

Dani kriznog upravljanja Crisis Management Days

ZBORNIK RADOVA BOOK OF PAPERS

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Velika Gorica, Hrvatska



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Dani kriznog upravljanja **Crisis Management Days**

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POSTIZANJE NACIONALNOG INTERESA PRIHVAĆANJEM SIGURNOSNIH PARADIGMI

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Sažetak

Život u modernim društvenim uvjetima, uz suvremene rizike, ugroze i prijetnje, predstavlja imperativ u današnje doba. Čestom uporabom fraza da nema prijetnji miru gubi svoje značenje, zbog zamjeneteze prema kojoj činjenice pokazuju da se konvencionalne prijetnje pretvaraju u nekonvencionalne. Još je gora činjenica da se konvencionalnost pretvara u modernost.

Ključne riječi: nacionalna sigurnost, sigurnosni pokazatelji, ugroze, obavještajni podaci, sigurnosni sustav

1. SECURITY DILEMMAS AND ISSUES (PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS)

Security indicators take more swing to breach security at the local, regional and global level. Emphasizing of the estimations that there is no available territory, human or a national state in the world, where freedom of movement, residence are guaranteed, healthy environment and prosperous future, led to a redefinition of international relations, transformation of the functions of international organizations and world order in overall, based on the necessity of establishing and maintaining collective security, economic and social development, education and health care system, existential questions and interests of systems for defence and security of the regions, countries, groups and individuals. The appearance of threats and more and more different forms of threats generally are found in the states, organizations, individuals, groups and their mutual activities and interests. Nowadays, more apparent dilemma comes in security and safety issues in relation to the existence of threats and risks.

The premise of Aristotle that "we made all wars as if they are part of peace", suggesting adaptability of humanity to the everyday acts of violence as part of human civilization. Therefore, the subjects of the national and international scene are bound to feel the need of constantly providing security on local, regional and global level. Red lines between peace and security have been deleted and cannot be said that the fundamental aspects of existence or non-existence of safety indicators, or what is the need to achieve peace and prosperity. Too many security preparations can cause dependence on the system, but a few preparations can lead to too much risk. Can security be managed by peaceful means (assets)? Are defensive preparations causing the environment to be aggressive? How the regional security affects the realization of national interests and security indicators and whether they have positive or negative implications? The answers to these questions are still uncertain and depend on the analysis, estimates, measures and activities, political influences, power centres and many other factors.

Emphasizing that the conventional threats are impossible, it loses meaning due to more emphasized arming with sophisticated technology and equipment, which is managed by top - technology, with small number of staff. Modern societies are under constant threat from the opportunities for multiplying the strength, as a result

of the fourth -generation of wars (threats that government security forces have been unable to discover, identify, and prevent), international organized crime, producing new and contemporary human weapons and assets for mass destruction. Threats with weapons and equipment are a strong indicator for the resolution of disputes between states, and war as an asset in politics, constantly present on the international stage, from the formation of civilization to the modern world. Special place took the period after the Cold War and the transition process of creating new states, which resulted with the biggest reasons to intensify and increase wars and other war conflicts in the last decade of the last century.

The need to overcome the threat as security indicator indicates the necessity of response to realise the right of crisis management, protection and rescue. Dilemmas are in existence and questions about the reality of the threat; when the threat becomes a real threat and whether it is always an opponent and an enemy? It is very important actually how much threat is present or absent? One could say that the threat is present as long as the sense of vulnerability of values disappears. But, in any case it is believed that taking care of national security threat, puts a major role in control of politics and a role of manager of security systems.

For this reason, a key role is the security system of the country, as a form of organizing society, which should always be striving to accurate estimates and detection of possible external or internal threats that could affect the successful defence of the country, the achievement and maintenance peace; because success leads to the creation of elementary conditions for life, freedom, democracy and security.

