

DCAF's Activities in Support of Effective and Democratically Transparent Defense Planning

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The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) focuses on democratic oversight of and guidance for the defense and security sector. Increasing transparency and efficiency in defense planning and spending thus do not generally fall under DCAF's purview in the strict sense, and are addressed only within the larger context of defense institution building.

The defense budgetary process in a given state—from its formulation by the executive, its enactment into law by the legislature, its implementation, and ultimately its auditing and evaluation—is circumscribed by a number of parameters, and requires that the different actors have competencies in dealing with democratic processes and multiple constituencies that are never called upon under authoritarian systems. On the contrary, the legislature in authoritarian states is often content to “render unto Caesar what is Caesar's”—that is, to leave the responsibility for things military with the military and/or the security services, as such matters “cannot be understood by lay persons anyway.” In a similar vein, within their ministry itself the defense planners may decide to leave their task essentially in the hands of the “commissars” of the presidential apparatus, as this is the place where power is concentrated and monopolized in such systems. As an important consequence, defense planning in transitional states is fraught with problems that are all too familiar: an executive which has first to learn about transparent planning cycles and gain self-confidence in the implementation thereof; a legislative power which needs to learn about guidance and oversight mechanisms; and national media and institutions of civil society which need to change their expectations from commenting on the successes of authoritarian leadership to the assumption of the responsibility for public oversight.

On the other hand, defense planners in democratic societies often take a transparent and accountable defense planning cycle for granted, which may cause misunderstandings in cooperative programs with their counterparts from transitional states. The “logic” of the national security planning process involves extraneous parameters that are not simply “givens,” but that themselves presuppose transparent and accountable decision-making processes. These processes take into account such notions as national interests; threats, risks, and challenges to the national interest; the identification of opportunities and mechanisms to address them; and documents on the perception of security-related issues (a national security policy document, a defense strategy). They are also subject to the objective availability of resources, which depends on the economic

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performance of a given society and the competing demands between the security sector and other segments of society for their share of the national economic pie.

Since 2000, DCAF has developed a number of programs to assist transitional states in developing proper democratic oversight of their armed forces, including guidance strategies and competencies that also touch on defense planning. In this essay, we will provide a list of such activities, including references to further documentation available on the Internet.

1. Self-Assessment Studies

For both domestic and international experts to gain a clear understanding of the status of the defense and security sector in a given country—and, against this background, to gain an appreciation for the needs and opportunities of a *structured* reform process—there is a need to document, analyze, and take stock of the current state. Acting on a mandate from the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Geneva Centre for DCAF implemented (in cooperation with the Stability Pact Table III) Self-Assessment Studies on Defense and Security Sector Reform in Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, and Romania from 2000 through 2004.¹ Mixed teams of experts from both governmental and non-governmental organizations, academia, and the media were instructed on best practices in defense and security sector governance through training programs and readings in the current literature in the field. These teams were then asked to document and assess one aspect of defense and security sector reform in their country.

The “self-assessment” program, though not free from initial challenges posed by group dynamics and knowledge gaps, yielded six book-size country studies which are to date the most comprehensive documentations of defense and security sector reform readily and unrestrictedly available in English. By empowering a group of dedicated

