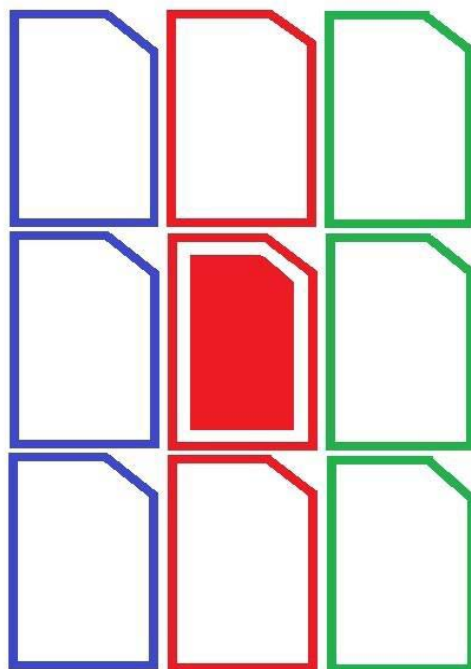


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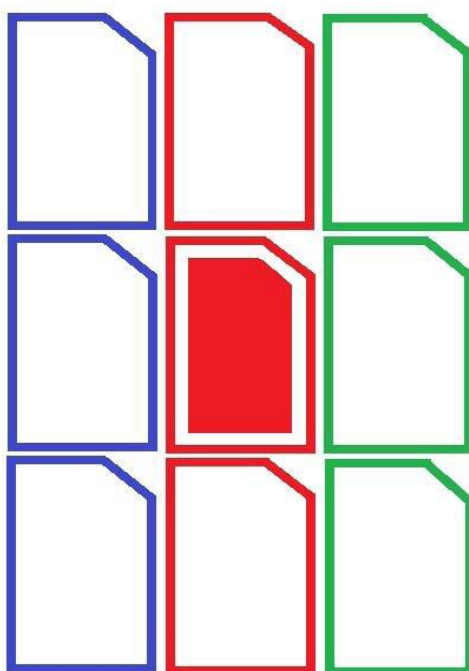
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НА ТРУДОВИ



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"THE POSSIBLE, THE REAL AND THE VIRTUAL IN THE MODERN WORLD"



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ОПШТЕСТВЕНА УЛОГА НА АРМ ВО ИЗГРАДБАТА НА НАЦИОНАЛНАТА БЕЗБЕДНОСТ НА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА

Апстракт

Промените кои што настануваат во 21 век и предизвиците што ги носат со себе како што се хибридните закани, миграциите, силниот технолошки развој, елементарните непогоди - претставуваат битни фактори кои што ја загрозуваат националната безбедност на Република Македонија. Целта на овој труд е да на политичката и научната јавност им се предочи дека Армијата ја има главната улога за зачувување на националната безбедност на државата и безбедноста на граѓаните. Само добро обучена и опремена војска претставува гарант за безбедноста и опстанокот на државата. За таа цел потребно е опремување со најсовремена опрема, правилно моделирање на бројот на војниците на АРМ согласно со актуелните закани и предизвици, нивна правилна организациска поставеност како би биле способни за зачувување на националниот суверинитет и интегритет на Република Македонија.

Клучни зборови: држава, национална безбедност, хибридни закани, Армија на Република Македонија, одбрана.

THE ROLE IN THE SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA IN BUILDING NATIONAL SECURITY

Abstract

Changes which take place in the 21st century and the challenges that they carry with them such as hybrid threats, migration, strong technological development, natural disasters - are important factors that threaten the national security of the country. The purpose of this paper is to the political and the scientific community to remind that the army has the main role in the caring out national security of the state and citizens' security. Only a well-trained and equipped army is a guarantor for the security and survival of the state. For this purpose, equipping with modern equipment, proper modeling troops of the Army in accordance with current threats and challenges, their proper organizational structure so as to be able to preserve the national sovereignty and integrity of the country.

