International Symposium held in Split (Croatia). A few days later he gave a presentation on 'Stability Pact Activities in Transparency-Building' to the conference on Economics and Security held each year at this time in Sofia (Bulgaria).

Among other things, Greenwood reported to both audiences on progress under the Initiative on Transparency of Military Budgets in South-Eastern Europe with which CESS is associated (see *Projects* above).

Peter Volten too was in Sofia, at the beginning of November. He attended a conference organised within the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace. At the end of the month both Peter Volten and David Greenwood were leading speakers at the Netherlands' Atlantic Commission's one-day event on NATO Enlargement held in The Hague (as reported elsewhere in this Newsletter).

Slovenian armed forces, the relatively small portion of GDP spent on defence, the meagre operational capacity of the armed forces and the lack of enthusiasm of the Slovenian population for accession. Although Drent does not doubt that Slovenia is a commendable candidate on political and economic

grounds, she argues that Slovenia's shortcomings are mostly ignored, leaving the country top of the list of favourites for invitation at Prague 2002.

Director Peter Volten has been in print too. He contributed several articles to major newspapers in The Netherlands commenting on the strategic implications of the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States, the Dutch response and possible effects on further NATO enlargement.