

БЕЗБЕДНОСНИ ДИЈАЛОЗИ / SECURITY DIALOGUES

ISSN 1857-7172 eISSN 1857-8055
Година 6, Број 2, 2015/Vol. 6, No. 2, 2015

Издавач/Publisher

Филозофски факултет – Скопје/Faculty of Philosophy – Skopje
Институт за безбедност, одбрана и мир/Institute of security, defence and
peace

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Печати: МАР-САЖ Тираж: 100



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ПРЕДГОВОР НА УРЕДНИКОТ

Почитувани читатели,

Филозофскиот факултет од Скопје го прославува своето 95 годишно постоење во оваа тековна година. Овој број и претходниот број претставуваат можност редакцијата да се заблагодари за континуираната финансиска поддршка која пристигнува од деканската гарнитура. Понатаму, во оваа пригода би сакале да им се заблагодариме на сите членови од редакцискиот одбор, рецензентите, техничкиот секретар и другите соработници набројани на втората страница од корицата, кои учествуваа во подготвувањето на оваа ревија. Од друга страна, постојаното зголемување на бројот на индексации на списанието и бројот на посети на веб страницата претставуваат можност за поширока афирмација на Филозофскиот факултет од Скопје.

Во вториот број за 2015 година читателите ќе имаат можност да прочитаат научни анализи за современи безбедносни настани во Република Македонија, во Западен Балкан и во регионот на Југоисточна Европа. Извонредна студија ни нуди трудот "Концептот на човековата безбедност како аналитичка рамка за определување на меѓународната позиција на малите држави", каде авторите сметаат дека седум-димензионалниот модел на концептот на човекова безбедност може да придонесе за квалитетот на анализата на внатрешно ситуациско влијание на меѓународната позиција на националните држави. Вториот труд ја истражува можноста да се употреби парадигмата на човекова безбедност (human security) како концепт кој ќе служи како основа за нова регионална иницијатива за регионот на Западен Балкан. Во оваа насока, а имајќи ги предвид специфичностите на регионот, авторот смета дека е можно да се искористат постојните концепти и да се отпочне оваа иницијатива, преку позитивно делување на индикаторите кои ја детерминираат вредноста на Индексот на човекова Безбедност (Human Security Index). Следниот труд е фокусиран на Црна Гора, предизвиците и перспективите за членство во НАТО. Авторот ја опишува надворешната политичка агенда на Црна Гора од возобновувањето на независноста која се движи во насока на европските и евро-атлантските интеграции. Преку компаративна анализа во следниот труд, авторите препознаваат дека секоја земја има различен пристап кон процената на трошоците и придобивките на мерките за

смирување на сообраќајот и пристап до методите на нивното вградување во урбаните средини. Од резултатите добиени од истражувањето за инсталација на сообраќајни препреки во развиените земји и во Република Македонија, беа предложени мерки и анализирани искуствата за тоа како да се подобри или да се зголеми безбедноста преку сообраќајни мерки за смирување. Во петтиот труд во ова издание, е истакната улогата на медиумите во сите видови на катастрофи особено во природна катастрофа. Во трката за зголемување на својата публика, својата гледаност и популарност авторот забележува дека медиумите во одредени ситуации ја преземаат улогата на истражувачи и конструираат сопствена „вистина“, наспроти реалноста. Следниот труд е обид да се прикаже една од современите форми на невоена и асиметрична закана-организиранiot криминал, со посебен фокус на причините и условите за негов развој во регионот на Југоисточна Европа. Со портретира како организиранiot криминал влијае на безбедноста на граѓаните и државите, негативните импликации врз нивната безбедност, како и презентација на методите и мерките за негово спречување. И на крај, читателската публика на „Безбедносни дијалози“ ќе може да прочита труд во кој е даден преглед на заштита за одредени категории на лица во меѓународни и внатрешни вооружени конфликти.

Со почит,
Доц. д-р Тања Милошевска
Главен и одговорен уредник

PREFACE BY EDITOR

Dear Readers,

Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje celebrates its 95 years of existence in this current year. This issue and the previous issue is an opportunity editorial staff to express gratitude for the continued financial support that comes from Dean Department. Furthermore, in this occasion, we would like to thank all members of the editorial board, reviewers, technical secretary and other collaborators listed on the second page of the cover, which participated in the preparation of this issue. On the other hand, the constant increase in the indexation of the journal and the number of visits to the website creates an opportunity for greater promotion of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.

In the second issue for 2015 readers will be able to read scientific analyzes of contemporary security dealings in Macedonia, in Western Balkan and Southeast Europe Region. Remarkable study offers us a paper "Concept of human security as an analytical framework for determining the international position of a small state", where authors believe that the seven-dimensional model of the concept of human security can contribute to the quality of the analysis of internal situation impact on the international position of national states. The second paper tries to examine the possibility of using the human security paradigm as concept that would serve as basis of a new regional initiative in the Western Balkans region. In this sense, if the region's specificities are taken into account, author believes that is possible to build upon existing concepts, for example by positively affecting the indicators that determine the value of the Human Security Index. Next paper is focused on Montenegro challenges and perspectives for NATO membership. Author describes foreign policy agenda of Montenegro from the restoration of independence that was moving into direction of European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. In the comparative analysis in the next paper, authors recognize that each country has a different approach to the assessment of costs and benefits of traffic calming measures and access to the methods of their installation in urban areas. From the results received from the survey on the installation of traffic calming measures in developed countries and in the Republic of Macedonia, measures were proposed and taken from the experiences on how to improve or increase traffic safety through traffic calming measures. In the fifth paper in this edition, is highlighted media role in all kinds of disaster especially in natural disaster. In the race to increase its audience, ratings and popularity in certain situations,

author note that the media take over the role of investigators and construct own "truth" versus reality. Next paper is an effort to portray one of the contemporary forms of non-military and asymmetrical threats, organized crime, with special focus on the causes and the conditions for its development in the Southeast Europe region. It portraits how the organized crime affects the security of the citizens and states, meaning its negative implications on their safety, as well as presentation of the methods and measures for its prevention. As a closing point, the readership of "Security Dialogues", can read a paper that give an overview of protection enjoyed by specific categories of persons protected in international and non-international armed conflicts.

Sincerely,
Ass. Prof. Tanja Miloshevska
Editor in Chief

CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY AS AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DETERMINING THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF A SMALL STATE

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Abstract: The state as an organized system of institutions that should represent the interests of its citizens significantly changes the position in terms of globalization. The territory, population and sovereignty as the three basic elements of statehood take on new characteristics with the development of global processes. The main features of globalization: the porosity of national borders, the liberalization of trade and migration of people, and the expansion of business networks influence the position of modern states. Large and developed countries still manage to keep control over the basic levers of national power, while the territorial integrity of small, underdeveloped countries is under a big question mark.

The complexity of current global conditions requires a new approach in the process of analyzing the factors that influence the international position of countries. We believe that the seven-dimensional model of the concept of human security can contribute to the quality of the analysis of internal situation impact on the international position of national states. The correlative connection of human security status indicators in the territory of a state with its international position, it can be most easily perceived in the example of so-called weak states.

Keywords: international position, globalization, human security concept, national power, status indicators

Introduction

With the globalization of economic activities many classical concepts of international relations require a review and introduction of new parameters into the analysis. International relations based on the UN system stemming from the agreement of the great powers who won in World War II are shattered from the ground. Global networks of transnational economic subjects with uncontrolled capital flows seriously alter the Westphalia order based on the sovereignty of states. In the given circumstances, many questions regarding the layout of newly created environment open up. The subject of this study represents an attempt to analyze the position of a small state in the new context created by globalizing human activities. One of the possible approaches is the analysis of the international position of small countries based on the seven-dimensional matrix of concept of human security. Namely, the concept of human security as an analytical framework that focuses on the security of citizens in the conditions of globalization provides elements for the analysis, which can largely explain the current situation and identify the factors that determine the international position of a small state. It is essential to an approach that a state is viewed as the unity of territorial characteristics, demographic characteristics and efficiency in the functioning of institutions that should the interests of its citizens.

The international position of a state is a complex issue. Its dimensions pertain to the past, present and future, and on issues of vital interest: security, independence, territorial integrity... Each of these periods is determined by its specifics that need to be taken into account. Consideration of the international position of the state requires a comprehensive analysis of all factors relevant to the determination of the causes and consequences of specific events. Finding answers to questions about the international position of a country requires the involvement of all relevant elements. Determining the meaning of the basic concepts is essential in order to avoid misunderstandings in the approach, which we promote. The purpose of this paper is to point out the factors, which individually or in various combinations must be materials from which the real image (assessment, analysis) of the international position of a small country is made. We believe that the internal situation is at least as important as the global circumstances are for the evaluation of a small country international positioning.

Due to the value of their GNI¹, the big and developed countries can still provide for the sufficient funding of their armed forces. Military power is directly proportional to the budget funds, and they depend considerably on the scope of business activities, influenced among other factors by political power that in turn stems from the scope of economy. Small and underdeveloped countries are facing a drop of the GNI, thus lacking the funds for state functions. The position of small countries on the global power chart depends on the wholeness of local state of affairs and the motivation of their citizens to defend the interests of the community they belong to. The perception of actual situation in a given area and the projection of the future trends are possible by way of the analysis of factors that affect the quality of life of the locals. The human security concept enables for a qualitative analysis of the actual state of affairs through the stability of the system that depends on the quality of life of the citizens. Stability of the set of circumstances in the geographic area of a state directly reflects in its perception in international business circles, but also determines the geo-political actor perception of the territory in question.²

1 Concept of Human Security

The essence of the concept of human security, shown in the UNDP Human Development Report of 1994, is best seen in the following quote: "The feeling of insecurity most people have comes over everyday concerns more than from fear of cataclysmic world events. Will they and their families have enough to eat? Will they lose their job? Will they be harassed

¹ Gross national income (GNI) is defined as the sum of value added by all producers who are residents in a nation, plus any product taxes (minus subsidies) not included in output, plus income received from abroad such as employee compensation and property income. The definition is taken from the site of the World Bank: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD> 18.XI 2015.

² The point is that small countries do not have the capacity to develop a defense force that would be able to stand against the armies of big countries. In their strategies, small countries can plan the defensive actions that would deter potential aggressors because of the losses that would be exhibited. In the absence of technical potential, small countries can rely on the quality of the human factor, which depends, inter alia, of, motivation of citizens to fight in order to protect the interests of the community to which they belong. The motivation depends mostly on the life satisfaction of citizens within the framework of the state to which they belong, in this sense; the concept of human security provides the ability to analyze the most important elements on which the quality of life of citizens in the territory of a state depends.

by the repressive state? Will they become victims of violence because of their commitments? Will they be the target of persecution due to their religious or ethnic background? ... In the final analysis, human security is a child who is not deceased, a contagious disease that has not spread, a job that is not denied, ethnic tension that does not explode in violence, and a dissident who is not silenced. Human security is not a problem of arms - it is a problem that concerns human life and dignity "(UNDP 1994: 22).

Bearing in mind the relationship: the citizens - the state i.e. the fact that the state emerges as a form of organization of people in a certain territory with the intention to realize their interests, it is very important to analyze the position of citizens and their satisfaction with the functioning of the system of state institutions in any analysis of the situation in the territory of a country and its place in the international arena. The concept of human security in a given context provides an analytical framework that allows the analysis of the quality of life that is based both the analysis of the quality of life that is based both both the analysis of the quality of life that is based both on objective indicators, as well as the subjective experience of the position of its citizens. Satisfied citizens are willing to fight for the interests of the community and maintaining the integrity of the territory regardless of the ethnic structure of the population. In countries where the social situation is unsatisfactory, causing instability and threatening community safety is possible in spite of a homogeneous composition of the population. In dysfunctional countries, it occurs that citizens who are dissatisfied with their lives and / or harassed by the government abandon the same and become political and / or economic migrants.

The authors of Human Development Report for 1994 list the following seven areas of importance for the determination of the status of security and/or insecurity in an area (UNDP 1994: 24-25):

1. Economic security,
2. Food security,
3. Health Security,
4. Environmental security,
5. Personal security,
6. Community security, and
7. Political security.

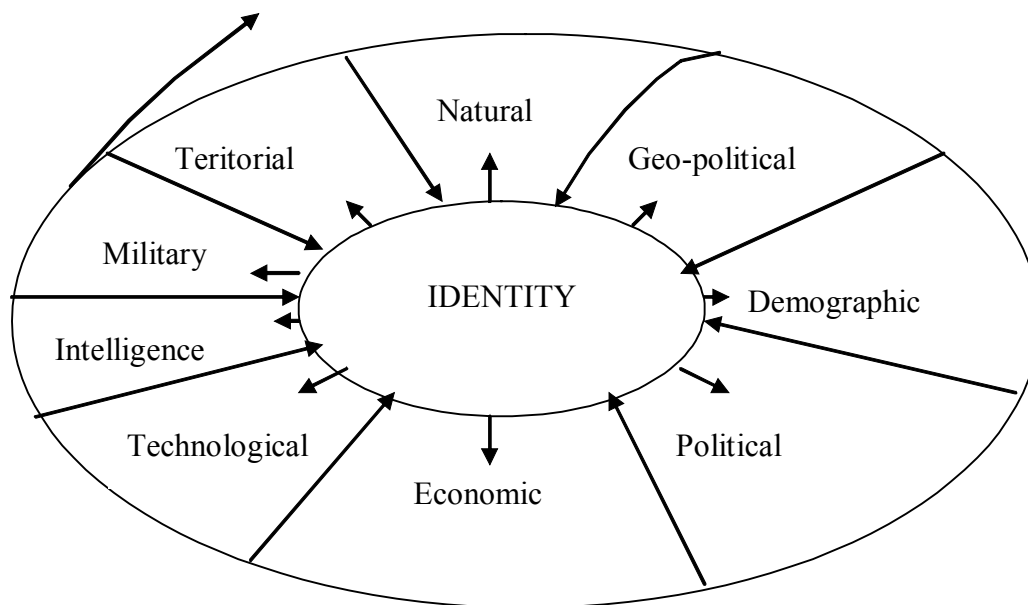
Each dimension of security listed above contains number of indicators that allow for the analysis of each dimension separately. Based on the results of the analysis it is possible to predict the trends of development of the situation and to respond appropriately in order to avoid possible crisis scenarios.

Global trends after the fall of the Berlin Wall are anticipated in the UNDP report for 1994 (UNDP, 1994). The aforementioned report offers a new analytical framework in order to contribute to a better understanding of the situation encountered and possible resolution of existing problems. The collapse of institutions, uncontrolled wandering of transnational capital, and proliferation of crime and the general decline of population life standard are becoming common features of transition countries during the 90s of the last century. The removed *Iron Curtain* reveals a harsh reality, which shows that most of the problems of modern humankind are present in most people regardless of their ethnic, religious or any other affiliation. In this context, the UNDP report for 1994 presents the concept of human security, which draws attention to the problems of the global community in the making. Noting the essential elements of the status of citizens, we can simultaneously identify the factors that affect the position of small countries. Nation state institutions are the ones that create the ambiance not only in the geographic area that is under their jurisdiction, they also affect global flows.

Consideration of the status of individuals as members of the community of whose ambiance perception depends the contribution to the protection and realization of their interests is particularly important in the context of national power. The national power is defined as the ability of the state to influence the behavior of the relevant entities in accordance with its objectives and interests. (Mijalkovski and Đorđević, 2010: 3)

The elements of national power in many of its parts overlap with the dimensions of human security (Diagram 1). The status of human security in an area is determined by the degree of national power and success rate of its control mechanisms. The degree of unity between citizens and power holders (decision makers in the system) determines the position of the state in the international arena. Alienated power centers are a source of instability both at the national and global levels.

Diagram 1: Factors of national power



Source: Milan Mijalkovski, Ivica Đorđević: *Neuhvatljivost nacionalne moći*, Belgrade, Službeni Glasnik, 2010, p. 31.

In Diagram 1, we can see that the identity of members of the community (members of nations and state subjects) has a central position in the structure of national power. The condition of other centers of power the source of which is of internal origin depends on a sense of belonging to a community that lives in a certain area (state territory). Man as a factor in decision-making and implementing decisions largely determines the nature of the system, its resilience and ability to change for the better. Altruism of people and their awareness of the social role mean more than the amount of money in the form of compensation for performing certain tasks. Communities that through the system of education and upbringing succeed in reaching a level of collective awareness on which it is

morally not acceptable to build individual status and prosperity on the exploitation and oppression of other members of society create the best institutional systems (e.g. Scandinavian countries).

2. Elements of the analysis of international position of the state

From the time of their first occurrence, the states engage in mutual relations. The character of these relations depended (and still depends) on the interest that refers a territorial community such as a state to another state and can range from conflict to cooperation. A certain relationship is inevitably established even if there is complete indifference between states. Self-isolation or isolation of one country by other countries also points to the fact that there is some relationship between them. Accordingly, each State has its "place" in the coordinate system of international relations, which is usually referred to as international position.

The state as an international entity is the basic element of reality called international relations (Dimitrijevic and Stojanović, 1979: 81-139). Under the term international relations, we assume the totality of links between "domestic" and "foreign" the two being separated by the state border. The term "international position" not only expresses the spatial coordinates of the territory in question, it determines the international situation in which an entity is. The international position of a state presents "its general position in the international community, which is the result of the interplay of all types of external and internal factors that influence, in a positive or negative sense, its internal development, its foreign policy and in particular the position and character of relations with other states, especially with neighboring countries and great powers" (Gavranov and Stojkovic, 1972: 312). In short, we can say that the international position of the state is its general position in the international community, which a state achieves in relations with other states, peoples and movements as well as political, economic, cultural, military and other organizations and associations.

2.1. Factors of the international position of the state

International life has its chronological tables. In some parts, they are richer in content than in some others. This speaks about an unequal flow of international relations. In the modern era, the process of interdependence of international subjects is so dynamic that the phenomena in the field of so-called internal relations in the strict sense affect at

least some of the segments of international relations. First and foremost on the bilateral and often at the multilateral level.

In one part of the literature on the international relations, the term "factor" (factors) includes all relevant definitions of a phenomena falling within the framework of international life of countries. Other authors distinguish subjective from objective factors. A number of authors replace the word "factor" with the word "agent", without any deeper consequences, or use those two words interchangeably. There are also a certain number of authors who call subjective factors: subjects and others they call: factors, and there are a number of those who both agents and factors from the previous versions call simply: factors.

The significance of each of these aspects of the international position in the aforementioned context is not easy to determine, because it is under the influence of "emitted power" of a large number of various factors. These factors are many even when only those of greater importance, also called basic, are listed: location, relief, natural wealth, population, socio-political and economic system, internal stability of the system, the level of development (economic, cultural and political) historical development and traditions, national defense system and its efficiency, general state of affairs in the world (political, military and economic), the status of relations between the great powers and military-political alliances, the character of relations with countries in the immediate region, the general level of development of science and technology in the world, the level of development of military technology, international law, international markets, international organizations, etc.

With regard to the essential characteristics of features by which they bear the names, all factors of the international position can be divided into geographical, political, economic, military, legal, demographic, scientific, technological, cultural, psychological, environmental, etc. Rather these are groups of factors. If we do not intend to analyze any aspect of international position or this position in its entirety using such classified factors because, for example, we do not require a detailed analysis, we may proceed with a different classification of the factors. We can use determinants. They provide a greater possibility of the synthetic approach to the position that we are investigating. In this sense there exist the following determinants: internal and external (based on the relation to the state border of the studied state); historical and contemporary (based on the time relationship to the point of studying); natural and social (based on factors belonging to

the natural or social phenomena); permanent and variable (based on factor variability), etc. (Gavranov and Stojkovic, 1972: 237-240).

If we give the name: internal determinants to all the factors that determine the structure of a given state, and the name: external determinants to other considered factors, we can say that the international position is the function of changes within these two groups of factors. That is why we say that the international position is the dependent variable, and the determinants are its causes, i.e. the independent variables. Mathematically this could be expressed as $R = f(Du, Ds)$, where R is the reaction. It is the function of the internal (Du) and external (Ds) determinant actions. Thereby it should be known that not all factors are equally important from the standpoint of analysis of the international position. Some are quite insignificant in that sense. The relevant should also be distinguished from one another. Therefore, we consider one primary and the other secondary. Of course, the division of all factors may be made according to some other criteria.

The change of situation always precedes the change of position. In most cases, this is easy to perceive. Sometimes, however, it seems that this temporal relationship is disrupted. Analyzing the existential sense of the connection between cause and effect is determined that the first must have lower and the other higher absolute value on the time axis. However, this does not mean that the international position is only susceptible to influence. It is not a "passive" state. Its change at any time causes a chain reaction that is felt at the national level in the country concerned, in its foreign policy, relations with other countries and so on.

3. Analysis of the international position in relation to the dimensions of human security

Supporters of the classical school of international relations who observe the international position through a prism of military power and geopolitical parameters would base their analysis primarily on the classical elements of force, which determines the degree of realization of interests, in other words, the protection that others do not realize their own interests to the detriment of the observed entity. However, this approach, as already said, explicates the situations related to big, developed countries, capable of having numerous armed forces and innovative military technology. As opposed to that, the power of small and underdeveloped countries depends primarily on the willingness of citizens to participate actively in the defense of the interests and values of the community they

belong to. In the given context, we can say that the status analysis based on the seven dimensions of human security in an area provides a number of elements sufficient to assess the state of national power of a state. With that, we can get the answers to the questions related to determining the geopolitical position of a small state. It also should be borne in mind that indicators relating to internal situation are used in the process of making the status analysis of human security, but their values also largely depend on external factors.

3.1. Indicators of economic security as a function of analysis of the international status of a country

The status of economy in a given area is critically important for the analysis of its stability and influence this territory has on the surrounding. However, a real perception of economic factors requires their placement in social and historical context of the subject of analysis. Whether it is a former colony or a metropolis, whether the population is of Muslim, Christian or some other religion is not all the same. Introducing parameters related to the wider area (region) in the plans of the great powers makes the analysis more complete. Only after setting the said analytical framework can we get reliable results of the analysis of economic conditions and their impact on the security of citizens, and indirectly to the international position of their state. Consideration of economic conditions in an area in terms of human security requires a complex multivariate analysis. It is not enough just to present national statistics on the movement of gross domestic product (GDP), or total income (GNI), their qualitative analysis is necessary. In addition to classic statistical data on production volume per capita, it is imperative to detect its structure and trends change. It is important to perceive to what extent the classical industrial manufacturing, ICT, and new technologies (bio and nano) are represented respectively. These data may indicate the current structural problems, and project future trends. They may show the extent to which the economy of a country adapts to current tendencies, and whether it succeeds in achieving (or maintaining), its competitiveness in terms of globalization or is on a downward path.