Keywords: state, national security, hybrid threats, the Army of Republic of Macedonia defense.

Introduction

Security is complex and complicated word. According to Prof. r.Radoslav Gachinovich, etymology - the word security comes from the Latin words securitas-atis, which means safety, absence of danger, certainty, confidence, courage, protected (secures lat.secure, self-confident, fearless, tough, dedicated , true, etc.)⁶⁴. According to English language, are used two words⁶⁵: security и safety. The word security is used for national security that implicate on keeping and achieving the country's national interest, while the term safety means the ability to act, as it comes to an unwanted security situation, all such occasions can make security implications.

National security - is the security of the state and its content covers the security of the national territory (including airspace and territorial waters), protection of people's lives and property, maintenance of national sovereignty and the achieving of the fundamental functions of the state⁶⁶.

Historically, a major factor to keep security of the state, was in the function of the Army. Историски гледано главен фактор за зачувување на безбедноста на државата одсекогаш била војската. In the 21st century security threats are changing, so classic military threats have been replaced with new hybrid threats. According to NATO - Hybrid threat is a threat that represents any current or potential opponents, including states, non-state actors and terrorists, with the possibility whether demonstrated or likely simultaneous use of conventional and unconventional means - adjustable, to achieve their goals⁶⁷. The benefits of globalization have been completely misused by terrorists⁶⁸, criminals, radical religious leaders who successfully conducted mobilization of young Muslims with radical views from all over the world, because of establishing and spreading Islamic State on the territory of Asia, Africa and Europe, their heart would be the today

⁶⁴Гачинович Р., Класификација безбедности, бр.2,2007, стр.3и4 достапно на http://www.kpa.edu.rs/cms/data/akademija/nbp/nbp_2007_2.pdf пристапено на: (09.07.2016).

⁶⁵ Ибид.

⁶⁶ Гризолд А., *Словенија во изменета безбедносна средина*, Министерство за одбрана на РМ, Скопје, 2006, стр. 20.

⁶⁷ <https://geopoliticalcraticus.wordpress.com/2014/10/07/hybrid-warfare/> accessed(10.07.2016).

⁶⁸ Patrick Cockburn P., *The Rise of Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution*, Verso,2015

territories of Iraq and Syria where the basis for the regulation will be in accordance with the radical interpretation of the holy Quran.

Nonmilitary factors such as migration, technological development, economic power also play an important role in the security of the state. Migration become a major problem for the security of states, such example is the current migrant crisis of refugees from Syria and Iraq which withdrew an avalanche of migrants from other countries in Asia and Africa. Due to the strong technological development that occurs daily and perfect new weapons and equipment, therefore it is necessary constant modernization of existing military facilities that still need huge financial resources which can provide only economically powerful countries.

Security national interests that comes from the fundamental values are determinate in the Constitution. Stable national interest is preserving the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the unitary character of the state, and its multiethnic and multicultural character⁶⁹.

More vital national interests are:

- Integration of Republic of Macedonia in European Union is of vital concern for the state, Republic of Macedonia on 22 of March, 2004 apply for EU membership, on 17th of December, 2005⁷⁰, European Council assign to her status of candidate country for EU membership;
- Military-political integration of Macedonia in NATO, on this plan, FYR Macedonia worked since the early nineties of the last century, when in 1993 the Assembly had passed Resolution of the Republic of Macedonia to join NATO and the signing of the Accession Treaty for Partnership peace, in November 1995⁷¹, on NATO Summit, in Bucharest, which was held between 2-4 April 2004⁷², was confirmed that Republic of Macedonia meets all the criteria for NATO membership but it will be received when will be resolved the name issue with Greece. In order for a fast entry into NATO, ARM made a number of reforms: organizational and formational structure of the Army, divesting of assets is unnecessary importance to the defense, allocation of border security of the Ministry of Interior, increase the representation of members of ethnic communities in the ARM, ARM participation in international missions under the auspices of the EU, NATO and the UN.
- Promoting multiethnic democracy and interethnic relations after ending the conflict and signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement;
- Protection and promotion of democratic values in the country, human rights, rule of law, political pluralism, open political dialogue between political parties, the princip of separation of powers, protection of cultural identity and heritage of all citizens;

⁶⁹ Бела книга на одбраната на Република Македонија, Arberia Design, Скопје 2012. Стр.21.

