

# Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)

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## REPORT BY THE DIRECTOR

(Covering the Period from March 2001 to March 2002)

### I. INTRODUCTION

#### 1. Scope and Purpose of the Report

The Director of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) is requested by the Foundation Council to regularly report on the Centre's activities. Moreover, under the terms of a framework agreement concluded between DCAF and the Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS), the Director is held to report to the latter twice a year on the progress achieved by the Centre and the use made of the funds put at DCAF's disposal by the DDPS.

This report fulfils these obligations. It covers the period between March 2001 and March 2002, thus carrying on from where the first Report by the Director (covering the period from January 1999 to March 2001) ended.

#### 2. Origins

The "Foundation of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces" was established on 27 October 2000, at the initiative of the Swiss government. Twenty-three governments became founding members. The Foundation operates the "Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces" (DCAF), which is run by an international staff.

The creation of DCAF resulted from almost two years of preparatory work carried out by the Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. When joining the Partnership for Peace in 1996, Switzerland declared the democratic control of armed forces to be a priority area within its PfP programme. The creation of the new Geneva Centre represented a visible expression of this policy.

DCAF's legal status - a foundation under Swiss common law, whose members are though governments and not individuals - is built on the model of the two other Geneva Centres: the "Geneva Centre for Security Policy" and the "Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining".

### 3. Mission and Objectives of the Centre

The democratic, civilian and parliamentary control of the security sector (armed forces, paramilitary forces, police and other internal security structures, border guards and the intelligence community) constitutes a key challenge for many countries in transition towards democracy. As a dangerous legacy of totalitarianism, dictatorship and – all too often – conflict and civil strife, such security structures risk remaining a “state within the state”. They form a major impediment on the road towards democracy and the rule of law, consume a disproportionate amount of scarce resources, may foster corruption, and thus become an obstacle to socio-economic development. Last but not least, the lack of democratic control over the security structures risks to pave the way for war, internal upheaval and conflict.

The reform of the security sector along the principles of democratic and civilian control has, therefore, been recognised by the international community as a precondition for peace and stability. It is a crucial step towards the fundamental objectives of, if not a precondition for membership in, Europe’s integrative structures (OSCE, Council of Europe, European Union, Partnership for Peace, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and NATO). Finally, it is widely understood to be a crucial aspect of development cooperation.

Against this background, the “Strategy Paper for the Years 2001-2004”, which was adopted by the Foundation Council on 4 December 2001, defines the mission of the “Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces” (DCAF) as being to support the efforts of transition countries and of the international community towards security sector reform on the basis of the principles of democratic, civilian and parliamentary control by:

- systematically collecting, analysing, debating, documenting, networking and publishing the existing knowledge and international experience in this area;
- putting the “lessons learned” and the insights thus gained in a tailor-made form and through appropriate projects and programmes at the disposal of all those who need this expertise. The beneficiaries include governments, parliaments, non-governmental organisations as well as international organisations and other relevant actors.

In this context, a particular emphasis is to be given to the principle of “help for self-help” and to render the lessons learned by countries that have already embarked some years ago on a transition towards democracy and security sector reform, at the disposal of those which have only more recently chosen this road.

By the end of its build-up period in 2004, the Centre aims to have achieved the following objectives:

- To have established itself as an independent, impartial, and widely recognised centre of excellence providing authoritative expertise to those who need it;
- to be recognised as a unique institution through the comprehensiveness of its approach - both with respect to its area of interest which encompasses all aspects of security reform and with respect to the recipients of its assistance, which range from governments to civil society;
- to have built-up a “Think Tank” of distinguished experts in the key areas of its fields of activity, to have complemented and enhanced this core in-house expertise through a dense network of international co-operation (taking the form of, for example partnerships, international working groups, joint projects, documentation and information networks, data banks, expert pools, consultants, joint publications or other co-operative ventures) that encompasses all key actors

and institutions relevant to its task, and consequently, if needed, to be able to act as a link - if not a "clearing house" - in its area of activities;

- through these expert networks (as well as through experts and other means put at its disposal by its members either permanently or on a case by case basis), to be able to mobilise an international advisory capability designed to respond in time and in a highly focused way, to demands for assistance by governments, other partners and/or the international community;
- through its work, to have made a recognisable impact on the ground, notably through tailor-made assistance projects in favour of partner governments and parliaments, but also through the broader dissemination of information and knowledge aimed at strengthening the emergence of an informed civil society.

Thus the Centre sees its primary role as a provider of knowledge and of either strategic or highly specialised expertise, and as an institution that is able to network such international expertise and knowledge. That said, the Centre views technical assistance in the classical sense as belonging to the realm of national assistance programmes or assistance programmes of the multilateral European and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

## II. FOUNDATION COUNCIL AND INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

### 1. Foundation Council

The supreme body of the Foundation is its "Council", whose work is prepared by the "Bureau of the Council". The members of the Council represent their countries (with the Canton of Geneva being an exception) in the Foundation. The President of the Foundation chairs both the Council and its Bureau. The Foundation's By-Laws regulate all legal aspects and practical procedures of DCAF.

In accordance with these By-Laws, the Foundation Council met twice during the year, namely on 2 April 2001 in Geneva and on 4 December 2001 in Bratislava, at the invitation of the Slovak Republic. The spring meeting was primarily dedicated, on the one hand, to the report of the Director on the activities of the Centre since its creation and the work plan for 2001, on the other hand to the adoption of the accounts for 2000 and the revised budget for 2001. Apart from focusing on the Director's Report, the fall meeting concentrated on the adoption of the "Strategy Paper 2001-2004" and the budget for 2002. Furthermore, both meetings were marked by the accession of additional members, increasing their number to 34 by the end of 2001.

On 27 October 2000, the Council counted the following 23 founding members:

Albania	Germany	Romania
Austria	Hungary	Russian Federation
Bulgaria	Ireland	Slovak Republic
Czech Republic	Latvia	Switzerland
Estonia	Lithuania	Ukraine
Finland	Macedonia	United Kingdom
France	Nigeria	United States
Geneva (Canton of)	Poland	

On the occasion of the second meeting of the Foundation Council on 2 April 2001 in Geneva, the following seven additional countries joined the Foundation:

Bosnia and Herzegovina	Italy	Slovenia
Croatia	The Netherlands	Sweden
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia		

During the third meeting of the Council on 4 December 2001 in Bratislava, four more countries joined the Foundation:

Georgia	Côte d'Ivoire	Spain
South Africa		

Invitations to join the Foundation have, moreover, been addressed to Canada, Egypt, Greece, and Moldova. Invitations are being prepared for Denmark and Norway.

With respect to the national representatives of the member countries in the Council, the past year has seen the following changes:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Leaving Representative</u>	<u>New Representative</u>
Bulgaria	Deputy Minister Velizar Shalamanov	Deputy Minister Radi Naidenov
Czech Republic	First Deputy Minister Jaromir Novotny	First Deputy Minister Stefan Füle
Ireland	Ambassador Anne Anderson	Ambassador Mary Whelan
Hungary	Deputy State Secr. Zoltan Martinusz	Deputy State Secr. József Bali
Romania	Ambassador Radu Boroianu	Ambassador Ioan Maxim
Slovak Republic	Major-General Ludovit Gal	Ambassador Igor Slobodnik
United Kingdom	Mr. Martin Holmes	Mr. David Murtagh

## **2. Bureau of the Council**

The Foundation Council tasks the Bureau of the Council with the day-to-day business of the Foundation. The Bureau met four times during the reporting period, i.e. on 2 April, 20 June, 28 September and 3 December 2001. The Bureau was, moreover, consulted by the Director – both in person and in a telephone conference - on 1 June 2001.

During these meetings the Bureau prepared the meetings of the Foundation Council (including budgets and accounts) and was briefed by the Director on the activities of the Centre. In addition, the Bureau guided the Director in the attribution of financial allocations for specific projects (notably the Yugoslav project, cf. III.3.) and other budgetary issues as well as specific personnel issues.

Mr. Martin Holmes, British representative in the Council and Bureau, resigned from his position on 4 December 2001 for professional reasons. Mr. David Murtagh, Deputy Director for Central and Eastern Europe in the Ministry of Defence, replaced him in both bodies.

Therefore, the composition of the Bureau is now the following:

- State Secretary (ret.) Ambassador Edouard Brunner (Switzerland), President
- Dr. Christian Catrina (Switzerland), Secretary
- Ambassador Christian Faessler (Switzerland), Treasurer
- Ambassador Yevhen Bersheda (Ukraine)
- Mr. David Murtagh (United Kingdom)

### 3. International Advisory Board

The "International Advisory Board" (IAB) is composed of eminent international specialists in DCAF's area of interest, elected *ad personam*. The IAB meets twice a year and forms the most important expert advisory body of the Director and the staff of the Centre.

The Board met for its spring meeting on 25-27 March 2001 in Geneva and for its fall meeting from 29 November to 1 December 2001 (again in Geneva).

The spring meeting was primarily dedicated to a first outline of DCAF's planned activities and projects. The members of the Board offered valuable advice and pledged strong personal and in many cases also institutional support to DCAF. However, also some concerned voices had been heard at this meeting – fearing that DCAF might be aiming for too much too soon.

