

Konceptualni pristup kreiranju bezbednosne politike Republike Makedonije Marjan Gjurovski¹

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Apstrakt: Politika bezbednosti je veoma složena aktivnost i teško je utvrditi koja je od njih uspešna. Od mnogobrojnih faktora koji utiču na uspešno razvijanje politike bezbednosti, na prvom mestu treba da budu oni koji se tiču nepristrasnog identifikovanja bezbednosnih pojava, zajedničke saradnje i kordinacije između službi bezbednosti. Osobe koje su odgovorne, kompetentne i u obavezi da razviju politiku bezbednosti, na raspolaganju treba da imaju pravovremene i objektivne informacije o bezbednosti. One im omogućavaju da izvrše realnu procenu bezbednosne situacije i predvide buduće bezbednosne događaje.

Uspešna, odnosno dobra politika bezbednosti je ona koja je u mogućnosti da reši bezbednosne probleme uz minimalne resurse i minimalnu štetu. Savremene ekonomske, političke, zakonske i kulturne prilike u svetu diktiraju potrebu za zajedničkom politikom bezbednosti na globalnom nivou, zatim na nivou ujedinjenih država ili regiona, kao i na nivou nacionalne države.

Sadržaj politike bezbednosti je „proizvod“ realnih situacija i realnog života u određenoj državi, regionu i svetu. On bi trebalo da bude u službi društva, države i građana tako što će omogućiti bezbedan napredak ukupnih odnosa unutar zajednice.

Conceptual Approach in Creating Security Policy of the Republic of Macedonia

Abstract: Security policy is a very complex activity and it is difficult to determine which policy is successful and which one is not. From the multitude of factors which influence the success of developing the security policy, those relating to the objective detection of security-related phenomena, mutual cooperation and coordination between the security institutions should be put on the first place. Those responsible, competent and obliged to develop security policies should have timely and objective security information at their disposal. It would enable them to make real security assessment, to determine the security situation and to predict future security events.

A successful or good security policy is the one that is able to resolve the security issues with minimal resources and minimal damage. The contemporary economic, political, legal and cultural conditions in the world determine the need for concerted security policy at world level, and also at the levels of states or regions, as well as the national state.

The content of the security policy is determined by or is a “product” of the real situations and the real life in the particular state, region or in the world. It should be in the function of the society, the state and the citizens, so as to provide for safe improvement of the overall community relations.

Keywords: *security policy, risks, threats, security system, security, concepts, theories*

By declaring its independence and sovereignty on September 8, 1991, the Republic of Macedonia began gradually to build its security policy. During the first years of the independence, an independent system of national security was discussed, the institutions of the state were built, but there was no one to work on preparation of the basic documents or the construction of the security policy. Moreover, there wasn't any strategic document that treated security conditions. The security policy was an expected concept in the following period which was moving in parallel with the process of building the security system of the Republic of Macedonia. The country began building its own autonomous modern system of security based on the new challenges and threats toward the new independent country. They opened many processes of profound and fundamental changes in all areas of life: economics, politics, health, education, culture, foreign policy, defense,

security and so on. Given that the Republic of Macedonia has a very short 'career' as an independent country and that it hasn't worked previously on building its own security policy, and if we take into account the relative lack of experience and professional knowledge in state institutions, bodies and individuals engaged in the domain of security, it was initially a potential source of problems and a factor indirectly jeopardizing the interests of the country.

After its independence in 1991, Republic of Macedonia didn't own any specific model or plan for creating a strategic-doctrine framework. The strategic documents in that period were not created according to a basic plan but every document was created as a result of specific reasons and needs for its creating, because of which very often there was a reaction from the environment. But during the 1990s and early 2000s, there was always a consensus of the general public about the need to develop and adopt such strategic - doctrinal framework and about the implementation of reforms and policy execution, so these years are called decade of strategies.

The adoption of the first strategic documents started proclaiming the need of a common position for addressing the security issues with one comprehensive document that would summarize the joint action of all stakeholders for achieving the security of the country.

