

Harnessing Regional Stability in the South Caucasus

The Role and Prospects of Defence Institution
Building in the Current Strategic Context

Frederic Labarre and George Niculescu (Eds.)

Study Group Information



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“Regional Stability in the South Caucasus”**

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Table of Contents

Foreword	7
Abstract.....	15
PART I:	
UNDERSTANDING DEFENCE INSTITUTION BUILDING (DIB) AND DEFENCE MODERNIZATION AND HOW IT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND BEYOND	17
U.S. Defence Institution Building Initiatives and the South Caucasus <i>Craig Nation</i>	19
DEEP and DIB: Ukraine’s Perspective <i>Iryna Lysychkina</i>	31
A Need for More Balanced and Accountable Defence Institution Building in the Current International Security Setting <i>Armen Grigoryan</i>	43
Foreign Policy and Security Nexus in Georgia <i>David Matsaberidze</i>	49
PART II:	
THE STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF DIB IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS.....	65
Defence Institution Building as a Tool for Supporting Balance between Russia and the West and Fostering Regional Stability – the Case of Armenia <i>Benyamin Poghosyan</i>	67
In Conflict-torn Countries DIB is an Arms Race: Speaking Notes to the 15 th RSSC SG <i>Razji Nurullayev</i>	79

Georgia’s National Security Environment and Defence Institution Building Provision: Effective Governance vs. Inefficient Policy Implications <i>Vakhtang Maisaia</i>	89
South Caucasus Security Challenges: A Look from Armenia <i>David Shahnazaryan</i>	99
PART III: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DIB AND DEFENCE MODERNIZATION IN SOUTH CAUCASUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION.....	
Armenian Armed Forces Transformation <i>Hrachya V. Arzumanyan</i>	113
Challenges for Azerbaijan to Accept Nagorno-Karabakh’s Individual Diplomatic and Military Force from Defence Institution Building Perspective <i>Ahmad Alili</i>	125
Defence Institutions of South Ossetia: To be, or not to be? Speaking Notes to the 15 th RSSC SG <i>Zarina Sanakoeva</i>	135
Characteristics of Defence Institution Building in the South Caucasus and the Challenges of Regional Ethno-Territorial Conflicts <i>Oktay F. Tanrisever</i>	139
PART IV: CONCLUSION.....	
Conclusion and Epilogue <i>Frederic Labarre and George Niculescu</i>	153

PART V:	
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....	159
Policy Recommendations	
<i>Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group</i>	161
List of Abbreviations	169
List of Authors and Editors.....	171

Foreword

George Niculescu and Frederic Labarre

The 15th workshop of the Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group (RSSC SG) jointly with the Security Sector Reform Working Group (SSR WG) of the PfP Consortium, held in Varna (Bulgaria) on 06-09 April 2017, focused on the complex interdependence between regional stability in the South Caucasus and Defence Institution Building (DIB). Previous PfPC workshops, including a few by the RSSC SG, highlighted specific aspects of this underestimated relationship, but none of them has had a holistic view at this somewhat controversial issue, so far.

The workshop on “**Harnessing Regional Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role and Prospects of Defence Institution Building in the Current Strategic Context**” aimed at creating a common, politically neutral, perspective on the requirements for, and the benefits of, expanding and deepening DIB, as a key tool for strengthening regional stability across the whole South Caucasus region. Building confidence through increased transparency on defence matters, developing more effective and efficient defence capabilities through pro-active defence and security sector reforms, and enhancing defence education and training as tools for creating increasingly professionalized armed forces were key aspects that have been discussed. Eventually, the potential for a broader spectrum of regional actors (including Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh) to discover the value-added of DIB as a regional stability factor in the South Caucasus has been explored. Participants also discussed best practices on good governance of defence institutions, and how these could better support regional stability in the South Caucasus.

The framework for debate of this workshop, corresponding to the structure and content of this Study Group Information, was built around the following key questions:

- What is Defence Institution Building (DIB) and how has it been implemented?

- What are the status of, and plans for, DIB/defence modernization by various South Caucasian actors? What have been the main challenges to implementation so far?
- How have the regional actors perceived defence reforms in other regional actors?
- What are the challenges to further expanding and deepening DIB/defence modernization in the South Caucasus? How would various regional actors cope with those challenges?
- What are the interdependencies between DIB/defence modernization, and regional stability in the South Caucasus? How could regional and external actors better leverage those interdependencies for strengthening regional stability?
- How do the unresolved conflicts in Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and South Ossetia affect the efforts of regional actors for DIB/defence modernization?
- How to reconcile the Western and Russian perspectives on DIB/defence modernization from a broader pan-European perspective?
- How could DIB be leveraged for conflict resolution, and for post-conflict regional integration in the South Caucasus?

The distinction between DIB as an initiative, and DIB as a process emerged throughout the workshop. As a process, DIB could be equated to national efforts at security sector reform, structural rationalization of forces, and defence modernization. For example, since 2008, Russia has embarked on a process of defence modernization and military restructuring. Its ambitious defence reform program was intended to transform the Russian military from a massive standing force, designed during the Cold War for global great-power war, into a lighter, more mobile force suited for local and regional conflicts. Moscow has further strived to streamline its military command-and-control system, improve the combat readiness of its troops, and reform its procurement procedures. Moreover, Russia adopted a flexible force structure allowing it to quickly deploy troops along the country's periphery without undertaking mass mobilization, while Russian

defence industry began to provide the changing force with new weapons systems and equipment.

As an initiative, the DIB seemed purely NATO/US-driven aiming at the democratization of the security sector in the post-Soviet republics (as well as in the Western Balkans). In particular, the following aspects are worth remembering:

1) The Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB) reflected, since April 2004, EAPC/PfP common views on modern and democratically responsible defence institutions. The PAP-DIB concept paper defined common objectives for PfP work in this area, which have been particularly relevant for Partners from the South Caucasus among others. It has further encouraged cooperation with relevant international organisations and institutions, in particular the EU and the OSCE.

2) The Defence and Related Security Capacity Building (DCB) Initiative has focused, since September 2014, on helping Partners from the Euro-Atlantic area to provide for their own security, by strengthening their defence and related security capacity. The DCB Initiative aimed to help project stability by providing support to nations requesting defence capacity assistance.

3) The Building Integrity Initiative has aimed at promoting good practices, strengthening transparency, accountability and integrity to reduce the risk of corruption in the defence establishments.

4) The Defence Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) has aimed to contribute to international security through professionalization of the officer corps, NCO corps and civilian defence officials of partner countries. DEEP addressed the professional defence education component of DIB. The DEEP supported defence education institutions for faculty development (how to teach), and curriculum development (what to teach), and has been managed jointly by the PfP Consortium and NATO through multi-year programs of cooperation designed to assist the host nation government defence education system to support effective defence institution modernization. These initiatives clearly participate to one another, and very often are taken as synonymous with DIB.

In effect, a subsequent SSR WG DIB workshop, held in Geneva June 12-15 2017, highlighted how Building Integrity, for example, is an integral part of DIB, both conceptually and programmatically. Yet, it cannot necessarily (or always) be substituted for it. Not for the last time would workshop participants debate whether DIB could be a catalyst for stability, or whether stability had to be guaranteed first in a region for DIB to take hold. As a result, it has been hardly clear in the workshop discussions how DIB could effectively achieve regional stability in the South Caucasus— let alone conflict resolution.

In panel one, “Understanding Defence Institution Building (DIB)/Defence Modernization and How It Has Been Implemented”, international subject-matter experts provided an overview on the objectives and tools for implementation of DIB and defence modernization, respectively. They were invited to pay particular attention to: assessing security risks and national defence requirements; the management of human and financial defence resources; international norms in defence governance; managing defence spending within national economies; and the international setting for national defence. The ongoing NATO-DIB initiatives were also briefly explained, and their links with conflict resolution, and more broadly with the regional stability in the South Caucasus explored.

In panel two, “The Status and Prospects of DIB in the South Caucasus”, RSSC SG members from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia briefly described their Nations’ respective efforts in the area of DIB, as well as how the ongoing unresolved conflicts and the broader geopolitical interests of regional powers have influenced the ongoing defence reforms processes in their countries. They also elaborated on how national strategic choices on Euro-Atlantic or Eurasian integration had shaped defence and security policies, and what would it take for DIB to acquire a more prominent role in strengthening regional stability in the South Caucasus.

Panel three, “Challenges and Opportunities for DIB/Defence Modernization in South Caucasus Conflict Resolution” focused on the status and plans of South-Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh to build effective and efficient defence institutions, as well as on the prospects of the latter to effectively facilitate/ contribute to conflict resolution. Regional panellists looked at defence institutions for a measure of “sufficiency”, both in terms of re-

sources (such as manpower, equipment and infrastructure, budgets, policies, information), and level of readiness. Additional questions were asked on whether the current national security strategies based upon reliance on external guarantees were well-suited with aspirations for building truly sovereign and independent states. Or whether they could consider jointly with all South Caucasus states, and under international security guarantees, confidence building measures, transparency on defence planning and budgets, military to military relations, information sharing on defence and security issues, joint exercises on disaster response to counter security dilemmas, and how could such regional initiatives become viable?

The Breakout Groups aimed at developing, by means of SWOT analyses, post-conflict roadmaps for promoting DIB in the South Caucasus. The process consisted of parallel dialogues focusing on two sets of unresolved conflicts: the Georgia/Russia/Abkhazia/South Ossetia group (Geneva group), and the Armenia/Azerbaijan/Nagorno-Karabakh group (Minsk group). While the Minsk group approached the topic from the point of view that DIB should be the result of regional stability and cooperation, the Geneva group asked whether DIB could not be conducive to regional stability. Also, the Geneva and Minsk breakout groups differed in that the former approached the problem within the on-going conflicts, whereas the latter Minsk group entertained discussions in a post-conflict scenario. However, despite their differing approaches, mainly driven by the diverse membership (Geneva group had mostly international, while Minsk group had mostly regional participants), and their ensuing dominant political outlook, the conclusions drawn by each group were largely congruent.

One take away from this workshop has been that the regional context matters a lot for successfully promoting DIB. As one international subject-matter expert pointed out during the workshop, defence institutions cannot be developed in isolation from one country's political, administrative, and cultural realities. Neither can DIB be imposed from outside. One model clearly does not fit all. The concept of DIB depends on the national administrative culture and traditions, managerial capacity at various levels, education and training capacities, and the readiness of the society to accept radical changes. On the other hand, national defence has been traditionally oriented towards external military threats. The level of predictability of the strategic environment would impact on the elaboration of defence con-

cepts. Hence, the ensuing DIB concepts depended on the level of the perceived external military threats. When the threats were high, the decision-making process became shorter and less transparent, defence institutions were more militarized, while the role of civilians was marginalized.

In the South Caucasus, this has largely been the case for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South-Ossetia. Georgia, having learned the lessons of the 2008 war with Russia, and having developed over the last 20-plus years closer relations with the US and the Western institutions, was less concerned with external military threats than the others. This explains why, in the case of Georgia, the DIB process has been less militarized, more civilianized and more transparent. This approach reflects the conclusions reached at the 12-15 June 2017 workshop in Geneva. DIB is a manifold activity, and that, in many ways, *any* effort at reform or Building Integrity serves the purpose of increased security and ultimately, is tantamount to DIB. This means that the participants of the Stability Track effort sponsored by the Austrian National Defence Academy are truly pioneers of DIB.

This also explains why, as seen from Georgia, regional stability required that “DIB should be applied regionally rather than bilaterally”, given that the regional approach would increase transparency concerning the use of DIB within the region, and would facilitate coordination with NATO and the EU.

On the other hand, as several speakers noted, bad relations between NATO/US and Russia have made DIB efforts in the South Caucasus much more difficult. For example, the Geneva breakout group reached the potentially controversial conclusion that the politicization of DIB presented severe threats and weaknesses to regional stability and domestic defence modernization. This was the case mainly since applying DIB could have had adverse effects on wider regional conflicts and on external actors, namely Russia. The group thought that Moscow could respond DIB initiatives and processes as if they were perceived as unwanted interventions in regional, and in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, while, from this perspective, promoting DIB in the South Caucasus could result in added regional pressure, meddling, and arms racing. This perspective obviously contrasted with the Western dominant view that, by democratizing defence

institutions and processes, DIB has been a key element of building a whole and free Europe.

Beyond that, the summary of the discussions, and the suggestions reflected in the enclosed Policy Recommendations document were most conspicuous and relevant for the topic of the workshop. In conclusion, the benefits of DIB for the South Caucasus countries, and for regional stability as a whole are rather mixed. DIB has better chances of succeeding in fostering regional stability in a post-conflict context. Until a comprehensive stabilization of conflicts in the South Caucasus was achieved, the threats and weaknesses associated with DIB as an initiative and a process could be offset through:

- promoting multilateral and integrated regional approaches;
- re-shaping DIB as a planning tool able to turn it into a vehicle for post-conflict regional cooperation;
- focusing on common external challenges, such as energy security and the fight against violent extremism;
- establishing a regional system of checks and balances to incentivize cooperation on DIB;
- providing support for education and training for civilian and military professionals in defence institutions and in civil society (NGOs and think tanks) with an increased focus on understanding regional affairs, and the role and responsibilities of national defence institutions in maintaining regional stability;
- applying DIB according to objective DCAF criteria, while managing the expectations for success;
- the EU gradually assuming, in the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), and in cooperation with NATO, the OSCE and other relevant organizations, a bolder role in supporting SSR and DIB.

The editors would like to express their thanks to all authors who contributed papers to this volume of the Study Group Information. They are

pleased to present the valued readers the analyses and recommendations from the Varna meeting and would appreciate if this SGI could contribute to generating positive ideas supporting regional stability in the South Caucasus by means of a carefully and targeted application of DIB tools and mechanisms.

The co-chairs and organizers of the RSSC SG and SSR WG workshops persist and persevere in their hope for further constructive discussions towards the development of mutually-acceptable solutions to the conflicts in the South Caucasus, and praise the vision of the Austrian Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian National Defence Academy for providing this important platform for dialogue. The document you hold in your hands is also a vehicle for the expression of analysis, thoughts and opinions from the region. We as editors of these papers have sought to maintain true to the intent of the contributors, and without meaning to change the meaning of the written word herein, have sought to present the papers in the best light possible, with minimum repetition, maximum clarity, and adequate style. In the end, the content of the contributions is that of the presenters and contributors, and in no way reflect the position of the Austrian Republic or that of the personnel of the PfP Consortium. We hope this publication is useful to the reader.

Abstract

This publication focuses on how Defence Institution Building (DIB) can increase stability in the South Caucasus. The principles and goals of DIB are explained in detail and concrete examples of how states in the region implement DIB are given, especially regarding the varying challenges in different countries in the region. A special focus is placed on the implementation of DIB in the Ukraine and in Armenia.

Defence education is a vital aspect of DIB and this publication explains how it can be achieved and why it is necessary. The example of the Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP) is discussed in this context and concrete examples of the implementation in Armenia are described. DIB can create stability and balance concerning relations with Russia and the West. However, within the region it has started an arms race and especially unresolved territorial and ethnic conflicts within countries, such as the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, cause instability and pose challenges for DIB.

PART I:

UNDERSTANDING DEFENCE INSTITUTION BUILDING (DIB) AND DEFENCE MODERNIZATION AND HOW IT HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND BEYOND

U.S. Defence Institution Building Initiatives and the South Caucasus

Craig Nation

Defence Institutions and Security Sector Reform

Defence Institution Building is part of the larger challenge of *Security Sector Reform*. Today the management and employment of military assets should be understood in the context of an evolving and expanding conception of security itself. Security policy is still focused on the traditional challenges of territorial defence and sustainment of national institutions and values, but it also confronts new challenges derived from transnational dynamics, state failure and associated regional instability, and identity conflicts. A basic premise of security sector reform is that the way in which we perceive and pursue security must be informed by an awareness of these new challenges. Sustaining a modern, functional security sector that is accountable, professional, and respectful of human rights and the rule of law, has become a prerequisite for democratization, development, the peaceful regulation of conflicts, and global stability.

Security Sector Reform (SSR) rests upon a whole of government approach.¹ It involves all governmental and civil society institutions engaged in defending global, state and human security. This includes the armed forces, border and customs agents, law enforcement services, legal institutions, the academic community, public affairs agents, and the bureaucratic agencies that oversee these actors, as well as non-governmental organizations involved in security affairs including non-state armed factions and movements, and private military companies. Security Sector Reform has normative as well as operational dimensions. It makes good governance, civilian oversight of military policy, transparency, and respect for the rules of international society fundamental imperatives.

¹ Tom Christensen and Per Lægreid, "The Whole-of-Government Approach to Public Sector Reform," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 67, No. 6 (November - December, 2007), pp. 1059-1066.

Defence Institution Building in U.S. National Security Policy

Defence Institution Building is an important part of security sector reform. It refers specifically to activities that serve to construct and sustain accountable, effective and efficient national defence institutions and professional and capable armed forces subject to appropriate civilian control.

The term Defence Institution Building (DIB) appears in U.S. defence documents beginning in 2010, used to synthesize a number of security cooperation and security assistance projects that were already underway. The U.S. Department of Defense 2012 *Defense Strategy Guidance* placed strong emphasis on what was described as “Smart Defense,” including “building partner capacity” for sharing the costs and responsibilities of global management based on “a common vision of freedom, stability, and prosperity.”² The current U.S. *National Security Strategy* notes the requirement for “a global security posture in which our unique capabilities are employed within diverse international coalitions and in support of local partners.”³ This emphasis is justified with reference to the evolving nature of global threats. As elaborated in the National Security Strategy:

“Within states, the nexus of weak governance and widespread grievance allows extremism to take root, violent non-state actors to rise up, and conflict to overtake state structures. To meet these challenges, we will continue to work with partners and through multilateral organizations to address the root causes of conflict before they erupt and to contain and resolve them when they do. We prefer to partner with those fragile states that have a genuine political commitment to establishing legitimate governance and providing for their people. The focus of our efforts will be on proven areas of need and impact, such as inclusive politics, enabling effective and equitable service delivery, reforming security and rule of law sectors, combating corruption and organized crime, and promoting economic opportunity, particularly among youth and women. We will continue to lead the effort to ensure women serve as mediators of conflict and in peace building efforts, and that they are protected from gender-based violence.”⁴

In this spirit, the Defence Institution Building program has been given a high priority, overseen by the Department of State’s Bureau of Political-

² Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defence, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defence, January 2012, pp. 7 and 10.

³ National Security Strategy, Washington, D.C.: The White House, February 2015.

⁴ Ibid.

Military Affairs, the Office of Secretary of Defence for Policy, and the Joint Staff.

U.S. documents carefully identify the most important goals of Defence Institution Building initiatives. These include:

- Promoting the establishment of defence institutions that are effective, accountable, transparent, and responsive to national political systems.
- Furthering good governance, oversight of security forces, respect for human rights, the rule of law, and International Humanitarian Law.
- Preventing or mitigating instability, conflict, corruption, authoritarianism, and other systemic risks to effective security-sector management.
- Enhancing partner capacity by contributing to a partner nation's ability to organize and oversee its defence institutions to meet its security needs and increasing partner nation responsibility for their own security needs and ability to contribute to regional and international security and stability.
- Improving the sustainability and impact of security cooperation measures.
- Improving bilateral defence relations and understanding between the U.S. and partner nations' defence institutions and armed forces.⁵

These goals are linked to practical activities. These include:

- Establishing, building, improving, and assessing defence initiatives.
- Aligning the defence sector with a whole of government approach

⁵ Summarized from Walter L. Perry, et al., *Defence Institution Building: An Assessment*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2016 and DoD Directive 5205.82, *Defence Institution Building (DIB)*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Under Secretary of Defence for Policy, January 27, 2016.

and fostering synchronization across departmental lines (in particular the security, judicial, and financial sectors).

- Incorporating principles of accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and responsiveness, and civilian control.
- Prescribing roles, missions, functions and relationships within the defence sector.
- Enhancing professionalism among both military and civilian officials.
- Creating and refining the principle functions of defence institutions, including strategy, planning and policy; oversight; resource and human resource management; logistics and acquisitions; intelligence policy; and professional military and defence education.⁶

So defined, Defence Institution Building has become a complex, demanding, and carefully coordinated undertaking that requires evaluation based upon measures of effectiveness. U.S. policy uses various metrics to assess the degree of success that Defence Institution Building initiatives achieve, including continuous monitoring, record keeping, and cumulative program evaluations. But many challenges remain. They include the overall complexity of the undertaking, with multiple dimensions and global scope, which makes concise and precise evaluation difficult; a continuing search for appropriate metrics to gauge successful outcomes; and an inevitable imbalance between the episodic nature of DIB events, which are usually occasional and localized, and the need to establish long term measures of effectiveness. In this regard partners own self-evaluations and conclusions concerning usefulness may be the most important metric of all.

Defence Institution Building in the South Caucasus

Security Sector Reform (SSR) programs initially took form against the background of the collapse of European communist systems at the end of the Cold War. The new independent states of the South Caucasus have been engaged in the process for more than two decades, albeit under par-

⁶ Ibid.

ticularly difficult circumstances. Post-communism gave rise to a series of armed confrontation (the enduring Nagorno-Karabakh contest, the wars of secession in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, the Five-Day War in 2008) that have created a permanent state of tension and mobilization not congenial to structural transformation. The actors of the region have taken diverse courses in pursuing defence reform, often contingent upon the strategic context and their primary international associations. Baku, Yerevan, and Tbilisi all acknowledge the importance of structural reform, but in every case, though to differing degrees, results have been partial. *Comprehensive Security Sector Reform and Defence Institution Building* remains unrealized. Continued progress in this regard can make a useful contribution to conflict resolution, expanded regional cooperation, and beneficial international interaction.

Though it has receded over time, the legacy of Soviet practice placed major barriers in the way of the entire region. By the 1980s the Soviet military system had not evolved in ways that would allow it to compete effectively in the late 20th century strategic environment – something that forward-looking Soviet theorists did not miss.⁷ This included allegiance on the part of senior officers to an outdated Soviet operational art, the absence of democratic civilian control, a lack of civilian expertise in the defence sector, inadequately formulated national security and military strategies, limited financing outside the Russian core, no institutional pluralism capable of bringing security affairs into the public domain, and endemic corruption. Some of these challenges have been successfully confronted, while others remain in place.

Armenia: Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Armenia has sought to develop its armed forces into a professional, well trained, and mobile military with some success. However, as a presidential republic, parliamentary oversight and civilian control remain underdeveloped. Armenia has been in what amounts to a state of war with Azerbaijan for the entire course of its post-Soviet history. This has created and sustained an imperative of structural readiness that constrains innovation.

⁷ A. Kokoshin, “Protivorechiia formirovaniia i puti razvitiia voenno-tekhnicheskoi politiki Rossii,” *Voennaia mysl'*, No. 2 (February 1993).

Armenia is dependent upon the Russian Federation as a guarantor of its national defence, but seeks to balance its international position by maintaining interaction with Western institutions. Armenia joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1992 and the Partnership for Peace (PfP) in 1994, it has been engaged in a U.S. National Guard partnership program with the State of Kansas since 2003, was granted an Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) by NATO in 2005, is a charter member of the U.S. Defence Education Enhancement Program (DEEP), and is an active participant in the PfP Consortium Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group (RSSC SG). All of these associations provide forums where Defence Institution Building initiatives are presented and discussed. NATO and Armenia cooperate on democratic, institutional and defence reforms, and Armenia has been a contributor to NATO-led operations in Afghanistan and Kosovo.

The February 27, 2017 visit by Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan to NATO Headquarters for talks with Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg on current security challenges highlighted the relationship. Stoltenberg stressed that the Alliance is committed to working with Armenia as a partner, praised Armenia for its participation in NATO's *Building Integrity Program* to counter corruption in the armed forces, contributions in Afghanistan and Kosovo, and progress on implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 to promote the role of women in peace and security, adding that there were opportunities for further cooperation on interoperability, defence reform and defence education.⁸

These priorities are embedded in the most recent draft of Armenia's IPAP, which emphasizes initiatives aimed at the enhancement of building integrity in the Armed Forces and human rights, strengthening the fight against corruption, expansion of public and civil control over the Armed Forces, defence reforms and a review of defence legislation as priorities.⁹

⁸ "Secretary General Welcomes Armenian President to NATO Headquarters," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 27 February 2017.

⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, Press Release "Armenia-NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan Assessment report: The working visit of the delegation of the Republic of Armenia to the NATO Headquarters" 11 November 2016.

These ties are significant but they do not alter the primacy of relations with the Russian Federation in Armenia's security profile. Russian troops continue to monitor the Armenian borders with Iran and Turkey. Since 2002, Armenia is a member of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and has a robust bilateral defence pact with Moscow, upgraded in 2010. The Russian 102nd Military Base, the former 127th Motor Rifle Division, is stationed in Gyumri. The two countries have joined their air defences, and are discussing the creation of a joint task force for contingency operations. Russia also supplies weapons at the relatively lower prices of the Russian domestic market. Officer training is likewise a significant sphere of Russian-Armenian military cooperation. These ties are not likely to be called into question in the foreseeable future and place limits around the potential of Defence Institution Building initiatives in a NATO context.

Azerbaijan: Like Armenia, and affected by the same constraints, since the fall of the Soviet Union Azerbaijan has sought to develop and modernize its armed forces and defence institutions, aided by significant increases in defence spending. For the past fifteen years Azerbaijan has maintained the option of preparing its military for action against Armenian forces in Nagorno-Karabakh. It has a close military relationship with its neighbour Turkey and has signed numerous contracts to strengthen its armed forces and to enhance military training with Ankara's assistance. Turkey is of course a NATO member, but it has a distinctive military culture that Baku has to some extent absorbed. Over the last 15 years, with Turkish acquiescence, Azerbaijan has maintained the option of possible military action against Armenian forces in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Azerbaijan has collaborated actively with NATO with regards to defence reform. It joined the PfP in 1994, participated in the NATO Planning and Review Process (PARP) from 1997, launched a U.S. National Guard Partnership Program with the State of Oklahoma in 2002, has sustained a NATO IPAP since 2004 including a Partnership Action Plan for Defence Institution Building, is engaged with the U.S. DEEP program and the PfP Consortium Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group (RSSC SG). It has contributed to the NATO mission in Kosovo and from 2002 to the *Resolute Support Mission* in Afghanistan.

These engagements have offered numerous opportunities for Defence Institution Building initiatives. Azerbaijan's current IPAP emphasizes related areas of cooperation including good governance and democratic control of the defence and security sector, defence planning and budgeting and the reorganization of the armed forces structure using NATO standards.¹⁰

In some estimations, these connections have become tenuous due to Azerbaijan's unresolved security dilemmas, desire to balance with Moscow, and authoritarian governing procedures. U.S.-Azeri relations have become troubled, which could negatively impact the evolution of defence institutions.¹¹

Georgia: The Republic of Georgia has made significant progress in pursuing security and defence sector reform. Transformations have occurred in phases, in part defined by the domestic political context. Against the background of economic collapse and loss of control during the chaotic 1990s, Tbilisi struggled with familiar post-communist problems including a democratic deficit, civil-military tension, the absence of strategic vision, ineffective institutions, under funding, mismanagement, and political corruption. A turning point arrived with the Rose Revolution of 2003, following which the state made an unambiguous commitment to modernize on the western model.

Tbilisi has maintained this commitment despite the political volatility occasioned by the Four-Day War, leadership transition, and frustrated aspirations to "join the West." It has successfully developed the basic financial, logistical, and infrastructural requirements for effective civilian control, created defence legislation, cultivated civilian expertise, launched mechanisms for inter-agency cooperation, encouraged parliamentary oversight, and built up a national defence and professional military educational infrastructure.¹²

¹⁰ "Relations with Azerbaijan," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 7 April 2016.

¹¹ Richard D. Kauzlarich, "The Heydar Aliev Era Ends in Azerbaijan Not with a Bang but a Whisper," The Brookings Institution, 13 January 2015.

¹² Maka Petriashvili, *Defence Institution Building: The Dynamic of Change in Georgia and the Need for Continuity of Effort*, Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 2014.

Close association with the U.S. and NATO has been a key facilitator. Georgia joined the PfP in 1994, maintained a U.S. state partnership program with the U.S. State of Georgia since that same year, participated in the NATO Planning and Review Process from 1999, received an IPAP in 2006, participated in the DEEP program and the PfP Consortium Greater Black Sea Area and South Caucasus Study Groups, and made contributions to the NATO missions in Kosovo and Afghanistan. NATO-Georgian collaboration is extensive. It now includes a Military Committee and NATO-Georgia Commission to assist with strategic planning and defence reform. At its 2014 Wales Summit, NATO endorsed a *Substantial NATO-Georgia Package* to strengthen Georgia's defences and ability to work with allies. NATO partners are currently supporting Georgia with a team of resident and non-resident experts under the Substantial Package, providing advice and training across 15 work areas ranging from acquisition, logistics and planning, to cyber defence and exercises. In June 2016 under the auspices of the Substantial Package, Georgia opened a Defence Institution Building School in Tbilisi "...committed to promoting expertise and best practice within the Georgian Defence Ministry and military leadership, as well as across Government and civil society ... to invite international participation, helping to deepen knowledge and cooperation on shared security challenges among Georgia, regional states and NATO partners."¹³

Critics have argued that failure to master all problems associated with security sector reform in a second phase of transformation between 2003 and 2008 left Georgia unprepared to confront Russia's military incursion. There were many problems left unresolved, but much was accomplished.¹⁴ Most impressive is Tbilisi's perseverance in a third phase of transformation from 2008 forward.

¹³ North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Factsheet, "Defence Institution Building School: An Initiative of the Substantial NATO-Georgia Package," March 2017. The School catalogue lists four major areas of concentration: Good governance and management of the security sector; Security and defence policy; Communication and cooperation in the security sector; and Regional and international cooperation.