¹ These works include: Eden Cole, Timothy Donais, and Philipp H. Fluri, eds. *Defence and Security Sector Governance and Reform in South East Europe Self-Assessment Studies: Regional Perspectives* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2004), see www.dcaf.ch/publications/SSG_regional.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2; Philipp H. Fluri and Jan A. Trapans, eds., *Defence and Security Sector Governance and Reform in South East Europe: Insights and Perspectives: A Self-Assessment Study*, Volume 1; *Albania; Bulgaria; Croatia* (Belgrade/Geneva: CCMR, 2003); Volume 2, *Macedonia, Moldova, Romania* (Belgrade/Geneva: CCMR, 2003), see www.dcaf.ch/_docs/SSG_regional/SEE_publications.pdf; David Law and Philipp Fluri, eds., *Security Sector Expert Formation—Achievements and Needs in South East Europe* (Vienna: National Defence Academy, in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces and the PfP-Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, 2003), available at www.dcaf.ch/publications/SS_expert.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2; Philipp Fluri and Velizar Shalamanov, eds., *Security Sector Reform—Does It Work? Problems of Civil-Military and Inter-Agency Cooperation in the Security Sector* (Sofia: Procon, 2003), available at www.dcaf.ch/publications/SSR_work.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2; David Greenwood, ed., *Transparency and Accountability in South East European Defence* (Sofia: DCAF/George C. Marshall-Bulgaria, 2003), available at www.dcaf.ch/publications/Transparency_defence.cfm.

experts from both government and civil society, this approach also contributes to the creation of a “strategic community” of experts in these countries. Elaborate questionnaires ensure not only a structured approach for a given country, but also permit cross-country analysis on specific topics. Special attention ought thereby to be given to accountability and transparency.

A team of Georgian experts has been engaged in a similar exercise since 2002.² In Ukraine, the publication of the proceedings of a series of seminars documenting the progress of defense reform served a similar purpose.³

2. Working Groups/Yearbooks on Defense and Security Sector Reform

Ideally, such self-assessment efforts do not stop with the publication of reports, but lead to sustained local efforts to document, assess, and possibly support ongoing reform efforts. This is the case in Bulgaria, where a consortium of non-governmental think tanks is monitoring the reform process, and in Turkey, where the forthcoming (2006) Yearbook by a TESEV-led security sector reform working group may have a ground-breaking effect on both the empowerment of civil society and the monitoring of defense and security sector reform.

3. Collection and Analysis of Laws and Policy Documents

As most transitional states suffer from a multitude of both inherited and newly created laws, presidential *ukasy*, and policy documents, etc., which in the interest of a “divide-and-conquer” mentality were never fully publicized in these states’ authoritarian past, there will be a need to document the existing legal situation by collecting and making publicly accessible such laws and policies (ideally also in English), as there may (and in fact should) be an interest on the part of cooperative programs in assessing and proposing amendments to such legislation. The Geneva Centre has run such documentation programs in the Russian Federation (in cooperation with the Duma Defense Committee), Georgia (in cooperation with the Parliamentary Staff Directorate), and in Ukraine (in cooperation with then-Rada President Litvin and Defense and Security Committee Chairman G.K. Kriuchkov). The Ukrainian legislation is now being trans-

² David Darchiashvili and Philipp H. Fluri, eds., *After Shevardnadze: Georgian Security Sector Governance After the Rose Revolution*, available at www.dcaf.ch/publications/georgia_ssg.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2.

³ Philipp H. Fluri and Sergei Piroshkov, eds., *Ukrainian Security Sector Reform: Materials from the International Conference, Kiev, 27th – 28th May 2004* (Kiev: Mig Press for DCAF & NIISP, 2004) (in Ukrainian); available at www.dcaf.ch/lpag/pub_fluri_piroshkov.cfm?navsub1=4&navsub2=3&nav1=3. See also Leonid Polyakov, “An Analytical Overview of Democratic Oversight and Governance of the Defence and Security Sector in Ukraine,” *DCAF Working Papers*, No. 152 (January 2005); available at http://www.dcaf.ch/_docs/wp152.pdf.

lated into English by the Geneva Centre on a mandate from NATO in support of the impending defense review process in Ukraine.⁴

4. Textbooks, Model Laws, Model Organizational Charts, etc.

In support of these early collection and assessment activities, aid organizations may decide to produce a number of model laws (e.g., on democratic parliamentary oversight) and model descriptions of ministerial organization (most transitional states will be found to have no civilian oversight structures within the Ministries of Defense—a number of Mediterranean Dialogue countries do not even have Defense Ministries). Geneva Centre publications on parliamentary oversight of the defense and security sector—co-published with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union—have proven to be rather successful; of the latter, some 100,000 copies have been distributed worldwide in thirty languages to date, including Arabic, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, and Chinese.⁵ Similarly, textbook-type publications on such topics as defense institution building, defense planning and budgeting, etc., can be ex-

