

## European Program

For the past few years the issues of security and justice have been increasingly occupying the attention of governments and the public in the Euro-Atlantic region. They have also become among the key problems to be tackled for a successful enlargement of the EU and NATO. For a second year, the justice and home affairs (JHA) agenda has also been the focus of CSD's European Program.

### I. Enhancing Integrity and Professionalism in the Security Sector

For a second year now, CSD has been implementing a program which introduced the first long-term training project aimed to enhance the capacity of the law enforcement agencies in Bulgaria to counteract corruption.

Specifically, CSD provided a critical number of senior officers at the Ministry of Interior and its agencies and the Ministry of Defense and its agencies with the skills to develop early responses to newly emerging security threats and to assist the design and implementation of anti-organized crime and anti-corruption policies. No such program had existed which inhibited the capacity of specialized agencies to develop adequate responses to the newly emerging threats from crime and corruption.

This program has been implemented under the first public-private partnership in Bulgaria in the field of countering corruption in the security forces between the Center for the Study of Democracy and the Defense and Staff College (the Military Academy) and the Academy of the Ministry of Interior.



*On October 16, 2003 Minister of Defense Nikolai Svinarov (left) and CSD Chairman Dr. Ognian Shentov signed a Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry and the Center*

As a result of CSD's efforts, the issue of corruption within the security forces and the appropriate counteracting measures have become part of the public debate in Bulgaria and the ministries of defense and interior have committed to working with CSD on a specific anti-corruption program. The graduates from the Command and Staff Faculty of the Defense and Staff College (the Military Academy) – the future generals of the Bulgarian army - have been among the key beneficiaries of the program. One of the strongest points of the program is the combination of the rule of law aspects of anti-corruption with the emerging security threats – organized crime, smuggling, etc. The program is producing a sustainable effect by training the trainers of the armed forces colleges on anti-corruption and soft security issues. The training of trainers was backed up by an anti-corruption instructional manual which will be the basis of future mainstreaming of this topic into the curricula

of the educational institutions of the security sector. The Command and Staff Faculty members have benefited also from a transfer of experience with Serb counterparts in November on the issues of governance in the context of participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace program.

As in 2002, this program was implemented in cooperation with the government of Norway. It has been complemented by a number of visits which have facilitated the exchange of policy expertise between the relevant Bulgarian and Norwegian institutions. The public-private format of CSD's program was highlighted during the visit of Mr. Jorn Holme, State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice and the Police of Norway. The discussion focused on access to information, including to court decisions and administrative documents, and the complementarity between legislative measures and the role of the media and NGOs.



*From left to right: Mr. Rolf Baltersen, Ambassador of Norway in Bulgaria, Mr. Jorn Holme, State Secretary, Ministry of Justice and the Police of Norway and Dr. Ognian Shentov, CSD Chairman*

Facilitating the exchange of expertise is also crucial in the context of Southeast Europe, particularly as the countries have achieved varying degrees of progress in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration. To this end, CSD, in cooperation with the Bulgarian ministries of defense and foreign affairs and NATO, contributed towards the process of Serbia's join the Partnership for Peace program (PfP). The Euro-Atlantic Integration in Southeast Europe: the Role of NATO and the Partnership for Peace in Promoting Reform in the Defense and Security Sector seminar on November 24-25, 2003 brought together representatives of the state administration, the Parliament and the NGO sector from Serbia and Montenegro with their colleagues from Bulgaria as well as with NATO policy planners. Some of the key issues on which the Serb counterparts benefited from the Bulgarian experience included the procedures for joining PfP, legal and military, as well as planning aspects,

budget transparency. The meeting was a prime example of the potential for regional cooperation in SEE as regards the future of NATO.