¹⁴ Robert H. Hamilton, *Georgian Military Reform – An Alternative View*, Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2009.

The Entities

Nagorno-Karabakh Defence Army (NKDA): The Nagorno-Karabakh armed forces emerged from volunteer self-defence detachments at the village level, originally lightly armed, tasked with defending localized civilian populations. During the fighting, these units inherited or seized more sophisticated armaments. At the beginning, there was little to no central command or leadership, but the intensity of the war soon mandated more extensive collaboration locally and with Armenia.

By 1993 the NKDA had become an organized force with a centralized command and military structure. The NKDA's primary role after the conclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh War in 1994 has been territorial defence. Violations of the ceasefire along the line of contact are frequent (in Martakert in March 2008, clashes on the Line of Contact in 2010 and 2014, and most recently the "4 Day War" of April 2016). As a result, the armed forces are on constant alert. Time and resources for institution building have been rare and little progress has been made toward professionalization. The Armenian Armed Forces support the NKDA and importantly affect its structure and tactics.

Abkhazia: The *Abkhazian Armed Forces* and the General Staff of the Abkhazian armed forces were created in 1992 at the outbreak of the 1992-1993 conflict with Georgia. The basis of the armed forces was the ethnic Abkhaz National Guard created early in 1992 prior to the outbreak of the war. During the war, the Abkhazian forces – with the support from the Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, Cossack volunteers and Russian units stationed in the vicinity – defeated disoriented Georgian units. Most of the military's weapons come either from the local Russian airborne division base or were captured from Georgian forces. Occasional military engagements since have not changed the basic dependency of the Abkhazian Armed Forces upon Russian support.

In November 2014, the governments of Abkhazia and Russia signed a treaty of cooperation that creates a joint force of troops from the two countries. Russia maintains a 3,500-strong force in Abkhazia with its headquarters in Gudauta under a September 2009 agreement on military cooperation. The Gudauta base hosts Russia's 131st Separate Motorized Rifle

Brigade equipped with at least 41 T-90 main battle tanks and 130 BTR-80 APCs. The Abkhaz defence forces may be understood as an integral part of the Russian Armed Forces and are not a party to Western-inspired Defence Institution Building programs.

South Ossetia: The *Military of South Ossetia* represents the breakaway republic of South Ossetia whose independence is recognized only by Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Nauru. As is the case with Abkhazia, Georgia considers it to be its territory under occupation by Russia. The South Ossetia military has a total of 16,000 soldiers, 2,500 on active duty and 13,500 reservists.

South Ossetia military fought against Georgian forces in the 2008 South Ossetia war. At the time of the Georgian offensive the bulk of the Ossetia force was concentrated in the settlement of Java to the north of Tskhinvali. According to Moscow's Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST), what originally thwarted the Georgian operation was the resistance offered by peacekeepers and lightly armed South Ossetia units that stayed behind to defend the capital. Russian regular army forces entered the fighting on August 8 and drove deep into Georgia proper, occasionally accompanied or followed by South Ossetia militia who allegedly committed serious human rights violations, particularly in the Georgian villages of South Ossetia.

In March 2015, members of the Parliament of South Ossetia put forward a proposal to dissolve South Ossetia's military and fold it into the Russian Armed Forces. President Leonid Tibilov and Defence Minister Ibragim rejected the proposal, and instead South Ossetia forces are to be incorporated into the Russian military but remain as separate Ossetia units. As is the case with Abkhazia, the South Ossetia armed forces should be considered as an integral part of Russian armed forces and not subject to Western-led Defence Institution Building projects.

Conclusion

Defence Institution Building is a fundamental component of Security Sector Reform – the challenge of adopting security and defence policy to the needs of a new century. It is an integral part of the requirements for build-

ing a modern democratic state and sustaining state and societal development. It should be an ongoing commitment on the part of all forward-looking defence establishments.

The U.S. has according Defence Institution Building a high priority, in support of its vital national interests as a leading global power, in line with national values and purpose, and on behalf of the effort to create a more equitable and peaceful world order. Defence Institution Building initiatives are enthusiastically championed, carefully managed, and thoroughly evaluated. The NATO alliance is a partner in this effort.

The states of the South Caucasus have been integrated into U.S. and NATO-led Defence Institution Building projects and achieved notable successes. The Republic of Georgia is in many ways the regional leader in these regards. Nonetheless, in Georgia and elsewhere, much remains to be done.

To a large extent (though not entirely in every case) inhibitions inherited from Soviet political and military culture have been overcome. Current inhibitors include lack of effective parliamentary oversight and in some cases authoritarian tendencies, limited resources, unresolved regional conflicts and the absence of meaningful regional cooperation. The poor state of relations between the Russian Federation and the U.S. and its western allies that has intensified in the wake of the Ukrainian conflict is a particularly sharp inhibitor, reinforcing the “frozen” character of the secessionist conflicts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh, generating security dependencies, and making broad-based international collaboration in a project for transformation impossible. Despite these challenges, Defence Institution Building initiatives have proliferated and continue to move forward. They have much to contribute to the struggle for personal, state, and international security in the South Caucasus and further afield.

DEEP and DIB: Ukraine's Perspective

Iryna Lysybkina

“Education’s purpose is to replace an empty mind with an open one.”¹

Introduction

As an educator, I strongly believe that defence education should be in the core of security sector reforms (SSR) and defence institution building (DIB) since no positive organizational changes are possible without proper attention to future leaders as agents of change. Education in general is a sphere that needs to be addressed in the reform process as it can be either an enhancer of changes or an obstacle. Metaphorically, defence education is the lungs of DIB, it enriches DIB’s blood with oxygen and conditions DIB’s well-being or failure to make few steps up the ladder.

This article highlights the role of Defence Education Enhancement Programs (DEEPs) in DIB and focuses on the significance of defence education for DIB and DEEPs’ potential, and suggested further steps for including DEEPs into DIB. The author’s point of view is supported by the achievements of Ukraine’s DEEP since the author has the two-side perspective in this respect – having been in the Ukrainian defence education system for 11 years and with PfPC Education Development Working Group (EDWG) for seven years.

Defence Education as an Important Pillar of DIB

DIB aims to establish responsible defence governance to help interested nations build effective, transparent, and accountable defence institutions. DIB is a relatively new term, first introduced in 2010 to unify security co-operation activities targeting partner nation defence institutions.² DIB’s

¹ Forbes, Malcolm, US art collector, author & publisher (1919-1990) <<https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/malcolmfor102078.html>>, accessed 15.04.2017.

² Perry, Walter L., Stuart Johnson, Stephanie Pezard, Gillian S. Oak, David Stebbins and

role in ensuring peace and security on a national and/or global scale is difficult to overestimate. From the wider perspective, DIB encompasses:

“...security cooperation activities that empower partner nation defence institutions to establish or re-orient their policies and structures to make their defence sector more transparent, accountable, effective, affordable, and responsive to civilian control. DIB improves defence governance, increases the sustainability of other DoD security cooperation programs, and is carried out in cooperation with partner nations pursuant to appropriate and available legal authority.”³

Thus, DIB is unique among security cooperation activities in that it focuses specifically on partner nation defence institutions⁴. DIB is politically biased since it reflects the political vector of the country. Defence education in general is gaining attention as a useful tool for security policy makers.⁵

According to Jim Barrett, PhD:

“[the] business of assembling and sustaining a modern and sophisticated armed force falls to a large extent on the military trainer and the military educator, which means that trainers and educators have a responsibility to understand the impact of new developments in the world of defence on military teaching.”⁶

The fact that professional military education (PME) is a key area for DIB since it is a driver for constant and sustainable capacity building is supported by a number of analytical research. In 2016, RAND corporation analysts defined three levels of DIB engagement, ranging from simple familiarization through defence professionalization to full defence management. Level two activities of defence professionalization in the domain of professional military (defence) education are defined as “assisting partner nations to form a professional military and defence civilian elite through education and training.”⁷ These activities include education and strategic training (including acculturation), conferences, seminars and workshops. Two out of

Chaoling Feng. *Defence Institution Building: An Assessment*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016, p. XV.

³ Defence institution building. <<http://cco.ndu.edu/ACTIVITIES/Defence-Institution-Building/>>, accessed on 27.04.2017.

⁴ Perry: *Defence Institution Building*, p. XV.

⁵ Berry, John. “Defence Education Enhancement Program: The Consortium Perspective.” In: *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 11, no. 4 (2012), p. 27.

⁶ Barrett, Jim. “Education for Reform: New Students, New Methods, New Assessments.” In: *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 11, no. 4 (2012), p. 35.

⁷ Perry: *Defence Institution Building*, p. XX.

six DIB activity objectives, namely “professionalize defence personnel, both civilian and military” and “create or improve the principle functions of defence institutions”, correlate with a WIF-DIB program objective support “reform defence and military education systems.”⁸

DEEP’s Contribution to DIB

The professional defence education component of DIB is addressed by DEEPs that aim to contribute to international security through professionalization of the officer corps, NCO corps and civilian defence officials of partner countries. DEEP is a series of in-country visits by multinational teams providing expert advice and support as partner nations seek to implement defence education reforms. DEEPs support defence education institutions for faculty development (how to teach), and curriculum development (what to teach), and are managed jointly by the PfP Consortium and NATO through multi-year programs of cooperation designed to assist the partner nation government defence education system to support effective defence institution modernization. The general objectives of DEEPs are to:

- 1) trigger the faculty’s self-development;
- 2) embrace a community of practice;
- 3) ensure PME sustainable development;
- 4) and contribute to DIB.

Faculty are agents of change. Faculty involved in DEEPs bring the values to their classroom and disseminate the ideas among their colleagues and students, often Master’s Degree students/officers who take decision making positions upon graduation. Thus, such impact of DEEPs on DIB is indirect and is not obvious in a short-term perspective, but with longer lasting effect since these values become internal.

DEEPs aim at developing PME systems in compliance with democratic values and best practices in education for reform. With the democratic values of meaningful participation, personal initiative, and equality and justice for all:

⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

“...democratic education infuses the learning process with these fundamental values of our society. Democratic education sees young people not as passive recipients of knowledge, but rather as active co-creators of their own learning. They are not the products of an education system, but rather valued participants in a vibrant learning community.”⁹

In view of the democratic values in education, DEEP’s faculty development list of values was enlarged: transparency, accountability, pluralism, tolerance, responsibility, respect, integrity, curiosity. Each of these values “is responsible” for the outcome.

A significant step is the revision of the PME graduate’s profile. Modern PME aims at educating and training officers who are “intellectually agile in order to out-think their adversary and to be able to work with allies and increasingly non-armed forces personnel.”¹⁰

In 2011, the PfPC EDWG developed their Generic Officer Reference Curriculum in which it is stated that:

“Officership is the practice of being a commissioned or non-commissioned officer imbued with unique professional identity, competence and ethos. In generic terms, officership promotes lifelong learning within a community of professionals to maintain an expert body of knowledge. It is possible to highlight certain inter-related roles and characteristics associated with officership which separate officership from other professions within society. The officer’s roles demonstrate military ethos, leader of character, member of a profession, and a servant of the country. The eight characteristics include: duty, honor, loyalty, service to country, competence, teamwork, subordination to civil authorities, and exemplary leadership. Seen in this light, officership occupies a central place in the development of a professional armed force. Professional military education is therefore designed to prepare professional militaries to deal with the ever-increasing ambiguities and multi-layered contemporary security environment and battle space.”¹¹

PME curricula keep the stated above in mind and recommend corresponding competences to be developed as a dynamic unity of knowledge and skills. Practice to theory was chosen as the main direction.

⁹ What is democratic education? <<http://democraticeducation.org/index.php/features/what-is-democratic-education/>>, accessed 27.04.2017.

¹⁰ David Emelifeonwu, ed. *Generic Officer Professional Military Education Reference Curriculum*, Kingston, ON: Royal Military College of Canada, 2011, p. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

Adult Learning Principles as the Foundation of DEEP¹²

Adult learning (or andragogy) is a strategic choice in respect to DIB. It teaches to take responsibility, to be active in search for the truth and question the information provided, since “the expected result of military education is critical thinking in the face of the unknown – the soldier’s ability to make a reasoned response in the face of an unpredictable situation.”

The formation of soldiers in today’s world demands drills designed to condition reflex action under stress, and at the same time requires the abstract study of phenomena and ideas to discern broad and universal principles. In this respect, it is significant to understand the difference between education and training which should not be seen as mutually exclusive activities because they both in addition to experience are necessary for the complete development of an officer: training focuses on “what to think”, education is about developing the intellectual curiosity of the individual through its focus and emphasis on “why and how to think.” Transformative learning contributes in terms of holistic development of personality. PME’s shift from “transmission” to “transaction/interaction” contributed to a similar shift in DIB.

The end of the 20th century witnessed active development of adult learning theories. Malcolm Knowles separated adult learning from pedagogy, and used the term “andragogy” for this purpose. Nowadays, andragogy is used synonymously to adult learning and even higher education pedagogy.

According to Henschke,¹³ the assumptions about adult learners at that time were; they are self-directed, their experience is a learning resource, their learning needs are focused on their social roles, their time perspective is one of immediate application. Moreover, adult learners are best motivated to succeed when they are appreciated for their individual contribution to

¹² The ideas presented here were first published by the author in Chapter 5 “Adult Learning Principles and Transformative Learning in Teaching Gender” in *Teaching Gender in the Military*, Bojana Balon, Anna Björsson, Tanja Geiss, Aiko Holvikivi, Anna Kadar, Iryna Lysyckina, Callum Watson, eds., Geneva: DCAF, 2016.

¹³ Henschke, J. A. “Beginnings of the History and Philosophy of Andragogy 1833-2000.” In: *Integrating Adult Learning and Technology for Effective Education: Strategic Approaches*. Wang, V., ed. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, December, 2009.

the class. These assumptions make sense in adult learning nowadays. The general adult learning (andragogical) principles set by Knowles, could be compared with pedagogical learning in five domains: the learner's attitude to learning, the role of the learner's experience, the learner's readiness to learn, orientation to learning, and motivation for learning.

The adult learner is self-directed, responsible for his/her own learning and learning of the peers. Self-evaluation becomes significant in this respect. The learner should not be dependent upon the instructor for all learning. The instructor's first responsibility is to facilitate and evaluate learning.

The adult learner's experience must be used in learning, as adults are a rich resource for one another. The instructor's experience is no longer most influential. Moreover, the adult learners' different experience assures diversity in groups of adults, and becomes an important source of self-identity.

The adult learner usually does not need to be told what he/she has to learn in order to advance to the next level of mastery. The need to know in order to perform more effectively in some aspect of one's life is more important. The instructor can rely on the adult learner's ability to assess gaps between where he/she is now and where he/she wants and needs to be.

The adult learner's orientation to learning is different, and learning is no longer a process of acquiring prescribed subject matter when content units are sequenced according to the logic of the subject matter. Learning must be relevant to real-life tasks, because the learner wants to perform a task, solve a problem and live in a more satisfying way. Based on this, learning should be organized around life and/or work situations rather than subject matter units. Motivation is a key factor for efficiency of learning. It is a state that energizes, directs and sustains behaviour. The adult learner is not motivated primarily by external pressures, competition for grades, consequences of failure. Internal motivators become more important: self-esteem, recognition, better quality of life, promotion, self-confidence, self-actualization.

Thus, adult learners should be actively and interactively engaged into setting learning atmosphere in the classroom, learning planning process, diagnosing their needs, defining learning outcomes, as well as designing and

conducting activities, and evaluating their learning progress. Adult learning principles are aligned with democratic values in education and support the PME reform as an objective of DIB.

Transformative Learning for DIB through DEEP¹⁴

Transformative learning is described as learning that changes the way learners think about themselves and their world, and that involves a shift of consciousness. Transformational (transformative) learning induces more far-reaching change in the learner than other kinds of learning, especially learning experiences which shape the learner and produce a significant impact, or paradigm shift, affecting the learner's subsequent experiences.¹⁵

Initially, transformative learning was introduced as an attempt to link education with democracy and the moral dimension of individuals and societies.¹⁶ Later it was developed by Mezirow, who identified two main elements of transformative learning – critical reflection (self-reflection) and critical discourse, where the learner validates a best judgement.

Transformative learning assumes that the learner is prepared to develop high-level critical thinking skills, to show the ability to apprehend different views and interpretations, to be open-minded, to demonstrate democratic values as accountability, pluralism, tolerance, transparency, responsibility, respect, integrity, and curiosity.

Mezirow emphasizes that the learner is able to make shifts in his/her world view through a combination of reflection and discourse.¹⁷ Through critical

¹⁴ The ideas presented here were first published by the author in Chapter 5 “Adult Learning Principles and Transformative Learning in Teaching Gender” in *Teaching Gender in the Military*, Bojana Balon, Anna Björsson, Tanja Geiss, Aiko Holvikivi, Anna Kadar, Iryna Lysychkina, Callum Watson, eds., Geneva: DCAF, 2016.

¹⁵ Clark, M. C. “Transformational learning”. In *Issue New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*. Volume 1993, Issue 57, Spring 1993, pp. 47-56.

¹⁶ Dewey, J. *Democracy and Education*. An introduction to the philosophy of education (1966 edn.), New York: Free Press.

¹⁷ Mezirow, J. “Transformative Learning: Theory to Practice”. In *Issue New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*. Volume 1997, Issue 74, Summer 1997. pp. 5-12.

reflection learning becomes “transformative” and, through dialogue with others, be translated into practice of self-awareness and of personal development and empowerment. In order to be effective, transformative learning should be active and interactive by its nature, thus applying a number of active learning strategies and tools: self-reflection, journaling, simulation, role play, problem-based learning, practical application, etc.

Transformative learning must meet the following conditions;¹⁸ self-awareness, application of acquired knowledge in order to create new meanings, capacity development of critical vigilance, cultivation of creativity, developing of interactive learning relationships, changing strategic perceptions of knowledge and the world, strengthening a sense of interdependence and social solidarity.

Transformative learning is an effective strategy for education, including PME. The approach involves encouraging learners to re-examine how they gain knowledge. Instead of assuming that knowledge is simply made up of facts learnt from the outside, this theory encourages learners to examine how their own personal frames of reference – which have developed over time based on assumptions and expectations – influence their thinking, beliefs and actions. This can emancipate the learner because it means that they are not dependent on others for knowledge. Instead, they are able to develop their skills in critical self-reflection meaning that they learn from experiences and interacting with others.

Importantly, transformative learning encourages adult learners to challenge their own basic assumptions, values and beliefs and develop new frames of reference based on critical reflection. To bring about transformative learning, instructors need to move beyond the “transmission” model where knowledge is sent in one direction from the curriculum to learners. Instead the “transaction” model focuses on creating a dialogue between learners and the curriculum whereby learners create knowledge through problem solving.

¹⁸ Deakin Crick, R. “Being a Learner: Virtue for the 21st Century”. In: *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53 (3), 2005. pp. 359-374.

This ultimately leads to “transformation” where the inner nature of the learners changes continuously as they interact with their environment. To bring this situation about, learners must be free from coercion, have an equal opportunity to participate in activities and feel powerful enough to challenge the basic assumptions behind knowledge that is being presented to them. This usually involves reducing the power of the instructor and encouraging learners to cooperate as a group instead of competing with each other.

Achievements of Ukraine’s DEEP

Ukraine’s DEEP only dates back to 2013, but it has got acceleration in the recent years that witness a significant boost in educators’ cooperation worldwide. In the Ukrainian context, DIB is addressed directly as an area of attention by SMEs and advisers to the military leadership of high level.

Within DIB, one of the priority objectives for Ukraine is professionalization of the Armed Forces which is aligned with PME reform: education and training system adjustment and standardization to the world’s best practices, PME content review in accordance with current defence assignments, etc... Ukraine’s DEEP focuses on the mentioned above objectives, targeting four domains: PME model, general education and training approach, learning methodology, and content. The PME model presupposes the shift from the authoritarian to the democratic education. This shift implies that the learner-centred approach must substitute the traditional teacher-centred one. The transition from lecture to active empirical learning as the main methodology should be enhanced by the content change from deep fundamental knowledge to necessary, outcome-oriented content linked to the corresponding competences.

Nowadays, Ukraine’s PME system is moving gradually from the traditional static form to the dynamic system which is outcome-oriented and regularly reviewed on the basis of lessons learned. Among the first achievements there are changes to the graduate’s profile and qualification requirements, increased PME practical component, content review and special attention to psychological, physical training, tactical medicine, critical thinking and leadership skills development. DEEP in Ukraine has also been a trigger for the Ukrainian PME faculty development and self-improvement.

In 2016, Ukraine's DEEP's Annual Review "Educational process development and improvement within the system of military education in Ukraine" stated that:

"[i]mplementation of the conceptual foundations for further development of military education and science must ensure the transition to a new type of humanistic and innovative military education that will increase military professional, intellectual, scientific, cultural, spiritual and moral potential of military specialists. The result will lead to the positive changes in the system of military education and science, military schools, departments and units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and get the quality of military specialists, strengthening the defence system of our country, develop the theory and practice of military art, modern principles of troops and forces. Moreover, increase the independence and self-sufficiency of military specialists, their creative activity that will contribute to the fulfilment of their tasks of any complexity and under any conditions. Also, intensify the processes of national self-identity of military personnel, their authority in society and the Ukrainian officers' status in international surroundings."¹⁹

Apart from numerous shadow faculty events and educators' official visits to the related PME schools in the USA, PfPC and NATO IS have successfully launched their faculty development initiative in three military universities of Ukraine. Three workshops have been successfully conducted at the NDU, Land Forces Academy, and two – at the Air Force University.

The three workshops conducted under my lead at the NDU aimed at:

- enhancing faculty capability to design and deliver instruction based on educational best practices and democratic values in Defence Education for Reform, the program encompassing the main topics of active learning and allowing the participants to choose the areas to be addressed within the next workshops for faculty development;
- allowing defence educators opportunity to consciously reflect on and practice analysing curriculum process and creating appropriate evidence-based assessment for adult learners in support of democratic values of defence education for reform;
- allowing defence educators opportunity to consciously reflect on innovative learning (active learning, transformative learning, blend-

¹⁹ Alimpiiev, A., Tolok, I. Educational Process Development and Improvement within the System of Military Education in Ukraine. Kharkiv, 2016.

ed learning) and practice analysing curriculum process in order to ensure that innovative learning is embedded in it in support of democratic values of defence education for reform.

Ukraine's DEEPs' intermediate results have been verified and proven in the anti-terrorist operation (ATO) zone. At the same time, the ATO complemented the objectives of DEEPs demanding more practical training for officers, as well as special psychological readiness. Further implementation of adult learning and transformative learning principles in PME will contribute to PME reform, in particular with regard to the development of the professional competences the PME graduate is expected to possess.

Steps Forward

DEEPs' potential for DIB is difficult to overestimate since PME is an important domain for changes and reform. Based on my experience from nine DEEPs, including those in Ukraine and the South Casus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), I would suggest addressing three blocks of PME for successful DIB: individual capacity building, teaching and learning process, and curriculum development.

The fact that DIB requires its agents of change explains the attention to the individual capacity building which is possible through the development of PME learners' leadership skills and critical thinking. Life-long learning concept will contribute to DIB, too.

From the DIB perspective, the teaching and learning processes benefit from the implementation of world best practices in curriculum design and learning methodologies grounded in adult learning and transformative learning principles. International educators' community of practice plays a significant role in PME for DIB since it allows educators to reflect upon and to discuss a wide range of common professional issues and lessons learned and share their experience. The PfPC Clearinghouse is one of the enablers of educators' communication. The Advanced Distance Learning (ADL) capacity for PME supports the life-long learning concept.

To be aligned with DIB, curriculum development in PME ensures the conformity of the learning outcomes with the modern requirements of a pro-

fession, supports the augmented inclusion of “civilian” subjects into PME curricula and the introduction of SSR issues, such as democratic control, gender and security, civil-military relations etc., at all educational levels.

Proceeding from DEEPs’ potential and objectives, PME reform needs clear steps:

- the armed forces need analysis, revision of the requirements to the profession with regard to new and adjusted tasks and missions of the forces, professionalization and democratic values in the core of PME;
- design and development of new outcome-based curricula, their implementation into the learning process at all educational levels;
- reorganization and modernization of PME universities and schools.

PME reform is a significant component of DIB, and DEEPs contribute to PME reform since they address a wide scope of issues (methodology, content, curricula) that are vital for education of future decision makers.

Conclusion

Professional military education is a driver for efficient DIB and sustainable development. Defence education enhancement programs contribute to international security through addressing educational and training issues that should be adjusted with regard to democratic values, world best practices and new requirements of the profession. Professional military education’s shift from “transmission” to “transaction/interaction” contributes to a similar shift in DIB. The three blocks of professional military education for successful DIB are individual capacity building, teaching and learning process, and curriculum development.

In conclusion, DEEP’s prospects for DIB are promising since DEEP’s target agents of change: faculty and learners who will be future leaders and decision makers, ensuring peace, stability and sustainable development of the nations.

A Need for More Balanced and Accountable Defence Institution Building in the Current International Security Setting

Armen Grigoryan

As noted at the 9th Workshop of the Pfp Consortium Study Group Regional Stability in the South Caucasus in 2014, increases in defence spending might lead to the lowering of the level of social and economic development of a country.¹ The importance of transparency and accountability in military procurement, force structures and defence expenditure was also particularly emphasised.²

In this context, promoting good practices, strengthening transparency, accountability and integrity to reduce the risk of corruption in the defence establishments may be related to the human security concept, which “denotes a fundamental shift in emphasis away from the state towards the individual as the primary focus of security”.³ Indeed, human security focuses particularly on assuring sustainable continuous development, and it also addresses such issues as human rights and good governance, health and development, as well as resources and environment.⁴

¹ Milante, Gary (2014). Military Expenditures and Spending on Socio-economic Development in the South Caucasus, in *From Self-defence to Regional Disarmament: Reducing Tensions and Stabilising the South Caucasus – Study Notes*. Ernst M. Felberbauer and Frederic Labarre (eds.), p. 27. Available at: <<http://www.pfp-consortium.org/index.php/publications/study-group-proceedings/item/71-from-self-defence-to-regional-disarmament-reducing-tensions-and-stabilising-the-south-caucasus-study-notes>>, accessed on 28 March 2017.

² Felberbauer, Ernst M. and Labarre, Frederic (eds.), *From Self-defence to Regional Disarmament: Reducing Tensions and Stabilising the South Caucasus – Study Notes*, policy recommendations, p. 166.

³ Schreier, Fred (2006). The Division of Labour in the Defence and Security Sphere, in *Defence Institution Building*. Philipp H. Fluri and Eden Cole (eds.) DCAF, Geneva, p. 19.

⁴ Definition of Human Security. Available at: <<http://www.humansecurityinitiative.org/definition-human-security>>, accessed on 28 March 2017.

Norms and standards of democratic governance of the security sector invariably include the principle of accountability of defence forces to democratically elected civilian governments. That principle is perceived as an important one by NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP), OSCE, UNDP and other international structures. Parliamentary oversight is of primary importance in this respect. Such oversight depends mainly on three factors:

- (1) The legal authority of parliament to hold the government to account;
- (2) The ability to exercise oversight and
- (3) Whether parliamentarians have a critical attitude to hold the government accountable.

Together, these three factors form the Triple A-Criterion of effective parliamentary oversight (Authority, Ability, Attitude).⁵

More specifically, Born identifies the following parliamentary defence oversight powers:

- general, i.e. “powers which are in principle applicable to all fields of government ... the right to initiate or to amend laws, to raise questions, to summon members of the executive and their staff to testify, to summon members of civil society, access to classified information, the right to carry out parliamentary inquiries and the right to hold hearings”;
- budget control;
- peace support operations;
- defence procurement;
- security policy and planning documents and
- military personnel.⁶

Quite obviously, in some countries of the region (and its neighbourhood) the parliaments lack the Triple-A. In cases when all means are used to ensure that there will be a stable majority that will support a president or a “national leader” consistently, the parliament becomes, as one former Rus-

⁵ Born, Hans (2006). Democratic Control of Defence Activities, in Defence Institution Building, Philipp H. Fluri and Eden Cole (eds.) DCAF, Geneva, p. 84.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 84-85.

sian top official put it, “not a place for discussions”. So, a parliament loyal to an authoritarian leader relinquishes the first component of the Triple-A – the legal authority to hold the government to account by means of no-confidence mechanisms, or blocking adoption of the budget, or not adopting legislation proposed by the government, and so forth.

Unsolved conflicts, on the one side, help to “freeze” the ruling regimes, making it possible to employ approximately such kind of rhetoric: “if the country’s internal stability is undermined, the enemy may use that opportunity”. On the other side, conflicts serve as a convenient pretext for classifying large amounts of data. So, especially if there is a loyal parliament, the second component of the Triple-A – the ability to exercise oversight, is also relinquished on the grounds of national security. As regards the third component – the lawmakers’ critical attitude, it, obviously, also does not belong to servile, rubber-stamping majorities. In general, therefore, it is not a surprise that the absence of transparency and accountability in defence expenditure, military procurement, etc., is sometimes perceived as a natural thing.

So, for example, in the Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index (GI) by Transparency International’s Defence and Security Programme (TI-DSP), Armenia ranks in Band D (high risk of corruption) in the defence and security sector. The highest risk areas are finance, operations, and procurement, which fell in Band E (very high risk):

“Armenia’s National Assembly has few opportunities to scrutinise the defence sector: defence policy and spending have never been discussed in Parliament and significant decisions tend to be rushed through without much debate... public oversight of and input into defence policy, procurement, and spending priorities is practically non-existent.”⁷

In turn, Azerbaijan received an E rank:

“Senior military officials face little accountability and Parliament lacks strong oversight of defence spending and policies... Parliament plays a little role in shaping the defence spending, and the defence budget is not subject to internal or external audits with publicly disclosed results”.⁸

⁷ Armenia 2015 Country Summary. Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index. Available at <<http://government.defenceindex.org/downloads/docs/armenia.pdf>>.

