



TRAINING AND DOCTRINE COMMAND

MILITARY REVIEW

**Security and Defence Review
Training and Doctrine Command**

Second Edition, December 2013

Tirana, December 2013

Editorial Board of Military Review Publication

Approved by the Order of the Minister of Defense No. 1304, dated 20.06.2013

Editorial Board Chairman

B.G. MSc. Bardhyl Hoxha

Members

Col. PhD. Ahmet Leka

Col. Prof. As. PhD. Agim Q. Sula

Col. Prof. As. PhD. Gëzim Mustafa

Col. Prof. PhD. Kristaq Xharo

Col. (R) Prof. PhD. Pajtim Ribaj

Col. (R) Prof. PhD. Pëllumb Danaj

Editor in chief

Ajet Nuellari

Editor

Silvana Markgjonaj

English Translators

PhD. Jaup Zenuni

MSc. Granit Zela

Art design

Teuta Mullisi

ISSN 2227-8133 (Print), ISSN 2227-8141 (Online)

Copyright © 2012 All rights reserved. The Centre for Doctrine (CD) of the Albanian Training and Doctrine Command.

The views and opinions expressed in this Military Review are of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official policies or positions of the Ministry of Defence, General Staff and Training and Doctrine Command.

The authors of Military Review articles will not be subject to punishment for free expression of individual views and positions even if they are not in line with the official positions of the defence institution.

The authors are also responsible for any slander actions, distortions of facts, offense and plagiarism aspects to the creativity and thoughts of other authors.

This edition of Military Review is found on the website <http://www.tradoc.mil.al/> In case you can not get the information you need on the Internet, please apply for a copy at the electronic address: e-mail: revistaushtarake@aaf.mil.al or qd@aaf.mil.al

Training and Doctrine Command

Centre for Doctrine Publications Branch

Printed: December 2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>National security and contribution to global security</i> _____	5
(Excerpt from the Government Program 2013-2017, “Alliance of European Albania”, on Defence, Tirana 2013)	
<i>Incarnation of Strategic Partnership with USA in NATO Front</i> _____	7
Edi Rama, Prime Minister	
<i>National Security Policy for the Review of the Strategic Defence</i> _____	11
Mimi Kodheli, Minister of Defence	
<i>Leadership is built upon trust and trust is built upon honour</i> _____	22
Major General Jeronim Bazo, Chief of General Staff of AF	
SECTION ONE: Security Analysis and Assessments _____	25
<i>Military leadership in the age of globalization</i> Brigadier General PhD. Sandër Lleshi Prime Minister’s Security Advisor	
<i>The Role of “Soft Security” in the traditional security framework</i> _____	32
Brigadier General MSc. Bardhyl Hoxha TRADOCC Commander	
<i>Are we facing the clash of civilization?</i> _____	41
Colonel Dilaver Hoxha Deputy Commander of Land Forces	
<i>Influence of the Cold War on the realism</i> _____	50
Colonel PhD. Metodija Dojcinovski Senior Course on Security and Defence Studies, 5 th , 2013	
<i>Leadership and its social responsibility</i> _____	58
PhD. Fatmir Zanaq Deputy Rector and Dean of Diplomacy Faculty, “Justiniani I” University, Tirana	
_____	3

<i>Public Communication as an important element of the Armed Forces activity</i> _____	70
PhD. Jaup Zenuni Lecturer at the Academy of the Albanian Armed Forces	
<i>AAF Challenges-Full integration in the NATO's security system and collective defence</i> _____	80
LtC.(R) MSc. Kanan Himaj Researcher at National Centre for Security and Defence, MoD	
<i>Discretion and Deontology of National Intelligence Agencies</i> _____	89
LtC. MSc. Sokrat Paskali Chief of Intelligence Training Centre of AIM	
<i>Language, a vital factor of national geopolitics</i> _____	95
Granit Zela, PhD Programme, 2011-2014 Silvana Markgjonaj, "Master of Sciences" 2011-2013 Armed Forces Academy, Tirana, Albania	

