SECURITY POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: BETWEEN SECURITY THREATS AND POLITICAL CAPACITIES

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Introduction

Changes in the security situation in Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of SFR Yugoslavia imposed the need to Macedonia to establish and to continue to redefine national security policy, in conjunction with regional and wider security developments. Therefore, the time period covered in this study includes analysis of 22 years of independent Republic of Macedonia (1991-2013). The analysis is focused on the situation arising from the relationship of the state to the core issues related to the management of national security. In the same timeframe, the national security concept - as the main subject of the research, is analyzed in terms of: Euro-Atlantic security integration, dealing with inter-ethnic tensions and the impact of continuing political instability (as part of daily social events). In fact, the main thesis of the paper is focused on the impact of cited factors (interethnic relations, Euro-Atlantic integration processes and political instability) on the security situation in the country and the paper represent a try to give answers on how the state and the security system in general have real capacity to identify and cope with these security risks.

1. Definition of the concept of national security policy

Approach to the security, which dates from the end of the Cold War, some researchers call "substantial competitive concept", i.e. concept with the great value that is not amount of argument or evidence could not bring him to his real meaning (Baldwin, 1997). The security policy can be defined as part of a general policy on the basis of relevant facts obtained through security assessments of the degree of threat to values, determined by means and measures that can achieve certain security goals at home and abroad (Spaseski, 2005). In the formulation of security policy is most important how to define the security, i.e. whether the definition of security and security management by the state establishes a functional dependence of security needs, interests, priorities and values that govern the state related to its sustainability, development, and stability. Hence, the security policy can be defined as a multifunctional instrument of the state with which it manages more spheres of social life (internal and external politics, economy, culture and social relations). The objectives of the security policy is aimed at achieving stability of citizens, strengthening the internal security situation by guaranteeing the constitutional values and achieve a better position of the country in the international arena. On that way the state gets an opportunity to gain power within the international relations, dominance and dispersion of its interests beyond its borders.

Determining the purpose of a security policy associated with the process of its creation, and for the creation of security policy are in charge the policy makers. The main challenge in creating a security policy is to create a concept that would really reflect the security needs of the country and will be in accordance with security capacities (security system) and the spectrum of current and potential security threats.

With an overall intent of making Bismarck's and Sinclair's descriptions of policymaking some - what less applicable for the 21st century, the analysis describes in detail a policy formulation model developed between 2004 and 2009 by the faculty and students of the National Security Policy Program (NSPP) at the U.S. Army War College. It identifies a series of variables or directive steps to be addressed in the national security policymaking process. These variables are (Stolberg, 2010):

- Define the Policy Issue

- Strategic Context: Foreign and Domestic

- Identify and Recommend Prioritization of U.S. National Interests and Domestic Political Considerations

- Facts/Assumptions/Factors Framing Policy Development

- Determine Desired Policy Issue End State/Goal

- Determine Policy Supporting Objectives and Measures of Effectiveness

- Identify Policy Options

- Analyze and Validate Each Policy Option

- Analyze Risk for Each Option

- Compare Policy Options and make Recommendations

- Consideration and Decision by Leadership

- Monitor Implementation

- Receive Feedback on Success or Failure of Policy and its Implementation and Assess

The methodology for the formulation of security policy can be explained as a matrix that guides leading political authorities (in coordination with the strategic level of the professional part of security system) in decision-making related to management of security issues. It stems from the

way in which a state or collective security system manages security. On the other hand, the policy is a plan which leads political parties in decision-making and approval of its actions. The political process aimed at solving security problems, except the activities provided within the security policy, includes alternative solutions and scenarios based programs and priorities defined on the basis of their importance to the interests of the state.

2. Macedonian dilemma in term of conceptualization and management with the security issues

Two decades existence of the Republic of Macedonia cannot be a reason for the conditions associated with defining and managing the security issues by the political and security authorities. There are some arguments that explain the situation outlining the security policy of the Republic of Macedonia (Nacev, 2003; Filipov, 2005; Yusufi). However, the starting point in creating a security policy is to define the factors that affect the security situation in the country. Therefore, the determination of the security situation in the country should takes into account: the history, the dynamics of social development, interpersonal relations within the country (as relations between different ethnic, cultural, religious, and political groups), relations with neighbors, regional security developments, and characteristics of the general security situation in Europe and wider. Also retrospectively, as particularly significant moments that have a significant impact on the security situation in the Republic of Macedonia are: the disintegration of Yugoslavia and two decades of the international security presence in the region, the crisis in Kosovo (1999), the armed conflict in Macedonia (2001), events related to Euro-Atlantic integrations, continuous pressure and propaganda of neighbors that are getting in the internal

affairs of the state and the realization of the rights of Macedonians living in neighboring countries.