⁸ Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index 2015. 3 December 2015. Available at:

There are similar situations in some other countries, even though with differences depending on local specific conditions.

Ever-present external threats, or, in case of absence thereof, promotion of a fortress-under-siege mentality with some imaginary enemies, are expedient for the regimes' survival, making it possible to maintain state capture or even an outright dictatorship. Defence institution building is also influenced by such political conditions that in some cases are evidently contradictory to the democratic standards and a number of components of human security: human rights, good governance, health, economic and social development, resource management, etc. Moreover, one of the important conditions for institutional reforms, i.e. strong pressure from below by domestic actors having political autonomy to mobilise in favour of compliance with democratic standards,⁹ cannot be fulfilled, as the political opposition is not just weak, but either faces oppression and violence on a daily basis, or is inconsistent as regards its set of values.

At the same time, South Caucasian countries need to take into account the current strategic context. The international situation is volatile and unpredictable, and new threats may appear abruptly in addition to the existing ones, for example; ISIS and the general situation in the Middle East, the migration crisis, subversive activities aiming to undermine the European Union and transatlantic partnership, etc. Under these circumstances, unresolved conflicts and democratic deficit produced by the lack of responsibility among the regional elites and their pursuit of narrow self-interest may result in a "security vacuum" whereupon regional countries would be unprepared to deal with newly emerging threats while their current alliances and security arrangements would be insufficient. Moreover, such a situation might not just endanger the region as such but lead to consequences going far beyond, potentially also posing a threat to EU and NATO members. It is therefore important to reconsider defence institution building in the

<<http://transparency.az/eng/azerbaijans-military-at-very-high-risk-of-corruption-recent-reforms-in-the-defense-sector-have-yet-to-yield-significant-results/>>, accessed on 28 March 2017.

⁹ Börzel, Tanja A. and Thomas Risse (2012). From Europeanisation to Diffusion: Introduction, *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1-19), p. 12.

South Caucasus and conflict resolution, particularly in the context of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, taking into account concurrently human security, which goes in hand with democratic, economic and social development, and the need to get prepared to deal with potential international security threats. It would be practical to take this disposition into account while planning national policies, as well as international cooperation in NATO Partnership for Peace and other frameworks.

The Foreign Policy and Security Nexus in Georgia

David Matsaberidze

Introduction

This paper analyses interrelations between the foreign policy course and national security of Georgia through the deconstruction of key difficulties and shifts in the security sector reform (SSR) process in the country. Since the declaration of its independence in 1991, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Georgia's foreign policy choices have been made under severe challenges posed to a country's statehood and security. Followed by the civil war of the winter of 1991-1992 and secessionist conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in 1992-1994, the government of Georgia embarked on a rocky ground of state-building. Considering the role of Russia in the Civil War of Georgia¹ and its "unsuccessful mediation" in the conflicts over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, Georgia's security was attached to its foreign policy, which should bring the country close to the Western institutions (the EU and the NATO) and secure it from influences stemming from the Russian Federation. If during the presidency of Shevardnadze the security-seeking foreign policy was aimed at balancing between Russia and the West, during the presidency of Saakashvili rapprochement to the Western structures was considered as a chance for gaining the county's security from Russian encroachments. This change has been reflected in both foreign policy, as well as the security arrangements of the country.

Georgia's geopolitical location in the Caucasus, attracting Russia's and EU/US/Western interests necessitates bridging Georgia's foreign policy and security paradigms. The study will concentrate on the post-Rose Revolution (2003) period, when Georgia's security perceptions and security strategy became intertwined in its foreign policy course. The pro-Russian and pro-Western foreign policy discourses of the country have been attached to its security perceptions. Therefore, security sector reform in

¹ See: Devdariani, J. (2005), Georgia and Russia: The Troubled Road to Accommodation, in *Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, Edited by Coppeters, B. & Legvold, R. Cambridge: The MIT Press, pp. 203-269 (the Georgian version).

Georgia became linked with domestic and foreign sources of instability and security challenges; both hard and soft, as well as internal (conflict with Abkhazia and South Ossetia) and external (presence of the Russian troops) threats. Security sector reform was also influenced by two simultaneous transitions: the transition related to a post-war transition and the political, social and economic transition from authoritarianism to democracy.²

In Georgia's security-seeking foreign policy, images of the North (Russia) and the West (US and EU) have been constantly replacing each other and determined securitized political discourse of the country. Since the early 1990s, the pro-Western and pro-Russian foreign policy discourses have been structured and popularized for devising Georgia's national security and have been strongly influenced by *realpolitik*. Preferences of political elites, their mode of rhetoric and foreign policy aspirations have determined the mode and nature of the Georgian security sector reform at different times, which significantly influenced the democratization, institution building and modernization process of the country. The non-ended project of Georgia's democratic consolidation brings the security sector reform into the centre of politics.

Georgia's foreign policy aspirations were reflected in its national security concepts and strategic documents and were intertwined with the country's external and internal security challenges. The National Security Concept (NSC) of Georgia approved in 2005 did not list Russia as a threat to Georgia and mentioned that the "presence of Russian military bases in the country violated Georgia's sovereignty and "undermined [Georgia's] economic and social stability."³ This aspect, securitized by the national security concept of Georgia had been addressed by the OSCE Istanbul Declaration of 1999, which obliged Russia to withdraw its military bases located in different parts of Georgia, including those in the secessionist Abkhazia and South Ossetia. This obligation has never been fully implemented. The current national security concept, approved by the parliament on December

² Simons, G. (2012). Security Sector Reform and Georgia: the European Union's Challenge in the Southern Caucasus, *European Security*, 21:2, p. 274. http://www.ucrs.uu.se/digitalAssets/147/a_147365-f_simonsgregsecuritysector_reformgeorgiajes.pdf (Accessed 16.02.2017).

³ Civil.ge. (2005) National Security Concept Finalized, May, 15. Civil Georgia, Tbilisi <http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=9887> (Accessed 22.12.2016).

23, 2011,⁴ which replaced the 2005 version, rests on the premise that the Russian-Georgian War significantly worsened Georgia's security environment and securitizes Russia's neglect and constant violation of Georgia's sovereignty, its choice of democracy and independent domestic and foreign policy.

In 2009, right after the August War of 2008, under supervision of the Georgian National Security Council, the process of revision of the national security concept of Georgia got under way in order to establish unified governmental approach and institutionalize the security policy of the country. After the August War, the National Security Council was tasked with managing all crises related to national security at the highest political level. A permanent interagency committee for the coordination of the drafting process of national security strategy was established.⁵

The process included the development of a package of conceptual and strategic documents in three phases: devising the fundamental strategic documents, setting agency-specific strategies and drafting national security strategy of Georgia.⁶ The analysis will not go into depth in these three segments, but rather it will highlight some avenues which testify attachment of the security sector reform to the pro-Western foreign policy course of the country.

The pro-Western integration of Georgia has been securitized as an important aspect for preserving the country's sovereignty. The current national security conception highlights the high risk of **renewed military aggression from Russia and seeks to** broaden the integration processes into the Euro-Atlantic structures. The latter aspect should consolidate the country's democracy, strengthen democratic institutions and improve defence capabilities, so as to improve national security. In addition, it should guarantee peace and stability in the entire Caucasus region and ensure Rus-

⁴ Civil.ge. (2011) Georgia's New National Security Concept, December, 23. Civil Georgia, Tbilisi <http://civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=24299> (Accessed 22.12.2016).

⁵ Majer, M. (ed). Security Sector Reform in Countries of Visegrad and Southern Caucasus: Challenges and Opportunities, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava, 2013, p. 37. http://cenaa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/security-sector-reform_FINAL.pdf (Accessed 16.02.2017).

⁶ Ibid, p. 41.

sia's security on its southern borders; after 2008, opportunities for normal relations with Russia were sought, but at the same time Russia was codified as the main source of "threat" for Georgia.⁷

A sharply expressed pro-Western oriented security sector reform, driven with the intention of Georgia's approachment to the Euro-Atlantic structures, was launched after the Rose Revolution of 2003. It should decrease Georgia's dependence on the Russian Federation through modernization and democratization, which would lead to an increased Western presence in Georgia and to the country's eventual membership in the EU/NATO structures. With ups and downs in the political process of the country, the security sector reform has become a subject of constant revision(s), whereas its foreign policy for the time being is somewhere in between pro-Western and pro-Russian. Various public opinion polls conducted in Georgia in 2010-2016 demonstrate that the popularity of the West (EU and NATO) has decreased, whereas support towards the policy of normalization of relations and rapprochement with Russia has increased.⁸ This has determined some tides in the security sector reform, which aims to address internal challenges and external threats simultaneously. Therefore, directing the security sector reform and pro-Western drive simultaneously and on par with each other became problematic to some extent. The problem was

⁷ NSC of Georgia. (2016) National Security Concept of Georgia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, <http://www.mfa.gov.ge/MainNav/ForeignPolicy/NationalSecurityConcept.aspx?lang=en-US> (Accessed on 16.12.2016).

⁸ See: CRRC-Georgia. (2010) Public Attitudes towards Elections in Georgia – survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of the NDI (National Democratic Institute) https://www.ndi.org/files/Georgia_Public_Opinion_0410.pdf (Accessed December, 2016); CRRC-Georgia. (2013) Public attitudes in Georgia: Results of a March 2013, survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of the NDI (National Democratic Institute). https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI-Georgia-March-2013-survey-Political_ENG-vf-small.pdf (Accessed December, 2016); CRRC-Georgia. (2015) Public Opinion Survey Residents of Georgia February 3-28, 2015, survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of the NDI (National Democratic Institute). http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/iri_georgia_public_2015_final_0.pdf (Accessed December, 2016); CRRC-Georgia. (2016) Public attitudes in Georgia Results of a June 2016, survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of NDI (National Democratic Institute) [https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_June_2016%20poll_Public%20Issues_ENG_VFF%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_June_2016%20poll_Public%20Issues_ENG_VFF%20(1).pdf) (Accessed December, 2016). (Accessed 20.12.2016).

further complicated due to the fact that with changes of political elites, pressing issues of internal politics (economic problems, managing relations with conflicting regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia) and foreign policy visions (achieving membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures and the normalization of relations with Russia, juxtaposing the Association Agreement with the European Union and possible relations with the Eurasian Economic Union) and security perceptions tied to them are differently conceptualized. This factor undermines the coherence of the security sector reform.

Key Drivers and Challenges of Security Sector Reform in Georgia

Security sector reform, apart from its military-political scope, includes all segments necessary for democratic development of a state and society. In the case of Georgia, a range of problems constrains the security sector reform process:

1. With any change of the government there have been expectations that the security sector reform will change its general priorities;
2. Politics plays a critical role in both the delivery and receipt of the security sector reform, although it is strongly concentrated on internal and external security guarantees;
3. The need for consistency and political support to the security sector reform programmes, as well as residual cultural gap between a development oriented and a security oriented community, is almost a constant problem;

Therefore, in the case of Georgia, there is a need of devising an integrated system of planning and political commitment in the process of developing a security sector reform programme. As for the implementation phase, all stakeholders need to be included, not only the “winners”; and this aspect needs to be understood as a long-term commitment by all stakeholders of the process.⁹

⁹ Simons, G. (2012). Security Sector Reform and Georgia: the European Union’s Challenge in the Southern Caucasus, *European Security*, 21:2, p. 288. http://www.uhrs.uu.se/digitalAssets/147/a_147365-f_simonsgregsecuritysectorreformgeorgiajes.pdf (Accessed 16.02.2017).

The fundamental reform of the security sector in Georgia was carried out after the Rose Revolution of 2003. In the post-Rose Revolution period, advancement in the security sector reform process became one of the main goals of the new regime and as a result of introduced reforms and changes in the security sector the state gained a qualitatively Western type security system, instead of the post-Soviet one. Changes in the security sector reform were initiated in several stages:

Stage 1: The reforms have been carried out at the Ministry of Defence; the position of the Minister of Defence was staffed by a civilian and accordingly the functions of the Minister of Defence and Joint Staff were split; this change was in line with NATO standards and requirements.

Stage 2: The next wave of reform was connected with the Russo-Georgian war of 2008, which significantly changed the security environment not only in the country, but in the entire region. The National Security Concept of Georgia, which defines national interests, values and elaborates the basic directions of security policy, explicitly stressed that the occupation of the Georgian territories and the threat of new aggression from the Russian Federation were the main challenges for the country. De-occupation of occupied territories, the restoration of territorial integrity, strengthening state sovereignty and development of defence and security systems were defined as main priorities of Georgia's security policy.¹⁰

Therefore, security sector reform became concentrated more on defence and security affairs, partly at the expense of democratic institution building and advancement of democratization process of the country.

Due to the above-mentioned changes, it is already apparent that security sector reform mainly succeeded in increasing the administrative capabilities of the state. The functioning state – based on effective state institutions – became the necessary prerequisites for societal transformation and democratic rule. However, increased state administrative capabilities weakened

¹⁰ Majer, M. (ed). Security Sector Reform in Countries of Visegrad and Southern Caucasus: Challenges and Opportunities, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava, 2013, 48-49. http://cenaa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/security-sector-reform_FINAL.pdf (Accessed 16.02.2017).

participatory institutions, which caused a remarkable setback to Georgia's democracy and certainly damaged the democratization process in the country.¹¹ Georgia was caught between two simultaneous transitions – democratization and modernization, when acceleration of modernization negatively reverberates in the process of democratization. As Georgia opted for quick modernization and applied reform packages without consultations with relevant stakeholders, and in most instances these reforms were imposed from top-down, the country gradually became qualified as a hybrid regime and fell into a “grey zone” on its way to democratization.

Dangers of Foreign Policy Reversals

Challenges to the security sector reform in Georgia are related and strongly influenced by reversals in the foreign policy course of the country. The redistribution of power and responsibility on security provisions or on foreign policy affairs between different branches of the government further complicates the coordination of security sector reform among different stakeholders. The fact that at different times the branches of the executive and legislature became controlled by different political groups (e.g. the Georgian Dream vs. The United National Movement after the parliamentary elections of October, 2012) and the coincidence of this change to statements of the Georgian Dream politicians regarding necessity of balancing between Russia/EEU and EU/NATO aspirations of Georgia caused some suspicions regarding coherence of the security sector reform.

The 2016 Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community has predicted that Georgia might abandon its Euro-Atlantic integration, along with its democratic reforms, and turn towards Russia.¹² Nevertheless, the initial concerns about the likely changes in Georgia's foreign policy after the parliamentary elections of 2012 and 2016 did not materialize. The Georgian Dream government did not break with the legacy of the Rose Revolution in its pro-Western orientation, although symptoms of deepen-

¹¹ Aprasidze, D. (2016). 25 Years of Georgia's Democratization: Still Work in Progress, in 25 Years of Independent Georgia – Achievements and Unfinished Projects, Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung / Ilia State University, 114-115; p. 116.

¹² Lebanidze, B. (2016). Democracy under Stress: Western Fatigue, Russian Resurgence and Their Implications for Democratic Processes in Georgia. Georgian Institute of Politics (GIP) Policy Paper, February, Tbilisi, p. 4.

ing multidimensional social and political crisis became apparent. The political and social malaise has been breeding Euro-scepticism and disenchantment with the West. In the meantime, pro-Russian forces have been openly contesting the foreign policy line Georgia has been pursuing to date and called for a turn towards Russia.¹³ Four main factors – the failure of Western actors to sufficiently empower democratic reform coalition in Georgia, Russian-supported anti-reformist forces, the current fatigue in the process of Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic integration, and the overall lack of a democratic political culture among the ruling elites (both current and previous) – all caused a dangerous drift in Georgia’s foreign policy.¹⁴

All of these issues were tied to foreign policy options of Georgia. As Georgia has been facing multiple challenges and political threats represent a constant concern for the country, it is necessary “to distinguish between intentional political threats and those that arise structurally from the impact of foreign alternatives on the legitimacy of states”,¹⁵ as this defines the country’s security vision. Diverse threats posed to Georgia and securitized by different political elites complicated Georgia’s security-seeking foreign policy, as it became problematic “to find a policy which mixes elements of a national security strategy with elements of an international security.”¹⁶ The combination of perceptual and political elements in Georgia’s foreign policy has further complicated its security policy and security sector reform. Probably, this dichotomy is the main reason why Georgia’s national security policy hardly works on multiple levels (national security perception of Georgia vs. international security) which has determined main challenges of the security sector reform process in Georgia, with negative drawbacks on the country’s foreign policy course.

¹³ Falkowski, M. (2016). *Georgian Drift – The Crisis of Georgians Way Westwards*. Center for Eastern Studies Working Paper 57, Warsaw, p. 5-6.

¹⁴ Lebanidze, B. (2016). *Democracy under Stress: Western Fatigue, Russian Resurgence and Their Implications for Democratic Processes in Georgia*. Georgian Institute of Politics (GIP) Policy Paper, February, Tbilisi, p. 3.

¹⁵ Stone, M. (2009). *Security According to Buzan: A Comprehensive Security Analysis*, Security Discussion Papers Series 1, Grouped’ Etudesetd’ Expertise “Sécurité et Technologies” – GEEST. Spring. Available at http://www.geest.msh-paris.fr/IMG/pdf/Security_for_Buzan.mp3.pdf (Accessed January, 2016), p. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 7.

Since 2012, Georgia's political transition has brought to power a leadership with little or no foreign policy experience. The Georgian Dream government has no clear strategy for normalization of relations with Russia or the attainment of NATO and EU membership. The relative success of Georgian Dream's foreign policy has largely been a product of exogenous circumstances that encouraged the West and Russia to look more favourably on the country.¹⁷ After 2012, the West gradually became demythologized in Georgia and people have become "disenchanted with its policy, which many of them regard as political ingratitude."¹⁸ In this shift, although still imminent, *realpolitik* imposes constraints on the ideational/value-based foreign policy choice of Georgia. It also necessitates seeking a balance between the two alternatives of Georgia's foreign policy – pro-Western and pro-Russian. When Georgian Dream came to power, relations with Russia more or less stabilized, mainly on the rhetorical level. Georgia signed an association agreement with the EU, despite the unhappiness of some EU members and of the largest political groups in the European Parliament. Similarly, despite the qualms of some US senators, Georgia's relationship with the United States remained solid.¹⁹ However, the qualified success of Georgian foreign policy after 2012 was largely the product of exogenous circumstances, particularly Russia's undermining of the EU's Eastern Partnership process and its increasing use of force to secure compliance in what it considers to be its neighbourhood. These Russian actions made the EU more receptive to closer association with Georgia.²⁰

In terms of domestic politics, the decrease of pro-Western rhetoric by the Georgian Dream activated some influential pro-Russian intellectual and political groups (the Soviet-era intelligentsia, first generation politicians of the post-Soviet independent Georgia and a young generation of pro-Russian and Eurasianist NGOs) denouncing certain liberal (Western) val-

¹⁷ MacFarlane, N. S. (2015). *Two Years of the Dream – Georgian Foreign Policy During Transition*, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House – The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Paper, May, London, p. 1.

¹⁸ Falkowski, M. (2016). *Georgian Drift – The Crisis of Georgians Way Westwards*. Center for Eastern Studies Working Paper 57, Warsaw, p. 44.

¹⁹ MacFarlane, N. S. (2015). *Two Years of the Dream – Georgian Foreign Policy During Transition*, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House – The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Paper, May, London, p. 16.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 18.

ues on the grounds of endangering Georgia's national identity. The pro-Russian voice became louder in the parliament as well, on the part of some Georgian Dream coalition members. Pro-Russian sentiments have been fuelled by the appearance of anti-liberal and pro-Russian domestic actors in the mass media, society and the clergy, portraying the West as a decadent and hedonistic civilization that contradicts the traditional values of Georgian culture. The postponement of NATO and EU membership for an undetermined period of time puts pressure on the pro-Western political parties and contributes to an increased popularity of Russia and the Eurasian Economic Union.

This shift in tendency was reflected in public opinion polls conducted in 2012-2016. From 2012 to 2015, the number of those who support EEU membership has tripled from 11 to 31 percent; the influence of Russia has increased by 17 percent, while that of the EU has decreased by 12 percent.²¹ As this tendency is further sharpened by the absence of effective integration with the West, a portion of society has started to regard confrontation with Russia as political adventurism for which Georgia paid more than it gained. This might lead Georgia to the path of slow de-Europeanization, sliding deeper into political malaise, social apathy and internal fragmentation.²²

Since 2012 pro-Russian forces have gradually become more active on the Georgian political scene. Although during the United National Movement's rule the pro-Russian option was marginal and barely noticeable, whereas the pro-Russian community was fragmented, internally divided and ridden with conflicts, under the rule of the Georgian Dream it become an audible voice in Georgia's political life.²³ In 2012-2015, the pro-Russian messages became particularly active in online media, TV and radio programs, circulating through various analytical programmes which locate Georgia's challenges and opportunities in the content of ongoing regional and interna-

²¹ Lebanidze, B. (2016). *Democracy under Stress: Western Fatigue, Russian Resurgence and Their Implications for Democratic Processes in Georgia*. Georgian Institute of Politics (GIP) Policy Paper, February, Tbilisi, p. 2.

²² Falkowski, M. (2016). *Georgian Drift – The Crisis of Georgians Way Westwards*. Center for Eastern Studies Working Paper 57, Warsaw, pp. 45-48.

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

tional political processes²⁴ and denounce non-reliable, pro-Western foreign policy of the government.

After Georgian Dream came to power, popular expectations to manage Georgia's foreign relations, both with the West, as well as with Russia, turned in their favour. This became possible due to two interrelated factors:

1. The Georgian Dream coalition maintained the pro-Western drive and declarations regarding Georgia's integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures were still voiced loudly after 2012.
2. The situation became ripe for the increasing popularity of Georgian Dream's promises regarding balancing between Russia and the West, bringing the country close to the West while simultaneously re-establishing political-economic relations with Russia. The latter was bound up with the long-term hope of restoring the territorial integrity of the country through dialogue with Moscow.

This new reality brought some of its (negative) consequences: in spite of a wide political and public consensus in the country regarding NATO membership, which was confirmed by the results of a 2008 plebiscite (77 percent supporting Georgia's membership), support for Euro-Atlantic integration fell after the elections of 2012-2013. As a result, by 2016, suspicions appeared regarding the country's pro-Western policy and the sense of a need to find a balance between Russia and the West increased.²⁵ Russian

²⁴ See: Dzvelishvili, N. and Kupreishvili, T. (2015). Russian Influence on Georgian NGOs and Media. Tbilisi. Available at: www.damoukidebloba.com, with support of IDFI, June.

²⁵ CRRC-Georgia. (2010). Public Attitudes towards Elections in Georgia – survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of the NDI (National Democratic Institute) https://www.ndi.org/files/Georgia_Public_Opinion_0410.pdf (Accessed December, 2016); CRRC-Georgia. (2013) Public attitudes in Georgia: Results of a March 2013, survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of the NDI (National Democratic Institute). https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI-Georgia-March-2013-survey-Political_ENG-vf-small.pdf (Accessed December, 2016); CRRC-Georgia. (2016) Public attitudes in Georgia Results of a June 2016, survey conducted by the CRRC (Caucasian Research Resource Centres) under the order of NDI (National Democratic Institute). [https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_June_2016%20poll_Public%20Issues_ENG_VFF%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_June_2016%20poll_Public%20Issues_ENG_VFF%20(1).pdf) (Accessed December, 2016).

agents of influence could thus capitalize on that part of the electorate which supports a normalization policy with Russia.

The internal political situation in Georgia may weaken the government's capacity to monopolize foreign policy, whereas Russia's foreign policy may evolve in a more assertive direction in the South Caucasus. Russia is currently constrained by its intervention in Ukraine and the quagmire in Syria, but this may not last long. The Kremlin has another bargaining chip in the South Caucasus. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which could un-freeze easily at any time under Moscow's direction (e.g. the Four Day War or April War of 2016) could also refocus Russian military policy on the Caucasus. There is no evidence that Western partners would meaningfully support Georgia in the case of direct Russian pressure. In short, Georgia has been an accidental beneficiary of events outside its control.²⁶ Thus, in case of a serious drift in international politics, a significant change could emerge in the foreign policy course of Georgia.

Pro-Western Course and Security Sector Reform

Georgia's pro-Western aspirations and security sector reform, through the introduction of democratic standards of governance, has remained among the priority goals for the NATO integration policy agenda of Georgia. Reforms in the security sector mainly referred to the defence institution building and security policy development process, as well as strengthening democratic institutions and ensuring their political oversight.²⁷ Prioritization of security sector reform should have been determined by its critical test during the Russian-Georgian War of 2008. Most of the external threats to Georgia come from the Russian Federation given that Georgia's determination to join European and Euro-Atlantic structures – mainly NATO – is seen as unacceptable by Russia. 2008 proved the need for closer cooperation between various security sector institutions.²⁸ As the main threats on

²⁶ MacFarlane, N. S. (2015). *Two Years of the Dream – Georgian Foreign Policy During Transition*, Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House – The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Paper, May, London, pp. 19-20.

²⁷ Parliamentary Oversight on Security Sector and Georgia's NATO Integration, Atlantic Council of Georgia, 14.05.2015. <http://acge.ge/2015/05/parliamentary-oversight-on-security-sector-and-georgias-nato-integration/> (Accessed 20.12.2016).

²⁸ Majer, M. (ed). *Security Sector Reform in Countries of Visegrad and Southern Cauca-*

Georgia's way towards integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures are coming from Russia, all efforts of the security sector reform are directed to convince Georgia's Western partners that Georgia is committed to solving the existing territorial problems only through peaceful means. The European and Euro-Atlantic course of Georgian foreign policy serves sustainable democratic development and security of Georgia and it is not directed against any other country.

Georgian security and threat perception are still strongly determined by the presence of Russian troops on Georgian territory, which has a decreasing impact on the actual reforms of the military. The military is no longer considered as the primary tool of restoration of territorial integrity – a main lesson learned during the war of 2008.²⁹ Security sector reform became the central benchmark through which integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures should be achieved and in a long term perspective the country's territorial integrity restored. The above-mentioned circumstances have imposed some constraints on Georgia's security sector reform's moderate success.

Security sector reform has been facing a range of problems, especially in the three areas below:

- Functional fragmentation (underdeveloped economy, lack of established and experienced civil servants);
- funding and coherent forward planning, as well as modernization, driven successfully in the short to medium term;
- dedicated, relevantly trained officials in adequate numbers.³⁰

sus: Challenges and Opportunities, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava, 2013, p. 37. http://cena.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/security-sector-reform_FINAL.pdf (Accessed 16.02.2017).

²⁹ Ondrejcsák, R. Górká-Winter, B. Rác, A. Strítecký, V. (2013). Remarks on V4 research trip to Southern Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), Security Sector Reform Centre of Excellence in South Caucasus, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs, February, p. 5. <http://cena.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Caucasus-report.pdf> (Accessed 16.02.2017).

³⁰ Parliamentary Oversight on Security Sector and Georgia's NATO Integration, Atlantic Council of Georgia, 14.05.2015. <http://acge.ge/2015/05/parliamentary-oversight-on-security-sector-and-georgias-nato-integration/> (Accessed 16.02.2017), pp. 283-284.

In addition, security sector reform process has been further complicated by some pressing challenges:

- mistrust of officialdom and state institutions;
- economic decline and unsatisfied public expectations;
- domestic insecurity – a wedge between the government and the people.³¹

Currently, security sector reform policies should contribute to state building and peace building processes. At a policy level, they are expected to lead recovery processes towards democratization and participatory state institutions.³² For the time being, some negative and positive aspects of the security sector reform in Georgia have become apparent. The positive aspects include signs of recovery after the 2008 war and 2010 global economic crisis include: good progress in reforming the justice system; improvements in conduct of elections; constitutional reform, although controversial at some point; reforms in trade and business; regional development; and the reduction of administrative corruption.

Nevertheless, negative aspects could not be neglected, as it adversely affects democratization process of the country. Problems related to the security sector reform process, include, but are not confined to political and media pluralism; continued (mainly elitist, not mass) corruption; concerns over freedom of association, employment and social policies; Georgia's strong dependence on "external official financing."³³ Thus, the main problems for Georgia's security sector reform do not come from security forces, but from the sphere of democratic oversight of these institutions and their sustainable development in general.³⁴

³¹ Ibid, p. 286.

³² Ghimire, S. (2016). Is a home-grown security sector reform possible? Security Sector Reform Resource Centre, August, 1. <https://www.ssresourcecentre.org/2016/08/01/is-a-home-grown-security-sector-reform-possible/> (Accessed 16.02.2017), p. 2.

³³ Simons, G. (2012). Security Sector Reform and Georgia: the European Union's Challenge in the Southern Caucasus, *European Security*, 21:2, p. 287. http://www.uhrs.uu.se/digitalAssets/147/a_147365-f_simonsgregsecuritysectorreformgeorgiajes.pdf (Accessed 16.02.2017).

³⁴ Ibid, p. 273.

Georgia managed to change the perception of security and state interests. The country's security and its provisions are determined in strong connection with its foreign policy. The task of the Georgian Armed Forces (GAF) has been defined in accordance with the democratic state: building of democratic institutions was promoted and establishing of the parliamentary oversight over security sector was tried. To put this into a scheme, the Soviet security model:

security of the sovereign + regime security = state security

has transformed into the democratic model:

citizen security + security of the society = state security.³⁵

Conclusion

Security sector reform became the central tenet of the country's security after the war of August 2008 and defeat with the Russian Federation. One of the main problems of the security sector reform stems from the different perceptions of security threats posed to Georgia from various political actors: pro-Western forces argue the need of further reform of the security sector reform in a way to address challenges stemming from Russia – from de-occupation of the Georgian territories to possible renewed military aggression from the side of the Russian Federation; pro-Russian forces argue for the detachment from the West in order to normalize relations with Russia and justify this claim through the argument of launching a realistic foreign policy of Georgia under an existing geopolitical reality. For these groups the security of Georgia will be ensured only through balanced politics between Russia and the West.