⁷⁰ Македонија во ЕУ, Влада на Република Македонија достапно на: http://imor.org.mk/programmes/spring_day_07/pdf/jordan-rad6E760-1.pdf.

⁷¹ Ружин Нано., НАТО во современите меѓународи односи, Фондација “Фридрих Еберт“, Скопје 2010 година, стр.213.

⁷² Ибид, стр.308.

1. The security environment of the Republic of Macedonia

Today, modern world is characterized with rapid, complex and dynamic changes and faces new asymmetric threats and risks are increasing as ⁷³: terrorism, transnational organized crime, war of fourth generation, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, religious radicalism and extremism, illegal migration, unstable and dysfunctional states and computer (cyber) attacks. Challenges like energy dependence and climate change could also have a negative impact on the national and international security.

The strategic security environment of the Republic of Macedonia has changed considerably in recent years. The instability of the states in the region such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia have negative implications and Macedonia.

Considering the dimensions of modern threats and risks, global approach and cooperation with the UN, NATO, EU and OSCE are a necessary tool to counter them.

NATO and the EU are key factors for maintaining and strengthening regional security, stability and prosperity. Delaying the adoption of the Western Balkans adversely affect regional security.

Republic Macedonia must put all efforts to join NATO which currently entrance is blocked by Greece because of the name issue.

2. Current and potential security threats to the national security of the Republic of Macedonia

Each state regardless of internal or international factors has its opponents, both within the country and outside, by other countries. The activities of these opponents represent a threat to national security of the country. The forms of threatening the security can be ⁷⁴: external and internal.

Macedonia faces many types of threats and risks to national security, we will demonstrate the most current:

- Terrorism currently constitutes one of the biggest threats to the security of countries at a global level, especially in the 21st century where after the attacks on the United States in 2001 increases, first by al-Qaeda and now the Islamic State that attacks except in Iraq and Syria and direct to the other countries in the world especially in Europe and Africa.
- Transnational organized crime and corruption is also a major challenge that Macedonia has successfully handling. Due to its geostrategic position, Republic of Macedonia is one of the main routes through which transnational organized crime groups are smuggling weapons, migrants from Asia and Africa to Europe.
- Migrant crisis that arose after the wars in Syria and Iraq and the situation in the Middle East and Africa represents a potential threat to national security of the Republic of Macedonia especially located on one of the main routes for movement of migrants to Europe.;
- The emergence of radical nationalism and extremism especially after the return of thousands of fighters who fought on the side of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria;

⁷³ Стратегија за одбрана на Република Македонија, (Службен весник на Република Македонија, бр.30/10).

⁷⁴ Гоцевски Т., Основи на системот на националната одбрана, Македонска ризница, Куманово, 2002 година, стр.30.

- Ethnic and religious intolerance have always been a threat to the security of the Republic of Macedonia even after the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement⁷⁵ to satisfy the demands of the Albanian ethnic group and decreased tensions between members of the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic group;
- Prohibited activities of foreign intelligence services - the fresh example is the affair of eavesdrop and publication of the so-called bombs that suspected (yet unproven) that the materials were procured from foreign intelligence services;
- Internal economic - social problems, poverty is always a starting point for the emergence of unrest and revolts by disgruntled citizens can lead to conflicts with major consequences.