Trying to isolate specific economic factors, it seems reasonable to stress the importance of economic development of countries. Under the term development, we mean qualitative changes in the economic structure that lead to growth in the volume of material production and services. However, we should be aware of the fact that not every growth is development simultaneously, but only the growth that contributes to improving the

quality of life of citizens. In this respect, the possibilities of impact of this factor on the international position of the country are without a doubt. Most often in practice a high level of economic development means that the political and military power, i.e. influence on the overall global events directly proportional to the level of development. (Piketty, 2015: 389) By the same matrix, economically less developed countries have less impact on international flows.

All the complexity of issues in national economies is multiplied by their involvement in the international economy. Based on that we talk about international economic relations that are established by way of the international mobility of labor, goods, services and capital. All countries are trying to increase their participation in the exchange with others in the social product, so that they link the total development to mutual economic relations. This process strengthens the international division of labor and integration into international economic flows based on the comparative advantages of national economies. From the time of dissolution of the colonial system, contemporary international economic relations are visibly burdened by the conflict between former colonizers and newly liberated countries. This basic relationship is largely preserved to this day in the form of what we call neo-colonialism. It is believed that the main reason for the growing gap between the developed (North) and developing countries (South) lies in the structure of their commodity production and exchange.

The global status of international economic relations is therefore a generator of tension in itself. Besides that, we must bear in mind numerous concrete actions that belong to the order of means whose common purpose can be formulated as the use of force in the field of economic relations. The policy of force cannot be limited to the use of military force because the very disproportion in the economic strength of the state provides countless opportunities for the imposition of will of the stronger to others. Coercion, pressure and blackmail through economic measures are more and more common forms of power politics in contemporary international relations. All these procedures (coercion, pressure and blackmail) are implemented by using the same means which normally serve as a useful guidance to national economies and international economic relations such as tariffs, quantitative restrictions on foreign trade (import quota system and the system of permits), qualitative foreign trade restrictions, the ban import, export bans, penetration to foreign markets, economic aid and others. In other words, states normally use those means for establishing economic relations with one another.

The level of scientific and technological (ST) development is an important moment in the analysis made for the positioning of a specific country. The second half of the twentieth century is known for its so-called *scientific quantum leap* that leads to the dynamic technological development. Regardless of the fact that ultimately technology by itself cannot do anything without science, it is moving forward at such a pace that it often act as an accelerator in relation to science. By its essence, ST development has a significant impact on the international position of a country due to the overall impact on all the factors, which determine the international position. The role of the ST factor in international economic relations is significant because it can decisively influence the positioning of national economy in the international economy. Namely, economic competitiveness is largely determined by the level of technology and skillfulness of labor to utilize its capacity, as well as to create new ST solutions.

Most small and medium-sized countries are forced to instigate their technological development based on technology transfer. By itself, the transfer means strengthening the interdependence of international entities and underpinning integration processes in the world. It is useful for both underdeveloped and developed countries. However, in the modern world one of the main determinants of which is policy from a position of force it is realistic to expect that a provider of technology should try to use its financial and other edges, in order to further improve its already superior position in relation to the customer. Often in international relations, the use of economic power through the above-described mechanism is more effective than military force to realize projects of domination.

Although science and technology group of factors must be denied full autonomy, their great impact on the overall processes of life of the international community, especially on the international position of any country cannot stay unnoticed. The level of ST development is determined by the cumulative capacity of the economy, which leads to the explanation of the international position in relation to other participants in international economic relations. Economic conditions and the level of development can help us analyze the indicators related to the following elements: standard of living, quality of life arising from infrastructure conditions, the status of the health care system, environmental conditions, diet quality and stability of the community.

3.2. Food security

When we talk about food security, two aspects should be taken into account: quantitative (availability of any food source) and qualitative (nutritional structure of food in use). Surely, the security of food cannot be well analyzed without the knowledge about other aspects of security (the areas covered by the concept of human security). Very important indicator of food security is a percentage of earned wages that spent on food. In developed areas, less is being spent on meeting basic biological needs. Lower standard of living also means poorer quality in the structure of food or inadequate nutritional composition.

Economy standard affects the quality of nutrition in relation to the availability of funds for the purchase of appropriate amount of food and its structure. The level of corruption that may be associated with the state of the political system determines the quality of the foods and their safety. In the food manufacturing process starting from breeding plants and animals, through their processing to distribution appropriate standards must be complied with. If the employees working in the system are unhappy with their system status or there is no proper control of their work they are prone to corrupt behavior. All aspects of quality of life may be affected due to that including the health of citizens. Entering the unsafe food in the distribution channels can affect the sustainability of the community in a longer period. An unhealthy diet leads to metabolic disorders burdening the health care system and may lead to depopulation.

3.3. Health security

Health security in HS concept shows all the complexity of evaluating the security status of the citizens who live in a certain area. The health care system of poor communities that is otherwise in poor condition due to the little funds available is under pressure due to poor diet. Here we can mention the quality level of education that also depends on economic conditions and is reflected on the health of the population because of the lack of awareness among citizens about the importance of healthy eating and maintaining personal hygiene. The lack of sexual education can manifest itself through an increased number of adolescent pregnancies, which endanger not only the health, but also the lives of girls who are often the victims of improperly performed abortions.

Security of health, which is directly linked to the quality of the food, affects the natural population growth, fertility rate, life expectancy and many other aspects. However, the health of the population does not depend solely on habits and quality of food, a lot depends on the state of the health system. If the system is in poor condition then problems arise such as increased infant and maternal mortality. Inadequate vaccination and immunization could increase mortality from diseases that are eradicated in developed countries.

3.4. Environmental security

Environmental conditions in an area depend mainly on the level of economic development. Developed countries have more opportunities and resources to commit themselves to preserving the environment. In addition to the utilization of new generation technology solutions that are more environment friendly, more is invested in sources of pollution purification systems. Through the system of education, the citizens are supposed to learn about the benefits of living in a healthy environment and the need to preserve it. The issue of ecology awareness and the status of the surroundings in an area is a global phenomenon because the planet is a unique ecological system. All pollutants affect the quality of life and the consequences of their activities accumulate on global level. Consequently, environmental problems cannot be solved partially on the level of individual countries.

Natural environment is very complex to analyze, here we can only grasp a part of it significant for the international positioning of states. We shall limit ourselves to the natural resources such as ores, water flows and forests. Countries rich in ores may have a competitive edge in the international market due to this fact. However, irrational exploitation and the use of dirty technologies could lead to the devastation of the natural environment and endanger the lives and health of the population rather than contribute to raising its standards. The richness of waters could also be an advantage in relation to other countries, however, due to the poorly designed water regulating systems climate change may ensue, endangering the lives and property of the citizens who live in the grip of waterways so that the advantage turns into a disadvantage. Attitude towards forests can also be counterproductive. Forests, as the buffer between the atmosphere and the lithosphere, take the most important place among the types of vegetation in the transformation of precipitation, flow of air masses and the impact on neighboring regions.

They have a decisive influence on the formation of climate, terrain, water cycle and the exchange of gases in the atmosphere. Unplanned deforestation may cause flash floods, erosion and desertification.

3.5. Personal security

It is difficult to separate personal security from community security issues. Security of a citizen creates preconditions for the realization of security of a wider collectivity. In this context, out of the observed phenomena it is difficult to demarcate what should be considered individual security, and what is in the area of community security. As an example, the issue of domestic violence can be construed as a problem of community security and at the same time, it undermines the rights at the individual level. Because of the effects suffered by a greater number of family members, family, and the wider environment (e.g. building occupants) domestic violence is certainly a problem of community. The situation is similar with the quality of housing.

Often in classical approaches based on the concept of state security it is often presumed that the security of citizens necessarily results from the security of territory and the institutions under whose control the said territory is. Unfortunately, in practice it turns out that even in the circumstances of complete protection of the (system) institutions and territory all the citizens are not protected in their daily activities. The discrepancy between the security of the system and territory, and the citizens who live in the given area is increasingly coming to the fore with the globalization of human activities.

The life of citizens in poor parts of the city, which is a symbol of development of the capitalist world, can be threatened by activities of local gangs and corrupt officials. At the same time, the state is not threatened from the outside and by classical security standards; it is given the status of a secure state.

Although personal security presumes an objective situation, in which there is no threatening elements to the people at the individual level it is inconceivable without subjective experience of security, i.e. a state in which citizens are not under the pressure of risk of any adverse event. One of the key factors affecting the personal security is crime and all the side effects of its existence. In addition to crime, other factors also significantly affect the state of personal security of citizens, such as the state of interethnic relations, transportation infrastructure and traffic culture.

3.6. Community Security

Population is a constitutive element of the state. It is people who permanently reside on the territory of a state and that fact has its military and political repercussions. It should be noted that the human factor being one of those elements that determine the development and sustainability of the community is recruited from population.

Each state has a certain number of residents who belong to it. The record of this is a quantitative characteristic of the population. The number of population is considered a primary indicator in all attempts of measuring power, political and military among others. The figures show that the population of individual countries ranges from a few hundred thousand or even tens of thousands (San Marino, Liechtenstein), to more than a billion (China and India). In addition to absolute number, trends in population movement are significant to the international position of a country particularly in view of the times to come. Population growth can be perceived through two segments. The first one is called natural. It includes information about the number of live births per 1,000 populations (fertility), the number of deaths compared to the same base (mortality) and the resultant of these two components - the rate of natural increase (birth rate). The second segment, mechanical movement (migration), includes emigration and immigration.

Natural population migrations lead to the conclusion that some states are young and promising, while others are not. In these assessments, among other things, the fact is included that in those supposedly young and promising countries the ratio: fit-to-work people relative to the part of the population which does not fall into that category is much more favorable than in others. It is in a way linked with the issues of international status, because the issues of estimating the final effects of population movement trends (migrations, depopulation) are security-relevant.

The social structure of the population in a state presupposes the existence of classes and strata as separate segments to which its residents belong (with the corresponding awareness) regarding their position in social production and distribution. Any attempted classification on this basis today confronts the problem of identity. This is due to the fact that, unlike the socio-economic formations belonging to the distant past, where it was obvious who belongs to which class, the class divisions in modern societies is very difficult to discern. Despite socialism as part of the system, contemporary China is almost abreast

with its ideological opponents in terms of social structure. The dilemma regarding the relevance of the class factor for international relations in general, and especially for the international position of a country increases the number of the already mentioned. It could be said that a certain influence is undeniable, but there is no grounds to attach any greater significance to it. Current changes in the world increasingly underpin the views expressed here on this issue.

National structure is one more essential characteristic of the population relevant for the assessment of the situation in a particular area. Each society is nationally structured in a different way, but belongs to one of three types of state established according to the following criteria: one nation - one state; one nation - more than one states, and more than one nation - one state. None of the three has any advantage a priori at the international level. However, nationally complex states are particularly exposed to the temptation of constantly proving their advantage or disadvantage of such a composition. In such states, as well as in those considered nationally homogeneous according to the previous criteria, there can be members of peoples who have their own state elsewhere. They are national minorities. Issues related to the status of these groups of population are not yet resolved in a manner commonly accepted in international relations. Due to that fact, sporadic solutions of the status of national minorities range from establishing full equality with the domicile nation to a total denial of their existence. The latter part of the way of treating the minorities, the one with the negative sign, often generates conflicts of various intensity in international relations. Because of that, the national minorities are an important factor for generating the international position of every country that has them.

3.7. Political security

Political security entails all the factors pertaining to political system, institutions of the system, democratic responsibility of the structure in power and rule of law. The basic presumption of democratic legitimacy of the system is derived from functioning of the political parties and the system of elections. However, in order for the system to really be in the service of interests of the citizens, all its segments must be in harmony with and under control of the parliament as the supreme representative of the citizens' interests. Legislative, judicial and executive power must be in the function of realization and protection of citizens' interests at all times. Security system is no exception in this context. Armed forces, the military and the police, intelligence and counter intelligence

services are very probably alienated centers of power unless they are under parliamentary control. Therefore, the civil, parliamentary control of armed forces and other organized factors of force are considered an outstanding democratic achievement in the contemporary international community.

States as subjects of international relations are mutually very different: by the level of development, the status they are in and by the orientation towards the future. Definitely, there are differences between the parts within each one of them. However, from the standpoint of our topic this is less significant. It is inevitable that in relation to the aforementioned objective differences and international problems that arise from them there are different views and approaches to solving them. Ideology is one of the means of articulating these different approaches. That is why we can say that ideology encompasses those political ideas with which their holders defend the existing state as being the best possible and justify the relationships established by the group to which they belong (class, layer, society as a whole). This indicates that irrationality is a key determinant of ideology. Therefore, the image of reality as seen through an ideological prism of more or less distorted.³

Neither Ideology, nor religion can be tagged either positively or negatively with respect to their impact on international state of affairs in the sphere of the political or military. Any attempt of this kind inevitably ends up on the existing circumstances. This is because even a progressive ideology, created by the process of revolutionary change in a society, can become (becomes) retrograde. A striking example of this ideological transformation, based on the "national narcissism" is chauvinism. The occurrence of similar sociological-psychological structure is nationalism. However, nationalism is not necessarily a negative determination with respect to another nation. Chauvinism refers to an exclusive and demeaning attitude of members of one nation towards others who are different. This phenomenon in international relations provokes constant tension; therefore, it should always be taken into account in when assessing the international position of a state.

It is necessary to make a distinction between patriotism and chauvinism, although both phenomena may be based on love for one's own nation. However, while in the case of

³ If political systems are determined by their dominant ideological matrix: in that case the current hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism determines the emergence of oligarchic governance, most obviously in the US. (Gilens & Page)

chauvinism this love turns into hatred towards others, patriotism is expressed by loyalty to the positive values of one's own nation and society, along with full tolerance and respect for others. From the standpoint of the international position of a state, there exists a significant risk of manipulating people's patriotic feelings by self-appointed leaders, because it is a manifold tested means of triggering instability in international relations.

Political system is "institutionalized form and manner in which the relationship between public authorities and society is determined and regulated". More specifically and detailed, we understand political system as a system of institutionalized political power holders in a community: the way of their constitution, organization and action, on the one hand, and the set of institutions and relations through which an organized link between the political power holders and social powers in whose name they govern is established, on the other." (Pasic, 1974: 72). However, often, or usually, political systems are determined by the dominant ideological matrix that is characteristic for a particular community. As a rule, more democracy in the country means a greater contribution to the preservation of international peace and security, and cooperation that is more international. This state activity in the international field is called foreign policy.

CONCLUSION

When talking about the international position of a country in terms of globalization, the consideration of only classical statistical indicators is not enough. It is necessary to put them into the context of current geopolitical circumstances. A qualitative analysis of the internal conditions is also necessary.⁴ Quantifying only the factors of force does not give a real picture without the analysis of economic and political conditions in the country, but also their global context. Multivariate analysis based on the seven-dimensional matrix of the concept of human security provides a proper analytical framework for the quantitative analysis to cover the largest number of relevant factors influencing the international position of countries.

The total social power of each state invariably has a component that we call the apparatus of coercion and force. This component is inherent to the state as a social and

⁴ It also applies to statistics relevant to human security, such as ranking of corruption, which is defined in such a way as to *exclude* tax avoidance and other 'legal' felonies committed by financial institutions and multinationals, and supported by state authorities.

political body. Hence, the resulting definition of the state as an apparatus of public authority, which has the monopoly of organized coercion. This coercion is directed towards its own subjects and/or to the space beyond its borders and is a sign of its status. In this context, the army and the police are always an important and sometimes decisive factor of the political process. In contemporary international relations, independence of the military factor is not as blatantly expressed as in previous periods. This factor is usually in close connection with the political factor. This is decisively influenced by the fact that the nuclear capacity of great powers is such that they can destroy the world many times over. The commitment to strengthen the political at the expense of the military passes through various stages. They include *inter alia* the relative independence of these two factors or their firm link-up, regardless of whether the former absorbs the latter or vice versa. Therefore, the terms "political" and "military" with its linguistic modalities are among the most frequent ones in the science of international relations. The strongest and unambiguous link between the political and military spheres in history is achieved through the phenomenon of war.

In view of the destructive potential expressed through the amount of conventional, nuclear and other types of weapons, the demonstration of power through its rawest form of warfare is less likely among the great powers. Even in the relations between the great powers and small countries, the positive and negative aspects of a potential conflict are always taken into account. Therefore, today, when we talk about the international position of the state, we do not ignore the elements of hard power, but more and more attention is paid to the so-called soft power.

The ability to defend own interests and carry out own programs depends on the power of the institutions to properly mobilize the existing resources to realize them in their full capacity. Given that the global stage is a limited space in which the interests of all the participants are opposed, the communities that succeed in homogenizing human resources for the realization of their interests make the best of it. Normally, when designing strategies, wider circumstances influencing the course of events must be taken into account. For example, the level of development of economic entities does not mean a thing without the human factor and the political system that will articulate the interests of the community to the best of their realization. However, if it the existing circumstances on the international market and the conditions for the placement and

exchange of manufactured goods are not taken into account, not even the best development strategy yields appropriate results.

The position of a subject of international relations, regarded as a kind of system, contains, as many sub-systems as there are relevant groups of factors that influence the securing of a comprehensive international position. One subsystem demarcation from another is not advantageous. Their contents overlap more or less, creating unions and cross sections, both in time and in space. The international position is certainly one such complexity, because it connects many extremely important elements of social and economic life.

International relations are packed with a variety of contacts, longer or shorter, and relationships, more or less strong, between a number of entities that establish them and maintain. If we accept the view that the state is the main actor in international relations from whose subjectivity directly or indirectly the status of other international entities results, then inevitably, it must be the focus of the debate on the state of affairs in the international community.

Comprehensive analyses such as this one, which is based on the concept of human security can contribute in a favorable set of circumstances not only to understanding the current situation but also to the creation of a new international system more adequate to the current situation and solving the problems of the modern world.

Taking into account the known determinants of the international position of the state and starting from them, we can say that the international position of a country indicates whether there are military and political conditions for the expression of genuine interests of the state entity in question. They are independence and territorial integrity without which there is no free construction of a society tailored by the measure of its creators. It is the process of determining the defense identity of a country, stopped at some point of a positive or negative trend of certain intensity. The "defense Identity" has a key place in the real cognition of the international position and any analysis of the international situation needs to start from it. One cannot speak of a favorable international position of a country that does not develop its defense capability and potential. On the other hand, a good offensive performance is not enough as a sign of an auspicious military-political position. Therefore, it can be said that the adverse international position is a consequence of disproportion between the offensive and defensive capabilities in which the former are

overemphasized at the expense of the latter. In addition, the favorable international position is established by an optimal combination of factors that determine it. They should be of as good a quality and quantity as possible. It also can be considered that the international position is a resultant of a polygon of forces, which is determined by the direction, meaning and size of the components adequate to the effect of its factors.

The concept of human security is primarily focused on the analysis of factors affecting the quality of life of individuals as local community members, citizens of certain countries, as well as global citizens. The fact is that with globalization the state loses many of its prerogatives that used to affect the decrease of power of influencing the happenings on the international scene. However, despite that, state institutions are still the only ones with a real power of performing a practical action in furtherance of the interests of people living on its territory. The realization of citizens' interests depends not only on the willingness of local institutions that are working in their interest, but also of the international position of a particular state. The set of circumstances on the international scene determines the power of action of the institutions. Here we come to the key determinant of our work: institutions of the system contribute to the quality of life of the citizens to the extent the international circumstances and the position of the state enables them to do that

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HUMAN SECURITY AS A BASIS OF A NEW REGIONAL SECURITY INITIATIVE

ЧОВЕКОВА БЕЗБЕДНОСТ КАКО ОСНОВА НА НОВА РЕГИОНАЛНА БЕЗБЕДНОСНА ИНИЦИЈАТИВА

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Abstract: The paper tries to examine the possibility of using the human security paradigm as concept that would serve as basis of a new regional initiative in the Western Balkans region. Having in mind the turbulences of the past, as well as current cooperation flaws, the paper tries to answer the question if the establishment of this kind of initiative would be fruitful and what conditions are to be met for this initiative to start and carry out its activities. Therefore, in order to answer this basic question, the question: "What are the key elements of the human security concept?" is answered in the first phase. This is done by analyzing the doctrinal and institutional framework of this concept predominantly through relevant UN document. The content analysis method is applied. After that, the application of human security concept by several actors, including states, international organizations, funds and initiatives, is analyzed. This is done in order to establish what kind of experience exists regarding the application of this concept. The deduction and narrative methods are used in this phase. After that, based on the human security definition and analyzed praxis, the following questions are answered in the last chapter: "What are the benefits of this kind of initiative? ", "What are the preconditions to establish and successfully implement this kind of initiative? ", "What kind of approach should it implement?" Thus, the following methods are used in the last chapter: analysis and synthesis as basic methods, as well as comparative method and context analysis method as specific methods. In the concluding remarks, the author points out that the human security concept would be suitable as a theoretical basis for a new regional initiative. In the initial phases, this initiative would implement joint "soft security" or "freedom from want" projects aimed at achieving the wellbeing of individuals and

communities. The author points out that, in the long run, the implementation of this kind of projects could form a favorable ambient for the adoption of a strategic framework which would introduce directives and recommendations in order to achieve a higher level of human security in the states of the region and include even certain politicized or "freedom from fear" projects in order to achieve a holistic, human security approach. In this sense, if the region's specificities are taken into account, it is possible to build upon existing concepts, for example by positively affecting the indicators that determine the value of the Human Security Index.

Keywords: human security, individuals and communities, regional security initiative, cooperation, Western Balkans.