SECTION TWO: Research papers

<i>The Albanian Military Strategic Thought and the organization of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania, 1945-1991</i> _____	111
Col. PhD. Ahmet Leka Chief of Doctrines Centre, TRADOCC	
<i>Financing of Terrorism-Case study, Albania</i> _____	122
Col. PhD. Eduart Bala Deputy Director of Defence Intelligence Agency	
<i>A Defence Planning System for Albania under the NATO Collective Defence</i> _	133
Col. (R) Thimi Hudhra Deputy Director, National Centre for Security and Defence, MoD	

SECTION THREE: Historical Studies

<i>Lezha Convention, a major event in the national history of Albania</i> _____	145
PhD. Bernard Zotaj Director of Book Centre of and Support by Information, TRADOCC	
<i>Albanian Stradiots and their historical contribution</i> _____	155
Fotaq Andrea Researcher, Translator, Former Ambassador of RoA to European Parliament, Strasbourg, France	
Short Guidance for 'Military Review' Research Papers _____	165

Influence of the Cold War on the realism

Colonel PhD Metodija Dojcinovski
Senior Course on Security and Defence Studies, 5th, 2013

Short commentary. *The end of the Cold War represents the beginning of the period of modern research of security issues and theories of modern warfare. End of the Cold War, led to an emphasis of a large number of military-security and political issues related to the survival of the state and the region, establishing a regime change in political arrangements, regional cooperation, the Euro Atlantic integration and many other. Studies of this period coincided with some very important events in geo-strategic map of the world, especially in south-east Europe, with emphasis as most important: decomposition Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the wars in Africa, the crisis in the Balkans and the Middle East, terrorist attack the U.S., beginning of the global war against terrorism, the Arab Spring and other.*

In such circumstances, the current security theories point to characteristics of national security crises in period of its existence. On the basis of that, to compile time analysis for the period before the war, during and after performances periods wars, which shall be established strategy of the modern world. One of the contemporary security theories is a theory of realism. It is believed that realism in the relations between strategy, security studies, international relations and political science. At the end of the paper, will be definite the impact on the development of modern realism and determination of society, confirming or rejecting the possibility of external influence and the effects of the interior effects to the national interests and security, in general.

The realism as a contemporary security theory

Twentieth Century raised two important issues in International Relations: Cold War and decolonization. It seems, the consequences of the Cold War are still feeling because most union still exists, some conflicts are still ongoing threat posed by the end of the Cold War, are threatened worldwide. The world entered the process of globalization, where underdeveloped countries become smaller and the bigger bite. Era characterized by two key events, the Cold War and the beginning of the creation of the democratic process, weaken the influence of realism, but strengthened the need for a national awakening, which entered the order today. World

decided to not work for the majority, but for us privileged minority, and many other practical theories have influenced the development of democratic processes, in particular, scientific and technological development, in search of safety between political entities, such as the theory of realism¹.

Realism as a theory, teaching and ideology, has become a necessity, which reflect the will of the peoples, the nations desire, determination of national interests of states, and the world meant “balance of power”, as well as many other wars in human history. The impact of “global realism” in the Cold War refutes radical developments, establishing new modern security theories and new security schools, for which weakened the influence of the theory of realism. The discipline of international relations, leading to progressive thinking, because it was realism prefix “irealistichen”. Access points to the new rules regarding the theory of strength, standing on the side of power, representing the interests of power². In such circumstances, academic relationships are redefined, because if there is no crisis, no academic discipline³. Sub-discipline of security studies dominated realists, was created during the Cold War.