Hence, if we take into account all the specific features that have an impact on the security situation in the country, creating the concept of national security policy opened dilemma "Does the state wants to import already prepared (off-the-self) concept for security and state need to build their own (authentic) concept that largely correspond to the actual circumstances in the country?".

If to the resolution of this dilemma is accessed from the technical aspect, the first solution is easy because with prescribing the concept or his taking as a universal model can be very simple. Towards this approach complements the fact that Macedonia had many opportunities to accept this model and even it could be done in the first stage of the reform of the security sector, in which the foreign authorities had dominant role. Hence arose many wrong decisions that do not match with the real needs for managing the national security.[1]

The choice of the second approach is a real challenge for the political authorities focused on security issues and for the strategic level within the national security system. In this section, regarding the events that were part of the reform of the security sector can be identified several attempts and approaches to security issues, but there is a general impression that the state is still ripening in the field. Within the analysis of the legal framework in the strategic documents' process making there is an impression that the process of decision making of the strategic documents takes too long and there is no clear direction in terms of the order/chronology of

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[1] For example, the Concept of National Security and Defense (2003) only mentions extreme nationalism (without elaborate threats of disrupted inter-ethnic relations), and political instability and security implications of the blocked Euro-Atlantic integration is nowhere mentioned.

adoption of strategic security documents (clearly based on the timeline of their adoption), there are not clearly defined the national priorities, there is no difference between ethnic and national interest and in some cases there is the overlapping of responsibilities between two or more institutions that are part of the security system. Also, provisions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement contribute to this unclear situation.

In general, based on terminological determination of security policy and its understanding of the national context (in the case of Macedonia), defining the security policy process involves the creation and development of measures for the preservation and maintenance of security and at the same time it is an instrument that can (in some degree to) ensure survival, existence, security, stability and development of the country. The effects of the implementation of security policy in the country are seen as a way to exploit any security capacity, country's geo-strategic position, national interests and a range of other factors that influence the occurrence of ethnic conflict, endangering the constitutional values of the Republic and the emergence and development of other security threats that have permanent and/or dynamic component (terrorism, the impact of radical Islam, hooliganism at sports events, political destabilization scenarios and causing of interethnic tensions, etc..). Regarding the Euro-Atlantic integration processes, security policy means acceptance of security policies and strategies of the EU and NATO - as a way of introducing standards in political and operational security management. The definition of security in the context of political instability involves embedding security policy measures that will have the capacity to protect the concept of security of possible political manipulation, to raise the level of professionalism within the security system and find a model for selecting the most appropriate persons who could be part of the national political authorities responsible for security issues.

3. Future challenges

Table 1: Preview of adaptation of strategic security documents

Title of strategic document	Adopted	Amendments
White Paper on Defense	1998	2005 and 2012
Strategy of Defense	September 1999	February 2010
Ohrid Framework Agreement	13 August 2001	No
National Security and Defense Concept	11 June 2003	No
Strategic Defense Review – Political Framework	22 October 2003	No
National Strategy for Integrated Border Management	December 2003	No
Police Reform Strategy	2003	2004
National Security Strategy	January 2008	No
National Defense Strategy	2012	No

Future challenges are associated with the current model of national security - that entered into force after the adaptation of the National Defense Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia (2012), and with the need for redefining its more consistent approach in dealing with security threats. The strategy represents the latest strategic document that completes the strategic framework of the model of national security. The new system consists of three subsystems - for national defense, homeland security and for protection and rescue, each of which operates as an independent system. Besides security policy, security structure and security self-organization of the civil society, national security system was upgraded with participation of its parts in international security defense systems - an activity which is further defined in the Defense

Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia (2010). This part is actually the fourth pillar of the system which addresses on the participation of Macedonian security forces in missions of EU and NATO.

Aside from the legal framework that regulates the security policy, upsetting are the dangers to which there is not serious approaches within security policy, and they are resulting from ethnic and political divisions in society (Rajkovchevski, 2011.) Even more dangerous is that certain ethnic and inter-political tensions and divisions are initiated by political authorities. Tensions are used to conceal certain social issues that have an impact on security in the state (failure to reduce the level of poverty in the country, the price rises and cost of foods that affect the standard of living, failed privatization, political scandals, corruption scandals, etc.). Also, because of the balance in a multiethnic society and intra-coalition cohesion[2], political authorities inappropriately identify/appoint the security threats even they are emphasized by the professional elite (within the security system) and security experts. Thus, for example, the implications of the existence of radical Islam, terrorism or statements and attempts for federalization/secession of part of Macedonia (Macedonia Online, 2012; Kanal 5 TV, 2013) are seen by the political authorities as an opportunity for inter-party[3] and inter-religious conflict and thus avoid this type of crimes to qualify as a serious security threat.