*CSD efforts to promote defense and security sector reform in Serbia and Montenegro are commendable indeed and demonstrate your continued commitment to South Eastern Europe's full integration into Europe.*

Lord Robertson, NATO Secretary  
General

21 November 2003



*From left to right: Ambassador Emil Vulev, Head, Mission of Bulgaria to NATO, Ambassador Todor Tchourov, Director, NATO and International Security Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Katsiridakis, Head of Section, Defense Policy and Planning Division, NATO and Ambassador Boyko Noev, Director of CSD European Program*

## II. The Future of Security in Southeast Europe

For a few years now – and with potentially increasing intensity – Europe, and in particular its Southeastern part, is being faced by a new set of threats - corruption, drug smuggling and human trafficking, trans-border organized crime, money laundering. One of CSD's main objectives as regards the new, non-traditional risks to security is to facilitate the conceptual rethinking which will inform a more efficient policy process. This is best achieved in a public-private format as the emerging challenges can no longer be addressed in the framework of the security sector alone. The response CSD received in September 2003 from the minister of defense and interior of the SEE states and from NATO to its initiative for rethinking the security agenda in the region indicates that the Center's stake on the potential of public-private partnerships is more than warranted.

The two-day conference, entitled *Shaping A Common Security Agenda For Southeast Europe - New Approaches And Shared Responsibilities*, took place on September 5 and 6 in Sofia, Bulgaria and was attended by policy makers from NATO and other international institutions, the ministers of defense and interior of six SEE states. In his keynote speech NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson affirmed the Alliance's commitment to SEE security and explained that the current reduction of troops reflects improved security situation in the region.

The conference covered some of the key aspects of the future of Southeast European (SEE) security in the context of EU and NATO enlargement. The conference highlighted the need for an adequate doctrine that would make crime a priority issue in the framework of the newly defined regional and European security. Discussions also focused on the need to look for innovative responses to soft security



*From left to right: Dr. Ognian Shentov, CSD Chairman, Dr. Solomon Passy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord George Robertson, Secretary General of NATO and Ambassador Boyko Noev, Director of CSD European Program*

threats, particularly organized crime and corruption. The conference demonstrated the value of public-private partnership in tackling soft-security issues by bringing together professionals from the security sector and private actors, such as non-governmental policy institutes, with policy makers from SEE countries NATO and other international institutions.

*One of the most dangerous forms of corruption, which destabilizes both internal and regional security in SEE, is the symbiosis between organized crime and representatives from the security sector in the Balkan countries.*

*The gravity of the problem calls for bold and radical measures which should upset entrenched interests. Traditional bureaucracies – be they national or international – cannot muster the type of public support needed if these reforms are to be successful.*

*Thus, a new type of public-private partnership is necessary to secure public backing for the measures against organized crime and corruption. This partnership should seek to include civil society and private sector institutions as stakeholders in the process of prevention and enforcement.*

Conference discussion topics

*"...[We] are still deploying a sizable number of troops. And they are now able to focus their efforts in new areas where they can add real value - in tackling persistent regional problems such as border security, organized crime, and dealing with illegal weapons"*

Lord Robertson at the September 5-6, 2003 conference

### III. Facilitating Dialogue on EU and NATO Enlargement

The facilitation of an exchange of views and ideas between policy makers in the EU and NATO members, and their counterparts in Bulgaria is among CSD's main contribution to Bulgaria's EU and NATO aspirations.

CSD has established a very good cooperation with the British Embassy in Sofia, particularly in the JHA area in the context of EU accession. The visit of UK's Minister for Europe, Dr. Denis MacShane in October 2003 was a opportunity for a round table discussion on the latest developments in this field. In a meeting with CSD senior staff Minister MacShane discussed the anti-corruption reforms in Bulgaria. He was introduced to the work of the anti-corruption initiative *Coalition 2000* and, particularly, to the latest findings of the Expert Group on Corruption and Contraband related to the illegal trafficking channels. Participants in the discussion agreed that further efforts are needed to combat corruption, money-laundering and organized crime on a national and European level.



On October 9, 2003 UK Minister for Europe Denis MacShane met CSD senior staff



CSD also puts a significant effort into bringing EU and NATO member states policy makers into contact with a wider Bulgarian community committed to integration. The joint lectures with the British Embassy is one of formats used by CSD targeted at parliamentarians, magistrates, journalists, NGO experts and others.

