

[www.alfacentar.org](http://www.alfacentar.org)

yearbook **REACT**  
**2008**

# REACT 2008



*Mr. Aleksandar Dedović,  
Executive Director of ALPHA Centre,*

*Dear friends,*

Implementing Regional Euro Atlantic Camp Together “REACT 2008” project, ALPHA Centre intended to contribute to our citizens’ education about the concept and the importance of regional cooperation, the current safety issues all over the region, as well as about the stressed significance of the countries’ membership in NATO.

The place of venue was a small village Crkvicko Polje (Northern Montenegro). Regarding the fact that countries all over the region intend to join NATO, 24 lectures realized in the course of five days have improved our knowledge about the new profile of NATO as a political organization, as well as about the necessity of a stronger regional cooperation.

Fifty young people from twelve countries spent seven days in the most beautiful village in Montenegro, learning about and discussing these very important issues. Of course, some of the sports and culture activities, healthy food, and casual atmosphere, helped establishing strong connection between the young people all over the region.

The idea to publish Yearbook REACT 2008 was born during the camp activities. The main goal of the book is to share the knowledge acquired so far, as well as the experience in the working and living environment of all the participants.

Bearing in mind that the camp gathered participants with varied opinions on NATO-Montenegro-region relationship (contra, as a neutral, member of PfP, “Island model”, etc), majority agreed that this event presented beginning of the public debate upon these issues in Montenegro.

In the end, I would like to thank friends and colleagues who gave their best in making this gathering a successful one.

I am especially grateful to the Ministry of Defense of Montenegro, NATO PDD, the Royal Norwegian Embassy, the Foundation Open Society Institute – Montenegro, to the Mayor of Pluzine Municipality, “ALO AIR”, “Montenegro defense Industry,” and NTV “Montena”.

*Yours,  
Aleksandar Dedovic*



8  
0  
0  
8  
2  
0  
0  
8  
R  
E  
A  
C  
T  
2  
0  
0  
8

REACT 2008

---

*Mr. Zoran Keković,  
Faculty of Security Studies,  
University of Belgrade*

---

# **The Regional Security of Southeastern Europe**

**T**hreats that use to be considering as common for the region of Southeastern Europe are: unresolved statehood problems and (Internal) political instability, trans -national organized crime, corruption, religious, national extremism and ethnic tensions, economic and social threats, environmental threats and disasters, migratory flows and refugee issues, marginalization by the EU and NATO. These challenges have implications for what (concepts and) tools we need to enhance security, citizens safety and crisis management capacity in an increasingly interdependent and borderless world. Besides military threats, common non-traditional and non-military challenges and threats need to be recognized as the most important security issues of SEE countries under the condition of globalization and transition process.

While the Balkan ethnic movements have largely confined their political activities within the existing state borders, cross-border ethnic networks are yet at work. The host country may not be able to control destabilising factors that come from across their borders, e.g. ethnic conflicts or organised crime operations in neighbouring countries. Border police, customs and immigration officials may not be able to control or address such problems due to lack of resources, corruption or poor co-ordination amongst different government agencies. Religious, social, cultural and economic factors do play a substantial role in defining the character and conduct of irregular conflict. What is required is a better understanding of the identity and contextual circumstances behind substate violence.

Besides the threats, regional security cooperation in Southeastern Europe is influenced by regional/national specifics as a values, cultural heritage, lines of communications, historical links, economical links, similar geopolitics and different specific threats. Slow reform of security sector is the common attribute for transitional countries. A serious challenge for international organizations in combating SEE threats ensues from the weak state institutions of the conflict -ridden and post-conflict societies.



# REACT 2008



No single state or international organisation can deal with these challenges by itself. Security area should be defined as an complex inter-department activity enabling units and institutions to enforce tasks in this area.

The fundamental frameworks and principles of cooperation among countries are established in the SEECAP (South Eastern Europe Common Assessment Paper). Principles for regionalization include: long-term peace, safety and security are given priority over short-term strategy; core security is provided through risk reduction, prevention and societal security issues; understanding the regional/external context; understanding the internal (national/local) context, complementing the efforts of international organisations (UN, OSCE, NATO, EU, Council of Europe); inter-state, State and Non-state actors engaged in joint working relationships of mutual responsibility; ensuring (regionally) ownership and effective leadership; risk-based decision approach and cost-effectiveness.

In combating SEE threats, the strategies have strong cultural, ethnical, religious and other obstacles. It is clear that the future stability and security in Southeast Europe will depend very much on successful management of inter-ethnic, -religious, -economical and -cultural relations. We can add, not least, because of inter-states differences. Regional cooperation is not an end in itself, but remains an integral element of the overall efforts to promote security and stability. Regional cooperation supports the aims and objectives of the broader European and Euro-Atlantic integration processes.

Priorities that permanently occupies regional cooperation proces in SEE are: conflict prevention and Crisis management, security sector reform, border security management, control and removal of SALW, fighting corruption and organized crime, strengthening the rule of law, promoting economic development, improvement of transport infrastructure, social cohesion, education and research improvement, NGO involvement, environmental protection and disaster management, building capacity.







# REACT 2008

REACT 2008

---

*Professor PhD Andreja Savic  
Diplomacy and Safety Academy  
Belgrade*

---

**SERBIA AND NATO:  
Pro  
et  
Contra**



**A**bstract: The paper contains results of the most recent theoretical researches of the author from area of the national and international security<sup>1</sup>. In a try to find an answer on the current changes in treatment of actual security aspects, the content of this paper is focused on NATO and the Euro-Atlantic integrations, that is to say, the analysis of the relation of Serbia and NATO, that is to say, the Serbian options that have been existing, at this moment, as the reasons for, over neutrality to the reasons against the state's NATO joining.

Key words: NATO, the Republic of Serbia, a national security, the Euro-Atlantic integrations, security systems.

## 1. A political context

In a political life and the Serbian public there has been often a discussion on subject for or against NATO where a spectrum of arguments is very wide: from using NATO subject in a political fight of contrasted political parties in election campaigns, over adoption of political decisions that vary from a negative to a positive attitude when it comes to the Euro-Atlantic integrations, from skeptic to apologetic tones, including also proclaiming of "a military neutrality". NATO as a line of a political division into "pro-NATO" and "anti-NATO" forces, that is to say, for and against NATO, potentially is more important than an imposed division into reform and retrograde forces, pro-Western and pro-Russian, global and national, or previously declared as a left and right wing. A political division like this marked, has marked, especially since autumn 2007, when an anti-NATO campaign was broken-out by patriotic and nationalistic forces, elections on all levels in Serbia which resulted in a tight victory of "pro-European" and by that also "pro-NATO" forces. A choice of the President of the state and creation of the Government of provenience like this in 2008 does not mean still that a political agreement has been reached when it comes to the vital state and national interests of Serbia and that future of the state will be clearly straight-lined toward the North-Atlantic organization and the European Union. Fragility of a political system, a polarization of election body, incompleteness of transition process with numerous social problems, negative results of application of new-liberal model of economy (a threat of debt crisis- an external debt after 2000 is at the level of former SFRJ), an unilateral proclamation of Kosovo independence<sup>2</sup>, are only some of limiting factors for the actual governing structures and causes of potential changes of a political course of the state.

<sup>1</sup> Some of those researches were presented in the authors' study books: The National Security Systems, an electronic study book, NSA, Belgrade, 2008; The National Security, ....., Belgrade, 2007; Intelligence Services and the National Security, Law College, Kragujevac, 2006.



## 2. A historical context

A political context can be treated from the aspect of historical periods: relations of Serbia with the leading NATO countries in the World War I and II, relations of former SFRJ during the period of confrontations with Inform Bureau and Warsaw Pact from 1947-1955, relations during 1990s of the last century and, especially, after political changes from 2000.

Not entering into unquestioned historical facts on “alliance” of the Serbs and winner forces in the First and the Second World War, we would focus on period from 1950s of the last century until nowadays.

During 1950s, SFRJ, due to an ideological conflict with Stalin’s Inform Bureau, turned toward the West including itself into a program of Military help (Mutual Defense Aid-Program-MDAP), signed in Belgrade on 14th November 1951. Within this program, in which there were NATO member-countries and the states endangered by possible Soviet aggression, Tito’s Yugoslavia received a big technological help and help in weapons (jet planes, radars, tanks of the second generation, artillery of the biggest caliber, etc.). Also, it was included into NATO military planning in a case of war, and a special connection was realized through the Balkans Pact with Greece and Turkey, which was, in one moment, considered to be a military wing of the southern defense of NATO.<sup>3</sup>

Further development of events stopped a trend like this: a death of J.V.Stalin and Trieste crisis in 1953, warming and normalization of relations with SSSR after a visit of N.S. Khrushchev (Belgrade declaration, 1955) resulted in less warm relations with the West. During later decades, in 1980s of the last century, that time Yugoslavia improved relations with NATO and its military industry, based on the Western technology, was pretty present at the market of non-aligned countries whose leader it was.

With the state’s falling apart on 15th January 1992, a graduate NATO entrance into a whirlpool of the Yugoslav crisis was happening, the one that was manifested by military air intervention against the Republic of Srpska in 1995, and its culmination was in air raid of NATO air forces onto FR Yugoslavia and this coalition’s forces entrance into Kosovo and Metohija in 1999.

After political changes in Serbia in 2000, one of the most important items of program of the new Government have been “the Euro-Atlantic integrations” within which a cooperation has been restarted in a big degree<sup>4</sup>, but the definite NATO joining of Serbia has not been realized even after eight years. To say on the other way, political and especially in media sense, dominant “pro-NATO forces” have been, which enabled for army to lead for already eight years toward NATO without any political decision, without “a civilian control” and as “an autonomous power center”.

2. Currently, there has been a diplomatic offensive for getting as wider support as possible for the initiative of Serbia that is planning to submit a resolution to UN General Assembly at the regular September session this year, with a demand for asking for counseling opinion of the International Court of Justice in the Hague on legality of a unilateral announcement of Kosovo and Metohija. This activity was planned by the Action Plan of the Government of Serbia at the level of blocking of unilaterally announced independence of K&M by other countries, and disabling of membership of so-called Kosovo state in the international organizations.

3. More detailed in: Bojan Dimitrijevic, Yugoslavia and NATO, Trokontinental and Journalis-publishing center “Army”, Belgrade, 2003.

4. All that has been done in Serbia since 2000 when it comes to defense system of the country and economy was based on a wish for a new, strong Serbia to be built, and the European and the Euro-Atlantic integrations were only in function of that wish’s realization. It was like that with a reform of defense system directed toward NATO standards (quantity condition of armed forces and their modernization that can be “sustained” by those, based on NATO strategists ideal 2 percent of the total state’s budget). For now, it should be expected for the Army reform to move into another direction. Every attempt like that would just weaken additionally our already reduced armed forces (now the number is 27.000 of soldiers and their modernization has only begun.) Today, officers regularly go into different commands and agencies of NATO, attend courses of foreign



### 3. Peculiarities of Serbia in comparison to other countries

In the Serbian public, when it comes to a way toward “the Euro-Atlantic integrations”, there are several limitation factors that, let us say so, were not present at other European countries.

Probably, the most significant specific factor is the relation toward a military operation called “An Angel of Mercy” in 1999. Not a single nation has been bombed or had such a group of enemies as the Serbs have had. A bigger part of the public opinion, even though remembrances have been pushed into forgetting politically and by media with an intention for that to be done, has not been still sharing the same historical marks nor moral values with its eventual allies that define that as “an air-strike campaign” or “a humanitarian intervention” etc. For a dominant Serbian public that has still been an aggression of the most powerful armed formation in history to one sovereign country with no provocation and with no mandate of the UN Security Council for force usage. When it comes to moral values, in majority part of the public, reluctance toward NATO has been combined with indignation that originates from a traditional moral that treats alliance as “god-parent relationship” which is, however, rigidly incorporated into a cultural being of the Serbian nation.

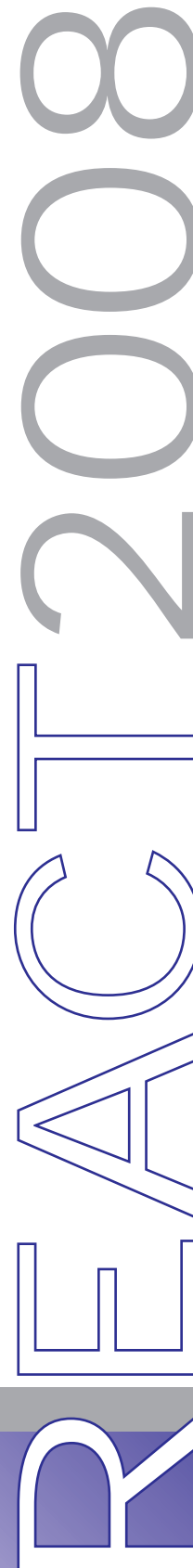
Out of other specific factors in one small, but also in the biggest Balkan country like Serbia, known for historically interested in preservation of the state sovereignty and territorial integrity in both World Wars, an atmosphere of non-attractiveness of the organization should be mentioned, of the one that out of defense one grew into an offensive armed alliance exactly at the time of bombing of Serbia, with a complete following of anti-Serbian side in Yugoslav crisis, double standards on terrorism, etc.

### 4. The arguments of NATO joining of Serbia

Out of numerous arguments for NATO joining, it seems that, having in mind the actual political-safety evaluation, the following ones deserve attention:

- With NATO joining Serbia would come into the collective defense system what should increase the state’s security. If, for example, it were attacked – that would be treated as an attack to all NATO members. At the same time, if some other NATO member were attacked – that would mean an attack to Serbia.
- Joining the most powerful alliance in the world it would gain allies among the most influential countries in the world, first of all, the USA. For security of small countries like Serbia, it is of crucial importance for them to have big friends to count on. Serbia could improve its political credibility, image and position in Washington, Brussels and other European capital cities with its symbolical military contribution.
- In area of economy, Serbia would send a signal to potential investors that its territory is safe for investments. That would increase a credit rating and encouraged an economic progress of the country.

languages based on criteria of this alliance. There has been in a big degree a transition into organization of military life, rules and procedures valid in the Alliance. The level of trade with utilized products with the Alliance members or those countries that depend on the first force of the world has been growing. Since September 2007, pilots-to-be of the Army of Serbia have been trained at military air force academy in Colorado Springs. Airmen were observers of several big NATO air-exercises which were mostly financed by the USA. It is interesting that exactly the USA military representatives suggested for the next such exercise to be held in Serbia. The Army and the police of Serbia participated in the international exercise “Danube sentinel” (together with Romania and Bulgaria). Though Serbia has been new in the Peace Partnership, for this year even 104 activities are being planned in this organization. Most of them will be done by the Army of Serbia, and 20% of these exercises were planned for MIA. Serbia signed agreements on information safety with NATO and the USA. These documents have been presented to our public as a too big revelation of domestic secrets for foreign eyes. The issue is about the agreements that define the technical details of protection of confidential information that are exchanged but also conditions under which that exchange is done. Those conditions do not obstruct the vital interests of signing-members because the states by themselves define what they will release into “a common cash-box”.



- NATO was joined by all post-communist countries among which are: Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. Macedonia, Albania and Croatia are in Membership Action Plan which is the last step before joining while Montenegro and B&H are members of Partnership for Peace and with no doubts they are oriented toward a full-member status. If Serbia remains out of NATO, it would be surrounded by its members.
- Serbia would join the Western societies' community that share liberal-democratic values what would strengthen a democratic direction of internal and external policy and create conditions for the final definition of the state and national interests.
- Winches of external and safety policy would strengthen. Decisions brought in NATO influence the regional European and global safety whether Serbia is a member or not. No matter how small possibility is to influence on creation of policy and direction of decision making within NATO even that is a better possibility than none of it.
- A reform in the security sector and army organization according to NATO standards, though with still not defined economic calculation, demand serious financial means. However, non-joining costs even more. A calculation is a simple one: when a country is in a system of collective defense its army can be professionalized and specialized. When you guarantee your own security you have to develop much bigger range of military capabilities.

## 5. Arguments against Serbia's NATO joining

Arguments against Serbia's NATO joining, in a big degree, are the result of limitation factors that have their base in rational and irrational reasons, as well, out of which the following ones deserve an attention:

- Joining NATO Serbia would indirectly admit legitimacy of military intervention against FRY in 1999 and all eventual decisions on the final status of Kosovo that are contrary to its interests.
- Theoretically, Serbia could join the EU, and remain out of NATO as that was done by Ireland, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Malta and Cyprus. The EU membership itself is a solid security guarantee. The EU has an autonomous common security and defense policy and its own military forces, though not developed very much, for now. Besides, the fact is that a country is an EU member in a satisfying level prevents the third countries from the idea of attacking it no matter if it is a NATO member or not.
- Joining NATO Serbia would make harm to the direct interests of the Russian Federation which is a traditional, though a non-reliable ally, and which is strongly against NATO enlarging. Implementation of political (K&M) and economic (energy supplying) interests that depend on support of the Russian Federation would be questioned.
- Though by NATO joining a chance for a conventional and symmetrical attack of some country to Serbia is decreased, theoretically its exposure to new trans-national and asymmetrical threats are increased, the ones like, for example, international terrorism of the Islamic fundamentalists.
- NATO joining forces a specialization and investment into certain forms of armed forces on account of some others. That makes a specific non-equality within an army and sharp tensions that are results of that non-equality.

## 6. Arguments on military neutrality

Since last autumn<sup>5</sup>, in eve of expected unilateral announcement of K&M independence, a political consensus of the parties was reached, For people's coalition, lead by DSS, SRS and SPS, military neutrality represents a manifestation of resistance in comparison to NATO and a projected independence of Kosovo while for the pro-Western block, lead by the Democratic Party, G17 and LDP, a military neutrality is irrelevant since also by status





internationally recognized neutral countries (Austria, Sweden, Finland and Switzerland) as members of Partnership for Peace have their own peace military forces in different missions and tightly cooperate with NATO. Since this declaratively-political decision of the People's Parliament of Serbia as the last appeal to the West not to support Kosovo's secession, failed, the Government's fall came and announcement of premature general elections.

Still, there has not been an answer to a question what concrete benefits or damages there are when there is a military neutrality. For not, the only sure thing is that neutrality cannot be explained as a turn toward Russia but like a certain cease setback in the Atlantic Alliance approaching or more like a break in situation when there are no easy or nice solutions. Serbia is, almost as a neutral country, despite of unilateral announcement moving toward the West since 2000, tried to establish some kind of military-political balance but it is interesting that neutrality is not referred to by any transitional country. Also, neutrality, as formulated in the Resolution, does not exclude at all a tight bilateral cooperation with NATO or an individual country. And that is what could represent the biggest problem in this decision, but the biggest advantage, at the same time, also.

Proponents of this idea think that military neutrality is the most convenient way for forthcoming security endangering of Serbia to become an active factor of self-defense. That would bring a maneuver space in strategic cooperation with countries with no limitation and in accordance to own state and national interests.

## 7. Instead of the conclusion

If we try to scale a strength of arguments based on, mostly, an experience of other countries, a calculation is for now, obviously, of the side of Serbia's joining of NATO. The costs and potentially destructive risks of staying out of NATO are too big for such a small country like Serbia. However, it is necessary to be cautious because joining and non-joining may have a big number of different outcomes. To say in another way, there are different ways to be, that is to say, not to be, NATO alliance member. NATO members vary from the countries that have no army at all (Iceland), over members that have a limited participation in NATO (France) and small countries (that

<sup>5</sup> Declaration on military neutrality of Serbia that was adopted by the General Board of the Democratic Party of Serbia, lead by then Prime Minister, PhD Vojislav Kostunica, on 28th October 2007. The Resolution of the People's Parliament of Serbia on Protection of Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity and the Constitutional Order of the Republic of Serbia in article 6 says that the Parliament brought a decision on announcement of military neutrality in relation to the existing military alliances until an eventual organizing of referendum on which the final decision regarding that would be adopted.



receive more from NATO than they give), until the countries with armed forces that can project power throughout the world. On the other side, the European countries that are not NATO members vary from formally military neutral states (Sweden, Finland, Austria, Switzerland, Ireland) that share liberal-democratic values and sometimes participate in peace operations within NATO on ad hoc basis, over non-members that out of NATO due to territorial disputes (Cyprus), until the states that do not want to join NATO due to loyalty to the Russian Federation.

NATO, that has a clear interest in total coverage of the Balkans, for now, probably, will not decrease a level of relations with Serbia, nor activities with the Army. In general, military policy of Serbia so far has been one of fields on which unquestioned disputes between Serbia and the Western countries regarding territorial integrity, intensity and level of the Euro-Atlantic integrations and geo-political orientation, could have been overcome.<sup>6</sup>

This is further important because during last several years Serbia has not been developing in a good way its military-political and economic cooperation with the countries and organizations that became stronger meantime and got the status of powers (and that is always the best way to reach and defend a status of neutral country). These are China, India, the Southern Africa, Nigeria, Russia...China, for example, tends to make as better cooperation with the Serbian Army as possible even through big donations. This country is one of members of Shanghai Initiative, the organization that is not a military alliance in a classic meaning of that term but, the same, it has held, recently, its first military maneuvers with several thousands of soldiers. And Russia is the member of Shanghai Initiative. Russia is a special case because the most recent development of situation in Georgia shows efforts of Russia to follow a return into a group of the powerful ones not only with development of its military power but also with geo-political influence in area of its interests.

On what way Serbia should form a membership or non-membership in NATO depends on that in what degree political elites are able to develop a wise and long-term strategy harmonized with the means that are available. Unfortunately, a political consensus is missing and there is no clear strategy, as well. So, it remains for an opinion to be made based on others' experiences that direct toward the conclusion that Serbia will make a mistake if it closes to itself the door that lead toward the North-Atlantic Treaty.

<sup>6</sup> Exactly on NATO example it can be seen in what relation a military policy, neutrality and economy are. NATO is tightly connected to the regional organizations like the Black Sea Initiative, and it has a certain influence on them. Serbia is one of 15 members of this organization and several months ago it signed an agreement on participation in construction of one of the most important inland traffic arteries of future – the Black Sea Road (the Argonauts' Road) that will connect the Black Sea and the Caspian region with the southern and the central Europe. Non-cautious policy toward one of these two organizations could leave us without significant economic and political advantages that this kind of traffic arteries brings with itself. Then, some good agreements on export of specific products into countries like Congo, Iraq, the USA and in the recent period, Libya, may not have been possible if it had not been for establishment of high level of cooperation with this alliance or its leader, the USA. A yearly report on trade balance of our specific industry published in the Official Gazettes 2007 showed that the best trade is with the USA, Libya and Burma. On foreign investments and the price of (non)joining to NATO (especially because of the fact that Serbia has been already surrounded with countries which are alliance members or they will become that soon) should not even be discussed.







# REACT 2008

# REACT 2008

*H.E. Paraschiva Badescu,  
Ambassador,  
OSCE office in Montenegro*

**“The role of  
OSCE in  
Western  
Balkans”**

**O**rganization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is the world's largest regional security organization whose 56 participating states from Europe, Central Asia and North America span the geographical area from Vancouver to Vladivostok. It offers a forum for political negotiations and decision-making and an increasingly important instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post conflict rehabilitation in its region. It is characterized by its broad membership, its co-operative and comprehensive approach to security, its special conflict prevention instruments, its established tradition of open dialogue and consensus-building, and its well-developed pattern of co-operation with other international organizations.

Dialogue between governments, civil society groups, and partner States and organizations has always been a key driving force of the Organization. Out of this dialogue, the CSCE developed the principles of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act with the famous Decalogue at its core, which made an essential contribution to defusing and later overcoming the Cold War confrontation between East and West.

