

## European program

In 2008 CSD's European program worked most extensively in the area of the **new security threats** in the context of Bulgaria's membership in the European Union. The program invested significant efforts in institutionalizing **public-private partnership in crime prevention**, and facilitated the debate on the adoption of Euro-Atlantic standards in areas such as defense and democratic institutions building.

### 2008 Highlights

- Promoting dialogue on the continuity of **international development assistance** to Bulgaria in the field of democratic reforms;
- **Cooperating with government bodies and NGOs from Southeast Europe** with similar developmental and transitional issues, and thus assisting countries from the Western Balkans on their road to EU and NATO membership;
- Encouraging dialogue on issues related to **energy security** and **energy independence**, as well as on the EU's and Bulgaria's defense policy, and helping build up the country's **institutional infrastructure** and improve the **legislative framework** in this field;
- Providing a **non-partisan platform** for establishing a policy framework for **reforming Bulgaria's security sector**;
- Promoting common approaches by government institutions and civil society in the field of **crime prevention**. In doing this, CSD has employed an advanced **analysis of crime trends**, pioneered by the Center at the beginning of the decade and institutionalized through the **National Crime Surveys (NCS)** carried out by CSD, in cooperation with the Ministry of Interior, on an annual basis. The NCS is now the authoritative source of data and analysis of the dynamics of conventional crime in Bulgaria.

### I. Euro-Atlantic Standards

Following Bulgaria's membership in the European Union many bilateral donor programs have been winding up their operations in the country. As the bulk of international assistance for development is now expected to come from the EU, **CSD has initiated a debate on the continuity of development programs**, as well as on evaluating the achievements of bilateral donors and the

outstanding development challenges still to be tackled with EU support, particularly as regards democratic reforms. In cooperation with the Bulgaria Mission of the United States International Development Agency (USAID), CSD organized a major international conference on lessons learned from democratic support efforts in Southeast Europe and the relevance of Bulgaria's experience for its Western Balkan neighbors.

The conference entitled **“Democracy that Delivers: Unlocking the Potential of Transition”** and held on May 21, 2008 was attended by NGO leaders and development officials from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, and facilitated the continued dialogue on the unfinished reform agenda in the Western Balkans region, on the opportunities available to press on with reform efforts, and on how Bulgaria’s experience could be a guide to other countries that are still struggling with similar developmental and transitional issues.

In his welcoming address CSD Chairman **Dr. Ognian Shentov outlined the linkages between political reforms, economic freedom and civic initiative.** He noted that the mainstreaming of anti-corruption on Bulgaria’s public agenda – achieved by Bulgarian NGOs with the support of USAID – has made a significant contribution towards the sustainability of democratic institutions. According to Dr. Shentov, it was as a result of the combined demand from our partners and the EU on the one hand, and from Bulgarian civil society

on the other, that politicians started treating anti-corruption as more than just a rhetorical device by tackling issues such as conflict of interests as well as rooting out unacceptable practices.

Commenting on the background to the conference, **US Ambassador to Bulgaria John Beyrle** pointed out that the Bulgarian experience provided a unique backdrop for discussion. Having undergone a dramatic transition since 1990, Bulgaria is now experiencing a new phase in this transition as a member of the European Union and as an emerging donor country. Still, in his contacts with citizens Ambassador Byerle perceived a further need for government institutions to become relevant to the needs of individuals by delivering effective public services. A democratic government is distinguished by its responsiveness to public needs and demands. On the other hand, Ambassador Beyrle highlighted the significance of civic engagement and participation since no amount of assistance or international support could supplant grass roots demands for better governance.