3. The role of the Army of Republic of Macedonia in building security

The role of the army in the conflict since 2001, the migrant crisis in 2015-2016, particularly emphasized the importance of the army in building the security and preservation of territorial sovereignty and integrity of the country. The support of all relevant political parties in the country, about defense needs and membership in collective defense and security of the state, are essential for understanding the role of the Macedonian Army in the society and its mission in a broader range of activities. Therefore, society is necessary to understand the mission and tasks of the army, which is undoubtedly part of society and its development.

Current and planned priorities, missions and tasks of the Army are followed⁷⁶:

- Air-monitoring and protection of the national airspace and connect to the integrated NATO defense;
- Participating in international arrangements (multilateral, regional and bilateral) to patrol the national airspace;
- support for the police and other state institutions in the protection of critical national infrastructure and support in dealing with the consequences in case of a terrorist attack;
- Support for state institutions in the event of natural disasters and epidemics, technological and other risks and crises;
- Rapid deployment of credible forces in multinational joint operations led by NATO away from the national territory or in operations of NATO collective self-defense;
- An effective command and control in accordance with the requirements of NATO Concept for networked and protected communication and information skills;
- Effective military intelligence and reconnaissance support for operations regiment;
- Logistical sustainability of deployed national contingents, including the ability to engage in multinational logistics;
- Medical support of deployed contingents Role 2;
- Survival and protection of forces in conditions of close combat and threats from chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear weapons;

⁷⁵ Охридскиот рамковен договор беше потпишан на 13 август 2001 година.

⁷⁶ Бела книга на одбраната на Република Македонија, Arberia Design, Скопје 2012. Стр.35.

- Defense forces against improvised explosive devices;
- Carrying out operations in complex geographical and climatic conditions, including extreme hot and dry conditions;
- Operations in an urban environment;
- Training of all units, especially deployable capabilities, according to a joint NATO doctrine and procedures related to command and control combined land operations;
- Development of skills for civil-military cooperation (CIMIC skills);
- Contribution to a wide range of operations in support of peace led by the UN, NATO, the EU or friendly coalitions;
- Contribution to NATO's military structures;
- Multilateral and bilateral defense cooperation.

Army of Republic of Macedonia, since its establishment until now, its role was established with the planning and implementation of specific activities and projects of wider social interest, such as⁷⁷: The engagement of the Army in the field of logistic support in the resolution of certain infrastructure problems in local government support in holding various events, charity and more. Despite this, army regularly intervenes in times of natural disasters, participate in peacekeeping operations led by the UN and NATO out of state. About the significance of the Macedonian Army to society fresh example is the engagement of the Army in dealing with migrant crisis. Based on the decision of the President of the Republic of Macedonia⁷⁸, General Staff of Army of R. Macedonia asses and Chief of Staff gave an order for deployment of the Army on the southern border with Greece. The engagement of the Army was directly dependent on the needs on the ground and requirements of Ministry of Interior. Through coordination with the personnel of the Border Police, the Army received a certain area of responsibility where certain places are to carry out joint patrols of the border, and at Army performed independent activities or patrol and border control, setting and providing a protective fence on the border with Greece directly affect the improvement of the security situation on the southern border. Army already a year successfully perform the tasks on the southern border and according to assessment to which migrant crisis will last, the expectation is that the military facilities long period will be engaged, according to the developments, it is possible and increase the engaged forces in the southern border.

All this contributed positively to the citizens to accept the role of the Army in building peace and security of the Republic of Macedonia.

4. Contemporary and modern Army - guarantor of security of the Republic of Macedonia

4.1. Organization of the Army

⁷⁷ Ибид.стр.

⁷⁸ На 19 август 2015 година, Владата на Република Македонија донесе одлука за прогласување кризна состојба во времетраење од 30 дена на јужната и северната државна граница поради масовниот нелегален влез на странски државјани од територијата на ЕУ и НАТО.