Following the end of the Cold War, the CSCE quickly developed into a framework for the provision of civilian and co-operative means for assistance in good governance, early warning, crisis prevention, conflict management, and post-conflict rehabilitation. In the course of this process, the Conference became an Organization.

Today, the OSCE is facing a new dimension of transnational threats and challenges deriving from globalization and technological change, from demographic imbalances, illegal migration, trafficking and other forms of organized crime, and from international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The scale of these challenges means that the OSCE now has to reinvent itself yet again. As in case of other international organizations, this process of change and adaptation is accompanied by intensive and frequently controversial discussions.

While the basic principles and characteristics of the CSCE/OSCE - its broad membership and inclusiveness, equality of states, comprehensive and co-operative approach to security, conflict prevention instruments, the deeply established tradition of open dialogue and consensus building, shared norms and values among its participating States, and well-developed patterns of contacts and co-operation with other organizations and institutions – have always remained the same, the Organization has covered considerable ground in creating specific commitments, policy approaches, institutional features, and working instruments.

### **The basic priorities are:**

- **Democracy:** to consolidate the participating states' common values and help in building fully democratic civil societies based on the rule of law.
- **Peace:** To prevent local conflicts, restore stability, and bring peace to war-torn areas
- **Security:** to overcome real and perceived security deficits and to avoid the creation of new political, economic, or social divisions by promoting a cooperative system of security.

Addressing contemporary Europe's multi-faceted security challenges require a pluri-institutional approach. No single State or organisation can, on its own, meet the challenges facing us today. Co-ordination of the efforts of all relevant organisations is therefore essential.

The OSCE started out as a forum for security dialogue and co-operation between the members of two military alliances and several non-aligned states. Highly adaptable in response to political change, the OSCE today is a key player in co-operation and providing assistance to address issues such as security-sector reform, sustainable border regimes, international terrorism, organized crime, trafficking in drugs, weapons and human beings, good governance, rule of law, all kinds of democratic institution-building, including the reform of electoral processes

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



and, as always at the heart of Organization's work is better protection of human and minority rights in all participating States.

The wave of successful transitions in Europe since 1990 opened the way to the enlargements of the EU and NATO. The question now is whether such success stories will be replicated elsewhere in Europe. The OSCE is deeply involved in these political processes, acting through its 19 field operations. Their main activities and objectives are: strengthen state institutions based on the rule of law and respect for basic freedoms, support to civil society, facilitation of economic development and good governance. Transition in some parts of OSCE area, such as Central Asia, the Caucasus and even some corners of Eastern Europe, will be long processes that will require substantial international support. Judging from its involvement and activities in South Eastern Europe the OSCE can be a key instrument for comprehensive assistance to these countries if it gets sustained and continued support from its participating States.

### **Assessing OSCE role in the Western Balkans**

South Eastern Europe is one of the main priority areas for OSCE. The OSCE has maintained a field presence in South East Europe since 1992, when first OSCE long term missions have been established in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina, and the Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje

When the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina came to an end in 1995, the OSCE was entrusted with the important task of negotiating the detailed annexes of the Dayton Accords. To carry out its commitments under the Accords, the OSCE established a large-scale mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and successfully organized free elections there.

A Mission was established in Croatia in 1996 to assist with post-war rehabilitation. When Albania was pushed to the verge of instability in 1997, the OSCE acted decisively to help restore political and economic equilibrium and established a field presence there.

Another Balkans crisis rose to the top of the international agenda in 1998: the outbreak of violent conflict between Kosovo Albanian underground organizations and Serbian security forces in the province of Kosovo. In a political framework agreement negotiated in October 1998, Serbia agreed to accept an OSCE mission with up to 2,000 verifiers that would monitor compliance with the peace conditions set out in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1160 and 1199. The OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) presented an enormous organizational challenge to the Organization. The KVM did help create confidence and prevent violence, but was not able to play a full role before the situation deteriorated. The Mission was evacuated on 20 March 1999 before the military intervention by NATO. The launching of the KVM was by far the OSCE's most ambitious achievement in the field: its abortion, however, clearly demonstrated that the Organization was not to play the role of exclusive guarantor of European security that some may have envisaged at the Paris Summit in 1990. There is need to join efforts and co-operate with other partner organizations. When the violence ended, the OSCE established a new Mission to Kosovo (OMiK) under the leadership of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMiK).

On January 2001, OSCE Mission to the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established to provide assistance and expertise in the fields of democratization, the protection of human rights and minorities, and media development. In 2003, it was renamed the Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, and in 2006, with the dissolution of the State Union, was again renamed the Mission to Serbia.

In 2001, violence did erupt in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Organization was able to intervene constructively.

As the countries from the region recovered from the immediate devastation of war or internal violent conflict,







the OSCE set to work helping governments with the slow task of building democratic institutions, ensuring the rule of law and promoting the economic development of their countries. At the request of governments, it provided expertise, assistance and training to civil servants, judges, journalists, small- and medium-sized enterprises and civil society groups.

The OSCE Mission to Montenegro is the Organization's youngest field operation, having come into being shortly after Montenegro became independent and was admitted to the OSCE as its 56th participating State, in June 2006. The Mission has a broad mandate to "assist and promote the implementation of OSCE principles and commitments as well as the co-operation of the Republic of Montenegro with the OSCE, in all OSCE dimensions, including the politico-military, the economic and environmental and the human aspects of security and stability".

Today, sixteen years later, the Mission to Skopje is still in place, alongside field presences in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo. Those Missions are the largest and most costly OSCE field presences: approximately half of OSCE resources are allocated to its six Balkan field operations. Kosovo remains today the largest OSCE field operation, with more than a thousand people working as an integral part of the UNMIK presence. The mandates of all OSCE field presences seek to build democracy at the grass roots level, to help insure the protection of minorities and to build effective state institutions – the objective being to overcome the legacy of conflict and, in practice, to assist indirectly in these countries' European and Euro-Atlantic integration efforts. In each case, the field missions reflect a complex chemistry of interaction between different actors in the host countries, the objectives of donors and the decisions of the 56 participating States. The OSCE has made an enormous contribution to the post-conflict rehabilitation, conflict prevention and conflict resolution, as well as establishment of functioning institutions, media development, rule of law and the protection of human rights. In line with the OSCE's comprehensive concept of security, all activities of the OSCE Missions, across the three dimensions, contribute to the enhancement of human security in the Western Balkans. In essence, OSCE activities related to conflict prevention, arms control and confidence building, human rights protection, combating organized crime, fighting trafficking in human beings, gender issues, NGOs support, refugee returns and sustainability of the return process, elections monitoring and assistance, environment protection, education and reconciliation are all relevant to the encompassing concept of human security. In all of these areas, the OSCE field operations work closely primarily with local authorities but also with OSCE's international partners.

# REACT 2008



## OSCE role in regional security, stability and disarmament

Within the 1995 General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also known as the Dayton Peace Accords, Annex I-B mandated the OSCE to help elaborate and implement three distinct instruments: an agreement on confidence- and security-building measures in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Article II), a sub-regional arms control agreement (Article IV), and finally a regional arms control agreement applicable “in and around the former Yugoslavia” (Article V). Initiated in Bonn on 18 December 1995, negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a sub-regional arms control agreement were launched in Vienna on 4 January 1996 under the auspices of the OSCE.

On Article II – the Agreement on CSBMs in Bosnia and Herzegovina was concluded in Vienna on 26 January 1996 between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. Entering into effect immediately, it provided for a comprehensive set of measures to enhance mutual confidence and reduce the risk of conflict – such as exchange of military information, notification as well as observation and constraints on certain military activities, restrictions on military deployments and exercises in certain geographic areas and the withdrawal of forces and heavy weapons to cantonments or designated emplacements. As a result of the reform of the armed forces inside Bosnia and Herzegovina, the successful implementation of the Agreement on Article II ended on 28 September 2004.

On Article IV – an Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control was concluded in Florence on 14 June 1996. It engaged the same three parties within Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Croatia and the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Recognizing the importance of achieving balanced and stable defence force levels at the lowest numbers consistent with their respective security, the Agreement established ceilings in five categories of conventional armaments (battle tanks, artillery pieces, combat aircraft, attack helicopters and armoured combat vehicles). It came into effect on 1 November 1997. After its declaration of independence in 2006, Montenegro became the fourth acting Party to the Agreement on Article IV, beside Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. The successful implementation of those two Agreements (on Art. II and Art. IV) represented a major contribution by the OSCE to the overall efforts to promote peace and stability in the Balkans.

The negotiations regarding Article V ended formally in a Concluding Document promoting voluntary measures on CSBMs as well as arms control tailored for the region. The Document is politically binding and has been in effect since 1 January 2002. Montenegro became the 21st member in January 2007.

The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, an initiative of the European Union, was concluded among countries of the region and members of the international community in July 1999 and placed under the auspices of the OSCE, which meant that the OSCE pledged to make use of its institutions, instruments and expertise to achieve the objectives of the Pact in close co-operation with the other partners.

The establishment of the OSCE presences in Western Balkans has offered an opportunity to promote practical projects in police and security sector reform. The reform of these services has a direct impact on the capacity of the countries concerned and the region as a whole in dealing with conflict prevention and crisis management, improving border security and fighting organized crime. These practical activities were accompanied by developing an OSCE strategy in dealing with the region as a whole, starting from 1992, and elaborated in detail in November 2000, when a “Vienna Declaration on the Role of the OSCE in South-Eastern Europe” was adopted.

Security sector reform is a vital element of democratic governance within States and for their own stability and security. The term “security sector” expands the scope of security from its traditional focus on the military to include “public security”, or the safety of the individual from threats of crime, disorder and violence. It includes military forces, police and law enforcement services, border guard, intelligence agencies, the judicial system and penal institutions, as well as the government departments and ministries that exist to formulate





and manage the policy in this sector. The security sector reform implies and demands: changes in the way of security thinking and practicing; changes in the constitutional and institutional arrangements; establishment and development of democratic civil control over the armed forces; reform of the armed forces, i.e. redefining the purpose and tasks of each of their components and the corresponding change of their structure, training, equipment and numerical size; and, finally, various forms of internationally security cooperation and higher degree of security integration.

In all these areas, the OSCE, particularly through its field presences provided assistance.

Based on the understanding that security touches on many aspects of our lives and how we are governed, the OSCE addresses a comprehensive range of subjects, runs a plethora of programmes in its classical three areas of security. In all our activities related to the security sector reform, we start with the idea that the security sector consists both of the armed forces and the oversight and control institutions. They should never be confronted, never be adversaries but allies, and they need to work together to the achievement of a common goal – effective and human-centred security, with full respect to the universally acknowledged human rights. Therefore, representatives of the parliaments, government, army and security institutions and civil sector are included and work together in almost all our activities.

Let me mention just few of activities in the politico-military dimension. The OSCE is focusing on combatting the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW) as well as ensuring the safe stockpiling of conventional ammunition, both by setting standards and by implementing concrete projects. It also launched a joint project with the UNDP and MoD of Montenegro, known as “Demilitarisation Programme” – “MONDEM”. It continues its efforts to enhance the implementation of confidence- and security building measures.

The strengthening of rule of law and accountability is at the core of the OSCE activities in Western Balkans. It has been engaged in a variety of rule of law related activities, ranging from drafting legislation (criminal code, civil and criminal procedure, public procurement, conflict of interests, free access to information, police etc.) to training those who are supposed to implement the new laws (civil servants, judges, prosecutors, police officers, media representatives). OSCE is contributing to the creation of a professional and independent judiciary, a more efficient and de-politicized police, an impartial and accountable bureaucracy, and a more professional body of journalists. In training local people we are trying to make use of the experience and best practices from developed democracies and successful countries from the region. We also aim at making our capacity-building efforts sustainable by “training the trainers” in different areas so that the countries will be able in a hopefully relative short period of time to take ownership of the process. Updating legislation is crucial to create the legal infrastructure of a genuine democracy. But investing in human capital is no less indispensable for the success of reforms and for turning those countries in a really rule of law-based democracy. The OSCE stands ready to continue to provide assistance in this regard.

Following its approach based on the idea of police serving people, the OSCE is supporting police reform in its participating States, in the interest of upholding the rule of law and fundamental democratic principles. In Western Balkans, OSCE is investing a lot of efforts to develop accountable policing services that protect and aid the citizens of the respective countries. The OSCE field presences provided assistance for the comprehensive police reforms in line with European and international standards. Strengthening professional capacity of the police, specialised trainings, development of intelligence and risk analysis tools, community policing – are just few of those areas.

Enhancing co-operation among Police, Prosecutors and Judges in the investigation of cross-border organized crime was a successful OSCE project carried out in Albania and Montenegro in 2007, funded by Spanish Chairmanship. The project contributed significantly to improved co-ordination of the criminal justice system and the international fight against organized crime, particularly human trafficking.

Let me shortly focus on border security and management. The “OSCE Border Security and Management

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



Concept” adopted in Ljubljana in 2005 foresees, among other things, three objectives:

- “to promote free and secure movement of persons, goods, services and investments across borders”;
- “to reduce the threat of terrorism”;
- “to prevent and repress trans-national organized crime, illegal migration, corruption, smuggling and trafficking in weapons, drugs and human beings”.

The OSCE has been engaged in a number of border security projects. In South Eastern Europe, it has dovetailed a number of border security projects in the context of the so called Ohrid Process for Border Security and Management involving Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. The process began in May 2003 at the Ohrid Conference on Border Security and Management with the adoption of the Common Platform, a set of core goals and principles, and the Way Forward Document, an action plan setting objectives and deadlines for reforming national legislation and management of border-related issues and developing regional co-operation across borders. Through an action plan defining the measures to be taken within a certain time frame and brokered by the OSCE and its partner organizations (NATO, EU and Stability Pact) the Ohrid Border Process aimed at the establishment of open borders with security guarantees and effective co-operation at the regional level. Even after the recent closure of this process the OSCE border-related involvement in South Eastern Europe will not cease. International assistance is still required on specific aspects of border management and cross-border co-operation among the OSCE participating States in the region. Such assistance is best undertaken at the local operational level, rather than political level.

During the years, OSCE field missions in Western Balkans have shown remarkable flexibility and a readiness to respond both to political developments in the respective countries and to changing needs of the places in which they work. This flexibility will be more necessary than ever over the forthcoming years, as we face the restructuring of the international presence in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the foreseen move of the region as a whole from the stage of protectorates and weak states to the stage of EU accession and perspective to join NATO. Assessing the progress in the region, the question inevitably arises as to the extent to which such progress and such perspective would have been possible in the absence of the sustained OSCE presence in the field.

### **Future OSCE role**

Despite significant achievements in managing conflict and post-conflict rehabilitation in South-Eastern Europe, many participating States consider that OSCE is still called upon to play an important role in overcoming remaining barriers in the region both from the post-conflict as well as institutional spheres. This relates in particular to co-operation between states in the fields of war crimes prosecution and refugee return. These efforts are at the core of the two regional processes which the OSCE has facilitated in the last years, together with its international partners (UNHCR, EU and ICTY): the so-called Palic and Sarajevo processes.

In co-operation with other international institutions, OSCE still has to play an important role in fostering reforms in the Western Balkans. Shared aspirations of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the Balkan’s states are based on common standards and values, and their implementation. These values are also the OSCE ones. The OSCE will continue to be active in many areas, such as democratic reforms and institutions building, including police reform, combating organized crime, terrorism, trafficking of all kind or corruption, or promoting rule of law and good governance, democratic elections and freedom of the media. In all these areas, OSCE works in concert with its international and regional partner organizations, institutions and initiatives, such as the UN, the EU, the CoE, NATO, SECI and SEECF.

I would like to focus on two specific roles: promotion of stability and democracy.

First, stability. International organizations – the UN, NATO, the EU and the OSCE – were tasked to main-



tain stability in a war-torn region. Each of them having a specific role. There are no fast rules or templates about the duration of the international presence in post-conflict areas to preserve peace. It certainly remains an uneasy peace as long as the region is not solidly anchored to the EU and NATO. But we are on the right track. New major inter-state conflicts and ethnic clashes have been deterred. The main sources of instability in the region today stem from the new threats, common to contemporary society, such as organized crime, trafficking in human beings, drugs and weapons, isolated terrorist acts, etc. To face such threats it is necessary to have strong states and functioning institutions. The Western Balkans, a region affected by wars, isolation and lack of democratic traditions, are confronted with the legacy of dysfunctional states and weak institutions. Security and stability in the Balkans have therefore become strictly intertwined with state-building. Security depends on these states' capacity to control their borders, to arrest and prosecute criminals, to avoid that crime and corruption corrode institutions from within. This requires the adoption of legislation and norms in line with European and international standards (criminal code, criminal procedure code, witness protection, anti-money laundering, etc.), as well as heavy investment in equipment and human resources. In this respect, OSCE has to play a very important role. It is not only a "norm-setting" organisation, but also de facto implementing agency for state-building. It plays a central role in reforming the judiciary by helping local governments in drafting new codes and laws, by training judges and prosecutors, by monitoring the respects of procedures (thanks to their presence on the ground). The same regards the reform of police, where the OSCE is investing a great amount of resources in training activities and in developing, together with the EU, a modern concept of border management. The OSCE Missions to Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia and BiH have been tasked by the ICTY to also monitor war crimes trials in their respective countries and to assess their compatibility with international standards. The state-building assistance provided by OSCE in this area becomes a crucial security measure. That kind of assistance needs to continue also after the end of the activities of the ICTY because there will remain numerous cases to be tried by domestic courts. An entire separate chapter could be written when it comes to the OSCE's role in combating human trafficking. The OSCE Ministerial Council adopted in 2003 a plan to combat human trafficking which countries in the region are implementing with the help and assistance of the OSCE Missions. OSCE provided assistance for establishing national Mechanisms for the identification and protection of victims of human trafficking.

In order to be sustainable stability requires democracy. The Balkan tragedy in 90s' was largely the consequence of lack of democracy in this area. Human freedoms, minority rights, non discrimination, political pluralism, accountability – are the basic principles of any liberal democracy in Europe and in the Western world. OSCE is investing a lot of resources in order to promote programs and activities to uphold those principles.

Freedom of the press, human rights and protection of minorities are and will be at the forefront of OSCE's efforts throughout Western Balkans. The OSCE is working on an ambitious program for the integration of the Roma community into society. Generally speaking, a lot has been achieved in improving civic and political freedoms in the countries of the region. Free elections and democratic governments are no more a problem. But the job is not yet completed. There are areas where OSCE's assistance and role are crucial. The full respect of minority rights and refugees returns are two of them. Minority rights remain a serious problem in Kosovo, but they are not fully guaranteed in other states either. Minorities need to feel physically secure and to be given equal opportunities to integrate into the state structures, economies and societies where they live. OSCE's role will remain crucial in the years to come in both monitoring the respect of these rights and in promoting activities aimed at helping minorities' integration in the police, judiciary, and public administration.

Refugees and internally displaced persons remain a serious challenge to democracy and stability. OSCE, in co-operation with EU and UNHCR, co-sponsored Sarajevo Declaration, in February 2005, launching a process toward comprehensive solution of refugee issues on a regional level. Pressure on local governments is still necessary to guarantee the right to return or adequate property compensation. The successful finalisation of this process will contribute to the regional reconciliation.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



# REACT 2008



OSCE will continue to have an important role in the Western Balkans in the years to come in both encouraging and monitoring the respect of European/international principles and standards and in promoting state-building activities. It is likely that such role might be needed longer. This is inevitable. The Western Balkans are making constant progress in their process of euro-atlantic integration. Still, the Yugoslav wars and regional disintegration left societies and politics deeply divided and disoriented (confused). There is not yet sufficient internal ownership of the reform process. The main driving force of reforms is “external”, i.e. the prospect of EU and NATO integration. It brings with it the possibility that the breadth and/or width of the OSCE’s field activities could be curtailed – after all, there is some overlap in the purposes and working methods of different structures. Enlargement consolidated basic principles, such as democracy, respect of human rights and freedoms, rule of law and market economy, are at the core of the OSCE activities in Western Balkans. The EU has a push and pull factor that the OSCE lacks for many reasons and it has resources at its disposal that are unique. OSCE’s role and co-operation with the countries from the region will not diminish, but rather will acquire a new framework and a new quality. It would also be thinkable that once a country comes closer to EU membership and the EU can take upon itself the responsibility for assisting the country in its reforms, the OSCE could transfer its resources to other regions. In other words, in perspective and with the progressive institutional consolidation of Balkan countries, one should expect and further promote a less direct international role in the region. International institutions, including OSCE, would aim at handing over the reform process to local actors as much as they can. The risk is otherwise that international presence in the region unwillingly feeds a culture of difference and dependence. Future international intervention in state-building activities will be less and less direct, and more and more targeted to reflect the progress achieved. International financial assistance (and the EU’s candidate status) will remain crucial. The Euro-Atlantic integration perspective needs to be kept visible and open. In this way it will be easier to consolidate ownership of the reform process. To keep the Euro-Atlantic perspective of the countries from Western Balkans and to strongly support it is in the interest of European stability.

The importance of regional cooperation has to be permanently highlighted. Good-neighbourly relations, reconciliation and regional cooperation are the very essence of the OSCE and other Euro-Atlantic institutions. They are the catalyst for stability, security and prosperity. Regional co-operation and integration is very important to overcome the still existing divisions and outstanding problems.

The only viable, stable and prosperous future for the region lies in a clear path towards European Integration. Euro-Atlantic integration is a process and this process is already ongoing. Forthcoming year will be crucial and challenging for the integration process. Its progress depends on the countries themselves and on the speed of



reforms. All of the international organizations involved in the region must ensure that they work together and develop a co-ordinated approach. Each organization has experience and a comparative advantage in certain fields.

As OSCE is concerned, it will remain steadfast in its commitment to the Western Balkans.

Although, it appears quite natural that the EU increasingly plays the key co-ordinating role in this region, and that it takes over some tasks from the Organization. One of the key challenges is to determine the appropriate timing and procedures for such hand-over.

If I were to draw any lessons from OSCE's experience in the region, I would focus on the need for flexibility in its planning and operations, the necessity of maintaining a strong field presence, and the importance of a co-ordinated approach by the International Community.

# REACT 2008



REACT 2008

---

*Mr. Oliver Andonov,  
Assistant professor in the Faculty  
of Security Studies, Skopje*

---

**“Security  
issue in  
Macedonia  
after  
Bucharest  
summit  
and it`s  
implication”**



# N

ATO Summit, held on 23th March 2008, in Bucharest, represents a turning point when it comes to the position of the Republic of Macedonia at the regional level. That definition point showed a level of power of NATO member countries and the European Union and the way they can use mechanisms of these organizations and their establishing within them for realization of their national aims. While doing so, they do not take care of a regional safety at all, and even less of endangering security of certain countries.

Safety condition in the Republic of Macedonia, at this moment, and having in mind experiences given by some earlier events, and also the indicators have been bespeaking events to come, has been in its essence impacted or we can say depending on two key factors.

### These factors are:

1. The state's name questioning by the Republic of Greece which influences directly on safety situation of the state by its joining NATO, and
2. Inter-ethnic relations which influence directly on success of realization of the Euro-Atlantic aspiration of the Republic of Macedonia. Besides, even more they influence directly on the national safety of the state leaving space for an open possibility of new internal conflict and fire-arms violence.

Post Bucharest's events caused even a political instability in Macedonia. The decision on earlier parliamentary elections unnecessarily postponed finding solution regarding the name and NATO acceptance of the state left uncertain (which is the guarantee of the territorial integrity of the state in this safety surrounding). Earlier parliamentary elections activated, in a very untimely moment for Macedonia, and inter-Albanian score-settlings in the fight for power which pointed out an increase of an ethnical homogenizations of the Albanians, as well, compared to ways of realizations of their causa.