⁴ *Collection of Russian Security Sector Laws*, All extant acts relating to the security sector published in English and Russian, see http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/bm_arbatov.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2; *Georgian Security Sector Laws*, All extant acts relating to the security sector translated and published in English as “The Security Sector Laws of Georgia,” available at http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/SSL_Georgia.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2; *Ukrainian Security Sector Laws*, published as Volodimir Litvin, Philipp Fluri, and Georgi Krychkov, eds., *Legal Foundations of the Defense Apparatus and Civil-Military Relations* (Kiev: Verkhovna Rada, 2005) (in Ukrainian and Russian), published in cooperation with DCAF, see http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/legal_foundations.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2.

⁵ Philipp Fluri and Anders Johnsson, eds., *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector: Principles, Mechanisms and Practices* (Lausanne: Presses Centrales Lausanne SA, 2004) is available in Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Azeri, Bahasa, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, English, Farsi, French, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Kyrgyz, Latvian, Macedonian, Mongolian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, Turkish, Urdu, and Ukrainian. See www.dcaf.ch/oversight/_publications.cfm?navsub1=12&navsub2=3&nav1=3.

For the DCAF-NATO Parliamentary Assembly Handbook for Defence Committees, see Hans Born, Philipp H. Fluri, and Simon Lunn, eds., *Oversight and Guidance: The Relevance of Parliamentary Oversight for the Security Sector and its Reform* (Brussels/Geneva: DCAF, 2003); see http://www.dcaf.ch/_docs/dcaf_doc4.pdf. Russian and Ukrainian versions have been available since 2005.

Versions in other languages are pending, and can be provided once funding is available. On parliamentary oversight of intelligence services, see Hans Born and Ian Leigh, eds., *Making Intelligence Accountable: Legal Standards and Best Practice for Oversight of Intelligence Agencies* (Oslo: Publishing House of the Parliament of Norway, 2005). Russian, Ukrainian, and Serbian versions are also available; see www.dcaf.ch/handbook_intelligence/_index.cfm?navsub1=27&nav1=3.

pected to be of similar interest both to experts directly involved in these processes and to a larger public interested in substance and oversight questions.⁶

5. Empowerment Programs

At early or even only preparatory stages of reform, as well as during the entire reform process, empowerment programs for both governmental and non-governmental experts are of importance. The Rose-Roth process has been highly successful in the parliamentary sphere, while a plethora of Partnership for Peace programs have been instrumental in training mainly representatives of the executive branches and the military and security services themselves—a reason why one may favor considering similar programs for the MENA region now. Within the framework of the Partnership for Peace, DCAF has been cooperating continuously with the NPA and local parliaments and ministries. Special attention has also been given to DCAF’s South East Europe Parliamentary Staffers empowerment program. Under this program, DCAF hires, equips, and trains staffers in most South East European countries (in cooperation with the national parliaments). As of April 2006, the Moldovan Parliament has also been offered the services provided by the training program, and is deliberating how to best make use of it.

6. Implementing Reform

All the activities listed above will continue to be of importance in the implementation phase of the reform process. They may, however, change in shape, and will certainly change in content, depending on local conditions. In a number of reform situations, “twinning” has been found to be a highly effective tool for “on-the-job training.” As decision-makers and high-level administrators can be expected to be burdened with a heavy workload, they will hardly be able to acquire further expert knowledge while in office by any way other than learning on the job. Training must thus be brought to them under the conditions of their specific working and decision-making positions. Through “twinning,” experienced or retired officials from established and/or advanced reform states are paired with administrators in a similar position in a transitional state. These trainers make themselves available for a number of weeks a year to visit their partners, as well as their superiors and collaborators, and to assist them in making decisions in the light of best practices in the field. These partners can also provide assis-