It is impossible to write about the theory of realism, not to touch a security study that emerged from the Cold War. Modern security theory, that left as the only proven, in practice was the theory of realism, which represents the theory and ideology. Discussions concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the theory of realism play a key role in international academic circles. Authors that are more contemporary elaborate theory of realism in connection with international relations in the past fifty years⁴. At the same time, security processes and theories of realism are also important for studies that are studied this problem, emphasizing the important role of security studies. Any interested in safety factor should be given to or familiar with realism, because of his influence, but because of his contact with direct involvement in the practice. Realism in practice is treated as a family of ideas, because of similarities and the distinctive expression. Key positions of realism focused on governmental structure and its diversity in practice, separating the two sides’ authors as defensive realists and offensive realists. Defensive realism emphasizes the ability level of security in the anarchy, while offensive realism is represented by the use of maximum force. Between these two types of realism, there is a line-oriented material realist.

During the Cold War, realism was greatly criticized. But realism has never left the scene, neither turned in another direction. Good realists do not allow them self to become a target of unnecessary, illegal and unpopular war. Realism requires careful use of military power in accordance with the political orientation of the state.

¹ William Mc Neill, *The Pursuit of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), and Geoffrey Blainey, *A Very Short History of the World* (London: Allen Lane, 2004).

² Ken Booth, ‘Critical Explorations’, in Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), pp. 4–10.

³ Fred Halliday, ‘The Future of International Relations: Fears and Hopes’, in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁴ Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 5.

Therefore, realism does not permit generalization complex tradition and connection with the three important elements: existing, doing and knowing. For realists, the first references object characteristics and the existence of the states existence, as an actor in international politics and was the biggest champion of the people, the citizens. One of the important aspects of realisms knowledge, as the dominant method of positivism (understanding as a empirical qualification). Practice knowledge is created by the theory, such as the politic is created from ethics. This contributes to the development of ideas concerning the security of countries, types of threats, the participation of people and another. The third aspect achieves the objective, at the moment of creating a compatible environment for defining the necessary policies.

Realism. The emergence of true realism is the period when the world decided to redefine under existing international rules, norms and regulations on the one hand and development, power and influence of the state on the other. The period of influence and creating contemporary realism, are 50s of last century, when its representatives Herman Kan, Bernard Broody, Henri Kissinger, Albert Volesteler, Tomas Shelling, and other experts, state leaders and representatives of security schools are agreed that the basis of the theory and politics of realism, lies in the lack of a guiding force and maintaining the “balance of power”. The period, in which states retained their positions and created a traditional approach to reality, researchers allow this matter to be called “traditionalists”. Modern realism, exist over 50 years ago, when after the Cold War, not to allow the world to lead one country, or one superpower.

By recognizing the effects of growth conditions, opportunities, development processes and “the politics of globalization”, the main goal of the theory of realism and countries in the real world has become a “national interest”. This approach led to a redefinition of many security and political issues, especially after the Cold War. The real view of world order and the interests of the world are upset with their thinking that the end of the Cold War has weakened the influence of realism. The theory of realism is a reflection of the time, so this conclusion could be based on the results slowed and inefficient respond to threats around the world, where the results after the Cold War: persecution of about 5,000,000 people every year; about 600,000 die from various reason; each year, depleting 10-11,000,000 people; around 25,000,000 people mass displacement worldwide. The number of cases is increasing and it is difficult to determine, and the dark figure of crime is on the rise. World faces new face of terrorism, “suicide attacks”⁵.

The basis of the theory of realism in safety studies as part of the science of international relations, which was mostly interested in maintaining security between actors and people, traditional domestic political concerns, health and rights of people, the global political agenda and developments in other countries, disasters and massacres. Alternative views are pointing to the fact that the subject of research of realism should go beyond the scope of threats⁶. Many of the realists, the idea of national

⁵ <http://www.cdnpecekeeping.ns.ca>

⁶ Classical realism comes from the 40s of the 20th century, which dominated the young subject “International Relations”, where actors were states. But states interacted with each other through non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations that are considered relevant. World in a political

interest seeing in foreign policy, which as reality, continues after the Second World War to the present. Every government act according to the interests of their people. His influence realism reduces with the theories, ideas, understanding, that, the national interest declines if signed agreements with countries and governments who oppress their own people. As a supporter of this theory and author of the concept, Morgenthau in 1982 was behind the fact that the main goal of a state should be the integrity of the state, "its political institutions and culture".