Апстракт: Овој труд ја истражува можноста да се употреби парадигмата на човекова безбедност (human security) како концепт кој ќе служи како основа за нова регионална иницијатива за регионот на Западен Балкан. Имајќи ги предвид турбуленциите од минатото, но и сегашните проблеми во соработката, трудот се обидува да даде одговор на прашањето дали воспоставувањето на ваква иницијатива би било корисно и кои се условите кои би требало да бидат исполнети за ваквата иницијатива да отпочне и да може да ги извршува своите функции. Оттука, за да може да се даде одговор на ова централно прашање, трудот во првиот дел дава одговор на прашањето: „Кои се клучните елементи на концептот наречен човекова безбедност?“ Ова е сторено преку анализа на доктриналната и институционалната рамка на овој концепт, пред сè преку релевантните документи на ОН. Применет е метод на анализа на содржина. Потоа, трудот ја анализира примената на концептот на човекова безбедност од страна на неколку субјекти, вклучувајќи ги државите, меѓународните организации, фондови и иницијативи. Ова е преземено со цел да се покаже какво е искуството при примената на концептот на човекова безбедност во пракса. Методот на дедукција и наративност се искористени во оваа фаза. Во последниот дел од трудот, врз база на теоретската дефиниција на концептот како и анализираната практика, се дава одговор на следниве прашања: „Кои се бенефитите од овој тип на иницијатива?“, „Кои се предусловите да се воспостави и успешно имплементира ваква иницијатива?“ и „ Каков пристап треба да се искористи за нејзино имплементирање?“. Оттука, следниве методи се искористени во последното поглавје: анализа и синтеза како основни методи, но и компаративен метод и анализа на контекст, како конкретни методи. Во завршните согледувања, авторот заклучува дека концептот на човекова

безбедност би бил соодветен како теоретска основа за нова регионална иницијатива. Во своите иницијални фази, оваа иницијатива би применувала проекти како на пример, заедничка „мека безбедност“ или „слобода од беда“, кои би целеле кон благосостојбата на индивидуите и заедниците. Авторот истакнува дека, на долг рок, имплементацијата на ваков тип на проекти би можел да доведе до формирање на погоден амбиент за усвојување на заедничка стратешка рамка, кој пак би придонела кон нови директиви и препораки со цел да се постигне едно повисоко ниво на човекова безбедност во земјите од регионот па дури и да вклучи некои политизирани или проекти како „слобода од страв“, за да се постигне еден холистички пристап на човековата безбедност. Во оваа насока, а имајќи ги предвид специфичностите на регионот, авторот смета дека е можно да се искористат постоечките концепти и да се отпочне оваа иницијатива, на пример преку позитивно делување на индикаторите кои ја детерминираат вредноста на Индексот на Човекова Безбедност (Human Security Index).

Клучни зборови: човекова безбедност, индивидуи и заедници, регионална безбедносна иницијатива, соработка, Западен Балкан

Introduction

Cooperation, as a concept advocated by the predominant (neo) liberal paradigm, is widely considered a necessity in modern societies and states. However, citizens of the Western Balkans states have been witnesses of lack of cooperation in the eighties and early two thousands. Although important and substantial improvements were made, the situation is not eased by the current economic situation and uncertain political future. In this context, finding new cooperation models and arrangements seems to be a key priority issue. Thus, there is a need to consider new, emerging cooperation concepts and ideas. Indubitably, “human security” is one of those concepts.

Human security became a security studies concept with the adoption of the 1994 Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Afterwards, the concept experienced intensive development. In this sense, the following documents made the most important contribution: UN Secretary General Report “We the Peoples: the Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century”, UN Security Council Resolution 1926, Millennium Declaration, document “Human Security Now”, International

Commission Report "Responsibility to Protect", documents "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility" and "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All", as well as UN Secretary General human security reports from 2010, 2012 and 2013.⁵

In order to clarify the human security concept, it is necessary to start from the mentioned UNDP report. According to the document, human security can be understood in the following manner: "It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities".⁶ In accordance with this, new referent objects of security are defined – individuals and communities, while such concepts as "individual security" and "community security" become more common and influential.⁷

Moreover, it is particularly important to emphasize the contribution of the Commission on Human Security and its report named "Human Security Now" (2003). The Commission stance is that human security implies the following: "...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms– freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations".⁸ In accordance with this view, providing human security embraces protection of high intensity treats that endanger a larger number of people.

It is also very important to take into consideration UN Secretary General 2010 Report on human security. This document gives overview of the concept characteristics by

⁵ Although not every of these documents refer directly to human security, every one of them has significant similarities with the concept and brings new value in its understanding.

⁶ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 23,
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf. Accessed on: 1st August 2015.

⁷ Pauline Kerr, „Ljudska sigurnost,“ in *Suvremene sigurnosne studije*, ed. Alan Kolins (Zagreb: Politička kultura, 2010), 104, 105.

⁸ Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*, (New York, 2003), 4,
<http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/91BAEEDBA50C6907C1256D19006A9353-chs-security-may03.pdf>

referring to the most important human security related documents and papers up to date. Its paragraph 19 stipulates the following human security characteristics: "First, human security is in response to current and emerging threats – threats that are multiple, complex and interrelated and can acquire transnational dimensions. Second, human security calls for an expanded understanding of security where the protection and empowerment of people form the basis and the purpose of security. Third, human security does not entail the use of force against the sovereignty of States and aims to integrate the goals of freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity through people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and preventive strategies".^{[9] [10]}

As a broad and developing concept, it can be said that human security has no compactness. Two fundamental approaches can be noticed with significant differences between and within them:

1. Broader approach – this conception encompasses both the freedom from fear and freedom of want
2. Narrower approach – it focuses mainly on the freedom from fear

Thus, the first approach includes, besides protection from (political) violence, protection from a variety of threats and risks: epidemics/pandemics, natural technological and technical incidents and catastrophes, mass migration, economic crisis, deepening of social differences, environment deterioration etc. This approach has much in common with the original UNDP concept. Keith Kraus points out two deficiencies of this approach: its comprehensiveness and, thus, analytical uselessness and operational inapplicability, as well as unclear need of securitizing such a great number of threats in order to accomplish freedom from want.¹¹ There are also views which advocate its operational sustainability provided that the "threshold-based definition" is adopted: "Rather than viewing human security as a list of threats, all of which must at all times be considered security issues,

⁹ United Nations General Assembly, *Human Security Report of the Secretary General*, A/64/701, (8 March 2010), 6, <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/Human%20Security%20Report%202010.pdf>, Accessed on: 2nd August 2015.

¹⁰ The paper's goal is not to present every definition and aspect of human security. In order to have that kind of outcome, a special study would be required.

¹¹ Keith Krause, *Towards a Practical Human Security Agenda*, (Geneva: Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Policy Paper No. 26, 2007), 4, 5.

the concept could instead be viewed in terms of a threshold, so that any threat in any location passing this threshold could become a security threat.”¹²

On the other hand, the narrower approach is usually considered as more operational and providing a better public policy framework.¹³ This approach offers different prevention, crisis management and post-conflict peace building mechanisms. Thus, although challenges, risks and threats remain similar with the traditional, state-centric approach, the referent object is what makes the difference, which consequently leads to different mechanisms and procedures in order to attain security. It can be argued that this approach does not have comprehensiveness and, thus, departs from the core of the concept advocated by UNDP. Before giving an answer to the possible questions: “Which approach would better suit a regional human security initiative?” it is necessary to point out the national and international experiences so far.

Human security in praxis – states, regional and international actors

Nowadays there are a significant number of countries that (to a certain extent) adopted a human security approach. The best known among them are Canada and Japan.

Canada’s approach has its roots in the mid eighties when its Minister of Foreign Affairs Lloyd Axworthy proclaimed human security as a foreign policy framework. If early proclamations are put aside, it can be noticed that Canada adopted a narrow, conflict-focused interpretation because it gives “the greatest added value”.¹⁴ Canada participated in the formulation of the Ottawa Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (1998) which could be the most significant accomplishment of its human security approach.

Japan’s approach has much more in common with the broader concept. It was introduced by Prime Minister of Japan Keizo Obuchi in 1998. The Asian economic crisis in

¹² Mary Martin and Taylor Owen, *Second generation of human security: lessons from UN and EU experience*, in *International Affairs* (Blackwell Publishing Ltd/The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2010), 221.

¹³ Not all authors support this stance. See: Des Gasper, *The Idea of Human Security* (The Hague: Institute for Social Studies, 2008), 26, 27.

¹⁴ Sabina Alkire, *A Conceptual Framework of Human Security*, (Centre of Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2003), 21.

1997 is usually seen as a key incentive factor for such an orientation.¹⁵ Japan supported the establishment of United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) in 1999, advocated the establishment of Advisory Board on Human Security designed to advise UN Security General on the management of UNTFHS, initiated the Commission on Human Security whose final report "Human Security Now" promoted a holistic security concept. It can be said that Japan promotes this concept in three ways: making policy speeches and organizing symposia, engaging other countries on human security in bilateral and multilateral meetings and referring to human security in the outcome documents of such meetings, establishing groups aiming to mainstream human security.¹⁶

Despite the obvious differences between Canada and Japan, the two have in common the fact that human security was used predominantly as foreign policy framework in order to legitimize certain policy preferences, create, and promote a "soft power" security identity. On the other hand, some countries adopted a human security framework for internal, domestic purposes. Mongolia is a good example. The country's government adopted a strategy document named "Good Governance for Human Security: Policy Document" in 2001. The document envisioned 11 rather broad objectives¹⁷ to be carried out in collaboration between the Government, the private sector and civil society. Although some significant steps were taken, the program is seen more as a broad framework for operational guidelines that are still to be designed than a program per se.¹⁸

Moreover, certain steps towards the human security approach were made in Ecuador and Thailand. The first included human security in its constitution (2008),¹⁹ but

¹⁵ Eric Remacle, *Approaches to Human Security: Japan, Canada, and Europe in Comparative Perspective*, (The Journal of Social Science, 2008), 7.

¹⁶ The Trust Fund for Human Security, *For the "Human-Centered" 21st Century*, (Global Issues Cooperation Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, August 2009), 2, http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/t_fund21.pdf.

¹⁷ See: United Nations Development Programme, *Assessment of Development Results, Evaluation of UNDP Contribution, Mongolia*, (March 2011), 15, 16, <http://www.oecd.org/countries/mongolia/48341570.pdf>, Accessed on 3rd August 2015.

¹⁸ Ibid, 16.

¹⁹ United Nations General Assembly, *Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 66/290 on human security, Report of the Secretary-General*, A/68/685, (23 December 2013), 4, http://www.un.org/en/ga/president/68/pdf/S-G_Report_on_Human_Security_A-68-685.pdf.

no operational plans were made based on this concept besides the UNTFHS project aimed at strengthening local capacities for peace and development in the northern border zone of Ecuador. The last established the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in 2002 that promotes human security approach as a tool to identify priorities. This approach has three key elements: self-reliance, community empowerment, and devotion to society.²⁰

At the regional level, the most interesting example is the Pacific Islands Forum, an international organization with 16 member states.²¹ The Forum adopted The Human Security Framework for the Pacific 2012-2015 in June 2012: "The aim of the Framework is to provide a clear common foundation and strategic guidance to Forum Island Countries, the Secretariat and other stakeholders for improving the understanding, planning and implementation of human security approaches in stand-alone and broader peace, security and development initiatives in the unique Pacific context."²² Member states, the Secretariat and other actors who aim to promote human security in the region are invited to adhere to the following action principles: preventive, localized, collaborative, people-centered, and inclusive. The Framework also stipulates five elements: political security, economic security, community, family and personal security, environmental security and social fulfillment. Precise, operative steps are not determined by the Framework, but examples of possible actions are given. Having in mind that the indicators, which determine the impact of the Framework and progress towards human security, are yet to be examined, we can conclude that the human security agenda is still at its beginning in this region. Nonetheless, the adoption of a strategic framework and procedures of its review and improvement, give a strong impulse for its development and implementation in this region.

²⁰ United Nations Development Program, *Human Security, Today and Tomorrow, Thailand Development Report 2009*, (2010), 3, <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/thailand/docs/NHDR2010.pdf>, Accessed on: 9th August 2015.

²¹ Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

²² Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Human Security Framework, <http://www.forumsec.org/pages.cfm/political-governance-security/human-security-framework/>, Accessed on: 9th August 2015.

The Environment and Security Initiative (ENVSEC) also operates at the regional level. It is a partnership of six international organizations - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Regional Environment Centre for Central and Eastern Europe (REC), United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an associated partner. ENVSEC aims to help governments and communities to identify common solutions and develop joint projects. This approach includes mechanisms, which address links between the natural environment and human security.²³ It helped the implementation of 150 projects in four regions - Central Asia, Eastern Europe, Southern Caucasus, and South-Eastern Europe. However, it can be argued that this initiative does not have a holistic approach, but focuses predominantly on environmental issues.

Perhaps the most prominent human security approach can be observed at the international level - The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. Based on the General Assembly Resolution 66/290 (2012) which recognizes as an approach suitable for identifying and addressing widespread and crosscutting challenges,²⁴ the Fund was established by the Government of Japan and UN Secretariat in 1999. Since 2004, it is administered by the Human Security Unit (HSU), which operates within the UN system. It has the four goals: to underscore the importance of human security for all, to respond to different situations of human insecurity, to develop practical tools, and to disseminate lessons learned and foster collaboration.²⁵ HSU operates within its Strategic Plan (2014-2017) with special attention paid to the role of UNTFHS and its projects. By 2014 UNTFHS has realized more than 210 projects worldwide: "Projects have succeeded in rebuilding war-torn communities; protecting people exposed to extreme poverty, sudden economic

²³ The Environment and Security Initiative, Transforming risks into Cooperation, <http://www.envsec.org/index.php?lang=en>, Accessed on: 12th August 2015.

²⁴ United Nations, *General Assembly, Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on 10 September 2012, Follow-up to paragraph 143 on human security of 2005 World Summit Outcome*, A/RES/66/290, (25 October 2010), <http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/hsu%20documents/GA%20Resolutions.pdf>, Accessed on: 12th August 2015.

²⁵ United Nations Human Security Fund, About Human Security Unit, url: <http://www.un.org/humansecurity/human-security-unit/about-human-security-unit-0>, Accessed on: 13th August 2015.

downturns and natural disasters; and addressing urban violence, trafficking in persons, arms and illicit substances; among others."²⁶

Besides the mentioned examples, many other subjects, including states, international organizations, NGOs, groups, forums, initiatives, etc, promoted human security. Nonetheless, great majority of these subjects does not use this concept as an internal policy framework, but more as a foreign policy tool, a base for a security identity or a concept used for lobbying purposes.

Human Security as a framework for the Western Balkans

Various forms of political and economic instability in Western Balkans countries²⁷ have made cooperation impossible at the end of the twentieth century. As a response to those circumstances, various forms of regional initiatives were promoted in order to foster conciliation and rapprochement.²⁸ The majority of those initiatives was introduced by the West and, consequently, had European and Euroatlantic standards as a main idea and policy framework. This idea was productive to a certain extent and the majority of authors agree that significant improvement was made as far as the security situation in the region and overall regional cooperation. However, this idea drives its force from external models. Recognizing the value of these models and standards, the region could go further by adopting a human security approach as a base of a local owned initiative and develop cooperation driven by internal forces based on universal ideas and principles.

²⁶ United Nations Human Security Fund, Trust Fund Achievements around the World, url: <http://www.un.org/humansecurity/trust-fund>, Accessed on: 13th August 2015.

²⁷ The term "Western Balkans" refers to countries that emerged from ex-Yugoslavia minus Slovenia plus Albania.

²⁸ Among others, the following regional security initiatives were established: South-East Europe Cooperation Process (SEEC), South-East Europe Initiative (SEEI), U.S - Adriatic Charter, South Eastern Defence Ministerial (SEDM), Southeast Europe Clearinghouse (SEEC), Regional Arms Control Verification and Implementation Assistance Centre (RACVIAC), Regional Center for Combating Transbordering Crime (SECI), Disaster Preparation and Prevention Initiative for South-Eastern Europe (DPPISSE), Regional Anticorruption Initiative (RAI), Police Convention on South Eastern Europe (PCC SEE), Southeast European Police Chiefs Association (SEPCA). See: Mehmedin Tahirović, "Regionalne bezbjednosne inicijative", in *Crna Gora u XXI stoljeću – u eri kompetitivnosti, Integracija u evropske i evroatlantske strukture*, ed. Gordana Đurović (Podgorica: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2010), 122-134.

Although such an idea may seem idealistic or utopist, it can be argued that, its inception and effective functioning may be easier to accomplish than it may appear.

Firstly, the rooted argument that Western Balkan region is “immune” to (unforced) collaboration must be rejected. If only the experiences before the ex-Yugoslavia wars are taken into consideration, many examples from the previous century can confirm this stance: alliances during Balkan wars and World War One, the formation of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Balkan Conferences (1930-1933), Balkan Pact Agreement (1934), formation of Democratic Federative Yugoslavia (1943-45) and Federative Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-63), Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation (1953), Balkan Countries Foreign Ministers Conferences (1988-90), etc.²⁹

Secondly, the analyzed cases, especially UNFHS and ENVSEC testify that a human security approach can be adopted and function effectively. These organizations carried out a vast number of projects aimed at improving individual and community security.

Thirdly, common criticism that human security framework does not provide any concrete indicators to measure the level of human security. This argument has already been called severely into question by the release of Human Security Index (HSI) reports in 2008 and 2010. HSI covers 232 countries and considers more than 30 leading economic indicators. If such an index can be measured for 232, it can also be done, even with much more relevant indicators, for a small group of Western Balkan countries. Moreover, since priority would be given to improvement of most concerning indicators, the usual narrow/broad approach dilemma loses its importance.

Fourthly, the lack of experience for this kind of initiative in the region can impose a challenge only to a certain extent. The initiative would not start ex nihilo, but built upon the mentioned experiences, including the projects carried out by UNFHS³⁰ and ENVSEC.³¹ The experiences of the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) would also be taken in consideration, not only as a locally owned initiative, but also as an initiative that develops

²⁹ Duško Lopandić, Jasminka Kronja, *Regionalne inicijative i multilateralna saradnja na Balkanu*, (Beograd: Evropski pokret u Srbiji, 2010), 33-54.

³⁰ UNTFHS has 18 completed/on-going projects in the Western Balkans region.

³¹ ENVSEC has more than 30 completed/on-going projects in the Western Balkans region. Some of these projects include the participation of non-Western Balkans states.

regional strategies, most notably "South East Europe 2020" which gives a policy framework, precise objectives and implementation instruments as well as mechanisms of governance and monitoring.

It can be argued that there are no serious methodological or technical obstacles to start such an initiative. Nonetheless, political will and financial resources are a necessary precondition of its inception and functioning. In this context, it is easy to predict that certain types of projects necessary for the improvement of human security indicators would not have the support of national political elites. Thus, the initiative would have to concentrate, at least in the short run, on projects, which do not have political implications. Some types of economic, social, environmental and health care projects could be suitable, while governance and minority rights issues could be put aside. This kind of projects would be certainly welcomed by the targeted communities, while the sovereignty of states would not be jeopardized. If the governments could directly support this, the initiative could start as an international NGO. As far as financial resources, besides regional contributions, this kind of initiative would certainly be welcomed by UN and its agencies, UNTFHS and developed states that advocate the human security approach. In the short run, some kinds of quotas would be suitable in order to assure that donated funds do not significantly transfer from one country to another.

In the end the implementation of this kind of projects could form a favorable ambient for the adoption of a strategic framework which would introduce directives and recommendations in order to achieve a higher level of human security in the Western Balkans states. Over time, this framework could include certain kinds of political projects. If the initiative is guided impartially and responsibly (which could be the biggest challenge for such a subject), this initiative could not just improve life conditions, but also substantially improve international relations among the Western Balkans states. As distant as it may seem, we have to have in mind that human security is a concept that is gaining more and more support not just as a discourse, but also as a policy framework. It is a modern, progressive and useful concept, which drives its strength not just from documents and doctrines, but also from its emancipatory postulates, which do not focus, on states, but on universal categories – individuals and communities. Although it would be delusional to expect the world powers to adopt it in the short run, it could be suitable for small states as the Western Balkans region ones.

Conclusion

Since its inception in 1994, the human security concept has elaborated in several directions by several authors. However, it is most important and referent explications were given in several UN documents, with the UN Secretary General human security reports giving the most complete overview.

Over time, this concept has risen from a mere proclamation to an important policy framework tool. While some developed states, such as Canada and Japan, use it predominantly for foreign policy purposes, some states, regional and international organizations use it as a framework for identifying and addressing internal challenges. Mongolia, Ecuador and Thailand are included in the group of states that use such a framework, while the Pacific Islands Forum, ENVSEC and UNFHS are international organizations what use such an approach.

Having in mind this kind of global context as well as the complex challenges that are still present in the Western Balkans states, the eligibility a human security approach cannot be questioned. The concept should not be seen as a replacement for a state-centric one, neither as a threat to European and Euroatlantic values and discourses, but rather as a complementary framework.

Although the adoption of such new practices may seem idealistic, it can be argued that, as far as previous experience, applicability and improvement measurement criteria, there are no substantial obstacles. The main preconditions, such as political will and financial resources could be realized through a regional human security initiative. In its beginning, phases sensitive, political issues would not be at the table, but the most prominent "soft security" challenges would be addressed.

In the end, this initiative would be beneficial not just for the projects' targeted groups, but for whole societies by fostering substantial rapprochement, reconciliation and mutual trust. Perhaps even more importantly, this initiative could contribute to a new culture of international relations among the Western Balkans states. Indubitably, activities driven by internal forces would make a solid base for genuine cooperation and permanent stability in the region.

To many times the region has been one-step behind. Maybe it is time to be one-step ahead.

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MONTENEGRO AND NATO – CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT: Foreign policy agenda of Montenegro from the restoration of independence was moving into direction of European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. There was a high level of consensus in the country, especially when it comes to joining the European Union. Montenegro has formally started negotiations with the EU in late July 2012, and now is at the door step of NATO bearing in the mind the commitment to contribute to the preservation of peace at the regional and global level. Montenegro in July 2009 made a decision to engage the army representatives in the ISAF mission in Afganistan. The officials expect the invitation for membership in NATO to the end of this year, but it is more evident that not everything in this story depends on Montenegro.