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[2] Since the independence, the Government coalition contains political parties from Macedonian and Albanian block of political parties.

[3] Again, due to the fact that the political parties in Macedonia are established on ethnical fundaments.

4. Recommendations for the security policy of the Republic of Macedonia

Recommendations for security policy are mainly addressed to the political and security system's authorities. The recommendations relate to the determination of security priorities and include innovative and flexible approach to the implementation of existing and new measures of security policy. In addition to the recommendations go several arguments, such as: Macedonia fully took the responsibility for national security, while the state is part of missions for crisis management, Macedonia regular security strategies align with those of the EU and NATO, Macedonian security forces have declared forces that have the capacity and are ready for rapid deployment within peacekeeping operations in the framework of cooperation with the allied forces and the like.

Political authorities in designing and conducting security policy should take into account geographic location and Euro-Atlantic integration of Macedonia, as the features that ensure successful security, political and economic development[4] of the country.

Political authorities should invest in staff development and acquisition of skills for managing the security capacities, needed to govern rational and effective security policy. The absence of Continuous Creation of staff for the security system, which occur as a result of the closure of the Faculty of Security as most relevant institution for the education of staff for the police[5] (in 1995) and the suspension of work at the Military Academy (in 2002) reflected with lack of

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[4] Economic development is a precondition for decrease of tensions within society and it is main factor that allows continuous operation and maintenance of the capacities of the national security system.

[5] In the period 2004-2008 the Police Academy was legal successor of the Faculty of Security (established in 1977), and until 2008 it was renamed again in Faculty of security. The students are admitted under the principle of equitable representation, but despite that many graduated generations, the police hired only few persons.

professionalism and it opened the issue of competence and the politicization of the security institutions.

Political authorities should be directed to use the political goals of security, taking advantage of the possibilities of diplomatic, economic and cultural cooperation.

In Macedonia, authorities have political consensus for the European integration, the name dispute and directions of development of regional and broader security cooperation, but not enough clear and transparent to the public for their views related to important national issues.

Political authorities should change their attitude towards security issues, because according to how they are created, they are main promoters of stereotypes within the ethnic group they represent. Political officials represents the state in the type of society, such as the Macedonian is, should aim to harmonize relations between different ethnic groups through programs of integration[6], to increase the safety in the community and to overcome the differences. Programs to implement the security policy should include de-ethnicity of the Constitution[7], motivating people to integrate into society through economic development activities and recognition of common interests of the community (e.g., participation in dealing with crime by identifying security threats, help for development of the local community, etc.). Initially these programs should be designed for rural areas where living non-majority population, and then they should be realized throughout the state. Thus, the programs contribute to avoid giving the ethnic connotation of the problems in society, build a higher level of public awareness and the political

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[6] It is possible if the main emphasis on belonging within society is putted on statehood and not on ethnicity. It is the way that most European countries approach on the national identity, and also a trend in the EU that leads to Europeanisation of different ethnic and cultural groups.

[7] Because two major ethical groups have different views/standpoints on the amendments of the Constitution made by the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

power is limited, and also it reduces the opportunities for corruption and organized crime by political parties. The main emphasis in the programs needs to be put on the identification with the state and it should be the product of efforts by the state to provide a decent life and prosperity of their citizens. In Macedonian terms, this means that the state should be free of political interests and to advocate for rapid integration into EU and NATO as the main basis for guaranteeing the survival, overall economic and social development.

Inconsistent enforcement of security policies is largely due to the lack of accountability of the political leaders[8] and leaders of civil society entities that have the greatest impact on managing of the security threats within the community. In the Republic of Macedonia is difficult to talk about the responsibility of political leaders, and political officials repeatedly have shown that rather than quell inter-ethnic tensions they arise as generators of tensions.

Regional approach in creating a security policy is important because the Balkans is a compact entity which connects many ethnic and national interests of the small space. The Balkan countries need an impact that will be made only by satisfying the single aspiration of the region - Europeanization (Woodward & Steil, 1999). Political authorities should continue to support the deepening of regional security cooperation (known as "balkanization" or regional form of Europeanization of the Balkans). Security cooperation should not be hindered in situations where there is evident bilateral political dispute. This is especially important because the subject of security cooperation, which is one of the primary activities of the security policy, is at least political (mostly there are the forms of transnational crime, joint participation in peacekeeping operations, coordination search for wanted people, cross-border cooperation activities, etc.).