2. GLOBAL SECURITY INDICATORS ACROSS THEORETICAL APPROACH

The dependence of the states of security represents result of common interest in the field of economic, political, cultural, educational, and security segments. In creating relations, many of spheres of influence are determined as existent with manifestation of negative tendencies on ethnic, religious or other grounds, leading to degradation of certain state communities. These phenomena lead to the endangerment of global and national security. In the modern world safety issues are often subject to updating and assessment of relevant international bodies and institutions. Thus, for example, from a security perspective and analysis revealed the existence of the crisis hotspots that tend to create a crisis region; control of weapons of mass destruction; ban on the use of nuclear weapons; trafficking and smuggling of drugs, people and weapons; new forms of organized crime, including terrorism, trading people - "white slaves", money laundering, computer, financial crimes, etc..

Security indicators across countries in the world, covering detect changes made in the security environment. Threats to the security of local, regional and global level appear as relatively new forms of threatening peace and security hyper-nationalism, ethnics, terrorism, religious fundamentalism, organized crime, refugee crises and many others. Many newly formed states, resulting in the breakdown of socialism, set imperative towards enduring national interests (the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the territory). On the other hand, the developed democracies, emerging security challenges locate in terrorism, ethnic cleansing, peacekeeping and humanitarian crises.

Asymmetrical warfare existed before, but in the early 21st century gained global importance. The attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, as a global asymmetry, led to the launch of "global war on terror." Asymmetric tactics typically convey weakness, and not about finding a suitable solution to the problem. They are taken by those who have no military capability to counter the playing field warfare. Towards this, the researchers of this material worldwide continuously point out to the new divisions to asymmetric threats. Thus, among the expert profession recognizes a new division of asymmetric threats in several categories:

- use of chemical weapons;
- use of biological weapons;
- use of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction (WMD);
- emergence of information warfare (violation of civil or military strategic information systems);
- use of terrorism (the use of force against civilians and their property);
- alternative operational concepts involving guerrilla tactics involving non-state actors as a belligerent party,

mixing military and entry into civil society and infrastructure using civilians as human shields, the use of arms and technology in an unexpected way and the like.

One of the new security challenges of conflict in the future will be the lack of socio-economic resources as a basis for survival and motivation for confrontation. Endangered animal resources and needs, pose threats to the necessity and need for food, water, oil, food and other living resources for the survival of humanity and the world.

3. REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA, REALISM AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Republic of Macedonia lives in realism period, in which national interests are the basis for achieving national security. Realism in the post-Cold War marked a different approach and views. Each context to contemporary views of reality to the world and its definition provides various assumptions and explanations of the consequences and the assumptions. Thus, realism is transformed into several types and periods: classical realism, neoclassical, "realism of the rise and fall" and "neo-realism" (offensive structural and defensive structural). 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 the first recorded works are marked. Classical realism is characterized by answering to that liberalism on issues of international politics and the widespread liberalism in the period between the two world wars. The essence of classical realism in the fight states to increase their abilities and power. On the other hand, classical realism explores the conflict in terms of human weaknesses. For classical realists, politics is characterized as a devil, for evil actions that people make in implementing the policy.

"Neorealism". The theory of Kenneth Waltz in 1979, 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. According to this theory, international politics has two drawback: lack common authority, thus creating a global anarchy and self-assistance that almost all countries have implemented identically. Unlike realism, neo-realism involves internal "make-up" of states, which indicates the need for social reasons that may be a factor in guiding states and international politics. This results with implications for security dilemmas "what states want" and "what states can".

"Defensive structural realism". Defensive structural realism originates from neo-realism, after the Cold War, but it stands out in that it argues that all countries in their own way provide protection in the international arena, but the biggest threats come from other countries. There are several differences between neo-realism and structural realism defence, namely: first, while neo-realism relies on micro-structures of nation states, defence structural realism relies on rational choice of means. Second, defensive structural realism supports variant of offensive-defensive tactics, which represents a combination of activities to implement variations of defensive factors. Third, using rationality and offensive-defensive balance, defence structural realists predict maintenance of a certain level, even if it is "status quo".

"Offensive structural realism". This theory denies defence structural theory for arguing that states can still take advantage of their potential for participation in the international politics and used his position and power, against another state. This 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 great powers and great powers are rational actors in the world. From the above assumptions it can be concluded that the major powers afraid of each other because they pay greater attention to safety and building better strategy for their survival.