Key words: NATO, shallenges, perspectives, security, reform.

Introduction

After the SFRY was disintegrated and the communism collapsed in this region, Montenegro remained in a state union with Serbia. In the early 2000s, the Government of Montenegro decided to gradually return the functions and authorities, previously devolved to Federation by the 1992 Constitution, under the jurisdiction of the State of Montenegro. Thus Montenegro started the process of establishing its own economic, monetary, legal, political and security system, while moving towards regaining its independence at a referendum. Under pressure from the European Union, the Montenegrin governing authorities signed the Belgrade Agreement on March 14th, 2002, which set forth the parameters for a new joint state established under the name of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, thus agreeing not to hold a referendum on

independence in Montenegro over the next three years. After a very difficult negotiation process participated actively by the EU and the Venice Commission, the majority necessary for the declaration of independence was set at 55% of voters who cast their ballots. It ensured high legitimacy to the referendum results on 21st May 2006, of 55.5% in favor of independence wing and the regaining of independence of Montenegro at 86.5% of turnout at the polls. The way Montenegro regained its independence was the reason that it was recognized by most countries and became a member of the UN, OSCE and the Council of Europe shortly afterwards.

On July 3rd 2006 the Parliament of Montenegro adopted *the Declaration of Independence of Montenegro*, which marked the membership in the NATO as a strategic priority.³² The major focus of the first Government in the independent Montenegro was directed towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration and the development of political and military cooperation with NATO.³³ It did not take long for Montenegro to start official relations with the NATO. The relations actually began the same year when Montenegro regained its independence. Since Montenegro formally began a Membership Action Plan (MAP) in 2009, it is currently one of the first official NATO-aspirant countries to be given the full NATO membership. Although Montenegro expected to be invited to join the NATO during the summit in Wales in September 2014, it did not happen for several reasons. The NATO allies made such a decision primarily due to the current Ukraine crisis, as well as the opinion that Montenegro should continue to implement the conditions and standards of its reform agenda that will bring it closer to the NATO membership. The most vital of these reforms concern meeting the following four issues: strengthening the rule of law; facing and fighting organized crime; balanced funding of the security sector; public support for Montenegrin aspiration to join the NATO.

Montenegro in the Partnership for Peace

Official relations between Montenegro and the NATO began on 29th November 2006, when Montenegro was invited to join the PfP during the Riga Summit. Next month Montenegro was given the status of observer in the Adriatic Charter. The invitation for the PfP membership was received only six months after Montenegro regained its

³² Dubljević Radonja, "Pet godina od Deklaracije nezavisne Crne Gore", Matica, proljeće 2011, p.10

³³ Rezolucija o neophodnosti ubrzanja procesa integracija Crne Gore u evropske i evroatlantske strukture, Službeni list Crne Gore, 9. Oktobar 2010.

independence, which is a remarkable achievement and confirmation of Montenegro's commitment and dedication on its path to Euro-Atlantic integration.

The cooperation of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro resulted in developing the Presentation Document which was then drafted and passed by the Government and presented in Brussels at the NATO headquarters, on April 25th, 2007. This document stressed the membership in NATO as one of the most significant political and security priorities of Montenegro, and highlighted the following actions to be taken in order to achieve this goal in the forthcoming period: developing bilateral and multilateral political cooperation at the regional level and within NATO; enhancing cooperative military relations with the NATO Partners and Allies; implementing the defense system reform and building up long-term defense capabilities and military forces that would be interoperable with the NATO member states' forces; reinforcing a system of democratic control of the armed forces; raising public awareness among the citizens of Montenegro and clarifying the benefits of membership in NATO to its public.³⁴

On the very same day when the Presentation Document was introduced at the NATO headquarters in Brussels, Montenegro and the NATO signed *the Agreement on security of information with NATO (eng. Agreement on security of information)*, along with a bilateral Agreement that mutually guaranteed the minimum standards required for the protection of exchanged information and provided the State authorities of Montenegro access to the information marked under a certain level of classification.³⁵ Conclusion of the said Agreement has created the conditions for an active role of Montenegro in the PfP and the access to the NATO documents which are necessary in the implementation of practical actions in the field of scientific and military - technical cooperation, holding joint military exercises, etc. The first inspection control regarding the implementation of this Agreement was carried out at the beginning of March 2010. After this visit, the Security Office submitted the official report including a positive assessment of the measures undertaken on the protection of the NATO classified information.³⁶

³⁴ Presentation document of the Republic of Montenegro, www.odbrana.gov.me

³⁵ Tahirović Mehmedin, „Crna Gora na putu u NATO“, Podgorica 2010, p. 59

³⁶ Ibidem, p.61

PfP Mechanisms and Tools

Participating in *PARP* mechanism was the first step within the PfP activities. After receiving the PARP Questionnaire sent by the NATO in mid 2007, Montenegro started working on the replies which were officially delivered in September of the same year. PARP compliance assessment experts visited Montenegro in December. After the compliance procedure was successfully completed, 32 partnership objectives were agreed on to be met by Montenegro within a two-year timeframe, whereas the PARP assessment and partnership objectives were officially adopted by the end of March 2008. As far as the Montenegrin partnership objectives were concerned, this first PARP set of partnership objectives mostly focused on the activities related to the implementation of language learning, budget planning, building up the interoperable military units, developing planning and budgeting procedures, as well as drafting the Strategic Defense Review.³⁷ If we look at the figures, 26 out of 32 partnership objectives are related to the Ministry of Defense and the Army of Montenegro, 4 to the Police Directorate, 1 to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and 1 to the Directorate for Personal Data Protection.³⁸ In June 2008, Montenegro received the second PARP Questionnaire, prepared its reply and submitted it to the NATO by the end of September 2009. Montenegro delivered its reply to the third PARP Questionnaire in October 2010, and completed the compliance of the PARP assessment in March 2011. The reply to the fourth PARP Questionnaire was delivered in October 2012. Montenegro will harmonize the PARP assessment for 2015 with the Allies on the grounds of this reply.

The Presentation Document was submitted to the NATO on June 24th 2008, on the day Montenegro entered the Intensified Dialogue with the NATO, whereas it was adopted on the North Atlantic Council meeting on July 15th 2008. All the important issues that the State should address by the date of its accession to the full NATO membership are put forth in the IPAP of Montenegro. The main goals set out in the IPAP include the following:

*Political and security issues; The defense, security and military objectives;
Public information, science, the environment and crisis management issues;
Administrative issues and Information Security.*³⁹

³⁷ Tahirović Mehmedin, „Proces planiranja i revizije PARP“, Partner, no.3, 2008, p.10.

³⁸ Ibidem

³⁹ Individualni partnerski akcioni plan Crne Gore i NATO, Podgorica 2008, p.7

The first annual assessment of IPAP conducted by the NATO delegation in March 2009 resulted in a positive evaluation given by the Alliance. Another NATO PfP mechanism, *Intensified Dialogue* (eng. *Intensified dialogue, ID*) was being implemented simultaneously with the IPAP.

Four meetings have been held within the Intensified Dialogue between Montenegro and the NATO, as this mechanism is implemented in the form of meetings between the North Atlantic Council and the high representatives of the relevant State.

Intensified Dialogue between Montenegro and the NATO was finalized during the meeting of the North Atlantic Council on March 9th 2009, after it was concluded that the Alliance was satisfied with the progress achieved in establishing relations with Montenegro. Certain expectations which followed the invitation for participation in this programme, such as the invitation for participation in the Membership Action Plan, were considered to have been fulfilled due to a successful completion of the Intensified Dialogue.

Since February 2007 Montenegro is taking part in the PfP programme *Science for Peace*, which links scientists from the NATO member and partner countries. Montenegro has also been implementing the GEPSUS Project since December 2010, (*Geographical Information Processing for Environmental Pollution – Related Security within Urban scale Environment*) dealing with the simulation of accidents that result in uncontrolled emission of air polluters and the release of poisonous gasses. There are more on-going projects, such as the project of *Harmonization of Seismic Hazard Maps for the Western Balkan Countries*, with the Institute of Hydrometeorology and Seismology of Montenegro as a leading partner in this project, as well as the project entitled *Increasing the Clearance Capacity for Unexploded Ordnance in Montenegro*, which is going to be implemented in stages by 2016, with the Directorate for Emergency Situations as a project leader.⁴⁰

Security and Defense Sector Reform

In order to start with the activities in the PfP, it was necessary to draft up some of the most important strategic documents in a very short time, so the Strategy on National Security was adopted in June 2006, while the Defense Strategy and the Law on Army, as well as the Law on Defense were adopted in July 2007. The Ministry of Defense

⁴⁰ Alijansa za nauku, www.natomontenegro.me, august 2014.

of Montenegro was established at the end of 2006, ie at the time when Montenegro had already become a member of the PfP. This was followed by the adoption of the new Constitution, given that during the post-referendum period the 1992 Constitution had been effective. The adoption of the new Constitution required two-thirds vote in the Parliament, so it took a while before the new Constitution was passed on 19th October 2007. The constitutional and legal preconditions for the reform of the security sector were met by passing the new Constitution.

Activities and operations aimed at the equipping and modernization of the Army of Montenegro will also be one of the main objectives during 2015, just as they used to be in the previous years. Five key priorities have been specified in this regard: purchase of equipment for reserve forces; modernization of Command - operations center; supply of multi-purpose transport helicopters; purchase of modern radars for air surveillance; setting up an operational center in the Air Force of Montenegro.⁴¹

The new Strategy on National Security was passed by the Parliament at the end of November 2008, the new Defense Strategy was adopted the next month, whereas the new Law on Army of Montenegro was passed on December 23rd 2009. The Strategy on National Security confirmed the commitment of Montenegro to undertake all necessary actions to meet the requirements of European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The Strategy outlined Montenegrin desire to establish good relations with the NATO and indicated that the integration into the NATO is deemed a security interest and objective of Montenegro. Complementary to the objectives set out in the Strategy on National Security, the Defense Strategy of Montenegro stated that Montenegro is focused on the implementation of developing operational capacities necessary for obtaining the full membership in the NATO, in order to achieve its strategic defense objective.⁴²

Montenegrin 2009 Law on Army stipulates democratic and civilian army control.⁴³ In terms of its organisation, Montenegro has opted for a fully professional standing army. Montenegro has observed the international standards regarding the size of its Army forces, so a total number of active duty members comprises 0.39% of the state population. The armed forces include all the three military branches – the army, air force and the navy. Considering the NATO's initiative that, in addition to the financial and military resources, each member state should also have appropriate human resources

⁴¹ „Partner“, mjesečnik, Ministarstvo odbrane Crne Gore, no.61, 2014, p.9

⁴² Strategija odbrane Crne Gore, Službeni list Crne Gore, december 2008.

⁴³ Zakon o Vojsci Crne Gore, Službeni list Crne Gore, 23. Decembar 2008.

available, there has been an emerging need to enhance administrative capacities as a necessary precondition for the further integration process of Montenegro. Therefore, Montenegro has had to seek assistance from NATO partners through various projects, such as the Norwegian project of *Defense and Security Sector Reforms* (eng. *Defense and Security Sector Reforms, DSSR*), American *Programme of International Education and Training* (eng. *International Military Education and Training Programme, IMET*), an arrangement signed with the US corporation Military Professional Resources on training the Montenegrin contingent for peacekeeping operations. Special attention has been paid to strengthening the administrative capacity of the Ministry of Defense, as the key institution in the process of building up an effective defense system. Consequently, the *Development Strategy for Human Resource Management (HRM) in the Ministry of Defense of Montenegro* was adopted in March 2014, as the first strategic document in the field of human resources management in the relevant ministry. The principles of competence and professionalism in the civil service that the NATO particularly insists upon are those which must be primarily followed in the process of strengthening administrative capacities. The reform of the *National Security Agency*, as a security – intelligence service operating as an integral part of the Montenegrin security system, is extremely important within the overall process of the security sector reforms. This Service is defined as one of the components of the intelligence and security sector of Montenegro by the 2014 *Law on Basic Principles of Montenegrin Intelligence and Security Sector*. The security sector reforms, including the NSA, require a new, reformed National Security Agency, which, in addition to protecting the national security interests, will also operate as a linking point of the NATO intelligence community. A significant progress has been achieved in the NSA reform process over the last few years. 22 bylaws and general acts were adopted during 2012 and 2013, as well as the 10 regulations in the area of financial management and control. The relevant state authorities are currently working on amendments to the NSA Law. As indicated by the *Bill on Amendments to the Law on the National Security Agency*, the adoption of this law has been proposed with the aim to improve the legal framework of the NSA operations, within the process of Euro-Atlantic integration and the implementation of recommendations related to the invitation to join the NATO that Montenegro received. The Government of Montenegro established the *Bill on Amendments to the Law on the National Security Agency* at its session on June 5th

2014, while the Assembly of Montenegro adopted it on 17th February 2015. Montenegro will finalize the reforms cycle in this area upon the completion of the NSA reform.⁴⁴

Participation of Montenegrin Army Members in NATO-Led Missions

The Army of Montenegro took part in the ISAF peacekeeping mission in 2010, and their deployment lasted until the end of the mission, ie 31st December 2014. During that period there were 10 rotations of Montenegrin soldiers in Afghanistan, and 10 contingents of armed forces members were deployed with the ISAF mission. During the first 3 years of deployment within the mission, Montenegrin contingents were involved in the tasks of securing the base Pannonia in Pol-e Chomri. Since March 2013, Montenegrin Army troops have been disposed in the base Marmal with the task to protect the coalition forces. The last, 10th Montenegrin contingent in ISAF mission included 15 members. Following the completion of the ISAF mission, a new, NATO-led mission called *Resolute Support* was launched, with Montenegrin Army members participating. Currently 15 members of the Army of Montenegro are deployed within the *Resolute Support*, with the responsibility to provide security to the allied teams for training the Afghan national security forces, advise, and provide in-place and on-the-move assistance.⁴⁵

The Citizens of Montenegro and NATO

The Communication Strategy on Euro-Atlantic Integration of Montenegro was adopted in October 2007. As a strategic document with regard to informing the public on Euro-Atlantic integration, the Communication strategy has been an instrument for achieving a clear goal, ie to keep the public fully informed on the issue, in order to ensure a successful implementation of the Euro-Atlantic integration process.

The Government formed the Coordination Team for Implementation of Communication Strategy on Euro-Atlantic integration of Montenegro, competent for drawing up and implementing six-month action plans, as well as for preparing semiannual reports for the Government. The funds for the implementation of the Strategy are allocated from the State budget. Monitoring the Communication Strategy implementation will be realized, *inter alia*, on the basis of public opinion polls. What is interesting for

⁴⁴Tahirović Mehmedin, Petrić Renato, „Integracija Crne Gore u NATO“, Podgorica 2015, p.121.

⁴⁵Ibidem, p.152-155.

analysis and of great importance to the Euro-Atlantic integration process are actually public opinion polls, ie the results of these surveys.

Over the past nine years, the citizens' attitude towards the NATO membership has been different comparing to the public opinion on the EU accession, as Montenegro is also an aspiring EU member. While the attitude towards the EU accession is consistently positive, it is not the case with the NATO. The explanation for this situation may be found in several reasons, such as the specific nature of the NATO alliance, the lack of information among the citizens on the core concept of the Alliance, the recent history with the NATO involvement in the region and the country that Montenegro was a part of, etc. Based on the public opinion poll conducted by the Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) in June 2008, and needed for the Communication Team for Implementation of Communication Strategy, only 27,6% of citizens supported the idea of joining the NATO, with 38,5% opposed and 33,9% undecided. The poll conducted by the Centre for Monitoring (CEMI) in January 2009 showed that 39,5% of citizens supported joining the NATO, 37,9% opposed, while 7% did not have an opinion. The poll conducted in November 2013 by the CEDEM showed that 45% of population had a positive opinion on the membership in the NATO, while 38% opposed and 17% did not have an opinion. The poll taken in September 2014 by the CEDEM showed that 35% of the citizens supported the membership in the NATO, while 45% opposed and 20% did not have an opinion. The same poll provided the information on the population structure, ie the membership in NATO is mostly supported by the citizens with completed primary education, civil servants and state employees, 35-45-year-old citizens, as well as the Albanian nationality population. In March 2015, the support for the NATO membership reached the level of about 38%.⁴⁶

After considering the data given above, we can come to the conclusion that the public opinion and general attitude towards the idea of Montenegro joining the NATO is rather unstable, still showing a slight, but continued and prospering tendency of growth in favour of the NATO integration.

The latest public opinion polls taken by "IPSOS Strategic Marketing" and "Damar" in the first half of June 2015, resulted for the first time with the majority of eligible voters who would support the country's NATO integration process. According to the survey conducted

⁴⁶ Stavovi javnog mnjenja Crne Gore o NATO integracijama, CEDEM (Centar za demokratiju i ljudska prava), Podgorica, decembar 2013, septembar 2014; Ivanović Katarina, „NATO i Zapadni Balkan: komparativni procesi pristupanja i članstva u NATO“, magistarski rad; www.fpn.co.me

by the agency "Damar", 41.6% of citizens said they would support Montenegro's membership in the NATO, while 39.7% would be against it, and 18.7% of the respondents said they would not know. The survey taken by the agency "Ipsos" shows that in case of a referendum, 47% of citizens would vote for the membership, while 41% would be against it.⁴⁷

The Communication team of the Government claim the support for membership in the NATO has increased by about 10% comparing to February 2015. The key reasons for supporting membership are the following: the NATO would guarantee Montenegro's sovereignty and remain a source of stability in the Balkans, preventing any new war conflicts in this region, while on the downside the main reason against the support is the fact that the Alliance bombed Serbia and Montenegro. The percentage of citizens who support NATO has increased due to the public expectations that Montenegro could receive an invitation to join the Alliance, but also due to an intensified campaign carried out by political parties and the civil sector, state the reps of the agencies that conducted the polls.⁴⁸

Intensified and Focused Dialogue between the NATO and Montenegro

As soon as the framework agenda for the Wales Summit was set on 24th June 2014, during the meeting of the NATO member states' foreign ministers held in Brussels, it was obvious and clear that Montenegro would not receive the invitation to join the NATO at the Wales Summit held at the beginning of September 2014, as the issue of enlargement was not included in the agenda. The decision made in June by which Montenegro was not going to be invited to join the Alliance was confirmed at the Wales Summit. In the final Summit Declaration it was outlined that the NATO welcomed Montenegro's progress with reforms and its constructive role in the Western Balkans. Accordingly, the NATO has launched intensified and focused dialogue with Montenegro, and the Alliance will decide on the invitation for membership by the end of 2015.⁴⁹ The form and content of the dialogue will be related to the continuing process of reforms in already mentioned four key reform chapters for Montenegro. Thus NATO has expressed

⁴⁷ „Vijesti“, 24 June 2015.

⁴⁸ „Vijesti“ 25 June 2015.

⁴⁹ Wales Summite Declaration issued by the Head of State and Government participating in the meeting og the North Atlantic Council in Wales, issued on 5. September 2014.

willingness to invite a country to join the Alliance in-between the summits for the first time in its history, based on the decision passed by the foreign ministers, which would be a precedent in the NATO's enlargement policy. As stated in the Declaration, the NATO has encouraged Montenegro to continue with its progress especially in areas such as strengthening the rule of law and reforms of the security sector. Increasing public support for Montenegro's membership in the NATO has been assessed as particularly positive.

In January 2015, the Embassy of Hungary in Montenegro officially became a NATO Contact Point Embassy for cooperation between Montenegro and the NATO. Hungary strongly supports Montenegro on its path to NATO integration, believing that Montenegro has met all the necessary criteria to become the next NATO member state.

In his recent statement, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg has confirmed that NATO will make a decision by the end of the year on whether to invite Montenegro to join the Alliance and will not prolong the decision until the Warsaw Summit in July next year. During the press conference in the central NATO headquarters, he has reminded that the dialogue with Montenegro has been intensified and focused. The results, said Stoltenberg, are visible.

"NATO has observed the steady progress Montenegro is making in the intelligence sector, defense sector and the area of the rule of law. We will address the progress you have made and decide by the end of the year," said Stoltenberg.⁵⁰ Montenegro has accepted this as considerable encouragement.

Conclusion

Montenegro is among the smallest countries of the Western Balkans, when it comes to the size of the territory and the population number. However, the geopolitical position of Montenegro, which has an exit to the Adriatic Sea, is of great importance for the whole region and even the whole peninsula. Membership in NATO of this territorially small but geostrategic ally very important country is certainly the objective of the Alliance itself. What NATO gets with Montenegro's membership is a step forward in the strategy of rounding the Western Balkans and the Mediterranean region, as a region integrated into its system of collective defence. On the other hand, the benefits for

⁵⁰ „Vijesti“, 3 July 2015.

Montenegro that are most often heard in the Montenegrin public stage by supporters of NATO membership can be grouped as several arguments⁵¹:

- *Preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty* – Although Montenegro is not threatened by external aggression, due to historical experiences, this reason must be considered reasonable. The very nature of the Western Balkans region, which throughout the history did not have longer periods spent in peace, was sufficient to seek the guarantee for the territorial integrity and sovereignty in the international organisation of this calibre. If we take into account the circumstances in the completely international community, in which no country is able to independently deal with security threats and security risks, then the NATO membership is the best solution for Montenegro.

- *Reform of the national security system* – We already talked about the fact that, after the restoration of independence, Montenegro had to be committed to building of its institutions and not their reform. Through NATO mechanisms, the process of building and reform of all elements of national security was cheaper and more effective.

- *Lower costs for the defence sector* – For Montenegro, the country with still under-developed economy, the NATO's *smart defence* system is of utmost importance, which is more cost-effective than a system of total defence for which Montenegro would not have financial or resource funds.