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[8] As reaction of the political authorities is often result of pressure from the international community.

The implementation of the security policy of the Republic of Macedonia is largely influenced by the country's relations with its neighbors, where the main role again has political authorities. Macedonia has met the criteria for entry into NATO (2008) and receive four positive reports in a row of the European Commission for the progress of the Republic of Macedonia in the period 2009-2012 (Secretariat for European Affairs, 2013), but country did not receive a date for start of the negotiations with EU. The security implications of the delay of Euro-Atlantic integration result from the imposed name dispute with Greece (and other disputes with neighbors) and the impact on the degree of conflicts associated with the state of interethnic relations. Euro-Atlantic integration are common target for members of all ethnic communities in the country, so that they can be seen as the basis of loyalty of ethnic groups to the state which would alleviate feelings of isolation and ethnic divisions.

State should invest in more involvement of all relevant bodies (whether it is a body formed by members of experts, NGOs or institutions that are part of the wider collaboration with security system's entities) as a way of a comprehensive approach to security issues. Holistic approach to national security may contribute to formal and informal evaluation of the formulation and implementation of security policies, and to improve coordination of interagency cooperation.

The sum of all existing formal and informal recommendations for a comprehensive security policy of the Republic of Macedonia, aimed to deal with all potential threats to security and stability, should include:

- Reduction and elimination of all kinds of stereotypes and prejudices associated with the security of the state (for example, issues related to: humiliation of ethnic groups, the events that are the result of rivalry between political parties and perceptions regarding the safety benefits of membership in EU and NATO);

- Promotion of the mechanisms for peaceful resolution of conflicts, mostly of inter-ethnic;

- Creating an efficient and compact security system with clearly defines responsibilities of all parties;

- Clear identification of security problems that involves separation of general social conflicts from the security ones;

- Alignment of the directions of action of political stakeholders in the internal and external security policy;

- Creation of optimal economic conditions that ensure the needs of citizens and security system;

- Enabling the rule of law, respect for the rule of law and respect for the achievements of a democratic society;

- Promoting values such as: tolerance, interculturalism and addressing sensitive ethnic, religious and cultural issues through dialogue and understanding;

- Develop individual responsibility of all social safety factors, especially the political parties and the security system;

- Full implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the improvement of inter-ethnic relations;

- Implementation of European integration and retention of dignity in resolving name dispute;

- Creation and implementation of measures for economic and social development;

- Maintaining good neighborly relations in order to promote regional stability;

- Strengthening the legal system;

- Permanently investing in the education of professionals in the field of security and development of relevant institutions (colleges, universities and research centers);

- Strengthening democracy and human rights;

- Strengthen relationships with international legal institutions;

- Continiusly investment in the security system;

- Strengthen measures to combat terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking and organized crime;

- Dealing with environmental threats;

- Improve the level of health care; and

- Monitoring of geopolitical changes.

Conclusion

Alignment of the various views of political authorities and representatives of the strategic level within the security sector (including experts) remains a major challenge in creating and implementing national security policy in the country.

The model of multi-ethnic society through which the Albanian community in the country likes the Republic of Macedonia to impose a form of bi-national state does not help in creating and implementing security policies. Therefore, the challenges of the political authorities should be directed to distinguish between ethnic and national interests and priorities in addressing security issues. This approach will allow security to be approached from the perspective of the citizen security, security of the state and in the context of the broader notion of security (as part of the obligations of the partnership with the EU, NATO and strategic partners), but not on the way of which will benefit only certain political elites within the political (ethnic) groups.

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Abstract

The events of the last two decades in Southeast Europe were associated with conflicts in the Balkans, long transition of the societies and Euro-Atlantic integration processes. The Republic of Macedonia, as a special case in the heart of the Balkans, on its list of internal challenges added the stabilization of inter-ethnic relations and the security implications of name dispute. The long absence of statehood and the lack of a clear concept of the content of the strategic documents in the area of security contributed Macedonia to wander in determining security priorities. After two decades of existence, it imposes the question "Does state politically matured in trying to determine the national security interests?"

The paper theorizes current frame of security policy in the context of its capacity to deal with internal, regional and European security challenges. The paper gives explanations for how the solutions imposed by the international community with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (in 2001) and security sector reform, have the capacity to maintain peace. The elaborated attitudes are in correlation to the art of politics to meet the security needs arising from the demands of practitioners and academics.

Key words: *Macedonia, stability, strategic, policy, security, challenges.*