Which ways will be chosen by the Republic of Macedonia compared to a big need for realization of its strategic interests, first of all, to preservation of its national safety through a national completeness, will depend on, first of all, the position of policy of after-elections Government and a role of the Albanian political partner of that Government not decreasing a significance of the remaining Albanian political factors which will not be a part of Government.

First of all, an intelligent and successful management of those two conflicted political factors are needed and management of several conflict processes which have to be handled by the state through solving two key factors that were somewhat earlier, mentioned.

### The state's name, the key for NATO

If we raised a simple question that would be like this: "Does the solution of the interstate dispute with the Republic of Greece regarding the name open a door for an unobstructed joining of the Republic of Macedonia to NATO?", the answer would be even more simple and it would be: "Yes."

However, the problem is not so simple and that is because of several aspects. First of all, it strikes the Macedonian national identity, then it is related to the Greek political heritage during the last ninety five years. On one side that is one nation's erasing, and on the other side, acknowledgment of the nationalistic, asimilating and in certain periods even genocide, enslaving policy. There are big historical negative heritages and experiences in this conflict that exceeds boundaries of the interstate dispute and reaches the regional and the European interests. Any solution at open damage of one side would not be bring the conflict's solving at all.

Starting from that standpoint, it is necessary to reach a compromise solution. The USA and the EU must play

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



a key role in the solution's finding. The international guarantees would have the key effect. Open favouring of only one side, like one of France, only makes a process more complicated and brings to unnecessary disbalance which does not lead to dispute's solving.

Non-joining NATO of the Republic of Macedonia, and risking by that its own survival in the current regional surrounding, has been the worst possible epilogue when it comes to the national safety's preservation. In the current conditions of NATO surrounding, non-finished state of Kosovo question and strong moves of the Republic of Serbia toward NATO and the EU joining, in the context of general aspirations toward global safety systems and participation in usage of resources, especially, energy ones, Macedonia is brought almost to a state of strong alert condition. That alert condition is not of a military nature of an open external attack and endanger of peace and stability but an open and unstoppable internal desintegration due to the society's differentiation and first of all, on an ethnical basis.

Having in mind this way conceptioned origins of endanger of the national safety in future it is important for the Republic of Macedonia not to drop back in anything behind Croatia and Albania and to join NATO.

The decision on earlier parliamentary elections only postponed and complicated extremely necessary continuation of negotiations with Greece so Macedonia could catch up with Croatia and Albania and came out of very unclear future outside NATO and the EU integrations. This decision raised one more completely unnecessary evaluation of Macedonia and all that in a very delicate segment as the institutions' stability and all that uniquely measuring by organization and elections' implementation indicators. These were exclusively bad organized elections, with a lot of violence, human victims and violations of the basic human rights and freedoms regarding voting right and its realization. That only the European Commission made angry regarding trust toward Macedonia and gave to Greece completely good arguments for obstruction of NATO and the EU integrations. Especially, we can point out also a negative effect in relation to the internal stability of the state and opening of ways to an internal conflict.

How to find a solution? The answer is here very simple, also. A compromise is needed. Not in one compromise with conflicts' solving there is no ideal middle matrix. Furthermore, even Johan Galtung himself does not recommend a compromise as a solution, but he speaks more about conflict's transformation, that is to say, transformation of conflict attitudes, perceptions and interests.

Unfortunately, at this moment, in Macedonia, a path toward a compromise has been recognized as a betrayal of the national interests. In the context of this, I would add that clear national interests have not been defined at all, and what Macedonia gets and what loses in the case of a compromise, and also, what kind of compromise that will be, that is to say, which aspects of the national question a compromise behaviour of Macedonia will relate to. Also, it is unclear if that is going to satisfy Greece or cause positive reactions within NATO members, the ones that would be within interests of Macedonia, and on the other side, if they would cause the international pressure to Greece for dispute's solving and turn the situation to benefit of Macedonia.

If we stress a classical theory on safety, then we must confess that in the base of preservation of the national safety there is a national identity which is "de facto" and "de iure" the base of a national state. After 2001, Macedonia is not a national or conservative state; unfortunately it is not even a liberal state with the maximum of respect of cultural or ethnical rights of the national minorities. After 2001, Macedonia is a multinational state with consensus democracy and it represents one of its kind state. Therefore, a solution for preservation of a national identity of the Macedonians gets a different significance. Only in the Republic of Macedonia and in this way organized state in a precedent form, the Macedonians can express and preserve their national identity and all that thanks to being a majority population. Precisely because of that, creation of new values that will, in one high-quality political, cultural, social and economic society, enable promotion of Macedonia as the state of stabile institutions and safe future, it will enable the regional safety state's stability and based on the example of Greece from Bucharest in NATO system, Macedonia will be able use existing of consensus as an instrument of defence





of smaller member countries against majorization and hegemonization within NATO organization.

Exactly because of this, NATO joining of Macedonia is an entrance into stability of the national and regional safety. Contrary to that, non-defined status of the state regarding membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures will open Pandora's box of safety endangering of Macedonia. That endangering will not be the same one as from the beginning of 20th century when Macedonia was divided between allies after the Balkans wars I and II and by an agreement in Bucharest in 1913 but it will be precisely directed toward destruction of the Macedonian national identity and creation of the internal desintegration of the state isolating it at the international plan and that for a longer period. It is to expect that beside the current moves of Greece, the following negative effects for Macedonia to face are from the side of Bulgaria and all that in relation to good-neighbouring relations and a historical heritage; then there will be also Albania as NATO member with a strong internal support of the Albanians and that on all fields as well organized biggest majority in Macedonia. Positive neighbouring experiences about creation of Kosovo as a state will not bypass Macedonia regarding behaviour of the Albanians in Macedonia if the state does not become NATO member and that until the end of this year, which seems hardly possible to me, personally, from the aspect of a political elite to solve this problem.

Therefore, we are reaching the answer to the question raised in the title of this section. Exactly, the state's name is the key for NATO joining of Macedonia. What does Macedonia get and what does it lose? A compromise on the state's name has to enable preservation of the state and the basic national identity of the Macedonians. Precisely there, a turning point regarding a conflict process with Greece has been positioned. That is the moment which should activate a transcend method of Galtung.

Macedonia should not problematize adjectives in its basic Constitutional name "the Republic of Macedonia" and that especially if the issue is about a geographical definition or a political frame of the state. That should be a deposit for preservation of the national identity, language, church, history and culture of the Macedonians and at the same time the most important, a deposit for NATO and the EU joining what would implicate a long-term safety stabilization of the state and give an impulse to general social development.

Establishing the state as an equal member of the European society Macedonia will come into a new and more stable phase of its development and enable later correction of historical injustices. It is dangerous, if for the nth time Macedonia remains in the yard when her destiny is solved. We have already survived one Bucharest in 1913 when we had no state and it is really unreasonable to due to strictly personal interests of a political elite to face another Bucharest tragedy of historical range and consequences. Macedonia has to join NATO also because it has to produce the regional stability and not to produce the regional instability with its instability.

# REACT 2008



This is only one influence of the external factor on the national safety and its implication to the region. Besides the problems with Greece, open questions remain also with Serbia, the ones that implicate through expressed problems. The first one, that is a relation between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church; and the second, that is the attitude of Macedonia toward Kosovo independence which implicates the internal problems with the Albanian community and its political influence and connection with Kosovo and Albania.

Serbia is moving with big steps toward the Euro-Atlantic integration after Karadjic's arrest; the Serbian Government clearly demonstrated to the European Commission that it had a strong political will for advancing and the Euro-Atlantic future of this country. Nor the European Union remained indifferent to this, a positive signal and the ratification of the Association and Stabilization Agreement with Serbia and expediting of processes until the state's status of the state candidate for the EU membership give to Serbia much bigger chances to be soon ahead Macedonia regarding the Euro-Atlantic integrations at the current political context. In a degree in which a progress of Serbia is positively reflected at the region, it contains in itself also a certain amount of negative implications toward implications with Macedonia. One more neighbouring country that would be the EU member sooner than Macedonia with whom there are disputable issues can aggravate their solving and the position of Macedonia.

Relations of Macedonia and Bulgaria have so many banal obstructions that it is really hard to understand that something like that can function in modern Europe. The problem of the origin of the national identity of the Macedonians and their historical connection and closeness to the Bulgarians is a pointless discussion. The Macedonian nation as a relatively youngest nation that differentiated itself in the Balkans is a modern reality. It is really disgusting to say now to people that were born in Macedonia and created the Macedonian national self-awareness that they are the Bulgarians; that is the state's policy of 19th century that in this time can cause only rejection or enable to political elites to manipulate to the national feelings. The historical facts are based in that a part of the Macedonian population at the beginning of 20th century felt nationally defined as the Bulgarians and it belonged to the Bulgarian Episcopal Church within of that time's political and religious positions but at the same time also self-awareness on creation of independent Macedonian state has been in the Macedonians' basis from the end of 19th century and beginning of revolutionary fight within a historical VMRO and the time of the national renaissance.

At the beginning of twentieth years of the last century, immediately after SFRJ's falling apart and independence of Macedonia, Bulgaria has been the first to recognize Macedonia as an independent state, and during the Greek economic embargo helped Macedonia, as well. The Bulgarian representative Zeljko Zelev in his memoirs was talking sincerely on a role of the Bulgarian policy in prevention of that time's Greek-Serbian plan for cracking of Macedonia as an independent state. Maybe, Bulgaria did that then as a result of historical experience from the period of the Balkan wars I and II and the World War when, due to its violent policy and wrongly chosen side, it lost its influence in Macedonia where it had the primacy during 19th and at the beginning of 20th century. Still, not coming into the details of that action, at the beginning of 1990s, Bulgaria performed an influence of safety stabilization of Macedonia and the region. What is changed now?

This is somewhat a philosophical question because with NATO and the EU joining, Bulgaria positioned itself into a group of successful and modern countries, established itself into NATO and the EU structures and got a regional priority compared to Turkey and Serbia with which it can express its ambitions toward Macedonia and demonstrate a power of membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures and all that following example of Greece with which it will present itself as a regional factor.

Exactly and precisely using its favourable position not intruding too much, Bulgaria succeeded in recruiting a part of the Macedonian citizens, and that in the biggest part of the Macedonians, by giving them a possibility of the Bulgarian citizenship with which it brings back the ethnic picture from the beginning of 20th century and it



confirms its historical attitude on the Bulgarian character of Macedonia.

I think that the Bulgarian influence will remain in those frameworks and if Macedonia shows a minimal wish regarding establishment of the partnership relations with Bulgaria, avoiding neuralgic historical topics, it can, in this key moment for itself, get one more friend what will help it when it comes to preservation of the national safety. If not, it can be expected for the Bulgarian policy to be harsher, the one toward Macedonia and all that using NATO and the EU mechanisms for proving its historical thesis and banally, but also vulgarly imposing to Macedonia some purely historical conditions for its membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures.

This way conceived relations in surrounding do not give much time and free space for manouvering of Macedonia or postponing solution regarding NATO membership. Also, the question of relations with Albania remains, the one connected to Kosovo question and first of all, to the internal problems of management of the inter-ethnic conflict.

A written communication with the Greek Government and the European Commission, looking for new aspects of a conflict process (that is not a transcend method but it represents additional complication of a conflict process), is an unnecessary dissolution and complication of conflict with Greece. The dispute regarding the state's name, Macedonia should limit exclusively to a compromise with the state's name and a confession that in Macedonia the Macedonians live with their language, culture, religion and a historical heritage as a part of common element of all nations in the Balkans. All other issues, connected to historical events and minority and human rights, will be possible for solving through institutions of NATO and the EU system by Macedonia, using their mechanisms as an equal member.

### **Inter-ethnic relations (the internal conflict process)**

The internal conflict process in Macedonia is characteristic as an inter-state conflict that reached an escalation or fire-arms violence phase and which now after seven years has still been in the phase of a latent conflict process that is subject to an escalation.

This conflict process that is in relation the Macedonians – the Albanians has its implications to relations of Macedonia with Albania and Kosovo and at the same time has the regional implications regarding the state and the region's safety.

Still, the basic problem is in a balance of the inter-ethnic relations and in the Macedonians – the Albanians relation, this balance can be maintained successfully if both biggest ethnical communities have a unique aim and that is the Euro-Atlantic integration of the state. At this moment, there is an expressed cohesion regarding that issue and that cohesion has been still connecting these two ethnical communities in the state. If this pillar of cohesion of mutual interests is down then a balance will be down what would cause different interests and cause for the internal conflict to be increased again and goes into an escalation phase.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



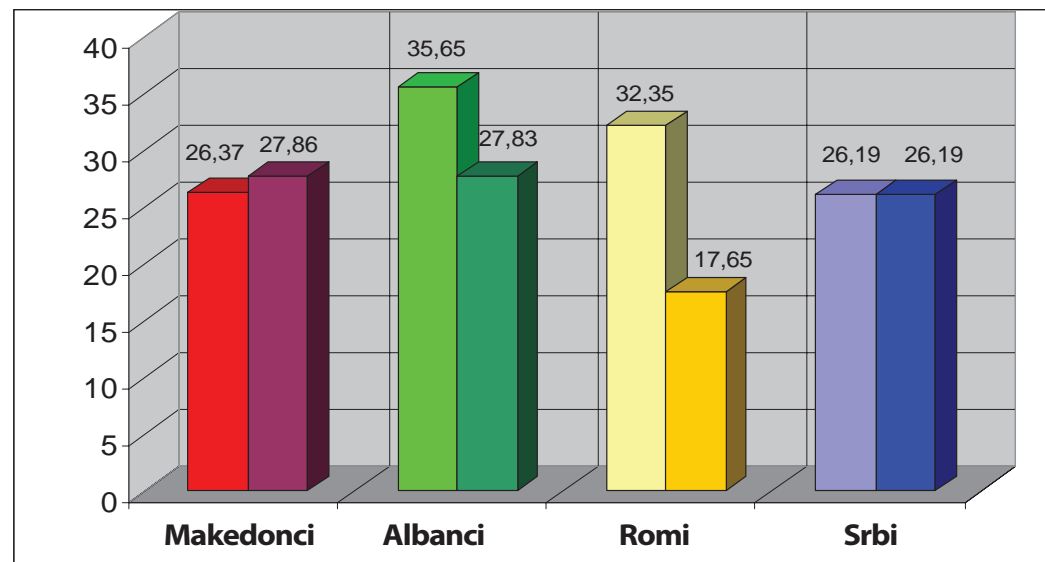
The research done by the end of October 2006 based on this question gave the following results:  
*Table presentation of received answers for the question: "The Euro-Atlantic structures joining of the Republic of Macedonia will positively influence on future democratization and ethnic tolerance processes", a presentation based on the ethnical status of examinees*

	Ethnic status of examinees											
	the Macedonians			the Albanians			the Roma			the Serbs		
	f	F	%	f	F	%	f	F	%	f	F	%
No reply		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0
I agree completely	40	53	26,37	23	41	35,65	7	11	32,35	8	11	26,19
I agree	40	56	27,86	23	32	27,83	7	6	17,65	8	11	26,19
I cannot decide	40	63	31,34	23	29	25,22	7	15	44,12	8	7	16,67
I disagree	40	26	12,94	23	11	9,565	7	0	0	8	7	16,67
I disagree completely	40	3	1,493	23	2	1,739	7	2	5,882	8	6	14,29
Total	200	201	100	115	115	100	35	34	100	40	42	100

A graphic opinion of examinees when it comes to the Euro-Atlantic structures looks like this:

A graph – 1

*Comparison of attitudes on a complete agreement of examinees on a positive influence of the Euro-Atlantic structures joining of Macedonia to democratization and ethnic tolerance, a graph according the ethnic status of examinees*





Non-realization of such big expectations of the Albanians can cause a search for other alternative direction which could bring an escalation of a conflict process. At the same time, non-joining to NATO due to the dispute with Greece and also a complication of future chances for the Euro-Atlantic structures joining can increase the Euro-Atlantic scepticism which is also so big. Precisely because of these political tendencies and based on a political reality that has its safety but economic-social implications, as well, future attitudes of the Albanians and the Macedonians will be formed, the ones on policy of the Republic of Macedonia toward the Euro-Atlantic structures joining.

Those attitudes of the leadership of two biggest ethnic groups will have as a consequence a management of conflict flows but also, a big responsibility of the Government of Macedonia to channel the conflict, especially its structure factors through channels of the state's system and to keep successfully a conflict on a latent level that way. NATO joining was opening, exactly, possibilities of the institutional channeling of the problem and origin of the state's endangering and through NATO system and its common safety policy in the region and individually regarding each member country. The example of this way channeled internal conflict is given by Canada. The conflict between francophone Quebec and remaining part of Canada is a prolonged conflict that is subject to increase due to economic domination of Anglo-Saxon part of population in Quebec but the solution was found during long years and that was primarily through legal regulations which enable a protection of the French part of Quebec population including the Law on Official Languages<sup>1</sup> as well. This is a very close example with an alert situation in management of an ethnic conflict which Macedonia is facing with and the key role that should be played by the Macedonian Government is worth of a special attention. Exactly this management of a conflict process demands keeping in creation of a multicultural democracy and is particularly difficult and expensive work that must be practiced. This way concepted society with a multiethnic and consensus democracy must not allow itself an isolation at the international plan. Because of this, Macedonia has to be in development of social flows and membership in international organizations, at least, one step ahead of Albania because, that way, it has a real possibility to eliminate separatists' tendencies with general and economic life. In a contrary situation, political elites will find another motivation factor and will sail on ethno-nationalism waves which in a concrete case will lead to an ethnic division of the state. This state of the international safety policy and surrounding is being used by Greece and it knows very well that Macedonia's non-joining to NATO gets a lot of time. In the context of that is also the statement of former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Adonis Samaras, who stated, I am quoting: "Why are we hurrying, the Greeks, well, that country will fall apart anyway, so why to hurry with negotiations". That is precisely defined attitude of Greece for the problem's solving and perceived through its angle of development of the internal conflicts in Macedonia and its need for NATO and the EU membership to guarantee its safety and completeness. Exactly an irregular management of a conflict process in the situation when the state is out of collective safety systems and with a low international support opens a possibility of a high safety risk. As supervening of conditions for a hard management of a conflict process is also a division of interests of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia whose elites need participation in the Government and access to the resources of the state's authority. Still, those are only personal interests and precisely based on pre-elections quivering with nationalism and protection of the national causa, dissatisfaction of the ordinary Macedonian citizens of the Albanian nationality can lead the opposite political side into an extreme radicalism or to create conditions for creation of a new radical political subject of the Macedonian Albanians which will be, with no doubt, guided by the idea of the state's federalization as the only way of realization of its ideas and reaching of level of Albania and Kosovo.

Due to all previously mentioned it is extremely difficult to manage a conflict process in the shadow of Bucharest and NATO non-joining of Macedonia and under constantly bigger pressure of Greece at the international scene, then under an open threat of veto for the European Commission's decision of definition of the date for start of negotiations for the EU membership of Macedonia and all that until the end of this year.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



Safety alert conditions for the Republic of Macedonia after NATO non-joining are very big. This is the main conclusion and Macedonia will have to handle with this alert situation with a big skill. It is sure that other countries in the region, as well, and especially NATO and the EU members will not remain indifferent and all that especially regarding the regional stability's preservation and prevention of Macedonia to become a source of the regional instability. Still, that does not mean that the work will be done by the USA and the EU member countries; the biggest responsibility lies on the Government of Macedonia.

**The basic issues that should be solved by Macedonia are:**

1. The dispute with Greece and that should be in the period as soon as possible, until the end of this year and
2. A successful management of the internal stability managing an ethnic conflict process and economic and social security's management.

All this will be hard to solve and manage for a longer period and because of that, the basic aim has to be a quick and as soon NATO joining as possible and a start of negotiations for the EU membership. In a contrary situation, negative implications will come soon, and that will be in a form of an international isolation or half-isolation and after that also over an escalation of an ethno-political conflict. Even if that happens in a negative direction, the responsibility will be, for the second time, of the USA and the European countries for enabling the second Bucharest for Macedonia, but this time a good part of that responsibility will be on the Macedonian political elite because during the first Bucharest, Macedonia had no its representatives and it could not impact to the event's flow with anything and now it was present and it could have directly influenced on the situation's development with no regard on level of the Greek unreasonable and banal demands. From these situation that is happening, Macedonia has to conclude historical lessons and experiences on that it is very hard to establish a state into NATO and the EU without the European strategic partner and to provide like that for itself a safe and prosperous progress.

---

<sup>1</sup> David Karmnt and Patrick James, „Peace in War's Flame – A warning and Management of International Ethnic Conflicts“, page 64, Voeno izdavatelstvo, Sofia, 2001.





# REACT 2008

REACT 2008

*Ph.D Anton Bebler,  
Faculty of Social Science,  
University of Ljubljana*

**The policy  
of NATO  
enlargement  
and  
Slovenia's  
experience**

**T**he idea of enlargement has been built into its foundation since NATO's inception in 1948, while the practice of attracting and bringing in new members started even before the Washington Treaty was signed on February 4, 1949. The concept of enlargement has been used in the literature to describe (a) the long-term process of expanding the alliance membership and (b) individual steps, stages or rounds in this direction.

The North Atlantic compact has provided the legal framework for admitting new members. The treaty contained two limitations – a geographic one (European states only) and a procedural one (by invitation based on a consensus among the current members). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was founded as a regional security organization in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. The fundamental purpose of the Alliance has not been only to ward off collectively the military threats to its members but also and, for some, at least as importantly to defend the lofty common values for which its initiators – Western liberal democracies have stood. These democratic values and not the defense needs alone were thus to serve as an important attraction for potential new members. The very considerable variations in the relationship between the defense and the political-ideological motivation for enlargement could be followed in the process of the Alliance's growth ever since its inception in summer 1948. The admission of Spain in 1982 as well as the 1999 and 2004 East European rounds of NATO enlargement had been substantively related to and in 2004 almost coincided in time with the parallel although differently managed expansion of the European Union (EU).

The expansion of the Atlantic Alliance: military, geographic, political and ideological considerations

The original idea of forging an unusual defense alliance across North Atlantic was first publicly advanced in November 1940 by a Norwegian minister in exile Trygve Lie (later to become the first UN Secretary General). The common interest in fighting and defeating the axis of totalitarian regimes governing then in Germany, Italy, several other European states and on occupied territories was to serve as a liberal democratic foundation of the proposed alliance. This common purpose and underlying democratic political values were expected to overcome the drawback of huge geographic distances separating the proposed allies on both sides of North Atlantic. The revival of that half-forgotten idea by British diplomats in 1947-1948 was on the other hand motivated by the apprehension of a growing menace emanating from the Soviet bloc and its communist ideology. Thus both in 1940 and 1947-1948 the idea of a North Atlantic alliance had a clear antitotalitarian and liberal democratic coloration. It stands to reason that this feature has influenced not only NATO's creation but also the process of its enlargement.

The alliance has been increasing its territorial, demographic and economic mass in many stages spanning more than five decades. The process of expansion has actually started about nine months prior to the official signing ceremony on April 4, 1949 in Washington. When the Americans in early summer 1948 decided to revive the Norwegian proposal the initial alliance embryo contained USA and UK only. At a US invitation the embryo was expanded in July to include also France, three Benelux countries and Canada. Several months later further invitations were issued to Iceland, Norway, Denmark and Portugal. (Informal sounding with Sweden, Ireland and Spain are said to have given negative results.) The last addition to the original nucleus was Italy. Further rounds of NATO expansion in membership and territory followed in 1952 (Greece, Turkey), 1955 (FRG), 1982 (Spain), 1990 (GDR absorbed in FRG), 1999 (Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary) and in 2004. The treaty area has undergone also one contraction when the hitherto French departments in Algeria became an independent state outside the Alliance. The last round of enlargement in May 2004 could thus be counted as at least the seventh in total and the third East European round. The next expected round bringing in Croatia and Albania will be the eighth and the fourth respectively.