These circumstances leave Georgia's security sector reform as a subject of political elites' preferences. This latter factor complicates the process of its consolidation around codified security threats and foreign policy priorities of the country. This becomes evident with any change of the government,

³⁵ Ondrejcsák, R. Górká-Winter, B. Rácz, A. Střítecký, V. (2013). Remarks on V4 research trip to Southern Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), Security Sector Reform Centre of Excellence in South Caucasus, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs, February, pp. 50-51. <http://cenaa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Caucasus-report.pdf> (Accessed 16.02.2017).

which signifies a possible change in the security sector reform through its dubious statements regarding Georgia's foreign policy and security provisions. Long term foreign policy directions and aspirations should determine the coherence of the security sector reform; although Georgia still has to pass through some challenges to this end. Deepening democracy, through empowerment of institutions will increase accountability of politicians and effectiveness of oversight over security structures might speed up this process in short or medium term.

PART II:

THE STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF DIB IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

Defence Institution Building as a Tool for Supporting Balance between Russia and the West and Fostering Regional Stability – the Case of Armenia

Benyamin Poghosyan

Geopolitical Context and Armenia's Choices

In the last decade, the main theme in the post-Soviet geopolitics was the Russian efforts to regain its influence and control over post-Soviet space and the West's persistent resistance to the Russian actions especially in European part of former Soviet Union.

The West's policy was mainly driven by the US with the Obama administration in a leading role, especially since Putin's return to the Kremlin in 2012. In this chess game both the EU and NATO sided with the US as additional supportive actors in the field.

Since Armenia gained independence in 1991, the cornerstone of its foreign policy has been the balanced approach and the desire to build partnerships both with the neighbouring states and with power centres involved in the security dynamics formation of the South Caucasus. Meanwhile, we should note that the balanced foreign policy does not and could not mean equal and similar relations with all partners. The strategic ally and number one security partner for Armenia is Russia. Armenia successfully complements the strategic alliance with Russia with the partnership with her and other states within the framework of the CSTO and through its membership into the Eurasian Economic Union.

Armenia also keeps contacts with the Euro-Atlantic power centres such as the United States, NATO and the EU. Since 2005, Armenia has effectively implemented the programs within the scope of NATO's Individual Partnership Action Plan aimed at promoting defence reforms. She has also been enriching the experience of participation in the international security system through peacekeeping operations in Iraq, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Mali.

Relations with the EU are mainly viewed in Armenia as a key tool for promoting much anticipated reforms in areas such as economy, judiciary, and rule of law. Armenia's involvement in the EU neighbourhood policy and then in the Eastern Partnership program was a significant contribution to the reforms underway in the country. Even after 2013 the decision to withdraw from the Association Agreement and to enter the Russian led Eurasian Economic Union, Armenia has been cultivating links with the EU which resulted in the March 2017 initialization of a new bilateral Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement. Armenia understands that it urgently needs sweeping reforms in almost all spheres of society to overcome the legacy of the Soviet period and to be able to turn back the negative trends in economy and demography. Obviously developed and functioning institutions are key prerequisites for statehood and this is especially true for Armenia, as it is located in the nexus of geopolitical struggle between much more powerful neighbors. The growing discontent among the society towards the domestic status quo established since the mid-1990s provides motive to accelerate the reforms.

Therefore, it is not surprising that all political forces are pointing out the necessity to launch fundamental reforms dealing with corruption and provide sufficient level of management within state institutions. And in this process, the best example and primary source for inspiration is not Russia, but the EU. Armenia is perceived as a "small Russia", with the same domestic problems seen in Russia. The only difference is in scale. Russia, therefore, cannot be the model for dramatically changing the current state system in Armenia. Even more, for some parts of Armenian society, Russia is viewed as an obstacle to successful and systemic domestic reforms.

On the contrary, despite the EU's many internal problems – the rise of populism, the migrant crisis, growing terrorist threats, Brexit, Greece's debt, etc. – the Armenian public perceives the EU as a key source of support for fostering much anticipated and necessary economic, political and judicial reforms aimed at improving institution building process and thus creating a healthier base for further development of independent statehood. Functioning state institutions, the rule of law, a relatively low level of corruption, and the welfare system – all are tangible achievements in Europe which may and should be localized and adapted in Armenia. Of course, everybody understands that a strategic alliance with Russia puts

some limitations on Armenia's ability to interact with the EU, especially considering the current impasse in Russia-West relations, but there is a clear perception in Armenian society that if Armenia wants to keep its independence, reforms in key areas should be undertaken as soon as possible. The April 2016 short war in Karabakh revealed the fact that even the strategic alliance with Russia does not automatically guarantee the security of Armenia and Karabakh.

Thus, there is a clear understanding, both in Armenian society and within the political establishment, that the EU may play a vital role in transforming Armenia into a modern state. The Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement is a right step towards closer cooperation, but it is only the beginning. As with any agreement the implementation stage is the most important one. And here much depends not only on Armenia but on the EU as well. For example, the EU should not view Armenia as a state totally within Russia's sphere of influence where nothing can be reached without Moscow's consent. Supporting Armenia through fostering various reforms and institution building process is the only viable way for the West to keep channels open for interaction with Armenia and have additional sources of leverage in the rapidly changing geopolitical juncture of the South Caucasus.¹

The recent escalation between Russia and the West due to the Ukraine crisis creates additional obstacles for the post-Soviet states to keep balanced relations with both parties. The growing possibility of the emergence of new dividing lines poses a great threat to regional stability. This is especially true for the South Caucasus with its unresolved conflicts of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh. If appeals for starting a new containment policy towards Russia materialize, the three South Caucasian republics may find themselves in different camps, which may result in an ever-deteriorating security situation.

Donald Trump's victory in November 2016 created hope in Russia and not only that may be the "black strip" of relations can be put aside. As Ameri-

¹ Poghosyan Benyamin, The EU may play vital role in transforming Armenia into a modern state, <http://commonsplace.eu/index.php?m=23&news_id=4163>, accessed on 28.03.2017.

can troops were moving into Eastern Europe during the last days of the Obama administration to calm down the concerns of Eastern European and Baltic members of NATO on the possible Russian destabilization efforts with use of hybrid warfare tactics everyone looked forward to Mr. Trump's first statements and actions on Russia as the new President.

There were signs signaling the possibility of another US and Russia "reset." Trump's picks for key national security posts including National Security Advisor and Secretary of State had, in different circumstances and capacities, dealt with Russian leadership including President Putin. But things started to change since mid-February 2017. The first harbinger was resignation of the National Security Advisor Michael Flynn with allegation of misleading the White House senior officials including Vice-President Pence on his contacts with Russian Ambassador in the US – Sergey Kislyak. The disclosed facts on US Attorney General Jeff Session's contacts with Kislyak which allegedly have been concealed from the US Senators during confirmation hearings does not help to defuse the concerns. Last but not least, in this chain of revelations was the March 20, 2017 House of Representatives Intelligence Committee hearing on Russian meddling into the 2016 Elections by then FBI director James Comey and National Security Agency (NSA) director Admiral Michael Rogers.

In a hostile bipartisan environment with battles ahead on FY 2018 budget draft the potentially risky improvement of US-Russia relations may not be included in Trump's Administration top priorities. This may result in keeping the status quo in bilateral relations at least for the short-term perspective.²

Defence Institution Building Process in Armenia

Defence institution building has been launched in Armenia in a very challenging environment of war, blockade and economic collapse. Nevertheless, the first significant steps in this direction have been taken in 1990s with the establishment of the Ministry of Defence and merging the self-

² Poghosyan Benjamin, Is US-Russia rapprochement still possible? <<http://psaa.am/en/activity/publications/psaa-board/benjamin-poghosyan/211-is-us-russia-rapprochement-still-possible-2017>> accessed 26.03.2017.

defence units into a regular army structure. The 1994 ceasefire created more favourable conditions for this process. During the first decade of independence defence institution building was mainly based on cooperation with Russia although during that period initial steps were taken to launch cooperation with NATO member states, especially with Greece.

The situation started to change at the beginning of 2000s with ever growing cooperation with NATO and the US in the defence institution building process. After the 2002 Prague NATO Summit, Armenia has employed comparative analysis and innovative decision making to smoothly turn its defence security thinking toward a goal-oriented approach that synthesizes both soft and hard security dimensions within one holistic “smart power”-oriented defence security policymaking system. The other important dimension of these improvements is a gradual transition from an obsolete “apparatchik” mode of Soviet style military governance of the Ministry of Defence to a modern leadership and management culture characterized by the redistribution of powers between defence-policy institutions and military bodies and the delegation of power and duties to lower tiers in the hierarchy.

An important milestone for cooperation with Western institution was the signature of the first Armenia-NATO IPAP in 2005. The document outlined the main spheres of cooperation as well as fixing the responsibilities of Armenia to develop its capacities in spheres such as democratic control over Armed forces and the introduction of civil services in the Army. IPAP also envisages the adaptation of two main strategic documents – a National Security Strategy (NSS) and a Military Doctrine.³

The NSS elaboration process itself was transformed into the tool of bringing advanced Western and mostly American methodology into Armenian national security thinking. The interagency committee established with core task of draft strategy elaboration was functioning with American goal oriented methodology instead of choosing Russian threat oriented security thinking. The NSS draft was reviewed in both Washington, Brussels and Moscow fully in line with a balanced foreign policy approach. Simultane-

³ Armenia – NATO IPAP, <<http://www.mil.am/media/2015/07/859.pdf>> accessed on 31.03.2017.

ously Armenia deepened its military contacts with its strategic partner Russia, including the 2010 agreement to extend the deployment of Russian military base in Armenia for another 24 years.⁴

Thus, Armenia is in the unique position of being a strategic ally of Russia, founding member of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), hosting a Russian military base and simultaneously promoting active cooperation with the US and NATO in the defence institution building process adapting the best international practice in this field.

Defence Education as a Key Sphere of Defence Institution Building

The formation of Armenia's armed forces coincided with what was probably the most difficult and stressful period of modern Armenian history: the transition from a Soviet-style totalitarian regime to independent national statehood oriented around the values of liberal democracy. Drafting the main design of the Armenian Army simultaneously with the establishment of Armenian independent statehood became a challenge that needed to be addressed precisely, given the conditions of extreme uncertainty that characterized the dynamics of the post-Soviet system of global, regional, and national security. Additional hardships for Armenia were caused by hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as by a blockade implemented by Azerbaijan and Turkey. In those difficult days, the ranks of the Armenian Army were by necessity filled by many patriotic people with insufficient military experience and education. It should be emphasized that during the Soviet period Armenia was the only Republic that had no defence education institution that could serve as a starting point for developing a defence education sector after the dissolution of the USSR.

Meanwhile, the Armenian leadership was well aware of the importance of defence education in the overall process of building the nation's armed forces. The Ministry of Defence launched the process of establishing defence education institutions in 1994. First, two junior officers' military schools for the army and air force were established in June and September

⁴ "Armenia Extends Russia's Military Lease." Financial Times (online), <<https://www.ft.com/content/fe01cbf2-aae7-11df-9e6b-00144feabdc0>> accessed on 31.03.2017.

1994.⁵ Simultaneously, the MoD also established a special military high school with the core mission of preparing the younger generation for future service in the armed forces.

At that period of time, the military political leadership of Armenia understood quite well the difficulties that were posed by the process of creating a functional defence education system. One of the problems was the lack of necessary qualified specialists on different subjects, especially concerning the preparation of senior officers for the Armenian Army. One of the urgent efforts undertaken to overcome this obstacle was the development of cooperation in the defence education field with Russia, Armenia's strategic ally. Russian-Armenian cooperation in the field of defence education was based on the 1997 Agreement on Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the two nations.⁶

Simultaneously, the first steps were launched to build contacts with NATO member states as well. In 1994, Armenia joined the NATO-led Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, and later the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP), which was considered the main instrument within the cooperative security framework. In the spirit of PfP, as a result of intensive bilateral consultations, Armenia launched a Western-oriented initiative of military cooperation, initially working with Greece as the first partner state from NATO. In 1996, Armenia and Greece signed cooperation agreements in the military sector and furthered this cooperation through an education-training agreement in 1998, which allowed Armenian officers to receive training in Greece's military education institutes.

Thus, at the end of the 1990s, Armenia managed to overcome various challenges and develop a working mechanism for its defence education system as a basis for what has become a set of strategic, future-oriented reforms to professional military education carried out under the Defence Education Enhancement Program (DEEP).

⁵ See the decisions of the Armenian government adopted on 24 June 1994 and 20 September 1994, <http://www.arlis.am/DocumentView.aspx?docid=5475> and <http://www.arlis.am/DocumentView.aspx?docid=5525> (in Armenian), accessed on 30.03.2017.

⁶ The full text of the agreement is available at <http://www.parliament.am/library/erkoxm/1996-1998/73.pdf> (in Armenian), accessed on 30.03.2017.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Armenia had finished the first phase of building its defence education system through creating a functioning model that satisfied the minimal requirements of the armed forces. Meanwhile, it was obvious that the system remained mainly based on the old Soviet-style, hard security-oriented mindset and decision-making processes. The other core problem facing the Armenian Armed Forces was the fact that, despite the existence of two military institutions, Armenia had no capacity to deliver education for senior-level officers, and was thus obliged to send a growing number of officers to foreign defence education institutions (mainly to Russia).

Another obstacle on the way to developing the defence education system in Armenia was the growing gap between the spheres of civil and defence education. Since the mid-1990s, Armenia had been actively involved in the process of civil education reform, seeking to introduce the European model of secondary and higher education in Armenia. More commonly known as the Bologna Process, it featured undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate levels of higher education. At the beginning of the 2000s, almost all Armenian state and private universities were offering Bachelor's and Master's degrees to their students. The defence education system, however, remained largely untouched by these reforms, and continued to offer diplomas and partial Bachelor's degrees, with no Master's degrees in military art or military science.

The Ministry of Defence leadership was well aware of the situation, and was seeking ways to address the problem. The main directions of these policies included fostering relations in the field of defence education with NATO as well as planning the establishment of defence education institutions with core capabilities to prepare senior military officers. An important milestone in this process was the signing of the NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) for Armenia in 2005.

The IPAP allowed Armenia to fully involve NATO experts in the process of elaborating the reforms of the defence education system. The first NATO expert group arrived in Yerevan in spring 2008. At the beginning of 2009, the initial defence education reform road map was agreed with NATO specialists. The road map emphasized the importance of introducing Bologna Process standards into the defence education system with un-

dergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate education; improvement of non-commissioned officers (NCO) preparation courses; elaboration of command and chief courses, establishment of an interagency strategic-level defence education institution based on the U.S. National Defence University model.

Since 2009 the Armenian Ministry of Defence has maintained strong cooperation with a NATO Defence Education Enhancement Program Team. Over the last eight years a DEEP team has often been present in the Armenian MoD dealing with different aspects of defence education reform. This team contributed to the process of developing a course for junior officer staff, and provided invaluable input to the development of goals, objectives, and curriculum for the senior officer course, which was launched in 2013.

One of the main aspects of the DEEP team's activities in Armenia was its involvement in the process of developing the military education reform concept. In March 2012, the Armenian Government approved the concept of military education reforms as well as an action plan to implement the concrete programs put forward in the concept.⁷ The action plan envisaged reorganization of both the army and air force institutes, establishment of a Command and Chief Academy, and the launch of the process of transforming the Armenian Institute for National Strategic Studies into the Armenian NDU in 2013.⁸

The Armenian National Defence Research University Project

The idea and the Project of the Armenian National Defence Research University (NDRU) as an American model based experimentation with a task to carry out strategic research for National Leadership and to educate and train the future strategic caliber leaders of Armenia was elaborated during

⁷ Armenia's Military Education Concept, available online at https://www.e-gov.am/u_files/file/decrees/arc_voroshum/2012/03/MAR9-18_1.pdf (in Armenian).

⁸ Kotanjian Hayk, "Managing Strategic Changes Through DEEP Reforms: A View from the Perspective of U.S.-Armenia "Smart Power" Cooperation." *Connections*, 11:4, 2012, pp. 83-91.

MGen Dr. Hayk Kotanjian's fellowship at the US National Defence University in 2003-2004. The first stage of the implementation of the NDRU Project was the formation of the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) within the Ministry of Defence as a research component, intellectual basis and organizational backbone of the future National Defence Research University. The Armenian INSS became the academic coordinator of the interagency elaboration of Armenia's first National Security Strategy developed in accordance with the US methodology under academic consultations of NDU.

In 2007 as a new innovative research tool of the future NDRU the Strategic Studies Journal "Working Papers" (quarterly) of the Armenian INSS was established. In 2009 the research component was enriched with the Postgraduate School and the Doctoral Degrees' nationwide Conferral Committee in "political science" and "international relations". In 2012 at this Committee the former Armenian Minister of Defence Mr. Seyran Ohanyan defended a PhD thesis on the system of the defence security reforms implemented in accordance with the NATO IPAP standards.

The project of education component as the NDRU's Executive Education/Interagency Certificate Courses was elaborated and reviewed first at the National Security Program of the Executive Education Department, Harvard University Kennedy School of Government, as well as reviewed at Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and then furthered as fully fledged NDRU Project (Interagency Executive Education /Interagency Graduate Education/Postgraduate School with the Degree Conferral Committee) at the US National Defence University. At the same time the project of research component enlargement with the elements of cyber security and strategic gaming was elaborated and reviewed in 2012-2014 under the academic consultations delivered by MGen Dr. Kotanjian's Alma Mater NDU. The syllabus for the first Interagency Certificate Course (which should serve as a pilot stage for launching two NDRU Colleges with MA programs) was elaborated and reviewed during the Armenian INSS researchers' fellowships at the US NDU (three one-month intensive fellowships in 2013, one four-month fellowship in 2014, and two one month fellowships in 2015 and 2016 systematizing homework at the Armenian INSS).

The NDRU was officially opened on January 28, 2016.⁹ The goal of this unique research university in the region is to increase the efficiency of the Armenian defence security system through bridging research and educational activities. Among the tasks of NDRU is the research in the areas of regional security dynamics, cybersecurity and ICT, as well as developments targeted at the effective management of cyber-digital resources. Based on these studies, relevant analyses and recommendations are submitted to the political-military leadership of Armenia contributing to the expansion of their knowledge in the field of security policy. NDRU research fellows, in close cooperation with leading international educational and research institutions, seek to develop and enhance the level of security-oriented research aimed at strengthening the security of Armenia.

The educational component of the NDRU is scheduled to be launched in Autumn 2017 by a 3-month interagency education courses involving mid-career officials from MOD, MFA, National Security Council staff. The one year Graduate Program on strategic security studies will start in September 2018.

Already, the NDRU organized a number of strategic policy forums and conferences with participation of leading experts and senior officials from the UN, NATO and the CSTO, thus turning Armenia into a unique and important platform for constructive dialogue in the South Caucasus among various geopolitical poles, political and professional circles, intellectual centres, and centres of power.

Conclusion

The case of Armenia is an interesting example of defence institution building serving as a tool for supporting balance between Russia and the West and thus contributing to the regional stability. Being a strategic ally of Russia, a CSTO founding member and fully anchored in Russian sphere of influence does not preclude Armenia from developing close cooperation

⁹ Armenia opens National Defence Research University culminating seven years cooperative effort, <<http://www.pfp-consortium.org/index.php/item/227-armenia-opens-national-defence-research-university-culminating-seven-year-cooperative-effort>> accessed on 31.03.2017.

with the West in the process of defence institution building and especially in the key task of defence education system reforms. The Adaptation of US National Defense University model into Armenia through establishment of the Institute for National Strategic Studies and then transforming it into Armenian National Defence Research University is one of the major achievements of Armenia's defence institution building process.

In Conflict-torn Countries DIB is an Arms Race: Speaking Notes to the 15th RSSC SG

Razi Nurullayev

Most of us come from the academic field or public and political life. We prepare multiple page papers with unnumbered footprints, endnotes, quotes and boring references. I have almost completed that kind of paper myself, but today here I wish to run away from the complex and long sentences with Latin root complicated terms in order to ease your hearing, understanding and perception.

National Efforts in DIB. How DIB is to acquire a more Prominent Role in Strengthening Regional Stability in the South Caucasus

Today, Azerbaijan's defence institution building efforts are linked to Nagorno-Karabakh and it means more modern weapons, more missiles, more modern killing tanks, modern jet fighters and drones. The reason is that no solution has been found to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict during over twenty years of shaky ceasefire. Truly speaking, it is not that the political establishment likes it. No, the people of Azerbaijan wish to see immediate results, and the results should be the liberation of the occupied lands. To release tensions, Armenia should at least liberate the seven regions beyond Nagorno-Karabakh. Many may find that arms races by Azerbaijan are a threat to regional stability, but the country strives to end the occupation of its lands, which are internationally recognized.

“Nagorno-Karabakh is an integral part of Armenia” Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan keeps reverberating at every chance and opportunity, turning a blind eye to the international norms and four UN resolutions calling for the immediate withdrawal of Armenian troops from the Azerbaijani territories. “The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict must be solved within the principles of international law and the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. With regard to the statement from the criminal dictatorship in Armenia that Nagorno-Karabakh is an integral part of Armenia, Azerbaijan President Ilham Aliyev in a response keeps reiterating that “the world communi-

ty and international organizations recognize Nagorno-Karabakh as the territory of Azerbaijan. The statement made in an intense psychological state exposes and disgraces the Armenian authorities.”

As we may see, both sides not only exchange artillery fire, but also use the power of words. In this regard, the defence-institution building efforts of both sides will always be based on building a stronger army and acquiring modern weapons. Induced by a surge in oil revenue, Azerbaijan has raised its military spending tenfold over the last decade to as much as \$4.8 billion last year.

The more weapons the country has the more it has an intension to use them. If today defence means for Azerbaijan to use weapons and liberate its occupied territories, for Armenia it means to keep the occupied territories and maintain the status quo. In this case, the defence institution building will keep failing due to non-resolution of regional conflicts.

Some latest information I have says that Azerbaijan purchased \$4 billion worth of Russian armaments since 2010, including 100 T90 tanks and anti-aircraft systems. Azerbaijan also bought advanced weapons including drones and missile systems from Israel, and signed an agreement on military cooperation with Turkey. Azerbaijan is said to have bought an Iron Shield missile defence system from Israel after Armenia showcased its Iskander-M ballistic missile. For its part, Armenia signed a \$200 million loan with Russia to buy and modernize weapons and other military equipment.

Today, both Armenia and Azerbaijan have equal frontline troops at about 70,000 each. Azerbaijan possesses 314 tanks, 191 multiple rocket-launch systems and 127 aircraft, compared with Armenia’s 166 tanks, 150 launchers and 63 aircraft.

These are figures that may bring thousands of deaths and destabilize the situation in the region. In a three-year war until the ceasefire truce in 1994, 30,000 were killed.

Today, Armenia has territorial claims against Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey; tomorrow, this may include Iran and Russia. These ideas in mind, Armenia also races arms, buys weapons, acts hand in hand with Russia.

Each country in the South Caucasus acts on its own preceding from the external and existing threats it may have. Azerbaijan and Armenia race arms on the subject of Nagorno-Karabakh. Georgia builds its defences with a threat from Russia in mind. The problem – and solution (eds.) – is that the South Caucasus is one region and must have one defence strategy, one action plan against external threats like terrorism, religious fundamentalism and other unprecedented threats that are so many in these world.

So, I would suggest one defence strategy against external threats. The South Caucasus is one region and all the nations living within this territory are interwoven and bound to respect each other and peacefully co-exist. In a globalized world, borders lose their importance. All the nations feel proud when other nations call them multicultural. Azerbaijan never has been a place where ethnic and minority issues were an important and uncontrolled case. Baku in the Soviet time and now remains one of the most multinational cities all over the world. People from more than 50 nations keep making Baku their home for centuries. Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Jews, Georgians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Russians, Lezghins, Tatars, Germans, Poles, Greeks, Turks, Tats, Talishes and representatives of other nationalities still live in Baku. Despite the ongoing conflict and ethnic cleansing in both Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia itself, where not a single Azerbaijani lives, in Azerbaijan, particularly in capital Baku around 50,000 Armenians are still living. Most of them are women.

How can it happen?

The only international structure that brings these states together and does not make military discrimination is NATO.

NATO and Azerbaijan cooperate on a number of areas within the framework of the Partnership for Peace (PfP); more specifically through two important tools: the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP) and the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). Currently key areas of cooperation include security cooperation, defence and security sector cooperation, civil emergency planning, scientific cooperation, and public diplomacy.

Azerbaijan continues to be a great contributor to NATO's efforts in Afghanistan, by providing troops to the NATO-led Resolute Support Mission

to train, advise, and assist the Afghan National Defence Forces and by contributing to the Afghan National Army Trust Fund.

First, NATO should closely work with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia in the field of good governance and democratic institution building, reflecting the objectives of the Partnership Action Plan for Defence Institution Building, which Azerbaijan endorsed in 2004. In order to make Azerbaijan advance in DIB, NATO should get involved in finding a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

Second, The OSCE's Minsk Group created in 1992 with the co-chairmanship institution (with Russia, France, and the United States co-chairing) in order to carry out mediation between Armenia and Azerbaijan to find peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict keeps failing despite more than two decades of negotiations. OSCE mediation so far did not meet any expectations. Nevertheless, the OSCE is making certain efforts towards reaching a peaceful settlement, but there are shortcomings in the mediation efforts.

Only once, the OSCE was close to both acting justly and finding a real solution to the conflict. In 1996 the OSCE failed to include the famous "three principles" (the territorial integrity of both countries, self-determination for Nagorno-Karabakh in the form of the highest degree of self-rule within Azerbaijan, and guaranteed security for Nagorno-Karabakh and its whole population) in the Lisbon declaration due to Armenia's objection, despite winning the support of 53 out of 54 member states. This essential systemic weakness constrains the OSCE's effectiveness in many cases, including in conflict areas when there is need to punish aggressors and protect victims.

The Minsk Group co-chairs make a lot of unnecessary statements and moves. As if they are trying to lull two babies who are making big noise. Its mission is not making all the sides happy and tries not to hurt any side. Their mission is at any cost, whether they hurt one side or not, to find a real solution to the conflict. Neutrality cannot be a case in this format. The OSCE is commissioned to lead the peace process and now what seems clear is that they are blocking the resolution process and seem interested in maintaining the status quo. As to the international norms and laws Armenia

is an aggressor, just because it has occupied the neighbouring country's territory, which is internationally recognized after Azerbaijan. The territory of Azerbaijan is accepted to all international organizations, UN and others to include Nagorno-Karabakh. The officials from those co-chair countries enter this territory with the permission and approval from Azerbaijan. Regarding the abovementioned facts, they never called Armenia an aggressor country and never called upon it to fulfil the U.N. Security Council resolutions – which entail unconditional withdrawal of forces from Nagorno-Karabakh.

The OSCE should deeply look into the Minsk Group's activities and renew its format to make it more credible in the eyes of not only Azerbaijani community, but also that of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.

Third, it would be very helpful to increase the EU engagement in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict resolution and Azerbaijan side has always raised this question. The ongoing peace negotiations are at stake and it is in the region's interest to seek alternative ways to the resolution. The first alternative could be replacing France with the EU.

Azerbaijan upholds this position until today, but the EU considers this move unnecessary. I think, this comes from the fact that the EU avoids the larger engagement in the settlement process. However, in March 2012, the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs proposed replacing the mandate of France with an EU mandate. France is a country where Armenian diaspora is strong and Azerbaijan witnessed that they were able to influence the France's decisions and approaches regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Therefore, the format of the Minsk Group Co-Chairmanship in this case would create a balance.

The European Policy Centre's, "Challenges for the EU in the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: An Azerbaijani perspective" Policy Brief dated from 17 June 2013 also supported this idea saying:

“[t]he aim of this proposal is not to change the format of the negotiations. On the contrary, it seeks to 'Europeanize' this conflict resolution mechanism, making it less dependent on one country. Looking at the original Minsk Group format of 1992, seven of the twelve participating states were European. Thus replacing France with the EU makes sense, though due to Armenian opposition and anxie-

ties about political capital in Paris, any sign of change seems unlikely. The alternative is to refrain from making any radical changes to the format, but increase EU involvement within the current framework.”

Fourth, the Unique Decision Council for the Settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict. It was proposed by Popular Front Party of Azerbaijan and a series of non-governmental organizations on 29 April 2016 under my leadership at the conference devoted to the same initiative.

It implies setting up A Unique Decision Council for the Settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict in order to ensure the state interests of the conflict sides and help the heads of states to act in the peace negotiations over the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict so that the interests of all the layers of the conflicting nations are taken into account.

There is a big need for unique position of all the people and political groups in Azerbaijan and Armenia to strengthen the hands of the presidents and others who participate in the peace talks. This is also important that the potential peace agreement will not be used against the ruling power by other political forces and the agreement will represent the unified position of the most political forces and civil society organizations. This may create a positive turn for the establishment of the unique position among the domestic stakeholders and accelerate the solution process.

It is important that all the political parties, civil society organizations, representatives of intelligentsia and other stakeholders have a position paper. On one side, it is important to gain credibility to president to show a resolve and confidence with the belief that none of his decisions would bring to domestic political instability and power division within the country, on the other hand, the resolution of the conflict would improve the socio-economic situation in the region and end the IDP and refugee problems.

As a result, Azerbaijan and Armenia would participate in the negotiations with resolve and confidence and receives its strength from the Unique Decision Council that represents the whole nation.