However, this concept does not coincide with the European policy for "pooling of sovereignty"⁷. However, this concept today defended many governments in the world using the term "national interest"⁸. Realism in the post-Cold War has different approaches and perspectives. Each approach to modern views on the reality of the world and its definition provides various assumptions and explanations about the consequences and assumptions. Thus, realism is transformed into pursuing types and periods: classical realism, neoclassical "realism of rise and fall" and "neo-realism" (offensive structural and defensive structural)⁹. Each one is different and distinctive, but most pessimistic realists see international relations, although they are part of their research and interest.

Classical Realism. Classical realism in 20th century dates from a time when in 1939 marked the first works. Classical realism is characterized by answering the then-liberalism on issues of international politics and widely widespread liberalism in the period between the two world wars. The essence of classical realism is fighting states to increase their capabilities and power. On the other hand, classical realism explores conflicts about human weaknesses. For classical realists, politics is characterized as the devil, for evil actions that people do in implementing the policy.

Neorealism. The theory of Kenneth Waltz in 1979¹⁰, replaced the theory of Morgenthau as an obstacle to the implementation of realism. Theory of International Politics argues that systems are composed of structure and related units interact. This results in the phrase "what states want" and "what states have".

Defensive structural realism. Defensive structural realism originates from neo-realism, after the Cold War, but apart from him. This type of realism argues that states all their own way provide protection in international frames, but the biggest threats come from other countries.

Offensive structural realism. This theory arguing that states can still take advantage of their potential for participation in the international politics and used his position

sense pretsatvuvashе a political system. Realism was expanding at the expense of pessimism, with either very quickly understood that the world may not exist leading countries to increase their power and protecting the most powerful among themselves.

⁷ As an example, Morgenthau and Kissinger openly debated for U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam, "whether it is in the national interest of the country".

⁸ Foreign Minister Downer of Australia, in 2002 said, "The government is confident that the national interest of Australia has increased the ambitious and reasonable manner ... If you did not raise yourself, nobody will increase".

⁹ Colin Elman, Michael A. Jensen, "Realism" (unknown publication).

¹⁰ Kenneth Waltz's 1979 *Theory of International Politics*.

and power, against another state¹¹. Such approach draws five assumptions pertaining to the following: the international system is anarchic; great powers inherently possess offensive military capability that can harm one another, states can never be identically directed toward another; survival is the primary goal of large powers and great powers are rational actors in the world. From these assumptions it can be concluded that the great powers fear each other because they devote greater attention to safety and build better strategy for their survival.

Realism of rise and fall. This species occurs in the theory of time, the, “balance of power” in 1950¹². The interest of theory is facing the problem of money-power in international relations, in which the dominant role played politics of hegemony as a basis for peace. In this way, only the dominant states are in a position to shape the rules and policies of the international community, with the addition of other appetites will be satisfied and their own. When the state becomes indifferent, various factors affecting the threat of war. In the absence of preventive actions and efforts, the threat of war can be more certain. The “rise and fall” of realism, depicts human reality and history or a significant part of it. This theory suggests the need for programs to promote events in different ways and at different times. And this type of realistic points of internal developments in the states, which can be positive and negative (industrialization, social issues, economic system, military, technological and economic innovation, and more. Programs rise and fall causing many transition theories and research models beginnings and the possibility of wars¹³.

Neoclassical realism. Neoclassical realism is based on developing solutions and analysis relating to foreign policy and implemented for internal use. Implement segments for monitoring of foreign policy. The reason for the need of such a theory is ambiguous picture to the States comes from within. The outer scene is hard to see threats and opportunities, because the agenda to meet strategic purposes is infinite.