On **February 6, 2003** the British Embassy to Bulgaria and the Center for the Study of Democracy co-organized a lecture delivered by John Abbott, Director General of the UK National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS). NCIS is one of Europe's most respected anti-crime agencies and its threat assessment reports have developed a model methodology for forecasting crime developments. One of issues highlighted at the meeting was the fact that fighting organized crime internationally is extremely difficult because law enforcement is not global in structure and it works within a local jurisdiction. Law enforcements agencies around the world lack common standards and approaches towards international organized crime and they are vulnerable to corruption. In John Abbott's opinion the cooperation between different countries now tends to focus on individual operations while



From left to right: Mr. John Abbott, Director General of NCIS, Mr. Ian Soutar, Ambassador of UK to Bulgaria and Mr. Boyko Todorov, CSD Program Director

the criminal groups are collaborating and if the international community failed to respond adequately to the threats the world will not become a safer place.

Later in February British MP and Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Home Office Bob Ainsworth visited Bulgaria and delivered a lecture on the *New Trends and Developments in Fighting Organized Crime*. In his lecture Mr. Ainsworth pointed out that the most serious threats which should be regarded as priorities of the UK government were Class A drugs trafficking (essentially heroin and cocaine), people smuggling and trafficking, fraud, money laundering, possession and use of firearms, high-tech crime and pedophile crime. Mr. Ainsworth's visit was another sign of the active role of the UK in Bulgaria in recent years in providing support and assistance to the authorities responsible for tackling drug trafficking.

As noted by NCIS Director John Abbott international cooperation is key to the effectiveness of anti-organized crime



Home Office Minister Bob Ainsworth speaking at the CSD/British Embassy lecture

efforts. The establishment of Europol, the European Union law enforcement organization that handles criminal intelligence, has been a step in this direction. On June 16, during a visit to CSD Europol Director Jurgen Storbeck underlined the importance of multidisciplinary approach and combined efforts of both member states and applicant countries to build a common European area of justice and security. Mr. Storbeck outlined Europol's immediate tasks: integrating applicant countries' systems into the EU law enforcement, building law enforcement and security outside Europe, including the Balkans, and internal development. He expressed hope that the good cooperation with Bulgarian authorities would continue.



From left to right: Mr. Boyko Kotzev, Deputy Minister of Interior, Mr. Jürgen Storbeck, Europol Director and Mr. Boyko Todorov, CSD Program Director

#### IV. Policy Studies

##### *Assessment of Drug Consumption in Bulgaria*

Drug abuse and smuggling present one of the most potent threats to modern societies. The Center for the Study of Democracy has undertaken a special inquiry into the topic of drug abuse - which was fueled by the drug epidemic of the late 1990s and has grown to beco-

me a real social threat - and the problem of drug dealing, which is a major mechanism for the generation of organized crime in Bulgaria. Answers to the question "What is the number of drug users in Bulgaria?" used to range from "No one can tell" to "More than 100,000". Without disregard to the variety of opinions, CSD tried to establish a common point of departure for the evaluation of drug use in the country. For that purpose a national representative survey of the issues of drug abuse was conducted for the first time in the country. Although there had been quite a number of surveys up to that time, they had focused on demographic groups (e.g. secondary school students in certain large cities or drug addicts that had sought help).

CSD's findings were first presented at a conference on March 14 attended by HRH The Prince of Wales. The event *Public-Private Partnerships in Preventing Drug Abuse and Trafficking* was hosted by CSD and provided a new momentum in the cooperation between Bulgarian private and public institutions and their UK counterparts. The royal visit and keynote speech at the conference was a recognition of CSD efforts to encourage a comprehensive policy approach that marries prevention and enforcement.



Dr. Ognian Shentov, CSD Chairman (left) and HRH The Prince of Wales

In his speech, HRH The Prince of Wales commended the work of Bulgarian Customs and the National Service for Combating Organized Crime for their dedication and efforts in stopping drugs flow through Europe and congratulated the Bulgarian Government for making this a priority area of policy. HRH pointed out that Bulgaria and the UK had to collaborate even more than now against international organized crime to reduce the availability of drugs as well as to combat the growing perception that drug use is acceptable and risk-free.