Setting up of The Unique Decision Council for the Settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict

The aim and objective of The Unique Decision Council for the Settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict would be to achieve the Nation and Statehood act together and work as one organism.

The Unique Decision Council for the Settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict would have the following terms of reference;

1. The Unique Decision Council consists of the popular public and political figures, influential civil society organizations, all the political parties, all the organizations that have clauses on Nagorno-Karabakh in their charters, MPs, influential intelligentsia and the respected elderly people as well as 20-25 media chiefs;
2. A Working Group is formed from the members within the Council that prepares a Unique Decision Paper;
3. The principles of the Unique Decision Council are built upon the territorial integrity of the states, national interests of the Republics, unconditional withdrawal of all Armenian troops from the occupied regions beyond Nagorno-Karabakh guided by the international norms. The status to Nagorno-Karabakh is determined with concrete details with no damage to territorial integrity of either side.
4. The assessment of material damages incurred in Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding regions by the Working Group and submission a unique document to the relevant international organizations followed by the preparation of the post-conflict rehabilitation. The Working Group would invite independent international auditors and evaluators to assess the damages;
5. To define the position of the Unique Decision Council on OSCE Minsk Group and send the Position Paper and potential recommendations to OSCE member states;
6. Holding meetings between the Unique Decision Councils of both sides with the mediation of OSCE Minsk Group and participation of foreign ministries from both sides.

The Influence of Unresolved Conflicts and Broader Geopolitical Interests of Regional Powers in the On-going Defence Reform Process in Azerbaijan

Big powers mostly link their geopolitical interests to multibillion dollar oil and gas transportation corridors, in which Azerbaijan is a main supplier or owner. Armenia has remained outside all transnational projects and of course, this violated the phenomenon that I mentioned above saying South Caucasus is one region and all nations living in this territory must have one fate and one strategy. Azerbaijan would have never let it happen, should Armenia at least liberate those regions under its occupation beyond Nagorno-Karabakh itself.

Azerbaijan is an important energy partner for the EU, currently supplying around 5 percent of the EU's oil demand and playing a pivotal role in bringing Caspian gas resources to the EU market through the Southern Gas Corridor. Former President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso and President Aliyev signed a Joint Declaration on the Southern Gas Corridor back in January 2011 in Baku. The Southern Gas Corridor is a strategic initiative to bring Caspian, Central Asian and Middle Eastern gas resources to the European markets and is the main diversification tool for the security of energy supply. The infrastructure that is to bring gas from the Caspian basin, notably from Shah Deniz II field, consists of the expansion of the existing South-Caucasus pipeline from Azerbaijan via Georgia to Turkey; the Trans-Anatolian pipeline, crossing Turkey and connecting Georgia with Europe; and the Trans-Adriatic pipeline, transporting gas from the Turkish border via Greece and Albania to Italy.

Now Azerbaijan uses its suitable geographic location and natural resources for geopolitical interests. The priority for geopolitical interest for Azerbaijan means to isolate Armenia from all transnational projects in order to make it concede Nagorno-Karabakh. Presence of the regional conflict and isolation of Armenia from the projects does make Azerbaijan incur heavy costs and at the same level is not beneficial for the region, on the whole. However, Azerbaijan has no alternative and is obliged to act so being in a war state with Armenia. Oil and gas pipelines going through the territory of Armenia would considerably decrease the costs and not lay as a burden on the state budget. If Armenia agreed to liberate the lands and agree to peace

agreement, the region would, of course flourish and also attract a lot of foreign investments.

How National Strategic Choices on Euro-Atlantic or Eurasian Integration May Shape Azerbaijan's Defence and Security Policy Choices in the Near Future

Azerbaijan is currently part of the European Neighbourhood Policy and member of the Council of Europe, and is a large recipient of aid and infrastructure investment from the European Union. Azerbaijan cooperates with the EU since 1996 and since then many citizens of Azerbaijan spoke of European integration and Azerbaijani officials nodded.

We believed that Azerbaijan would continue with the Eastern Partnership. However, Azerbaijan's relations with EU started to be tense from 2013 and 2014 put an end to Azerbaijani peoples' aspirations to be Europeans in the real meaning of this term. Not only Azerbaijan is to be blamed, but also EU and EU institutions which acted unfairly over issues that Azerbaijan would not compromise anyway. Firstly, the Association Agreement was differently put for Azerbaijan, Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia. The Association Agreement had a clear formula for unresolved conflicts. Agreements concerning Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova clearly stated that their territories are occupied by Russia and the EU does recognize their territorial integrity and accepts them with those occupied territories. In regard to Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh conflict the EU used diplomatic language, did not condemn Armenia's occupation of Azerbaijani lands and did not say anything whether it accepts Azerbaijan with Nagorno-Karabakh de jure and de facto. This filled the cup of patience and gave a good reason to Azerbaijan to choose a different language for integration.

At the meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers, President Ilham Aliyev talked about the global crisis and the situation in the Middle East, the problems of migrants in Europe, the Europeans callousness towards refugees. He said that Azerbaijan went its own way, and does not listen to anyone and condemned calls to European integration. He said in particular: "Which Europe should we integrate? The crisis-ridden Europe, where Muslims are banned? Just because we ask these questions we are under pressure and condemned."

On 14 November 2016, the Council of Europe adopted a mandate for the European Commission and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy to negotiate, on behalf of the EU and its member states, a comprehensive agreement with Azerbaijan.

The new agreement envisages the compliance of Azerbaijan's legislation and procedures with the EU's most important international and trade norms and standards, which should lead to the improvement of Azerbaijani goods' access to EU markets.

Currently, the EU is Azerbaijan's major trade partner. The share of European countries in Azerbaijan's foreign trade was 37.12 percent in January-September 2016, according to Azerbaijan's State Customs Committee.

Currently, European countries account for 27.89 and 45.87 percent of Azerbaijani import and export, respectively. European countries mainly deliver vehicles and transportation equipment to Azerbaijan and import oil products.

I think, not everything is lost. As Azerbaijan builds a new strategic cooperation with the EU it will cover not only economic issues, but security policy as well. This means that Azerbaijan does not build its defence policy totally different from Europe. But the EU should also understand and take practical actions towards a fair solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

The unresolved Nagorno-Karabakh conflict remains an obstacle to increasing stability and prosperity in the region. Without its resolution no peace and defence institution building can come to the region.

Georgia's National Security Environment and Defence Institution Building Provision: Effective Governance vs. Inefficient Policy Implications

Vakhtang Maisaia

Introduction

Globalization and interdependent geopolitics play an enormous role in shaping and identifying common threats and risks, either political or military, for each nation-state. Certainly, the role of defence and national security policies are to be congruent with these realities. New realities require new concepts and policies. In the 21st century more priority is given to defence policy and its planning implementation basics that are substantially different from military policy. Defence policy is oriented toward providing protection of national sovereignty and independence from external military intervention and implies collective defence and collective security. At this time, due to the effect of globalization, defence is directed towards the operational use of armed services, using principles of business administration and is judged on its final product. For defence, the product consists of units of high quality, which can be deployed quickly and are capable of participating in multinational operations, as part of collective defence or collective security.¹ By contrast, military policy consists of those activities which are primarily concerned with its armed forces. For this reason, they are less useful for research. In some states, defence and/or national security may not be the principal purpose of military policy; the armed forces may be designed for aggression rather than for defence or internal security and economic development, or they may be used to minimize the burden on the domestic economy rather than to maximize national security.² It is worth remembering that defence policy is also aimed at maintaining proper governance of the coercive apparatus of the state. Defence policy will have

¹ Willem F. van Eekelen and Philip H. Fluri "Defence Institution Building: A Sourcebook in Support of the Partnership Action Plan (PAP-DIP)", Study Group Information, Vienna and Geneva, 2006, p. 14.

² "What is Military Policy" see in <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/military-policy>

to be formulated within the tasks of the ministry of defence under the constitution or other legislation regulating civilian control oversight on the Armed Forces. These are likely to be:

- 1) the protection of the independence and territorial integrity of the state and possible implementation of collective defence commitments;
- 2) the promotion of international order and stability
- 3) the support of civil authorities when needed, for maintaining law and order, civil emergencies and humanitarian assistance, both nationally and internationally.³

This aspect is very important to clearly define and merge the conceptual and contextual difference between the two policies; defence and military. Moreover, another interesting question to put forward, mainly what are the real missions of the Armed Forces in democratic societies and what kind of Armed Forces does Georgia actually need for the 21st century? In that perspective it is important to state that the Armed Forces is the main pillars of national power and national security holder alongside with diplomatic, informational and economic power. Their shape will be influenced by:

- 1) the nature of conflicts which will determine the required roles and capabilities of the Armed Forces;
- 2) the dynamically changing security environment, challenges and threats and
- 3) the national level of ambition and its affordability to the public purse and under what kind of regime it operates.⁴

Namely the last factor is the most interesting to consider. The Clausewitzian “trinity” composed of the people, the commander and his army and the “government” define relations between government and Armed Forces.⁵ How in that definition a society identifies its role is still relevant today.

³ Willem F. van Eekelen and Philip H. Fluri “Defence Institution Building: A Sourcebook in Support of the Partnership Action Plan (PAP-DIP)”, Study Group Information, Vienna and Geneva, 2006, p.15.

European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava, 2014 pp. 215-216.

⁵ Clausewitz v. C., *On War*, Howard, M. and Paret, P. (trans.), Princeton University

The trinity concept reflects Clausewitz's deep knowledge of the individual and social dynamics, not to mention the complexities of political-military realities.⁶

Defence Institution Building (DIB) revisits and improves on Clausewitz's trinity in a way to promote good governance in defence policy management and formulation. Defence Institution Building is a relatively new concept and implies efforts aiming to establish responsible defence governance to help partner-nations build effective, transparent, and accountable defence institutions. DIB efforts advance the American ideals of democracy and the rule of law, and strategic interests, in addition to securing security cooperation investments.⁷ Certainly, from the democratic governance point of view, the role of the legislature is of central importance and it contains three elements for controlling the military; accountability, transparency and monitoring. It is useful to consider the relationship between the military and a country's domestic security community of analysts, academics, journalists, interest groups and other civil society organizations. That is very problematic for Georgia's defence policy implementation today. Between the Georgian elections of October 2012 and April 2017, no less than four civilian defence ministers have resigned and three Chiefs of General Staff of the Armed Forces have lost their positions as well as the Commander in Chief, robbing the president of control over the armed forces too abruptly.

DIB Applicability to Georgia's Defence Policy

Georgia joined the concept of DIB through its endorsement of the Partnership Action Plan (PAP-DIB) at the NATO 2004 Istanbul Summit. The communiqué is clear about the purpose of DIB; "we have launched today a Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building. We encourage and support Partners to make full use of this new instrument to build democratically responsible defence institutions."⁸ Georgia joined the PAP-

Press, Princeton, 1976/1984, p. 89.

⁶ Zenonas Tziarras "Clausewitz's Remarkable Trinity Today" – see in "The Globalized World Post" dated on November 9, 2011 - <https://thegwpost.com/2011/11/09/clausewitz%E2%80%99s-remarkable-trinity-today/>.

⁷ <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/institutional-programs>.

⁸ "Istanbul Summit Communiqué" Brussels: NATO Information Office,

DIB initiative in 2005. Since that time, reporting mechanisms inform NATO on the implementation of further defence reforms. Therefore, the assessments made in the report reflect the current tendencies in Georgia's defence institution building, including gaps and shortfalls, and are based on the objectives stated in the Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB). These reflect "Allies' and Partners' common views on modern and democratically responsible defence institutions, as well as relevant international instruments supporting democratic governance in transition countries."⁹

Georgia's DIB efforts began with a strategic defence review (SDR) which combined with NATO and US support, enabled the country to accelerate reforms and participate in stabilization missions.¹⁰ Euro-Atlantic integration seemed, in Georgia as elsewhere, to be the catalyst for reforms.¹¹ The trend is being reinforced with introduction of the Substantial NATO-Georgia Package (SNGP). The aim of the SNGP is to make Georgia a more reliable partner for NATO operations. The necessity for DIB through NATO's Capacity Building Initiative therefore becomes essential.¹²

Considering the existing security environment of Georgia there is a constant need to enhance Georgian armed forces (GAF) capabilities by modernizing and professionalizing the Armed Forces, developing and sustaining effective defence planning and management systems and continuously improving force capabilities.

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_21023.htm#ipap.

⁹ Jonathan Whitley, "The Process of Constitutional-Political Reforms in Georgia: Political Elite and People's Voices," Notes of the Venice Commission, 2004, p. 40.

¹⁰ Maka Petriashvili. "Defence Institution Building: The Dynamics of Change in Georgia and the Need for Continuity of Effort." MA in Security Studies thesis. Monterey, CA: Naval Post-Graduate School, 2004, p. 2.

¹¹ Chris Donnelly. "Reform Realities." In *Post-Cold War Defence Reform Lessons Learned in Europe and the United States*. Eds. Istvan Gyarmati and Theodor Winkler. Washington DC: Brassey's, 2002, p. 40.

¹² NATO. Factsheet: Substantial NATO-Georgia Package (SNGP), Brussels: NATO Information Office, 2015. See www.nato.int.

One of main priorities of the Ministry of Defence (MoD) is improving professional development programs as well as implementing a comprehensive set of personnel management programs that provide for service members' needs from recruitment to separation. To enhance the professionalism of the GAF, emphasis should be placed on merit-based promotion, professional education programs, competitive salaries and transparency of the selection and assignment processes. Implementing these programs would improve morale by demonstrating that the Ministry cares for its people. Emphasis should also be placed on improving social conditions and quality medical service for Ministry personnel, their families and veterans. Military education should focus on the full spectrum of combat operations and conflict, including for non-commissioned officers. International exchanges with more developed countries would help in accelerating the transformation process, as would modern lessons-learned methodologies and training and simulation systems.

Georgia's existing legislation, starting with the Constitution, supports these developments as it mandates the drafting of the full complement of doctrinal documents;

“The Constitution defines role of the president, parliament and government in important decision-making in the defence system and monitoring – define number of Armed Forces (Parliament) and declaration of war prerogative (president). These backbones are stipulated in Articles 65-83/96-102. However, all these provisions were defined in old version of the Constitution that has been substituted with by new draft of the Constitution adopted by the interim Constitutional Commission on April 22, 2017 with 43 member supporters and 8 against ones and the draft has drastically changed the modality of the defence policy background with suspension of National Security Council and introduced National Defence Council and abolishing President's capability to fulfil the Commander in Chief mission and leading national defence and military policies.”¹³

¹³ Interview with Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia Irakli Kobakhidze at TV “IMEDI” Information Program, April 22, 2017. The Constitution is the source of all further legislation in the land. So the supporting legislation for reform in Georgia included Law on Georgia's Defence - Defines the power of government agencies in defence sector and Stipulates key elements of civilian control over the Armed Forces; National Security Concept, the National Military Strategy, the Strategic Defence Review, the Threats Assessment Paper, the Defence Planning Guidance and the Law on Defence Planning, the Law on International Military Missions and the National Secret Information Act.

These legal and conceptual regulations determine the key priorities of the national defence policy as well as the institutional architecture and political decision-making system in Georgia for implementing defence and security planning (see Figure 1, below). In this context, it is important to underscore Georgia’s aspiration to NATO membership which promotes DIB reforms. Georgia’s integration into NATO largely depends on the political developments within the country. At the 2012 Chicago Summit, the members of Alliance underlined the importance of holding democratic parliamentary and presidential elections. The October 2012 Georgian Parliamentary elections have marked a significant step toward the democratic development of the country. The NATO-Georgia Commission (NGC) provides the framework for close political dialogue and cooperation in support of the country’s reform efforts and its Euro-Atlantic aspirations, culminating into a renewed package of self-defence support measures for Georgia at the NATO Wales Summit in 2014.

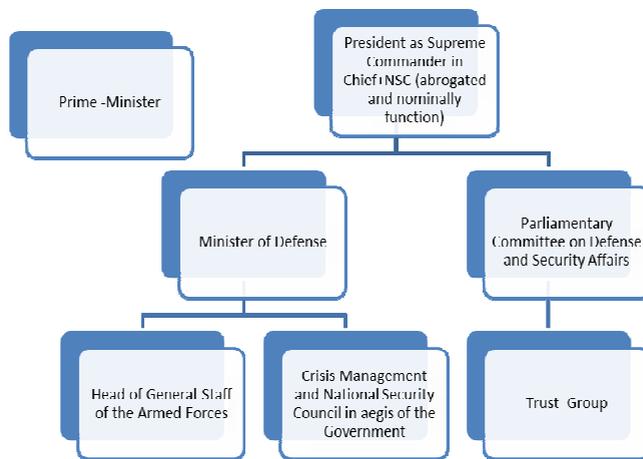


Figure 1: Chart for Regulating the Defence and Security Planning System currently in Georgia

Below we comment on interesting standpoints on how the Georgia’s defence reforms are to be promoted but unfortunately it has some serious setbacks and constraints could impede the system in the nearest future.

Concerns and Problems in DIB Implementation Strategy: Transformation vs. Transition

Georgian defence reforms have been protracted during the last five years due to the imbalance of power inside the domestic political system. Geopolitical challenges have also affected the internal situation in the country and have distracted the government from its task of reform. The achievements since 2004 in defence reformation case have been dissipating fast due to incompetent management, the politicization of the Armed Forces under President Mikhail Saakashvili's administration and the use of the Armed Forces for cracking down violently on peaceful opposition rallies and manifestations (on November 7, 2007 and on 26 May, 2011), especially.

There are several areas of concern expressed by the international organizations concerning DIB implementation. Despite "Transparency International" assessing the risk of corruption in Georgia's defence sector lower in recent years, according to the 2015 Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index of Transparency International, which ranks Georgia in Band "C" – a moderate risk of corruption up from a "D" ranking in 2013. The country is still vulnerable to elite corruption and opacity of the defence sector.

Georgia's joining of NATO's Building Integrity programme may be credited in helping Georgia achieve a "C" rating by Transparency International. There are many problems in providing legislative bases for developing DIB policy at the national level. Key principles for legislative oversight of the Armed Forces and of the military in a way of parliamentary control are lacking for security policy, legislation, procurement, management and administration.

Parliament's sovereignty is far from complete over these matters. Figure 2 below is an illustration of the issues that the Georgian Parliament is incapable to provide oversight on.¹⁴

¹⁴ Willem F. van Eekelen and Philip H. Fluri "Defence Institution Building – A Sourcebook in Support of the Partnership Action Plan (PAP-DIP)", Study Group Information, Vienna and Geneva, 2006, pp. 156-157. Legend: (Accountability-Oversight-Transparency)
X – Parliament possess power
0 – Parliament does not possess power

The chart indicates how parliamentary control over the Armed Forces and monitoring defence policy is very weak and has not enough leverage for that undertaking. Moreover, legislative oversight of the defence sector is in place, but formal powers have not, it is found, translated to sufficient scrutiny in practice and in addition to that there is a breakdown of the defence budget by general function, and information on income outside of central government allocations is lacking. Audits are undertaken but not published. There are no clear figures made public, such information being taken as secret. Regarding procurement provisions, there are assumptions that purchases are opportunistic in nature, without a formal acquisition strategy openly published.

Security Policy	0
Defence Concept	0
Force Structure and Planning/Number Military Personnel	X
Military Strategy	0
Control Defence Budget Programmes	X
Access to all Defence Budget Documents	X
Control the Defence Budget By Line Items	0
Parliament Provides Consent to High-Ranking Military Appointment	0

Figure 2: Parliamentary Oversight over Defence and Security Policies in Georgia

Despite Constitutional reforms, the political system in Georgia still concentrates enormous power in the hands of the Defence Minister for policy planning and execution, dominating even the authority of the Chief of Defence – the Supreme Commander in Chief – the President of Georgia. Meanwhile in accordance to the law on defence planning, the Chairman of General Staff of the Armed Forces is directly and personally subordinated

to the Minister of Defence. The Defence Minister possesses abundant power over two key persons dealing with defence national policy i.e. over the President and Chairman of the General Staff and by doing so, post-Clausewitzian “trinity” is being undermined by so-called “political Bonapartism” in the current Georgian political power balance.

Conclusion

These are some explanations as to why Georgia is pursuing a pro-Western foreign policy. The West has also been responding favourably to the reform efforts – for instance, by recently releasing the EU Global Strategy highlighting the importance of states to the east and the south, and the contribution of those societies (where Georgia distinguishes itself) to making Europe more secure and resilient. As for NATO, the Alliance should, when affected by developments beyond its borders, engage a network of partnerships with third countries (including Georgia). However, the Georgian defence policy needs to be radically reshuffled, otherwise it stands on to collapse. The indications from international NGOs and think tanks are clear; not soon will the new government evade from its heavy heritage. Nevertheless, concrete steps made forward by the new government to improve defence policy planning are only tiny “drops” in an “ocean of dark waves.” With such scarce human resources in defence policy planning at time being, the mission is achieved.

Policy-Recommendations:

- Improvement of Conceptual Basics at National Level
→ *Assertiveness*
- Increase Defence and Military Education at the National Level
→ *Competence*
- Rise Importance of Analysing and Forecasting Risks and Threats
→ *Surveillance*
- Efficiently Govern and Manage Military Capabilities
→ *Sophistication*

South Caucasus Security Challenges: A Look from Armenia

David Shahnazaryan

Moscow's neo-imperial policy¹ towards the post-Soviet states is reflected in the guidance documents adopted several months after Putin secured his third term, in May 2012, particularly in the *Concept of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation*², signed by the president on February 12, 2013. The document stresses that:

“Russia sees as a priority the task of establishing the Eurasian Economic Union, aiming not only to make the best use of mutually beneficial economic ties in the CIS space but also to become a model of association, open to other states, a model that would determine the future of the Commonwealth states.”³

Armenian diplomacy entered the “Crimean” and “post-Crimean” period with experience gained from the Russo-Georgian five-day war of August 2008. Throughout that period of turmoil, Armenia managed to preserve the balance – not to spoil good-neighborly relations with Georgia and not to provoke Russia to take hostile actions against Armenia.

However, when Russian-backed forces seized control of Ukraine's Crimea, Armenian diplomacy had already lost a significant part of the political resources that enabled it to preclude Russia from using its territory for taking hostile actions against Georgia, despite the fact that Russia has a military base in Armenian Gyumri.

Armenia became a victim of Russia's neo-imperial policy before the political crisis in Ukraine erupted. However, it was obvious that Ukraine⁴ was the main strategic target. Russia shifted to the language of threats in the spring of 2013. Cloaked in statements, they came from both pro-Kremlin

¹ David Shahnazaryan. “Neo-imperial Russia: Seizure of Armenia and Regional Security.” 1in.am. Article by (in Russian).

² “Concept of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation.” 303-18-02-2013. 18 Feb. 2013. Official website of Russian foreign ministry (in Russian).

³ Ibid, article 44.

⁴ David Shahnazaryan. “Neo-imperial Russia: Seizure of Armenia and Regional Security.” 1in.am. Article by (in Russian).

experts⁵ and official representatives⁶ of the Russian embassy in Yerevan. The EU's Eastern Partnership Program does not address the security issues of the member states, and this appears to be one of its biggest flaws,⁷ capable of predetermining the obstacles, including those of insurmountable character, for its implementation.

Pressed by the increasingly threatening circumstances, Armenia's president Serzh Sargsyan made a decision on September 3, 2013 that came as a surprise⁸ even to his close associates, on Armenia's U-turn foreign policy⁹ refusing to initial the Association Agreement with EU and joining instead the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union.¹⁰

The situation changed dramatically when relations between Russia and the West began to worsen. On the one hand, Armenia faced intractable obstacles for carrying on its previous course; on the other hand, Russia began a rigorous use of the available levers to step up control of official Yerevan. That was evidenced by a number of steps taken by Armenia, which contradicted its foreign policy and security interests.

In the first place, we mean Armenia's vote at UN General Assembly on resolution A/RES/68/262[19],¹¹ defending the territorial integrity of Ukraine and recognizing the so-called referendum in Crimea as illegal. Armenia voted against the resolution putting itself on par with other 10 odi-

⁵ "If Yerevan Signs the Association Agreement with EU, Baku Will Become Moscow's Main Partner: Vlasov." 1in.am (in Russian). 18.08.2013.

⁶ D. Shahnazaryan. "Accession to Customs Union is Unconstitutional." Lragir (in Russian). 05.09.2013.

⁷ "Russia's Attitude to its Neighbours is Unacceptable" Conference at Warsaw University, Speech by R. Mehrabyan, 1in.am (in Russian), 19.07.2013.

⁸ Galust Sahakyan. "Armenia Will Initial Association Agreement." Radio Azatutyun (in Russian), 03.09.2013.

⁹ Speech by Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan at Press Conference Following His Talks with Russian President Putin. Official website of president of Armenia (in Russian). 03.09.2013.

¹⁰ Armenia's Membership in Eurasian Economic Union: Political Consequences. April 2015, website of the Armenian Institute of International Relations and Security (in Russian).

¹¹ "Backing Ukraine's territorial integrity, UN Assembly declares Crimea referendum invalid." UN News Centre. 27.03.2014.

ous regimes that defended Crimea's annexation. In retaliation, Kiev recalled its ambassador to Armenia for consultations. This was followed by cooling of relations between Kiev and Yerevan.¹² However, Armenia has not officially recognized the legality of Crimea's annexation, nor the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

As new developments around Ukraine continued to unfold, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the negotiation process for its peaceful settlement, as well as the philosophy and Armenia's immediate tasks of the Defense Institution Building (DIB) saw fundamental transformations.

The most significant upsurge in fighting on the Armenian-Azerbaijani international border and along the line of contact in Nagorno-Karabakh since 1994 occurred in the summer of 2014, resulting in numerous casualties. In response the Russia-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), of which Armenia is a member, stated that Nagorno-Karabakh was not within its competence zone, and failed to condemn the upsurge in violence, initiated by Azerbaijan. It should be noted that that period coincided with the "hot" phase of the war in Eastern Ukraine, where the involvement of Russian troops in hostilities became a proven fact and a challenge to the international community that responded by slapping sanctions against Russia. This was followed by top Armenian officials' statements, voicing their discontent over sales of billions of USD worth offensive weapons to Azerbaijan by Russia, which actually began¹³ back in 2010. According to Carey Cavanaugh, ex US co-chairman of the OSCE Minsk Group, over the last 10 years Azerbaijan bought \$22 billion worth of armaments.¹⁴

The four-day war in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict zone (April 2-5, 2016), initiated by Azerbaijan, showed how fragile the security in the South Caucasus region was. The logic of subsequent developments revealed that the goal of that massive military operation that took place against the backdrop

¹² D. Shahnazaryan. "Accession to Customs Union is Unconstitutional." Lragir (in Russian). 05.09.2013.

¹³ "Azerbaijan is Second in Europe by Size of Armaments Import." Radio Azatutyun (in Russian). 16.03.2015.

¹⁴ Carey Cavanaugh. "Renewed Conflict Over Nagorno-Karabakh." Council on Foreign Relations. Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 30. February 2017.

of Ankara's accord and the explicit tactical coincidence of the interests of Moscow and Baku was to change drastically the status quo in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict zone.¹⁵

Under that scheme, Azerbaijan was to seize several Armenian-controlled districts; then Moscow was to declare that the Armenian side was unable to protect Nagorno-Karabakh and that it was necessary to deploy a Russian peacekeeping force there. This is actually the main goal of the so-called "Lavrov plan."¹⁶ However, this plan was failed by the bravery and courage of Armenian troops stationed along the line of contact. Moreover, we can assert with a high degree of probability that Russia's plan is to deploy its peacekeeping force in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict zone under the banner of the CSTO. This explains the failure to appoint a representative of Armenia to the rotational post of CSTO secretary general that had initially been agreed upon by all CSTO member states in December 2015. The failure was staged by Moscow, which, however, distanced itself from it, preferring to push it through by Minsk and Astana.

The first failure was blamed on the absence of Belarusian president Alexander Lukashenka from a CSTO summit in Moscow, while the second one was blamed on the absence of Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev from a CSTO summit in Yerevan. It was obvious that giving this position to a representative of Armenia would be unacceptable to Baku, and the Kazakh-Belarusian factor was only a cover for Moscow to push through its intention.¹⁷ The special relationship between Lukashenka and Azerbaijani president Ilham Aliyev and Nazarbayev's intention to act as a mediator in the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement against the background of Russia's unwavering desire to disrupt the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group – can "patch-up the cracking CSTO".¹⁸

¹⁵ D. Shahnazaryan. "Stage-by-Stage Settlement of Karabakh Conflict Exists no Longer". Aravot Interview (in Russian). 28.12.2016.

¹⁶ Interview by David Shahnazaryan. "Change the Format of War!" 168.am. (in Russian). 05.05.2016.

¹⁷ "I Will Work off. Lukashenka Kissed the Medal from Aliyev's Hand. Charter -97 (in Russian). 6.02.2017.

¹⁸ "Putin Failed to Use CSTO against USA: Expert." Crimea. Realities. Interview with David Shahnazaryan (in Russian). 17.10.2016.

Given this course of events that seems quite probable, Russia will be the main beneficiary, while Armenia, the West, and Iran will be the losers. The latter is seeking to build an energy corridor from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea together with Armenia and Georgia and is able to become a serious competitor to Russian supplies of hydrocarbons.