Already in 1949 the Alliance has deviated from the original idea expressed in its name when it admitted a

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





Mediterranean state – Italy which had no shores on the North Atlantic. With a peace agreement concluded only in February 1947 Italy was not considered by the alliance initiators. Very much anxious to get rid of its ex-enemy status she invested however very considerable diplomatic efforts and intense lobbying in USA to be invited. Subsequent rounds of enlargement into Eastern Mediterranean and Central-Eastern Europe have moved the Alliance's treaty area still further away from its geographic designation.

Another important feature of the Alliance related to enlargement has been expressed in its liberal democratic pronouncements. The normative foundation of the Alliance has been stated in the introduction and Art. 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty. These provisions were included into the draft at a proposal of the Canadian delegates. The allies expressed in them their determination to “safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law”. They pledged furthermore to “develop peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting the conditions of stability and well-being.”

The North Atlantic Treaty stipulated in its Art. 10 that “a European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security in the North Atlantic area” may be invited to accede to it if it obtains an invitation based on a consensus of all member states. It would be logical to infer that the principle of democracy should have constituted one of the key criteria and a necessary requirement for membership in the Alliance. However this condition was not explicitly stated in Art. 10 and it seems that the alliance founders did not deem it as such. This became obvious when the highly authoritarian Portuguese regime under Dr. Antonio Salazar was on purely military strategic grounds invited to join the club of founding members. This invitation and Portugal's entry into the Alliance have certainly greatly devalued NATO's claim to be an alliance of democracies.

Furthermore in 1951 the Alliance seriously discussed inviting in its ranks Spain and Yugoslavia – in those days hard dictatorships. This step was publicly advocated on strategic grounds by General D. Eisenhower, then SACEUR, soon to be elected US President. During internal debates most objections to this proposal were raised on grounds other than the undemocratic political orders in these two states. And the two dictators - Generalissimo F. B. Franco and Marshall J.-B. Tito remained cool towards the idea. Yet pragmatic solutions were found and both countries were soon linked militarily with the alliance. In case of Spain it was a bilateral “Friendship Treaty” on security cooperation with USA (1953), which allowed for the establishment of four American bases on Spanish soil. Yugoslavia on the other hand entered together with two NATO members (Greece and Turkey) a tripartite mutual defense pact which was signed in August 1954 in Bled (Slovenia).

Until 1995 NATO had never explicitly raised the democratic nature of the internal political order as a substantive requirement for membership. In addition, the seminal decision to establish an unusual alliance was in 1949 nowhere thoroughly democratically tested in a referendum. In some countries this fact reflected the lack of sufficient support among the population and thus a democratic deficit. In several cases then and later it is doubtful whether a country's membership would have been approved by the voters if submitted then to a referendum. This doubt notably applied to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955.

Moreover the alliance had for decades shown, at least publicly, utter disinterest in verifying its members' democratic credentials. NATO's internal ideological quasi-neutrality and the practice of non-interference into internal politics of member states contrasted sharply with the practice of the Warsaw Pact and contributed to NATO's survival after 1999. As long as the “Cold war” lasted geostrategic and military considerations had played a preponderant role in the politics of NATO enlargements. With the mellowing of the East-West confrontation the imperatives of military strategy, even to the detriment of democratic values, started losing their primacy. By admitting Spain both in EU and NATO the liberal West recognized and rewarded the post-totalitarian democratic transformation in that country. However in Spain herself that country's entry into NATO had been then highly controversial largely due to the previous close military ties of USA with the Franco dictatorship.





The decision to sign the protocol of accession to NATO was taken by a weak transition government at the very end of its rule in 1982. The protocol was ratified in the Cortes by a weak majority of a right-center coalition which was soundly defeated at the general election only several weeks later. Furthermore the socialist opposition partly won the election contest i. a. on the promise of holding a referendum and of taking Spain out of the alliance. The new socialist government under P. Gonzalez has however radically changed its position soon after the election due to the political linkage between the EEC membership (a popular goal) and NATO membership (then much less popular one). So the first referendum in the history of NATO enlargement was held in Spain, but only in 1986, four years after that country's accession. Although the government technically honored its pledge to hold a referendum on NATO membership it went a long way to manipulate its result. To the main question it added three promises of dubious validity which were clearly designed to split the ranks of opponents. Even with this twist the government barely managed to obtain a positive outcome of the referendum (with about 52 percent "yes" votes).

NATO's practice during the "Cold war" of admitting or tolerating in its midst several undemocratic (anti-communist and pro-Western) regimes could be partly defended on the ground that the practice of alliance membership in the long run contributed to the democratic developments in these states. Indeed it has been generally the case in Portugal, Greece and Turkey. Furthermore even the official guardian of democratic values - the Council of Europe has knowingly admitted several new members "on credit" (including the same Greece and Turkey and later Romania and the Russian Federation). Furthermore the very existence of NATO has had general liberalizing and democratizing effects outside the treaty area. Liberal democratic values espoused and propagated by the leading NATO states did in time produce a psychological and political impact accross and above the Iron Curtain. This ideological influence in states-members of the Warsaw pact had been magnified by the demonstration effect of a higher standard of living, visible abundance of consumer goods, democratic freedoms and much freer life style in the West. The adoption of the Helsinki Final Act and the founding of the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" (CSCE) in 1975 legalized the interference by that international body in internal politics of participant states in cases of gross violations of human rights. By this counter concession, obtained by the leading NATO members, the Eastern bloc opened the door to liberal democratic subversion in its communist political orders. This development has indirectly but tangibly contributed to the wave of democratization in Eastern Europe and eventually to the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact and USSR in 1991.



## The East European round of enlargement in 1999

The dramatic democratic transformation and the collapse of its adversary found the West unprepared and confused. It became quite obvious when the new post-communist regimes started knocking on EEC/EU and NATO doors. To this chorus of pleas the West initially responded by politely rebuffing the East Europeans. As far as admission into NATO was concerned the main Western argument against has been quite sound – the young East European democracies were not militarily threatened and needed in the first place rapid economic and social progress and not the alliance’s military protection. Consequently the preparation for and admission into the European Union had to come first, followed by the preparation for and subsequent entry into the Western European Union. Only several years later qualified new EU and WEU members might have become eligible and ready for joining NATO.

This sequence pushed the time horizon for possible NATO expansion well into the first decade of the 21st century reflecting the fact that the leading NATO members lost interest in the Alliance’s enlargement on security grounds. Consequently the new aspirants were neither lured nor credited on the military or on the political-ideological (democratic) grounds. In 1995 the democratic nature of the candidate states’ regime has become a publicly stated criterium, designed to stimulate internal democratic reforms in Eastern Europe and to select among them the most desirable candidates. By demanding simultaneously the fulfilment of both military and political criteria NATO raised in mid-1990s its entrance requirements to a very considerable degree. The Alliance thus treated the Eastern European aspirants very differently than it did in the past several original members as well two Balkan states admitted in 1952. And NATO has also conveniently overlooked the fact that its long-time member Turkey still did not fulfil all important democratic criteria.

The European Union’s institutional predecessors – the three European communities ECSC, EEC and EAEC – came into being several years after the foundation of NATO. Their original nucleus consisted of a small group of European states where democratic orders were already in operation, prior to entering the economic political integration. Having been militarily protected by NATO the European communities’ members did not have to compromise on external security grounds by inviting to their club authoritarian South European states (which happened to be also economically poor and needy countries). The leading Western European powers and the EEC/EU bureaucracy have for years been quite disinclined to accept in their club the Eastern Europeans. Both for economic and internal political reasons they have preferred to keep the poor “cousins” from the East interminably in the waiting room. In line with this basic calculation EEC/EU has displayed quite impressive ingenuity in inventing and setting one procedural hurdle after another which made its eastward enlargement a highly complicated, long and tiring bureaucratic endeavour. At no point in the past has the EEC/EU bureaucracy developed so extensive body of substantive and procedural conditions for admitting new members as it did for the Eastern Europeans. The composite criteria called the “readiness for integration” included the state of democratic institutions, political stability, compatibility of constitutional and legal systems with the Western standards, human and minority rights, structural change towards market-oriented economics, economic stabilization, appropriate social systems and democratic value change, wide acceptance of integration processes, congenial foreign and security policies etc. etc.

In a response to the East European pleas NATO set out to elaborate for the first time its criteria for admitting new members. It was done in the form of a semiofficial NATO document entitled the “Study on NATO Enlargement” (1995). The paper stated that the processes of NATO and EU extension to other parts of Europe needed to be closely interrelated, complementary and mutually supportive. The NATO document drew also for its members the following conditions called “expectations”: the rule of law, at least satisfactory protection of human rights, fundamental freedoms, protection of religious, ethnic and national minorities and a stable system of competitive multiparty democracy. In addition the document raised a set of NATO - specific conditions which included nota-



bly appropriate civil-military relations which were to encompass:

- a clear division of authority between president and the government (prime minister and defense/interior minister) in constitutions or through public laws;
- parliamentary oversight of the military through control of the defense budget;
- peacetime governmental oversight of General Staffs and military commanders through civilian defense ministries;

In addition to the formal criteria several informal considerations has always played strong and even decisive roles:

- a sufficient interest of the Alliance, particularly of USA;
- general consensus among the members;
- sufficiently strong interest and public support in the prospective candidate;

The switch from the initial highly reserved response to accepting the need for an early NATO expansion to the East did not come easily. It is doubtful that the considerations of democracy have been the most important ones in this process. If the need to protect and support fledgling democracies were to be the primary concern then the geography and sequence of enlargement would have been quite different. For example, the inclusion of Poland where the new democratic order was not in danger had been quietly advocated by the Germans already since 1992-1993. Germany's primary motivation for it has been then rather simple – to cease being NATO's Eastern borderland, to cede this exposed position to Poland (and former Czechoslovakia) and thus to create a political, economic and security cushion in Central-East Europe which will be integrated with in the West. However this German position did not gain then much support.

Obviously, the shift in NATO's cautious attitude could not happen without a prior change in the US position. First came a calculated attempt to deflect the East European rush into a substitute for membership called the "Partnership for Peace". When this attempt clearly failed the Clinton administration adopted in November 1994 the platform of selective and carefully managed NATO enlargement. Moral and political support to the process of democratization as a motivation has been mentioned in this context but Bill Clinton's electoral calculations seem to have also played a considerable role. The inability of the West Europeans to act effectively to stop the war in the Balkans as well as the procrastination in integrating the East Europeans into EU have led the Clinton administration to revise its previous position. Furthermore the President's submission to US Senate mentioned the following arguments: by adding new members the Alliance will increase its military resources and strategic depth; it will strengthen Europe's stability, deter potential threats and erase its artificial division. A related expectation, not only in US, has been that the East European blood would rejuvenate the alliance. Combined with NATO's internal reorganization and additional "out of area" tasks the enlargement was to avert the danger of the alliance's slow attrition and eventual withering away. Some Western experts favored NATO enlargement also as a way to prevent nuclear proliferation in Central-Eastern Europe. The three Central European states admitted in 1999 brought into the integrated military structure of the alliance about 200,000 soldiers. This happened to roughly equal the number of soldiers USA withdrew by then from Europe since the end of the "Cold War". The inclusion of new members in 1999 could thus be viewed also as a partial replacement of US troops in Europe. The US Senate resolution of ratification in 1998 was even more revealing. It clearly linked the US interest in the enlargement with maintaining NATO as military alliance, preventing renationalization of European military policies and with ensuring the continuation of the United States' leadership role in European security affairs. Given the clear US initiative and control over the pace and scope of NATO enlargement the increase in the number of European NATO members did not dilute the US leading role within the alliance.

In spite of some criticisms and admonitions the US position in favor of an early NATO enlargement has been largely followed and eventually agreed to by summer 1997 by all other governments of the alliance. Some of them however seem to have remained intimately unconvinced and unenthusiastic. The misgivings about and

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



resigned opposition towards the project among North American and Western European experts and influentials ran in fact deeper than the official positions of the NATO member states had indicated. The British had expressed concerns about the expanded alliance's effectiveness. Germany's concerns related to Russia and to the need for close political harmonization with France conditioned her basic endorsement of the US position. Once the joint NATO - Russia document was agreed upon and signed in Paris and the Russian hurdle thus cleared the main concern for the Germans became the US-French feud over the scope of enlargement. France, Italy, Canada and the remaining Mediterranean members were said to have been in favor of a wider enlargement – not only into Central but also into South-Eastern Europe. France's pro-enlargement fervor has probably stemmed from the long-standing desire to strengthen the European (and thus the French) role and to correspondingly diminish the US role in European security matters. The French used the occasion for an attempt to wrest from the Americans the control over the NATO Southern Command. Since the demise of the first Berlusconi government in 1996 the Italian pro-enlargement position tallied well with the Ostpolitik Italian style, directed mostly toward the Balkans. Thus a complicated interplay between various – global, continental, regional, national – perspectives and even some tactical political objectives finally brought the alliance members to an internal consensus.

A compromise was finally reached shortly before the Madrid summit in July 1997. It fell between two extreme positions - (a) admitting five new members (as demanded by France) and (b) the quiet preference of some members for none. In order to give some psychological satisfaction, mainly to the French and the Italians, the final document in Madrid mentioned Romania and Slovenia (in the English alphabetical order). The two countries were singled out as serious candidates, to be reconsidered in 1999. The three Baltic states were also mentioned in this context but without country names stated.

Although hailed by many as a historic landmark the Madrid decision on enlargement was also met with numerous criticisms. If the real objective of NATO enlargement was to improve security and stability in former Eastern Europe, as publicly claimed, then the invitations ought to have been extended to the weakest and neediest among the post-communist states in transition and not to the militarily and economically strongest and the less exposed to potential external threats. The configuration of the first group was deemed by some critics as geostrategically imbalanced and inadequate given the concentration of real and potential trouble-spots in Europe. Still other felt that NATO missed an opportunity in 1997-1999 to move the area of security, stability and democracy in the most needed direction – the Balkans.

The process of negotiating the three protocols of accession, signing and ratifying them in 16 members and in three invitees lasted about a year and a half and passed with a few surprises. In almost all parliaments, including the most complicated Belgian legislature, the accession protocols were approved with comfortable majorities. The parliamentary opposition - the communists, radical ecologists, extreme nationalists and (some) regionalists - proved to be too weak to block the enlargement. The most dramatic vote and the biggest excitement were produced in the Italian lower chamber. The Italian government barely survived the test, thanks to the support by opposition parties of the right. This was due to a peculiar composition of the then ruling coalition. The critical vote in the US Senate, on the other hand, showed an impressive majority with 80 senators voting for and 19 against. The margin of support was stronger than was conservatively estimated by the government. Moreover all amendments to the resolution opposed by the administration were defeated.

Among the 19 states only one invitee - Hungary called for a popular referendum on such an important issue. This was the second referendum in the history of NATO expansion. In comparison with the Spanish test in 1986 this one was carried out according to higher democratic standards. Firstly, the Hungarian referendum was organized prior to that country's entry into the Alliance. This fact gave the population a real possibility to decide on such an important issue. Secondly, the question to voters was formulated in a clear fashion, without an attempt to mislead them with implied promises. In spite of political risks involved the Hungarian referendum has passed well indeed. About 85 percent of those who cast their ballots voted for entering NATO. Albeit roughly a half of





the electoral body did not show up at the polling stations.

Looking back at the 1997 decision one notices that practically none of the gloomy predictions advanced then by the opponents of the second Eastern European enlargement was confirmed by subsequent events. On the contrary the expansion produced several positive effects on social and political development in the young Eastern European democracies. Moreover NATO's military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which coincided with the 1999 enlargement, has sped up the demise of the Milošević's regime and Serbia's democratic reforms. The political backlash in Russia proved to be too weak to unseat the Yeltsin regime, economic and political reforms in Central-Eastern Europe continued and no deterioration in relations was noticed between the invited three states and other countries. The second Eastern European round of NATO enlargement in 1999 has thus contributed to the positive evolution in the region which was conducive to its further democratization. The "Membership Accession Plan" (MAP) inaugurated at the Washington summit has since stimulated developments in the same direction. And the NATO Strategic Concept approved at the same meeting confirmed the Alliance's policy of supporting and promoting democratic transformation in the Euro-Atlantic area (p. 33).

This review of the enlargement practice since 1948 shows that NATO has considerably improved its record as far as living up to its democratic credo was concerned. Particularly since the end of the "Cold War" the Alliance has clearly brought its enlargement policy in line with the values enshrined in its founding charter and with its political pronouncements.

### **Slovenia's road to NATO membership**

Almost since the proclamation of its independence on June 25, 1991 Slovenia has held full-fledged memberships in EU, WEU and NATO as her chief international objectives. Her political elite found too little comfort in relying on the country's membership in UN and participation in OSCE alone. The ineffectiveness of the international community in dealing in 1991-1995 even with a relatively small aggressor in the Balkans has contributed to Slovenia's determination to join the Western integrations. Since 1991 the Slovenian government has abandoned ex-Yugoslavia's stance of "active non-alignment". Hitherto considerable political clout enjoyed by the pacifist "Greens" (who advocated Slovenia's unilateral disarmament and neutrality) has by then practically evaporated, to a large extent under the psychological impact of the Balkan wars. Due to the lack of a neutralist tradition and also of corresponding constitutional or international legal obligations Slovenia did not opt for a defense policy of armed neutralism. Instead in 1990s the Slovenian National Assembly has passed by acclamation several resolutions in favour of the country's membership in Western integrations. Among five major political parties three have for years consistently advocated Slovenia's accession to NATO and EU as soon as possible (LDS, SDS, SKD) while two others showed certain reservations concerning either EU or NATO (SLS, ZLSD). When the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was stopped by NATO all major parliamentary political parties came to support Slovenia's entry both into NATO and EU.

By July 1996 Slovenia joined the "Partnership for Peace" program and signed a Europe association agreement with EU. It should be noted that the Slovenian government's keen interest in NATO membership has not been prompted by the fears of social and political instability, by internal dangers to Slovenia's democratic order, by external military threats, unresolved conflicts with neighboring states or by the desire to obtain sizeable financial assistance or military hardware. Associating Slovenia with NATO has been viewed instead as an important aspect of the country's general political integration into the community of Western democratic states.

According to many experts and also NATO officials an important rationale for NATO's decision to expand Eastward lied in the desire to reduce the "gray zone" of insecurity and uncertainty in Europe. Although the underlying contention sounds plausible in general terms it raises some serious questions in relation, e.g., to Slovenia.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



On the whole, the lines separating security and insecurity areas in Europe, Mediterranean and Asia have not coincided with the division between NATO members and non-members. There have been already for decades flash-points of violence and terrorism on the territory of NATO members, such as Ulster, the Basque country, Corsica, parts of Turkey etc. Actual or potential interstate conflicts have taken or could have conceivably taken place between NATO member-states, e.g. on the Greek-Turkish border, on Cyprus or over Gibraltar. Although situated in the geographic proximity of recent armed hostilities in the Balkans, Slovenia, together with a number of other European countries and like neighboring Austria, has belonged to an area of stability and security.

The same is true of Slovenia's record as a democratic state. Since 1989 the country has successfully, relatively painlessly and peacefully overcome the stresses, tensions and crises surrounding its fast triple evolution - attaining independent statehood, transforming her political order and the economic system. The rapid transformation in all three dimensions, in due legal form took the form of peaceful evolution based on a high degree of consensus between different political currents. In this process there was no politically motivated violence and a very few cases of mass civil disobedience. Since 1990 four rounds of parliamentary election, four presidential elections as well as local and municipal elections were successfully carried out, in full conformity with the European rules for free, competitive and clean electoral contests.

The combination of parliamentary rule, of proportional distribution of seats in the National Assembly and of a low electoral threshold predictably necessitated coalitions of several parties in each governing coalition. These constitutional parameters allowed for the continued existence of numerous parties, including very small ones, as well as assured political and ideological pluralism inside the government and parliament. It encouraged the development of tolerant and conciliatory political postures taken by political leaders and also promoted the culture of cohabitation and cooperation across ideological divides. Observers of the Slovenian political scene noticed considerable convergence in the political programs of main political parties, the decline of extremist parties and more urbane behaviour of politicians. The inclination of many parties to present themselves as moderate and European created centrist tendencies both on the right and on the left of political spectrum. Positions perceived as extremist have as a rule been punished by the electorate.

Key institutions of the Slovenian political system have functioned reasonably well. External assessments of the rule of law (by the US State Department and by the Amnesty International) gave Slovenia satisfactory to very good marks. A system of strong civilian control over the military, police and intelligence agencies has been installed and functioned satisfactorily. The functioning of Slovenian democratic institutions has enjoyed sufficient participation and moral support by the population. The abstention rates during presidential and parliamentary elections have varied in Slovenia between twenty-five and thirty percent. The level of public trust in key institutions has been higher than in many other states in transition. Thus in 1995 the levels of trust in president, parliament and the government (executive) in Slovenia were empirically evaluated as almost uniformly the highest among 10 countries of Central-Eastern, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, including Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. (These percentages in Slovenia were however somewhat lower than in West European countries).

In comparison with other transition states the deep systemic change in Slovenia has been accompanied by fewer abuses of political power for personal enrichment, with far lower frequency and absolute value of former state or public property misappropriated or otherwise illicitly amassed by individuals, well-connected with the previous or successor regime. Neither extraordinary enrichment of the nouveaux riches nor visible impoverishment of the lower strata took place in Slovenia between 1990 and 2000. The mixture of politically relevant corruption has changed somewhat and its new forms appeared. They were conditioned by the vastly increased opportunities, greatly reduced powers of police, by the facility to conceal illicit income, by the multiplied needs of political parties and by the competition between them for kick-backs etc. Nevertheless competent foreign observers have evaluated Slovenia as one of the cleanest among all post-communist transition states and cleaner than some EU and NATO members, including Belgium, Italy and Greece.



Due to the presence of these characteristics Slovenia has been viewed by qualified observers as a consolidated democracy. For instance, Freedom House's rated Slovenia already in 1997 as a "free postcommunist" country with the highest score 1.5<sup>1</sup> (together with Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Estonia). Having been a candidate for membership both in NATO and in the European Union Slovenia's credentials have undergone thorough examinations also by the US government, European Commission and also by NATO. In its published opinion on Slovenia's application for EU membership the European Commission concluded on July 15, 1997:

"Slovenia presents the characteristics of a democracy, with stable institutions guaranteeing the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. Slovenia can be regarded as a functioning market economy..."<sup>2</sup>

Slovenia has also satisfied to the highest degree the key NATO-specific requirements elaborated in the Study on NATO Enlargement (1995). Having adopted a Western European pattern in civil-military relations Slovenia has reaffirmed democratic civilian rule as one of its fundamental constitutional norms. Moreover, these norms as well as human and minority rights are being observed in Slovenia more thoroughly than in, at least, one present NATO member state.

Several circumstances contributed to a very high degree of civilian domination over the Slovenian military: the wide-spread rejection of the previous Yugoslav model of civil-military relations (which contained both militarist and praetorian proclivities); the smallness of the armed forces; the numerical and intellectual weakness of the Slovenian military professionals; the paucity of Slovenian military traditions; the underdeveloped corporate identity of the Slovenian military officers and the army leadership's extremely low political profile. The parliamentary system of government gave the domination its constitutional and legal foundation and form. An elaborate and partly redundant system of civilian oversight over the small military establishment has been erected in Slovenia consisting of:

- a civilian President of the Republic as Commander-in-Chief;
- an entirely civilian National Assembly and its Defence Committee;
- a civilian Prime-Minister, chairing the entirely civilian National Security Council;
- a civilian Minister of Defence, civilian secretaries of state and other top officials in the Ministry of Defence;
- a largely civilian layer of medium-level and lower officials in the Ministry of Defence;
- an internal security service staffed mostly by civilians and subordinated to the Minister of Defence;
- civilian financial inspectors from the Ministry of Finance and the Court of Auditors;
- civilian judiciary and the ombudsman.