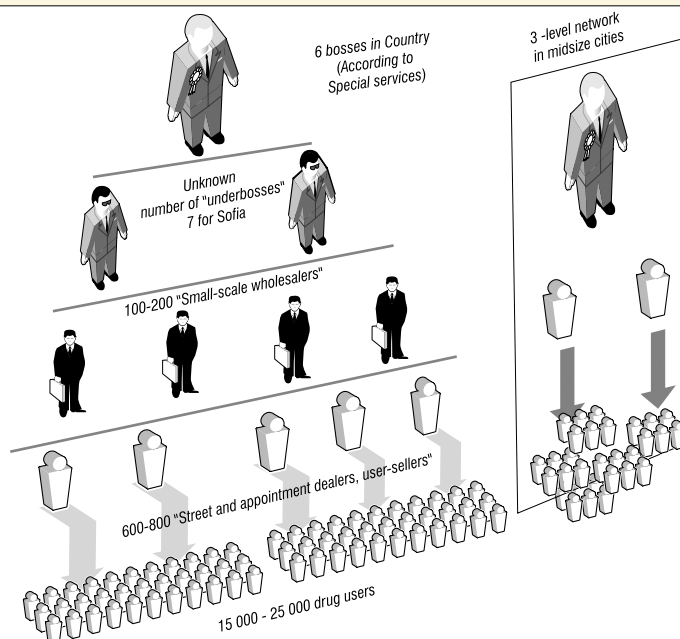
The final CSD report, published in December, combined the analysis of the drug use in Bulgaria with the first publicly presented outline of the smuggling and distribution mechanism set up by organized crime. Presented jointly with the Ministry of Interior on December 11, this report addresses drug



Mr. Tihomir Bezlov, Coordinator of the CSD Expert Group on Assessing Drug Consumption in Bulgaria (left) and Gen. Boyko Borissov, Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior at the presentation of the report on the Bulgarian drug market

supply and demand in Bulgaria with the ambition of mapping a vast information void and identifying the basic mechanisms and stakeholders of the drug market.

### Five-Tier Hierarchy of Drug Distribution in the Capital City as Compared to Three-Tier Hierarchy of a Small Town



Source: *The Drug Market in Bulgaria, CSD, Sofia, 2004.*



The study also brought into the public domain for the names of previously unknown key underground-world figures, describing the methods and organization of their work and the structures of their criminal groups. Some of the main findings of the report include:

The drug market in Bulgaria is fragmented. At the national level there are up to five main bosses under whom there are strict hierarchies of regional and local drug dealers.

Organized crime groups involved in drug dealing are also involved in other activities such as prostitution rings, smuggling of commercial goods, human beings, and arms.

The drug market in Bulgaria is functioning with the help of low or mid-level accomplices in the National Police Service.

#### *Assessment of Small Arms and Light Weapons Export Control*

Illegal international trade in small arms is one of the most serious global humanitarian concerns. A multitude of

conflicts all around the globe increase the pressure on unscrupulous arms dealers to exploit loopholes in export control legislation. Concerns over the marriage of trafficking and corruption at the Bulgarian borders warrants a closer look at the enforcement of export controls in Bulgaria. Having worked on the linkages between smuggling and corruption for three years, CSD applied its experience in knowledge in this area to the issue of small arms and light weapons (SALW) export controls.

As a result, CSD assembled a task force of experts from government and private institutions to evaluate the implementation of SALW export legislation. It was the first similar effort in this area, all the more significant that it was undertaken under the auspices of a non-governmental organization. The policy paper and recommendations, contained in the CSD report, together with its public presentation have increased the public awareness on an issue that had hitherto not been considered publicly. The report and recommendations also provided policy makers with a summarized insight into the workings of the enforcement system and outlined alternative policy options.