Three days after the St. Petersburg CSTO summit,¹⁹ Azerbaijan attempted another diversionary incursion on December 29, 2016; this time not on the line of contact in Nagorno-Karabakh, but on the border with Armenia – against Armenian positions near the village of Chinari in Tavush province, triggering another unprecedented surge of tension after April 2016.²⁰

The CSTO leadership could not ignore military operations against a CSTO member state, launched by another, non-member state, without losing face. CSTO secretary general Nikolay Bordyuzha issued a comment,²¹ causing the sharp discontent of Baku. Three days later, on January 1, 2017, Bordyuzha who held the post for years, suddenly resigned “in connection with termination of his term in office”, although there was no talk, even on unofficial level that he would leave.²²

Russia has never been interested in a comprehensive settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and never will be. As for Azerbaijan, it has again put forward the stage-by-stage settlement option. However, this option ceased to exist,²³ after the annexation of Crimea by Russia, when not only Russia, but also the United States and Britain failed to fulfill their obligations towards Ukraine as prescribed by the Budapest Memorandum of 1994. This failure as well as Azerbaijani aggression against Nagorno-

¹⁹ “Kremlin Commented on Absence of Lukashenka from EEU and CSTO Summits.” RBC (in Russian). 26.12.2016.

²⁰ Artsrun Hovhannisyan. “Enemy Attempted Diversionary Incursion on State Border in Tavush.” Aravot. (in Russian). 29.12.2016.

²¹ Comments by CSTO Secretary General N. Bordyuzha in connection with Armed Incident on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border. Official website of CSTO (in Russian). 29.12.2016.

²² On Termination of Powers of CSTO Secretary General N. N. Bordyuzha. Official website of CSTO (in Russian). 01.01.2017.

²³ “‘We Will Continue Taking Revenge on Armenians’: Scandalous Attacks by Azerbaijani Dictator.” 1in.am (in Russian). 20.03.2015.

Karabakh in 2016 April made it clear that the international institutions of guarantees do not operate any longer. Moreover, the president of Azerbaijan also acknowledged this saying that,

“[t]hose who have power ignore these (international) agreements. This means a new period has begun in the world and we must be aware of it ... This means that the international law is just an instrument in the hands of super powers to force the weak states to something.”²⁴

The growth of this perception among political elites of the region results primarily from the weakening positions of the United States and Europe in the region following the change of administration in Washington and the institutional crisis in the EU. The current period is characterized by unpredictability against the backdrop of growing populism in liberal democracies. Washington’s methodology of approaches to solving various problems has undergone significant changes as well – at least in terms of political rhetoric. If over the last 20-25 years it was based on the principle “if there is no solution to the problem, do not solve it”; the principle now is to give any solution, albeit a bad one.

As for Brussels and other European capitals, they are completely disoriented after the failure of the Eastern Partnership Program in its 2010-2013 form. Comments made by Phillip Breedlove, former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, lament NATO’s failure to formulate a policy regarding what to do with peoples that are outside the Alliance and are not part of the Russian Federation, not only have not lost their relevance, but have also become an important feature of the current period.²⁵

One can state that the current security architecture has lost its functionality and ability to respond adequately to challenges, and potentially only Washington can become a new security architect, and an important factor in the process of DIB by the region’s countries, and especially Armenia. However, the US current regional policy is under big question and in the fog of uncertainties. Washington’s vision of the region is shaped through refraction of the Moscow-Ankara-Tehran triangle.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “Breedlove Says Threat of Hybrid War Looms over Moldova.” Voice of America (in Russian). 16.09.2014.

This tripartite format was first tested in Syria, achieving there a limited and purely military success in resolving the Syrian crisis, whose political settlement is not visible in the short-term perspective because of apparent clashes or at least different directions of interests within it. In addition, each of its components has its own problems with the world community, which tend to deepen. At the same time, it can be stated that the ongoing aggravation of tension in US-Iran relations is very likely to have a negative impact on the security of the South Caucasus.

The unprecedented surge of tension in relations between Moscow and Ankara (November 2015-May 2016) and the murder of the Russian ambassador in Turkey did not lessen the desire of Russian and Turkish leaders to cooperate in the implementation of their largely coinciding interests, including those in the South Caucasus. Internal political transformations, initiated by Erdogan are distancing Turkey from its Western allies shaping a simultaneous natural drift in the direction of Moscow.

For Armenia, with its unsettled relations with Ankara²⁶ it is a serious challenge, especially given Ankara's support to the efforts of Moscow and Baku to shift the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict from the format of the OSCE Minsk Group to the format of bilateral Russian-Turkish agreements, which look like a remake of what happened back in 1920-21, as a result of which Armenia, as well as Georgia and Azerbaijan lost their independence.

Therefore, if Moscow has serious reasons not to heighten confrontation with the West and avoid jeopardizing the favorable trends emerging in Washington after Trump took office in the White House, still it will have sufficient potential to kindle such a conflict in the region that the US and Europe themselves would turn to it with an appeal to stop the catastrophe.

A lot will depend on what kind of reasons will outweigh in the process of political decision-making in Moscow. Washington's reaction to Russia's actions in Ukraine, in particular, the harsh criticism²⁷ of Moscow, voiced by

²⁶ D. Shahnazaryan. "Nervous Neighbours: Five Years on after Armenia-Turkey Protocols." 12.12.2014, in Russian on 1in.am, 21.02.2015.

²⁷ Emergency situation in Avdiivka, Ukraine. Statement to the PC. OSCE. 31.01.2017.

the US representatives in the OSCE and the UN, who announced also Washington's intention to preserve the sanctions²⁸ against Russia are a positive factor and an indication of subsequent developments.

The US representatives' statements were echoed by British defense minister,²⁹ who spoke about the need to contain Moscow and its campaign of disinformation, by a decision of NATO³⁰ on strengthening of its presence in the Black Sea basin, made during NATO secretary general's visit to Bulgaria, as well as by a "very good phone conversation",³¹ according to the White House, between the presidents of USA and Ukraine, during which Washington supported Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty, indicating that this position will remain fixed, even if it strikes a sort of a deal with Russia.

Yerevan has a clear understanding of the threat, and hence its desire to diversify its foreign and security policies. There is also the understanding that the "cold peace" in US-Russia relations is preferable than the tough confrontation or close cooperation based on realpolitik.

President Serzh Sargsyan's visit to Brussels this past February should be viewed in this regard. In Brussels, he had meetings with the leaderships of NATO³² and EU,³³ where it was announced that the parties would continue and deepen cooperation. Sargsyan also invited NATO secretary general Jens Stoltenberg to visit Armenia. Armenia and the EU plan to sign a new Agreement on Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership in May after initialing it on March 21.

²⁸ "New US Ambassador to UN Condemned Russia's Aggressive Actions in Ukraine." Voice of America (in Russian). 03.02.2017.

²⁹ "British Minister Accused Russia of Turning Misinformation into a Weapon." Voice of America (in Russian). 03.02.2017.

³⁰ Joint press point with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the President of the Republic of Bulgaria, Rumen Radev. NATO. www.nato.int. 31.01.2017.

³¹ "Trump had phone conversations with leaders of Ukraine and Italy." Voice of America (in Russian).05.02.2017.

³² Joint news conference by President Serzh Sargsyan and NATO secretary general Jens Stoltenberg. Official website of president of Armenia (in Russian). 27.02.2017.

³³ President Serzh Sargsyan had a meeting with European Council president Donald Tusk. Official website of president of Armenia 27.02.2017.

However, it is now hard to predict how Moscow will react to this agreement. Thus, Leonid Kalashnikov, the chair of a Russian State Duma committee on CIS, Eurasian integration and relations with compatriots, argued that the new agreement would be acceptable if it does not run counter to Armenia's obligations to the Eurasian Economic Union.

These are important, but still insufficient shifts that can balance out Armenia's security policy and strengthen its position in the region as a subject in the face of the security vacuum being created by Russia, which Armenia is forced to fill in by making further concessions of its sovereignty to Moscow.

In view of developments around the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, there is a growing fear in Tbilisi that Moscow may demand that it allows transit of its troops for the "peacekeeping operation." Moreover, they would be the troops stationed in the Southern Military District of the Russian Federation, including those deployed in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Crimea, as well as the 102nd military base in Armenia. In such a case, Tbilisi may face an existential dilemma, and even occupation. The fact is that the above-mentioned developments, especially in the energy sector, have increased Russia's ability of influencing Georgia.

About Azerbaijan, Moscow is bargaining to change the status quo in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict zone in favor of Azerbaijan, but without a final resolution. At the same time, Baku does not rule out³⁴ its accession to CSTO and then to EEU provided there is "sufficient motivation."³⁵ That should be understood as the return of several districts surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh under its control.³⁶

It should be emphasized that Armenia's longstanding membership in the CSTO, then its subsequent membership in the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) not only failed to improve the level of its security, but even proved

³⁴ Ilham Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan (interview, 2016). CIS. /Eurasian Business Council/. YouTube (in Russian). 24.10.2016.

³⁵ Naira Hayrumyan. "Aliyev Lays Condition to Putin on Karabakh." Lragir (in Russian). 18.10.2016.

³⁶ David Shahnazaryan. "Aliyev Trades Membership in EEU for Return of Territories." First Informational. 07.11.2017.

incapable of using political means to prevent the April war in 2016, as well as to reduce Yerevan's justified fears that there would be no repeat of the April 2016 fierce fighting. President Serzh Sargsyan stated during a visit to Nagorno-Karabakh in March that "...the Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian forces without batting an eyelid will give if needed the order to strike with the Iskander. In the neighboring country they know it all too well."³⁷

When compared to April 2016, the situation on the line of contact has changed visibly. First, the factor of unexpectedness is no longer there and new technical equipment has been installed along the line of contact. Of late, the authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh have been providing greater information about the tension on the line of contact and diversionary attempts by Azerbaijani troops.

This kind of information was to be provided by the parties to the conflict should mediators' proposals made in 2015 – i.e. instalment of technical equipment to register ceasefire breaches and creation of a mechanism for international investigations of truce violations – were implemented.

Thus, using a combination of the above-mentioned factors, Moscow has increased its capacity for a full return to the region. The current period of uncertainty increases the risks of force majeure events that can have the effect of "black swans" on a regional scale. The situation with DIB as a whole does not correspond and does not meet regional threats.

Security organizations made of alliances or blocs are not decisive in the current world, where bilateral relations are prevailing. Thus, Azerbaijan is building quite effective relations with Turkey, Israel, Pakistan,³⁸ Kazakhstan, Belarus,³⁹ Ukraine and certainly Russia. There is a situation in the South Caucasus now where Azerbaijan has become Russia's main strategic partner, while Armenia is now managed by Russia.

³⁷ President Handed High State Awards to Servicemen Who Excelled in the Course of Combat Duty. Official website of president of Armeni (in Russian). 25.03.2017.

³⁸ "Aliyev Thanked Pakistan for Lack of Diplomatic Relations with Armenia that Occupied Azerbaijani Territories." Interfax.az (in Russian). 01.03.2017.

³⁹ "Belarus and Azerbaijan Stand for Resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict on the Basis of International Law." BELTA (in Russian). 28.11.2016.

But aside from the “black swans” scenario, it seems that in case of “linear” development of events against the backdrop of their current dynamics and direction, Russia has both the potential and the intention (see the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation) to turn the South Caucasus back into “Transcaucasia”, into its imperial outskirts, a buffer zone. This is the reason why Armenia’s DIB needs to be fundamentally adjusted in cooperation with the Euro-Atlantic security structures.

PART III:

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DIB AND DEFENCE MODERNIZATION IN SOUTH CAUCASUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Armenian Armed Forces Transformation

Hrachya V. Arzumanyan

Introduction

The national security institutions cannot postpone indefinitely the theoretical sensing of threats and shaping responses, appealing to the impossibility of “catching” the changing dynamics and to create a coherent vision of the future. The national security (NS) sphere includes elements and systems which are part of society. The development and functioning of such systems needs concepts and doctrines based on the imperfect comprehension of challenges and threats and ways to respond to them. The military establishment of Armenia needs not perfect, but working concepts of transformation for Armenian armed forces.

Strategic Context

Grey zones of security environment. The strategists, national security and war researchers develop new notions, models and concepts seeking to understand changes in the security environment. In recent years much attention has been paid to the problem of blurred conceptual boundaries between peace, crisis and war and military and non-military elements of national power. As a result, “grey zones” in the security environment have formed where state and non-state, recognized and unrecognized by the international community actors operate.

The reflexive approach to the assessment of processes in the grey zone does not allow to realize that for several actors the grey zone represents not only a specific locus of battlefield, region or security environment. It is about strategy and tactics requiring all elements of national power and coordinated efforts to achieve national objectives unfolding in full spectrum of peace, crisis and war.¹ The term “grey zone” appeared in the US *Quad-*

¹ Hermsberg, Nicholas. “The Danger of the Grey Zone: Flawed Responses to Emerging Unconventional Threats.” In: *Small Wars Journal*, December 6, 2016. <<http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-danger-of-the-grey-zone-flawed-responses-to-emerging->

rennial Defense Review of 2010 considering the problems of foreign military assistance.² The article noted that the “divide between defense, diplomacy, and development [...] simply does not exist”³ and the Department of Defense requires that the other U.S. departments and agencies coordinate efforts to the threats in the grey zones. However, until 2017 the United States meanwhile did not obtain such coordinated response and a publication of the Army War College states it. The authors appeal to the Pentagon to head the development of a national strategy for fighting with “grey zone competitors.”⁴ However they admit that while a whole-of-government strategic approach is “ideal” it remains unachievable due to the lack of “national-level guidance.”⁵

According to Michael Mazarr the most important characteristics of a grey zone concern tactics and intentions of the actors who are widely using nonconventional armed forces and actions to influence the state and non-state actors of the international arena.⁶ Thus the confrontation is conducted to avoid conflict escalation to levels on which the intervention of the regional and geopolitical centers take place. Such actions represent “forceful and deliberate” efforts to achieve political and strategic aims through adjustable limited escalation, below large-scale military conflict threshold.⁷

Antulio Echevarria II also considers that such actors consciously use “the West’s conception of, and long-standing aversion to, armed conflict” while

unconventional-threats> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

² U.S. Department of Defense. Quadrennial Defense Review Report. Washington, D.C. February, 2010, p. 73.<http://www.defence.gov/Portals/1/features/defenceReviews/QDR/QDR_as_of_29JAN10_1600.pdf> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

³ Ibid, p. 74.

⁴ Freier Nathan, et al. Outplayed: Regaining Strategic Initiative in the Grey Zone. Carlisle. PA: US Army Strategic Studies Institute, June, 2016, p. 8. <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1325> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

⁵ Ibid, p. 78.

⁶ Mazarr, Michael J. Mastering the Grey Zone: Understanding a Changing Era of Conflict. Carlisle, PA: US Army Strategic Studies Institute, December, 2015, p.2.<<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB1303.pdf>> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

⁷ Ibid, pp. 11-13.

accomplishing “‘wartime-like’ objectives.”⁸ It allows several actors to resort to strategy of brinkmanship⁹ which Thomas Schelling called “a competition in risk-taking.”¹⁰

At present, the discussions in the expert community take place concerning the acceptability of the concept of a grey zone. , Adam Elkus points to the uncertainty of the concept. For example, the weakness of the concept lies in the impossibility to distinguish it from the concept of a limited war.¹¹ Mazarr and Elkus concur that this represents a conscious effort by actors to conduct operations and/or a campaign by means between traditional non-military (diplomatic) and military means. The grey zone operates with tools of national power which cannot be unambiguously classified as military or non-military.¹²

While Mazarr certainly realizes the necessity of the accurate use of military and non-military tools of national power, problems can arise with the policy-makers. Focus on the borders between war, crisis and peace, the recognition such borders can be misleading. In the current security environment, many state and non-state actors do not recognize the existence of such borders and do not distinguish military and non-military tools of na-

⁸ Echevarria II, Antulio J: *Operating in the Grey Zone: An Alternative Paradigm for U.S. Military Strategy*. Carlisle, PA: US Army Strategic Studies Institute, April, 2016, pp. 12-13. (Accessed on 01.03.2017). <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/dis-play.cfm?pub ID=1318>.

⁹ Brinkmanship – the art and policy of balancing on the edge of acceptable (most often wars). Being the skilful politician, you consciously push a situation as it is possible closer to an edge of chaos and war to reach the appropriate results for themselves. And “in any game of brinkmanship, it is possible that one side will collapse suddenly” (Oxford Dictionary).

¹⁰ Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966, p. 166.

¹¹ Elkus, Adam. “50 Shades of Grey: Why the Grey Wars Concept Lacks Strategic Sense.” In: *War on the Rocks*, December 15, 2015. <<http://warontherocks.com/2015/12/50-shades-of-grey-why-the-grey-wars-concept-lacks-strategic-sense/>> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

¹² Mazarr, Michael J. “Struggle in the Grey Zone and World Order.” In: *War on the Rocks*, December 22, 2015. <<http://warontherocks.com/2015/12/struggle-in-the-grey-zone-and-world-order>> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

tional power. The security environment requires to develop new non-linear models of the conflict allowing to frame new realities.¹³

Frank Hoffman notes that the U.S. suffers from a “strategic culture” which does not recognize the “many different forms that human conflict can take.”¹⁴ The consequence is an unreasonable political and public expectations of success, simplified attitudes to the efficiency of military force and “naive” perceptions about both adversaries and context of the international conflict.¹⁵ One can agree with Mazarr and Echevarria that some actors consciously plan and wage campaigns in a grey zone. However, the proposed framework for analysis of threats based on the distinction between military and non-military tools of national power, peaceful and violent forms of the conflict presents itself as incorrect. The actors operating in grey zone use all tools of national power both sequentially and simultaneously and throughout the spectrum of conflict.¹⁶

For example, the strategic thinking in China does not distinguish between military and non-military tools of national power. In 1999 Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui published the “Unrestricted Warfare” where they considered strategy against American military and economic power. The Chinese theorists, at best, will distinguish between kinetic and non-kinetic forms of

¹³ Arzumanyan, Hrachya V. “Models of conflicts and new paradigm for the 21st century security environment.” In: Russian Sociological Review, Vol 14, No. 4, 2015, pp. 120-139. (Accessed on 01.03.2017). <https://www.academia.edu/2015_2356/_Models_of_conflicts_and_new_paradigm_for_the_21st_century_security_environment_Russian_Sociological_Review_vol_14_No_4_2015_pp_120-139>

¹⁴ Hoffman, Frank G. “The Contemporary Spectrum of Conflict: Protracted, Grey Zone, Ambiguous, and Hybrid Modes of War.” In: 2016 Index of US Military Strength, Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, 2015 p. 25. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/ims-2016/PDF/2016_Index_of_US_Military_Strength_FULL.pdf> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 25.

¹⁶ Арзумян, Рачья В. “Стратегия иррегулярной войны: теория и практика применения. Теоретические и стратегические проблемы концептуализации, религиозные и военно-политические отношения в операционной среде иррегулярных военных действий.” [Irregular war strategy: theory and practical application. Theoretic and strategic problems of conceptualization, religious and political-military relations in operational environment of irregular warfare]. Под общ. ред. А.Б. Михайловского, серия (Новая стратегия, 4), Центр Стратегических оценок и прогнозов, Москва, 2015. <<https://www.academia.edu/> (accessed 1 March 2017).

war, considering all continuum of a confrontation in the 21st century as the war domain. Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui formulate eight guiding principles for developed countries defending their national interests; omnidirectionality; synchrony; limited objectives; unlimited measures; asymmetry; minimal consumption; multidimensional coordination; and flexibility of the entire process.¹⁷

Some of these principles may be useful for understanding of the grey zone concept. The omnidirectionality denies separation of military and non-military domains of the conflict. The authors declare that “there is no longer any distinction between what is or is not the battlefield.”¹⁸ As a consequence, the confrontation is developed in “social spaces such as the military, politics, economics, culture, and the psyche.”¹⁹ Synchrony means that instead of distinction of confrontation’s phases, the actions for achievement of national objectives are carried out “under conditions of simultaneous occurrence, simultaneous action, and simultaneous completion.”²⁰ Pursuing limited objectives guarantees that national ambitions will be constrained by attainable goals with mobilization of all resources. Asymmetry guarantees that available assets are used against adversary’s points.²¹ One can mention the Chinese strategic concept of “Three Warfare” in 2003 recognized by the Communist Party and the Central Military Council of China as an important element of warfare. The concept attracted the attention of American researchers in the 2014 report for the Office of Net Assessment of the Pentagon.²²

Thus, the grey zones demand a readiness to involve in various types of military conflicts (conventional, irregular, hybrid) and at various scales

¹⁷ Qiao, Liang and Wang Xiangsui. *Unrestricted Warfare: Assumptions on War and Tactics in the Age of Globalization*. FBIS trans., Beijing: PLA Literature Arts Publishing House, February 1999. <<https://www.oodaloop.com/documents/unrestricted.pdf>> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 206.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 206.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 207-208.

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 208-211.

²² U.S. Department of Defence. *China: The Three Warfare*. Stefan Halper for Andy Marshall, Director of Office of Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defence, Washington, DC, May 2013.

when borders between peace, crisis and war are blurred. The failure to recognize the true character of grey zones gives some actors the chance to manipulate the lack of will of the international community to get involved in armed intervention and strive for aims by methods which are unacceptable from the point of view of international law, ethics and morals.

Strategic context of Armenia.²³ The changes occur not only in the international security environment, but also in the strategic context of Armenia. Now Armenian statehood must be ready for armed confrontation not only in the territory of Artsakh, but also in the Republic of Armenia. Statements of top political and military leaders of Azerbaijan and activities of Azerbaijani armed forces unambiguously indicate preparations for combat operations on the southern (Nakhijevan) and northern flanks of the Republic of Armenia.

Azerbaijan uses brinkmanship to pressure the international community and Armenia consciously uses commando units and low intensity military activity tending to extend in scale and direction. Gun-fire against border settlements has become part of daily life not only for Artsakh, but also for the North of the Republic of Armenia.

The next important factor of Armenia's strategic context is the quantitative advantage of Azerbaijan and its strategic allies in size of armed forces, weapons and military equipment. It creates long term asymmetry of forces. Even if one assumes that international community and military blocs further will be able to exclude direct participation of Turkey in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, asymmetry will remain. Anyway, the Armenia should not exclude from consideration the scenario of direct involvement of Turkey in military operations one way or the other. The Syrian crisis clearly demonstrates, that membership of Turkey in NATO does not give reliable guarantees of its non-intervention in armed conflict.

Another feature of Armenian strategic context is the diasporic character of the Armenian nation where up to 80 percent of people live outside Armenia. The April 2016 war showed that active combat mobilized all Armenian

²³ Further in the text under the term "Armenia" will be understood both Armenian states Republic of Armenia and Artsakh Republic.

people. Hierarchical mobilization mechanisms of Armenian statehood have been supplemented by the efforts of the diaspora in general having a networked “bottom-up” mechanism of mobilization and coordination. Web activity and social networks has reduced diaspora mobilization time from 10-14 days in the 90s during the first Artsakh war to 4-6 hours in 2016.

Thus, the strategic context of Armenia follows specific characteristics:

- 1) grey zones in the regional security environment;
- 2) the necessity to conduct military operations against several adversary states and non-state actors in both the territory of Armenia and in several directions simultaneously;
- 3) the asymmetry in the size of armed forces, weapons and military equipment of warring parties; and
- 4) the national identity of the Armenian people who believe Armenia possesses two states and a responsive diaspora.

The Necessity of Transformation of the Armed Forces and National Military Establishment of Armenia

The aims of transformation. The strategic context of Armenia requires transforming the Armenian forces and the whole military establishment. Despite ongoing reforms, the organizational structure of Armenian forces, army training management system, operational readiness and training system etc. remains Soviet. In the 21st century Armenia must prepare and implement transition to field agile, adaptive networked forces and a national military establishment. Only in that case Armenia can be ready to respond to complex and dynamic military threats. Military activity against Armenia will take place in the grey zone.

Ways to secure Armenia. The strategic context, aims and objectives facing the Armenian armed forces demand to develop new NS strategy and a military strategy of Armenia. New doctrinal documents must shift away from deterrence strategy based on defensive and counteroffensive operations for recovering the *status quo ante*. The experience of Artsakh war of 1990-1994, followed by the period of relative peace until the events of April 2016 show that Azerbaijan does not shy away from military solutions.

This policy corresponds to the interests of Azerbaijani allies. The international community, the UN Security Council and the OSCE have limited capabilities to mitigate Azerbaijan and Turkey aggressiveness.

Deterrence in such a situation is inefficient and has to be complemented with measures relating to the coercing elements of Armenia's national power. It addresses, first of all, Armenia's armed forces which must be capable of preventive offensive military operations – local, tactical and operational. The armed forces of Armenia albeit defensive must also be offensive. The creation of such opportunities demands the fielding of highly professional air assault brigades on crucial lines of operations.

The increased mobility, speed and fire power of Azerbaijan, its readiness to conduct operations on the territory of Armenia compel it to continue the process of improvement of the Joint Armed forces that include the Republic of Armenia Armed Forces and the Artsakh Defense Army. Strategic and operational command and control of Joint Armed forces is provided by a Joint Staff, functionally and structurally based on the Republic of Armenia Armed Forces' General Staff. The Joint Armed forces of Armenia must be ready to conduct military operations on the whole territory of Armenia, and also on the aggressor nation's territory.

The coordination and cohesiveness between the Joint Armed forces and political and other public and governing institutions of Armenia, and the orchestration of all elements of Armenian national power are functions and prerogatives of the National Security Councils both Republic of Armenia and Artsakh. Such activity must be guided by a new National Security strategy.

The Armenian Joint Forces must be ready to conduct hybrid warfare against state and non-state actors in the grey zone within the context of a recognized Armenia and non-recognized Nagorno-Karabakh republic; a heterogeneous Armenian political system and a super-presidential Artsakh; and the strength of the diaspora.

The complexity of Armenia's strategic context requires a less diversified military establishment and National Security system. Joint armed forces must possess forces able to meet contemporary challenges. Ashby's law of

necessary variety of Ashby stipulates that “[t]he larger the variety of actions available to a control system, the larger the variety of perturbations it is able to compensate.”²⁴ There is also an alternative formulation given by Stafford Beer: “Adequate control can be ensured only if the variety of control system, at least not less than a variety of controlled situations.”²⁵ In other words, only variety can compensate variety or only on the basis of complexity it is possible adequately react to complex challenges. This law explains why the responses to complex challenges are possible only for systems possessing the necessary complexity.

Another important parameter is the scale of forces and capabilities which must correspond to the tasks and missions. The scale of forces and capabilities of warring parties are interconnected and depend also on the characteristics of the battlefield.

The features of civil-military relations in Armenia. Both the existential nature of Armenia’s threats and the volatility of regional developments require developing an agile political and military-political decisions making system. It is necessary “to hide” the inherent complexity of the military establishment of Armenia in the structure and functions of the Joint armed forces. The complexity of the Joint armed forces must be invisible to the top political leadership and provide for complexity and variety at the operational and strategic levels of force. Joint Armed forces must seem simple and robust to policy-makers.

Special Forces must complement the above-mentioned air assault brigades to provide Armenia with proper offensive capability. The inherent asymmetry in forces and capacities compels Armenia to develop its own offset strategy on the same principles as the “Third Offset strategy” of the U.S.²⁶

²⁴ Ashby, William Ross. *An Introduction to Cybernetics*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1957, pp. 83-99. <<http://pespmc1.vub.ac.be/books/IntroCyb.pdf> (accessed on 01.03.2017).

²⁵ Beer, Stafford Anthony. *Brain of the Firm: The Managerial Cybernetics of Organization*. Chichester, New-York: J. Wiley, 1981.

²⁶ Martinage, Robert. *Toward a New Offset Strategy: Exploiting U.S. Long-Term Advantages to Restore U.S. Global Power Projection Capability*. Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA), Washington, DC: October 27, 2014. <<http://csbaonline.org/uploads/documents/Offset-Strategy-Web.pdf> (accessed on

Armenia must balance quantitative advantage of adversaries by wide use of disruptive military technologies including but not limited to autonomous weapon systems. Operational units and service commands for complex weapons systems, autonomous systems etc. can be part of the Special Forces. This matter demands careful study.

The April 2016 war showed that systems of territorial defense of Artsakh needs adjustment. The increased activity of Azerbaijani Special Forces units deliberately used by Azerbaijan as elements of grey zone strategy and tactics require, that the new system of territorial defense must include the militarized irregular units formed on the basis of populated areas of frontier zone. During large-scale warfare, these units become the elements of a defense system of regiments and divisions of the Artsakh Defense Army or Special Forces of Armenia.

The experience of April 2016 also showed that there is a potential for mobilizing the diaspora, which requires a change in the organizational structure of Armenia's military establishment. The possible solution may be the creation of non-combat units allowing more effective use of Armenia's resources.

The offered changes will demand radical changes in military establishment and the Joint Armed forces organizational structures of Armenia, mobilization system, army training management system, operational readiness and training system etc. and the creation of new mobilization centers, specialized training centres, military colleges etc.

01.03.2017). See also Work, Robert O. "Deputy Secretary of Defense Speech." In: Deputy Secretary of Defense Speech Army made at the War College Strategy Conference, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA, April 8, 2015. <<http://www.defence.gov/News/Speeches/Speech-View/Article/606661/army-war-college-strategy-conference> (accessed on 01.03.2017); Арзуманян, Рачья В: Третья стратегия противовеса. Серия (Новая стратегия, 6), Центр Стратегических оценок и прогнозов, Москва, 2017.

Conclusion

The most important element of Armenia's military establishment transformation process is the comprehension of critical importance to preserve stability, readiness and fighting capacity of Joint Armed Force during reforms. The military establishment of Armenia developed during the last years retains the Soviet theoretical heritage. It means, that before considering transformation, it is necessary to assess the actual state of affairs. Besides theoretical studies it is of crucial importance to evaluate practical aspects, such as readiness and ability of the personnel and institutions of the military establishment to conduct transformation processes.