The first strategic documents adopted in the Republic of Macedonia were the White Book for defense, adopted in 1998, and the Strategy for defense, adopted in 1999. Initially it appeared that the hierarchy of adopting strategic documents by importance hadn't been preserved because the comprehensive strategies that would lead the whole security system as the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the National Concept for Security and Defense were passed in 2001 and 2003, followed by the adoption of the Strategic Defense Review and strategies for police and border management, surpassing the gap caused by the absence of comprehensive strategies which in turn would be a guide for the other sectors. Another comprehensive document that was adopted was the National security strategy. Given that the first developed documents were the White book for defense and the Strategy for defense, which should actually have emerged from the National Concept for security and defense and the National security strategy, their defining and adoption opened the need for updating virtually all strategic - doctrinal framework of the state.

The process of developing a strategic-doctrinal framework in the country can be divided into two periods. The first period is the decade of the 1990s, characterized by taking inadequate procedures for initiating the creation of a strategic-doctrinal framework. The second period is the period just before the end of this decade and the first years of the 21st century, attesting the favorable domestic and regional environment to pursue development and creating it.

In the 1990s, the country was faced with inefficiencies in the functioning of decision-making on security, the inadequacy of the human factor and the conceptual and managerial incompetence to deal with problems of internal social, economic and political changes, which seriously affected the development of strategic - doctrinal framework that resulted in failure for its establishment.

At the end of the 20th century, however, the political and security environment in which the frame was developed was transformed. The crisis in the former Yugoslavia was over, the security vacuum in the 1990s no longer existed and the country began to build aspirations for Euro-Atlantic integration. These changes forced the country to invest effort and resources in developing the strategic-doctrinal framework. The emergence of a stable, reformist oriented majority that came to power in the late 1990s and early 2000s, allowed implementation of programs for creation of strategic - doctrinal framework. In addition, a public support for this process was obtained, which is also very important.

The sources on which the process of preparation of the strategies was based include: the Constitution, laws and regulations; similar strategies to "benchmark" countries (such as NATO and EU member states) and international organizations; documents on defense and security policy at the national level; personal knowledge and experience of the creators; Internal estimates about national values, interests and requirements; conclusions and recommendations of research reports; theoretical national and international literature; similar documents published in other institutions of international, regional and national; advice and recommendations from international and bilateral experts and others.

When Macedonia began with the first generation of reforms in the security area, just after its independence in 1991 which included the establishment of new institutions, structures and chains of accountability in the security sector and appropriate structures for democratic control over it, there were no security strategies. The country set the basic principles and structures for oversight of the security sector, authorizing the parliament to control

and approve the budgets of the security system. All this happened as a result of the overall democratization of all processes in the country. However, with the later changes in the environment it became obvious that more reforms were needed and they were called second generation of reforms in the security area. The second generation of reforms referred to further consolidation of the democratic control of the armed forces, strengthening the procedures of transparency and accountability, improving the structures and institutions in terms of implementing policy and improving the efficiency and effectiveness of work of the security system, a wider involvement civil society and the creation of a strong civil defense and security, to improve the ability for effective border protection, reform of intelligence agencies, disarmament, demilitarization and reintegration, maintaining judicial reform and judicial reform and the fight against corruption and organized crime in the security system.

The key feature of the security strategies was to provide political basis for reforming and professionalization of the security system. This involved defining the missions, tasks and structures of the actors in the security system in accordance with the new environment, new challenges and priorities.

What is important to be emphasized is that the security strategies, besides the way in which they were initiated and the objectives they achieved, had their merit having on mind the difficult period, the period of transition during which the Macedonian society and the security institutions were developing. The real question that Macedonia was faced with was whether the Government will be guided by the logic for specific security reforms in developing strategies or logic assessment of current circumstances. Security strategies guided by the overall security reforms will greatly serve the overall security reforms and will form a solid basis for the continuation of reforms in this area. The very concept of reform of the security system recognized the need of strategies as a further guide for the reforms. The changes that had to be taken in the security system couldn't be introduced overnight. Not only changes of the procedures and legislation were needed, but also changes of the attitude and the mentality of the people were needed. This meant that the changes should take place slowly, including all levels of the security sector reform agenda¹.