<sup>1</sup> See in Richard Rose, Prospects for Democracy in Postcommunist Europe in Stephen White, Judy Batt, Paul G. Lewis, Developments in Central and East European Politics. No. 2, London: 1998, pp. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Agenda 2000, European Commission's Opinion on Slovenia's Application for Membership of the European Union, Brussels: July 15, 1997, p. 114.





As was noted earlier the successive Slovenian governments practically ever since the proclamation of independence in 1991 have advocated attaining membership in both EU, WEU and NATO as the strategically most important foreign policy goals for Slovenia. Internally the successive Slovenian governments have argued in favour Slovenia's membership primarily on long-term national defense and military security grounds. The underlying social values as well as extensive common political, economic, cultural, technological and other interests with NATO member states have also figured in this context. Externally the Slovenian diplomacy has lobbied abroad with the same aim using the following arguments:

- Slovenia has conformed with the overlapping EU requirements and NATO expectations concerning successful reforms, functioning political democracy, market economy, human and minority rights, constructive international behavior and settled relations with neighbors;
  - the degree of Slovenia's economic integration with EU is even higher than with some EU member states;
  - the country complied with the NATO-specific expectations concerning civilian control over the military;
  - Slovenia bordered with two EU members and two NATO members; her geographic position provided for the shortest and safest land bridge between two NATO members;
  - Slovenia has conducted a responsible and constructive foreign policy, actively supported all international efforts to bring peace, stability, prosperity and democracy to the troubled Balkans (UNPROFOR, IFOR, SFOR, SECI, Operation Alba, UNFICYP, KFOR);
  - Slovenia was able to shoulder her membership responsibilities in NATO and EU, including the financial ones (a reflection of Slovenia's highest GDP per capita in Central-Eastern Europe);
  - Slovenia's admission would make NATO and EU enlargement more geopolitically balanced, would move the area of security and stability in the direction of the volatile Balkans and would serve as a positive incentive among the Balkan aspirants for NATO and EU.

This line of reasoning has been buttressed by strong majorities in Slovenian parliament, but not by corresponding scores in public opinion polls. The discrepancy between the enthusiasm of the political elite for NATO membership and the more sanguine mood in the population had been the widest in 1991-1994, when neutrality Austrian style was the first public preference. The support for NATO membership started rising in late 1995 (probably due to NATO's successful intervention in the Balkans). Since 1996 Slovenian public opinion has largely supported the government's position on the desirability of Slovenia's membership. A USIA – commissioned survey in April 1997 showed that 56% of respondents would vote in favour if a referendum were then to be held. This and other surveys placed Slovenia behind the most enthusiastic Romania and Poland but ahead of Hungary



and the Czech Republic and the rest of the candidate countries. However, like in Hungary and the Czech Republic a very considerable number of respondents still do not accept some corollaries of possible NATO membership, such as increased defence outlays, sending Slovenia troops to defend a NATO ally, allowing routine overflights by NATO aircraft and particularly the utterly improbable stationing of NATO nuclear weapons. Thus although improved from the government's standpoint public opinion on Slovenia's NATO membership has been contradictory and trailing behind the much more enthusiastic position held by the Slovenians political elite. NATO membership had been most favoured by males over 49 years of age, with low education and status. The support for the government's strong pro-NATO stance has been the lowest among the age group under 30 and those with university degrees. Slovenian housewives could not decide on this issue.

The degree of support for EU has been generally higher than that for NATO but occasionally slipped lower. It happened, for example, in the aftermath of the epidemic with "mad cow disease". Prior to the unsuccessful bid to gain an invitation at the NATO summit in Madrid the support for NATO membership achieved its acme. Since July 1997 it started sliding down, with occasional ups and downs of several percentage points. The altered post-Cold war perception of diminished external security risks (and downgrading the military ones) and the false sense of security in South-Eastern Europe (to which NATO's successful peacemaking in the Balkans greatly contributed) have generally lowered the interest of the public in Slovenia's joining any military alliance. The downward trend has continued and strengthened in 2000-2002. As a consequence and the relationship between Slovenia and the North Atlantic Alliance increasingly became an object of lively public debates and controversies.

The rise of vocal opposition to NATO membership, particularly among the cultural elite and in segments of two coalition parties, led the Slovenian government to accept the demand for a referendum, which otherwise was not constitutionally required. More importantly, by late November 2002 Slovenia's membership ceased to be a mere theoretical proposition or a pious wish by the government. When Slovenia, together with six other states, received an invitation to join the Alliance, this question became a practical and politically acute one. It put Slovenia into an exceptional position. Among 26 countries (19 NATO members and 7 invitees) which were to sign the new accession protocols on March 26, 2003 only in Slovenia was this decision to be submitted for a direct approval or disapproval by the voters. The Slovenian government alone thus exposed itself to the acid democratic test while, according to available public opinion polls, NATO enlargement did not enjoy majority support in a number of NATO member states.

The arguments related to democracy played a modest role in the public debates prior to the twin referenda. Some opponents used the NATO admission policy in the past and Turkey's poor human rights record as proof that NATO was not an alliance of democratic states and that it had been, at the very best, indifferent towards democratic values. Some ardent supporters of NATO membership, on the other hand, tried to present the Alliance as a bulwark of anticommunism. In general, security arguments dominated in the discussions. The best known opponents claimed that Slovenia is not and will not be threatened by anyone. Hence it does not need to spend on her defense and still less to enter any military alliance.

In its activities to increase the public support for Slovenia's membership in NATO the government had been confronted with a heterogeneous opposition. But this was also true of the supporters for NATO membership as well. The NATO issue has in fact cut across the fabric of Slovenian polity. Many vocal opponents of NATO displayed outright ignorance about the Alliance as well as prejudices and unfounded fears, such as the presumed loss of national identity, independence, state institutions, the Slovenian Army etc. The pacifists and the "Greens" opposed NATO because they rejected foreign troops and nuclear weapons on Slovenian soil and/or everything related to the military and nuclear energy. Some old-style leftists held NATO for a symbol of capitalism, Western imperialism and globalization which presumably brought poverty and unemployment to the Third world. Among the critics one found also the nostalgics after former Yugoslavia and Marshall Tito's policy of non-alignment.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





# 8 008 2008 T EAC T E R

Some sharp opponents of NATO at the same time uncritically idolized the European Union and held the EU membership for an ample substitute for NATO. Some opponents were against NATO simply because they disliked the present Slovenian government, Coca-Cola, McDonalds' hamburgers, the domination of the Hollywood film and TV industry etc. Some even linked NATO with global warming. These strange connections in some minds were due to the relatively wide-spread misconception which equated George W. Bush=USA=NATO. Indeed the level of public opposition to NATO membership has visibly grown in Slovenia since the Bush administration came to power in USA.

Yet inspite the armed conflit in the Middle East and quite unfavorable publicity in the media the twin referenda on March 23, 2003 brought in clearly positive results. A solid majority of over 66 percent and 89 percent respectively recognized the country's long-term security, political and economic interests in joining the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union. Compared with Hungary in 1997 the Slovenian referendum should be given a higher mark given a more straightforward and simpler question and a much lower abstention rate. It also took place in a much less favorable international environment as the war in Iraq negatively influenced public attitudes toward NATO.

The ratification of accession protocols by NATO members states in 2003 went more smoothly than in 1997-1998. There were several reasons for this difference. The Eastward opening of 1999 paved the way for the second (or more precisely the third) enlargement into the former Warsaw Pact area. The Russian resistance to the inclusion of the three Baltic states proved to be this time even less diplomatically effective than in 1947. Most important however was the very significantly modified US position. Under the impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks the United States has lowered the demanded requirement for the candidates military sufficiency as a key criterium for admission. Instead the ability of even a very small new member to contribute to the 'war against international terrorism' became the most relevant yardstick. This change made possible the 'big bang' enlargement of 2004 with simultaneously admission of ten new members, including Slovenia.

Our country thus entered the Alliance in April 2004, about eleven years after first pronouncement by the Slovenian National Assembly in favor of NATO membership. Since then this issue ceased to be a controversial item in Slovenian politics and became a fact of life accepted by a great majority of Slovenian citizens, including many of those who opposed it in 2002-2003.







# REACT 2008

REACT 2008

*Mr. Blagoje Grahovac,  
General of Yugoslav Army  
(retired)*

**Montenegro  
Military  
forces on  
the road to  
NATO**

**I**n September 1991, from the position of Commander of Aviation Military Academy I made a decision for workout of new School Curriculum and Program (SCP) of that high education in that college of Army of SFRJ and established a completely new aim of education which was titled: “Education and Training of Pilots for performance of function in multinational forces commanded by NATO”.

SCP was made and a result expected – it has been never adopted by the authorized organ and its plan creator because of that and other reasons, as well, faced a punishment phase. We are all familiar with that what happened to then and also with that later Yugoslavia.

In this contemplation, I will pay my attention only to Montenegro of this period and at the issue of NATO joining. Primarily, I would like to express my own attitudes in relation with an interest of Montenegro to start with NATO integrations:

The first, that is safety aspect, but with objectively a defined aim. The biggest safety level is three-layered and Montenegro (and every other country, as well) will have it:

- a) if reaches the internal inter-ethnic and inter-religious harmony;
- b) if we have sincere and friendly relations with our neighbors;
- c) if, as a stabile region into which can be trusted, that trust is given by NATO members;

The basis of all this stated is a creation of democratic and legally defined state with no corruption and organized crime.

The second, NATO is a company of the exquisite ones or better to say, a company of the exquisite states. It is a political, sociological, psychological and cultural dimension and benefit to be in a company of the exquisite ones.

The third, the Balkans have been suffering from a politically cheaters’ behavior in a mutual relation of the states for a long time. That political calamity is defined quickly and it disappears by NATO membership.

The fourth, capital always behaves like a lion or like a rabbit. There where is safe it has a lion’s efficiency and where that is not, it has a rabbit’s fear and always runs away. The interest of each country is for a healthy capital to feel safe in it.

These are four reasons of the biggest state-political and social significance. The reasons of lower importance, and their number is not small, I am not going to state now.

I have no dilemma that NATO joining of Montenegro has no alternative just like I have no dilemma, as well, that the way of Montenegro chose to do it, is completely a wrong one. Those mistakes consist of several layers:

The first mistake is in a definition of the aim of NATO joining. Instead of definition of its own aim and interest, we are witnesses of that all officials from the highest until the lowest level have been constantly repeating, it could be said, by heart, studied sentences that the aim of NATO joining is a fight against terrorism as a global problem. It is true that terrorism is a global problem but it is irrational and pretentious for Montenegro to define this as the aim. It is even less acceptable lack of knowledge of the essence of terrorism problem because it is neglected that the best protection against terrorism is a non-provoking of the same one and its constant mentioning is its permanent provoking.

The second problem is the biggest one at the same time. Namely, if we perform a serious professional analysis we will conclude that Montenegro formally has, and in the essence it has no army. A verbal and media offensive which tries to prove a contrary situation is a petty-policy or a professional non-comprehension or both together.

A defense concept and an army model that is announced with a number quantity of 2.400 soldiers is non-sustainable from the following reasons:

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





- a) From the state-political reason. Namely, if the standards of 2% of GDP to be assigned to army and a defense system are accepted, that will be 60 million of Euros for a projected GDP for 2009. If it is assigned 40% of the calculation for the personnel (which is also the standard), the average monthly salary of a soldier will be 470 of Euros which is equal to an existential minimum and in no case can be talked about fighting readiness of satisfied individuals. The basic question is if it is profitable for the state to have, instead of for fighting trained and satisfied army, only socially secured and a very dissatisfied armed group that is formally called an army. Is it not better to invest that amount of money to an economic development of the country?
- b) A projected concept is non-sustainable even from NATO aspect. Namely, NATO standard is that 40% of an army should be trained and prepared for NATO missions (which is in a case of Montenegro 960 soldiers), and that 20% of that number is in NATO missions permanently (which is in a case of Montenegro 192 soldiers); that makes a conclusion that all this, from the aspect of military and financial profession is non-sustainable and that we have had a mutual deception at the scene.
- c) The offered concept is non-sustainable due to the internal military reasons. A military profession (except for a small percentage) is a profession of limited time duration. A serious state, should never receive a candidate that applies for a military profession for a monthly salary of 320.00E, at least from three reasons – or he does not understand that hard, risky and honorable profession, or he is an adventurer, or that is the only possibility of employment. Anything from the mentioned is not a good recommendation for a military profession. It seems that it is not understood that army which consists of young men from dominantly workers-peasants' social structure can become a dangerous social being for itself and its own state. If the candidates from all social groups do not apply and they are not received by an army, it is like a system, for sure, a social and state' failure. The offered social concept is only a bare securing of part of a population;
- d) All above stated makes this army a non-sustainable system in the society because it will not find it capable of performing its role. The citizens will feel it only like an institutions needed only to certain political circles for an easy abuse. Due to this reason, the citizens will abridge its support to the army and its integrations which has been the case now.

The third problem is in the way of leading the campaign for NATO joining.

We are witnesses of the fact that officials have been doing their best to make NATO joining acceptable to the citizens. The situation regarding that has been stagnating or becoming worse. At the scene, we have a typical example of agitation for NATO joining without an explanation of the basic essence. Who has been agitating?



The representatives of the dominantly governing political party. Those are exactly those political forces that were sharing a political power with Slobodan Milosevic during 1991-1997 period in general war with NATO countries and with all internal forces and individuals that were brave enough then to promote the Euro-Atlantic integrations. Exactly those political forces were judging SCP and its authors from the beginning of this text. Citizens of Montenegro recognize that well and because of that do not believe agitators of NATO joining. In confrontation to NATO integration I do not neglect also that big number of nationalistically non-resistant citizens and their political representatives that have not come out yet from the zone of a passionate animosity toward Europe and NATO. The mentioned ones do not hide that they strongly love another country together with its all oligarchs contrary to the official agitators who are the same that but they know to camouflage well. I am afraid that both have political and personal interests for obstruction of the Euro-Atlantic integrations.

I do not have dilemma that the offered defense and army model is (there are proofs), and I am afraid that it will be, a convenient ambient for corruption and organized crime. Maybe, that is exactly what someone wanted so with skillful manipulations about quasi good solutions has been deceiving a domestic and international public. All previously said, and also the fact that some officer and general's promotions into a higher rank were done illegally indicate that the army is not in safe hands.

Which road to use, which defense concept and what army model to form in Montenegro is a very serious question that has to be put at agenda.

By a method of choosing incompetent and discredited, the ones who have been creating the system now and have been promoting attitudes of narrow layer, not to say a clan, and all that seemingly in the name of Montenegro, the state of Montenegro has been pushed into a constantly deeper problem.

I remain completely attached to my attitudes expressed even four years ago that the best solution for Montenegro is to have an army of guard type of a number quantity up to 1.100 of soldiers. In a contrary situation, I have no dilemma that a long-term solution for Montenegro is to deactivate the current army than to continue with a started way. It is necessary and urgent to open this question finally for professional groups and for a complete Montenegrin public, as well. At the same time, I am afraid that will happen only then when a sale of the state's property used by the army on illegal way is finished. Deception of public, apparently very subtly, has been lasting for already five years to which an unacceptably low level of citizen courage fits. Besides the fact that the international conditions have been changed significantly, the internal fight for the Euro-Atlantic integrations, unfortunately, is not much easier than the time mentioned at the beginning of this text. However, it is worth to struggle, a success is always certain.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





REFLECT 2008

---

*Mr. Denis Hadžović,  
General Secretary, Centre for  
Security Studies, Sarajevo*

---

# Development of the Defence Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina

**T**he process of demilitarization, demobilisation and reintegration of armed forces of BiH has been successfully implemented under the auspices of NATO forces. Shortly after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, it was estimated that the number of armed forces personnel was around 430 thousand. The adequate implementation of the agreement opened up the possibility of promoting political dialogue on the military issues. The activities which were being developed under the auspices of OSCE, directed at forming the provisions which would strengthen trust encompassed both the military command and the political structures.

In July 2001, the Presidency of BiH came to a conclusion which affirmed that BiH is ready to accept rights and responsibilities of Euro-Atlantic population by actively participating in collective security, wider processes of Euro-Atlantic integrations and the Partnership for Peace programme.

Prior to the defence reform in 2003, the defence system of BiH was weighed down by some very complex difficulties and defects. In particular, these defects were primarily evident in the following:

- Lack of state-level command and control over the armed forces
- Insufficient parliamentary oversight and control over the armed forces
- Lack of transparency in the field of defence on all levels
- Failure to accomplish international obligations, from a military-political aspect
- Large defence expenditure

The need for greater and more overarching reforms within the defence sector was certainly affected by the 'Orao' affair which was in violation of the UN embargo on arms exports to Iraq. According to international officials, this affair caused the most damage to the international image of BiH. This incident also highlighted that the defence institutions don't carry a significant amount of responsibility at the state-level and that this is one obstacle which should be dealt with as soon as possible.

The General Secretariat of NATO defined the functional areas which were in need of improvement prior to the consideration of BiH joining the PfP programme. Two of these conditions were of special meaning for NATO member states and they were:

1. Efficient and credible command and control structure of the armed forces at the level of the state,
2. Fulfilment of the conditions set by ICTY for BiH.

Strengthening of command and control at state-level and establishment of complete democratic oversight and control of armed forces and defence structures has been identified as core priority of the reforms.

All of the circumstances present in BiH at the start of 2003 created a positive climate with the local and international officials for changes within the security sector. The High Representative for BiH, following on this motion and on the authorisation given to him by the international community, decided to undertake more concrete measures that would lead to more advanced and efficient defence system. Therefore, in May 2003, the HR endorsed a Decision establishing a Defence Reform Commission, headed by an American diplomat who had an in-depth military knowledge of defence reform.

The most significant suggestions of the Commission reflected on the need for the establishment of a supreme defence command structure by the state. A unique BiH defence structure was adopted based on a feasible and practical power-share model between the state and entity institutions. According to this structure, the Presidency of BiH collectively participates in executing command and control of the AFBiH in the time of peace and during a crisis situation.

The state-level Ministry of Defence, headed by a minister of defence and two vice-ministers, was established to aid the Presidency in defence matters. The minister became a fully fledged member of the Council of Ministers BiH with a right to vote, and was appointed in the same manner as all other state-level ministers.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



# REPORT 2008



In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, the state received exclusive rights to mobilise and utilise the armed forces at all times apart from situations caused by natural disasters or accidents during which the President of the Entity Government has to endorse a temporary, but limited, utilisation of armed forces from the armed units belonging to the entities.

The entities continued to significantly contribute to the defense sector in BiH by carrying out administrative functions in training and equipping AF FBIH and RS.

Each of the entities had a MoD headed by a minister. The collective command still functioned in the FBiH, whilst RS continued to have its General Headquarters. The functional duties of these two headquarters were reduced to merely administrative functions. The entity MoDs were accountable to the state MoD, which in turn set up standards for the administrative functions of the entities.

Slightly more significant responsibility was awarded to the state parliamentary assembly based on the principles of democratic oversight over the armed forces, as well as transparency over the planning and drafting of the defence budget. One of the key suggested reforms was the creation of the new Joint Commission for Defence and Security in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH.

The duties of the entity parliaments were considerably decreased and adapted to the requirements of the new power-share arrangements between the state and the entity institutions.

In accordance with the recommendation from the Commission, the number of soldiers in the armed forces was reduced from 19.000 to 12.000. Moreover, the number of reserved forces was reduced from 240.000 to 60.000.

Political leadership, along with the general public in BiH rightfully expected that the international community will reward BiH with a call for membership in Pfp on account of the significant results achieved in the defense reform. Unfortunately, these expectations were not fulfilled and member countries of NATO during the 2004 Summit in Istanbul called again for BiH to establish sustainable and unified armed force.

Following this evaluation, the General Secretary of NATO forwarded an appeal in 2004 to BiH Presidency asking for concrete measures and systematic reforms which will enable BiH to fully cooperate with the ICTY strengthen state level command and control by transferring more power to the relevant state defence institutions.

In 2004, utilising the mandate of the PIC Steering Board, the High Representative for BiH made a decision which prolonged the mandate of the Defence Reform Commission.

Recommendations of the new, old Defence Reform Commission, were based on two basic changes: creation of the single unified defence structure and armed forces in BiH under a fully functional state-level command and



control, and reorganisation of AF BiH enabling BiH to fully utilise all of the resources in the field of foreign, security and defence policy, particularly collective defence and security.

So, in effect, the mandate of the Defence Reform Commission in 2005 was to further strengthen and advance the reform processes which began in 2003 and 2004 by establishing real state level command and structure over the AF BiH.

However, in order to fully make visible the reforms carried out under the mandate of the Defence Reform Committee, I would like to present some of the significant results achieved during a year of the negotiation.

In the area of command and control over AF BiH, a single chain of command was established. This chain of command derives from the BiH Presidency which makes decisions based on consensus. These decisions are then communicated to the minister of defence, followed by the Head of the Joint Military Headquarters, followed by the Commander of the Operative Command and Support Command, and finally to the lower levels of operations.

Changes in the conscription methods have meant that the AF BiH is now fully made up of professional forces. Army conscription was abolished at the start of 2006.

A system of regiments was set up in AF BiH as a single and unified military force compatible with NATO standards. The size of operative and active forces in AF BiH is 10.000 professional and 5.000 reserve forces. AF BiH will be made of three maunder brigades, one tactical support brigade and one aviation brigade, all under the control of the Operative Command.

As it is the case with all other state / entity institutions in BiH, the AF BiH also has to abide to the provisions set up by the DPA regarding the personnel quota. Thus, in accordance with the last census of 1991, the AF BiH is representative of the three constituent people and others. This quota is also present on the higher decision-making levels, starting with the BiH Presidency, to Operative Command and Support Command.

Functions and duties carried out by the entity MoDs were transferred to the state level MoD and the Joint Military Headquarters of BiH. The entity MoDs and entity military command was dissolved on the 1st of January 2006 in accordance with the regulations stipulated in the new Law on Defence of BiH and the new Law on Service in AFBiH.

From that date onward, a single state budget for defence was established. The expenses for defence have already been reduced for 55% since the year 2002.

All of these activities, along with others, have contributed to the invitation to BiH to join NATO's programme Partnership for Peace at the Summit in Riga on 29th November 2006, together with Serbia and Montenegro. After the signing of the General Document in Brussels on 14th December 2006. Bosnia and Herzegovina is officially taking part in this programme.

After the membership in the PfP, BiH submitted a Presentational Document expressing the willingness and eagerness of BiH to be fully included in the euro-atlantic system of collective defence. Following this, a Security Agreement was signed with NATO regarding the access and exchange of security intelligence.

For this purpose, BiH is required to submit an Individual Partnership Programme (Indivudualni partnerski program) in the framework of which clear definition and activities should be noted. Currently for BH, it is of utmost importance to select the most adequate activities bearing in mind financial and human resources limitations.

For successfully implementing all of the above named activities, in 2008 NATO Summit in Buchurest, BiH was granted the Intensified Dialogue with NATO.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



REACT 2008

---

*Mr. Jack Petri,  
Country Director,  
Jefferson Institute*

---

**NATO:**

**Partnership  
and MOD  
Development/  
Reform**



I would like to start with a bit of the history of the NATO Partnership business. NATO has come a long way in this business since the Rome Summit in 1991. The unstructured partnerships we were developing during that period have evolved substantially into the very structured programs we are familiar with as part of PfP today, which itself evolved from the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, or NACC process, the original structure for partnership.