⁶ A DCAF-prepared *Model Law on Parliamentary Oversight* was adopted in 2001 by the CIS Parliamentary Assembly. For English text, see www.dcaf.ch/_docs/dcaf_doc1_1.pdf; for Russian text, see www.dcaf.ch/_docs/dcaf_doc1_1R.pdf. See also *Draft Federal Law for Improvements to Civilian Oversight of Armed Forces in the Russian Federation*, at www.dcaf.ch/_docs/dcaf_doc6.pdf.

Similarly, a DCAF-prepared *Model Legislation on Peacekeeping and Military Affairs* was passed by the CIS Parliamentary Assembly; it is available online at www.dcaf.ch/lpag/ev_stpeter_031001_papers.cfm?navsub1=4&navsub2=2&nav1=3 and www.dcaf.ch/_docs/dcaf_doc5.pdf.

tance in drafting documents and finding training opportunities for the next generation of civil servants in the ministries in question. Though no domain of defense governance should be excluded from such cooperation, there are key areas of democratic defense and security governance that will require special attention:

- Key guidance, transparency, and confidence-building policy documents, such as a national security policy document
- Democratic civilian executive and parliamentary oversight, including over the intelligence services
- Defense planning and budgeting
- A qualified information policy
- Inter-ministerial, inter-agency, and international cooperation
- Legal transparency and the rule of law

7. Monitoring Reform

For defense and security sector governance to be truly democratic and effective, the relevant actors need to be monitored and assisted by empowered parliaments and civil societies. Reform, though in many cases planned and implemented by the executive branch, needs to be firmly rooted in the nation's culture itself. Reform is, in the last analysis, a transfer and promotion of cultural values, norms, standards, and procedures, and will only work if and when the expectations and habits of the entire society become democratic and a system of checks and balances is firmly in place.⁷

8. Legal-Political Assistance Group (LPAG) and “Twinning” Programs

In a transitional state, all hands are needed on deck, and senior defense officials will rarely find opportunities to acquire new expertise through training or advanced education. Moreover, in a classical post-authoritarian situation, very few transition leaders can be expected to have had any lived experience of democratic defense and security sector governance. In order to support the transition process, DCAF therefore has created a group (known as the LPAG) of senior politicians and defense officials from established democracies and advanced transition societies who are at the disposal of senior and mid-ranking decision-makers and defense/security sector officials in transitional societies.⁸ “Twinning,” the temporary and repeated/repeatable mentoring assignment of a seasoned, active, or retired expert from a democratically controlled defense establishment to a partner in an emerging democracy, has proven to be a highly promising approach as well.

⁷ See Philipp H. Fluri and Eden Cole, “Security Sector Reform in South East Europe: A Study in Norms Transfer,” in Heiner Hänggi and Theodor Winkler, eds., *Challenges of Security Sector Governance* (Münster: LIT, 2003), 119-146.

⁸ See www.dcaf.ch/lpag/_index.cfm?navsub1=4&navsub2=1&nav1=3.

9. Rooting Reform in Civil Society

Any transition to democracy cannot be completed without the presence of a vibrant civil society. As a research and documentation activity, the Geneva Centre analyzes and compiles best practices for civil society involvement in governance in Western and emerging democracies, and seeks to create tools and means for communicating such insights to non-governmental organizations, academic institutes, and the media in partner countries.⁹ DCAF takes special care to develop strategic partnerships with non-governmental organizations that have strong potential to promote good governance.

Documentation of Best Practices

DCAF's Civil Society Working Group conducts research on the impact of civil society actors, including the media, that seek to promote transparency, accountability, and public discussion of public policy-related issues in mature democracies and transitional states. The working group structures its projects around core themes of promoting the development of civil society, empowering institutions to make their voices heard and influence governmental decision-making, and enabling civil society to help inform and educate the public about vital policy issues.