Strategic documents

The strategic-doctrinal framework of the Republic of Macedonia currently includes the following national documents: National Concept for security and defense; Strategic Defense Review; Defense Strategy; White Paper on Defense Reform Strategy in the police and the National Strategy for Integrated Border Management and the Ohrid Framework Agreement. There is significant progress in the development of this framework in the country based on the placement of the new hierarchy of decision strategies with the adoption of the National Concept for Security and Defense in June 2003 and the National Security Strategy in January 2008. Significant progress was made with the Ohrid Framework Agreement as a political document - a guide to the overall design of strategic - doctrinal framework of the country.

In the creation of the National Concept for security and defense, the Cabinet of the Prime Minister had the key role. The Ohrid Framework Agreement was prepared by the domestic leaders, including the Cabinets of the President and the Prime Minister, the leaders of the political parties and their counselors, as well as the international representatives (EU, USA) and their staff for support. The strategic defense review was created by the Ministry of defense with the help of the Council Team of NATO and the team of Booz Allen Hamilton, present as counselor's teams in the country. The process of defining and adopting the Review allowed incorporation of political and intellectual basis for the role and the goals of the armed forces. That was the means for determining the type of the armed forces that Republic of Macedonia can allow and at the same time it was the means for finding resources through the taxpayers and a fundament for transforming the army from 'national army' to modern, efficient, sustainable and professional army. Prior to the preparation of the review, there were two alternatives to do the same. The first was to do the same inside the Ministry of Defense, where the existing defense capabilities would be reviewed, assessed and developed, accessible resources spent and defensive plans continuously upgraded. This should have been done through the established working groups that were to implement the NATO program Partnership for Peace. This process showed that 90% of the defense budget was spent on salaries, and therefore a fresh approach was needed for the conception of future reforms. The second alternative was to start with a politically driven review, which would be the foundation for the defense sector in the country and include elements from the first approach discussed. The second alternative was chosen, and that was the preparation of the Strategic Defense Review. This led to a political process because government and

¹ Стратегиски одбранбен преглед, Министерство за одбрана на РМ, 2004.

presidential support and their commitment were necessary. The review began on the basis of relevant and updated strategic analysis given in the National Concept for Security and Defense¹.

The Defense strategy and the White book for defense were also prepared by the Ministry of Defense with the support of Advisory Teams, and the National Security Strategy was developed by the Government. The strategy for reforms in the police and the National Strategy for Integrated Border Management were prepared by the staff of the Ministry of Interior, who used expertise through projects for reforms in the police funded by the EU and managed by the European Agency for Reconstruction.

A wider public debate was also included in the development of the strategies. The process of 2002 was the starting point. For example, in the autumn of 2003, before the adoption of the Political framework of the Strategic defense Review, there was a debate at which all the former ministers of defense and the former chiefs of staff of the Macedonian Army were invited. This trend of organizing public debates with prominent experts in the field of defense and security before making key documents is still maintained. Another example is the established practice of the Ministry of Defense for organizing public debates and exchange of views on strategic documents. Some of them are organized public debates on the White Paper of Defense 2012, the Defense Diplomacy Strategy 2012 and the Strategy for smart defense 2012.

In terms of strategy which defines the national security policy of the state, the Law of Defense stipulates that two documents that regulate this matter should be adopted. Those are the *National Concept for security and defense* (adopted by the Parliament) and *The Strategy for defense* (adopted by the President, the Government gives an opinion about it and it is prepared by the Ministry of Defense). According to the National Concept for security and defense **the Macedonian policy for national security** is a *complex and interdependent set of measures, activities, plans and programs, undertaken by the country in order to protect, sustain and improve its security and the security of its citizens, in accordance with the available resources and with active collaboration with the international community*. It includes *the political, economic, defensive, inter-defensive, social and ecological component*².