Previous chapter suggests on tradition of realism as showcases for his outstanding adaptation of important events. Along with realism, its place we find theorists, politicians, researchers and all other factors expert and political scene. The development of realism is implemented through several areas, the most important being: 1. Object of interest of the realism are predictions and threats, which means different realistic theories worked out different things. For example, structural realism suggests a joint action with respect to threats, while defensive structural realism suggests peaceful means of distracting the existence of a threat and refrain from use of offensive assets. 2. The capacity to change the realism opens the possibility of some criticism. Realists squabbled over the newly created theories for application anomalies obtained from empirical results. Consequently, theories of realism became

¹¹ John Mearsheimer’s (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*.

¹² A.F.K. Organski’s classic 1958 volume, *World Politics*.

¹³ Organski 1958, 1968a, 1968b, Organski and Kugler 1980, Kugler and Organski 1989, Kugler and Lemke 1996, 2000, Lemke 1995, 1996, DiCicco and Levy 1999, 2003), hegemonic war theory (Gilpin 1981, 1988), power cycle theory (Doran 1983, 1989, 2000, Doran and Parsons 1980), leadership long cycle theory (Modelski 1978, Modelski and Morgan 1985, Thompson 1983,1986, 1990, Rasler and Thompson 1983, 1985, 1991, 1994, 2000.

vague, coherent and specific. 3. Despite internal divisions among realists, this theory continues to be a central contributor to the building of national policy and development of safety and security studies. Realism as a theory emerges as the winner in the security environment, especially after the Cold War had significant explanations and understanding the causes of conflict and war.

Does weakening the impact of realism have a lasting effect?

Twentieth century was the period in which the state came to the fore because of the relationship between people and countries, which appear in the twenty-first century, went into history. States today have lost the care for people and are focused on other routes. But we must not forget that security as a term has a complex meaning. In Latin, the word security is written as “sine cura”, which means “without care”. The total release from care is impractical and undesirable, because life without worry is imagined and eliminates any scientific progress. As such, the theory in real life (safety) in international studies and global politics, focusing on the biggest fears, cares and threats to people. If there is no danger, no security, institutions will not exist, the theory will not have, will not the practice, will not science. Not only realism but also other pyramids cleared the possibility of war. In the new global order after the Cold War, realism turned to survey the security issues sidelined myriad world powers began to throw them on the table. National interests of states are looking at the actions of the threats to the state. The theory of realism accepts narrowing the focus of interest, especially after the Cold War. Representatives of this theory claim that just war threats prevailed during the Cold War. But realism is the only theory that fights for the concept of national interests and national security¹⁴. The U.S. government has dominated since the use of the prefix “national” government rhetoric always persuaded people to stand behind the government¹⁵. Reason for a nuclear threat during the Cold War, has contributed to awaken the national interest, to unite people and make security shield.

Realism constantly sticks to the term security, access and the state is key to securing the lives of citizens¹⁶. The term security has huge significance in actual political work, as threats to the state and people. Real is the need for security at a global level, recognized before the end of the Cold War. Defining the issue of security, but there are theoretical and realistic significance. Realistic way of defining security suggests that military issues are security and as such should be given priority by governments in terms of some “low-politics” issues¹⁷. Security known to be due to differences in

¹⁴ Walter Lipman 1943: Preliminary creator of the term “Cold War”, said, “A country is safe when not sacrifice legitimate interests to avoid war and is willing to hold through the war”.

¹⁵ Hans Morgentau: American Academy (father of realism) in the 50s, said: “The situation of the state is high, its power and sovereignty are joining the biggest concerns in external affairs”.

¹⁶ Meksvini 1999: claims that security will become an adjective. He believes that military power and the application of national interest can be positive and negative factors of safety. The concept of national interest came to the fore because of the freezing of international relations in the period 1945-1990.