The fall meeting gave the Director and his staff the opportunity to present results rather than plans. The balance sheet presented was met by the approval of the Board. The approach chosen by the Director and his staff was strongly supported. The "Strategy Paper 2001-2004", which had previously been circulated to all members of the Board and thus could profit from their input, was unanimously approved. Furthermore, the meeting was marked by a series of 6 working group sessions to review all aspects of the Yugoslav project (cf. III.3.) and a brainstorming meeting on the consequences of the events of 11 September on the work of DCAF (opening presentations by François Heisbourg and Walt B. Slocombe). A special seminar which took place at approximately the same time as the December meeting of the Board reviewed the draft DCAF "Handbook for Parliamentarians" (cf. III.2.2.).

Throughout the year, many of the members of the Board have greatly assisted DCAF in its work. With the launching of DCAF's publication series (cf. III.4.) and the further broadening of the Centre's activities, this support and co-operation will gain even greater importance.

The International Advisory Board has grown substantially during the year. New members include:

- Dr. David Bloomfield, Senior Executive, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), Stockholm;
- Dr. Marcel A. Boisard, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations and Executive Director UNITAR, Geneva;
- Dr. Ernst A. Brugger, President Brugger and Partners Ltd., Zürich, and Member of the ICRC;
- Major-General Carl H. Freeman, President Inter-American Defense Board and Director Inter-American Defense College, Washington D.C.;
- Dr. Hans-Peter Fuhrer, Director-General and Special Envoy of the Council of Europe on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Council of Europe, Strasbourg;
- Mr. Martin Griffith, Director, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva;
- Prof. Dr. Ljubica Jelusic, Head, Faculty for Defence Studies, Department for Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana;
- Ambassador Jacques Klein, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Co-ordinator of the United Nations Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo;
- Ambassador John J. Maresca, President, Business-Humanitarian Forum Association, Geneva;
- Mr. Michael Matthiessen, Director, Directorate-General E, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, Brussels;
- Ambassador Jaromir Nowotny, former First Deputy Minister of Defence, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to India, New Delhi;
- Mr. Walter B. Slocombe, Partner, Caplin Drysdale, Senior Advisor CSIS, Washington D.C.; former Under Secretary of Defense;

- Ambassador Gérard Stoudmann, Director, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODHIR), Warsaw;
- Mr. Fernando-Martin Valenzuela Marzo, Deputy Director-General, External Relations DG, European Commission, Brussels;
- Dr. Jean-Luc Vez, Director, Federal Office of Police, Bern, Switzerland;
- Mr. W. Bruce Weinrod, Managing Director & General Counsel, International Technology and Trade Associates, Inc., Washington D.C.; Former Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Andrus Öövel, former Defence Minister of Estonia, and Dr. Jan Trapans, former Defence Minister of Latvia, have left the IAB – having been hired as staff members by DCAF.

### III. THE CENTRE

#### 1. Management and Staff

A Director who is proposed by the Swiss Federal Council and elected by the Foundation Council heads the international staff of the Centre. It is composed of personnel either hired by the Centre or seconded by member countries.

The positive international echo that met DCAF's creation and activities led to a rapid growth in the number of staff working for the Centre. By March 2001, the original project team of 6 that had left Bern for Geneva in the fall of 2000 had grown to some 17 full-time and 6 part-time employees. By the end of January 2002, the respective figures reached 24 full-time and 12 part-time positions. A more modest growth in staff numbers is anticipated for 2002, when it is expected that another 5-8 persons will be added to the DCAF staff.

The Czech Republic, France and Romania have announced their willingness to second personnel to DCAF. A Czech expert, Dr. Marie Vlachova, joined DCAF in the summer of 2001. Major-General Alain Faupin from France will join the Centre from 1 April 2002 onwards as Deputy Head of the Think Tank and a Romanian expert is expected to join the Centre in the fall of 2002 for a 9-month research position.

The rapid staff build-up also inevitably caused also some strains: for various reasons 6 staff members left the Centre during its first year of operations – however their loss was more than compensated for by 19 persons joining DCAF during the same period.

The forging of the staff into a genuine team clearly represented one of the key challenges facing DCAF in 2001. The Centre's staff is composed of some 18 nationalities. The age difference between the youngest and the oldest staff member is some 45 years. Backgrounds and experience vary widely – from young research assistants preparing their MA or PhD to former Ministers and State Secretaries. Professional expertise ranges from political scientists, historians, sociologists, journalists, and lawyers to civil servants, retired officers, ambassadors, members of parliament, and former Defence Ministers. The fact that the challenge to shape this group into a genuine team was successfully mastered bears witness to the quality of the personnel hired and testifies to their dedication to the Centre.

The development of the Centre's management structure followed the build-up process step by step. In the first phase, i.e. from October to December 2000, all staff members were directly subordinate to the Director. In the second stage, from January 2001 onwards, loose divisions were formed and were initially set as "Think Tank", "Outreach/Mission Support", "Information Resources", and

"Administration & Logistics". In this phase, in many cases the personnel were still "double hatted" (i.e. attached to one division with a significant amount of their time spent working for another division). In the fall of 2001, the staff build-up had progressed sufficiently far to permit the divisions to become fixed. "Double hats" were abolished and the divisional structure was finalised in its present form: "Think Tank", "Outreach/Projects" (with the two sections "Bilateral Projects" and "Multilateral Projects"), "Information Resources", "Administration & Logistics" (including "Mission Support"). Since January 2002, each of the divisions possesses its own budget and hence also holds the responsibility for managing their budget. At the same time, the build-up of the management structure was completed through the creation of the new position of a Chief of Staff (who is also the Head of "Administration & Logistics"). Thus, the Directing Board of the Centre is now composed of the following staff members: Director (chairman), Deputy Director, Chief of Staff, Assistant Directors (one of which heads the "Information Resources" division, whereas the other is responsible for co-ordination with the Swiss Ministry of Defence), Head "Think Tank", Head "Outreach/Projects".

As a footnote, it may be added that under a separate contract with the DDPS, on behalf of the Swiss Federal Council, DCAF provides a secretary for the former Swiss President, Adolf Ogi, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General. She has her office at the Swiss Mission in Geneva, respectively at the UN. DCAF is compensated by the DDPS for all resulting financial burdens under a separate agreement.

## 2. Facilities

The Centre has been privileged to rent facilities in the very heart of Geneva, located at 11 rue de Chantepoulet. Due to the international echo, the original plan to rent only two floors within these premises quickly had to be abandoned and a third floor was added to the rental arrangement. Much attention has been given to the careful layout of the floor space. On a gross floor surface of 1'000 square meters more than 40 work stations have been created (in addition to a library, a cafeteria, storage rooms, a conference room, other meeting rooms and the necessary technical facilities). Most of the part-time employees share desks. User density in DCAF is, thus, well above that of the other Geneva Centres. Despite this, in late 2001, DCAF accepted to offer office space to a US information technology liaison officer stationed in Geneva under a PfP programme when his former office in the OMM building was claimed by the growing demand for space of the other Geneva Centres.

In the longer run, though, all three Geneva Centres (DCAF, the "Geneva Centre for Security Policy" and the "Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining") will be located - together with the Graduate Institute of International Studies and roughly a dozen other organisations - in the future "Maison de la paix". This project has advanced well during the year - with the Swiss Confederation, the Canton of Geneva and the City of Geneva having agreed on both a building site and the organisation of the project. It is now expected that this facility will be available by the fall of 2007. DCAF has been asked by the Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS) to house the core team who is tasked with preparing that project, within its premises. Since it is obvious that this would be utterly impossible within the existing premises, as from 1 July 2002, a fourth floor will be rented by the DDPS in the building at 11 rue de Chantepoulet for this purpose.

DCAF's space requirements have further been alleviated by the finalisation of an arrangement between the DDPS and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs concerning a property on the shores of Lake Geneva, the Villa "Rive Belle". The two ministries agreed to share the rental costs for this property (that belongs to the Canton of Geneva) and to place the villa (which also houses the OSCE Court of Arbitration) as a conference centre at the disposal of the three Geneva centres. DCAF has already organised several meetings in the facility and will make regular use of it from now on.

### **3. Finances**

The accounts for 2001 show – as they did for the previous year – a balanced budget. The budget for 2002, again, shows the same healthy state of affairs. The increase in demand for DCAF's services – particularly from South Eastern European countries – though, could not have been satisfied without additional financial support from the DDPS, which granted the Centre – beyond its originally planned contribution of SFr. 5 million for 2001 – a supplementary credit (final vote by Parliament on 13 June 2001) of SFr. 1.3 million.

At the same time, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs tasked the Centre with several projects, notably in the context of the Stability Pact, which led to grants of close to SFr. 600'000. — agreed to in 2001 (though some of them will deal with the DCAF's 2002 programme).

Together with some smaller grants given to the Centre within the context of the Swiss PfP programme, these additional incomes were responsible for increasing the Centre's budget for 2001 to some SFr. 7.1 million.