The basic and long-term goal of the national security policy is to *protect, maintain and improve the security situation of the country, by creating an environment for realization of the national interests of Republic of Macedonia*. For achieving this goal it is necessary to undertake, maintain and improve the following **measures and activities**: *maintaining and improving the effectiveness and objectivity of the means and methods of collecting data and information of importance to safety; quality and continuous expert analysis of the security environment, for active participation in its creation and prevention of risks and dangers; maintaining and improving the security capacities and capabilities for prevention, minimization and elimination of security risks and threats, and resolution of conflict and crisis situations; maintaining and improving the level of preparedness of the state authorities and harmonization of regulations, rules and procedures for timely coordination management, as well as for efficient, timely and adequate response to the security risks and hazards; Development of the border service which is effective to control the border and the border zone outside the legal border crossings, which will prevent all types of illegal trade, which will build capacity and unique procedures for cooperation and mutual assistance with its neighbors, the region and international community. Border Service should ensure constant improvement of relations of trust and cooperation with the local population, and to take account of the representation of ethnic communities in its composition and direction of the safety system to achieve interoperability with others, similar systems in the democratic countries Europe*.

The policy of the National security of Republic of Macedonia according to the Concept is based and it should be guided according to the following **directions**: *active and real participation in the international efforts to create and enhance peace and security, given that security is inseparable and does not depend only on one country; sovereign right to defend and guarantee their safety with the right to make its own decision to join the unions; right on rejection of certain obligations and contracts for which it is assessed that can endanger the safety of the Republic and / or adversely affect the security of other states; compatibility of a nationwide security in accordance with the constitutional and legal solutions as well as international standards and ratified international agreements; incorporation into national law and diplomatic activity to do all the neighbors - the generally accepted norms and standards in all areas of international law and their proper implementation in practice; individual institutions responsible for security, although still a key place and role in the contemporary understanding of security, is no longer solely responsible for the care, maintenance and construction of the*

¹ Лазаревски П, Атанасов П „Поставеност и остварување на политика на национална безбедност на Република Македонија,, ИСППИ-Скопје 2002

² Националната концепција за безбедност и одбрана („Службен весник на РМ", бр.40/2003).

security environment and condition. Therefore the assessment, measures and activities for protection, maintenance and improvement should be seen as a system of complex and interdependent factors, such as political, economic, defense and interior - safety, social, environmental and others; ongoing democratic and civilian control and oversight institutions and forces whose business is security and national defense; prevention, ie measures and activities that provide prevention of risks, dangers and crises, their timely identification and removal; coordination of measures, activities and security capabilities by applying timely and full use of skills and resources to tackle the crisis and the possibility of giving or receiving assistance and cooperation; permanent responsibility of the departments of the state government, local government, political parties and other legal and economic entities, NGOs and other associations, like all citizens, to participate in the implementation of the policy of a nationwide security¹.

In the Concept of National security and defense the policy views are grouped in the following areas: **foreign, economic, defense, internal security policy and the policy of environmental protection**. Instruments are all normative-legal, organizational, procedural, human and other resources and the other possibilities and capabilities that are available to holders and participants in achieving security policy, as well as relationships, communication and cooperation with all government and non-governmental, national and international organizations, bodies, associations and other forms of cooperation².

Conclusion

The security policy of Republic of Macedonia isn't a mechanic set of few mutually isolated policies, but a special quality that consists of organically unified aspects of all the policies which reflect or may reflect (directly or indirectly) on the security of the country, internal stability and its international position in the broadest sense, said Pande Lazarevski. According to him, the conduct of the security policy of the Republic of Macedonia implies a shared system of values among certain key issues of its survival and prosperity, and sufficient knowledge about the complexities of national security, the process of creating a security policy and the positioning and interdependence of the various actors the context of the creation and implementation of that policy.

The implementation of the security strategies and concepts in Republic of Macedonia should be a system of measures and activities for applying of the strategic thought, undertaking activities, and it is analytically followed by the effective security operations and the general strategic access in whole. The way this will be implemented is determined by the security and political constellation, security and political trend - action performance of the entity in the security system of the country³.

Depending on the stage and the circumstances that characterize the political conflict as desirable in terms of achieving the set goals, it is necessary to combine different strategic approaches. The basic premise is that the choice will help the security entity to achieve the goals it has set. Similarly, it is assumed that the selected operational and functional security strategies and concepts will help in realizing certain segmental milestones as part of a global strategic target framework and in accordance with the general strategic concept.

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¹ Националната концепција за безбедност и одбрана („Службен весник на РМ", бр.40/2003).

² Лазаревски П, Атанасов П „Поставеност и остварување на политика на национална безбедност на Република Македонија,, ИСППИ-Скопје 2002

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