As mentioned above, the Geneva Centre, acting on a mandate from the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs, implemented stock-taking exercises on the status of security sector reform in South East Europe (including Moldova). Special attention was given to *civil society's involvement in security sector reform*, and the *need for expert formation, capacity building, and empowerment* (both governmental and non-governmental) in these countries.¹⁰ In order to contribute to expert formation itself, the DCAF project leaders cooperated closely with "country teams" consisting of both governmental and non-governmental experts, which benefited from workshops and exchanges with international experts organized on their behalf. Further studies investigated the status of *transparency in defense matters*—again, a field in which civil society will play a cru-

⁹ See e.g. Marina Caparini, Philipp Fluri, and Ferenc Molnar, eds., *Civil Society and the Security Sector: Concepts and Practices in New Democracies* (Münster: LIT, 2006), www.lit-verlag.de/isbn/3-8258-9364-2. DCAF invited prominent representatives of donor organizations and civil society to compare approaches and discuss lessons learned in Civil Society empowerment programs, both from donor and recipient perspectives. The research project involved individuals from prominent donor agencies and non-governmental organizations working in the field of democracy and security sector reform promotion, and having a specific focus on Civil Society support, transparency and good governance. The project, whose findings are now available in book form, identified and evaluated strategies and methodologies for engaging Civil Society in transition countries more effectively in good governance.

¹⁰ See, for example, Law and Fluri, eds., *Security Sector Expert Formation – Achievements and Needs in South East Europe*, available at: http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/SS_expert.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2.

cial role—and *overall satisfaction with the status of security sector reforms*.¹¹ The DCAF-organized Consortium of Defence Academies Working Group on Security Sector Reform—another tool for independent capacity building—assisted DCAF in these successful and highly pertinent undertakings.¹²

Civil Society Capacity Building and Empowerment

Totalitarian rule in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union fragmented society and isolated the individual. After the fall of the Soviet Union, representatives of the old order founded a number of “non-governmental” organizations with a view toward absorbing Western funding and other benefits. DCAF therefore gives special attention to capacity building among the younger generation, women, and minorities—groups that were largely excluded from the initial influx of funding after the fall of the Soviet bloc.

Strategic partnerships with select institutions and individuals have been highly successful. A DCAF-sponsored civil society platform in the Russian Federation, for example, actively assists the Federation Council in security sector decision-making by providing comparative analysis.¹³ In Ukraine, a civil society platform documents and analyzes reforms, and has (via its academic links) created an ADL post-graduate course on democratization and security sector governance. The Turkish Foundation for Economic and Social Research has created a Working Group on Security Sector Reform, which organizes highly acclaimed conferences on select aspects of security sector reform. In 2006, the working group will publish an independent Yearbook on Security Sector Reform in Turkey.¹⁴

Handbooks for Media and NGOs

Given the success of the *IPU-DCAF Handbook on Parliamentary Oversight of the Defense and Security Sector*, DCAF has published a comparative study on best practices for media involvement in security sector governance, and is cooperating with UNDP Bratislava on the publication of a *Civil Society Handbook on Security Sector*

¹¹ See, for example, Fluri and Shalamanov, eds., *Security Sector Reform, Does it Work? Problems of Civil-Military and Inter-Agency Cooperation in the Security Sector*, available at www.isn.ethz.ch/dossiers/ssg/pubs/books5.cfm; and Marina Caparini, “Security Sector Reform and Post-Conflict Stabilization,” in Alan Bryden and Heiner Hanggi, eds., *Reform and Reconstruction of the Security Sector* (Geneva: Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2004); available at www.dcaf.ch/publications/e-publications/SSR_yearbook2004/Chapter_7_Caparini.pdf.

¹² See www.dcaf.ch/pfpc/_index.cfm?navsub1=16&nav1=3.

¹³ Seminar series in partnership with the FPC discussing legal, political, media-related, and security sector reform aspects of civil society in Russia. See http://www.dcaf.ch/csdp/_index.cfm?navsub1=19&nav1=3.