This figure does not include indirect (and difficult to calculate) contributions of other member countries and organisations – notably seconded personnel, experts working free of charge at the disposal of the Centre, costs for hosting activities of the Centre, investments by partners into joint ventures and other support. A conservative estimate would put these non-Swiss contributions at some SFr. 500'000 in 2001.

During its April 2001 meeting, the Foundation Council designated PriceWaterhouseCoopers as the Foundation's auditor.

## **IV. ACTIVITIES**

### **1. Overview**

In 2001, the Centre was engaged in three key tasks. Ideally these tasks would have been undertaken consecutively, yet had, in real life, they had to be mastered simultaneously: (1) The build-up of the Centre itself, its structures and its staff; (2) the process of starting to systematically collect and analyse the existing expertise and knowledge in the Centre's areas of interest; (3) initiating concrete projects on the ground. In particular, the democratic revolution in Belgrade, which profoundly altered the situation throughout South Eastern Europe, resulted in early calls on DCAF for expertise and assistance that could not be ignored. It is only thanks to the great dedication of the staff and the willingness of the Swiss government and parliament to vote additional financial resources that this challenge could be accomplished. The Centre has, though, profited from this test. It is today roughly a year ahead of the original planning in its build-up. Moreover, the practical work in South Eastern Europe gave the Centre and the staff a focus and a target that galvanised the staff and has, thus, and greatly contributed to forge a cohesive team out of a group of bright individuals.

The year 2002 will see a further growth in activities, but hopefully less need for improvisation as DCAF has now almost reached its cruising altitude. If projects, and in particular the assistance to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia defined DCAF's work in 2001, the systematic analytical work of the "Think Tank" (culminating in the presentation of results at the "5<sup>th</sup> International Security Forum" from 14-16 October 2002 in Zurich) will be the driving force of the Centre's activities in the year to come.



## 2. "Think Tank": Networking Knowledge

### 2.1. The "Think Tank" and its Working Groups

DCAF's in-house "Think Tank" Division is both a core element of the Centre and the tool to implement one of DCAF's core functions: the systematic gathering, analysing, evaluating, debating, documenting and publishing of the international expertise, as well as political realities and academic literature, in the democratic control, management and reform of the security sector in countries in transition towards democracy. In pursuing this mandate, the Think Tank carries out in-house research and analysis, contracts research projects, engages in joint ventures with partners, and networks existing knowledge, notably through the activities of its Working Groups (WG). Each of these WGs is composed of some 15 to 50 international experts, representing both a great wealth of personal expertise and the benefit of close, regular working links with all major institutions working within the Euro-Atlantic region on the Centre's areas of interest.

The Centre currently considers the following areas as being of core interest to DCAF:

- Security sector reform;
- parliamentary control of armed forces and the security sector;
- democratic control of police and other internal security forces (including border guards);
- the role of civilian experts in the shaping and the conduct of national security policy;
- transparency in defence planning, budgeting and procurement;
- the legal dimension of security sector reform;
- civil-military relations and conversion;
- military and society;
- criteria for success and failure of security sector reforms;
- civil-military relations in post-conflict situations;
- civil society building and empowerment;
- civil-military relations outside the Euro-Atlantic region, notably in Africa.

WGs dedicated to each of these areas shall be created by DCAF. Additional, related topics (and hence WGs) may be added to this list by the Director and his staff in response to the evolving international situation and demands for assistance addressed to DCAF.

In the first six months of the Centre's operations, from October 2000 to March 2001, two of these WGs were launched, as stated in the first "Director's Annual Report". During the period covered by this second of the annual Director's reports, five more WGs have been initiated. It is hoped that the remaining five WGs will come into existence before the end of the year (the final decision depending on the Centre's funding situation). The current build-up schedule provides the following picture (brackets indicating early planning, as opposed to a firm decision):

<u>WG</u>	<u>Date launched</u>	<u>Venue</u>
Parliamentary Control of Armed Forces	November 2000	4 <sup>th</sup> ISF, Geneva
Security Sector Reform	November 2000	4 <sup>th</sup> ISF, Geneva
Transparency Building	April 2001	Sofia
Legal Aspects	May 2001	Geneva
Police and Internal Security Structures	June 2001	Geneva
Military and Society	October 2001	Moscow
Criteria for Success and Failure	November 2001	Geneva

Civil Society Building and Empowerment	Spring 2001	Prague
Civilians in National Security Structures	Spring 2001	Budapest
CMR in post-conflict situations	(Spring 2001)	(Skopje)
Conversion	(Fall 2001)	(5 <sup>th</sup> ISF, Zurich)
CMR in Africa	(Fall 2001)	(African location)

During the reporting period, seven formal WG meetings took place, with another 10 meetings of subgroups of WGs or joint events of WGs with third parties. Furthermore, DCAF staff participated in dozens of international conferences in which they gave more than 100 lectures and speeches and handed out some 50 papers and research contributions to non-DCAF institutions, journals and other publications.

Given that the systematic building-up of the Think Tank is one of DCAF's key objectives for 2002, the anticipated number of WG meetings will be higher.

## 2.2. Joint Ventures

Whenever possible and appropriate, DCAF seeks partnerships with third institutions in order to actively contribute to the networking of knowledge. In this respect, particular emphasis is given to foster partnerships not only with leading institutions of the Euro-Atlantic region, but also with smaller institutions in Central, South Eastern, and Eastern Europe – in order to contribute actively to the creation of an informed civil society. In the case of DCAF's relationship with these partners, the dividing lines between activities of the "Think Tank" and "Outreach/Projects" divisions occasionally become somewhat blurred. For reasons of clarity, all joint ventures are reported under this chapter – irrespective of whether they are part of the "Think Tank" or "Outreach/Projects" activities.

The network of partnerships initiated in this manner has grown further during the reporting period:

- Atlantica Centre for Defence Policy Research and Advisory Services Ltd, Budapest, Hungary:
  - Joint project in the area of the role of civilian experts in national security structures. In particular, in the spring of 2002, Atlantica will, together with DCAF, organise an international experts meeting on the subject in Budapest – leading to a series of DCAF Working Papers on the matter to be ready in time for the 5<sup>th</sup> International Security Forum in Zurich in October 2002. Research results should also later be published in the format of a book.
  - Joint project to create and continuously up-date, a data bank on good practices in the area of civilians in national security structures, initially focusing on the Stability Pact countries.
  
- Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, Belgrade, Yugoslavia:
  - Prepared – within the framework of the security sector reform project for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – a complete (and commented) set (in English translation) of all laws of the FRY and the Republic of Serbia on police matters and the security sector (Summer 2001). Hosted an international legal workshop discussing the final recommendations to be forwarded in the legal dimension of said project, in late November 2001.

- Financial support from DCAF in order to permit the Centre to increase the number of its junior research staff.
- Participation of staff from the two Centres in each other's conferences (throughout the year).
  
- Bonn Conversion Centre, Bonn, Germany:
  - Joint project on the conversion of military personnel.
  - On-going discussions on how best to support the Federal Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina with analytical and practical support for the task of reducing its armed forces by some 10'000 troops.
  
- Caucasian Institute for Policy and the Development of Democracy, Tbilisi, Georgia:
  - The CIPDD provides DCAF with regular updates on the status of civil-military relations and the democratic control of the security sector in the Caucasus region.
  
- Centre for a Multi-Party System in Russia, Moscow, Russian Federation:
  - Joint project to write and edit a book series on the fundamentals of a civil society and democracy, over the next years.
  - Joint project to translate all Russian laws on the security sector into English (sub-element of a larger project with the Centre for Political and International Studies in Moscow).
  
- Centre for Civil-Military Relations, Belgrade, Yugoslavia:
  - One of DCAF's key local partners in Belgrade. DCAF provides support for the Centre's infrastructure, rent and running costs. Participation of CCMR staff in more than a dozen DCAF Working Groups, workshops, seminars and conferences.
  - Cooperation in a workshop on the democratic control of armed forces organised by the CCMR together with the Federal Ministry of Defence of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 4-5 April 2001.
  - Key local partner in the joint DCAF/EWI project on Security Sector Reform in the FRY, done on behalf of President Kostunica; July-December 2001.
  - Workshop on "The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Partnership for Peace" (jointly organized by DCAF, CCMR and the NATO Office of Information and Press), Belgrade, September 2001 (Proceedings forthcoming).
  - Publication of the results of the 1<sup>st</sup> DCAF Legal Working Group Proceedings as a book ("Legal Framing of the Democratic Control of Armed Forces and the Security Sector: Norms and Reality/ies"), edited by Prof. Biljana Vankovska (DCAF), Belgrade, December 2001.