"Realism of rise and fall". This species occurs in the theory of time of "the balance of power in 1950." Interest of the 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 countries are in a position to shape the rules and policies of the international community, and despite the appetites of others, will be addressed and their own. When the state becomes indifferent, various factors influence the threat of war. In the absence of preventive activities 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 pro-

mote events in different ways and at different times. And this type of realists indicates internal developments in the states, which can be positive and negative (industrialization, the social sphere, the economic system, military, technological and economic innovation, etc.). Programs rise and fall are causing many transition theories and research models about the possibility and the beginnings of wars.

“Neoclassical realism”. Neoclassical realism is based on developing solutions and analyzes related to foreign policy and is implemented for internal use. Segments intended for monitoring of foreign policy are implemented. The reason for the need of such a theory is vague image that comes to the states from inside. On the outside stage it is difficult to see threats and opportunities, because the agenda for the meeting strategic purposes is infinite. Neoclassical realists often highlight role of multiple factors in the international arena and their need for intervention. This theory suggests the ease of implementation of decisions, when states are connected in elites and social levels.

Previous theoretical settings indicate multi-layer tradition of realism as his remarkable ability to adapt to historical circumstances. Along with realism, there are theorists, politicians, researchers and all other factors of today's political scene. The development of realism is actually applying of the right application, expected, necessary, that such a process is implemented through several areas, from which most notably are:

- The subject of interest of realism (predictions and threats), which means different realistic theories, worked out different things. For example, structural realism suggests joint - action with respect to threats, while the defensive structural realism suggests peaceful (assets) means of distraction from the existence of a threat and refrains from use of offensive assets.
- The capacities of realism to make them open the possibilities of certain criticism. Realists are often at odds with the newly created theories for application anomalies obtained from empirical results. Consequently, theories of realism became vague, coherent and specific.
- Despite internal divisions between realists, theory of realism 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 of the causes of conflict and war.

4. IMPACT OF REALISM TO NATIONAL SECURITY

20th century was a period in which countries came to the fore, because the relationship between people and countries that appear in the 21st century went into history. States today have lost the care of people and timid focus on other routes.

Security as a term has a complex meaning. In Latin the word security written as “sine cure” means “without care.” The total release from care is impractical and undesirable, because life is unthinkable without care and eliminates any scientific progress. So, the theory of real life (safety), international studies and global politics, is focused on the biggest fears, concerns and threats to people. If there is no danger, there will be no security, no institutions, no theory, no practice, and no science.

Not only realism, but also other paradigms, express concern about the possibility of war. In the new global order after the Cold War, realism turned to the study of marginalized security issues that a huge number of world powers began to throw them on the table. National interests of states is required in the operation of the threats to the state. The theory of realism doesn't accept narrowing the focus of interest, especially after the Cold War. The representatives of this theory claim that only war threats prevailed during the Cold War. But realism is the only theory that fights for the concept of national interests and national security. The U.S. government has dominated since the use of the prefix “national” government rhetoric always persuades the people to stand behind the government. The reason for this is the nuclear threat during the Cold War, which contributed to awaken the national interest to get along with people, and to make safety shield.

Realism constantly sticks to the term security, and to the access to the state is crucial for securing the lives of citizens. The term security has paramount importance in actual political work, as threats to the state and people. The real thing is the need for security at a global level, recognized before the end of the Cold War. Based on realistic logic, the United Nations has changed the approach to safety and set a goal of cre-

ating conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among states . In 1991 Pan African conference sponsored by the UN and Organization of African unity, concluded: "The concept of security must ensure that individuals living in peace with access to basic items for living and full participation in their society, the enjoyment of basic human rights." The Clinton administration, wrote much literature on national security, in order to take care of non-military, at the time when the Cold War ended and gone global threat. The result was evident in 1994, with the adoption of the "National Security Strategy".

Defining the issue of security, but there are real theoretical 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 - political" issues. Security knows to be subjective because of disagreements on 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 priority is given to public safety. In democratic countries the most important is the individual security. Questions of life and death on a global scale are not treated as a priority because it does not fit in National Policy. Tracing profits enriches some and impoverishes others.