- *Participation in the collective security system* – Membership in NATO is a guarantee of right to invoke Article 5 of the Articles of Incorporation of NATO, which, at the time of soft security challenges in the international community, is a clause of great value. It is not possible to independently find the response to modern challenges and threats. Cyber crime and terrorism represent one of the major global threats to modern security, and NATO is the only organisation that systematically deals with the protection from these phenomena.⁵²

- *Stable and dynamic development* – Since the end of World War II, NATO members have not been in a longer period of peace and without armed conflicts. This is a quality recommendation for foreign investors who want to invest in Montenegro. With its membership in NATO, Montenegro would be a safe destination for investments and it would send a message to investors about the security of their capital in a safe and non-conflict environment. Being in the company of the most powerful countries, which function on identical values, democracy, the rule of law and human freedoms, is of utmost

⁵¹ Tahirović Mehmedin, Petrić Renato, „Integracija Crne Gore u NATO“, Podgorica 2015, p.188-189

⁵² Ibidem

importance for a country like Montenegro, which needs to develop its economy and society as a whole.⁵³

Opponents of NATO membership believe that Montenegro does not need this membership, since it has no territorial claims towards neighbouring countries and they have no territorial claims towards Montenegro, and that there is no threat to its territorial integrity and sovereignty. They argue that the Alliance bombed Serbia and Montenegro and that there were civilian casualties in the territory of Montenegro. Then, they are convinced that this will lead to a deterioration of relations with Russia, which have a long historical tradition. They also express fear that Montenegro will be in greater danger of terrorism, as a NATO member, because of the role of this alliance in various conflicts in the world. Finally, they consider that citizens in a referendum should make the final decision on Montenegro's membership in NATO.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRAFFIC CALMING MEASURES BETWEEN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

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Abstract: Traffic is an extremely important organized social and human activity. Life in the modern society is unimaginable without traffic. Traffic is the result of the level of development of a country, and vice versa, itself it wields pressure on the development of a country's economy. There is a strong association between traffic and the economic development. The development of technology has a profound impact on traffic and the dependency of transport systems on their surroundings in an economic, social and geographical sense. Traffic is among the central topics in all concepts of sustainable development. Traffic safety in the world and in our country is viewed as a fundamental issue that requires a permanent solution. Each day we pay a very high price for the advantages of the modern and dynamic motorized and non-motorized road transport. In support of the increasing traffic safety, in this paper we shall analyse the problem of setting up traffic calming measures in the country. In the comparative analysis through this paper, we recognize that each country has a different approach to the assessment of costs and benefits of traffic calming measures and access to the methods of their installation in urban areas. In most developed countries, such as the United States or the

UK, the calculations are based on a designed project comprising different variables. Whereas in Macedonia there is not even one project upon which such installation could be performed, thus proved by the surveys conducted in 54 municipalities and their budgets from which funds are allocated. From the results received from the survey on the installation of traffic calming measures in developed countries and in the Republic of Macedonia, measures will be proposed and taken from the experiences on how to improve or increase traffic safety through traffic calming measures.

Key words: safety, traffic, traffic calming measures, economic significance, developed countries

Introduction

Technological developments in the twentieth century advanced a complex road network and integrated transport systems, by growing an extremely complex structure of space and time, with a number of features and alternative technologies. The functioning of this system allows operation of the world economy at all levels, but also causes direct and indirect effects, which, from the standpoint of the human community, can be valued as negative. Perception and quantification of these effects is the first step towards economic modelling of costs in traffic. In academic research, there is an opinion that traffic costs include only what the state or the users pay for traffic services. But the terms: effects or traffic costs include a broader set of costs that can be considered in terms of direct and indirect beneficiaries in relation to the society.

Each country has a different approach to the assessment of the cost-benefit of traffic calming measures. In more developed countries such as the United States or the UK, the calculations are based on a project, which comprises different variables. The developed countries have a different approach to calculating the costs for the installation of traffic calming measures. In some countries, these calculations are more than the cost for physical installation of the same, and some calculate all other factors, including the costs for setting up signalization, increasing safety, the cost benefit from reducing the volume of traffic, increasing road interaction of all participants in traffic, hindering the movement of emergency vehicles, and some countries even calculate the benefit to the business community.

This paper analyses the implementation of traffic calming measures in the developed countries and in the Republic of Macedonia. The first section displays examples of surveys conducted in several developed countries on the installation of traffic calming

measures. The second one covers the analyses of the installation of traffic calming measures in the Republic of Macedonia through a research made by the authors. The third part provides conclusions and recommendations for increasing the safety measures in traffic in the Republic of Macedonia.

Installation of traffic calming measures in developed countries

According to the research conducted by the Department of Transport of Minnesota (Table 1), the installation of traffic calming measures confirmed their hypothesis that the same lead to increased traffic safety in the sense of reducing the speed of vehicles and decreased volume of vehicles on the streets where they are installed. Regarding the cost of their installation, cost-benefit analysis justifies setting traffic calming measures. Table 1 displays the annual costs and benefits from the installation of traffic calming measures in Minnesota.

Table 1 – Funds allocated for traffic calming measures in Minnesota⁵⁴

Type of traffic calming measure	Costs	Performance	
Chicanes	5,000 – 10,000 USD by location	Speed reduction by 6%	Reducing the volume of traffic 13%
Street Narrowing	50 USD at 30cm	Speed reduction from 4 to 22%	Reducing the volume of traffic from 17% to 48%
Bumps	7,000 USD per pair	Speed reduction to 15%	Reducing the volume of traffic 13%
Roundabouts	3,000 – 15,000 USD		94% reduction of traffic accidents

The competent institutions in Minnesota are constantly working on maintaining safer streets and roads. As a complex step, it involves harmonization of all factors, calming traffic, quality of life, living safely and effectively with lower transportation costs⁵⁵.

By request of the citizens of Atlanta to increase traffic safety, the government made a program for setting traffic calming devices as one of the key measures to increase safety. The Atlanta program from 1994, which still applies, covered 436 locations for placement of traffic calming devices, with emphasis on 90 locations.

The installation cost for “traffic calming devices” is 1100 USD per device⁵⁶. While the cost of each device including all supporting elements like markers of the device or signal signs for the presence of traffic calming devices amounts 2,200 USD per device.

⁵⁴ Investigating the effectiveness of traffic calming strategies on the driver’s behaviour, traffic and speed, 2002, Minnesota Local Road Research Board, Department of Transportation Minnesota, p. 75-80

⁵⁵ Investigating the effectiveness of traffic calming strategies on the driver behaviour, traffic flow and speed, 2002, Minnesota Local Road Research Board, Department of Transportation Minnesota, p. 23

Table 2 – The Atlanta Program for installation of “traffic calming devices”⁵⁷

The Atlanta Program for installation of “traffic calming devices”

Municipality	Price	Speed reduction	Included in the price
Atlanta	1100 \$	25 mph	“sleeping policemen”
Cobb	2200 \$	25 mph	“sleeping policemen”, signs
DeKalb	N / A	25 mph	“sleeping policemen”, signs
Gwinnett	1934 \$	25 mph	“sleeping policemen”, signs

The following table provides an overview of the products per traffic calming device in Canada.⁵⁸

Table 3 – Standard costs for traffic calming devices⁵⁹

Type of traffic calming device	Cost
Ramps	1,500 USD per product
Light stripes	10,000 – 20,000 USD per lane
Traffic circles	4,000 – 6,000 USD
“Sleeping policemen”	2,000 USD per product

Source: Litman, T., 1999, Traffic calming benefits, costs and equity impact, Victoria Transport Policy Institute, Canada, p.19

⁵⁶ Adapted by: Group of Authors, Calming neighborhood traffic with speed humps: Comparing policies and programs in metro Atlanta, 2000, Atlanta

⁵⁷ Calming neighbourhood traffic with speed humps: Comparing policies and programs in metro Atlanta, 2000, Atlanta, p 18.

⁵⁹ *Making Streets that Work*, City of Seattle (www.ci.seattle.wa.us/npo/tblis.htm), 1996

The research carried out in Canada concluded that the potential benefits include: road safety, increased comfort and mobility for non-motorized participants, reduced harmful environmental impacts, increased interaction in the neighbourhood, and increased property values. Traffic calming devices can help in creating a beneficial community and in reducing the suburban sprawl. Unlike the United States, in Canada the calculation of costs for traffic calming devices includes the costs for the project, the value of the responsibility, the delay of cars due to speed limitation because of traffic calming devices, redirecting the traffic, arising problems for emergency vehicles and service vehicles, frustration of the drivers who drive at high speed, and problems for cyclists and pedestrians with visual impairments.

The UK government has created policies in order to allow the ministries responsible for road safety to mark the streets as “home zones”, i.e. residential streets with limited traffic speed. The devised speed is less than 32,18 km/h, probably 16,09 km/h. Signs will be placed at the end points to mark the special status of that part of the street. The designs will include shared space (without pivots), improvement of the space and playground equipment. The federal government distributes funds to the local agencies for planning and implementation.⁶⁰

Traffic calming measures in London, as a representative of the European countries, were first introduced by law in 1865 to limit driving speed to 4 km/h. The same law was revoked in 1896 allowing vehicles to move up to 12 – 14 km/h. In 1903, the new law increased the driving speed to 20 km/h. In 1990 traffic calming devices were installed which do not allow driving speed over 20 mph. Traffic calming devices in London are arranged through the installation of engineering resources which do not affect the psychological attitude of the driver but they physically limit the speed of the car. The costs for installation of traffic calming devices in London vary depending on the type, the number of lanes or the number of compartments and materials to be used. In 1993, the costs for thermoplastic installations were 500 – 1,500 £ pounds sterling. Rough round speed bumps were priced from £ 2,500 – 10,000 and have a three-year lifespan. An undulation or a speed hump costs £ 50 per square meter or £ 5,000 per 20 square meters.

The costs for traffic calming devices in London, expressed in the unit price per device in 2012, are shown in Table 4.

⁶⁰ www.homezonenews.org.uk (accessed on 07.06.2013)

Table 4 – Costs for traffic calming measures in London⁶¹

Measure	Costs
Round bump	400 – 1,000 € per product
“Traffic calming device”	500 €
Thermoplastic bump	300 - 500 €

Data obtained from selected developed countries shows that each country/region has different costs, depending on the size of the traffic-calming device, on the structure, the construction material, and certainly on the type. Furthermore, each country has a different approach to calculating the costs in order to increase traffic safety by applying traffic calming devices.

ANALYSIS OF SAFETY AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE MUNICIPALITIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA FOR INSTALLATION OF TRAFFIC CALMING DEVICES

Traffic calming devices can be permanent or temporary, depending on the desired effect on the specific location. The Republic of Macedonia has done research on the manner, place and financial resources for the placement of traffic calming devices. The legal acts of the Republic of Macedonia that regulate the placement of traffic calming devices do not provide sanctions or punitive provisions in case of their installation and if the same is against the installation procedure. In order to observe the installation of traffic calming devices in the Republic of Macedonia in economic terms a survey has been conducted in the institutions responsible for such installation, i.e. the municipalities. The research sample, based on a questionnaire, included 52 municipalities from the Republic of Macedonia. The questionnaire was distributed in the same period to all municipalities and was answered within 48 hours.

The municipalities received a questionnaire with the following questions:

- Financial resources in the municipal budget provided for the period from 2008 to 2012 allocated for dealing with traffic calming measures, specifically for the installation of “traffic calming devices”;

⁶¹ Department for Transport, 2007, Local Transport Note 1/07, Traffic Calming, London, p.47

- How much of these funds⁶² were used by the municipality for installation of traffic calming devices?
- How much was the sufficient amount of these funds to meet the needs according to the planned traffic calming devices?

The analysis displayed in Table 5 shows that investments in traffic calming devices in the period 2008-2012 in the Republic of Macedonia were very low, and most funds were allocated by the City of Skopje, being the largest municipality in the country.

⁶² Undoubtedly, if considered

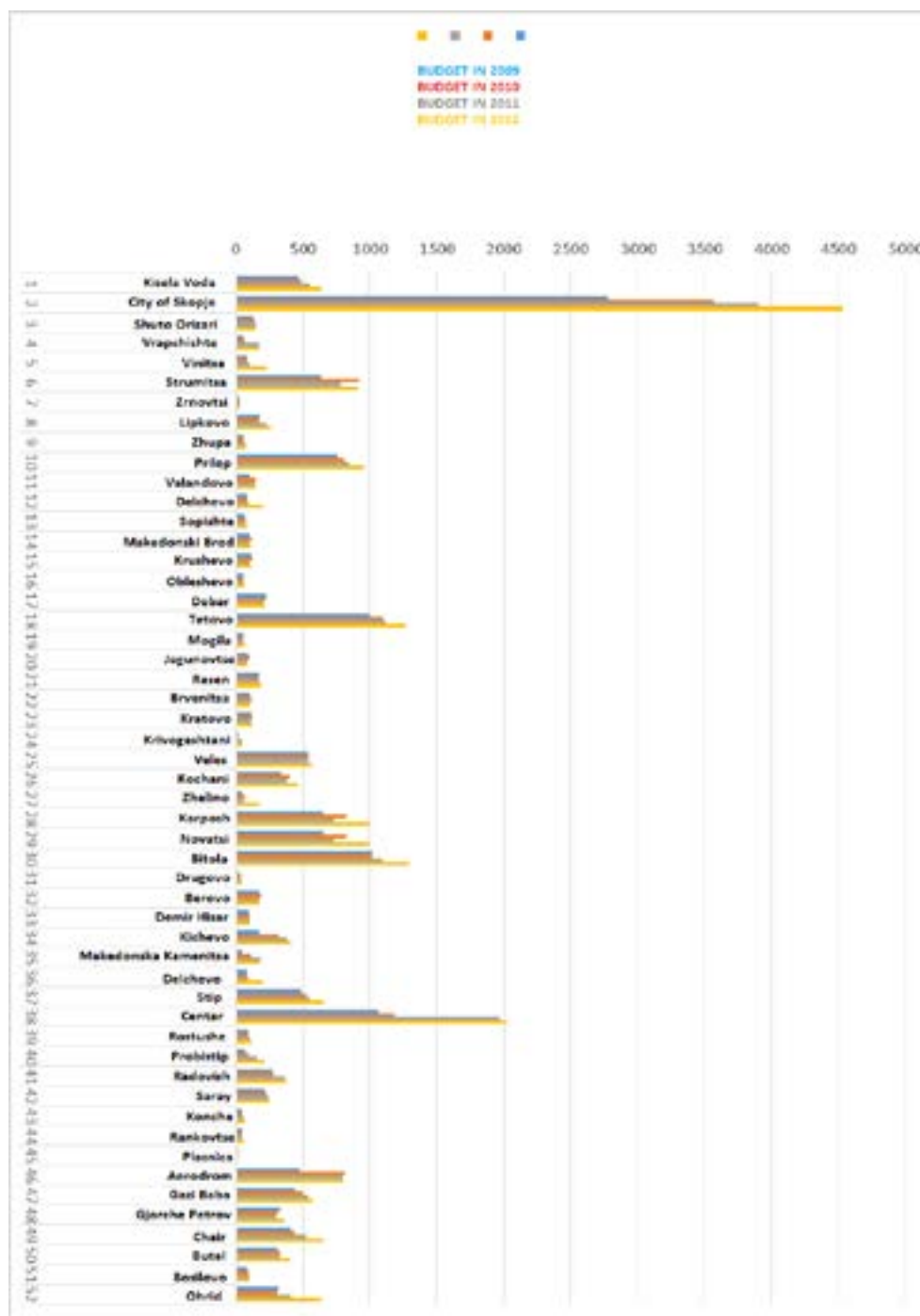
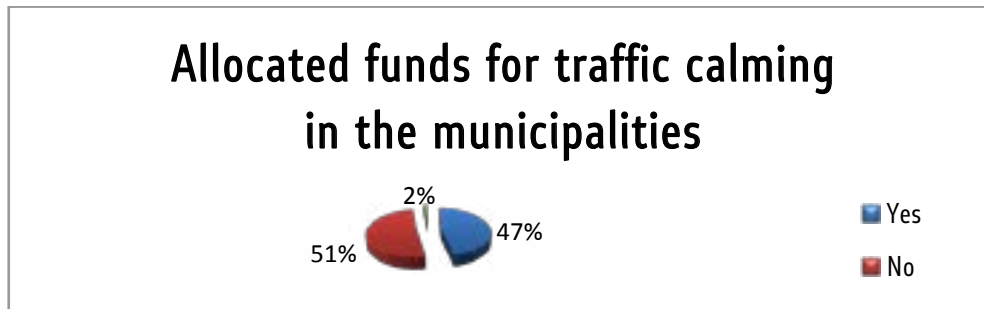


Chart 1 – Allocated funds for traffic calming

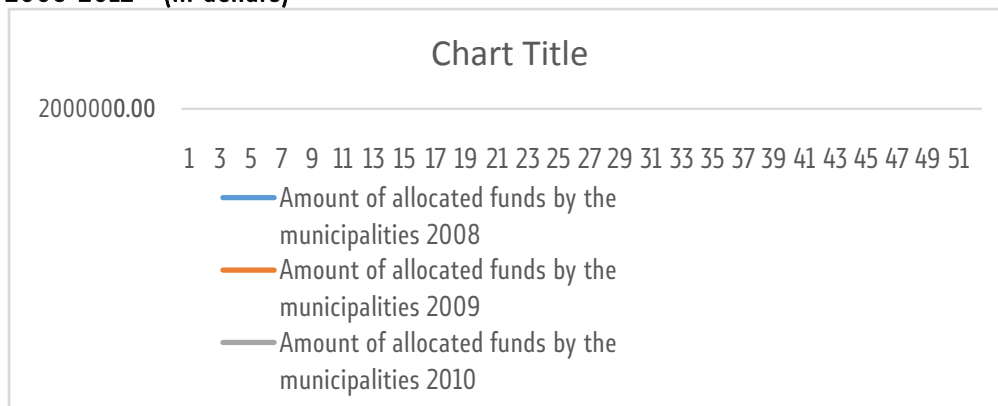


According to the results presented in the chart, we see that more than half or 51% of the municipalities responded that they did not have separate funds to implement traffic calming measures in the period from 2008 to 2012, 47% said they had funds allocated for that purpose, and the remaining 2% gave no answer to that.

According to a detailed survey of municipalities, which in the observed period set or did not set traffic calming measures, i.e. "traffic calming devices", it is evident that road safety in some municipalities, in terms of protection of people, is at a very low level. In more than half of the municipalities traffic-calming devices were not installed, which from a security standpoint puts the residents in a structure predisposed to risks.

When we talk about traffic, safety there is no rule that smaller or larger municipalities have more or less a safe environment. A very small part of the small municipalities have not set up this type of elements, but the column of municipalities that did not install "traffic calming measures" includes major municipalities as: the Municipality of Karposh, Demir Hisar, Kratovo, Tetovo, Valandovo, Makedonski Brod, that still have the necessity to implement measures to protect the users.

Table 6 – Display of funds allocated for installation of “traffic calming measures” 2008-2012⁶³ (in denars)



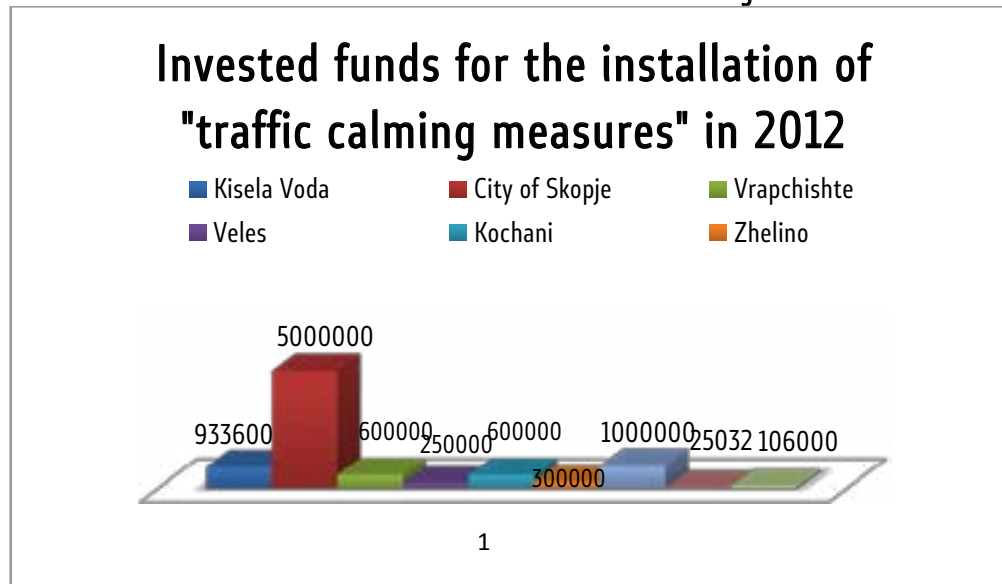
From the diagram above it is evident that very few municipalities, only 13, have invested in the installation of “traffic calming measures”. Most of them did not invest at all, whereas, those that invested, i.e. 7 municipalities invested only for one year, while the remaining 6 allocated funds for each year of the observed period, for the purpose of setting or restoring traffic calming measures.

Chart no. 2 shows the amount of funds invested which were planned for “traffic calming measures” by municipality.

The following chart shows the situation of invested funds in 2012 by the municipalities, which took part in the research sample for the dissertation.

⁶³ It is important to note that some municipalities have not specified the amount of funds allocated in the observed period for setting up “traffic calming measures”, though having installed this type of traffic calming measures.

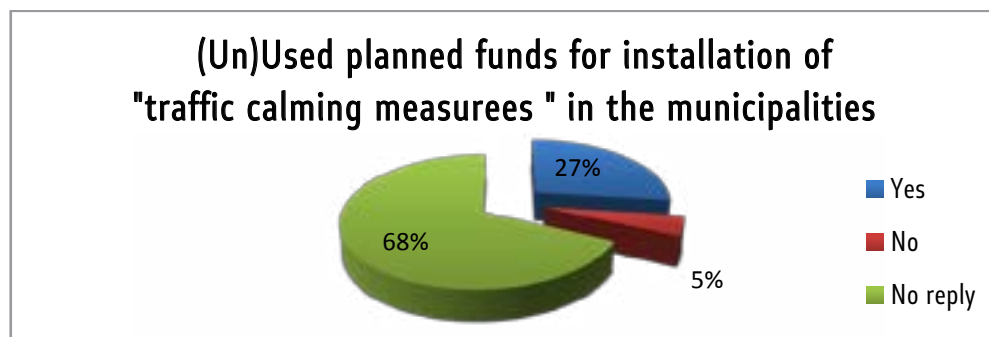
Chart 2 – Invested funds for the installation of “traffic calming measures” in 2012



In 2012, the Municipality of the City of Skopje made major investments in the implementation of traffic calming measures, i.e. 5,000,000.00 denars; the Municipality of Bitola invested 1,000,000.00 denars; while the remaining municipalities made smaller ventures. The amount of funds provided by the municipalities Kisela Voda, Ohrid and Berovo remained unchanged over the past years. On the other hand, those countries which made no investments in the past years for protection measures by applying “traffic calming measures”, yet in 2012 they decided to implement traffic calming measures, whereas, the Municipality of Vrapchishte endowed 600,000.00 denars, the Municipality of Veles provided 250,000.00 denars, Kochani Municipality supplied 600,000.00 denars, and the Municipality of Zhelino spent 300,000.00 denars for that purpose.