In our coffee shop chatter at NATO in the early 1990s, those of us working most closely with the new Partner countries, would discuss where we thought the Partnership programs were going. For most of us that answer was clear – new NATO members – though this was neither common, nor a majority opinion at NATO at that time. We felt quite certain that the “new member” goal was what Sec Gen Manfred Woerner had in mind, though it was too early to make such statements openly. And so we tried to focus on how to get the Partners as involved in the affairs of NATO as possible.

At the time it proved easier to proceed through military partnerships, with peacekeeping and search and rescue missions being the missions of choice for cooperation. For a number of years these military focused activities made up the most active part of the Partnership, and eventually, the political side of the house became more and more involved in Partner activities, especially with the launch of the PfP program in early 1994. This resulted in greater inclusion of Partner countries in various NATO forums, as part of a multi-year process of PfP expansion.

As the years passed, the main arguments for not taking on new members died away, given the repeated highlighting of the Article 10 of the Washington Treaty, allowing for new members. At this point, the refinements in the PfP program were focused mostly on assisting Partners in the continued development or reforms of their, primarily defence and military systems, though Partner involvement in science and the environment and many other areas was growing markedly as well.

At one point, again in the early 90s, we felt that NATO should play a greater role in coordinating both NATO and NATO country assistance to Partner countries; as a result we developed a Clearinghouse role for NATO in such assistance. This decision was taken as we began to see that the multiple sources of donor assistance going into the countries was, in too many instances, not coordinated, and driving Partner staff elements to distraction. Not only were the multiple and often concurrent or overlapping donor delegations taking Partner staff away from their core work for much longer than was reasonable, it was literally preventing them from making better progress. It was not unusual to find 5 or 6 or more NATO nations advising or assisting a nation in a particular area, such as budgeting. The differences in defence budget planning among the countries were interesting enough, but the time demanded of MOD and military staff personnel, by these donor countries, was simply too much. In any event, it became clear that donor assistance was, more and more, managing the efforts of the defense and military staffs, rather than the other way around.

Hence, we implemented the Clearinghouse function, to solve the problem – and it was a failure from the start. The independent actions of the NATO nations were beyond our capacity or authority to pull together as it concerned Partner assistance. And so, we began to work more closely with the Partners to manage donor assistance themselves. But, in those days it was not easy to decline a NATO country offer of assistance – it is no easier today. But it was clear that if the Partner country was going to make the best possible progress in the development and/or reform of their systems, they would clearly have to more effectively manage donor assistance.

Another problem that we at NATO found difficult to deal with took some time to recognize, and to admit – that NATO countries, generally, were not particularly well suited to the task of assisting the Partner countries; certainly not in the initial years of the Partnership. It was not a matter of the competence of the personnel coming in from the NATO country MODs and Armed Forces, the competence was uniformly very high. It was more a problem of understanding the audience. There were too many aspects of this problem to cover in these brief comments, so I will generalize by saying that we did not understand well enough the very real limits of the absorption capacity of our Partner country staffs. The general result of this was information overload on a fairly massive scale.

Too often our assistance teams were presenting information that was beyond the existing capacity of the staff, that is,

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





they were assuming the existence of a base of knowledge in systems or processes that were not yet created.

A little over eight years ago NATO acquired one of its most potent tools in assisting Partner countries – it acquired Partner countries. Today, the 10 newest members of NATO represent a body of experience in changing the nature of government that is probably unequalled on the globe. Collectively, they have likely experienced agreements associated with development and/or reform, with nations and organizations, of nearly every possible kind.

The experiences and lessons learned in the former PfP countries have very significant value for current PfP countries, especially the newest Partner countries. With all of this experience out there we should be able to at least be sure that our mistakes here are original, and not repeats from other countries.

But, of course, each country possesses its own set of unique circumstances and requirements that demand equally unique responses to the challenges they face.

### **Creating a Ministry of Defence**

I would now like to spend a few moments on the challenges of creating a MOD. Once again I return to some of the lessons learned by Partnership countries in the early '90s, as they put together their ministries of defence.

The first challenges of course were recruiting and training a staff. Especially for a small country with limited human resources to draw from, and few people with any serious knowledge of how a defence establishment functions in a democracy, these were formidable challenges. Individuals with good educations and especially those with English language skills were, early on, targeted by the private sector, which could offer much higher salaries. But, fortunately, over time, those with a desire to be present at the creation of newly established, democratic institutions came forward. Very few of them came for the money, for there was little of it to be had in government work.

Those that worked hard and developed the necessary skills and competence, found themselves rising through the ranks quickly. Within a dozen or so years, many were at the top levels of leadership in their ministries, with not a small number becoming ministers. To rise to such levels within a ministry in such a short period of time in a NATO or EU nation would have been nearly unheard of, and remains so. By now, in those countries that have become NATO and EU members, the situation has mostly changed; 12 or 15 years to top positions is the rare exception. For those who were on what we will call the 'ground floor' it was, perhaps, the opportunity of a lifetime; their names and accomplishments cemented into the history of the creation of their democratic systems.

But the early days of creating the MODs were full of challenges. Developing the knowledge of the staff was slow and tedious, in the face of ever mounting requirements.



The tasks involved in developing the legal and regulatory frameworks, the policies and procedures and systems necessary to make a MODs function were crucial in the early days of these MODs. Ministries had a role in drafting input to legislation regarding the responsibilities of the ministry; they had to develop regulations and directives that served as the foundation for how the ministries would conduct their business.

Sectors, departments and divisions all had to formulate their respective mission statements, policies and operating procedures, individual position descriptions had to be formulated so each person knew what it was, specifically, that he or she was expected to do in their position, what their responsibilities were. Strategy documents had to be developed; defence and military strategies, and the MODs were involved, with other ministries and agencies of government, in the development of National Security Strategies. Guidance documents had to be created to direct the efforts of the staff. Annual Defence Objectives or Annual Defence Planning Guidance were created; many countries developed an Armed Forces Plan to outline where the Armed Forces were headed in the decade or so ahead. The military had to formulate Annual Training Guidance that took into consideration the missions assigned to the Armed Forces in the National Security and Defence Strategies.

While all of these requirements had to be met, at the same time the Partnership countries became deeply involved with NATO, learning about how NATO worked, with ministry personnel, especially MFA and MOD personnel, attending an ever increasing number of meetings, conferences, and sessions at NATO and in other countries. There is much to learn about NATO, and this was especially so during this period, for NATO in the early '90s was in the process of major changes. The strategic direction of the Alliance was changing in significant ways, force structures across the NATO nations were being reduced dramatically, and NATO's military command structure and its components were changing, at times, from month to month.

As the opportunity for full membership in NATO approached, the governments of Partner countries had to increase their efforts to inform the public about the benefits of being a member of the Alliance. For most of these countries during that time, support for NATO membership was fairly robust, with the experience of the Cold War still quite strong. But in some countries, public approval was not a foregone conclusion, and the work that had to be done to develop this support among the populations was very significant.

Among the many systems that must be created in a MOD, high in priority are those associated with defence planning and budgeting, which are intertwined. In NATO and EU nations defence planning and budgeting require long term planning. Defence is much more sensitive to budget cuts than other government agencies, because a structural cut in a yearly budget has a multiplier effect over the long term.

Missions are assigned to the Armed Forces through documents such as the National Security and Defence Strategies. A budget is determined for defence; about 2% of GDP is generally mentioned as a reasonable effort provided that it is maintained in the coming years. The MOD must ensure that the AF can accomplish its assigned missions within this budget. If they cannot, this issue must be taken to the government, and ultimately to the parliament, to either adjust the mission requirements of the AF to conform to the amount of funding available, increase the budget, or accept a degradation in the AF ability to accomplish its assigned missions.

The high costs of personnel in the AF, high costs associated with the acquisition of military armaments and equipment, training, and participation in international missions, and costs associated with ensuring the interoperability of PfP armed forces with those of NATO nations are among many that require effective defence planning and budgeting systems. These are complicated systems requiring expert knowledge in MOD, and AF staffs, and developing this expertise takes many years.

The PfP program and especially the MAP stage, is there to prepare countries for NATO membership – that is the ultimate goal for countries desiring full membership. For other Partnership countries in transition to democratic systems, PfP assists their efforts in much the same way.

The process of development and/or reform has never been easy – never will be – and NATO has struggled with the challenges, just as former Partner countries struggled, and as current Partner countries continue to struggle with. But I think for the most part, collectively, we got it right.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



# REFLECT 2008

---

*Mr. Neven Kranjčec,  
Deputy Director NATO & PfP  
Department, Ministry of Defense, Croatia*

---

**Croatian  
experience  
on the road  
to NATO**

**L**adies and gentleman

It is a great pleasure to have an opportunity to give you this presentation today, here in this very specific and gorgeous environment.

## **From a policy decision to the objective**

Croatia expects to become a full-fledged member of NATO early next year.

In 1996, Croatia formally requested NATO membership. However, it has taken much more than a letter of request to earn the invitation to join NATO. It has been a long and sometimes difficult journey.

In the time span of 15 years Croatia's environment has changed significantly. Croatia has changed a lot, as well.

Croatia has gone through a complex process of defense transformation trying to develop a defense system that would be able to cope with security challenges of our times, and meet NATO membership requirements.

We have also done our best to prove that we do share NATO's security perceptions and that we are ready to contribute to NATO's priorities.

## **Defense transformation**

In 1996, still with deep scars from the war, Croatia expressed its intention to join NATO.

Shortly after, we mounted our first big-scale defense reform. In the transition from the wartime into a peacetime structure, it became obvious that the Armed Forces were not structured for peacetime challenges. These early defense reforms were mostly about downsizing the military and cutting down surplus weapons stocks. Our efforts were primarily resource driven, in an environment of pressing social and economic priorities. The lack of proper strategic guidance only contributed to the challenge.

It became obvious that, before taking any further steps and repeat mistakes or short-lived solutions of the previous attempts, we had to develop strategic documents. Few years later, Croatia had received expert help from bilateral partners. However, the valuable lessons and recommendations received were not fully implemented for they would require too painful changes for the time being.

Changes of the political landscape in 2000 eventually brought along some key legislative changes that boosted up the reform process. In 2000 we joined NATO's Partnership for Peace program. The first ever set of strategic documents was developed. The real, structured and organized preparations for NATO membership started with our embarking on PARP in 2001, and MAP a year latter.

As a recognized candidate for membership, and with Strategic Defense Review and Long Term Development Plan, Croatia has continued with the defense reform, trying to prepare its defense system for standards and requirements of NATO membership.

## **National security strategy**

Croatia's transition to democracy was in principle similar to the transitions of other central and eastern European countries which are today members of the EU and NATO. It was, however, delayed by the war and crisis in the last decade of the 20th century. Today, Croatia is a vibrant liberal democracy and a market economy. The

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





basic values of Croatian society are the same basic values of the Euro-Atlantic community of nations.

Croatian perspective of the world is very similar to that of NATO members, as is clearly visible not only from Croatian strategic documents, like the National Security Strategy, but also through practical steps which Croatia has been taking, i.e. through participation of Croatian Armed Forces in operation in Afghanistan and Croatian role in the region of South East Europe.

### Evolution

Allow me to return to the development of our relationship with NATO and preparation for the full fledged membership in the Alliance.

The first year of the Partnership was focused in two directions: the first – preparing our designated troop contributions for participation in NATO-led operations, focusing on interoperability.

And the second, much more important for us internally, democratic control of the armed forces and defence planning and budgeting. While very successful in democratic control and interoperability field, I believe we have more to do in the defence planning and budgeting area. In 2001, one year after becoming a PfP member, Croatia started Intensified Dialogue on membership issues with NATO; this was transitional period and introduction to next step – the MAP.

A year later, in 2002 Croatia was invited in MAP process. This is the key point where the role of the Partnership has changed dramatically with regards to our defence planning: This is the point where we start thinking and acting as an ally. We have produced first ANP and other ministries and agencies were included in process.

### Parp

Croatia started to participate in PARP from 2001. PARP help us to identify and evaluate forces and capabilities for combined training, exercises, operations with Allies and Partners. PARP is excellent assessment and advisory tool and it helps to prepare entire defence system for NATO membership.

Primary objective of our participation in PARP is introduction of NATO compatible force planning to our defence system. And of course second objective is to enhance the level of interoperability.

### Recommendation pc/fg 2008

Subsequently, Croatia accepted implementation of PG's: 26 at the beginning and 51 PG's today – 25 old and 26 new PGs. By signing accession protocols, these PGs become TARGETED FORCE GOALS. When Croatia becomes a member, these PGs become FORCE GOALS. This package defines the long-term contribution of Croatia as a member. PGs are in line with NATO's assessment of Croatian capabilities, based on the fair share of burden among allies, and on comparison with allies similar to Croatia.

This package provides for Croatian aim to reach NATO usability targets – 40% of the Army deployable (brigade + other declared units). PGs are one of the guidelines for the long-term development of capabilities of the Armed Forces, and will be considered while drafting our strategic planning documents.

These were centred around the development of interoperability but PARP has moved on considerably since then and has become a much more robust planning process. It aims to establish common views on the military requirements for the crisis management operations in which Allies and Partners will take part together and it aims to develop the capabilities needed for these operations.





## Defense transformation

One of the biggest challenges has been the acceptance of the collective defense concept in earnest. By doing this we had to radically change our force structure, cutting down on expensive, but not needed capabilities. Instead, we decided to invest into new, mostly expeditionary capabilities that could be used for common needs. At the same time we have had to learn to rely on help and assistance from other allies, if needed.

We formally redefined the missions of the Armed Forces, recognizing that they might be sent abroad in defense of national and Alliance's interests.

It has meant a great conceptual change, as well as change of figures. For example, only eight years ago we had an army of 44000 soldiers on the payroll, and a reserve 180 000, in 66 brigades. Today we talk of a military of 16000 professional soldiers, 6000 contract reserve, and 2 professional brigades.

We have started a pretty ambitious program of modernization, with a vision of developing a well trained, well equipped, mobile and deployable military, capable of contributing to a wide specter of NATO-led operations.

## Contribution to NATO's priorities

Practical contribution to NATO-led operations has also helped us earn the membership invitation. Croatia has participated in international operations out of the sense of solidarity. We want to take our fair share of risks and responsibilities in dealing with common security challenges.

Participation in operations represents a clear commitment to Alliance's priorities. Also, it proves that Croatia has developed capacity to contribute militarily.

Croatia participates in ISAF and NTM-Iraq. We also participate in Active Endeavor, though with no forces, but only in the exchange of maritime traffic information in the Adriatic. Croatia has also requested to join the KFOR operations.

Croatia has been participating in ISAF since 2003. We started quite modestly with a contingent of 50 military police officers. This year our contingent will grow to 300 soldiers who will be deployed in five locations on different tasks— guarding, monitoring and taking part in reconstruction projects, as well as training the Afghan National Army.

8  
2008  
REACT  
R





## Regional cooperation

Another way of contributing to Alliance's priorities is regional cooperation. It took us some time to fully embrace the opportunities of regional cooperation. One may argue that there is too big a number of regional initiatives, which frequently overlap in the areas of responsibilities and objectives, and usually compete for the same, limited funds.

However, all that regional cooperation initiatives do have an immense value, as they increase transparency in defense matters, and strengthen confidence and mutual trust. They frequently create mechanisms and opportunities that bring together local experience and knowledge, on the one hand, and outside expertise, assistance and resources, on the other.

There is one particular initiative that I would like to point out: the US-Adriatic Charter. It should be seen as a real success story.

The original objective of the A3 initiative, as it is better known, was to have all the candidates for NATO membership together, and keep them on the right track of preparations for NATO membership. Soon the initiative proved to a good venue to foster regional cooperation. In frequent high level and expert meetings the three countries of the region, together with the US, discussed very similar challenges of defense reforms and consult about security challenges of the region. As the A3 initiative has shown potentials and features attractive to other countries from the region, all the members have decided that the A3 should continue even after some of the current member joins NATO. As far as Croatia is concerned, we welcome new members into the A3.

## To a full-fledged membership

What is ahead of us on the way to NATO membership? Croatia received the invitation to NATO in Bucharest. Croatia completed two rounds of very formal accession talks with NATO, covering political, defense, legal, security, and resource issues. NATO members signed the Accession Protocol, and by that they formally adapted the Washington Treaty, recognizing Croatia (and Albania) as a new member. Now, it has to be ratified in by the parliaments of all NATO member countries, and at the end of that process, it has to be adopted by Croatian parliament. We hope that process will be completed by the next NATO summit, which is scheduled at the end of April next year.

The signing of the Accession protocol marked the point after which Croatia could participate in almost all NATO bodies. We could take part in discussion on all issues on the agenda, however with no formal right in decision making.



What I have just described is only a formal part of the accession story for Croatia. Croatian membership is in no way a completed and guaranteed outcome. Croatia must continue to prove that it deserves the membership.

There is still a long way to go. We will have to invest additional efforts and continue with a meaningful transformation of our defense system. If we want to actively participate in NATO's activities, our decision-making process will have to be adjusted with the norms and practices of other NATO countries. It has to become much simpler and faster.

Our national defense planning cannot be conducted in parallel to defense planning for NATO needs. The two processes must merge and work in synergy.

Also, in order to complete the modernization of our Military we will have to reach and maintain our defense budget at the level of 2% of the GDP. That is, we hope, the right balance between the needs of our defense system and what would present the acceptable burden on the society. Also, we hope we will be able to reach a better internal distribution of defense budget by investing more in modernization, as well as operation and maintenance.

There is always to be a question whether we have built a right-sized military, and whether there is enough room (and resources) to pursue a well balanced force structure with capabilities for a wide spectrum of defense missions, or to go after development of specific capabilities that would make our military better suited for some, but not for all missions.

The real focus will be put on developing the capabilities for missions of tomorrow: crisis response and peace support operations.

## Way ahead

In terms of reforming and adapting our defense system to new security realities, there will be almost no visible and crucial changes after we join NATO. We will continue with reforming our military and the entire defense system.

Until now, the focus of our defense reforms has been downsizing and rationalization. We have tried to reach the key political and military standards that would make us a front-runner for NATO membership.

Transformation of our defense system cannot be an ad hoc or an occasional project. Transformation must not be understood as an end state, but as a process, in which we pursue new capabilities to meet tomorrow's threats as well as those of today.

The focus of tomorrow for Croatia will be modernization of our forces and their full integration into NATO. Our NATO friends say that process may be extended well into the next decade.

Our new Long Term Development Plan, covering the next ten years, is due in 2010. It will be developed from a new perspective of a NATO member and with new experience and lessons learned from our participation in peace support operations. The new LTDP will have to answer some difficult questions of a new force structure.

*I strongly believe that security of our countries in the region is in our own hands. Security, stability and the wellbeing of our nations depend on the continued democratic transformation of our countries, including defense and security sector reforms.*

*Regional cooperation can only help in that regard, as the cooperation mechanisms and opportunities of regional initiatives directly foster confidence, transparency and better understanding—all that being the key building blocks for better neighborly relations.*

*I also believe that Euro-Atlantic integration may be an important impetus for the countries in the region that have chosen the path of the full integration in Europe and NATO.*

*Croatia is committed to take the full benefit from regional cooperation through exchange of experience and expertise, providing assistance, and consultation on important common security issues.*

8  
0  
0  
2  
0  
0  
8  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



REACT 2008

*PhD Mladen Nakić, Department for  
political analysis, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs and European Integrations, Croatia*

**What is the  
added value  
that Balkans  
countries can  
bring with  
their  
membership  
to NATO  
in the future**



**R**aising general question on mutual relations between Alliance and its future members, another crucial question couldn't be avoided. What's the quality value that new ally should bring to Alliance? Because, each alliance implied mutual relations that include rights, obligations and sharing responsibility for risk.

## 1. What alliance really means?

Historically speaking, alliances are usually created as a protection from various forms of threats, either to prevent it or just to survive. However, each form of security alliance is not immune to regular and continued evaluations. It is connected with individual contribution inside alliance; the price paid by state-member is expected to be in correlation with cost benefits. The states are usually lean towards alliance when they are facing serious threat to its security or their particular national interest. Speaking of NATO itself and leading role of United States, some of American experts think that States should be more focused on reliable allies who are capable enough to be partner on regional or global level.

Alliance implied reciprocated relations of giving and receiving. In other words, this mean cost sharing model to minimize potential risk as a part of alliance treaty.

Regardless of how we discussing alliance, there are two main elements for better understanding. First element is security as our reaction on any possible direct or indirect exposed threat or just as a part of preventive strategy even if no real and imminent threat exists.

Second understanding of security is feeling of general insecurity as a result of globalization process and its negative consequences that currently prevailed. War on global terrorism can rouse general perception of “stable insecurity”.

In that context we should analyze regional security and their endeavouring to provide its own security assisted by NATO membership as guarantee for stability and prosperity.

## 2. Crucial moments in late 80's and 90's

The alliance between United States and European countries was result of Cold War period caused by threat of communist ideology and its necessity to be deterred. The Alliance has survived even the reasons caused its establishment had disappeared. New reasons for its existence have been found as new threats had exposed to their mutual interests, democratic values and traditions.

End of 80's and 90's of last century was crucial period in NATO's transformation process. Tragic events in our region were part of those processes as well. Collapse of Warsaw Pact and end of cold war bipolarity were basically beginning process of debates whether to redefine future mission and role of Alliance or simply leave NATO to become part of history.

Those critics tried to offer explanation that reasons for NATO existence has already gone and there are no other reasonable reasons to keep NATO alive. The argument was that international relations have basically changed and there is no more threat to Western values and democratic institutions caused by bipolar ideologically divided world. Political map of Europe has drastically changed. Some countries disappeared from the earth, and as a result of disintegration of some others, several new countries were reborn.

In such a newly changed political environment NATO had to find strong and undoubted argument to provide its future existence. The Balkan's imperialistic wars in early 90's were, politically speaking, directly part of solution for defining new Alliance's mission. Unlike its previous defensive task, NATO in new political reality rather

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





became an offensive alliance for the first time in its history operates outside county-members territory.

As a matter of fact, debates on NATO's future took place simultaneously with the collapse of the ex Yugoslav Federation in 1991. The true is that the tragic war in our region was not on the top of agenda at that time. However, involvement of United States, Europe and international community to stop the war in the region had clear impact on NATO's future. Indeed, those events in ex Yugoslavia area has opened maneuver for NATO's new mission. Alliance was more focused on security element than its defensive character. Nevertheless, Article 5. of the North Atlantic Treaty still remained as the most visible part of it and continue to be its brand.

NATO engagement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and then in Kosovo and over Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro at that time) basically indicated beginning of NATO redefinition role and mission process in newly changed political environment.

On the other side, countries in the region went through extremely turbulent period when most of their political elites have emphasized importance of being part of strengthened security integration process in foreseen future. At that time, for the most of those regional countries NATO was salutary way out, but something that was not possible to institutionally realize at once.

At the beginning of 90's NATO hasn't started its transformation yet and couldn't be ready mission-operated to prevent or at least stop the wars and ethnic conflicts, neither politically nor operationally. It would be unrealistically to expect clear-mandated political and military action at that time particularly while Alliance was searching for its own purport and future continuance. Speaking openly, the area of ex Yugoslavia was experimental polygon to provide the continuation of NATO mission with new tasks. First historical decision was political and military engagement of NATO's countries outside its territory. This implied very clear message announcing Alliance's broader security tasks in Europe. Following political changes in Europe in 90's and particularly after 9/11 terrorist attacks, Article 5. is reconsidered more flexible and in a way to recognize NATO as primarily security alliance and upon that defensive organization. NATO mission in Afghanistan was a second historical step towards transforming NATO into global security organization with mandate to allow its country-members to operate worldwide.