¹⁷ World Health Organization: in 2002 published research on the causes of deaths in the world in which the order is as follows: 91% diseases, accidents 4.1%, 2.1% traffic accidents, suicides 1.5%, 0.9% killing, collective violence, 0.4% and 0.5% natural disasters.

subjective estimates with actual threats. In international relations, traditional real opinion leads to the claim that the greatest value is state sovereignty (domestic and foreign policy). It is clear that the priority is given to public safety. In democratic countries is the most important individual security. Questions of life and death on a global level are treated as priority because it does not fit into national policy.

The search for profit, enrich ones, depletes others. Realism is the basis for state interests, and ensuring the security and military issues. Realist paradigm will continue to dominate the global level, and will extend across all areas of society, especially the non-military issues and interests of the individual. The last two decades of the 20th century, are essential for mankind in order to comply with the world of theory of the current situation. However, the impact of modern warfare, leave traces on theories about the causes of conflicts and the negative development of the international community. In the modern world, there are three main groups of causes globally enabling warfare, including:

1. During the “Cold War” (anti-colonial reasons, ideological confrontation, socialist revolution, territorial and national distinction).
2. The period of the Cold War to the present (continuity of unsolved problems-causes, conflict in post-socialism republics, war against the dictatorial and totalitarian systems, international military interventions under the UN).
3. Conflicts in the near future (continuity of unsolved problems - causes, conflict with future superpowers and establishing a new world order, fight for vital living space and natural resources, civilization conflicts, opposition to various civilizations).

Conclusion

The theory of realism and its impact on humanity will never fade, but that over the time, will continually transform to another form, which will allow the foundation to last. The concept of realism after the Cold War, its weakening becomes the new approach, which provides a new beginning, a new design, contemporary transformation. The previous “national interests” realism transform into new evolutionary approaches that are identified as military security, security societies, political security, economic security, and others. After the Cold War, the realism, use security studies as a tool for monitoring and opposition to the new, with appropriate safety concept. Thus, the focus of interest rather than traditional threats are now asymmetric threats and risks and fourth-generation warfare, rather than military might arise economic and diplomatic aspects, rather than individual security apply collective security, or “Smart Defence” concept. The realism in a future will presents contemporary direction, strategy, foundation for further development and modernization of national capacities, particularly the implementation of the national interests of countries at local and global level, as well.

Bibliography:

- William Mc Neill, *The Pursuit of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), and Geoffrey Blainey, *A Very Short History of the World* (London: Allen Lane, 2004).

- John, L. Geddis, 1997.
- Ken Booth, 'Critical Explorations', in Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (Boulder, Colo, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005).
- Fred Halliday, "The Future of International Relations: Fears and Hopes", in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1991); the quotation is from the "Manifesto of the Communist Party".
- For a brilliant expose of the intoxication with 'utopia', the realist love of the word 'is', see Allot, *Health of Nations*.
- Kant, 'Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View', in Reiss, *Kant's Political Writings*.
- <http://www.cdnpecekeeping.ns.ca>.
- Bull. H. 1977, *The Anarchical society: A Study of order in World Politics*. London. Macmillan.
- Kenneth Waltz's 1979 *Theory of International Politics*.
- Van Evera 1999.
- Christensen and Snyder 1990, Liberman 1993, Jervis and Snyder 1991, Mearsheimer 2001.
- Van Evera 1999, Snyder 1991.
- John Mearsheimer's (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*.
- A.F.K. Organski's classic 1958 volume, *World Politics*.
- Baylis, J., Wirtz J., Gray, C., Cohen E. (2007) *Strategy in the contemporary world*, Oxford University Press.
- Huntington Samuel, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, n°3, 1993, 22-50, & *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
- Baylis, J., Wirtz J., Gray, C., Cohen E. (2007) *Strategy in the contemporary world*, Oxford University Press.
- Lake Antony, "Confronting Backlash States", *Foreign Affairs*, N°2, 1994.
- F. Fukuyama, "The end of History and the Last Man", Skopje, 1994.
- Guelke, Adrian. *Northern Ireland: The International Perspective*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988.
- C. Klausevic, "On war", 1976, Princeton University Press, 1976.