*CSD Chairman Dr. Shentov at the opening*

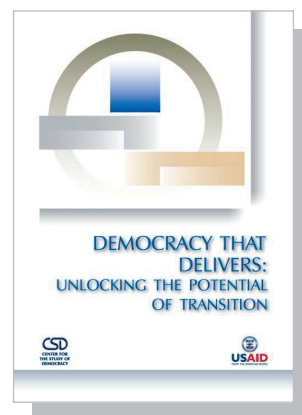


*Ambassador Beyrle and Andrew Natsios*

In his keynote address, **Andrew Natsios, former USAID Administrator and Distinguished Professor at the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University**, sketched the significance of the existence of complementary incentive structures for politicians and reformers, particularly those instituted by the international community. These structures should reinforce each other. He also discussed the inverse relationship between ethnic conflict and democracy, pointing out that the likelihood of conflict diminishes significantly in the presence of democratic institutions.

**Mr. Quentin Peel, International Affairs Editor of the Financial Times**, moved the discussion to the international level by looking into the democratic credentials of the European Union. Although the founding considerations of the Union – post World War II efforts to bring about peace through common trade – are still very valid today, the EU has developed its democratic institutions more than other international institutions. It manages to have the capacity to evolve while still remaining true to its principles. The

promotion of democracy through the European Union, in particular in the new members and candidate countries, remains insufficiently effective because of the EU's top-down, bureaucratic approach to assistance. This is evident in the priority given to funding of, for example, infrastructure over civil society. The lack of effectiveness is also due to the fact that the top-down approach is not balanced by bottom-up local demands for good governance.



Over lunch, an address was given by **Ms. Gergana Grancharova, Minister**



*Minister Grancharova*

for European Affairs of Bulgaria. She first emphasized the great appreciation of all Bulgarian politicians for the work USAID had done during its presence in the country and the organization's great, professional and diplomatic contribution to Bulgaria's development.

The Minister continued her speech by elaborating upon the issue discussed during the morning session: namely, whether **EU integration was a key factor in the transformation of the Western Balkans**. She pointed out that Bulgaria had always been a strong advocate of the EU perspective for the region, and that since 2005 large steps had been made on the road of the Western Balkans to the EU., Minister Grancharova underlined several important events from the 2006-2008 period marking the progress of the Western Balkan countries towards the EU, such as their joining CEFTA, the signing of the Energy Community Treaty, and the new IPA regulation. According to the Minister, another decisive step was the recent signing of Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAA) with the EU by Serbia and Montenegro.

**Ambassador A. Elizabeth Jones, former Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs and currently Executive Vice President of APCO Worldwide**, first discussed the senses in which the various key terms discussed at the conference were understood. The Ambassador mentioned that democracy was a term loaded with all sorts of meanings and implications and that while in some places it implied chaos and instability, its true meaning related to the people's voice and to the political choices made by ordinary citizens. As for civil society, the Ambassador favored a broad understanding of the term, encompassing not just NGO's but also the media, charities, trade unions, public safety officials and all other structures established with the purpose of taking collective action and having a say in how a given society was governed.

Elaborating upon the concept of transition, the Ambassador mentioned that transition in principle signified gradual change, but it could be scary for society as it introduced the unknown and might come in all varieties – dramatic or less so – but was nevertheless inevitable.



*Michael Fritz, USAID Bulgaria Mission Director*

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Fritz elaborated on the usually negative connotations of the term “balkanization”, which might also have a much more positive meaning related to the peaceful coexistence and interdependence of ethnic communities. According to Mr. Fritz, the future of the Balkans does not need to be synonymous with conflict, but with cooperation. He pointed out that “angel capital” – wealthy businessmen wishing to have social impact through financial support of various initiatives – was starting to form on the Balkans as well, since entrepreneurs saw balkanization as an opportunity for business and social change. Mr. Fritz emphasized that this conference, as USAID’s last major event in Bulgaria, was not the end of the partnership with Bulgaria and the Western Balkans and expressed his pride to work towards democracy that delivered.

**“Hard” security aspects of Euro-Atlantic integration have also been in the focus of CSD’s attention.** In this respect, on October 27, 2008 the Center held a public discussion of the draft of the new Defense Law of the Republic of Bulgaria with the

participation of **Mr. Nikolay Tzonev, Minister of Defense, General Zlatan Stoykov, Chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Armed Forces, MPs, Deputy ministers, Ambassadors, Former Chiefs of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Armed Forces**, representatives of the Presidency, civil organizations, experts and the media.