Realism represents basis for state interests, and ensuring the security and military issues. Realist paradigm will continue to dominate the global level, and will expand across all areas of society, particularly the non-military issues and interests of the individual.

Considering the position of the Republic of Macedonia in terms of security, and whether and how it is subject to risks and threats against other countries in the region, we should not reject security indicators that are the basis for assessing and understanding the same, including: the strategic position of the country ; rich cultural heritage, important for world culture and civilization; multinational community with different religious structure, culture and tradition; differences in terms of birth rate among the Macedonian population; security environment where there are still unresolved internal issues and possible negative impact on the region; disrupting the process of Macedonia's integration into Euro - Atlantic integration; fundamental documents of our country - the Constitution, laws and international agreements and treaties are the basis upon which is built the Macedonian society as democratic and civil.

Several indicators listed, represent possible dependence on the area of occurrence of internal forms of danger, which is manifested through unconventional actions, psychological - commercial activities, causing social crises, expression of civil disobedience, the occurrence of crime, socio-pathological phenomena, and more . They do not exclude the possibility of any military threats and threats of Republic of Macedonia.

However, the national security of the Republic of Macedonia should provide strong existence of foreign policy aimed at integration into the international system of collective defence. In addition, alternative options almost do not exist. Despite small differences in access to NATO or the European Union, the Republic of Macedonia has continued to show unequivocal commitment to meeting the required capabilities. Respect for human rights and the rule of law should be the backdrop of mutual relations of citizens.

The right of national security is entitled to the legitimacy of the state and the value of the social order. It is generally known that since the end of the Cold War caused important changes in the nature of war and conflict. These changes were dramatically highlighted by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the events of that event can be grouped together in two close and related concepts of "asymmetric warfare " and " unequal war". In all interpretations and explanations for the irregularity of war in human history, there is some connection between asymmetric warfare and unequal war. In fact, the tactics of asymmetry among the primary means, by which the weaker states and non-state actors can introduce elements of strategic imbalance in the conflict that could be radically unequal if we fought a war in conventional terms. Therefore, many of today's intractable military conflicts show elements of asymmetry and the rough inequality, at least in the sense that neither side has the ability to consistently achieve their key military targets.

The line between security indicators and national security is a picture of a time in which we live, the hallmark of the modern world, an era of security and science disciplines. Today's space for expansion of illegal activities can be anywhere and may be five - dimensional and therefore require appropriate prevention, early warning and appropriate measures and appropriate activities. Macedonia has special reasons for organizing and perfecting defensively - protective and security system that should guarantee stable and safe development. Today, despite

the commitment of states to the civil concept of state regulation, democratic principles, objectives for developing neighbourly relations between states, respect for democratic principles and human rights, international law principles, objectives for enhanced regional cooperation among countries etc. still remain series of controversies that may adversely affect and endanger peace and stability between states.

5. CONCLUSION

Although we follow the efforts of the international community, the Republic of Macedonia is not immune to these processes and is subject to shocks that threaten to go to the limits, because it faces many important tasks that must be completed to strengthen their political, economic and public institutions in order to better serve the preservation of its territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, and thus to avoid the violence that gleamed in the region. In case it does not find ways and methods for their protection from internal and external forms of endangering national security, then it is clear that security indicators have negative implications for national security.

Therefore, the Republic of Macedonia will have to keep their right to rule by providing security, law and order, justice and other measures necessary for public welfare. Of course, in this process, new global threats will have a special impact on the constituent elements of the defence and security of our country.

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ACHIEVEMENT OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST BY ACCEPTING SECURITY PARADIGMS

Abstract

To live in the modern social conditions, with contemporary risks, threats and hazards, represents imperative in time. Often used phrase that there is no threat to peace loses its meaning, since there is a replacement of the thesis, according to which the facts show that the conventional threat is transformed into unconventional. Even worse is the fact that conventionality turns into modernity.

Key words: national security, safety indicators, threats, intelligence, security system

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