- Centre for European Security Studies (CESS), Groningen, The Netherlands:
  - Co-Sponsoring of the conference “Taking Stock on Civil-Military Relations” at The Hague, 9-11 March 2001, opened by the Dutch Defence Minister and the NATO Secretary General and co-sponsored by the Dutch Foreign and Defence Ministries.
  - Support by DCAF for two workshops within the framework of the CESS “Parliament and Parliamentary Staff Program” in Belgrade from 13 to 16 September 2001 and from 15 to 16 February 2002 (project financed by the Swiss Development Cooperation – with DCAF).
  - Joint support for the new Centre for Transparency Building, attached to the General Staff Academy in Sofia, Bulgaria (with senior staff members of CESS and DCAF being on the Sofia Centre’s International Academic Board). Preparatory session of the international sponsors in Vienna, Austria, in March; opening of the Centre in May 2001. Initial work focus: Yearbook on Defence Spending in South Eastern Europe, Handbook on good practices in transparency building.
  - Contract with CESS tasking the latter to conduct stock-taking research on transparency in defence budgeting in South Eastern Europe, to present the results both at an international workshop to be organised in the region during the first half of 2002 and at the 5<sup>th</sup> ISF in Zurich during October 2002, to collate and edit a joint DCAF/CESS publication on defence budget transparency building in the region, and to formulate recommendations on the Stability Pact regarding how to improve such practices in the region.
  
- Centre for Political and International Studies (CPIS), Moscow, Russian Federation:
  - Joint international conference on Military and Society (“Military in Transition”), Moscow, 17-20 October 2001. Publication of Proceedings in March 2002. Results led to the adoption of the first law on Civil-Military Relations by the CIS Parliamentary Assembly in December 2001 (Proceedings published in March 2002).
  - Joint project on documenting, publishing and analysing the existing legislation in the Russian Federation in the security sector and on preparing a first law on Civil-Military Relations in the Russian Federation (together with the Committee on Defence / Sub-Committee on Civil Military Relations of the Russian State Duma).
  
- Centre for the History of the Balkans (CIBAL), Sofia, Bulgaria:
  - Original hub of the DCAF’s “Regional Information and Documentation Network for South Eastern Europe” (SEEDON; project to be transferred back to DCAF’s Headquarters in Geneva during spring 2002, and integrated for its further development into DCAF’s partnership with the “International Relations and Security Network” (ISN) of the Federal Institute of Technology (ETHZ)).
  
- Centre for Transparency Building at the General Staff Academy, Sofia, Bulgaria:
  - Together with the CESS, Groningen, joint support for the centre: Senior staff members of CESS and DCAF are on the Sofia Centre’s International Academic

Board; preparatory session of the international sponsors in Vienna, Austria, in March; opening of the Centre in Sofia in May 2001. Initial work focus: Yearbook on Defence Spending in South Eastern Europe, Handbook on good practices in transparency building.

- Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France:
  - Presentation of DCAF and its work to the Council of Europe (24-25 September 2001).
  - Close cooperation with the Council's Special Envoy for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (who has also become a member of DCAF's IAB).
  
- EastWest Institute, New York/Prague/Belgrade/Kiev:
  - Close partnership with the EWI throughout 2001 in preparing a major report on security sector reform in favour of the governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian Republic. This was handed over in Belgrade on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of December 2001 respectively. Joint office and shared staff in Belgrade. Close cooperation with EWI's Prague office. Joint preparation of two books (on a new set of national security policies for South Eastern Europe and on the experience of select countries of the Euro-Atlantic region with respect to defence reform) as well as several monographs.
  - DCAF participation in several conferences and meetings of the EWI in Belgrade and New York.
  
- Euro-Atlantic Centre of Moldova, Chisinau, Moldova:
  - Workshop "Democratic Control of Armed Forces and Security Sector Reform" in Chisinau, Moldova, 12-13 July 2001 (co-sponsored by DCAF, the Euro-Atlantic Centre of Moldova and the NATO Office of Information and Press).
  - Workshop "Security Sector Reform and Democratic Control of Armed Forces in Moldova", Chisinau, Moldova, 21-22 February 2002 (co-sponsored by DCAF, the Euro-Atlantic Centre of Moldova, The Institute for Public Policy of Moldova and the NATO Office of Information and Press).
  
- European Research Group on Military and the Society (ERGOMAS):
  - Sponsoring by DCAF of an international ERGOMAS research project on "Models of Democratic Control of the Armed Forces; A Multi-Country Study comparing Effective Practices of Democratic Control". Meetings of the joint DCAF/ERGOMAS research group took place in February 2001 in Walzenhausen, Germany, in March 2001 in Geneva and in October 2001 in Baltimore, USA.
  - DCAF and ERGOMAS will jointly edit the proceedings of the ERGOMAS Annual Conferences 2000 and 2001.

- Sponsoring of the ERGOMAS website.
- Participation in several of ERGOMAS working groups.
- European Union (Council and Commission), Brussels, Belgium:
  - Presentation of DCAF and its activities to the European Commission and Council on 5-6 July 2001 and 30 January 2002 – leading, *inter alia*, to a high-ranking official of both institutions joining DCAF's IAB.
  - Close contacts with the EU throughout the security sector reform project in favour of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its follow-up. Specifically the EU will host one workshop in the follow-up sector "Border Guards".
  - Establishing of working contacts with the EU missions to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Croatia.
- Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection, and Sports (DDPS), Berne, Switzerland:
  - The DDPS is the key sponsor and financial supporter of DCAF. Cooperation included, though, throughout the year also specific projects, most notably support to the workshop "Principles Conducting Defence Reform", organized by the DDPS 21-25 May 2001 in Thun, Switzerland, in favour of top level delegations of both entities and all three ethnicities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as to 4<sup>th</sup> Swiss Seminar on the OSCE Code of Conduct, organized by the Swiss General Staff in Geneva in September 2001.
  - Roughly a dozen lectures, respectively presentations of DCAF and its work to the Führungslehrgänge III and IV, the Militärische Führungsschule, the General Staff Course of Field Army Corps IV, visiting foreign Defence Department delegations and other bodies of (and meetings organized by) the DDPS. Presentation of DCAF and its work – together with the DDPS – to the Commissions on Security Policy of the Swiss Senate (1 November 2001), respectively the House (13 November 2001) as well as to the Sub-Committee on Finances of the Senate (8 July 2001) and the Advisory Committee for Assistance to Eastern Europe (17 January 2002).
  - The Swiss Defence Attachés and their offices gave much assistance to DCAF.
- Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), Berne, Switzerland:
  - In 2002, the FDFA has been DCAF's second largest financial contributor. Cooperation was extremely close throughout the year, notably encompassing the Political Divisions I, III and IV, the newly created Centre for International Security Policy, as well as the Swiss Development Cooperation.
  - DCAF participated – as part of the Swiss delegation – at all meetings of Table III of the Stability Pact.

- Much support was provided to DCAF by the Swiss Embassies throughout the Euro-Atlantic region (and beyond) as well as by the Swiss Missions to NATO, the EU and the Council of Europe.
  
- Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland:
  - DCAF sponsored a multi-year research project and documentation effort on the OSCE Code of Conduct and its monitoring and reporting system. The project was launched under the auspices of the Romanian OSCE Chairmanship in Office. The first results were presented at an international workshop on 19 October 2001 at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna, Austria. In early 2002, the OSCE shifted the oversight of the project to its Forum for Security Cooperation and the Conflict Prevention Centre. It appears that the results of the DCAF/GIIS work might be so highly valued that the project could be tasked to assist with the OSCE operational work in this area.
  
  - Close cooperation with the OSCE "Cluster of Competence" run by the Graduate Institute of International Studies on behalf of the Swiss PfP programme.
  
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, United Kingdom:
  - Under a cooperation agreement, DCAF finances two Research Associates per year at the IISS who specialise in topics of interest to DCAF's work. The research work of the first two Research Associates addressed security sector reform and international policing. Oxford University Press will publish these as "Adelphi Papers" in the spring of 2002. The second group will write on security sector reform in South Eastern Europe, respectively in Ukraine. Results should be available by the end of the year (and again, published at a later date as "Adelphi Papers"). Under the same agreement, each year the IISS organises on DCAF's behalf two workshops on subjects of interest to DCAF. The first of this workshop series was conducted in Geneva from 23-25 April 2001. In 2002, a second series of workshops is planned to be held in London. The proceedings from these seminars will be published in a joint book series of the IISS and DCAF.
  
  - The IISS held its Annual Conference from 12 to 15 September 2001, in Geneva. The conference was obviously overshadowed by the shocking events of 11 September and offered the first platform for debate on the implications of this watershed event. The three Geneva Centres were present at the conference not only with staff, but also with an exhibition of their work. The Director of DCAF was elected Honorary Chairman of the conference.
  
  - IISS and DCAF intend to jointly re-launch a "Young Faces" conference. Current preliminary planning envisages to organise a first such event during the summer of 2002 in Geneva, to be followed by further such annual meetings from 2003 onwards in London.

- Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Geneva, Switzerland:
  - The joint project of a "Handbook" on parliamentary oversight of the security sector, destined for newly elected members of parliament, has progressed well. The IPU was briefed in detail on the project during its spring session in April 2001 in Havana, Cuba, and again at its fall session in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in October 2001. A first comprehensive draft was written by DCAF and continuously improved as a result of special workshops in Brussels (5-8 July), Geneva (29 November), and again Brussels (18-19 December 2001). It is expected that the French and English versions of the "Handbook" will be ready during the second half of 2002.
  