Army of Republic of Macedonia is a small, mobile, self-sufficient, effective and efficient army, capable in dealing with modern threats inside and act together with NATO partners in missions abroad. The Army has an obligation to model forces interoperable with coalition partners and NATO, as well as deployment and operation with army units outside its territory with full logistical support and rotation for a period of time. For achieving the requirements, challenges and commitments, the army was transformed into a fully professional armed force in accordance with the legislation, build better educational system and trained officers, which synchronize training and education⁷⁹.

The structure of the Army of Republic of Macedonia in the past has gone through many transformations. The last transformation adjusted according to criteria of NATO was in the period 2012-2015. ARM has an approved strength of the 8.133 active military personnel and continuously maintained at a level of at least 90%⁸⁰.

The new structure of ARM, whose implementation started in accordance with the mission, the criteria of NATO member countries, consists of⁸¹:

- Combat Forces (consisting of special operations forces and conventional forces)
- Forces for combat support,
- Forces for logistic support.

General Staff of the Army of Republic of Macedonia with the operational and professional activities in the planning, organization, preparation and commanding the Army as a whole or parts there of, in accomplishing the tasks arising from the strategic defense missions⁸². Under the direct command of the General Staff of the Macedonian Army are:

- Joint Operations Command (JOC), whose mission is⁸³: to prepare conventional ground and air forces of the Army for defense and protection of the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Macedonia, with declared forces to participate in operations in support of peace and conflict prevention and dealing with regional conflicts and crisis in operations led by NATO, UN, OSCE, EU and other internationally agreed alliances and contribute in protecting the broader interests of the country. Under the direct command JOC is the 1st Mechanized Infantry Brigade, Aviation Brigade, Brigade logistics support, spare forces battalion and military police battalion liaison.
- Command Training and Doctrine Command (TDC) covers capacity for individual training of soldiers, cadets, and officers of the active and reserve forces, making doctrines, rules and guidelines, analyzes of lessons learned, realized foreign language courses⁸⁴.

⁷⁹ Оперативен концепт на АРМ, Министерство за одбрана, стр.38.

⁸⁰ Бела книга на одбраната на Република Македонија, Arberia Design, Скопје 2012. Стр.36.

⁸¹ Горанчо К., АРМ низ призмата на националната безбедност, Јофи-скен, Скопје 2014 година, стр.62.

⁸² Бела книга на одбраната на Република Македонија, Arberia Design, Скопје 2012. Стр.38.

⁸³ http://www.arm.mil.mk/baza/edini ci/zok/zok_misija.html accessed(27.07.2016).

⁸⁴ Бела книга на одбраната на Република Македонија, Arberia Design, Скопје 2012, стр.39.

- Special Operations Regiment (SOR) perform special operations and unconventional operations, independently or in collaboration with other units of the Army in peacetime, during the crisis and during the war, in support of peace and conflict prevention⁸⁵.
- Honors Battalion is for disclosing a military honors all persons regulated under the rule of Military Service, and maintain the standard of training of the units of the battalion honors⁸⁶.
- Center for Electronic Surveillance - According to the Strategic Defence Review, the mission of the Center for Electronic Surveillance (CEI) in peace and war, is gathering intelligence by electronic reconnaissance of the electromagnetic spectrum, with the aim of early warning and protection of the armed forces and collecting data important for the security and defense of the state⁸⁷.

4.2. Modernization and modeling of ARM

Modeling, sizing and structuring of the army, on this basis, determining the organizational and formational structure is one of the main tasks in reforming the army or in the creation of contemporary Macedonian Army. Key features of the contemporary Macedonian army should be⁸⁸: Modern organized, a modern, combat-efficient, numerically small, professional army that will ensure the continuity of the Macedonian state and continues the traditions of the Macedonian Army.

Any consideration of military capabilities of a country or the efficiency of its army must begin by examining the resources: financial, people, physical and technological national leaders that they make available to their military organizations⁸⁹.