The nature of the military establishment demands a clear understanding of responsibility for initiation of transformation processes. It is also important to provide a whole-governmental and whole-nation approach when transformation includes not only military, but also of other systems and structures incorporating national security issues. Machiavelli wrote that "it must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry out nor more doubtful of success nor more dangerous to handle than to initiate a new order of things."²⁷

Armenia's military establishment transformation also includes issues devoted to the preparedness of Joint armed forces for qualitative changes and shifts in operations. The question is about theoretical, conceptual, scientific, methodological and practical studies without which any transformations imply unacceptable risk. The evaluation of the actual state of affairs in the military establishment and the development of new theoretical bases allows to initiate a transformation program as an integral part of the National Security system of Armenia in the 21st century.

²⁷ Machiavelli, Niccolò: *The Prince and the Discourses*. The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1950, p. 21.

Challenges for Azerbaijan to Accept Nagorno-Karabakh's Individual Diplomatic and Military Force from Defence Institution Building Perspective

Ahmad Alili

Introduction

The April 2016 events in Nagorno-Karabakh were a game changing moment. Shocks of similar magnitude had been few since 1994, when the ceasefire was established. In terms of social changes, it can be compared to the Safarov case, when an officer from Azerbaijan murdered his Armenian counterpart in a NATO/PfP exercise in Budapest. The case confirms Armenians' worst assumptions about Azerbaijan.

The developments inside the Azerbaijani and Armenian societies demonstrated that the Four-Day war was more significant than a simple military escalation. In addition, the inevitability of the change of status quo became ever more apparent.

The international community also understands the deadlock the conflict has reached since the peace agreement in 1994. The social and economic developments in the region, increased war rhetoric and unwillingness of parties to maintain the status quo until the final and comprehensive peace deal reached is a concerning factor. Unfortunately, there is no alternative peace deal by the OSCE Minsk Group, which represents the international community.

For some time, Russia seemed interested in taking the leading role in the resolution of the conflict and gains more influence in the region. Russia's former President Dmitry Medvedev initiated more than 10 meetings between the Presidents of conflicting parties. It was a matter of personal prestige at the time. However, it ended up in fiasco in 2011 in Kazan.¹

¹ "Can Medvedev Moment be Saved for Karabakh?" Brussels: Carnegie Europe, (July 2011) <http://carnegieeurope.eu/2011/07/28/can-medvedev-moment-be-saved-for-karabakh-pub-45217> Accessed on 23 May 2017.

Since then, the new stimulus comes from Azerbaijan and Armenia. Both parties insist on their own terms. While Armenia insists in including Nagorno-Karabakh as the part of the negotiations process, and Azerbaijan takes into consideration the “de facto” leadership of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, Baku insists on the active role of Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh in the diplomatic efforts.

This paper will analyse the challenges for Azerbaijan to accept the Armenian terms for the change of the status quo: to include Nagorno-Karabakh to the peace negotiations table, from the Defence Institution Building perspective.

The paper first will discuss the Azerbaijani perspective of the April events, and subsequently move on presenting the case of Azerbaijani scepticism over the sovereignty of Nagorno-Karabakh. In the final section, the paper will offer perspectives for peace from the Defence Institution Building context.

The April 2016 Events and their Results: An Azerbaijani Perspective

The Four-Day war in Nagorno-Karabakh was more than a skirmish at the front-line. The escalation indicated the beginning of a new stage in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. It is now clear that it is not a “frozen conflict.” That event was a game-changing moment.

Following the “Four-Day War”, Azerbaijan has experienced the rise of patriotism and has shaped its vision on the future of the peace process over Nagorno-Karabakh. To understand the vision of and challenges for Azerbaijan, providing a short summary for the April escalation is essential.

First, certain patterns of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh have emerged. The ineffectiveness of international mediation and diplomatic stagnation slowly and gradually gave way to military action. Skirmishing and military escalation have become a new norm. From the Azerbaijani perspective, military actions and skirmishes at the front-line can deplete Armenian resources and exhaust them. In the long-term, Azerbaijan has an advantage at the start. The one depleting its resources first or giving up will be the side that loses.

Moreover, Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) did not play the role of protector as it was expected and desired by Armenia. In the pre-April period, Russian obligations to counter threats against Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh – outside the internationally recognised borders of Armenia – was intensely discussed.² According to Russian experts, the Treaty was applicable for the territories of Armenia proper. Nevertheless, then CSTO Secretary General Nikolai Bordyuzha was always keen to reassure Yerevan of Russian support. During the Four-Day War, the CSTO (i.e. Russia) did not stand up for Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Treaty can be triggered if the internationally recognised borders of Armenia – not Nagorno-Karabakh, and territories surrounding it – is attacked.

The positions of Belarus and Kazakhstan – members of the CSTO – without taking into account the opinions of which the adoption of a consensus decision is impossible, also showed that the “security guarantee” by the CSTO does not extend to the territories outside the borders of Armenia.

Thirdly, the renewed ceasefire agreement was signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan (N. Sadikhov) and Armenia (Y. Khachaturov) in Moscow. Hence, there was no third party (i.e. Nagorno-Karabakh).³

Fourth, Azerbaijan was acting independently, without assistance from other countries. Nevertheless, During the Four-Day War, Armenia was keen to get support by Russian Armed Forces in Armenia and the North Caucasus.

Fifth, the Azerbaijani military and Azerbaijan itself consider this action’s rebranding potential. For a long time, Azerbaijani generals were considered “losers of the war.” To Azerbaijan’s argument that Armenia succeeded in the first war for Nagorno-Karabakh exclusively with the help of Russia, the response of the Armenians always sounded the similar: “Azerbaijan lost because you are not warriors.” The military superiority of Azerbaijan over

² Minasyan, Sergey. “The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the context of South Caucasus regional security issues: An Armenian perspective.” Pages: Nationalities Papers. 11/2016. pp 131-139.

³ Yerkir.am (April 2016) <https://www.yerkir.am/ru/news/view/104504> Accessed on 21 May 2017.

Armenia was viewed with great scepticism. In Azerbaijan, there is a feeling that its generals gained a new status.

In sum, the consequences of the Four-Day war for Azerbaijan were massive. The country sees it as a victory and is assured the peace building incentives for the last 20 years has done nothing but harm the process.

In this context, Azerbaijan sees itself as the winner, and there is little intention to accept the Armenian proposal on adding Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent side to the peace process. Following the Armenian establishment call to Russia for military aid, suspicions on the sovereignty and independence of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia have increased.

Is Nagorno-Karabakh Sovereign Enough?

The main question for Azerbaijan regarding the inclusion of Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent party to the negotiations process is the sovereignty of Nagorno-Karabakh. Baku is not regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians as independent actor, but as the extension of Armenian foreign policy and national ideology. In the context of Defence Institution Building, the military dependency of Nagorno-Karabakh on Armenia is the main problem. Moreover, Azerbaijan has a suspicious attitude towards Armenia itself who has a deep-seated military, economic and political dependency on Russia.

Azerbaijan considers that Nagorno-Karabakh has no economic/political/social resources for independent Defence Institution Building. Comparing the main demographic indicators of Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan, Baku has no confidence in Nagorno-Karabakh's strong resource base to stand against Azerbaijan. With a total population of roughly 147,000, and male population 49,653 (age 15 and more)⁴, the whole Nagorno-Karabakh male population is much less than of any regional army division of Azerbaijan. This is not enough for effective and efficient defence institutions and forming an army that can stand against Azerbaijan.

⁴ Census. NKR for 2015 <http://census.stat-nkr.am/nkr/2-2.pdf> Accessed 23 May 2017.

In a 2007 interview, the de facto leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh announced the need for at least 300,000 people.⁵ Hence, all sides are aware of the limits of manpower, equipment and infrastructure.

Thus, with the overall population of less than 150,000, and with no trade relations with other countries, as well as limited financial resources, Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians are assisted and influenced by the administration in Yerevan. This diminishes the chances of Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent party at the negotiations process. On top of that, in terms of Defence Institution Building, Baku has raised questions on the dependency of Armenia on Russia.

Since 1992, Armenia has sought a strong strategic partnership with Russia. Today, Armenia remains the only ally of Moscow in the region, with the Russian military and economic presence in the country. The closeness of the relations is framed by bilateral ties, also with the participation of Armenia in the Russian-led military and economic incentives, such the CSTO. In 2010, Armenia and Russia signed another agreement extending the presence of the Russian Armed Forces in Gyumri, Armenia up to 2044.

Within the CSTO, Armenia has the luxury of acquiring Russian-designed and produced army equipment at discount prices or free of charge.⁶ In the long run, this increases the dependency of Armenia on Russia for procurement as well as modernization. Armenia can end up losing appetite for DIB.

In some way, Armenia was forced to acquire armaments from Russia, to compensate for the lack of financial resources that is required when Armenia acquires it from any other party. Azerbaijan's extensive purchase of armament from Israel and Russia forces Yerevan to keep pace with Baku and leads to even more dependence on Russia.

⁵ Archive of Regnum (September 2008) <https://web.archive.org/web/20080905181618/http://www.regnum.ru/english/793359.html> Accessed 22 May 2017.

⁶ RFRL-Armenia (December 2015) <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/27445236.html> Accessed 23 May 2017.

This in its turn leads to dependence in foreign and domestic policy issues. For the last decade, the increased influence of Russia caused a somewhat flawed foreign policy, because of transferring national security objects to the control of Russia. Armenian borders are controlled by Russian Border Forces, and the passport check at Zvartnos airport is carried out by Russians as well.⁷ The strategic partnership over Armenian railroads has created an unequal opportunity for Russian interests in the region. On the top of that, as part of the Russian-Armenian Strategic partnership, Moscow can easily charge higher rates for the natural gas transferred to Armenia.

These actions can be taken by Russia in a politically sensitive period for Armenia, and hence affect the political decision-making. In 2013, during elections in Armenia, Russia increased natural gas prices to Armenia. For a long time, it was not disclosed to the population, with the aim to renegotiate the better terms. Through these means, Russia gains more influence in Armenia, to the point that Moscow takes the relationship for granted.

Despite this strong dependency on Russia, Armenia has its own concerns toward Moscow, and in most of the cases, they are suspicious. The Armenian narrative treats the Soviet leadership of the 1920s responsible for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Also, in the late 1980s, the leadership in Kremlin was not keen on accepting the Armenian political dominance in the region, granting the rights of governance over Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan. In most of the cases, the public sentiment in Armenia is not in favour of Moscow. Historically, from the Armenian's point of view, Russian interests have compromised Armenian interests in many instances.

Hence Armenia is looking for a strategic partnership with the EU, trying to diversify its political and economic links. Nevertheless, Russian's are strong lever on Armenia is used extensively to stop Armenia from pursuing own national interest in favour of Russian national interests. In 2013, following a meeting with Russian President V. Putin, the Armenian president announced the change of course in the relation with EU and joining only Russian-led military and economic initiatives. The EU was stunned by Ar-

⁷ Lragir.am (May 2015) <http://www.lragir.am/index/eng/0/right/view/34059> Accessed 23 May 2017.

menia's "U-turn."⁸ These cases strongly demonstrate the dependency of Armenia to Russia in terms of military, foreign and domestic policy. This affects Nagorno-Karabakh also.

Unlike in the cases of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria, Russia is not offering direct financial and moral support to Nagorno-Karabakh and has no Russian boots on the ground. Russia also has no direct connections with the de-facto leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh. Nevertheless, the Armenian diaspora in Russia can effectively build ties between these two parties.

Russia also indirectly affects the military situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. The deployment of Russian Iskanders in Armenia has led to optimism in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Armenian leadership has vowed to use those missiles in case of war. Russian soldiers who are protecting the borders of Armenia allow Yerevan to deploy more soldiers to Nagorno-Karabakh, and mobilise more forces against Azerbaijan.

Defence Institution Building Opportunities for Sustainable Peace in the South Caucasus

Historically, peace reigned over Nagorno-Karabakh for 70 years during the membership of Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Soviet Union.

In this context, three options are possible:

- 1) integrating Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia to the Russian-led economic and military union,
- 2) integrating the South Caucasus states into EU and NATO institutions,
- 3) building common economic and political alliance.

The first option is preferred by Russian decision-makers. Currently, Armenia is the only country in the region fully accepting Russian protection and

⁸ Richard Giragosian. "Armenia's Strategic U-turn." European Council on Foreign Relations. (April 2014) http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR99_ARMENIA_MEMO_AW.pdf Accessed 21 May 2017.

joining all its incentives in the region. Nevertheless, this option is a threat to the sovereignty of all three Caucasus countries.

The second option is preferred by the South Caucasus countries. However, the internal dynamics of the EU and NATO indicate that the region is unlikely to integrate any time soon into either structure.

The third option – common economic and political alliance of the South Caucasus countries – is more valid for the sustainable economic development and lasting peace in the region.

Because of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijan has cut down all economic ties with neighbouring Armenia. Azerbaijan also gained support from Turkey on isolating Armenia. Hence, currently, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is the main obstacle preventing closer economic relations and establishing the single market in the South Caucasus.

Establishing a single market economy in the Caucasus may create benefits through facilitated and increased trade amongst Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, decrease high transport costs, and is likely to have a positive impact on Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in the region. A shift to a single market economy would imply the elimination of internal trade barriers, the creation of common external tariffs, and mobility of factors and assets. This would clearly lead to a drastic change of regional trade policies. The current situation, marked by the on-going conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan leading to foregone possibilities of economic cooperation involving all three countries, is one of the lost opportunities.

In order to achieve sustainable development and long-lasting peace in the region, alongside building economic and political ties, Defence Institution Building should also be the key priority. Defence Institution Building in all three Caucasian states must prioritise the future in which, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia can be part of the same economic, political and military union. Cultivating similar patterns in defence building is essential in this context.

Hence, the perspective Joint Armed Forces of the Caucasus countries in the future should not be opted out.

As it is highlighted by the literature on the conflict, integration of the economic, political and military areas eliminates chances for the new conflicts. As it was stated in the previous section, Armenia is the smallest country with the weakest economy. Politically and economically, the country is highly dependent on Russian support. Building a single market will benefit Armenia in the first place to put a distance between itself and Russia.

Conclusion

The changing context of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict demands a change in attitude toward the conflict. In this view, there are a few points, proposed by the sides, to continue the negotiation process.

Armenia is keen to introduce Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent sovereign party to the peace process. However, Azerbaijan has great scepticism for the independence and sovereignty of Nagorno-Karabakh.

This paper, following the revelation the April 2016 events for Azerbaijan, has demonstrated the doubts of Azerbaijan toward a Nagorno-Karabakh role in the peace-making process.

From Defence Institution Building perspective, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh have not enough resources, manpower, and financial assets to build an independent strategy for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

The sustainable development of the region and long-lasting peace requires building common economic, political and military union in the South Caucasus. For DIB, this should be considered.

Defence Institutions of South Ossetia: To be, or not to be? Speaking Notes to the 15th RSSC SG

Zarina Sanakoeva

The Armed Forces of the Republic of South Ossetia came into existence in early 90s of the 20th century, and it is probably earlier than the state itself did. They were transformed from self-defence groups, which were created to repulse Georgia's aggression. Throughout almost two decades before 2008, the South Ossetian Armed Forces remained a policy priority. After the Georgian aggression in 2008 and the Russian Federation's recognition of the Republic's independence that followed, it became clear that with the new realities, politicians considered it inexpedient and unaffordable to keep numerous armed forces. In accordance with the agreement between South Ossetia and Russia, a Russian military base has been deployed on the territory of the Republic. The agreement is valid for 49 years.

Today, this is undoubtedly the main guarantee of security for the Republic of South Ossetia. Right after that, the personnel of the Defence Ministry had been gradually downsized. According to the voiced action plan, the contingent should be downsized from 1,200 to 200. It certainly caused disaffection with the fact both among the personnel of the Defence Ministry and the population in general. The process has "smoothly" started with "the need of the Republic for a compact and well-equipped mobile army." The process did not turn painful.

In 2015, the "Alliance and Integration Agreement" between South Ossetia and the Russian Federation was signed. Its discussion led to a major internal political crisis in the Republic. According to the draft agreement, all security and defence structures were meant to become part of corresponding structures of the Russian Federation's armed forces. The discussion process was coupled with political scandals. Anatoly Bibilov, the South Ossetian Parliament Speaker, a strong supporter of South Ossetia's accession to Russia, insisted that the disputed points were not only kept in the draft, but rather suggested that the agreement itself should be titled "On Accession of South Ossetia to the RF." The executive branch of power,

which was leading the discussion, pointed to the obvious discrepancies between the agreement and both the Constitution, legislation of the Republic and legal norms and practices.

The Agreement was eventually signed 18 March 2015, in a kind of a “compromise” draft. Because of the discussions around the agreement, the Parliament had tabled a motion of non-confidence in the Minister of Foreign Affairs David Sanakoev. The reason was said to lay in the fact that the Minister, despite the will of the Parliament Speaker, made the draft agreement public. Before that, the draft had not been disclosed to the public. These details are given here to show level of tension that arose from the discussion of the Agreement.

An addendum between the respective defence ministries mentioned in the agreement, was signed 31 March 2017. Its title pertains to the “...integration of separate detachments of the Armed Forces of the Republic of South Ossetia into the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.” According to it, a certain part of the South Ossetian Army is preserved, but the authorities prefer to put an emphasis on those points in the Agreement which stipulate, for instance, the eligibility of South Ossetian military personnel to all guarantees and benefits provided to Russian military. For example, retiring service members will enjoy the benefits for the term served in South Ossetian army or for civilian population in South Ossetia. It is not yet clear what the South Ossetian army will look like, its number and equipment. The Russian armed forces remain the main guarantors of the security in South Ossetia.

Those who consider sovereignty as a transition or an interim solution before accession to the Russian Federation take this issue easier, while for sovereignty adepts the downsizing of the army is quite painful, as a loss of a critical element of statehood. Many tend to believe that the South Ossetian army has been developed in open conflict, while currently there is a demand for a certain transition to something new, from defence to development.

Nonetheless, there are basic acts of the state which exclude this kind of reasoning. A national security concept was adopted back in 2013. The following points are mentioned as falling under national defence interests of

South Ossetia; 1) effective protection of independence, sovereignty, state and territorial integrity of South Ossetia in case of use of force or a threat of use of force; the state's monopoly for use of armed force; 2) combat-ready, well-equipped and well-trained, ideologically motivated and fully supplied armed forces with their social welfare rights fully respected; 3) effective system of combat-ready mobilization of reserve personnel; 4) maintaining of military and defence potential at the level efficient for protection of South Ossetia's national interests in cases of crisis in close vicinity to its borders; and 5) establishing and broadening cooperation in military and defence sectors with other states in the region, members of the international community for the purpose of partnership and confidence-building.

The experience in building the South Ossetian state has many times underscored the special role of armed forces in the life and survival of the state. Even though military security is in place now, the community is not ready to give up the right for self-defence. It was clearly manifested in the reaction of the population to the call of the authorities a few years ago to hand in weapons and ammunition stored in considerable quantities by the population after the war period. The population perceived it almost as an interference in private life. As people still remember the times when they stayed alone face to face with the enemy. This viewpoint was supported in a number of media publications, where it was stressed that the borders of Tskhinval coincide with those of the state, and in emergency cases, there would not be time to mobilize forces, and any local resident found himself at the front line simply by going out into the yard of his house. We should also take note that Georgia still refuses to sign a treaty on the non-use of force.

Based on the above, one can get an understanding of the role the military forces play in the life of the South Ossetian state at current stage. It gives a clear picture of the place the armed forces, or the remaining part of the armed forces of South Ossetia, hold in domestic and foreign policy of the state.

As in any state, the security and defence structures of South Ossetia reflect the nature of the state. Their functioning, doctrines and tasking throughout the years of South Ossetia's state development were traditionally considered as important factors in providing national security.

This should certainly be taken into account when one tries to consider the possibility for the armed forces' participation in joint projects in South Caucasus. South Ossetia is a state not recognized by Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Any contacts with the Republic of South Ossetia, negotiations, which imply legitimization to a certain extent, are, in my opinion, unacceptable for the abovementioned states. In turn, no contact is acceptable to South Ossetia, unless it is a fully-fledge interstate contact.

The National Security Concept of South Ossetia speaks about “elaboration for and imposing of security policies and strategy upon South Ossetia, as well as socioeconomic development programs, based on alien values, goals and interests.” In this sense, DIB could either be considered within the context of the topic discussed here or not. It all depends on the global, regional situation, and the vision of decision-makers. In the case of South Ossetia this might become a very important factor – perhaps a risk.

Characteristics of Defence Institution Building in the South Caucasus and the Challenges of Regional Ethno-Territorial Conflicts

Oktay F. Tanrısever

Introduction

This paper seeks to explore the characteristics and challenges of existing processes of Defence Institution Building (DIB) and defence modernization in the South Caucasus in comparison to the similar processes of DIB and defence modernization in the other post-communist countries. The paper also intends to discuss the actual and potential implications of the existing processes of defence institution building as well as defence modernization in the South Caucasus for the peaceful settlement of the unresolved regional ethno-territorial conflicts such as the conflicts over Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh. In a broader perspective, the paper hopes to demonstrate the interdependencies between the levels of DIB and regional stability in the South Caucasus.

The paper argues that the characteristics of existing processes of DIB as well as defence modernization in the South Caucasus differ from the widely implemented models of DIB and defence modernization in other post-communist countries, as conceptualized by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). The South Caucasian countries seem to have institutionalized their defence institutions and implemented their processes of DIB and defence modernization in a way that neglected the peace-building and democratization components of the DIB and defence modernization processes. In fact, the institutional weaknesses in the democratic oversight of the security sector as well as the centrality of security institutions make it harder to build more effective and efficient defence institutions in the South Caucasus.

The structure of this paper is organized in the following way. To begin with, the paper explores the parameters of the DCAF's model of DIB and defence modernization by focusing on its strategy for enhancing the securi-

ty sector reform and the democratic oversight of the security sector conceptually. Afterwards, the paper will identify the main characteristics of DIB and defence modernization processes in the South Caucasus in comparison to the similar processes in the other post-communist countries. The penultimate part of the paper highlights the challenges posed by the existence of the unresolved regional ethno-territorial conflicts such as the conflicts over Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh to the sustainability of DIB and defence modernization processes in the South Caucasus. It will also discuss the implications of the existing processes of defence institution building as well as defence modernization for the peaceful settlement of the unresolved regional ethno-territorial conflicts. The paper concludes by discussing the main findings of this chapter in terms of their significance in shaping the prospects for regional stability in the South Caucasus.

Parameters of DCAF's Model of Defence Institution Building and Defence Modernization

DCAF's model of DIB and defence modernization involves a comprehensive strategy for transforming the security sector in order to enhance the democratic oversight of the security sector in the former communist countries where the security actors enjoyed unusual autonomy from the rest of the political actors. The dominant role of the security actors in mostly totalitarian and authoritarian communist countries posed threats not only to the domestic political harmony in these countries but also to international peace and stability particularly in the case of the Soviet Union.¹

With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany, the communist regimes also collapsed together with the role of the communist-era security institutions in these transitional countries. As part of their desire to achieve membership in the Western institutions, namely the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), these countries have accepted to reform their security sectors by promoting the processes of Defence Institution Building (DIB), defence moderniza-

¹ Brzoska, M. "The Concept of Security Sector Reform", in Herbert Wulf (ed.). *Security Sector Reform*. Bonn: Bonn International Centre for Conversion (BICC). 2000, pp. 6-13.

tion and the democratic oversight of the security sector in their countries. Their security sector reforms have been implemented in line with the recommendations of the internationally respected Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), which has been promoting the internationally applicable standards in security sector reform for the needs of the post-Cold War era.²

In the broadest sense of the concept, the process of Defence Institution Building refers to the attempts at achieving democratically-sustainable defence governance within which countries could develop their own effective, transparent, and accountable defence institutions in harmony with the needs of domestic harmony and international stability.³ This process involves not only the adoption of new institutional frameworks but also the education and training of the security personnel and the stakeholders in security sector in order to strengthen their capabilities, skills and knowledge in areas where they need support. Another objective of DIB and defence modernization seems to be the reduction of corruption in the security sector, which weakens the professionalisms of the security actors considerably. Finally, defence education institutions also contribute to the process of defence modernization through faculty development as well as curriculum development programs.⁴

The parameters of DCAF's model of defence institution building and defence modernization include, first of all, the realization of an effective democratic and civilian political oversight of the security sector through the development of sustainable mechanisms for ensuring the transparency and accountability of defence institutions to the parliamentary bodies. Secondly, DCAF's model also emphasizes the establishment of a balanced and clear division of labour among the civilian and military actors in the security sector. Thirdly, missions and functions of the defence institutions as well as

² Slocombe W. B. NATO, EU and the Challenge of Defence and Security Sector Reform. Geneva: DCAF and NATO Parliamentary Assembly, 2007.

³ Edmunds, T. "Security Sector Reform: Concepts and Implementation" in Wilhelm N. Germann and Timothy Edmunds. eds. *Towards Security Sector Reform in Post-Cold War Europe: A Framework for Assessment*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2002, pp. 15-31.

⁴ Bucur-Marcu, H. "Essentials of Defence Institution Building" Geneva: DCAF, 2009, Available at http://www.dcaf.ch/content/download/35729/526675/.../PAP-DIB_Bucur-IMS_FINAL.pdf (Accessed on 10 June 2017).

other security agencies have to be realistically defined and performed. Fourthly, professionalism, with strong commitment to the virtues of transparency, accountability and responsibility, should be promoted among the military and civilian actors in the security sector through education and training programs. Finally, the promotion of leadership skills in the effective implementation and monitoring of defence processes regarding the available personnel, capabilities, and technology is central to the process and success of DIB.⁵

The parameters of DCAF's model of defence institution building and defence modernization are easier to understand than to implement. This could be quite challenging to countries where significant external security challenges and internal weaknesses in their broader state-building processes are experienced systematically.⁶ In this sense, the South Caucasian region seems to be an interesting case for exploring such difficulties in implementing DCAF's model of DIB and defence modernization.

Characteristics of DIB and Defence Modernization in the South Caucasus from a Comparative Perspective

The South Caucasian countries have also sought to achieve a satisfactory level of DIB and defence modernization just like the other states in the post-Communist space. However, the unique characteristics of this region in terms of the overall security situation and the domestic make-up of the South Caucasian states as well as the Soviet heritage resulted in the emergence of a peculiar form of DIB and defence modernization in this region.

The characteristics of the South Caucasian processes of DIB and defence modernization differed not only from the DCAF model but also from the relatively more successful states in Eastern Europe which are now members of the EU and NATO. Unlike the East European countries which successfully adopted and implemented the DCAF model of DIB and de-

⁵ Edmunds, T. *Security Sector Reform: Concepts and Implementation*, Geneva: Geneva Centre of Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2001.

⁶ Bryden, A. and H. Hänggi, "Reforming and Reconstructing the Security Sector", in Allan Bryden and Heiner Hänggi (eds.). *Security Governance in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, Münster: Lit, 2005, pp. 23-43.

fence modernization, the South Caucasian countries have developed their own model, which needs to be improved further in order to be compatible with the requirements of the post-Cold war period.⁷

Overall, the processes of DIB and defence modernization display the following five main characteristics in the South Caucasus. Firstly, unlike the East European models, the South Caucasian states developed their security and defence capabilities in order to cope with conventional military threats from the neighbouring countries, not to contribute to multinational peace-building and stability operations.⁸

Secondly, the South Caucasian states have evolved as security-centric state structures where the security services play a decisive role in key political developments. The central role of the security and defence actors in the political systems of the South Caucasian states strengthen the capacity of the security and defence actors to receive a larger share of the state budget too.⁹

Thirdly, the South Caucasian states have a very weak system of DIB where they could exercise a democratic oversight of the security sector. Given the weak transparency of the security actors, both civil society and the parliaments of the South Caucasian countries are not able to monitor the security and defence sectors adequately. This weakens the potential for security sector reform in these countries considerably. Both the members of the civil society and the civilian parts of the state bureaucracy are not well-educated and trained enough to be able to monitor and assess whether the security and defence actors perform their tasks in accordance with the rule of law as well as democratic principles.¹⁰

⁷ Ebnöther, A.H. and Gustenau, Gustav E. (Eds.) *Security Sector Governance in Southern Caucasus: Challenges and Visions*, Vienna: Bureau for Security Policy at the Austrian Ministry of Defence, DCAF, and PFP-Consortium, 2004.

⁸ Fluri, P. and Cibotaru, V. (Eds.) *Defence Institution Building: Country Profiles and Needs Assessments for Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia and Moldova Background Materials*, Geneva: DCAF, 2008.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ebnöther, A.H. and Gustenau, Gustav E. (Eds.) *Security Sector Governance in Southern Caucasus: Challenges and Visions*, Vienna and Geneva: PFP, 2004.