- International Relations and Security Network (ISN) of the Federal Institute of Technology (ETHZ), Zurich, Switzerland:
  - Technical and software support to the DCAF website.
  - Technical implementation of a Digital Catalogue (on publications), an electronic archive and an intranet system for DCAF.
  - Technical implementation of the re-launch and total reconstruction of the DCAF Links Library (the former "CMR-Net" had been constructed by ISN on behalf of the DDPS DCAF project team as a first prototype in 1999/2000).
  - Technical implementation of special websites for DCAF or DCAF-sponsored websites (including that of ERGOMAS, and that of the WG on Civil-Military Relations of the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes).
  - Close cooperation in the field of e-learning and Advanced Distribute Learning (ADL) – an aspect which is expected to gain significantly in importance later in the current year, as the result of the planned signing of a new Joint Planning Document (JPD) under an existing MOU between Switzerland and the US Department of Defence on ADL. The US liaison officer of this Pfp programme has been provided with an office within DCAF's premises.
  
- Institute for European Studies (IES), Belgrade, Yugoslavia:
  - Workshop on "The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Partnership for Peace", Belgrade, in January 2002 (jointly organized by DCAF, the Belgrade Centre for European Studies and NATO's Office of Information and Press; Proceedings forthcoming).
  
- Institute for Russian Language and Culture, University of Simferopol, Ukraine:
  - Four joint workshops with CIS experts on legal and sociological issues of military in transition (April, June, September and December 2001). Proceedings published.



- Institute for the World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, Russian Federation:
  - Financing of the Russian edition of the SIPRI Yearbook, published by IMEMO (including, as from the 2002 Yearbook onwards, a chapter written by DCAF on the issues of security sector reform and the democratic control of the security sector).
  
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Geneva, Switzerland:
  - Regular informal meetings every 6 months to exchange views.
  
- Landesverteidigungsakademie (LAVAK), Vienna, Austria:
  - Joint publication of a survey on "Civil Military Relations in South-East Europe" (researched, on a grant from the DDPS, within the WG on Crisis Management in South-Eastern Europe of the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes and jointly produced by the LAVAK, DCAF, and the Institute for Security and International Studies, Sofia).
  - Cooperation within the framework of the security sector reform project in favour of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
  
- Lugansk University, Lugansk, Ukraine:
  - Joint workshop on expert formation and civil society empowerment, October 2001 (Proceedings published in two volumes in Russian and Ukrainian).
  
- George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany:
  - Close cooperation with the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, located at the Marshall Center (DCAF chairing the WG on Civil-Military Relations and – from 1 April 2002 onwards – also the WG on ESDI as well as being represented in the Secretariat WG).
  - Lectures by DCAF personnel at the Marshall Center.
  - Negotiations on a joint conference series under way.
  
- National Defense University (NDU), Washington D.C.:
  - Presentation of DCAF's work (February 2001) and contribution to the review sessions organized by NDU for NATO MAP countries in Sofia (March 2001) and Bucharest (July 2001).

- National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS), Kiev, Ukraine:
  - Joint international conference on the parliamentary control of armed forces, Kiev, 26-29 September 2001 (jointly organized by DCAF, NISS and the Ukrainian Rada). Proceedings forthcoming.
  
- NATO/EAPC, Brussels, Belgium:
  - Formal presentation of DCAF and its work to the EAPC Political-Military Steering Committee (PMSC) in Brussels on 21 May 2001 and to the SEEGROUP on 1 February 2002.
  - Co-hosting of, and contributing to, the EAPC/PfP Workshop "Conflict Management and Conflict Prevention", organized by the EAPC Political-Military Steering Committee (PMSC) from 10 to 13 October 2001 in Geneva.
  - Parliamentary training programme (in cooperation also with the George C. Marshall Centre, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany) in favour of the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada, Kiev, 20 March and 25-27 September 2001.
  - Two workshops on "The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Partnership for Peace" the first in Belgrade in September 2001 (jointly organized by DCAF, CCMR and the NATO Office of Information and Press, Proceedings forthcoming), the second again in Belgrade during January 2002 (jointly organized by the Belgrade Centre for European Studies and NATO's Office of Information and Press; Proceedings forthcoming).
  - Workshop "Democratic Control of Armed Forces and Security Sector Reform" in Chisinau, Moldova, 12-13 July 2001 (co-sponsored by DCAF, the Euro-Atlantic Centre of Moldova and the NATO Office of Information and Press).
  - Presentation of DCAF and the Swiss PfP Programme at NATO's "Oslo Symposium", Oslo, Norway, in early September 2001.
  - Workshop "Security Sector Reform and Democratic Control of Armed Forces in Moldova", Chisinau, Moldova, 21-22 February 2002 (co-sponsored by DCAF, the Euro-Atlantic Centre of Moldova, The Institute for Public Policy of Moldova, and the NATO Office of Information and Press).
  
- NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA), Brussels, Belgium:
  - Sharing a staff member (Ms Svitlana Svetova, Ukraine) with a seat at the NPA (as DCAF's liaison officer in Brussels).
  - Support (both financial and speakers) to the NPA training programmes in favour of Parliaments and parliamentary staff, including the "Parliamentary Staff Training Programme for the Baltic States" (Brussels, 11-15 June 2001), "Young Parliamentarians Orientation Course" (Brussels, 9 July 2001), and "Parliamentary Training Programme for the Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliamentary Assembly" (Brussels, 10-11 December 2001).

- Participation in the NPA Annual Conference, Vilnius, Lithuania, in June 2001. Inversely, participation of NPA staff at several DCAF workshops and seminars. Close cooperation between the NPA and DCAF's WG on Parliamentary Control with several joint meetings and brainstorming sessions throughout the year.
- Joint production of a "Vademecum" on parliamentary oversight over armed forces for newly elected Members of Parliament (to be written, on the basis of a comprehensive DCAF study on the subject by the NPA's Vice-President, Willem F. Van Eekelen; forthcoming in late summer 2002).
- OSCE, Vienna, Austria:
  - Presentation of DCAF to the OSCE through the Swiss Mission (spring 2001).
  - Sponsoring by DCAF of a multi-year research project and documentation effort on the OSCE Code of Conduct and its monitoring and reporting system. The project was launched under the auspices of the Romanian OSCE Chairmanship in Office. First results were presented at an international workshop on 19 October 2001 at the Diplomatic Academy, Vienna, Austria. The OSCE has, in early 2002, shifted oversight of the project to its Forum for Security Cooperation and the Conflict Prevention Centre. It appears that the results of the DCAF/GIIS work might be so highly valued that the project could be tasked to assist the OSCE operational work in this area.
  - Financial support to the international auditing of the Federation Defence Budget in Bosnia and Herzegovina (together with Germany and the United States, summer 2001). Active cooperation with the OSCE in the follow-up to that audit and in the international efforts to support the demobilization of some 10,000 soldiers of the Federation armed forces.
  - Close cooperation with the OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, particularly in the areas of police and border guard reform as well as in that of confidence and security building measures (from early spring 2001 onwards).
  - Establishment of working contacts with the OSCE missions to Macedonia and Croatia in view of preparing cooperation projects in these countries (February 2002).
- Regional Institute for Development Studies, Skopje, Macedonia:
  - Financial support in return for office and conference space in Skopje.
- Stability Pact:
  - Participation (as part of the Swiss Delegation) in the work of Table III.
  - Four projects underway within the framework of Table III: (1) A series of stock-taking seminars on the status of democratic control over the security sector in all Stability Pact countries preparing country studies and an overall assessment in favour of the Stability Pact; (2) establishing an electronic Documentation Network on South Eastern Europe (SEEDON) containing pertinent information, studies and assessments of the status of the

democratic control of the security sector in South Eastern Europe; (3) an assessment of the practices in transparency in defence planning, budgeting and procurement in South Eastern Europe; (4) an analysis of the existing offers and needs in the area of training civilian experts in national security structures – both seen from the donors' and the recipients' perspective.

- Close cooperation and coordination within the framework of DCAF's outreach projects in the area of border guards.
  
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm, Sweden:
  - Financing of the Russian edition of the SIPRI Yearbook, published by IMEMO (including, as from the 2002 Yearbook onwards, a chapter written by DCAF on the issues of security sector reform and the democratic control of the security sector).
  - Co-financing of the Ukrainian version of the 2001 edition, respectively financing of the 2002 and subsequent editions of the Ukrainian version of the SIPRI Yearbook published by the Ukrainian Centre for European Policy Studies (including, as from the 2001 Yearbook onwards, a chapter written by DCAF).
  - Providing, as from the 2001 edition onwards, a chapter for the English version of the SIPRI Yearbook.
  
- Ukrainian Centre for European Policy Studies, Kiev, Ukraine:
  - Co-financing of the Ukrainian version of the 2001 edition, respectively financing of the 2002 and subsequent editions of the Ukrainian version of the SIPRI Yearbook published by the Ukrainian Centre for European Policy Studies (including, as from the 2001 Yearbook onwards, a chapter written by DCAF).
  