### 3. Transatlantism and NATO's Redefined Mission

NATO mission and role has obviously changed, but this wasn't followed by serious discussions on basic principles that NATO had founded sixty years ago. President Clinton has initiated transformation Alliance from



defensive organization to something that should be ready to politically and militarily act towards outside. The only explanation is undivided attitude of member-countries to change the Alliance because of very clear and drastic changes in international relations. Some critics of “new” NATO and its redefined mission consider it something that is opposite to spirit and meaning of North Atlantic Treaty. They think all these changes are result under influence of the United States and its war on global terrorism or even more, as lengthened tools for its modern imperialism. On the contrary, supporters of the new NATO emphasize importance of consensus as current decision-making principle.

War in Iraq and unwilling of most Alliance to follow USA and participate in combat, is relevant indicator that individual interests are not prevailed. Decision-making process based on consensus confirms its far-sightedness of founders to avoid any mismanage. Justifying global engagement on Afghanistan case, NATO supporters imply positive role based on UN Security Council resolutions (decisions) as a top collective security authority.

It is important to emphasize that consensus is a key issue of NATO future principled functioning. There is no doubt about NATO engagement in providing peace and security worldwide, therefore it is crucial on what political and organizational basis the Alliance will be existing. On the other hand, consensus is the visible tool to provide fundamental equality. Small and less powerful allies should have an equal footing and their voice need to be recognized in decision-making process.

The ideas of transatlantic values and democratic traditions are strong and historical improved inside Alliance. However, alliance doesn't mean lack of challenges. Technological gap between United States and the rest of European ally is getting more serious. United States spend approx. 4% of its GDP for military while the average of Canada and European ally is 1.8%. Just a few NATO countries spend above this average (Rumania, Turkey, Greece, Great Britain and France spend on military between 2% and 3% of its national GDP).

Speaking of military manpower, Europe has 2 million soldiers, but only 3% of them are mission-ready to take full range of combat challenges.

#### **4. Does NATO need regional countries as much as they need Alliance, or vice versa?**

Answering the question what the region can give to Alliance in the future, let see a few facts.

First, positive and encouraging fact is readiness of each country and their relevant political parties in the region to officially come out for joining NATO and EU as a clear way to continue European integrations policy. Obviously, political elites in the region have no doubt on what option need to be chose to build future for its own nations and citizens.

Stability and security of entire region is top priority and key words that prevail among most of politicians and ordinary people. For them, NATO and EU membership is recognized as a strong guarantee to avoid being imperiled, as it was case in the past.

Second, after wars we witnessed in the region, it is expected that general public opinion oppose any irrational political pamphlets as alternative for prosperity and safe future based on modern democratic system. This certainly includes respecting individual human rights as well as the rights of ethnic community and minority.

Third, the lessons learned from the Balkans wars provide additional argument of regional awareness of its recent tragic experience and future efforts to manage intractable regional conflict. Historically, the Balkans was traditionally black spot on European political map. These generations have historical chance and responsibility to make the Balkans more positive and desirable place to live.

On the other side, it wouldn't be politically acceptable to take any single future membership exclusively to provide manpower for combat in NATO's future mission. It is understandable to share responsibility for risk as a part of alliance, but any membership-quality evaluation should be based on different criteria such as credibility or reliability.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



Emphasizing and strengthening preventive measures is one the most crucial element to ensure stability and peace in international relations without ethnic conflict.

The region has chance to contribute with its own stability as best possible way to increase security level of entire Europe.

## 5. Preconditions for long-lasting Stability and Prosperity in SEE

After years of intermittent hostilities, to think positively we have to believe in the future, but before that we have to better, unburdened and completely understand our recent history. Sometimes is not easy to admit our own mistakes, sometimes we misjudge ourselves, but we all know that our character and personality need to be based on our personal capacity and readiness for self-criticism.

Many tragedies had happened in 90's and many personal scars have left unhappy faces and it will take some time, but what we need right now is smart and wisdom political elites. They should offer more initiatives and willing for moral recovery and even more, to rebuild regional renaissance. People could be misled or carried away by massive delirium of irrational political ideas and even follow them, but people could not be responsible for collective guilt.

For that reasons every thing, phenomenon or event need to be called exact name as a precondition for general stabilization of entire region. Responsibility for war crimes has its concrete name, time and place. Those who are responsible should be brought to justice with no matter how wrong public perception they have built in community where they live. Justice should be key word with only possible universal meaning.

### Conclusion

These generations are experienced with many challenges followed by wars and tragedy that left behind a terrible legacy of physical ruin and psychological devastation, but those same generations have chance to finally close this chapter. There is no doubt that entire region and each single country has much to offer as a future ally, but that relations must include reciprocity on principal basis.

Alliance means more security and less instability in future. If the Balkans countries accept this simple formula as its own, they have clear way to NATO to participate in building secure and stable Europe after decades of wars and crisis.







# REACT 2008



REACTION 2008

---

*Mr. Kristaq Birbo,  
Secretary Executive of the Atlantic  
Council of Albania*

---

**Importance  
and role of  
ATA in  
development  
of the idea of  
Euro- Atlantic  
integration**

**D**ear friends,

Thank you very much for the invitation and for the opportunity to speak about the importance and the role of the Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA) in development of the idea of Euro- Atlantic integration.

For fifty-four years the ATA has served as the leading transatlantic non-governmental organisation promoting public support for the institutions that bring together people of the North Atlantic Alliance. ATA is the umbrella organisation for the 42 Atlantic councils, which work in each of NATO's member states and in the Partnership for Peace countries.

The Atlantic Treaty Association was established with the approval of its constitution, in Hague, on June 18, 1954. In the years following the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, organizations in NATO member countries emerged to help advance the public's understanding of NATO's increasingly important role in international affairs.

From its formation, and until the late 1980s, the ATA played a key role in furthering public debate and discussion related to NATO's Cold War activities.

However, after the Cold War the ATA's role was ripe for change. This change brought about a rapid expansion of the ATA's Membership and Associate Membership – Following an early application for membership by the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria in 1992 the ATA Constitution was amended to accommodate associate members and observers from non-NATO countries. Given the shifting nature of security politics, and NATO's continued transformation, the ATA now works beyond the borders of the Euro-Atlantic – promoting new initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the South Caucasus. Following the ascension of the new NATO countries, the ATA membership expanded considerably, and naturally its security focus has shifted eastward.

Almost all partner countries have established their own national Atlantic Committees. Through its work in NATO programs, the ATA remains a leading transatlantic NGO in the 21st century.

The ATA is fully engaged in supporting democracy and security through dialogue in the Euro-Atlantic area and beyond.

### **The ATA aims to:**

- Promote the values set forth in the North Atlantic Treaty.
- Educate and inform the public regarding NATO's missions and responsibilities.
- Promote democracy.
- Promote the solidarity of the populations of the North Atlantic area, of those whose governments have signed NATO PfP or Mediterranean Dialogue Agreements, and those who are directly concerned with the affairs of Euro-Atlantic security.
- Support the development of civil society in the Black Sea area and the Caucasus.
- Conduct research into the role of NATO, and its expansion to the countries of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.
- Pursue a dialogue with countries bordering the Mediterranean and in the Middle East which work in cooperation with the Alliance.
- Deepen cooperation between the ATA, its Member Associations, the governments of its Member Associations, NATO, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, and the EU.
- Foster debate and dialogue in an effort to create a solid understanding of key Alliance issues.
- Engage civil society groups which support peace, security, and broad democratic practices.
- Facilitate the development of strong relationships among its Members in an effort to realize common interest, and achieve common goals.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



# REACT 2008



How does the ATA and its national Committees and Associations implement this challenging task?

Above all, we seek to educate public opinion at home and abroad, increasing public awareness and bringing people together. To that end, we organize civic activities such as conferences, seminars, lectures and debates to orient public opinion, as well as various publishing activities.

The exchange of information and ideas between the national Committees is essential to achieving a better understanding of the economic, social and political factors that influence nations' policies and actions. This improved awareness of each country's concerns and priorities is what enables allies and partners to cooperate effectively and take decisions and actions based on consensus.

The national Atlantic Treaty Associations and Committees are ideal conduits for transmitting the public's perceptions to the nation's leaders, on the one hand, and helping the government to better explain its policies to the public, on the other. As non-governmental organizations that promote the values of democracy and solidarity between people, these Associations can also influence the policy-making process both nationally and internationally.

Moreover, the Atlantic Treaty Associations can broaden the coalition of different forces working for the same purpose among representatives of government, political forces and other actors such as scientists, experts and the public. In this way, the Associations give a new perspective to their governments' policies on security and defense issues.

The ATA has organized a lot of activities for the integration of the countries of our region into Euro-Atlantic organizations. You know very well that after the collapse of the totalitarian regime our governments needed to resolve several problems in different areas. It was necessary to make reforms in legislation, education, building democratic institutions, improve public administration, promote good-neighboring relations, reform in defense sector and democratic control in Armed Forces, etc.

All these issue has been in the center of the ATA and the national Atlantic councils in finding the best solutions, to accelerate the democratization process on the path of NATO and EU accession. Only during these last 5 years, in the Western Balkan countries were organized more than 100 activities on the topic above mentioned.

These activities served also to promote our common values, to oblige our governments to take the necessary measures fighting the corruption, the organized crime and other negative phenomena's that are coexistent with transition process.

Recently one of the main directions of the ATA's work has been the integration of the Adriatic-Charter countries, Albania, Croatia and Macedonia into NATO. In this framework ATA has planed and organized several



international conferences, seminars, workshops and different others activities. All this activities served as a useful mean in order to make known the achievements of those countries on the reforms undertaken towards NATO integration. In November of the last year, on his 53-th General Assembly, held in Canada, the ATA launched an official declaration for the accession of the three countries into NATO.

It is necessary to stress out the fact that ATA and the national Atlantic councils, in all their activities organized in the recent years, treated the issue of the solution of Kosovo status as a very important question for the stabilization and the peace in our region.

The transformed 21st century NATO is a critically useful tool for the threats and challenges of a more complex and demanding world. In this framework the role of Atlantic Treaty Organizations is equally vital. Because of the help to maintain the public's awareness of NATO, the transformation it is going through, and the activities it undertakes.

The Atlantic Treaty Association has been serving the cause of peace and freedom for many years through its educational activities and programs of support for the Alliance. ATA and its national Committees and Associations have worked relentlessly to inform the public of the crucial role played by NATO in maintaining peace and stability in Europe, and to explain the significance of the challenging security agenda we face. Without strong public support NATO's future would be at risk not for want of a role or tasks, but because public recognition and support are essential to the long-term survival of any such organization in a democratic society.

However, our goal is clear: we have to defend the peace and freedom that we enjoy today so that democracy will be secure across the Euro-Atlantic community tomorrow. At the same time, in providing future generations with a stable, secure and peaceful environment, we must maintain the right balance between the preservation of our different national or cultural identities and the accelerating integration process which is taking place in today's global village.

To this end, our Association will do everything possible to promote cooperation and confidence between the nations and peoples of the Euro-Atlantic area in order to be able to enjoy life in a secure environment free from the threats and risks which led to the conflicts and wars of the past.

For the first time after more than 100 year of turmoil, Albania and almost the whole region of the southeast Europe can prosper and develop directing most of the resources toward the economic, social and democracy environment. The stability and security that the region is experiencing in the last decade is a result of many factors but the most important one is the advancement on the field of security. The region of Balkan had surpassed the denomination like the powder keg of Europe and is creating a full profile as a righteous member of European and North Atlantic Alliance family. To this end, among others, the role of the North Atlantic Alliance and ATA has been very important.

At the same time, for the ATA there is a vital need to engage a younger generation of leaders, present and future, on both sides of the Atlantic. It does this through the activities of the Youth Atlantic Treaty Association, (YATA) which is the umbrella organization for a network of young and politically motivated leaders in 38 countries throughout the Euro-Atlantic. In conjunction with the Atlantic Treaty Association, YATA strives to build civil society support for NATO and transatlantic cooperation.

YATA is officially part of the ATA, however, it organizes independent activities through its own body of elected officials.

#### **YATA aims to:**

- Develop and maintain a strong network of responsible future political leaders.
- Promote cooperation among the youth from NATO Member Countries, NATO Partnership for Peace Countries, and NATO Observer Countries.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



- Educate and inform the public on international security affairs.
- Engage young leaders in promoting the importance of the transatlantic security relationship, while simultaneously helping to shape its future.
- Deepen cooperation with other international organizations in an effort to generate debate regarding the role of key security institutions, such as: NATO, the EU, the OSCE, the UN, and the Council of Europe.
- Encourage research into the role of NATO.
- Support the activities of the ATA.

YATA places a strong emphasis on educational programs involving the successor generation of Euro-Atlantic leaders. As such, YATA is fully dedicated to engaging the youth of the Euro-Atlantic through close cooperation. The Youth Atlantic Treaty Association organizes a range of conferences and seminars in cooperation with its national associations and the ATA. Through discussion and political channels, YATA acts as a forum for debate in which member associations can realize common interests and democratic goals in the security environment of the 21st century.

The Youth Atlantic Treaty Association firmly believes in the strength of the transatlantic relationship – one which is fundamental to the stability of the international system in the 21st century. As such, YATA remains instrumental in bridging values from both sides of the Atlantic in its effort to underpin the broader goals of the NATO Alliance. We believe that meaningful debate and discussion are powerful ways by which to bridge gaps and build cross-cultural networks among youth in the Euro-Atlantic and beyond.

The ATA has during the last four years been active in launching and developing the Network on Common Security in Central and South Eastern Europe, the so-called Balkan Mosaic Network which includes an NGO Network, a research Institutes Network and a future Leaders' Network. In this process the ATA works together with the Atlantic and Euro-Atlantic organizations in Montenegro, Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia. The three networks deal with the following activities;

1. Conflict prevention and Crisis management
2. Defense and Security sector reform
3. Social-Economic cohesion
4. Strengthening the rule of law
5. Border security and management
6. Control and eliminating the small and light weapons
7. Terrorism
8. Environment

And now a few words about the Atlantic Council of Albania

Atlantic Council of Albania was found in June 4, 1994 from a group of politicians, intellectuals and young people. His first President was elected Mr. Alfred Moisiu who in 2002 was elected President of the Republic of Albania..

25 In May 22, 1995, Atlantic Council of Albania (ACA) became member of Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA).

In 2002 the Steering Committee elected as President of ACA. Dr. Arian Starova, Foreign Minister of FA and MP.

ACA has his Steering Committee composed of 27 people, the bureau of 5 members, scientist board with 9 members and its branches spread through the country.

The main activity of ACA traditionally is the annual international conference. Until now have been submitted 12 conferences with a large participation of the highest personalities of the country, representatives from all the political parties, high officials from NATO, representatives from the Atlantic Councils of the others countries, Diplomatic Corps, well-known experts of different fields, young people etc.





ACA has also organized five annual conferences in the framework of the education with the euro Atlantic values and the role of the media in this direction. Besides it has organized two surveys of the public opinion regarding to support of the Albanian people for NATO integration and other issues.

ACA has widely published its activities, particularly the annual books with the materials of annual international conferences and others and you can find some of this publication in the hall.

The schedule of the activities is very intensive. The most important priorities of Atlantic Council of Albania on the way ahead for the full membership to the Alliance have been the efforts to meet democratic standards, reduce corruption, fight against organized crime, implement judicial and electoral reforms, improve public administration, promote good-neighboring relations and the reform in defense sector.

After the accession of the Albania in NATO, our Council, is undertaking some studies over the challenges to be faced in order to be full member in the occasion of the 60-th anniversary of the Alliance next year.

Thank you very much for your attention.

# 8 2008 E A C T 2 0 0 8 R



REACT 2008

---

*PhD. Ivan Masulovic  
The Minister's Safety Advisor,  
Assistant professor*

---

# **Terrorism and tourism**

**H**istory of human society, among other issues, is characterized also by a systematic usage of violence, that is to say, an illegal usage of force for extortion of certain behavior of people contrary to their will. Violence presence indicates to existence of irreconcilable social conflicts that tend to be solved by violence. On the other side, there is a presence of violence that from the aspect of the governing class is treated as unavoidable forcing. The condition that violence (an illegal usage of force) in a society can be prevented only by violence (a legal usage of force) shows deep roots of violence that survive in a society only because of deep interests conflicts. An increase of violence and violent behavior became the basic social but the world problem, as well, in almost all areas.\*

Starting from the essence of this dangerous phenomena, it can be concluded that violence in the sense of coverage of the modern society, on active or passive way, in the existing conditions of the international relations, is not possible to be avoided absolutely and completely, that is to say, completely overcome.\* Generally speaking, violence toward citizens in peace has been applied the most intensively through terror and terrorism. Terrorism is a global occurrence in whose base political, economic, social and religious motives are. Though, basically, the issue is only about one of ways of political violence, terrorism in modern conditions represents multidimensional political phenomena and certainly the most significant challenge whether we talk about the state and its organs whether we talk about the international community.

Judging by that, terrorism, mostly, in doctrine sense is defined as organized and systematic application of violence with the aim of, causing fear and personal insecurity of citizens, disorganizing the state's authority or realization of some political intention. In that sense, terrorism is an application of direct and organized violence of certain group ready to impose its will to a country and society even on physical way, including assassinations, kidnapping and murder and ready to use a psychological terror of mass because of causing fear and personal insecurity, qualm and apathy. Contrary to this, despite of several unsuccessful attempts, penal legal term of terrorism is not on a single-meaning way defined even in national legislation, and especially in comparative and international law.\* All above stated indicates and confirms "generally known complex structure of this subject, that is to say, the modern phenomena while the influence itself on development of current tourism even beside its complexity is multidimensional, very complicated with multiple consequences not only for the mentioned economy area but for a society in general.

According to its economic, sociological, psychological, political and other connotations tourism almost has no counterpart in some other occurrence or phenomena in the modern world. Also, it is unquestioned that tourism phenomena in XX century got global dimensions because there is no country in bigger or smaller degree that does not develop domestic or foreign tourism. The basic characteristic of modern tourism is mass culture in sense of extremely big number of participants of tourist trips. Based on experts' estimations in domestic and international tourist trips on same way even 3.5 billion of people participate.

\*Savic A., Global Safety and Terrorism, Science, Security, Police (NBP), Belgrade, 2005.

\*Masulovic I., „NSA and terrorism”, Perjanik, Podgorica, No.11/2000.

\*Masulovic I., „Tourism and Terrorism (I-II)”, FPM Bar, Pobjeda, 2006.

Otherwise, tourism is defined as a diverse economic activity that consists of different economic and non-economic activities which all together participate in satisfying of needs of domestic and foreign tourists.\* In that sense, tourism is one complicated system made of bigger number of sub-systems. Besides that, tourism is not specially separated economic activity, like, for example, industry, agriculture and similar.

When it comes to its economic aspect, it is often talked about tourism as activities and influences that produce traveling in domestic and international range whose characteristics are big degree of elasticity of demand and

# 8 0 0 2 T C A E R





non-elasticity of offer, an expressed season character of business and specific nature when it comes to work production. Finally, as an economic activity, tourism is at the same time also very significant and especially sensitive on taste change and exterior danger. As an economic activity, tourism is significant in sense of employment increase and incomes that originate from it directly or indirectly (traffic incomes, out-of-boarding-house spending etc.) It is known that until 1990, tourism incomes on global level were more than 200 billion of dollars and that that year compared to 1987 were increased even for 20 %. The same year, more than 400 million of tourist visits were registered in the world. For forecasting of tourists' attitudes when it comes to tourist season planning information are needed, the ones on degree of knowledge of a potential country destination of tourists but also about sources of their knowledge and significance of those sources for tourists' choice.

This is because tourism is extremely sensitive, especially when it comes to exterior dangers. In that sense, it is evident that tourist activities can be influenced seriously by real or potentially political violence. Tourists' fear from terrorism otherwise is disproportioned to real danger. Statistics show that a number of tourists that died in terrorist actions on global level is far lower than a number of dead victims in accidents, criminal assaults, etc. However, that number has been increasing during years, especially since the Islamic terrorists started attacking hotels and other tourist objects as "soft targets".

Among the terrorist organizations and groups that most often attack tourist targets, ideological (ultra-left-winger), ethno-separatist and the Islamist-fundamental elements are noticed. All of them think that by destruction of tourism they undermine the governing "repressive", "occupation", that is to say, "unholy" regimes. In fact, for all of them, attack on tourism with non-discrimination choice of direct victims is an optimal, wise usage of violence with an aim of causing political reaction and so-called propaganda by action.\*

After 11th September 2001, tourism has been more than ever a target of terrorists, first of all, the Islamic-fundamental ones. The most recent examples for that are London, Madrid, Kusadasi and Cesme in Turkey, Luxor, Taba and Sharm-al-Sheikh in Egypt etc.

The Islamic terrorists attack also other tourist destinations in the world. Speaking of that, in bomb explosion in a night-club in Indonesian island of Bali, on 12th October 2002, more than 200 people were killed, among whom the biggest number of the Australians. This action's organizer is Al-Qaeda which realized two aims with this: tourism sabotage in Bali which symbolizes capitalism and globalism and parallel hit of many foreigners from "unholy" countries concentrated on one place. In repeated attack in Bali from October 2005, another 20 people were killed and 148 of them wounded among whom there were again many foreign tourists, in a series of



explosions in the Egyptian tourist centre Sharm-al-Sheik in summer 2005, 88 people were killed and wounded and hurt several hundred of people among whom there were many foreign tourists. Consequences of this assault to the Egyptian tourism which is the main source of foreign currency incomes of the country is a loss that is estimated to be more than two billion of dollars. The loss is even bigger if it is known that total tourist economy of Egypt in 2004

\*Bakic Ognjen, Marketing in Tourism, Belgrade, Faculty of Economy, 2003.

\*Ryan Chris, Tourism, Terrorism and Violence: The risks of wider world travel, research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, Milwaukee, USA, 1991.

brought 6.6 billion of dollars and that in the same year this country was visited by eight million of people. That number is an impressive one having in mind that during last years, after a famous assassination of more than 60 foreign tourists in Luxor, a number of tourist visits to Egypt was drastically decreasing. It is obvious that there is a campaign of the Islamic terrorists against tourism what can be seen by bomb attacks in seaside of Taba and Nuveiba in Sinai from October 2004 when 34 people were killed and a series of explosions in Cairo from April 2005 when foreign tourists died also.

The Islamic terrorists that by middle of 2005 in London performed a series of explosions in underground and on bus lines seriously questioned a reputation of London as an attractive and safe tourist destination. The Crisis Group of the British Tourist Industry estimates that economic sector could register a decrease of a half of billion of dollars during 2005 when it comes to incomes from foreign tourists. Namely, it is known that London is cross-roads for tourists that travel to another part of Great Britain and itself attracts a half of foreign tourists. Besides, it is being estimated that a big damage will be faced by trade also, because that was shown as one of the consequences of terrorist attacks to other metropolises, as well. For example, it estimated that after attacks to train stations in Madrid, on 11th March 2004, Madrid needed six months to recover while New York after attacks on 11th September 2001 needed even 18 months for that.