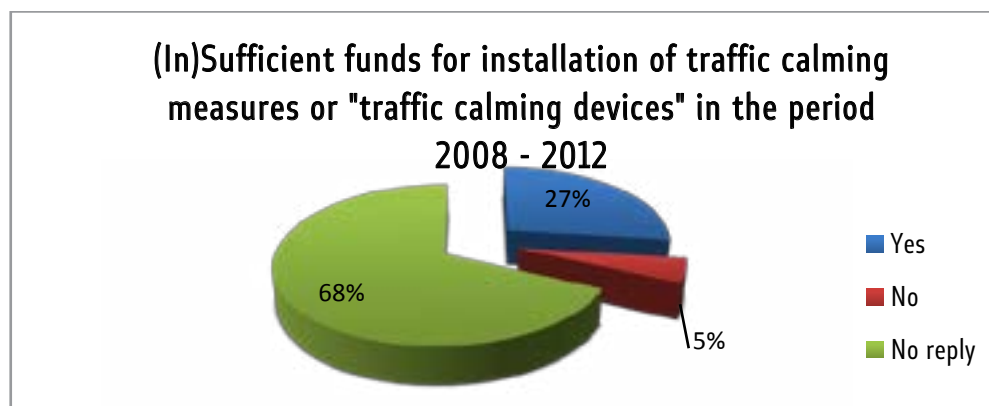
Therefore, we can conclude that the municipalities, on a large scale, did not invest in the installation of traffic calming measures in order to increase traffic safety on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

Chart 3 – (Un) Used planned funds for installation of “traffic calming measures” in the municipalities



It may be noted that 68% of the municipalities covered in the research sample did not answer this question, which actually means that funds were not used for installing traffic calming devices, nor a budget had been provided for such purpose. Only 27% of the municipalities stated the planned funds were used for installation of the said devices, and the remaining 5% said they had planned funds for this purpose, but the same were not used in the observed period in the study.

Chart 4 – (In) Sufficient funds for installation of traffic calming measures or “traffic calming devices” in the period 2008 – 2012



According to the data presented in the graph, we can point out that 68% of municipalities did not answer this question, indicating they had provided funds for the purpose of traffic calming devices or they did not use them so they would learn whether they were sufficient or not.

27% said that funds allocated for the installation of “traffic calming measures” were sufficient for the realization of the plan, while the remaining 5% said they needed a larger budget and did not fulfil the plans completely.

Hence, we notice that the majority of municipalities that in the period from 2008 to 2012 allocated funds for installing traffic calming devices, submitted a request to the Ministry, meaning, a total of 21 municipalities in the said period had projected funds for the aforementioned devices, 16 of which submitted requests to the Ministry of Transport and Communications under which permission they can place road humps i.e. “sleeping policemen”.

Conclusion

The development of traffic and the high rate of vehicular traffic, with all the important benefits of meeting the need for mobility of residents in cities, still, is causing certain drawbacks among which generally stand out traffic accidents.

According to the analysis of road accidents in the Republic of Macedonia in the period from 2000 to 2007⁶⁴, the number of casualties in traffic accidents is increasing each year. In Europe and in other world countries such as America and Australia, there is a high prevalence of traffic calming measures, where often the procedure of planning and designing the concept of traffic calming is applied. The designed concept is applied to city streets with severe traffic congestion, and also near institutions, kindergartens and schools, as well as in locations where there is increased movement of pedestrians. The results show that over the years the total number of persons killed in traffic accidents in the developed countries is decreasing.

Finances play a major role in traffic; not investing in traffic infrastructure affects the quality of the roads resulting in damaged vehicles and greater opportunities for accidents. However, investments are needed, not only for road maintenance, but also for

⁶⁴ National Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia for improving road traffic safety 2009 - 2014, Republic of Macedonia, November 2008

the safety elements as signs and traffic calming devices. The countries including all their regions and sub-regions have to take account of the allocated funds for this purpose.

In terms of funds applied for installation of traffic calming devices in Europe and worldwide, it can be pointed out that countries allocate funds for this purpose, but there is no available data on how many of these devices are installed annually in order to calculate the real financial framework allocated to increase traffic safety.

In urban areas of the major cities in our country, there are "sleeping policemen" that direct drivers to limit their driving speed and increase safety of pedestrians. The number of installed traffic calming devices in the country does not meet the security standards for the preservation of road safety and protection of its participants.

The results of an empirical study point out that it would be of great significance to carry out changes of the Rules for Traffic Safety that will impose mandatory installation of a number of "traffic calming devices" in each municipality of the country including an analysis of the number of inhabitants and critical locations, which will determine the number of required resources of its kind. Not all municipalities have sufficient financial resources for setting up these funds, and I feel it is necessary to think that the state should fund the installations with emphasis on the municipalities that have not yet instated traffic calming measures. After the completion of the survey, the Municipality of the City of Skopje in 2012, suggested to draw rules for traffic calming measures and to define the traffic calming devices, or add the following traffic calming measures to the existing rules for signalling and road equipment:

- Raised pedestrian crossings at the height of the curb
- Raised platforms at intersection zones at the height of the curb
- Raised circular platform at intersections (for mini roundabouts)
- Speed cushions
- Introducing central refuges (small islands) and street narrowing
- Introducing chicanes

For application of the measures above it is mandatory they be regulated by rules.

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УЛОГАТА НА МЕДИУМИТЕ ВО СПРАВУВАЊЕТО СО КРИЗНАТА СИТУАЦИЈА

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN DEALING WITH CRISIS SITUATION

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Апстракт: Улогата на медиумите во справувањето со кризните ситуации континуирано добива на значење и има силно влијание врз креирањето на јавното мислење и задоволување на апетитите на јавноста во однос на предметната ситуација. Научените лекции ни кажуваат дека медиумите имаат големи апетити за информации и за известување за несреќите односно кризната ситуација посебно од самото место на случувањата. Во трката за зголемување на својата гледаност и популарност тие во одредени ситуации ја преземаат улогата на истражувачи и конструираат сопствена „вистина“, наспроти реалноста. Тоа во одредени ситуации може да доведе до создавање на погрешна слика за предметната несреќа односно кризна ситуација и да ги доведе до заблуда инволвираните субјекти во разрешувањето на кризната ситуација. Ситуацијата дополнително се усложнува во случај ако се работи за кризна ситуација настаната како резултат на некоја поголема несреќа или катастрофа со голем број на жртви. Тоа е ситуација која наметнува бројни прашања на кои е потребно да се дадат релевантни информации. Самиот процес на справување со

несреќата побарува и обучени лица кои ќе комуницираат со медиумите и ќе ги застапуваат официјалните ставови односно на јавноста ќе и ги објаснат чекорите кои ги превзема Владата во справувањето со несреќата односно кризата и кои субјекти се вклучени. На тој начин ќе се задоволат апетитите на медиумите за објективно известување, а јавноста нема да биде доведена во заблуда и конфузија од противречните и непроверени информации. За да одговори на потребите од соодветно и професионално известување на медиумите, Република Македонија воспостави Регионален центар за односи со јавност во кој се обучува персонал како да комуницира со медиумите во кризни ситуации.

Клучни зборови: медиуми, комуникација, кризна ситуација, несреќа, јавност.

Abstract: The role of the media in dealing with crisis constantly gets on importance and has a strong influence on the creation of public opinion as well as satisfaction of the public appetite with respect to the situation. The lessons learned tell us that the media have a big interest for information and reporting for dealing with disaster or crisis situation especially from the spot of action. In the race to increase its audience, ratings and popularity in certain situations they take over the role of investigators and construct own "truth" versus reality. In certain situation, it can lead to creation of wrong picture for the disaster or crisis situation, and to mislead involved subjects in resolving crisis situation. The situation could be additionally complicated in the case if crisis has occurred because of great disaster or catastrophe with many victims. The process of dealing with disaster is very complex and it requires well-trained and educated personnel who will communicate with media and will promote official policy of the Government, which subjects are involved as well as explain the steps in dealing with disasters or crisis. This will satisfy the appetites of the media for information and objective reporting and public will not be confused from unconfirmed information. To meet the need of appropriate and professional media reporting, the Republic of Macedonia has established a Public Affairs Regional Center since 2005, to train personnel for communication with media in crisis.

Key words: media, communication, crisis, disaster, public.

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades has significantly increased the number of disaster (natural or fabricated, technological and technical). Most of disasters are followed by huge material damage and human casualties, and usually have strong, not only economic but also political, social and other consequences for the affected country. Every accident (disaster) require an appropriate response from government institutions, local communities, non-governmental organizations, emergency and rescue services, the citizens and the media. At the beginning and during research and rescue action related to disaster, the citizens are willing for information about the disaster, especially the reasons that led to it, and the situation of their relatives who live in the affected area.

In this situation the most affected are the victim's relatives who await official data from the governmental institutions for reasons that caused crisis situation or disasters as well as the identity of the victims. On the one hand this media "interference" could be assessed as a positive because a lot of evidence from the accident remain marked by camera and they can be analyzed many times and determine in detail what really happen. However, from the other hand their as soon as possible public disclosure may cause panic among public. To avoid such unwanted situations, from which all could be harm and especially the most affected by the crisis situation, the Government should establishes procedures for crisis communication, between institutions, and other involved subject in dealing with disaster, as well as with media. Very specific phase in dealing with disaster or crisis is decision by the Government to use the Army in support of other state institutions, as well as use to support police. It is situation which open the door for numerous questions to which is needed to give relevant answers. The Republic of Macedonia have been use the Army to support other state institution in dealing with disasters very often as in situation with forest fires in 2007, floods in Strumica Region, Pelagonia, Tetovo Region in 2015 as in other situations. However, the most significant step by the Government is use of the Army to support police in dealing with migrant crisis on Southerner border. This Government decision required appropriate explanation to the media as well as to all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. The message about use of the Army in dealing with migrant crisis sent by the Government to media and citizens was the right step, because media research activities during natural disasters shows how the media and the Government often closely cooperates in accomplishing their respective goals. Usually, this process affects the public's understanding of the disaster

event or crisis. News reports of disasters have inherent public appeal. "They are often treated as the "biggest stories," attract the largest audiences, and are remembered the longest. Like a drama, the report of a disaster "grips people's imagination, heightens the sense of importance of human action, and facilitates emotional identification" (Sood, Stockdale, and Rogers, 1987: 27-41).

The primary goal of this article is to demonstrate the role of the mass media, and social media in dealing with disasters as well as the role of the Government. The most catastrophes consider important physical and cultural contextual factors that shape and define the media's role in disasters especially in natural disasters (Perez-Lugo, 2003). Today, the role of the media is more important and more influenced than in the past. The journalists have variety of tools to detailed research every disaster. However we can not forget the role of the internet, social media, mobile phones and people who share information through this media.

Different Kind of Disasters

There has been a long series of emergency situations, natural disasters, earthquakes, floods, storms, forest fires, air pollutions, man-made disasters, as well as other disasters in the world. Disasters influence whole communities and wide geographic locations. They do not recognize state borders, religions or race differences between the countries and people. They act geographically and unpredictable. "Disasters are unusual, dramatic, and often have great impact upon people's lives. Natural disasters also occur throughout the world, are unplanned, and in most cases take place independent of political control" (Van Belle, 2000:50-70).

Most important, disasters (accidents) are different kinds of events. Disaster can be characterized by natural hazards, air crashes, car, boat, or train catastrophes, collapsed buildings and so on. If disaster is huge and occur at one location, it can disrupt communities and the systems that make them work. It may be hours, days, weeks or months before those systems are back in place (Scanlon, 1998). From one hand, the answer to the disaster requires strong coordination and synchronized action between central Government, local communities, and rescued services as well as with media.

In other hand, the role of the media is very important to deal with disaster. "The media played a critical role in the recording, responding, understanding and mitigation of

disasters. The mass media had an important part of disaster prevention and management. Newspapers, television, radio and the Internet provided easy access to large public and often constituted a robust communication system which remained working even in cases of a partial breakdown of the infrastructure" (Knight, 2006:47-57).

The Role of Media

After the disaster occurs, the situation is chaotically. After some unwritten rule, first on the disaster areas arrive media looking for exclusive information, and to increase its popularity. If the disaster was followed by victims appetites of media for information grow up at breakneck speed – who will be the first to disclose the number and names of victims. Moreover, in certain situations they do not take into account the feelings of the affected population and the relatives of the victims.

Depends of the nature of disaster, the citizens make decision based on real facts on the affected area and the probability of damage. They are "hungry" for variety of information for the disaster. They analyze information from different sources and make own picture about disaster. "Warnings come from a variety of sources, such as the media outlets, government officials, friends, and relatives. Not every source has equal credibility, though" (West and Orr, 2007). In some situations, citizens do not trust to the government official's information about some disaster. They believe more to their relatives and friends. "They do not trust media outlets to give the real picture on what is happening" (West, 2001) especially if media are controlled by government.

In those situations managing with information is very important and government officials try to avoid panic between the citizens. We should be careful do not place hasty information. Before, to publish the same information, it must be confirmed by government officials respond for communication with the public. It implies the existence of specific bodies or authorities which should be well educated, trained and professional in the communication with the media in crisis situations or in the major disasters or catastrophes. The Government institutions "should seek to provide reliable information to the media, as early as possible, in a concise and readily understandable form, and linked, where possible, to newsworthy events" (Hernandez, 1994).

In this information contest "newspapers remain the dominant creators of news, providing source material for news agencies while framing issues and setting agendas frequently for

television and radio (Knight, 2006:47-57). However, today own strengthened influence has the social networks through citizens currently transmit information from the place when disaster occur. "Twitter, Facebook and smartphone apps have become the latest tools in the disaster preparedness fields in part because they allow officials to reach a large number of people with important information" (Tucker, 2011, 18).

Information about each disaster traveled fast on social media than through classical printed or online news papers, and TV. People message to their family and friends that they out of danger. Today we are witnesses of the importance of the immediate transfer of information through social networks. "They provide becomes even more important during a natural disaster" (Smith, 2011). Almost each people have smart phone with camera. It opens ability to take photos and opportunity to communicate and send messages through social media at some moment when disaster occurs. "Once the event hits, we go fully into communicating our status, what we are into and the progress that we are making... The whole world can have an idea what is happening, whatever the vent is, just based on social media"(Shust, 2015).

"This shows that the use of social media in responding to natural disasters is becoming crucial to emergency response agencies...Social media enables response organizations to quickly push information to the public - something that has not been possible on such a wide scale until recently" (Sicard and Thomas, 2013,17-18).

The government officials and other emergency and relief services are not able directly to control the content of transmitted information through social networks or through other media. It sometimes could lead to the multitude and confusion of information that are placed from different sources. Many of them are speculations or false in order to obtain the popularity. Those is important because when disaster occur, (natural or man-made), faster communication and sharing information is key to save lives and reduce damage. Sometimes, people do not trust of official information, but real "perceptions about government and non-government information sources are key to personal survival" (West and Orr, 2007).

Today, all media are very important part of effective rescue operations as well as of effective preventive education to people about possible measure to prevent disaster or how to act if disaster occurs. "The media "play a vital role" in bringing this information to the people...for that government "need to establish and strengthen working relationships

with the media...as well as "to develop working relationships with the media based on mutual trust and the recognition of differing characteristics, goals, and needs" (Hernandez, 1994).

Disasters in Balkans – possibilities for regional approaches in dealing with disasters

Each year natural disasters affect particular region of one country or more countries and they cause major economic and human losses, property damages, not only in the Republic of Macedonia, but around the world. All countries, nations that share the good and bad in the most direct sense of the word. Starting from the geographic proximity, as a comparative advantage in view of the transport of resources and goods, the identical nature of the security problems and challenges that countries face, open the door for stronger cooperation between countries in dealing with disasters. This cooperation have to include and cooperation with media. "The economic losses and human casualties associated with disasters have actually increased in most countries. Therefore, most countries have devoted resources, technology, and efforts aimed at the mitigation of natural hazards. One of the most popular mitigation efforts has been the creation of a strong mass communication system" (Perez-Lugo, 2003).

The Balkans is subjected to the most different threats and risks from natural disasters, which from time to time cause major losses and damage both in casualties and material and cultural-historical goods. The Republic of Macedonia geographically is located on the Balkans, and as part of the Balkans is subject to a wide spectrum of such threats and risks especially from: earthquakes, forest fires, floods, mudslides, unexploded ordnance etc. it is common characteristic for all of the countries of the Balkans which are small countries with limited resources. They share common disasters but they are not able to deal with huge disaster independently. Reasons are simply – every huge disaster affects huge geographically region shared by few states. For that is needed common and joint action between countries to deal with disasters. In the history, we had a lot of examples when one disaster affected more neighboring countries.

For example: as the most destroyable disaster which affected the Republic of Macedonia in the past, we can mention Skopje' earthquakes in 1963. It killed more than 1000 citizens, destroyed more than 15 000 apartments, buildings, and houses and caused over US \$ 3 billion in property damage (Milevski, 2013). Early this year (March 2015) some parts of the Republic of Macedonia (region of Strumica, and region of Pelagonia) were

massive flooding and destroyed roads and bridges, killed people and caused property damages. We had the same situation in region of Tetovo early this August 2015. Floods and landslides that killed several people hit this region. Damages will be further evaluated. The last year several countries of the Western Balkan were hit by floods (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina) which led to the evacuation of more than 100 000 people, and caused US \$ billion of property damages, also affecting agricultural crops. Almost each year, forest fires, floods, earthquakes and other disasters have affected Greece. The last floods which affected Athena caused very huge property damage with few victims. We were witnesses to all these disasters thanks to the media.

The changes in the environment, the presence of man and his interventions on the surface of the ground, its destruction by man, as well as the risks from natural disasters, demonstrate the need for all countries to enable the required structures for dealing with emergency situations and crises management, efficient on their territory and capable of cooperating and sharing experiences with neighboring countries and beyond.

Following history examples and lessons learned from natural and other disasters which affected Balkan countries in the past, we should think for regional approach in development of common and joint regional capacities and capabilities in dealing with disasters. Also, is very important how affected countries share information about same disaster. It is desirable information to be shared among the stakeholders involved in the disaster before they are placed in public. For that, purpose is very important every country, state institution, local authorities, and during non-governmental organization to have educated personal who will be authorized to communicate with the media and share information.

Republic of Macedonia and crisis communication in dealing with disaster

Today, the subjects that participate in crises management, protection and rescue of the population and material assets and dealing with every disaster in the Republic of Macedonia are the: Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Crises Management Centre, Protection and Rescue Directorate, as well as the public enterprises, services and agencies to whom protection and rescue is a basic professional activity. In situation when emergency exceeds the institutional capacity of these institutions then the Government use the capacities of the Army of Republic of

Macedonia in dealing with the emergency situation or removal of consequences of natural disaster, catastrophes and crises.

The legal basics for engaging the Army of the Republic of Macedonia are implemented in the final amendments and supplements of the 2011 Defense Law according to which “the MoD organizes the preparation of the system of the Ministry of Defense for crises management, as support to the crises management system of the Republic”. In addition, the Crises Management Law foresees the participation of part of the Army in support of the police in conditions when the crisis threatens the security of the Republic, and the bodies of state power do not have the appropriate resources and assets for their prevention and countering. It is good example the situation in dealing with migrant’s crises which affected whole Europe including the Republic of Macedonia. In dealing with the wave of migrants from Greece, in line to enhanced control of the southern border the Government decides to engage the Army in support of the police in dealing with this crisis. The mission of the Army in support of the police has been successful and managed to prevent the uncontrolled entry of migrants in the country.

However, in all situation when action is needed by Government and other subjects of the crisis management system as well as from local authorities and other organizations in dealing with disasters or crises is very important to have good relations with the media and well educated personnel who is going to communicated and share information with media related to the disaster or crises. Having this in mind, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia has established Public Affaires Regional Center (PARC) as a part of the Ministry of Defense, since 2005.

Through the years, the Public Affaires Regional Center (PARC) becomes the first NATO/PfP Partnership and Education Training Center for education of people for communication with media in crisis. The Mission of the PARC is to train “Public Affairs Officers (from the Armed forces and the Ministries of Defense and other State administration structures) to develop their Communication skills and to provide the necessary practical experience in Media relations that will enable them to successfully deal with the Media under a multitude of circumstances” (PARC, 2015)

The capacities of the Ministry of Interior (police) commonly used for securing the place where the disaster occurred. Those come to fore in situation when disaster occur as a result of human factor (man-made disasters). The goal is to protect and analyzed

evidences, which led to disaster, occur. In this situation, the presence of the mass media (through picture and video) is very useful primarily because much of the evidence will remain permanently recorded and they will be further analyzed if there is some doubt.