- Union interafricaine pour les droits de l'homme (UIDH), Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso:
  - Joint preparation of DCAF's first NGO meeting in Africa on civil-military relations and the democratic control of the security sector as part of the plans to start the build-up of an "African Antenna" of DCAF.
  
- University of Bradford, Bradford, United Kingdom:
  - Contracting to the University of Bradford (Prof. Owen Greene) several studies, including some within the context of the Yugoslav project. Participation of experts of the University of Bradford in more than a dozen WGs, workshops and seminars organized by DCAF.
  - Trilateral arrangement with the University of Bradford and the IISS on cooperation in the area of "Security Sector Reform and Sub-State Actors".

- War-Torn Societies Project (WSP International), Geneva, Switzerland:
  - Assessment on behalf of UNDP and UNRISD of the results of two years work of WSP and several NGO working groups on security sector reform and democratisation in Guatemala. (Study to be published as a DCAF Working Paper).
  
- War Studies Group, King's College, London:
  - Joint founding of a WG on "Civil-Military Relations" within the framework of the "PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes" at the Consortium's 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference in Moscow in June 2001 (first follow-up meeting of that WG at DCAF's Headquarters in Geneva in mid-December 2001).
  - Joint brainstorming meeting on security sector reform in London, 7-8 October 2001.
  - Contracting to King's College of several studies, including in the context of the Yugoslav project. Participation of experts from King's College in more than a dozen WG, workshops and seminars organized by DCAF.

### **3. Providing Expertise: The "Outreach / Projects" Division**

DCAF's mission is not only to analyse, document and discuss the situation in the area of the democratic control of the security sector, but also to change that reality. This is the task assigned to the "Outreach/Projects" Division, which builds on the results of the work carried out by the "Think Tank" Division. According to the original concept for DCAF, concrete projects on the ground would not have started before the second year of operations of the Centre. This proved to be impossible. In particular, the democratic revolution in Belgrade in early October 2000 and the subsequent requests from new democratically legitimised to provide expertise in how to best deal with the sad heritage left behind by Milosevic, made an early and substantial project commitment inevitable. Yet it was not only Belgrade, which warmly welcomed the creation of the new Centre. From its very beginning, DCAF found itself confronted with a positive international echo that was not only marked by interest, but above all by the expectation of early and visible results.

By early 2002, the "Outreach/Projects" Division has taken a rough shape with two Sections – one dealing with multilateral projects and the other focusing on bilateral projects. That said, additional resources will be needed to round out the Division during the next 12 months. In practical terms, the borders between "Think Tank" and "Outreach/Projects" are often difficult to draw. Thus, the "Think Tank's" oldest WG – the Working Group on the parliamentary control of armed forces – is conducting several projects which could also fall within the responsibility of the "Outreach/Projects" Division (e.g. PCAF's handbook and parliamentary training programmes). Inversely, many of the projects of "Outreach/Projects" actually entail substantial research and expert contracts which could as well fit into "Think Tank's" annual programme (thus the security sector reform project for the FRY will ultimately trigger almost a dozen books and other publications). Common sense, thus, dictates that the two divisions work very closely together and more often than not also share resources.

#### **3.1. Multilateral Projects**

Detailed information on most of the projects of the Multilateral Projects Section has been included in the "Joint Ventures" list above (IV.2.2.). It will, therefore, suffice to sketch out under this heading the centre of gravity of the 2002 activities. During the reporting period, there were three such centres of gravity:

### *(1) Parliamentary Assistance*

Throughout the year, the "Think Tank" Division's WG on parliamentary control worked closely with both the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and NATO's Parliamentary Assembly (NPA) in drafting, in the case of the former, a Handbook for newly elected Members of Parliament, respectively, in case of the latter, a more modest "Vademecum".

Furthermore, DCAF supported – both financially and through lecturers – parliamentary staff training courses and parliamentary orientation seminars offered by the NPA, the Centre for European Security Studies (CESS) in Groningen, The Netherlands, and NATO's Office for Press and Information.

Within the security sector reform project in favour of the FRY, one strand of activities consisted in providing expertise on how to establish, and assure, parliamentary control over the intelligence and state security structures left behind by Milosevic.

During 2002, a new level and form of support will be aimed for. Talks are currently under way to finance (through the OSCE) additional parliamentary staffers with expertise in those areas relevant for DCAF to all parliamentary bodies in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Specialized training courses for such personnel may already become a topic next year (possibly leading to the creation of a training arrangement with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy).

Finally, throughout the year, particular importance has been given to the legal dimension of the topic. Both in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the Russian Federation projects have – together with local partners - been initiated that will provide, both on the net and in printed form, a comprehensive (and commented) set of existing legislation (in the original language and in English translation) concerning the security sector. These projects herald a sustained and long-term effort by DCAF in this important area. It is indeed envisaged to create, over the next few years, a comprehensive documentation of this kind for the entire EAPC/OSCE region, to continually update this collection and to add to it, step by step, a *corpus* of legal comments. The project is aimed at scholars, governments, parliaments and civil society.

DCAF has greatly benefited in this area from the willingness of its member countries to share their respective information with the Centre. As a consequence, the DCAF library already boasts an impressive legal documentation section (with an electronic off-spring, the "Legal Documents Online Database", available on the DCAF website). During the next 12 months a key task will be to place all available (hard copy) documents on the net – starting with the Russian Federation and South Eastern Europe. We expect some of our members to table specific proposals in relevant international bodies (notably PfP, the Council of Europe and the OSCE) to support this endeavour by inviting countries to actively assist in the regular update of this data bank. This collection should greatly facilitate the task to assist countries in drafting new legislation in this area. During the reporting period, DCAF has been asked by the FRY, the Republic of Serbia, Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to provide such assistance. In the case of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS, this has led to the adoption of the first model law on Civil-Military Relations for the CIS.

### *(2) Democratic Control of Internal Security Structures*

One of the main lessons of DCAF's early existence is clearly that the reform and democratic control of internal security structures (police, border guards, paramilitary units, intelligence agencies, state security structures, etc.) is even more urgent a problem than that of the armed forces and the defence sector.

The project on security sector reform in the FRY led to close contacts with the OSCE mission in Belgrade and, in particular with the OSCE expert assessing police reform in the FRY and Serbia, Richard Monk. His report,

which was finalized in the summer of 2001, was rounded out through two additional reports specifically building on it – one done by the Council of Europe, the other by DCAF's police and legal working groups.

Meanwhile, the governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as well as of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have asked DCAF for additional support, notably in the area of border guards, but also in policing. As a result, an international working group, uniting border guard specialists from several European countries has been created and in 2002/03 (in cooperation with the European Union and NATO). The working group will organise a series of training workshops in 8-10 European capitals and locations. The idea is to invite 3 border guard specialists from all Stability Pact countries and to provide them with a comprehensive overview over all aspects of modern border guarding as well as with a deep insight in the standards set out in this area by the European Union and other relevant organizations. In this field, ties have also been established with the relevant bodies and experts of the Stability Pact in order to closely coordinate this activity with their work. DCAF intends to publish several studies in this area during 2002.

With regard to DCAF support in the area of policing – specifically requested by the Serbian Ministry of the Interior in January 2002 – DCAF staff is currently consulting with the relevant national and international bodies in Belgrade in order to develop, if DCAF's financial means permit, a similar approach as with respect to border guards: To unite half a dozen police academy chiefs from Western and Central European countries to assist the Serbian Ministry of the Interior in developing the know-how for a new police education system that is compatible with European standards.

### *(3) Assistance in the democratic shaping of national security policy*

The definition and shaping of a modern national security policy in a democratic and transparent way is a precondition for peace and stability. To provide elements for a new national security policy for the FRY was one of the most important components of that project. The issue is currently very much at the forefront of international interest – and evidence of this is shown in related projects by the SEEGROUP of EAPC and of NATO as part of its MAP. Throughout the year, DCAF has been in close partnership with these programmes and expects to continue to do so in 2002.

A detailed list of the cooperation projects with the Council of Europe, the EAPC, the European Union, NATO, NPA, the OSCE and the Stability Pact is contained in chapter III.2.2. A key target for 2002 will be to regularize the working relationship with these organizations. Much progress has already been achieved in this area on the ground. DCAF will encourage its member countries to launch, where appropriate, initiatives in these organizations to better anchor the issues of security sector reform and its democratic control in the mandate and agenda of the pillars of the European security architecture. As a first step, it would be wise to add security sector reform as a new chapter to the Partnership Work Programme of the Partnership for Peace. With the demise of the Parliamentary Assembly of the WEU, it may, however, also be argued that a careful broadening of the mandate of the Council of Europe could be indicated.

## **3.2. Bilateral Projects**

An unexpectedly large part of DCAF's work was defined during the reporting period through bilateral assistance projects, the most important of which was a support package for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia.