¹⁴ See, for example, Willem F. Van Eekelen, Philipp H. Fluri, Alain Faupin, et al., “Democratic Oversight of the Security Sector: Turkey and the World,” *DCAF and TESEV Series in Security Sector Studies*, No. 1 (Istanbul: TESEV, 2005).

Reform (forthcoming, 2006). Moreover, in 2005 DCAF responded to calls for a *Sourcebook on Security Sector Governance* for general readers.¹⁵

Conclusions

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Force was established with the explicit mandate to combine comprehensive research into and documentation on best practices with equally comprehensive concrete, sustainable, long-term empowerment programs in transition societies. In order to fulfill this mandate, DCAF not only focuses on defense reform and democratic oversight of the defense sphere, but has also actively developed a comprehensive integrated border management program, which by sheer cost is probably the most substantial DCAF program.¹⁶ Preparations for a parallel policing program are under way, and an intelligence services oversight and reform program already exists.

DCAF, originally and still largely an initiative of Switzerland's foreign and defense policy, is today a trans-governmental organization with forty-six member states. Its research-cum-technical cooperation format and its lean management structure allow for foresight, comprehensive understanding, and conceptualization of emerging challenges and opportunities in security sector governance, as well as rapid response to calls for assistance and support from governments and international organizations alike.

DCAF thus did not find it difficult to answer a call from NATO International Staff (IS) to assist with the conceptualization and implementation of the PAP-DIB program. In April 2005, two consecutive events launching PAP-DIB used its conceptual framework to discuss more broadly the principles of democratic oversight, accountability, and transparency in the context of security sector governance and to qualitatively deepen the partnership relationship between EAPC countries and those in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Participants from Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia attended both events.¹⁷ Proceedings of the launch event were later published as *Defence Institutions Building. The 2005 Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building—Regional Conference* (Fluri and Cole, eds., Vienna: LaVak, 005). Further-

¹⁵ Philipp H. Fluri and Miroslav Hadzic, eds., *Sourcebook on Security Sector Reform* (Belgrade/Geneva: DCAF, 2005), available at www.dcaf.ch/publications/e-publications/SSR_Sourcebook/contents.html.

¹⁶ Additionally, the DCAF Research and Documentation Department is soon to publish the first study by Marina Caparini and Otwin Marenin, eds., *Borders and Security Governance: Managing Security in a Globalised World* (Münster: LIT, 2006, forthcoming).

¹⁷ See http://www.dcaf.ch/news/ev_tblisi_050425.cfm?nav1=2&nav2=2. The events were organized as a joint Swiss-Georgian initiative, with the support of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, NATO IS, and the NATO Studies Centre, Bucharest. For further information about Partnership Action Plan—Defense Institution Building, see <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b040607e.htm>.

more, additional research has been made available, both in electronic and printed form.¹⁸

These conferences were subsequently highly commended at the EAPC Ambassadors meeting at NATO IS in Brussels on 11 May, and the lessons learned have been incorporated into planning discussions for a similar PAP-DIB event for Central Asia. Unfortunately, the original plan for the event to be co-organized with the Turkish Ministry of Defense in March 2006 could not be realized. In 2006, a *PAP-DIB Source Book* (edited by Willem van Eekelen and Philipp Fluri) will be published by LaVak in Vienna, to be available in both English and Russian. Through these actions, the Geneva Centre stands at the forefront of the effort toward supporting security sector reform in Europe.

¹⁸ Eden Cole and Philipp H. Fluri, eds., *Defence Institution Building: Papers presented at the Conference on 2005 Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institutions Building (PAP-DIB) Regional Conference for the Caucasus and Republic of Moldova, held in Tbilisi, 25 April 2005* (Vienna: LaVak, 2006), available at http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/defence_institution_conf_tbilisi.cfm?nav1=4&nav2=2.

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