Terrorist attack in Turkey, in Cesme and Kusadasi seaside were done by the Kurd separatists of the group connected to Workers' Party of Kurdistan (WPK) who are lead in this by already used tactic of Baskia separatists of Spain. This tactic has been constantly applied even since 1983 with the aim of creating harm in constantly more significant tourist economy of the country. This is from the reason that tourism in the total Turkish economy participates with almost 6 % and employs more workers than any other area of industry except for construction. On the other side, last years especially Istanbul (2005, 2006, and 2008) has been targeted by militant Islamists, the city which with its 12 million inhabitants and in a tourist sense attractive offer for tourist industry of Turkey is the same as London for Great Britain. However, it should remind that in near future Istanbul, on several occasions has been a target of terrorist attacks which were organized by organizations and ultra-left-winged groups. (Devsol, TIKKO, MLKP)

As one of the most recent examples of mutual influence of terrorism onto tourism, and how and how much tourists, that is to say, a tourist economy are "desirable" target for terrorists, are the attacks that happened at the end of August 2006 in Turkey. Namely, in several synchronized actions in tourist sea-sides, terrorists within 24 hours activated several explosive devices on different locations in Turkey (Antalia, Marmas and Istanbul ) in which four people died and more than 100 people were wounded (mostly the English, Russians, Germans, Israeli and Turks). Also, within the mentioned terrorist attacks, security services of Turkey prevented the fourth attack that should have been performed in the port town of Ismir based on the same scenario. On that occasion, several people were arrested, the ones that were in the same organization at whom bigger quantity of weapon and plastic explosive planned for terrorist actions was found.

Soon after the attack, an extremist terrorist organization TAK – The Kurdistan Freedom Eagles, made an announcement that overtook a responsibility for explosions. Further, the investigation established that TAK is connected to the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (WPK) whose aim is independence and segregation from Turkey.\*

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





After the attack, TAK sent a message that Turkey is instable and non-secure tourist destination and that tourists should not come into it. Unfortunately, financial effects created by this crisis were expected even more because in Turkey tourist industry is priority economic area 18 billion of Euros worth and which already in 2007 has been weakened due to regional instability and fear from bird flu, as well.

Terrorism, that is to say, the stated dangers and risks that endanger tourist economy globally, are a potential threat for Montenegro as a tourist destination, as well. Montenegro represents a very attractive tourist destination (according to WTC for 2007 it is among top X destinations in the world) which, only in season 2007 hosted more than one million of tourists with tendency of further growth of domestic and foreign guests. Due to openness of its borders-12 land border crosses, six water ones and two air ports, with simple and fast control, good pre-conditions for even higher quality tourism have been created (for example, only in July 2006, at the airport of Tivat 1.207 planes landed and took off with almost 140.000 passengers in them, and in 2007, for almost 33% more.)

Based on that and having in mind significance and visit of all tourist resources, that is to say, coastal, congress, health, recreation, continental-winter, summer, mountain, eco-tourism, cultural etc., it is necessary, in that direction, to establish complete security system which will totally fulfill its function and in accordance with the National Security Strategy of Montenegro provide safety of all material and non-material goods on its territory. In accordance with the stated evaluations, depending on terrain, weather conditions, populations, objects and other specific sides of Montenegro, as well, and its tourist offer, depends in which degree it will increase, that is to say, decrease activity and which segments of security system will be engaged (coast guard, police, alpinist services, chopper escadrille, etc.)

Also, it would be very significant to adjust, to adopt strategy elements, that is to say, of the way of struggle against terrorism which is based and focused, beside other things, also to decrease of possible risk (like majority of countries of the Western Europe). Namely, over elements and mechanisms of complete security system (with an accent on prevention activities) it is influenced on threat decrease, and vulnerability decrease, as well, which observed in total, “creates”, forms risk decrease, and in this case from terrorist activities, that are directed to tourist economy and wider, as well.

From all above stated it can be concluded that economy resources of Montenegro, with an accent on tourist economy, have to be in security sense “covered” by professional evaluations of security services that, in harmony with realistic expectations, should be also adequately defined, so all potential non-wanted events could be prevented. Based on that, it is necessary for all security subjects (institutional and non-institutional ones), whether we talk about the ones in the country or out of it, to be connected mutually and to establish united subordination so they could respond adequately on increasing terrorism challenge in which the Montenegrin security system has already made a big step in accordance with all standards of modern democracies. Starting from familiar solutions adopted in the democratic world regarding establishment and functioning of different security sectors, Montenegro induced completely and institutionally different organizational security forms. By implementation of certain laws, existing sectors of the national and public security but of private security, as well, they became cooperatives and partners, but not rivals in area of prevention and suppressing of terrorist and other penal and punishable acts. In that sense, a big step was done in accordance to positive laws, in reorganization and management of the National Security Agency (an inheritor of former NSS of MIA of RM) that grew into a modern, according to all parameters referential intelligence service. Then, a big step was made in creation of Police Directorate (an inheritor of former PSS of MIA of RM), then reorganization of former Military Security Service that grew into modern service- Department for Defense Safety Activities , Communication and Crypto Protection and in the Ministry of Defense of Montenegro. A new organ of the state’s management was created, financial intelligence of administrative type, that is to say, Directorate for Prevention of Money Laundry and Terrorism Financing, and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro, instead of former ..... of FMIA – the state union of S&M, the service –Department of Informative-Security and Technical Support of this Ministry.



Starting from general tendency of uniting of efforts of the international community in struggle against terrorism, a coordination has been harmonized in Montenegro, whether we talk about the national or international level, that is to say, there is a recognition of need of action which is in accordance with the international standards, that is to say, coordination of all factors in struggle against terrorism – diplomatic, legal, safety, intelligence ones etc. – with the aim of realization of real and efficient cooperation of Montenegro with other countries and all relevant international factors in struggle against international terrorism (OUN, OSCE, Interpol, Europol etc.). In that context, it is very important to mention also a vanguard formation, that is to say, creation of the National Office of the Organ of the State Management that should in near future start full capacity activities within its authority based on the example of the most prominent EU countries.

From all above stated, it can be concluded that respecting the biggest positive legal laws and standards of the state of Montenegro, and using available tools in accordance to the same laws, a modernized and modern security system of Montenegro – has all pre-conditions to, in quality way and efficiently, participate as an equal partner in work with the national and international safety structures and to respond to all security challenges whether in the country or internationally.

Also, it is clear that security system of the state of Montenegro is ready to recognize that terrorism phenomena has not been happening somewhere else and to some other people, far away from us- Montenegro but that global struggle against terrorism is also our struggle and security protection with no regard to spatial and time distance. On that way, the state security system actively contributes to more efficient mutual cooperation with other security systems what represents a good recommendation and creates pre-conditions for successful accession to the European and Euro-Atlantic integrations and which is one of priority assignments and aims of the state of Montenegro.

\* Masulovic I., Safety System of Montenegro and terrorism – Papers' collection – The Review for Penal Law and Criminal Policy of Montenegro, Budva, 2008.

\* Simenunovic D., Political violence, Radnicka stampa, Belgrade, 1989.

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MONTENEGRO  
The Minister's Safety Advisor  
Assistant professor, PhD. Ivan Masulovic

\* Ryan Chris, Tourism, Terrorism and Violence: WPK called people of the same opinion to take fire arms in 1984 with the aim of creation of the homeland on the Kurd majority inhabited south-east of Turkey. Since then more than 30.000 people have died in violence



REACT 2008

*Radek Rajkovcevski,  
University "St. Climent Ohridski" – Bitola,  
Faculty of security – Skopje*

**Security  
culture as  
a part of  
national  
and NATO  
security  
systems**

**T**he values that are present in a society are a part of its culture as a reflection of the relations that exist amongst the elements in the community. They are not created over night, but they are built upon certain traditions and etiological factors of influences. Most frequently, the security, and the security culture embrace proactive measures, but this does not exclude the possibility of repression. It would be used in situations when the individual and collective values are jeopardized, but also when there is a certain risk for the interests of the society i.e. the state.

We can define security as a necessary and basic initiator of the processes in the society that provides the individual and the community to create and attribute for a better social and economical condition. When there is a risk for the sources of existence, the home or the environment where the human exists, we can say that his security is endangered a great deal.

All that man created is a part of his acting in the society. Security is an element of balance that sustains the human existence. Security has emerged in the same time with the creation of culture, during the forming of the human community when the man started building the first tools that were used for hunting, but also for his personal protection. The security culture was expressed in times of danger, risk or fear.

Security became a part of the culture of man's life as an adjustment of the condition he lives in.

### **About the term "safety culture"**

„The term security culture primarily means how to recognize threat and a jeopardy i.e. how most adequately to oppose or in best case possible, to avoid it. Security culture means nothing else but taking care for ourselves and our closest, for our surrounding and the material goods that we possess. It does not require special skills or extra investments (although it is recommended that we do sports because of the physical condition that we might need in a certain moment, and because of the health, too ) but it means doing our everyday activities with a larger dose of awareness. The golden rule of security culture is ALWAYS BE AWARE OF THE EVENTS AND THE PEOPLE AROUND YOURSELF!“<sup>1</sup>

Security culture is a part of the general culture of the human as an individual, the culture of the people in a certain surrounding and space i.e. the society in general. The content of security culture is a special form of conscience which is expressed as a collectivity of progressive tendencies and knowledges of the security area which consists of :

- The founder of security culture (man), which is capable of knowing the basic values of civilization
- Danger of threatening these values, goods and needs and the need for them to be successfully protected and promoted

### **Security culture in action**

Just for comparison I took the culture of civil protection which provides establishing a mindset of civil protection among the population means first that each citizen must become aware of the following<sup>2</sup>:

- the disaster risks present in his or her community;
- the need to take positive action and be prepared to deal with these risks;

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.budimo-sigurni.hr/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=132&Itemid=40](http://www.budimo-sigurni.hr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=132&Itemid=40)

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.msp.gouv.qc.ca/secivile/secivile\\_en.asp?txtSection=apercu&txtCategorie=culture](http://www.msp.gouv.qc.ca/secivile/secivile_en.asp?txtSection=apercu&txtCategorie=culture)

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



- the importance of investing human resources and money to prepare for these risks;
- the need to assume responsibility in dealing with these risks;
- mutual responsibility among individuals.

A collective awareness should consequently result in more responsible courses of action in civil protection.

The implementation of security culture in casual life i.e. in practice can be explained through few examples as following:

- When we talk about raising our children and giving them the proper education , we give them instructions not to communicate with, or open doors to strangers, always to look through the keyhole when someone rings the bell;
- We take care of given dead lines of servicing our appliances when they use electrical power or natural gas (stove, boiler, washing machine etc.)
- Before leaving the car we always see if we forgot a valuable item on the seats and we check to see if the doors are locked;
- We avoid moving around objects where construction works are undertaken, although there is a security web;
- We avoid places that have a high rate of crime according to the media

These are all things that are integrated in our subconscious and during the years and experience became an integral part of our thinking in the form we call – security culture. With the help of these directions and some experiences the human realises the risks that exist in his environment and he builds tendencies for avoiding them, within the boundaries of his perceptual abilities.

These habits depend on the factor time, so we can conclude that security culture, as the other types of culture is something that is gradually created and becomes casual life habit. It cannot be inflicted but it has to be based on acceptance through certain forms of building selfconscience and habits through explanations , interpreting practical examples and experiences that lead to logical decision making for some action.

There is a certain tactic and methodological approach in transferring the experiences and generally in the education in the field of security culture because we don't want to create an unwanted effect at people that most frequently comes in the form of paranoic and painful behaviour where the counter effect is jeopardizing the spiritual peace and psihological stability of the unit.

I recall the periods of the big worlds crisis, the Cold War and the current happenings with the terrorist attacks and threats, where people recognize an element of mass destruction and the end of the world in every criminal behaviour. The condition gets even more complicated by the media and the uncoordinated behaviour of the environment in a moment of crisis.

As target groups I would point out the uninformed and naive citizens , and as the most sensitive group i would stress out the children. I feel that children should be included continuously in certain courses and trainings in the field of security culture and these educational forms need to be adjusted considering their age. At the same time the parents, the whole population needs to be informed through the mass media of the ways and forms of human reaction where we can identify and oppose the security threats and dangers.

### **The security culture and the state**

The influence of the state through its defence mechanisms over the security can be achieved in two directions:

- The first one is, if the state has political and moral wil to protect its citizens and to actively contribute to the sustaining of the security. It can be achieved with the elements of the security system and the judiciary







mechanisms of sanctioning and responsibility of the people who brake the law, and by creating conscience within the people who belong to the security structures and the citizens for the need of their safety.

- The second direction is represented with the passivness of the state with determening of the security priorities and it goes all the way to participating in the security structures in order to create fear within the population by using terror and intimidation. This fear produces an efect of total repulsivness by the popula-tion in identifying the security events and is a feature of societies that falsely promote democracy i.e. totalist societies where the interests of the government, not the need of security are a top priority.

### Facing the challenges of security culture

„The wars in the Balkans, the expansion of crime, the lost values of the society create the domination of doubt regarding the personal safety”

- How imune are we to the events that we follow every day through the mass media and how far are we from them?;
- Will the state stay indifferent and will it take its distance from the forming of this culture or will it initiate and develop it?;
- Civilization tends to foresee danger, and make security likely and clear.

I think that the results of the hypothesis that I pose will be known in the future if we invest in the security culture. I know that it’s almost impossible to live isolated in a modern society where every day we are surrounded with different information about events all around us and in the world generally. The possible three solutions give certain directions to where we need to focus our researches in this area, but they also point out the subjects that participate in the creation of the security culture.

### Security culture and conflict

The security culture in the moment of conflict breaking out :

- In most cases there are migraton movements but there is also a large number of people that stay in the con-flict areas so that they can save and keep what the have created during their lifetime;
- Before and after the start of a crisis situation, citizens have a choise to cooperate with the organs of security and to contribute to the forming of a high level of security culture or to just stay neutral in this newly cre-

8  
2008  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R



ated situation;

- The parts of the world where conflicts and crime are more and more often, the security threats are in a way more easily accepted as a part of their everyday life. But in other parts of the world people because of their fast technical-technological development and the presence of the media during even the smallest threats go into a state of madness and paranoia and are convinced that the judgement day has come.

### Security culture and prevention of crime

The planning of a prevention project can be divided into five operations<sup>3</sup>:

- Identifying and analysing the crime problem in details;
- Determening the goals clearly, with all of their features in a way they can be measured
- Choose the tools that will provide better chances to react in the given cases targeting the crime
- To influence on concentrating the tools
- To mobilise the partners

Crime prevention is closely related to the creation of security culture, i.e. security culture is the founding pillar for the use of crime prevention. Because of these reasons there comes to combining the tools and methods that are used in the implementation of the security culture and crime prevention.

### Security culture and NATO

When we talk of collective and unified security culture of the EU and NATO, we are actually talking about the compatibility of the national systems, the political and civil society, where all the participants actively contribute to its implementation, but at the same time work is done on adjusting the tehniques that are easily identified and give good results.

It is inevitable not to mention that the number of the people who participate in the national security systems in regard to the general population, considering their professionalism and competence is very small.

On the other hand when we analyze the civil sector and its participation in founding and influencing on the security culture, it is followed by some barriers like : lack of interes, passivnes and lack of wil for coperation at a certain part of the population. The mentality of the people, tradition and regional believes additionally complicate things.

The existing tendences that rule in different security systems and cultures differ from one another. The liberal idealism and pragmatic realism are widespread through the culture and political values in order to resolve the international problems in Europe and the West. These values were under the influence of the experiences that were aquired the past century. In the past, the disagreements at the conferences for disarming, the non-attacking treaties and the forming od the League of Nations were inspired by the liberal idelism. After World War two we have a strategy of conflict between the two blocks and total abstinence of their mutual understanding.

The security culture itself is being modified in regard of her prioreties, and citizens have fear of a possible confrontation of the two blocks which will manifest through nuclear war and using weapons of mass destruction. This high level of tention creates a stressful atmosphere, but USA and USSR manage to direct their confrontations in the war zones of other countries like Korea, Afghanistan, Vietnam etc. This influence in these regions leads to losing the value of the human life because of the imperialistic interests of great powers.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Cusson, Pierre Tremblay, Louise L.-Biron, Marc Ouimet et Rachel Grandmaison, CRIMINOLOGUES, ÉCOLE DE CRIMINOLOGIE, UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL, La prévention du crime. Guide de planification et d'évaluation (1994), Chapitre 2 : Comment concevoir et planifier un projet de prévention?, p. 31



It is interesting to mention that in moments of great crisis, no one sees the danger of the existence of internal criminal organizations that permanently cripple the entire society. While people hide and fear for their lives, these outlaw groups burn, pillage, commit robberies, rapings etc. The number of victims caused by the weapons of mass destruction is nothing compared to the one of the victims of these gangs and paramilitary formations.

In the urban environments there is an escalation of the conflicts, that is proportional to the density of the population. We ask a question: How does the safety culture influence on the preserving of human's life ?

What we can see in the more organized urban environments is that people in crisis situations like air and rocket strikes, attacks with nuclear weapons etc. select hideouts and basements as elements of their protection. In these rooms there is silence, darkness, or there are minimal sources of light and people move only when it is necessary.

There is a very small difference between this situation and the situations in the past where people in our country used to escape in the caves above the villages during the attacks of the Turks, or when in the distant past, when the human community was originally formed people found protection from animals or enemies in caves and fortifications. During floods people climb on higher location in their vicinity. So, the man adapts to the conditions that exist in the environment and adopts methods of his survival and existence.

Using the experience and knowledge of these four cases, the building of regional security partnership looks like a new process of the international system. It is created when Governments from a certain area, besides their cultural differences, unresolved political and territorial problems have developed a way of a dialogue for the political disagreements and the sources of the conflict.

The mentioned collective systems of security offer a different concept where through agreements and recommendations the measures and actions of forming mutual security culture are unified.

In many parts of the world there comes to overwhelming of conscience and realistic acceptance of the interests of the state, which are relieved of the prejudices of the past. This leads to having a larger number of members in these systems and proves that the interest of a more active participation is a product of their will and self conscience, and not the interest that are forced by the great powers. Chronologically looking the forming of these alliances we can see the fact that they date from the end of the 20th century and are inspired by countries that are ongoing an economical development.

Perhaps the main idea of their existence is the perseverance of the acquired economic and democratic values and inspiring cooperation through influencing the citizens of creating a new security culture.

The creation of a real security culture is more and more clear as one of the challenges in the process involving the European policy of security and defence (PESD) that needs some serious thinking. Actually, EU will not exist, nor be recognized as a strategic actor if it does not possess, in the boundaries of its possibilities, sensitivity in regards to its international surrounding, thinking and methods of combined reacting, coherent, efficient and recognisable.<sup>4</sup>

The current security culture of the European countries has been influenced by three recent experiences<sup>5</sup>:

- the nuclear deterrence strategy and arms control negotiations of the Cold War and détente times;
- the Helsinki Process with the three-decade long elaboration of the ideas and formation of the mechanisms of comprehensive and cooperative security; and
- The formulation of national and multilateral defence policies in the 1990s to react to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to countries and non-state actors insensitive of the conventional logic of military strategy.

The creation of the European security policy in the 90s of the past century was a great goal that was posed in

4 B. Nivet, *VERS UNE CULTURE DE SECURITE EUROPEENNE?*, Institut Français de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques (IRIS), 2001  
5 Fulvio Attina (Attin'a): University of Catania. This paper is posted at the e-Scholarship Repository, Institute of European Studies (University of California, Berkeley); Year 2004 Paper 040508; p. 22; <http://repositories.cdlib.org/ies/040508/>



front of the challenge of the modern times. The Berlin wall came down, but memories of the time remained. Wars on the Balkans raged, and here we couldn't speak of an organised security culture. The Russian domination, as a country that inherited the power of the Soviet Union still has the influence in the countries that used to be a part of the Warsaw Pact, demonstrating diplomatic and political aggressiveness through the physical presence in the military bases.

The expansion of NATO on the former socialist countries has reached its peak, but it is continuously criticized by Russia, that was economically and military exhausted so these reactions were directed from a position of a lack of power. All the members of the Partnership for Peace that are not NATO members with their acceptance will end a process of integration in the field of military safety culture.

On the other hand, police organizations like EUROPOL contribute to international police cooperation in Europe, and through their cooperation they create an atmosphere of safe Europe. The exchange of personnel and experiences produce more intensive and more efficient police cooperation and reduce the rate of crime in Europe.

The effect of this point of view at the citizens of the European countries is a strong impression of the efficiency of the system of security and this opens the possibility of an easier approach of citizens to the system, because of accomplishing the goals of its existence.

“Does anyone have a scale of the level of security culture of a state?”

I found the answer in a statement of Mr Chris Donnelly<sup>6</sup>:

“When I went to NATO in 1989, the two words meant the same. National security was measured by the strength of your armies: the more tanks you had, the more secure you felt. Today, it's absolutely not true. Best example I can give you on that: Israel. It's stronger militarily today than ever before in its history, stronger than all its Arab nation members and neighbours put together, yet today every Israeli feels less secure than ever they have since the founding of the state. Military power no longer brings you security. It's not detached from it, it's part of the issue, but the two are not the same.”

Following the example, we see the features of the model of security reacting, where if there is no clear bond between the security system and the community, the danger can be easily multiplied and the risks of jeopardizing the security can increase.

The forming of the security culture cannot circle around the integrative processes of The Republic of Macedonia in the EU and NATO. The collective security systems initiate and require compatibility and a high degree of cooperation amongst their members. This requires unifying the standards and the norms because of better functioning and because of the needs and the tasks of the countries-members that they complete within the collective security system. Here we emphasize elements that are bonded to the security and the creation of a mutual security culture of a more massive character.

Through initiating cooperation of the competent institutions on the field of security, a regular and intensive coordination and communication can be achieved. The themes of cohering are: channels, procedures and the system on classified information exchange, coordination with NATO commands, institutions and agencies that deliver classified information to the states. An additional field of cooperation and communication is the creation of a security system of crypto-protection because of a safe communication with classified information between Brussels and the national offices.

A synonym of a security system within the state is the system of state security (national defence system), and in a large number of states is meant for the military security. The national defence system actually is acting of the whole society, the state and the state services that depend on each other because of guaranteeing the security of the society, the state and the individual (the citizen).

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Chris Donnelly, Senior Fellow; Head of the Advanced Research and Assessment Group, Defense Academy, The Changing Nature of Conflict and the New Challenges of State Building, Chatham House, Wednesday 21 February 2007, p. 4, [www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/8915\\_210207donnelly.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/8915_210207donnelly.pdf)



According to a system that is posed like this, we can see combining of the factors that participate in the creation and the enforcement of the security culture. The system comprised by these elements should be the one that will coordinate and develop new methods of eliminating the security threats. If this is provided only internally i.e. within the system, there can easily be its marginalization and isolation from the civil subject.

## Conclusion

From its creation to this day, the safety culture is being modified because of the priorities of the states and the collective security systems. It is featured with its dynamics in the development. Today it plays a key role integrated in the system of civil protection, in the part that works on the crime prevention and in the security systems on a larger scale. Forming of cells of security culture within the citizens in the democratic societies can be initiated through spontaneous motivation of the units or it can be a product of the working of a security system.

The value of a security system will be appreciated according to the level and the quality of the widespread of the security culture to all the subjects in the society. The citizens through their active relation to the security system will get a higher level of protection of their lives and the material goods they possess. Through certain obligations they are responsible for the identification and the alarming of the active subjects in the security system... The more they are interested and involved in finding the security threats the more the number of the elements in the system will grow, and they will directly contribute to the personal and material safety in the community.

On the other hand, from the aspect of the security system, methods and techniques need to be developed so that the citizens can develop a more quality cooperation and their trust can be gained. If the system remains dedicated to the tasks within the security services the effect would be a total isolation of the civil sector and reduction of the information from the field of security.

In the modern societies, particularly in regard to the globalisation and combating terrorism, we are witnesses that in most cases the terrorists live in peaceful environments where there is no crime. After they are revealed by the security services, their neighbours state that they would have never suspected those men. The exceptions from this, where the neighbours recognize the security threats need to grow.

Precisely this needs to be the challenge of improving the security culture and implementing new elements within it.

8  
0  
0  
2  
T  
C  
A  
E  
R





# REACT 2008





R

REACT 2008

R

E

A

C

T

2008

8