### *3.2.3. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Republic of Serbia / Republic of Montenegro*

After 6 months of negotiations and after the FRY having become a member of DCAF on 2 April 2001, on 6 July 2001 the New York based EastWest Institute and DCAF were issued a broad mandate by Vojislav

Kostunica, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to provide expertise in the area of security sector reform in the FRY. The mandate was supported also by Zoran Djindjic, Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia. The mandate included six specific areas:

- (1) Elements for a new national security policy for Yugoslavia
- (2) Documentation of the expertise of other transition countries in the area of security sector reform
- (3) Creation of an expert group in the area of legal reform
- (4) Documentation of the experience of other countries in the area of defence reform
- (5) Support in the areas of police reform and the establishment of modern border guards
- (6) Provide insight and options to assure the democratic control of intelligence and state security structures

During the work, a seventh topic (models for the creation of a National Security Council) was added.

DCAF and EWI handed over the full report to Prime Minister Djindjic on 12 December 2001 and to President Kostunica on 14 December 2001. The report consisted of 6 volumes (one for each topic) plus a summary volume of recommendations. They contained more than 80 studies (of together well over 1'000 pages) that had been prepared and reviewed (in more than a dozen conferences in Belgrade and Geneva) by some 130 leading experts from over 30 Euro-Atlantic countries.

It was obviously not up to DCAF and EWI to draft answers. That is the privilege of sovereign states. Yet the report brought together a great wealth of information, views on the region from the outside, and testimony of hard won experience by other transition countries. The report argued strongly in favour of shaping a new national security policy for Yugoslavia to be drafted by the civilian and political leadership and breaking visibly with the past. In the report it was argued that such a new national security policy should contain a long-term vision for Yugoslavia's future foreign, security and defence policy and thus facilitate the country's accession to the European institutions. It should also form the basis for a comprehensive reform of the security sector, particularly the armed forces, the police forces, the border guards and the intelligence and state security structures. Given the risk of constitutional and political stalemate the FRY was threatened with, the report recommended, as a first step and along the lines of successful similar initiatives in Germany (Weizsäcker Commission) and Switzerland (Brunner Commission), the creation of an independent commission to prepare the ground a new national security consensus. The report recommended that the commission include representatives from all constituent parts of the country, all political parties and all walks of life of Yugoslav and Serb society. Hundreds of specific recommendations accompanied this overall assessment.

President Kostunica thanked DCAF in a letter dated February 2002, for what he called a "comprehensive and professional contribution" to the "ongoing deliberations about a solution to this matter in the Yugoslav post-authoritarian society".

DCAF has been invited by the Yugoslav and Serb authorities to provide additional expertise in four areas:

- (1) Reform and modernization of the border guard system
- (2) Police reform
- (3) Parliamentary assistance
- (4) Contacts to other armed forces in order to further deepen the understanding of the reform processes initiated by the latter

These four areas will – within the limits of the Centre's financial possibilities - therefore form the focus of DCAF's activities in the FRY in the months to come. Work has already been initiated in the area of border guards, where a first brainstorming meeting attended by 15 high-ranking police and border guard officials from the FRY, the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro has been organized by DCAF from 20 to 24 February 2002. It will be followed by a series of 8-10 international workshops, each of 3-5 days duration and organized in a different European capital over the next 12-18 months. The Border Guard Organizations of Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Estonia, Finland, and Russia as well as the European Union and NATO



have each agreed to host one of these workshops. Additional partners are likely to join this core group. It is intended to open these seminars to all the Stability Pact countries – each being invited to send three participants. It may be added that the Geneva meeting of February 20-24 was the first time in years that delegations from Serbia, Montenegro and the FRY had jointly attended a meeting.

It will, beyond the immediate follow-up to the 2001 report, remain a priority for DCAF to continue to contribute to the strengthening of the NGO and civil society in the country.

### *3.2.3. Other Stability Pact Countries*

DCAF has continued its support to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the areas of transparency in defence planning, budgeting and procurement and of parliamentary control. It is however intended to substantially increase cooperation in 2002. A Danish-American citizen, Marc Remillard, with several years of working experience from the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been hired as the new Head of the “Outreach/Projects” Division and has prepared a correspondingly enlarged programme framework for 2002. This programme has been prepared in close cooperation with relevant entity and state-level bodies as well as the OSCE and other international actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One key feature of the programme is sought to be the strengthening of the relevant parliamentary commissions with staffers with a background in security sector matters. Another key objective will be to assist the Federation government in the planned reduction of its armed forces by some 10,000 soldiers. The same emphasis will be given to the government of Republika Srpska, once a similar decision has been reached there.

Macedonia will become a new centre of gravity in bilateral support programmes in 2002, after several first contacts could be established in 2000/01. Many of the insights gained from the FRY project apply also to the situation in Macedonia. Two visits by the Director and senior staff of the Centre served in February and March 2002 the purpose of giving shape to the support programme in favour of Macedonia. Elements of the package could include *inter alia* a stock taking seminar (conducted together with NATO and within the framework of a DCAF Stability Pact project), the border guard project that results from the FRY project as well as a special project on Civil-Military Relations in post-conflict situations.

In Croatia DCAF staff has been involved, throughout 2001, in several conferences and workshops. The Centre’s Director paid its formal courtesy visit to Zagreb in February 2002. First working contacts were, at that occasion, furthermore established with the Regional Arms Control, Verification, and Implementation Assistance Centre (RACVIAC) created by some 20 countries within the framework of the Stability Pact. Next to a stocktaking workshop (planned for late March or early April 2002) and the border guard programme, a deepened cooperation with RACVIAC should be part of the DCAF activities in Croatia in 2002.

Cooperation with Albania has been not very intense so far. It is therefore planned that the Director of DCAF will pay the country a formal visit in spring 2002 and launch a first series of joint projects, including once more a stock-taking workshop and – particularly important with respect to Albania – the border guard project.

Slovenia has become an active partner of DCAF, providing it with substantial expertise and support. It is intended to further deepen this cooperation. Stocktaking and border guarding will again serve as one aspect of DCAF’s country programme. The Centre’s staff was strengthened in a highly welcome way, when the former Slovenian Undersecretary of State, Ambassador Gregor Zore, joined the Centre as new Head of the Multilateral Projects Section.

Moldova has been invited to join the DCAF Council and is hoped to accept this invitation within the very foreseeable future. DCAF conducted, together with NATO and local partners, during the reporting period two international workshops on security sector reform in Chisinau, which were well received.

### *3.2.4. The Ukraine*

The Ukraine is not only a member of DCAF's Foundation Council, but also of the body's "Bureau" which oversees for the Council the daily activities of the Centre. The Bureau met, on invitation of the Ukrainian government, for its meeting of 28 September 2001 in Kiev within the context of an international conference on the democratic control of armed forces, that was jointly organized by DCAF, the Ukrainian Institute for Strategic Studies and the Ukrainian Rada.

During the formal courtesy visit of the Director of the Centre to Ukraine in early February 2001, strong interest in cooperation with DCAF had been expressed – particularly in the areas of parliamentary control, legislation, and police reform. In June 2001 the Centre was, thus, invited to provide detailed comments to a draft strategy paper of the National Security Council on the planned strengthening of the democratic control over the armed forces and the security sector. Parliamentary training was offered, in March 2001, together with the Marshall Center and NATO's Parliamentary Assembly.

Civil society projects were conducted, throughout the year at the Universities of Lugansk and Simferopol.

In a joint venture with SIPRI and a local partner, the Ukrainian Centre for European Policy Studies, DCAF has co-financed the Ukrainian version of the SIPRI Yearbook 2000 (published in summer 2001) and will finance the 2001 editions (forthcoming in May/June 2002) and following (special chapters contributed by DCAF from the 2001 edition onwards).

The working programme for 2002 was been roughly outlined in late 2001 and early 2002. It will include: Participation in a joint venture with the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence and NATO on assessing which positions in the Ukrainian MOD could be taken over by civilians (as a first step towards the strengthening of the civilian control over the armed forces); support to the reform of the border guard system (again together with NATO and other partners); continued work in the area of parliamentary control (with a new international seminar jointly organized with the Rada tentatively planned for Fall 2002).

### *3.2.5. Russian Federation*

In 2001, Russia was the venue of the Annual Conference of the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, at which a new Working Group on Civil-Military Relations was created. DCAF and King's College, London, jointly head this new Working Group.

At the bilateral level a solid base for a long-term cooperation programme with Russia was established in 2001. The Director paid a formal courtesy visit in June and participated in the founding of the DCAF Working Group on Military and the Society during a seminar on that subject organized jointly with the Moscow-based Centre for Political and International Studies in October. Repeated working visits and consultations by several senior DCAF staff members were instrumental in this process.

A first success came with the adoption by the CIS Parliamentary Assembly of a Model Law on Civil-Military Relations in late 2001 (cf. 3.1.).

The focus of the 2002 activities will be on providing support to the State Duma in drafting a first law on Civil-Military Relations in Russia, on the documentation and translation and analysis of all existing laws on the security sector, as well as on publishing information to strengthen civil society (Russian version of the SIPRI Yearbook, new publication series on civil society and democracy). Other issues might be added to the list.