Conclusion

Media played a significant role during dealing with disaster, and in recovery period. They can support or obstruct work of the government institution and other emergency services and agencies who deal with disaster. Their role is highlighted in all kinds of disaster especially in natural disaster. They share information during preparedness, mitigation and response phase, and mobilized government institutions, local communities and emergency services and agencies to deal with disaster, as well as business community in the country to help people in the recovery phase. "The media frames a disaster and can either promulgate erroneous beliefs about disaster behavior or provide a framework for understanding the process of recovery" (Nicholls, Sykes, and Camilleri, 2010:33-50). However, the media are not only who research the disaster or crisis and sent messages to public not only in affected country but all around the world. Development of IT technology, mobile phones with camera and internet, are other side of the coin because people use them to sent messages to their relatives by social media and internet. Now, the people who live in affected area by disaster or crisis even the people who caused some crisis (migrant crisis) become researchers to disaster or crisis and gradually they take the role for relevant and appropriate public reporting. TV stations, newspapers, internet media and other media very often use information from this kind of reporting as relevant information to report public. In general, dealing with disasters or crises and the challenges of non-military nature is challenging for every country. It requires the use of many resources and timely response to this to prevent and suppress at the beginning. In situations when the crisis, crisis situation or natural disasters of greater scale and exceed the capacities and capabilities of the state, in most cases the Government use the Army to deal with them. The last events in the Republic of Macedonia related to floods and landslides, as well as migrants crises show us that the Government and the local communities, and local citizens as well as other nongovernmental organizations are unprepared to deal with these kinds of disasters or crisis as well as for other major natural disasters. In general, the Republic of Macedonia has good institutional approach to deal with disaster and communicate with the media. In most situations, the media

share real information with citizens about disaster, and the citizens use social networks to share information with others about disaster.

The Government, usually use media to influences people perceptions of disaster and in some situation to decry negative impact of the catastrophes. However, little bit positive side from the last natural disaster in the Republic of Macedonia was the role of the all media. They share real information to the citizens and mobilized the all-state institution in the country to deal with disaster. During and after disasters most of government officials were on the affected areas. They directly communicate and share information with the media from the first hand. In some way, those help people and local communities to deal with disaster in the recovery phase.

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ORGANIZED CRIME AND SECURITY, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SOUTHEAST EUROPE REGION

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Abstract: In this paper, an attempt is made to portray one of the contemporary forms of non-military and asymmetrical threats, organized crime, with special focus on the causes and the conditions for its development in the Southeast Europe region. It portrays how the organized crime affects the security of the citizens and states, meaning its negative implications on their safety, as well as presentation of the methods and measures for its prevention.

The goal of the security as a phenomenon of civil society in all stages of its development is the endeavor to ensure the values and conditions of vital meaning for the states. In line with this, the success of the implemented activities primarily depends on the ability and capacity of the state to recognize the threats and with that to create preconditions for carrying out effective and efficient measures for own safety, and the safety of its citizens.

Today, although the risk from military threats is lowered, the experts direct their considerations towards the wide range of non-military and the so-called asymmetrical threats that pose a serious attack on the states, their economies and political stability, the social harmony, the environment, as well as an attack on the public health. These non-military threats are almost the same for all countries, regardless of their structure of society or their geostrategic position. One of these threats that stand out for its peril and fierceness is organized crime. In order for undisturbed realization of its goals, organized crime seeks to weaken and to neutralize the state and its institutions to a level at which it will not be able to function and it is doing everything to maintain this situation as long

as possible. The successful prevention of organized crime implies carrying out range of activities by the states that come out from their National Security Strategies. Considering the fact that the Republic of Macedonia still has not prepared a National Strategy for the prevention of organized crime, this paper attempts to give a proposal on what it should contain and who has to coordinate the activities for its implementation.

Keywords: *security, non-military threat, organized crime, national strategy.*

1. Introduction

The sources of instability in the Southeast Europe region can be recognized in the multiethnic and multireligious mark for this part of Europe, in the larger swing of nationalism, but mostly in the different social, political and economical development of the states and in the geostrategic placement of the region. In this context, the support coming from several European bureaucrats must not be ignored, who on behalf of certain ruling elites from the region hinder the solution of crucial problems, and the process of association of the states in the European Union. In return, they make space for good financial awards and for building of successful political careers.

After the Cold war and the beginning of globalization as world process, the military threats, although still present, stepped down in topicality for the new non-military and asymmetrical threats. The end of the Cold war and the new understanding of the concept of security imposed the necessity of creating new security policy, which represents necessary precondition in establishing stability and security in the Southeast Europe region. The new forms of threats – the non-military ones, the most prevailing are organized crime and terrorism, which distinguish by their severity and fierceness, on national and international level, and require more serious approach in their prevention or at least their reduction to a level on which they would not represent serious security threat.

In modern societies, security is a global challenge and one of the main reasons for human and social activities. Security represents a complex and dynamic segment of the political system of states, which applies to citizens, to the state as well as to the

wider world community, because day-by-day security threats and security risks occur anywhere at any time without exception. It is primarily based on the elements of national power of states expressed through economic power, geostrategic position, rich natural resources and raw materials, technical and technological capacity, the size of internal reserves, dependence on the international market, the national character of the state, the capacity of the current government to implement its decisions, the educational level and the reproductive power of the population, as well as moral values. No society can achieve a high-level security, or absolute freedom, because it is necessary to ensure a balance between security on the one hand and the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens and the interests of the state on the other. Thus, freedom and security should be seen as variable magnitudes, given the different, conflicting and irreconcilable interests of individuals and groups in every society. The research of the security and security systems phenomenon and their immediate scientific explanation implies a special emphasis on the analysis and understanding of politically - historical processes and political systems.⁶⁵

Security in the broadest sense is a state of stability in nature and in the state aimed at performing preventive preparations for defense and protection, primarily from the various sources of endangerment in order to avoid causing an imbalance in nature and in society, thus endangering the physical, social and spiritual integrity of individuals.⁶⁶ It is necessary for successful and continuous functioning of the states and state institutions, providing and guaranteeing its citizens with the basic life functions and a healthy environment. That means that security today is not only related to the problem of endangerment of human life and the states well being, but it is increasingly observed through the prism of quality of life. Whether we can realize our set goals and ourselves is very important in life, and in that realization someone or something is preventing us or threatens our recognized values and our way of life. At the same time, but in reverse, it is important that we with our behavior and the measures taken do not prevent or endanger others in achieving their set goals and objectives.

By increasing the interest for non-military threats, especially for organized crime, there was a change in the values, covered by the term for security.

⁶⁵ Masleša R. – *"Teorije i sistemi sigurnosti"*, Magistrat, Sarajevo, 2001

⁶⁶ Nacev Z. Nachevski R. - *"Security and national defence"*, Makedonska riznica, Kumanovo, 2001.

In the traditional concept of security the center of attention is the protection of the state and its basic attributes of sovereignty primarily by military means, where as in the new concept or the so called concept of human security where the meaning of the state is not disputed but the importance of protection of the citizens is emphasized, their communities and environment, as equally important. This means that security today focuses on new challenges, meaning threats that aim at human lives. Security threats come not only from other states, but also from the large number of natural and social processes and occurrences that cross the national borders.⁶⁷

Kennedy⁶⁸ talks about global security as a concept, saying that it requires deepening and widening of the security content besides the military and political topics, meaning that this new concept of security includes the protection of human rights and freedoms, environmental protection, economic prosperity and social development. For Kennedy the definition of global security represents previous defining of the global interest, which is analyzed as primary and secondary. Thus, the primary interest is comprised of the physical integrity of planet Earth and its Eco-system, while secondary interest implies the improvement of conditions for exercising the basic human needs and human rights.

This raises the question, is the realization of security and freedom of citizens at the highest level possible. The answer is that that would be impossible because firstly it is necessary providing a balance between the security, the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens and the interests of the states, which unfortunately is impossible. According to Masleša, the freedom and security should be seen as variable magnitudes, given the differences, conflicting and irreconcilable interests of individuals and groups in every society.

⁶⁷ King G. and Murray C. – *"Rethinking Human Security"*, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 116, No. 4, 2001-2.

⁶⁸ Kennedy G. – *"The Planetary Interest"*, Cambridge, 1995.

2. Organized crime as a side effect of globalization

Organized crime is typically undesired and harmful occurrence of globalization. The emergence and development of organized crime is a complex socio-political and security process associated with the process of changes in one state, with the emergence of corruptive behavior as mostly exploited and non-violent way of achieving its objectives, as well as the emergence of "the gray economy", which is parallel to its legal economy and trade.

In accordance with Buzan's claim⁶⁹ that in the period after the "Cold War" the security of the states was influenced by its five basic dimensions: military, political, economical and social, also the security that relates to the environment, so today organized crime as a modern non-military threat has significant impact on each of these dimensions.

Namely, the states whose governments enter into symbiosis with organized crime use their military and police structures for achieving criminal goals, or for the protection of the current structures of organized crime. These criminal structures, which are in symbiosis with the states are powerful, part of its members are employed in the state administration and use their resources and services to achieve criminal goals. Thus, states that were weakened by political, ethnic and religious conflicts, as was the case with most of the states in the Southeast Europe region, became states in which organized crime easily penetrated in the state institutions and in certain situations, it controlled certain territory better than the state itself. In the newly formed states in Southeast Europe, the underdeveloped legal framework and the weak and corrupt judiciary among others went in favor to the criminal structures. These factors contributed to the growth of well-organized criminal structures with international prefix and ones that have large financial resources.

Organized crime does not have any particular ideological omen, but the acquisition of money and power, among other things, is aimed at obtaining greater support from the politics for the protection from the police and prosecution. These structures never publicly show their political ambitions, but indulge themselves with

⁶⁹ Buzan, B., Weaver, O. and de Wilde, J. (1998), *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

corruption of the public administration and of politicians who helped them implement their criminal activities. The purpose of organized crime is not to destroy the established democratic institutions, but its purpose is its incorporation into them to make citizens and states unsafe, thus rule them through its criminal activities of the structures under his control. However, organized crime endangers the foundations of the modern state and denies all of its democratic and legal regulations.

Grubać gives clarification and says that organized crime threatens the society and its values, the individual and the family as the fundamental social values. It destabilizes governments, undermines the parliamentary, destroys citizens' trust in the state and in the legal institutions, it denies the laws and social morality. It questions security, not only individual but also collective, state and international.⁷⁰

Mijalkovski⁷¹ emphasized that the structures of organized crime fulfill their goals even if they "concur" just one area of social life or just a state institution, if the state is unable or does not show determination to prevent some of the forms of organized crime.

In context of the stated above, mostly it is a matter of weak and unsuccessful states in which organized crime tries raise its achieved tactical success to a strategic level, meaning to "cover" or put under its control the other areas of life in the state. That would mean that the structures of organized crime tend to create optimally weak state, and their appetite would go so far and they would try to create their own criminal state.

Thus, according to Rakčević⁷², a hesitant and disorganized state cannot counteract organized crime. If there were no political will and no prompt and decisive action up to settling and individualization of responsibilities, meaning of state structures, organized crime would jeopardize the foundations of the state.

⁷⁰ Grubać M.- *"Organizovani kriminal u Srbiji"*, Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu, br.464/2009.

⁷¹ Mijalkovski M. – *"Organizovani kriminal – najopasniji oblik ugrožavanja bezbednosti države"*, Revija za bezbednost, br.12/08, Centar za bezbednosne studije, Beograd, 2008.

⁷² Zharko Rakčević – coordinator of round table on the 2010 Forum that took place in Podgorica, titled "Organized crime – challenge for the democratic development of Montenegro".

The economy, the financial and bank institutions always suffer from the main blast of organized crime, for reasons that organized crime besides the already existing legal, creates a parallel gray economy. If the gray economy becomes dominant, it directs the economic trends according to its logic of gaining profit, creating inflationary pressures, reducing profits of legal business, raising product prices, which on the other hand prevents the developmental strategy of the Southeastern Europe states.

Criminal act characteristic for organized crime, mainly, are divided into two basic forms: when a crime is the foundation of the criminal structure (criminal group or criminal network), or under the Criminal Code of the Republic of Macedonia - Criminal association (Art.394) and a second form that represents a set of crimes carried out by the members of the criminal structures with clear objectives for which they were formed. Thus, by committing these crimes the criminal profit is directly achieved, which together with acquisition of power are among the main goals of organized crime.

The social danger coming from organized crime is a consequence of its few characteristics that distinguish it from the so-called classical crime. Those are the high degree of organization of its members, the great desire for money and power, as well as the international component, which does not recognize national borders and national sovereignty. The main threatening aspects of organized crime are firstly the large obstacles in preventing and destroying the criminal structures, their international dimensions and influence and secondly their infiltration into the economy and other social spheres. The first aspect gives immunity and longevity to the criminal structures, while the latter aspect, connects them to the legal world, adversely affecting the will and preparedness of the states in preventing and destroying it. As much as these structures are established in society, they become more respectable, making it harder for their members to be brought to justice.

The negative effects of the actions of organized crime over the legal economic flows, usually are recognized through the increased levels of crime and corruption, then as disloyal competition to the legitimate business entities, through reduction of tax revenues towards the state because of the money flow over illegal financial channels, through impaired reputation of the state on international level, through weakening of the financial institutions and the destruction of their credibility, through compromised economy and private sector and the endangered efforts tied around the process of

privatization.⁷³ By using violence, the structures of organized crime threaten public order and peace, and thus affect the security of the citizens. However, today the issues of organized crime and security do not cover only the problem of public order and peace in Southeastern Europe states, but they include the whole corpus of issues regarding the quality of democracy. It has a strong influence on social cohesion in societies and the confidence in democracy. Thus, the increased intensity of its activities leads to deterioration of the quality of urban life and to collapse of the established relationship between citizens and state institutions.

The Southeastern Europe region became the most sensitive to the organized crime as a contemporary threat to national security, because most of the states at the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties of the last century experienced changes in their socio-economic formations, structural impoverishment of the population, and in some of them armed conflicts occurred. In this way, historically speaking, some of the states from the Southeastern Europe region had to face numerous difficulties when they started the transition processes directed towards a market economy. Changes in political and economic terms, the nationalism, the rising unemployment, the large differences between income and product price level on the market, contributed to the rapid creation of "gray economy" and the "black market".

Through established control over the media, organized crime inflicts a blow over the freedom of expression. In fact, in many cases, it uses the media, which corrupts directly or indirectly so that the corrupted journalists through the electronic or print media directly and indirectly provide assistance in protecting and by falsification of topics, in affirmation and smoothly carrying out its illegal activities.

In case of its establishment in the state, organized crime questions the system of political decision-making, and thus the sovereignty of the citizens. Therefore, by moving the headquarters of the actual power for delivery of key political decisions contributes to the infiltration of organized crime in the political parties, especially during election campaigns, as in central also in the local government.

⁷³ Бошковић Г. – *"Организовани криминал"*, Криминалистичко-полицијска академија, Београд, 2011.

Political elites are in opposition, and because of the fact that the state institutions are under governmental control, show weakness in prevention of the activities of organized crime. The lack of power comes from the inability to implementation of the activities for its proving and prevention, therefore all they are left with is to recognize its existence and to publish the names of its performers, which it must be admitted is not enough for such serious problem.

According to Grahovac⁷⁴ all this is a characteristic for undemocratic regimes in the region that are led by families and where the overall control, money and power is concentrated. They are not concerned by the fact that they can rule for a short time, after which they and the state will have to pay a heavy price for their misdeeds, but the most important thing for them is to preserve the power and feel powerful and to achieve all their set goals and meet their needs during that period.

3. Corruption as an accompanied segment of organized crime

Corruption is a phenomenon that affects negatively on all areas of social life and affect on law disobedience, on weakening the morale and on creation of mistrust toward the state and its institutions. It is heavily used by the structures of organized crime, that do corruption not only to establish criminal links with relevant politicians and civil servants, but also to ensure the uninterrupted flow of the process of money laundering, in order to secure safe way for uninterrupted illegal drugs and arms trafficking, providing sure triumph in rigged tenders, winning in election processes and etc. The criminal structures by doing the corruption can get protection by the state administration, can influence the political decisions in the states, and create a possibility for their infiltration of state structures and legal businesses. In this way, using the weakness of the states and their governing structures and relying on politicians with dubious credibility, and by conducting illegal criminal activities, the structures of organized crime generate power and huge profits expressed through untaxed money.

It is inevitable and integral method of action of organized crime, which morally undermines society, and an expression of the collapse of social values and the existence of double morality. As a method of nonviolent achievement of set goals, today organized

⁷⁴ Blagoje Grahovac (član Savjetodavnog odbora Međunarodnog instituta IFIMES) – *“Geopolitika i organizovani kriminal i korupcija pocetkom 21 vijeka sa osvrtom na Balkan”*, 2011.

crime increasingly uses corruption, and the money invested in corrupting public officials considers a good investment. Criminal structures consider the money given in the form of bribes as so called "utility costs" resulting from "done job", if it increases the chances of success and avoidance of penalty, and at the same time it reduces or lowers the threat of detection of the criminal acts, with all damaging consequences they can cause.⁷⁵

The most dangerous, and at the same time the most sophisticated way of corruption, is that when the criminal structures through the corruption of senior government officials persist to obtain confidential information, long-term privilege and benefits, to ensure protection for their members, and to continuously conduct illegal activities for a longer period. In addition, the danger from the existence of corruption comes from the fact that through it a cohabitation of the criminal structures and the current political elite is insured, which ranges from local, through national and international level. This type of cohabitation between political authorities and criminal structures creates conditions for some states not to implement their protective mechanisms, but partially, from time to time, and only when it is useful and necessary for their governing structure.

Within the states, the corruption manifests itself as economic and political. Thus, economic corruption allows certain companies to help in establishing a monopoly on the market, and in return, the criminal structures for "the provided assistance" receive money. The political corruption is characteristic mostly for the election period, in order obtaining support of single political option, but to intimidate the opponents. The most used method for corruption of politicians is giving large amounts of money for financing political campaigns, in order to gain influence over elected officials. This may contribute to discouragement of the security structures in the implementation of effective investigation and finding mechanisms for replacement of corrupted judges and senior police officers.⁷⁶

The corruption as a negative social phenomenon that is widely spread in the states of this region contributes to economic differentiation of the population and for deterioration of foreign investments. Today, characteristically for the corruption in Southeast Europe is its topicality, the high degree of social danger, new manifestations of

⁷⁵ Korž V.- *"Korupcijske veze organizovanih kriminalnih grupa i organizacija-kriminalistička analiza"*, Bezbednost 6/02, Beograd, 2002.

⁷⁶ <http://unpan.1.un.org/intrados/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN016997.pdf>

corruption in the public and private sector within the economic and non-economic activities and the relationship with organized crime with which symbiotically represent important factor in undermining the stability and endangering the security of the region.

4. Proposal for National strategy for combating organized crime in Republic of Macedonia

The elements of the national strategies for combating organized crime result from the basic tasks of the security structures, namely the prevention and suppression of organized crime through collection, analysis and operational use of criminally intelligence information, as well as through coordination of their activities with the activities of other institutions and organizations, state and non-governmental. In this way the security services are directed primarily towards studying the structures of organized crime, their organization, connections and who the leaders are, rather than towards the criminal acts that they committed, in order to predict the threats to the security of states and their citizens which they produce, as well as prediction of the trends and future activities and types of threats that could be integral part of the strategy of the criminal structures of organized crime.

The Republic of Macedonia has not yet prepared a "National Strategy for combating organized crime" as a basic document in which the commitments, objectives, directions, methods, and the institutions responsible for implementing the activities of the state in terms of recognition, prevention and hindering of this negative phenomenon would be refereed. This strategy should predict the possible trends and directions for development of organized crime, and therefore the possibilities of the Republic of Macedonia to develop its national capacities and potential for effectiveness in prevention of organized crime. In order for this to be accomplished, there is a need of establishing a national consensus of all relevant factors in order to determine the guidelines for recognition, prevention and repression of organized crime. The adoption and implementation of the "National Strategy for combating organized crime" should be a priority for the Republic of Macedonia, for reasons that it represents an important step in the process of integration into the European Union and the NATO structures. This strategy as a basic document should be solid conceptual and functional connection with the adopted strategies in the Republic of Macedonia in the field of security such as: Strategy on integrated border management (2003), Strategy for prevention of money laundering and financing of terrorism (2008), Strategy for prevention of human trafficking

and illegal migration (2002), Strategy for drug handling (2006) and others. This strategy must include measures and activities that include cooperation with states from the region in the prevention from the activities of organized crime. "The National strategy for combating organized crime" would constitute public document, which is necessary to be regularly updated according to the implemented activities outlined with the measures in this strategy. For successful management and coordinated implementation of the activities outlined in the "National Strategy for combating organized crime", but also for conducting analyzes of the findings, to delivering relevant conclusions and recommendations based on these analyzes, there is a need of making periodical action plans, and the need for establishment of a national body, committee or a commission.

5. Conclusion

In the nineties of the last century, human rights and freedoms arising from the belonging to a certain social and political community were seriously endangered in the states in this region because certain number of people from the state structures was involved in the processes of criminal privatization, and in other lucrative criminal activities. This endangerment represented major source of insecurity in the region that determined the way of thinking and the political behavior of the citizens for a longer period. This political behavior, among other things, naturally and systematically influenced will further influence the election results and the processes by which the institutions in the states of this region are established and maintained. It can easily happen for the fear to become a dominant social motive for political behavior, and societies managed by fear, progress and provide a climate of stability and security very difficult, which is necessary their citizens to have an authentic, healthy and uncorrupted government. Because of this, many successful people who represent the base of the developmental policy in their states leave the states from this region, although they are not directly economically disadvantaged. For the same reasons, highly educated young people because of the lack of prospects in their states, motivated by the desire for a better life and achievement of their ideas and goals, in large number emigrate to the rich Western European states who have stable democracy, more commonly known as "brain drain".

The prevention of organized crime, whose destabilizing effects are felt in the political, economic and social areas of Southeast Europe, is often unsuccessful. The reasons lie in the difficult proving of the criminal activities, the prevalence of corruption

as one of its most used methods, in the symbiosis with the ruling structures, in a remarkably constructed systems of self protection the criminal structures, as well as in the possession of enormous financial power. Organized crime poses a serious threat to the development of democracy; rule of law, human rights and freedoms and to the security of the states, for the social and economic development of the entire Southeastern Europe region. The weak response of these states in prevention of organized crime may be a result of insufficient, uneducated and technically unequipped state security resources, the influence of the politics, but also because of the increasing presence of corruption.

Organized crime and corruption will prevail as much as the state and its institutions would required time to deliver decision for their prevention. However, if the activities of organized crime be gelatinized and minimized by the state institutions, its criminal structures will undergo a serious attack and try to put under its control the ruling elites, while not leaving them space and time to use their available protective mechanisms in order to prevent the profitable criminal activity.