Fourthly, the security and defence organizations of the South Caucasian states have not developed a sustainable basis for the promotion of professionalism among the security and defence officers. In addition to the problems in education and training, these security and defence organizations suffer from the weakness of the merit system in the appointment and promotion of officers. Widespread corruption weakens the integrity as well as transparency and accountability of security and defence actors in the South Caucasus region.¹¹

Finally, unlike the East European models of DIB and defence modernization, the education and training programs of the South Caucasian states are not standardized yet. The co-existence of well-trained and educated officers with the relatively larger group of not-so-well trained and educated officers could create an unproductive competition among themselves, undermining professionalism and discipline within the security and defence actors of the South Caucasus states.¹²

The differences between the South Caucasian countries and the East European countries are closely linked to three factors: Firstly, the character of the regional security complex in the South Caucasus. Secondly, the domestic policy preferences of South Caucasian states shaped the development of defence institutions. Last but not the least is the Soviet heritage as a factor that played an important role in the emergence of a peculiar form of DIB and defence modernization in the South Caucasus region.¹³

To summarize, the South Caucasian countries have displayed a poorer performance in adopting the DCAF's model of DIB and defence modernization as compared to the post-Communist countries in Eastern Europe, which not only adopted this model successfully, but also joined the EU and NATO as full members. Although the South Caucasian countries have a long way to go in order to have a consolidated DIB and defence modernization, their poor performance cannot be attributed to their choice of secu-

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Majer, M. (Ed.) *Security Sector Reform in Countries of Visegrad and Southern Caucasus: Challenges and Opportunities*, Bratislava: Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), 2013.

rity and defence policies, the persistence of unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts, which do not exist in the post-Communist countries in Eastern Europe, seems to play a crucial role in the poor performance of the South Caucasus countries in adopting the DCAF's model of DIB and defence modernization.¹⁴

Challenges of the Unresolved Ethno-Territorial Conflicts to DIB and Defence Modernization in the South Caucasus

It is important to note that the persistence of unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts, namely the conflicts over Abkhazia, the South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh poses very difficult challenges to the processes of DIB and defence modernization in the South Caucasian states. There are mainly four challenges of the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts to DIB and defence modernization in the South Caucasus

To begin with, the persistence of unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts over Abkhazia, the South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh limit the capacity of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to allocate their existing defence resources to the processes of security sector reform, DIB and defence modernization since the urgency of these conflicts prevent these states to relocate their resources to areas not directly related to these unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts. Although these conflicts keep the combat readiness of the South Caucasian states at a relatively higher level, the excessive allocation of their manpower, equipment, infrastructure, budget, information resources to these conflicts leaves a very little part of their such defence resources available to the needs of the security sector reform as well as the processes of DIB and defence modernization. In other words, the insufficiency of available defence resources seems to be the key challenge posed by the persistence of to the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts in the South Caucasus.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Fluri, P. and Cibotaru, V. (Eds.) *Defence Institution Building: Country Profiles and Needs Assessments for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova Background Materials*, Geneva: DCAF, 2008.

The second important challenge of the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts that undermines DIB and defence modernization is the high level of involvement by Russia in these conflicts. This makes Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia very vulnerable to the security policies of Russia regardless of whether they have military partnership with Russia or not. Russia's direct involvement in these unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts makes it difficult to implement DIB and defence modernization with the help of NATO countries since Russia considers even a low level of security and defence cooperation as suspicious and a security threat. Regional countries are careful not to antagonize Russia especially after Russia-Georgia War in 2008.¹⁶

The third important challenge of the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts is that due to the persistence of these conflicts, the public opinion in the South Caucasian states tends not to prioritize security sector reform as well as the processes of DIB and defence modernization. This stems mainly from the tendency of the public opinion in the South Caucasian states to perceive greater transparency and accountability of the security and defence actors as a weakness.¹⁷

The final challenge posed by excessive militaristic security cultures and defence strategies in the South Caucasian states. The strength of such security cultures and strategies weakens the basis for security sector reform and the processes of DIB and defence modernization.¹⁸

Ironically, the negative impact of the unresolved regional ethno-territorial conflicts on the processes of DIB and defence modernization also perpetuates the negative implications of the existing characteristics of the DIB and defence modernization in the South Caucasus for the peaceful settlement of these ethno-territorial conflicts. In this sense, it might be useful to discuss these negative implications of the existing processes of DIB and defence modernization for the peaceful settlement of the unresolved regional ethno-territorial conflicts in the South Caucasus.

¹⁶ Pataraiia, T. (ed.) *Democratic Control Over the Georgian Armed Forces Since the August 2008 War*, Geneva: DCAF 2010.

¹⁷ Boonstra, J. and N. Melvin, "Challenging the South Caucasus Security Deficit", FRIDE Working Paper No.1, Madrid: FRIDE, 2011.

¹⁸ Ibid.

It is possible to identify three major negative implications of the poor level of DIB and defence modernization in the South Caucasus for the peaceful settlement of the unresolved regional ethno-territorial conflicts. Firstly, since the poor level of DIB and defence modernization keeps the security and defence capacities of the South Caucasian countries also at a relatively lower level, these countries would likely remain vulnerable to the military and diplomatic interventions of Russia, which does not seem to be genuinely interested in finding a lasting solution to the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts in the South Caucasus.¹⁹

Secondly, the poor level of DIB and defence modernization could also weaken the prospects for the peaceful settlement of the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts in the South Caucasus, since the poor level of DIB and defence modernization weakens also the capacity of key stakeholders in these conflicts to change the status quo due to the dominant role of the security and defence actors in each country which have a vested interest in the continuity of existing security and defence policies. Likewise, the professionalism of security and defence officers tends to be very low under such circumstances due to the insufficient level of transparency and accountability of security and defence actors in the South Caucasian countries. Without enhancing the democratic oversight of the security sector in all the South Caucasian countries, it would be very unlikely to change the status quo through dialogue and other methods of resolving conflicts peacefully.²⁰

Finally, since the poor level of DIB and defence modernization keeps civil society and parliaments poorly informed about the unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts in the South Caucasus, civil society and parliaments remain unable to propose alternative policies which might contribute to the peaceful settlement of these conflicts in a sustainable manner. In the absence of inputs and alternative proposals for the peaceful settlement of these conflicts, the status quo is likely to continue without promising pro-

¹⁹ Markedonov, S. "Russia's Evolving South Caucasus Policy: Security Concerns amid Ethno-Political Conflict", DGAP analyse, No. 1, 2017, pp. 1-11.

²⁰ Ebnöther, A.H. and Gustenau, Gustav E. (Eds.) Security Sector Governance in Southern Caucasus – Challenges and Visions, Vienna and Geneva: PfPC, 2004.

spects for the peaceful settlement of unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts in the South Caucasus.²¹

Conclusion

To sum up, although DCAF's model of DIB and defence modernization presents a comprehensive and sustainable blueprint for strengthening the defence capabilities and professionalism of the security and defence personnel as well as developing cooperative security and defence strategies, it is not always easy to adopt this model successfully. Unlike the post-communist countries in East Europe which succeeded in joining EU and NATO upon their successful realization of the DIB and defence modernization processes in line with the DCAF model, the South Caucasian countries have largely been unable to achieve a sufficient degree of progress due to a number of factors ranging from the existence of adverse regional security environment to the weakness of parliaments and civil society vis-à-vis the security and defence actors which are mainly interested in the continuity of the domestic and regional status quo. In this sense, the poor level of DIB and defence modernization seems to be closely linked to the low degree of regional stability in the South Caucasus.

This chapter also demonstrated that the persistence of unresolved ethno-territorial conflicts is a key factor behind the poor performance of the South Caucasian countries in realizing the processes of DIB and defence modernization in accordance with the DCAF model. This shows the importance of resolving these ethno-territorial conflicts for the successful implementation of DIB and defence modernization processes. Equally important is the development of a more constructive regional security environment and the democratization process throughout the South Caucasus region, including the ethno-territorial units whose statuses are not resolved peacefully yet.

Finally, it is important to be realistic about the prospects for the peaceful resolution of ethno-territorial conflicts and the successful implementation of DIB and defence modernization. Likewise, patience seems to be the key to success. In fact, although changing laws about DIB and defence mod-

²¹ Ibid.

ernization processes in the South Caucasian states could take a short period of time, building strong defence institutions and strengthening a pluralist democratic security cultures could normally take decades. The South Caucasus is not an exception to these dynamics of regional security.

PART IV:

CONCLUSION

Conclusion and Epilogue

Frederic Labarre and George Niculescu

If the shape, functions and values of a country's security apparatus are a reflection of the society from which they spring, it therefore follows that while DIB is a component of SSR, *any* institution building, inasmuch as it participates to the maintenance and improvement of human and national security, participates to DIB. Defence Institution Building, in short, is not only about military affairs. In 2016, the Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group (RSSC SG), with the help of colleagues from the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), co-chairing the Security Sector Reform Working Group (SSR WG), focused on draft plans to develop an energy security management organization for the South Caucasus (and by the South Caucasus). The effort warranted praise from the OSCE participants present at the last meeting in Reichenau, in November 2016, with suggestions that a dedicated platform should be erected to perform a feasibility study of what the RSSC SG has suggested throughout the year. The RSSC SG members and participants should be proud of receiving such overtures. Others should understand that this too, is DIB.

When DIB appeared as an item of particular interest in U.S. defence cooperation doctrine, it synthesized a number of existing practices and programs. One of the objectives of these initiatives, wrote Craig Nation, is to address the root causes of conflict in the South Caucasus. This is a task which the RSSC SG has been performing steadfastly since November 2012. Conceptually speaking, good governance, the rule of law and the democratic control of armed forces, are all elements dear to U.S., NATO and EU policy. The RSSC SG, in collaboration with the SSR WG, has explored these topics. Each is a component of successful DIB.

A successful DIB is built on *learning*, writes Iryna Lysyckina. The 15th RSSC SG workshop has been as much a learning opportunity as any course given in university or in our defence colleges. This is, after all a Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes. In this sense, a mul-

titude of initiatives and programmes contribute to DIB. Iryna Lysychkina has provided the example of NATO's Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP), while others have focused on the NATO Partnership Action Plan for DIB (PAP-DIB), or the more recent Building Integrity programme. All these initiatives motivate and buttress DIB. DIB is a concept, a measure of achievements of defence reform. However certain U.S. and NATO interests stress the programmatic incarnation of DIB. We are not concerned with such positions. DIB is what is necessary to bring political-military modernization to the farthest reaches of the former USSR.

A factor of alarm for U.S., NATO, not to mention certain South Caucasus defence planners and apologists for reform is that there is also a Russian/post-Soviet version of "defence institution building." Benyamin Poghosyan alerts us to Moscow's potential for bringing an "alternative" vision of reform more in line with the Soviet experience. Therefore, there is not only the geopolitical contest being waged between the Euro-Atlantic community and a Eurasian Economic Union which claims to hail from a different civilization, but there is also the normative struggle between the legacy post-Soviet model operating within the South Caucasus, and the neo-liberal values of the "West" to which they aspire. We see this confrontation at operational and administrative levels throughout.

Any SSR project manager will tell you; change is difficult. Change is painful. Change is fearful. Little surprise then that the reforms have taken so long, have barely taken hold, and that, seeing Russia's relative success and development, that many South Caucasus leaders (and populations?) might be tempted to bask in Moscow's hegemony. Yet, between the pro-Moscow and pro-Washington/Brussels options, there is a third way. The co-chairs of the RSSC SG congratulate themselves for bringing in distinguished speakers as Razi Nurullayev, who, with no other prompting than his own common sense, forcefully argues that the South Caucasus is its own region. It has its own interests, and, as such, should have its own, regional, defence strategy. The aims of strategy should not be mutual defeat, or reduction of a hegemon's influence, but rather combating the risk of religious fundamentalism and extremism in the region. It is too much to hope for that the EU and/or NATO involve themselves in the problems of frozen conflicts more than, say, the OSCE Minsk Group. Russia can be counted on to keep its hand in. So what is left for the South Caucasus to do but to solve its

own problems together? This workshop has sought to examine whether DIB could not be the propellant for a South Caucasus-specific security sector reform and development. Rather than being a perceived vehicle to unseat regional leaders, DIB should help strengthen these leaders' sense of responsibility over national and human security at domestic and regional level.

Nurullayev's contribution gives solace to the RSSC SG co-chairs. Their idea of a regional energy security organization was not so far-fetched after all. A regional approach seems not only appropriate, but more and more urgent as the EU flirts with fragmentation and Trump's America continues bleeding authority. Sadly the leitmotiv in the South Caucasus remains the same; regional actors try, with what little diplomatic and defence resources they have, to balance the hegemons. They have no choice, really. Armenia may be Western-leaning, but it hosts Russian troops. Georgia may seem "Western" already, but the rapprochement with Moscow is every day more palpable. Abkhazia may think itself independent, but in fact, it depends directly on Moscow, as does South Ossetia, while Nagorno-Karabakh policies are indistinguishable from those of Yerevan. DIB can help balance undue influences but not the feeling of threat that accompanies it.

Thus a "grey zone" is emerging between the Euro-Atlantic community and the former Soviet Union. This grey zone is not coloured by virtue of Armenia's, Azerbaijan's or Georgia's impossibility of choosing a "camp." It is coloured by the confusion of values which correspond to each side. At the same time, there is no ideological content which supports the formation of blocs – merely geopolitical competition. Let us repeat it here; if the South Caucasus actors could find it within themselves to unite for their common as well as respective interests, the region would take on a specific colour, proper to the South Caucasus. Regional unity seems to be the only antidote to the perceived depredations of Russia and the comparative helplessness of the Euro-Atlantic partners. Much like the Baltic States, the South Caucasus must find its own pole of regional integration before even hoping to meet the requirements of the EU or NATO.

The recurring explanation for the failure of reforms is the weight of the Soviet baggage, too difficult to shed. This admits to a cultural transformation shaped by the Soviet experience. Does the region want change or

not? Are Western promises and/or conditions sufficient incentive to reform? Will those reforms bring security? This Study Group's mission is to stimulate thinking of a South Caucasus at peace. But time and again we are confronted with the general lack of confidence among neighbours and towards that imagined future. So defence reform frequently culminates with the pursuit of more "kit".

So far, DIB has failed to stem the penchant for militarization in the South Caucasus. DIB therefore is not a *sui generis* tool adequate for regional stabilization. Leaning towards Western integration is merely going after its advantages without taking responsibility for the risks incurred by reform. So the region of the South Caucasus remains disputed geo-politically, and normatively. Stability must come first if reforms are to take hold significantly. According to a majority of the texts contributed to this Study Group Information booklet, there seems to be a slow realization that regional unity has its merits. It accompanies the realization that perhaps the West is becoming less reliable and the future too uncertain to side with either great powers.

The co-chairs of the RSSC SG praise and celebrate the constructive tone of the contributions therein, and as concerned individuals, lament the continuing tensions in the region, and the escalation suffered in the Armenian-Azerbaijani-conflict on Nagorno-Karabakh in April 2016. We remain convinced that the current course of confrontation based on antiquated ideas of national sovereignty will sooner spell the demise of the South Caucasus by threatening the liberty and security of all its citizens. We are at a point of maximum vulnerability in the West. Our ascendance has reached its zenith. Similarly, Russia, or the others, are not the threat. The threat is the impossibility of predicting and shaping the future even for modest powers like those of the South Caucasus. That too, prevents DIB implementation in the respective states. We say far more; that the inability of the South Caucasus to unite on any cause will very soon lead to its marginalization, and eventually to its domination by any one of the rising powers that have set their eyes on this prize; Russia looms, yes, but so does Iran and China, if we are to believe Shahnazaryan and Arzumanyan.

Unto itself, the influence of this or that country is not to be shunned. What is to be shunned is the ebbing away of what little sovereignty the South

Caucasus countries actually have. After so many years of such bitter struggle for independence, the only suggestion which makes sense is the pooling together of that sovereignty, and strength in unity. Granted the region is not ready for such a big leap, but the indications are that this is an idea whose time has come. Had a “Transcaucasia” emerged from the rubble of the Soviet collapse, the security situation would be very different today.

A good place to start would be to focus on counter-radicalism, and counter religious extremism. We expect to address this topic eventually, as there have been overtures in that direction made at the 7-9 November 2016 Berlin workshop on Countering Radicalism in the North Caucasus, with our colleagues from the Conflict Studies Working Group (CSWG).

We hope that at the very least, a common understanding of DIB for regional security and stability could be extracted. In a subsequent SSR-DIB workshop held in Geneva 12-15 June 2017, it was acknowledged that the magnitude of the DIB requirements was such, and the disciplines needed so wide and diverse, that a single working group could not hope to tackle the challenges alone. Furthermore, a programmatic approach was privileged against drop-in-the-bucket interventions. This is the approach that the RSSC SG has always taken and so there seems to be reason to hope for the RSSC SG to be able to continue progressing toward its goal – albeit at the pace imposed by events in the South Caucasus.

PART V:

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy Recommendations¹

Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group

Executive Summary:

The 15th joint RSSC-SSR workshop met to discuss the relationship between Defence Institution Building (DIB) and regional stability. It used the South Caucasus as a test case. The workshop examined how DIB was possible in a conflict-ridden region on the one hand, and on the other hand, discussed how DIB could achieve better regional stability. In addition, the topic was explored in scenarios of on-going conflict and post-conflict. The key recommendations and conclusions are that

1. DIB has better chances of succeeding in fostering regional stability in a post-conflict context.
2. Until a comprehensive stabilization of conflicts in the South Caucasus is achieved, DIB should be applied regionally, as opposed to bilaterally, to ensure transparency and better coordination.
3. DIB also has the potential to achieve better regional stability if the capabilities and skills it generates are aimed at common regional problems; hybrid threats, violent extremism as well as natural and man-made risks to energy security.
4. DIB should be thematically inclusive and pragmatic involving international actors, non-recognized actors, civilians and military practitioners in developing training and education solutions to stimulate greater rationalization of defence spending, planning and management at the regional level.

The co-chairs note the wariness of the workshop participants at the prospect of further bloodshed in the South Caucasus, and adamantly recom-

¹ These policy recommendations reflect the findings of the joint RSSC-SSR (DIB) WG's 15th workshop, "Harnessing Regional Stability in the South Caucasus: The Role and Prospects of Defence Institution Building in the Current Strategic Context", convened in Varna, Bulgaria, 6-9 April 2017, compiled by Frederic Labarre and George Niculescu, with the help of Elena Mandalenakis, and Tatiana Donich.

mend the powers concerned to refrain from violence and urge large powers to be diligent in their conflict resolution and mediation roles.

Introduction

The SSR WG and RSSC SG convened a joint workshop to explore the relationship between Defence Institution Building (DIB) and regional stability. The topic was made relevant by the continuing tensions in the South Caucasus, in particular, and evolving conflict in Ukraine. It was thought by the co-chairs and sponsors that DIB as a process and initiative could have a positive impact on conflict resolution. There is a distinction between DIB as an initiative and DIB as a process. As a process, DIB could be equated to national efforts at security sector reform, structural rationalization of forces and defence modernization. As an initiative, the concept seemed purely NATO-driven aiming at the rationalization of the security sector of post-Warsaw Pact countries and former Soviet Republics. The difference in definitions neatly corresponds to the geopolitical orientation of the countries; countries (and individuals) more closely aligned with Russia tend to see in defence institution building a process, while those more closely aligned with NATO see it as an Alliance initiative that aims at functional integration. In either interpretation of DIB however, it was not altogether clear how regional stability – let alone conflict resolution – could be achieved.

Throughout the workshop, participants greatly feared the impending resumption and escalation of violent hostilities in the region. The co-chairs want to put on record those fears and urge the relevant regional and international actors to intensify efforts at conflict resolution, since the status quo represents a direct threat to regional stability.

Panel 1: Understanding DIB and Defence Modernization and how it has been Implemented

The first panellist gave an historical description of DIB as an initiative originally stemming from the NATO Study on Enlargement of 1995. The conditions therein, he says, helped shape the democratic transition process towards fully-fledged liberal democracy in countries undergoing post-communist transition. When the conditions on NATO enlargement de-

volved into a fully-developed DIB initiative, the program proposed an overlap between democracy, good governance and stability. The focus is on the quality of democracy, and indeed, the travails of transition and of security sector reform have much to do, according to this panellist, with the fact that political battles take place at the level of accountability of the implementation of DIB, not at the moment of making policy choices. The second panellist focused on DIB as an initiative as well. DIB is a heavily US-promoted program, aiming at enabling a rational sharing of the costs for global and regional security. It leverages inclusive policies, which extend to the fight against corruption and organized crime. In practice, DIB has become more complex and interdependent because it is multidimensional. Its political content has also increased at domestic and regional levels, which means that Soviet legacy problems endure.

The third panellist gave a case study of Ukraine's efforts at DIB through NATO's defence education enhancement program (DEEP). The focus of DEEP is to lead the effort of transition from the very bottom by integrating student-teacher interaction at the military-academic level, in essence democratizing the classroom. It emphasises a learning process that is student-centred and empirical. Ukraine is rapidly moving ahead, benefiting from the attention it is getting due to her current conflicts. Already some administrative and political successes have been obtained even though challenges remain.

The fourth panellist took on DIB as a process and described the perception of Russia. In this perspective, Russia's effort at DIB were merely aimed at modernizing the military and building a defence capability that would support its foreign policy objectives in a conventional manner. At the same time, Russia's understanding of DIB is that it is a form of Western intervention in the sovereign affairs of states, and also, in the affairs of a region that Russia considers its own. In that view, it seems urgent to cancel DIB as an initiative as it is neither useful to the beneficiaries, nor beneficial to geopolitical relations. Overall, the presenters were in agreement that DIB is the logical expression of SSR, where SSR is understood as sufficient military forces led by competent and educated civilian authorities in a transparent manner.

Panel 2: The Status and Prospects of DIB in the South Caucasus

The first panellist explained that DIB was a tool for Armenia to balance Russian and Western influences at two levels; geopolitical (between Russia and NATO) and domestic, between officers divided by programmatic preferences that correspond to either Russia or the West. Armenia, in this sense, is a “small Russia” vulnerable to the same governance problems that plague Russia. DIB, in this view, is instrumental in bringing in the Western model to support Armenian reforms. This contrasts with the second panellist, who argued that unresolved conflicts in the region made the application of DIB difficult. In other words, DIB is not instrumental, it is the end result of an elusive process of de-escalation. Furthermore, he claimed that DIB does not bring stability and insisted that the proponents of such an initiative should ask themselves how badly they want DIB to succeed. The third panellist, speaking of Georgia, broadly agreed with this outlook and argued that the domestic situation impeded the application of DIB there. As long as instability prevailed in the structure of political decision-making there would be no chance that the DIB initiative could find solid buy-in. The fourth panellist gave added details about the need for prior stability to establish DIB. He argued that in case there was a renewal of hostilities in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, Armenia had threatened to use its “Iskander” missiles. The possibility, therefore, that DIB efforts might in fact entrench mutual suspicion and regional arms racing further is very real, and, in this connection, we are justified in wondering whether DIB is useful for regional stability.

Panel 3: Challenges and Opportunities for DIB and Defence Modernization in South Caucasus Conflict Resolution

The conclusions from the previous panel were echoed in the third. The first panellist argued that, in the not-fully recognized regions of the South Caucasus, the gap between military and civilian methods of conflict further complicates conflict resolution. Nagorno-Karabakh’s security (through Armenia’s defence forces, in the case of this speaker) is supported by DIB, insofar as it will procure Armenian forces with network-centric warfare forces and structures. Clearly, DIB is understood here as a catalyst for deterrence. The second speaker suggested that far from DIB, what was needed in the South Caucasus was a single market and new actors in the conflict

process and that no new foreign actors, i.e. Russia, are needed. Also, he claimed that SC political and economic integration would solve the problems). DIB could not be sustainable, he argued, for a region that counts barely 150,000 people, in other words, for a population too small to build autonomous forces. A common commercial approach would be better indicated to achieve stability, as there are no problems between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh in that context. Instead of DIB, de-militarization would seem to follow this logic.

For the third panellist, from the partially-recognized region of South Ossetia, DIB is a necessary process which is impeded by the presence of Russian forces on the territory of South Ossetia. The problem here is one of identity; the armed forces are central to the sense of self of South Ossetia, but they are being absorbed in one way or another by Russian military structures. Therefore DIB, either as a process or an initiative akin to what NATO would have in mind, is currently not possible. For the penultimate participant, DIB can be used as a bridge between four states; Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Russia. As a device for military-to-military exchanges susceptible of increasing predictability, it could work. For the final participant, DIB need not be a formal program or initiative of any one nation or organization, but should nevertheless be aligned against the objective criteria developed by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), although countries struggling with ethno-political conflicts may not fit with this solution. Conflicts have an adverse effect on reform efforts. The leadership is aware of that, and would otherwise undertake reforms if the conflicts were not in the way. Again, conflict resolution must precede program or process implementation. Security systems need the support of democratic polities and not the other way around. It is perhaps preferable not to have any DIB at all, if the beneficiaries are not ready or comfortable with the consequences.

Breakout Group Discussions

Breakout group discussions, held separately, yielded interestingly congruent results. The Geneva and Minsk groups, respectively comprised of participants from the Western South Caucasus and Eastern South Caucasus, equally concluded in their SWOT analyses, that the strength of DIB lay in the potential for democratic transition, transparency, healthier civil-military

relations, as well as better balanced forces. The Minsk Group seems to have approached the topic from the point of view that DIB should be the result of regional stability and cooperation, whereby the Geneva Group asked whether DIB could not be conducive to regional stability. Also, the Geneva and Minsk breakout groups differed in that the former approached the problem within the on-going conflicts, whereas the latter group entertained discussions in a post-conflict scenario. Despite the differing approaches, there was large congruence between the two groups, despite the Minsk group's sometimes acrimonious debates.

Both groups, for instance, saw strengths and benefits of DIB in promoting democratic development, transparency and accountability, democratic control of armed forces and rational defence management. Interestingly, both groups also saw the potential of DIB in enabling the South Caucasus countries in developing their armed forces and banding together to defeat violent extremism in the region and addressing other common challenges.

Nevertheless DIB, either as a tool or an independent objective, presented severe threats and weaknesses to regional stability and domestic defence modernization. At the geostrategic level, applying DIB could have adverse effects on wider regional conflicts and on external actors, namely Russia. The latter, could respond to DIB initiatives and processes as if they were perceived as unwanted interventions in regional and domestic affairs of sovereign states. What would Russia's response be, indeed, if she feels that her periphery is slowly being turned against her by Western influence? One possible response could be added regional pressure, meddling, and arms racing. Another reason why DIB is perhaps not applicable to the region is the regional leadership structures' relative inexperience and immature democratic character.

The most damaging charge against DIB is that, if implemented, it could enable the development of defence capabilities that would soonest be misused, emboldening belligerents towards further hostile action. This outcome was discussed in the Geneva group, and much of the rationale is based on the experience of a bilateral US-Georgia security sector reform program, the "Georgia Train and Equip Program (GTEP)," which may have emboldened Georgia in August 2008. The consequences would effectively rule out the potential opportunities for further Euro-Atlantic integra-

tion (at EU and NATO level) of the South Caucasus armed forces and political systems. On the pertinence of that risk alone, abandoning DIB would seem the logical next step either at programmatic level (from NATO or the US), or at domestic level (from the countries themselves). We should highlight here that in the Minsk breakout group, these outcomes – most certainly owing to the post-conflict approach – did not seem likely.

Policy Recommendations

In short, the benefits of DIB for the South Caucasus countries and for regional stability are mixed. Nevertheless, the threats and weaknesses associated with DIB as an initiative and a process can be offset through the following recommendations;

- a) DIB should be applied *regionally* rather than bilaterally. A multilateral and integrated approach should have the desired outcome on regional stability. This approach would increase transparency about the use of DIB within the region, and facilitate coordination with NATO;
- b) Joint SSR/DIB experts can promote DIB as an initiative as a post-conflict planning tool, turning security sector reform and DIB into a vehicle for post-conflict regional cooperation;
- c) In order to serve as tool of SSR, DIB should be tailored to enable the participant countries (or rather region) to focus on common external challenges, such as energy security and the fight against violent extremism;
- d) The execution of DIB as a national process led by powerful international organizations should be carried out with due concern for the potential risks associated with new capabilities development. Especially, a regional system of checks and balances to incentivize cooperation should be put in place in the South Caucasus. By way of example, making DIB more practical² and inclusive, institutional-

² Having DIB efforts focusing on more pragmatic objectives such as planning and management of resources and capabilities; defence budget management, management of defence restructuring; civilian participation in defence and security policy; international cooperation and good-neighbourly relations in defence and security matters.

izing the presence of non-recognized political actors and the establishment of a conflict management “hot line” between the capitals would be a step in the right direction;

- e) DIB should continue to provide support for education and training for civilian and military professionals in defence institutions and in civil society (NGOs and think tanks). However, more attention should be devoted to understanding regional affairs, and the role and responsibilities of national defence institutions in maintaining regional stability;
- f) DIB should be applied according to more objective DCAF criteria, while managing expectations for success, as some countries may not be ready or comfortable with the sacrifices required of a DIB initiative;
- g) Finally, the EU should gradually assume, in the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), and in cooperation with NATO, the OSCE and other relevant organizations, a bolder role in supporting SSR and DIB in the South Caucasus, in particular on topics such as hybrid threats, countering terrorism, and research on military capabilities development through the European Defence Agency (EDA).

List of Abbreviations

ADL	Academy for Distance Learning
ATO	Anti-Terrorist Operation
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DCAF	Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DEEP	Defence Education Enhancement Program
DIB	Defence Institution Building
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDWG	Education Development Working Group
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EU	European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
GAF	Georgian Armed Forces
GI	Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index
GTEP	Georgia Train and Equip Program
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INSS	Institute for National Strategic Studies
IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officers
NDRU	National Defence Research University
NDU	National Defence University
NKDA	Nagorno-Karabakh Defence Army
NRF	NATO's Response Force
NS	National Security
NSA	National Security Agency

NSC	National Security Concept
NSS	National Security Strategy
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAP-DIB	Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building
PARP	Planning and Review Process
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PfPC	Partnership for Peace Consortium
PME	Professional Military Education
RSSC SG	Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group
SDR	Strategic Defence Review
SNGP	Substantial NATO-Georgia Package
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SSR WG	Security Sector Reform Working Group
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
TI-DSP	Transparency International's Defence and Security Programme
U.S.	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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The 15th RSSC SG publication focuses on Defence Institution Building (DIB) in the South Caucasus. This publication offers insights into the aims of DIB, suggests possible implementation strategies and networking opportunities between countries in the region and gives concrete examples of challenges connected to DIB, such as the possibility of an emerging arms race. The DIB policies of Armenia, the Ukraine and Georgia are discussed in more detail. In addition, the Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP) is presented and the importance of education in the defence sector discussed.

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