#### 4. Render Knowledge Accessible: The "Information Resources" Division

Networking knowledge and providing expertise are totally dependent on the free and immediate access to relevant and reliable information and DCAF's "Information Resources" Division is given the task of rendering this possible. There are three broad aspects to the task:

1. To provide the necessary documentation and information both in electronic and, where appropriate, hard copy in-house.
2. Through dedicated websites and a "Virtual Library, to offer all interested parties the possibility to inform themselves comprehensively on all aspects of DCAF's work and areas of interest.
3. To be in charge of the Centre's external communications – particularly with the media – and of its platform function within "International Geneva".

As an additional task, the Division is also responsible for the preparation of all of the meetings of the Council of the Foundation, the Bureau of the Council, and the International Advisory Board.

The balance sheet for the reporting period presents itself as follows:

##### In-house Information and Documentation

- The build-up of an in-house Documentation Centre, containing books, journals, conference proceedings and other grey literature, has been continuing systematically.
- A special Legal Documents Section (collection of all available DCAF relevant legal documents from Euro-Atlantic countries) has been built-up since April 2001.
- The creation of an internal system of information sharing (G-Drive) has been completed.
- The creation of various internal electronic databases ("People", "Countries", "Trip Reports" and "Projects Reports", numerous mailing lists) has greatly advanced.
- The conceptualisation of a Web-based DCAF Intranet has been initiated in cooperation with the "International Relations and Security Network" (ISN) of the Federal Institute of Technology.

##### Provide Free Access to Information

- The DCAF main website (www.dcaf.ch) has been continuously upgraded and updated – throughout the reporting period, including the integration of DCAF "E-Publications" (all major research findings and conference proceedings are, if copyright regulations permit, continuously put on the net) as well as of the "Legal Documents Online Database". Some 1'000 users per month now visit the site.
- Thanks to the strong support received both from many member countries and from the Swiss Embassies in the Euro-Atlantic region DCAF is indeed rapidly building up a comprehensive collection of all legal texts pertaining to its field of interest. The preparatory work has been done so that the transformation of the existing hard copy version of that "Legal Documents Database" can, step by step be put into an electronic online version. It is envisaged to push this effort as a priority project – in close cooperation with DCAF's WGs on legal affairs and parliamentary control as well as with the "Outreach/Projects" Division – as a long-term enterprise until all relevant texts as well as a substantial *corpus* of pertinent legal comments are, both in their original language and in English, available on DCAF's website (cf. 3.1.). The user target group includes governments, parliaments, researchers and civil society. The project will, if possible, be developed in close cooperation with NATO, the European Union and the Council of Europe (which might greatly facilitate the most difficult aspect of such a project, i.e. the continuous timely upgrading of the database).

- Upgrading and updating of DCAF Sub-Websites such as on the parliamentary control of armed forces ([www.dcaf.ch/pcaf/](http://www.dcaf.ch/pcaf/)).
- Creation of a Website on Civil-Military Relations in favour of the WG on Civil-Military Relations of the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes.
- Sponsoring of the Website of the European Research Group on Military and Society (ERGOMAS; [www.ergomas.org](http://www.ergomas.org)).
- Re-conceptualisation of the "South Eastern European Documentation and Information Network (SEEDON) which will be run, from spring 2002 onwards by the "Information Resources" Division, based on substantive input provided by the "Outreach/Projects" and "Think Tank" Divisions.
- Conceptualisation and implementation of a DCAF Virtual Library, including Links Library, a Digital Catalogue (on publications), an electronic archive and an intranet section (currently under construction by ISN). Re-conceptualisation and re-launch of the DCAF Links Library (the "CMR-Net" initially created by ISN in 1999-2000 on behalf of the DDPS DCAF project team).
- Publications: Supervising various books and other publications projects with third parties (IISS, SIPRI, IPU, NPA, etc.). 2002 will see a much more vigorous publication programme through the launching (in March) of DCAF "Working Papers" (some 40 in the pipeline), DCAF "Occasional Papers" (some 6 in the pipeline) and DCAF "Special Documents" (1 in the pipeline). The "Occasional Papers" series will reflect work done, or edited by DCAF and its bodies (Council, International Advisory Board, staff). The "Working Papers" series will put forward papers written for DCAF events by third parties. "Documents" will contain legal and other official texts that have either been produced with assistance of DCAF or which are of particular political significance.

#### External Communications

- As part of DCAF's platform function within "International Geneva, the Division organized more than a dozen joint luncheon events and many other bilateral meetings with most UN agencies, international organizations, NGOs, and academic institutions working in fields related to DCAF's areas of interest. The focus of the respective programme for spring 2002 will be on political parties, the parliaments and the governments of the City of Geneva, the Canton of Geneva and the Swiss Federal level.
- Organization of a special briefing on DCAF and its activities for the Association of the Information Services of the Swiss government, on 9 October 2001, in Berne.
- Preparation and organization of the first DCAF Annual Press Conference in Berne and Geneva on 16 October 2001 (which yielded very positive press coverage).
- Assistance in the preparation of the joint DCAF/EWI press conference in Belgrade on 14 December 2001 after the handing over of the results of their study on security sector reform in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia.
- Preparation of four press releases (in German, French and English) during 2001 on special events and activities by DCAF.
- Preparation of several thousand tailor-made information folders for all sorts for interested parties and partners and preparation of the necessary information required.

## 5. Other Activities

One of the tasks of the Director is to pay a formal visit to each DCAF member country. The purpose of these visits is to present DCAF and its activities, to establish points of contact for smooth cooperation, and to lay the groundwork for a cooperation programme. During these visits, Director of the Centre is normally received by high-ranking representatives of the Foreign and Defence Ministries and often also by representatives of the presidential structures and Parliament. There are, moreover, also meetings with NGO and the local representatives of the international community (OSCE, EU, Council of Europe, NATO/PfP). So far, the Director has paid such visits to the following DCAF member countries:

- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (28-30 January 2001)
- Ukraine (4-7 February 2001)
- Bosnia and Herzegovina (12-15 February 2001)
- United States (25-27 February 2001)
- Slovenia (10-11 June 2001)
- Russian Federation (26-29 June 2001)
- Slovakia (3-4 December 2001)
- Macedonia (11-12 February 2002)
- Croatia (26-27 February 2002)
- Sweden (4-6 March 2002)

Similar formal visits were paid to NATO/EAPC/PfP (21 May 2001), the Council of Europe (24-25 September 2001), and the Commission and the Council of the European Union (5-6 July 2001).

DCAF and DCAF staff members have been consulted time and time again throughout the year for special advice and services. Some examples may suffice to illustrate the point. The Dutch delegation to the UN Conference on Disarmament asked, on behalf of the European Union, for DCAF's advice on the inclusion of the principle of democratic control of the armed forces into the United Nations Disarmament Commission's (UNDC) Guidelines on Conventional Disarmament. The Assistant Director DCAF contributed a paper on the subject matter to a roundtable meeting organised by the NGO on Disarmament Affairs, held in New York in April 2001, and is preparing a follow-up event, to be held in the second half of 2002, in view of the next substantive session of the UNDC. The Director was invited, in June 2001, by the British Cabinet Office to participate in a brainstorming with NGOs on future British grant policy in the area of security sector reform and development. Again in June 2001, the Head of the Think Tank contributed a detailed analysis on the same issue to the Dutch government preparing a similar review. Many staff members were invited to give lectures or participate in national brainstorming meetings in their respective home countries. The Head of the Think Tank, finally, participated repeatedly at events and projects of the George C. Marshall Center and the National Defense University in Washington DC.

## V. OUTLOOK

For DCAF, 2002 will be a year of both consolidation and steady growth. Having been confronted during its first year of existence with the daunting challenge to build the Centre, to get intellectually on top of the substance matter and to successfully manage a major assistance project, the Centre can only profit from a slower pace in its second year of activities. The effort was clearly worth its while. The Centre – which was an attractive concept when founded – is now a reality, as this report on its activities indicates. The team has been assembled. A dense network of partner relations has been built up. Concrete results have been achieved. Much confidence and goodwill has been gained.

This is a solid foundation for the Centre's work over the coming twelve months. Growth will continue, but at a considerably slower pace. The number of projects will grow, but can profit from experience gained in project

management. Work will start in several new areas (from civil-military relations in post-conflict situations to the first steps towards creating an "African Antenna"). However, this new work will benefit from the results that have already been achieved in other, neighbouring areas.

The 5<sup>th</sup> International Security Forum (ISF), organized by Professor Kurt Spillmann's Centre for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology and co-hosted by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy as well as DCAF, provides a natural point of convergence for the work of DCAF's Think Tank and thus a focus for the Centre at large. A logical parallel development will be the launching of DCAF's own publication series from spring 2002 onwards.

Looking beyond 2002 the key issue will be the question whether, at the end of the build-up period, DCAF should go global or not. The question is not easy to answer. On the one hand, there is obviously much that needs to be done in the Euro-Atlantic region. DCAF is, moreover, only about to reach out to all countries of that region. The year will hopefully thus see projects in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. There is much in favour of - as a policy approach - digging deeper and getting to the root causes of problems. On the other hand, it is - particularly in International Geneva, not easy to ignore the problems and perplexities of the world beyond that Euro-Atlantic region. In this respect, the establishment of the "African Antenna" will be an important step and promises to provide a wealth of experience.