Therefore, for the implementation of serious activities in preventing and hindering organized crime, strong state institutions are required, and the existence of political will in the states and the region.

The political parties have great influence over the officers from the security structures which is reflected through their degradation during their service, layoffs of "unsuitable" or opponents to the current political elite and filling the vacancies with so unprofessional and incompetent members of the party, justifying it as implementation of necessary reforms in the security sector, which is one of the crucial factors to favor organized crime. The low income of these civil servants, their unprotectiveness from the arbitrariness of political or criminal authorities, directed to each other, in part of the states from this region, their poor material and technical equipment and low level of education on the methods and ways for recognition, prevention and hindering of the forms of organized crime, represent one of the factors that contributed to the survival and uninterrupted development of organized crime. Namely, in a situation where chaos rules, there is lawlessness, erosion of morals and lack of a system of values in some of the states of the region, the members of the criminal structures found their opportunity.

The protection from organized crime would consist of taking on complex measures for prevention, through eradicating corruption, through control over employees in public administration, through raising awareness about the necessity of inclusion of all state institutions, as well as animation of the general public and relevant political factors in its prevention. The greatest attention should be focused on uncompromising seizure of property and other material gain acquired by illegal activities of organized crime. The material gain is usually expressed through money and represents one of the main goals of organized crime, and it must necessarily be confiscated from the criminals. If the structures of organized crime through the consistent implementation of the institute confiscation of property and other material gain be deprived of the necessary money for corruption of judges and prosecutors, as well as hiring the best lawyers, it is logical in a legal procedure they to be sentenced to a highly effective long prison sentences. In this way, the repression will prevent the activities of organized crime.

The security structures cannot effectively or efficiently confront organized crime in cases when acting alone, or when isolated from other state systems, citizens and society. All states in the region of Southeast Europe, in the future, have to establish a system of values in which there will not be a slightest degree of tolerance on crime, while the strong interstate and regional cooperation will represent one of the key instruments for effective prevention of crime. Therefore, part of the states in the region, in order to successfully prevent organized crime, created specialized agencies, whose main activity is the collection of criminally intelligence information. The activities of these agencies should not be directed as a direct response to a specific crime committed, but it is necessary to follow the trends and the actions of the structures of organized crime, to gather useful information and to insist on anticipation of the possible directions of development of the threats on security, arising from the activities of organized crime.

Finally, it can be concluded that the greatest social danger from organized crime comes from its several characteristics that distinguish it from other types of crime, which are the high degree of organization of its members, the great "thirst" for money and power and its international character. This last characteristic is one of the main reasons that modern states began to deny the dogma of the inviolability of national sovereignty and began to recognize the necessity of international cooperation and the creation of common international protective institutions for international response, which includes military, police and judicial cooperation between states. However, not everything goes so

easy because one of the main obstacles in establishment of this cooperation is the preservation of the sovereignty of states. Thus, one of the bitterest problems related to the field of international cooperation is its establishment; each independent state includes its legislation and the judicial system, however it has to give up part of their sovereignty always when signing and ratifying an international agreement. Nevertheless, if positive results in combating organized crime want to be achieved, an intensive and solid international cooperation between states of the region and worldwide needs to be established.

Organized crime is not the only a problem in the states of Southeast Europe, but it is clear that it represents a big problem that can be an obstacle in the process of stabilization, maintenance of security and development of this region. For these reasons, the current governments in the countries of the region should actively monitor and be ready to meet the new trends and manifestations of organized crime. In order for that to be feasible, an existence of a close cooperation between the politicians and the experts is necessary, as well as standardization of the measures and harmonization of the security services and the judiciary. International collaboration in its prevention should be at the highest level, by accepting the basic principles for cooperation and implementation of already signed and ratified international treaties. However, states often fail to realize their obligations arising from international agreements, for reasons that the harmonization of domestic legislation with international standards for the prevention of organized crime is often cosmetics rather than real. The reasons can be found in the weak capacities of the states, the lack of political will or in the corrupt public institutions and individuals. For these reasons, there are cases of failure to meet the international outlined and accepted standards by the states, so the community sometimes is forced to implement certain sanctions on them.

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PROTECTION OF SPECIFIC CATEGORIES OF PERSONS IN INTERNATIONAL AND NON-INTERNATIONAL ARMED CONFLICTS

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Abstract: International humanitarian law is applicable in international and non-international armed conflicts. Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocol I of 1977, as well as all other rules of international humanitarian law are applicable in international armed conflicts, while Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol II of 1977 are applicable in non-international armed conflicts. The aim of these rules is to protect persons who are not involved in conflict or have ceased to actively participate in it.

The paper will give an overview of protection enjoyed by specific categories of persons protected in both types of armed conflict.

Key words: international armed conflict, non-international armed conflict, human rights, international humanitarian law.

Introduction

In any armed conflict, there are losses, both human as well as material. A special feature of recent conflicts on the international scene is terrible statistics with an increasing number of civilians killed in wars.

This paper will give an overview of some of the protected categories in each conflict: civilians - with special focus on women and children. We will point out the laws that

protect this population. Our goal is to show what kind of protection they have in international and in non-international armed conflicts.

Protection of Civilians

The distinction between combatants and civilians remains a basic rule of any armed conflict. In any conflict, it is necessary to undertake all possible measures to protect civilian population.⁷⁷ Under the definition, civilians are persons who are present on territory of the parties in a conflict, and who do not form a part of armed forces.⁷⁸ Their protection is primarily provided through the Fourth Geneva Convention. The specific provisions that protect civilians are exactly the provisions contained in the Fourth Convention, the provisions contained in Protocol I, as well as the provisions contained in Article 3, which is common to all the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Civilians are persons whose acts do not harm the armed forces, and who do not harm the military objectives of the warring parties. International humanitarian law is based on the immunity of this part of the population. People who do not take part in armed conflicts must not be attacked.⁷⁹

In armed conflicts, civilians are often exposed to unprecedented horrors. "Since a long time ago, modern armed conflicts do not resemble to common perception of a war as a confrontation of military forces of two or more countries on the battlefield, which begins with a declaration of war and ends with conclusion of a treaty. They are, as a rule, far more complex - firstly, because the overwhelming majority of today's conflicts are not taking place between states, but within them. Hence the direct participants in hostilities are not only, or even primarily, well-trained, disciplined, easily identifiable members of military units under the command and control of the state, but are often poorly trained and poorly armed members of variegated groups whose structure, as well as command, are not always clear, or even certain. In such - for contemporary conflicts almost typical - scenario, civilians and civilian facilities easily become the targets of attacks, while their

⁷⁷ Vladimir Đuro Degan, *Međunarodno pravo* (Rijeka: Faculty of Law of the University in Rijeka, 2000), 849.

⁷⁸ Vesna Kazazić, *Međunarodno humanitarno pravo: difuzija i primjena* (Mostar: Faculty of Law at the University in Mostar, 2008), 138.

⁷⁹ Articles 50 and 51 of the Protocol I.

sufferings become a sad pattern for armed conflicts of the second half of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century.”⁸⁰

Certain terms are not defined in the law of non-international armed conflicts.

The difficulty in applying the rules in non-international armed conflicts is the fact that the law of non-international armed conflicts does not contain definitions of military objectives and civilian population, which are necessary in order to apply Articles 13 and 14 of the Protocol II relating to the protection of civilians and facilities necessary for survival of civilian population. This is also necessary to implement prohibition of attacks on civilian population, civilians and civilian facilities.

The law of non-international armed conflicts also does not recognize the status of combatants since it does not stipulate definition of a combatant, nor any special obligations for combatants. It is considered that no one has the right to participate in non-international armed conflicts. However, the law of non-international armed conflicts provides that civilians must be respected, which means that they must be distinguished from combatants.⁸¹

While the law of non-international armed conflict does not define the term “occupied territory”, the Fourth Geneva Convention distinguishes between two categories of civilians in armed conflicts, namely civilians who are in the enemy territory and civilians who are in the occupied territory.⁸² The first category must be allowed to leave the enemy territory, unless it is prohibited due to safety reasons.⁸³ The second category should be allowed to continue their normal life.⁸⁴ This implies not only that expulsion, displacement and forced

⁸⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, Vodič kroz međunarodno humanitarno pravo, accessed November 3, 2015,

<http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/images/stories/komisija/Vodic%20kroz%20MHP.pdf>

⁸¹ Marko Sasoli and Antoan Buvije, *Kako pravo štiti u ratu?*, trans. Vesna Knežević Predić (Belgrade: Međunarodni komitet Crvenog krsta, 2003), 166.

⁸² Articles 35 and 64 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

⁸³ If civilians do not leave the enemy territory at which they are located, they must be treated as foreigners. At the same time, if they are not allowed to leave the enemy territory due to security reasons, they must be able to appeal the decision and demand review of the appeal. (Articles 35, 38, 41, 42 and 43 of the Fourth Geneva Convention)

⁸⁴ Article 64 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

labor of civilians are prohibited, but also that the enemy side which occupied the country is required to take care of the welfare of children, maintenance of medical services, and the supply of the population in the occupied territories. Of course, if the occupied population is working against them, occupiers have the right to pass appropriate laws, to extradite the indictees to the relevant courts and so forth, but in accordance with the rules of proper trial according to law, as well as under the supervision of the authorities in charge of protection of the victims of conflict. The occupying power can not replace leaders and judges of the occupied country, and they can not be punished if they perform their duties in accordance with the prescribed and the applicable rules. The criminal legislation of the occupied state remains in force, but some parts may be temporarily suspended if the security threat occupiers.⁸⁵ The penal laws of the occupied territory shall remain in force, with the exception that they may be repealed or suspended by the occupying power in cases where they constitute a threat to its security. The penal provisions enacted by the occupying power shall not come into force before they have been properly published.⁸⁶

The basic principle that runs through all the international humanitarian law (in this context, the most in the Fourth Convention) is the rule that any person affected by armed conflict has the right to respect for their persons, honor, religious convictions and to be not discriminated against.⁸⁷ No one is allowed to endanger life, health, physical integrity and honor of any person.⁸⁸ The acts of terror or violence, or threats of violence with the aim to spread fear among civilians are prohibited.⁸⁹ They are entitled to enjoy protection

⁸⁵ Article 54 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

⁸⁶ Articles 64 and 65 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, Article 27.

⁸⁸ One part of the verdict of the ICTY in the case *Prosecutor v. Kupreskic et al.* (IT-95-16) from January 14, 2000, refers to defining of cases in which civilians can be attacked and those cases are:

- When civilians directly take part in the attack;
- In case of collateral damage that cannot be avoid;
- Other forms.

The last case is very illogical, because it enables abuses.

⁸⁹ Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention; Article 51 Paragraph 2 of the Protocol I; Article 13 Paragraph 2 of the Protocol II.

as long as they do not take part in hostilities.⁹⁰ Also, starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is prohibited.⁹¹

Prohibition of non-discriminatory attack⁹² is directly related to the protection of civilians in armed conflicts. The same applies to the obligation to implement precautionary measures in planning and executing attacks.⁹³ All parties in a conflict are obliged to carry out various precautionary measures during the planning and execution of attacks, and are obliged to carry out various activities to protect civilians. These precautionary measures are binding not only towards the side, which started the attack, but also towards the side, which defends itself. They include the obligation for the sides in the conflict to do everything in their power to make sure that the object of attack will not be civilians or civilian facilities, and to be careful when it comes to the choice of means and methods of attack in order to avoid incidental loss of civilian life or injury to them. This includes, for example, the transfer of civilians from the vicinity of military installations, setting up military installations away from residential areas and the like. However, the rule on the obligation of non-discriminatory attack and the rule on mandatory precaution arise from the principle to distinguish civilians from combatants. This all shows that rules of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the rules of the Protocols must be connected and that analogy between them must be observed.

The obligation to respect family rights is found in many military acts, including the Lieber Code⁹⁴, the Hague Regulations⁹⁵, and the Geneva Conventions⁹⁶, as armed conflicts often lead to separation of families and destruction of family ties. For these reasons, the relevant provisions of the Geneva Conventions and the Protocol I stipulate the protection of these victims. These rules foresee that all possible actions must be undertaken to reunite dispersed families and to facilitate the exchange of family messages. Since this entertains the Geneva Conventions and the Protocol I, the conclusion is that these

⁹⁰ Article 51 Paragraph 3 of the Protocol I; Article 13 Paragraph 3 of the Protocol II.

⁹¹ Article 54 Paragraph 1 of the Protocol I; Article 14 of the Protocol II.

⁹² Article 51 Paragraph 5 of the Protocol I.

⁹³ *Ibid*, Article 57 Paragraph 2.

⁹⁴ Article 37 The Lieber Code from 1863.

⁹⁵ Article 48 of the Hague Regulations.

⁹⁶ Articles 25, 26 and 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention; Article 74 of the Protocol I.

provisions are related to victims of the international armed conflicts. In any case, it is the protection of the following:

- Forwarding family messages and other information;
- Receiving and registering prisoner-of-war capture cards and civilian internment cards, the duplicates of these cards being sent to the captives' families;
- Forwarding mail between people deprived of their freedom and their families;
- Forwarding family news (Red Cross messages) between separated members of a family when normal postal channels are unreliable;
- Receiving and transmitting death notices;
- Inquiring into the whereabouts of missing persons;
- Reuniting dispersed families.⁹⁷

Protection of children in armed conflicts

The first legislation on the protection of children originates from 1921, when the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children was adopted. There are several documents on protection of children's rights that were passed by the UN, namely the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959), the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (1974), and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1989)⁹⁸, whereas the Council of Europe has passed the European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights (1996).

Establishment and work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and similar bodies show, on the one hand, that there is a rapid

⁹⁷ Handbook of the International Red Cross, *International Humanitarian Law: Answers to Your Questions* (ICRC, 2005), 24.

⁹⁸ The Convention is from November 20, 1989. B&H has been applying the Convention as of September 1, 1993) ("UN", accessed November 3, 2015, http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&lang=en.)

development of the practice of international humanitarian law in terms of protection of specific categories of the population, while there is also an undeniable fact that the world is still not becoming a better place to live, and that development of international humanitarian rights must intensify even more.

Children enjoy special protection in armed conflicts.⁹⁹ First, they are protected through provisions regarding protection of civilian population, which is not directly involved in the conflict, and in particular, they are protected just because they are children. Although both Protocols of 1997 define protection of children in armed conflicts, there is an additional protocol to define their protection in these extraordinary circumstances – the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (2000)¹⁰⁰.

Both Protocols of 1977 stated that children shall be treated with special respect and that they shall be protected against all forms of indecent attack.¹⁰¹ The parties to an armed conflict shall take all feasible measures in order that children who have not attained the age of 15 years do not take a direct part in hostilities. Also, the parties to the conflict, in recruiting among those persons who have attained the age of 15 years but who have not attained the age of 18 years shall endeavour to give priority to those who are oldest. However, according to some sources, over 250,000 children under the age of 15 were engaged in 30 armed conflicts in 1995 and 1996, whereas later this number increased to even 300,000.¹⁰²

Children below the age of 15 who are taking part in a conflict must enjoy a privileged status.¹⁰³ If they are arrested, detained or interned for reasons related to the armed conflict, they will be placed in special departments, and the death penalty for offenses

⁹⁹ Article 21, 81-108 of the Third Geneva Convention; Articles 77 and 78 of the Protocol I and Article 6 of the Protocol II.

¹⁰⁰ The Protocol raises the recruitment of children to the age of 18. B&H has been a party of the Protocol (Official Gazette, International Treaties No. 5/2000).

¹⁰¹ Article 77 Paragraph 1 of the Protocol I; Article 4 of the Protocol II.

¹⁰² Kazazić, *Međunarodno humanitarno pravo: difuzija i primjena*, 155.

¹⁰³ Article 77, Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Protocol I; Article 4 Paragraph 4 items c). and d) of the Protocol II.

related to the armed conflict shall not be enforced against them if they had less than 18 years of age when the crime was committed.¹⁰⁴

Children must be provided with help and care they need. This applies particularly to education, and religious and moral education. If children are separated from their families, everything must be done in order to return them to their families. On the other hand, if necessary, children will be temporarily displaced from the area where the conflict takes place, but this is possible only with the consent of the parents or persons who are responsible for them.¹⁰⁵

Special protection of children is also recognized in the Rome Statue of the International Criminal Tribunal. This document considers the recruitment of children under the age of 15 as a war crime.¹⁰⁶

However, practice shows that the children are exposed to grave suffering in armed conflicts. In his 1993 report, Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed: „Children have themselves been killed and wounded in (...) attacks. witnessed the death and injury of others including close family members and neighbours and have seen their homes destroyed. They have been arbitrarily imprisoned in appalling conditions and there are reports of rape of children in and out of detention camps. This war has created countless orphans and a generation of refugees.“¹⁰⁷

There is a noticeable tendency of equalizing the protection of children in international and non-international armed conflicts. This is evident in military manuals of many countries¹⁰⁸, as well as in a significant number of resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations (for example, the Security Council Resolutions number 1181, 1296 and 1314, or General Assembly Resolutions number 48/157 and 55/116).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Article 77 Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Protocol II.

¹⁰⁵ Article 78 of the Protocol I; Article 4 of the Protocol II.

¹⁰⁶ Article 8 Paragraph 2 item e) of the Rome Statue of the International Criminal Tribunal from 1998.

¹⁰⁷ The Report No E/CN.4/1993/50 from February 1993, paragraph 91.

¹⁰⁸ Per example Argentina, Canada and France.

¹⁰⁹ Kazazić, *Međunarodno humanitarno pravo: difuzija i primjena*, 151.

Women in armed conflict

Women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular due to their special needs in terms of health protection and the help they need.¹¹⁰ Emphasis is being placed on raising awareness among all armed groups that sexual violence is prohibited by any existing act of the international humanitarian law, and that it must not be committed in any case. A special emphasis was placed on sexual violence in the context of protection of women, because they are the most exposed to such acts.

In the indictment against Jean-Paul Akayesu, the International Criminal Court for Rwanda has treated sexual crimes against Tutsi women as genocide and crime against humanity. The Court defined sexual violence as any act of sexual nature committed on a person under circumstances which are coercive, whereas it defined rape as physical invasion of a sexual nature, committed on a person under circumstances which are coercive.¹¹¹

Infringement of victims' moral and physical integrity makes rape particularly serious crime. The sense of shame and trauma that is usually associated with rape makes the crime difficult to prove before a court. The victims are mostly reluctant to speak about the crime they survived, so the trials are often reduced to testimonies of a small number of victims.

In the majority of armed conflicts, soldiers (or members of other armed groups) use sexual violence to humiliate the enemy population. Because of these reasons and as an act of disapproval of rape, forced prostitution, forced abortions or sexual slavery - sexual violence is treated separately in international humanitarian law. The international courts are of the opinion that the central elements of the crime of rape cannot be captured in a

¹¹⁰ Article 24 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Article 76-78 of the Protocol I.

¹¹¹ The first-instance verdict of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in the case *Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*, case No: 96-4-T, September 2, 1998, paragraph 598.

See also: The first-instance verdict of the ICTY in the case *Prosecutor v. Ante Furundzija*, case No: IT-95-17/1-T, December 10, 1998; The first-instance verdict of the ICTR in the case of *Prosecutor v. Alfred Musema*, case No.: 96-13-T, January 27, 2000; The first-instance verdict of the ICTY in the case of *Prosecutor v. Dragan Zelenovic*, case N.: IT-96-23, April 4, 2007, The first-instance verdict of the ICTY in the case of *Prosecutor v. Ranko Cesic*, case No.: IT-95-10, March 11, 2004.

mechanical description of objects and body parts.¹¹² In addition, as mentioned above, in this form of crime there is always a reluctance of witnesses to reveal details of crimes they have suffered, which makes them more difficult to prove.

Rape is widely used as a weapon of war.¹¹³ It is itself a humiliating offense and humiliation is always taken into account in determining the sentence. Researchers suggest that some women who survived rape were subjected to forced pregnancy and unwanted motherhood, which shows that these prohibited acts are usually interconnected.

The Geneva Conventions from 1949 and their Protocols explicitly prohibit rape and it has been marked as grave violations of the aforementioned documents. Forced pregnancy and forced motherhood represent additional violations of the international humanitarian law.

If rapes are committed as a way to destroy national, religious or ethnic group as such, then it represents an integral part of the genocide, as defined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide from 1949, while persons who are responsible for genocide must be sanctioned, and every competent court has the right to convict them.¹¹⁴

However, in other situations women are being protected in the same way as men and that is without any special privileges, per example in case when women take part in fighting's and represent part of armed forces. The same situation will be applied in case when women fall into hand of enemy as members of military forces and become prisoners of war and then, women have the same rights as male prisoners of war.

¹¹² The first-instance verdict of the ICTR in the case *Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu* case No: 96-4-T, September 2, 1998.

¹¹³ The first criminal proceeding of rape as a war crime was led during Tokyo trials after the World War II. Out of 100 indictments filed in The Hague Tribunal, over 20 indictments accused the indictees of rape, among other things. Tadic and Furundzija were among the first who were convicted of rape as a crime against humanity, in the ICTY. We should also mention a verdict of the ICTY in the case of Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac and Zoran Vukovic, who were sentenced for numerous sexual crimes as a crime against humanity.

¹¹⁴ The first-instance verdict of the ICTR in the case *Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu* case No: 96-4-T, September 2, 1998.

Conclusion

The international humanitarian law must be fully applied in all situations to all persons who enjoy protection under its provisions, without any distinction based on the nature or origin of armed conflict, or causes presented by conflicting parties or which are attributed to them. The term “non-international armed conflict” should not be taken literally, bearing in mind connection of the international community. The fact that conflicts are taking place at a territory of one country does not mean there can be no international consequences. It is not important whether the conflict is taking place at a territory of only one or at the territory of two or more countries. The priority is to reduce the number of casualties to the minimum.

We can conclude from this paper that different and specific groups are specifically protected in international and non-international armed conflicts. In any types of armed conflict it is forbidden to kill civilians, it is prohibited to protect you using the civilians, it is prohibited to starve civilians, and it is prohibited to intimidate civilians.

Special categories of civilians are women and children. Considering that they are the most vulnerable categories of persons in conflict, there are special laws that protect them further.

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