In his opening remarks **Ambassador Boyko Noev, former Minister of Defense** emphasized that Bulgarian membership in NATO, accelerated professionalizing of the army, and the fact that the Ministry of Defense is fulfilling its tasks in an entirely modified environment, necessitate the adoption of a new Defense Law. The lack of public debate of issues concerning the draft of the new Law has led to the misinterpretation of the draft by the general public.

Mr. Nikolay Tzonev, Minister of Defense, underscored the importance of the Law. As it regulates an important national institution, its adoption is not to be delayed and compromise is not to be allowed. Minister Tzonev noted that the draft reflects the changes occurring



*Left to right: Ambassador Todor Churov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nikolay Tzonev, Minister of Defense, Ambassador Boyko Noev, former Minister of Defense, General Zlatan Stoykov, Chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Armed Forces*

in the country during the past several years, while also giving considerable attention to the improvement of the social status and security of military personnel.

**Mr. Todor Churov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs**, considered the scope of the Defense Law as part of the reform process in the army and the country as a whole. It is of crucial importance to maintain the depoliticization of the army, as well as to pay special attention to the coordination of Bulgarian missions abroad, seeking a balance between alliance commitments and national interests.

On 21 December 2008, the Center for the Study of Democracy held a **High Table discussion with the participation of Mr. Robert McFarlane**. Following a distinguished career in the US military and civilian government, including a position as **National Security Advisor to President Ronald Reagan** from 1983 to 1985, Mr. McFarlane – the keynote speaker on the occasion – has since served on the board of a number of

NGOs and corporations, in addition to being Chairman of McFarlane Associates, Inc. The topic of discussion was the changing international environment in the wake of the recent historic US Presidential election, and in particular the implications for the strategic relationship between the US and European Union members.

Mr McFarlane commenced by noting the appropriate choices in nominating to key positions figures with extensive foreign policy and national security experience. Of particular significance to the US-EU partnership, it was emphasized, is the more **“Eurocentric” character of the Obama team**, which points to a period of much more harmonious relations between Europe and America in future years.

In his insightful comments, Mr. McFarlane outlined the main challenges facing the incoming US administration. He discussed the dangers of nuclear proliferation as well as the challenges posed by the high-tech nature of modern-

day US military defense, such as its vulnerability to the disruption of satellite communications as well as to data loss and penetration by computer hackers, which all necessitate the development of complex technological solutions and countermeasures. **Another pressing issue highlighted during the discussion was the need for a major rethinking of the energy policy not only of the US but also of its European allies**, and in particular the need to diversify away from the over-reliance on fossil fuels or on a limited number of energy suppliers and the dire security implications of the failure to do so. Mr. McFarlane nevertheless cautioned against the use of certain renewable energy sources which may lead to unintended side-effects. Finally, Mr. McFarlane drew attention to the conditions of economic crisis presently affecting most NATO members, which will likely require higher levels of social spending and generate greater pressure for corresponding defense spending cuts, thus making it all the more pressing for all NATO allies to pool their resources and work together to counter the common threats they face.

Other distinguished participants at the event – **Ambassadors Michael Geier of Germany, Klaus Fabjan of Austria, and Paul Beijer of Sweden, as well as representatives of Bulgaria’s Defense Ministry** – shared certain experiences from their respective countries in handling some of the challenges under consideration. At the same time, they reaffirmed the consensus view that the security threats of the coming decades are beyond the capabilities of each individual country to tackle in isolation from its NATO allies, thus highlighting the **ongoing need for cooperative engagement of the US and Europe**.

## II. Crime Prevention

CSD has been providing essential input into the work of the National Crime Prevention Commission for several years now by conducting analyses of the various aspects of criminality, which in 2008 were particularly devoted to the study of current crime trends. With the support of the Center, on September 8 2008, the **National Crime Prevention Commission held**



*From left to right: Chief Commissioner Pavlin Dimitrov, Minister of Interior Mihail Mikov, Dr. Ognian Shentov – chairman of CSD, senior analyst Tihomor Bezlov*

a **public meeting** with the topic under discussion being the dynamics of conventional crime in Bulgaria in the period 2006-2007.

In his opening address, **Mr. Mihail Mikov, Minister of the Interior**, stressed the importance of the annual National Crime Surveys as well as of the public presentation of their results, and praised the contribution of the Center for the Study of Democracy as an organization actively involved in crime prevention research.

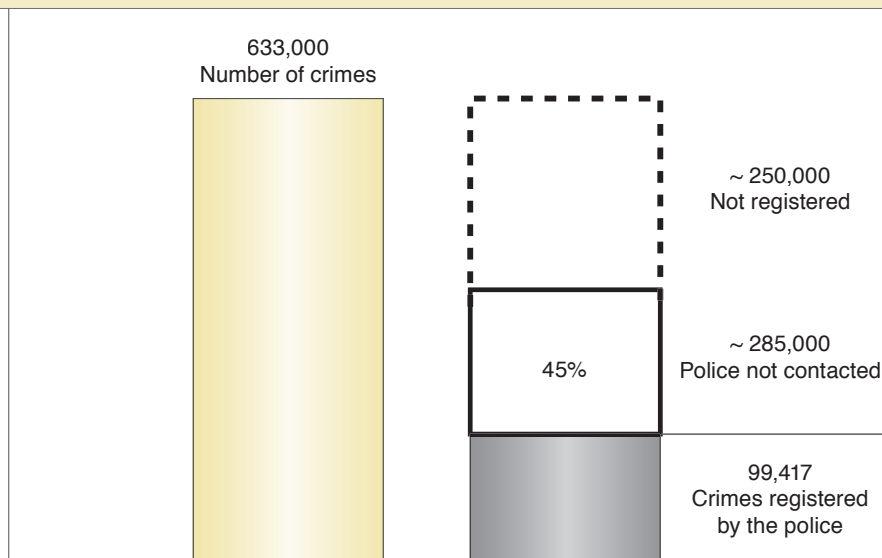
**Mr. Tihomir Bezlov, Senior Analyst at the Center for the Study of Democracy**, made a presentation on the dynamics of conventional crime in Bulgaria in the 2006-2007 period. He analyzed the results of the National Crime Surveys for 2006 and 2007 and compared them to official police statistics for the same period. Mr. Bezlov outlined the reasons for the discrepancies between official statistics and the results of victimization

surveys and elucidated various factors influencing the dynamics of conventional crime.

The Chief Commissioner of the Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Pavlin Dimitrov, presented the Ministry's standpoint and outlined the practical measures that MoI has been implementing in fighting conventional crime, as well as the results achieved.

Crime prevention is also related to the European Program's efforts to advocate the **adoption of European standards in policestop and search activities**. In 2008, the European Program, in cooperation with the Security Police Department of the Crime Counteraction, Public Order Maintenance and Prevention Directorate of the Ministry of Interior, established a monitoring system that is enhancing police management of stops as well as the accountability of the process. The Center carried out an

**Figure 14. Estimates of Crime Latency and Police Filters (2007)**





audit of current policies, practices and training; it developed new operational guidelines and provided the Ministry with a training and monitoring tool (a standardized form and a computerized database for use in performing stops). The key results of this work include:

- Creating a monitoring system that detects disproportionalities and enhances the accountability of stops;
- Improving police training, operational and legal guidance and the supervision of ID checks, stops and searches;
- Introducing procedural improvements in carrying out police stops;
- Increasing minority communities' capacity to participate in dialogue with the police and set local policing priorities;
- Generating replicable best practice models that can be disseminated at the national and regional levels.

The new management and supervision system has tremendous potential well beyond the narrow field of stop and search practices and could become a blueprint for improved operating procedures in all fields of police work.