Speaking of economic capacities or possibilities of the state percentage allocated amount of money for the defense of the gross domestic product, situation is following⁹⁰:

- 1,3% - 2011,
- 1,2% - 2012,
- 1,14% - 2013,
- 1,17% - 2014,
- 1,08% - 2015.

According to long-term development plan for the 2014-2023, army in the coming period gradually is increasing the funds for defense as planned⁹¹:

- 1,35% - 2016,

⁸⁵ Ибид, стр.40.

⁸⁶ http://www.arm.mil.mk/bp_index.html accessed(27.07.2016).

⁸⁷ http://www.arm.mil.mk/bp_index.html accessed(27.07.2016).

⁸⁸ Стојчев В. „Методологија на воените науки, Воена Академија, „Генерал Михаило Апостолски“, Скопје 2004 година, стр.103.

⁸⁹ Measuring military capability available at :https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1110/MR1110.ch7.pdf accessed(18.07.2016).

⁹⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mk.html>(19.07.2016).

⁹¹ Долгорочен план за развој на армијата 2014-2023, Министерство за одбрана, Скопје 2014 година, стр.36.

- 1.40% - 2017,
- 1.45% - 2018,
- 1,47% - 2019,
- 1.50% - 2020,
- 1.55% - 2021,
- 1.60% - 2022,
- 1.60% - 2023.

Increased funds for defense will positively affect the development and modernization of defense, because these funds will enable ARM make modernization and equipping of the army in accordance with NATO standards. The number is also limited, according to the 2002 census in the Republic of Macedonia has 2,022,547⁹² citizens. For this purpose, should be carried out properly managing human resources, which is essential for the application of the concepts of development officers. Maintaining interoperability with NATO members will be enabled through continuous education of officers serving in the Army, in accordance with NATO standards. Military education is finishing at the Military Academy, whose mission is⁹³: the only military high education and scientific institution in the country has a major task of studying, training and development staff needs: MoD, ARM System Crisis Management System for Protection and Rescue and to engage in scientific research for defense purposes in accordance with the law.

Specialized industry which succeeded the Army after the breakup of Yugoslavia which were 19⁹⁴ specialized factories, which after independence, during the transition period, due to the loss of markets, transformation of ownership, lack of sufficient financial asset for modernization and maintenance, reduced its competitiveness and did not have a significant contribution to the defense.

According to long-term development plan for the 2014-2023 army planned 215⁹⁵ million for the modernization of the army, which is an imposing figure of funds would be invested in modernization of the Army. According to the plan, would be obtained:

- Armored transporters
- Non-combat vehicles,
- Equipment for individual and collective NBC-protection,
- Replacement of personal armament and procurement of 5.56mm machine guns,
- Purchase of artillery systems,
- Modernization of the aircraft.

With this modernization, by the end of 2017, would have purchased modern transporters that will increase mobility, firepower, the degree of protection of soldiers, originally planned to equip at least one mechanized infantry battalion. Non-combat vehicles for the transfer of material assets of the necessary locations and terrain combat vehicles to transport the needs for the Army. By 2020, we shall also have

⁹² http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publika_cii/kniga_XIII.pdf accessed(20.07.2016)

⁹³ http://www.ma.edu.mk/?page_id=130 accessed(26.07.2016).

⁹⁴ <http://infomax.mk> (20.07.2016).

⁹⁵ Долгорочен план за развој на армијата 2014-2023, Министерство за одбрана, Скопје 2014 година, стр.34.

equipment to deal with NBC (nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction) for this purpose will be purchased masks, personal decontamination, protective equipment to stay in contaminated environment. Existing infantry weapons caliber 7.62 mm will be replaced with infantry weapons with 5.56 caliber mm which is the formation in the member states of NATO. So, to achieve compatibility in accordance with NATO standards, is planned to be acquired rather artillery systems will be purchased with howitzers 155 mm caliber and range up to 25km, these howitzers would be the composition of a battery of artillery battalion. The modernization of the aircraft will provide air support for ground units of the Army, Air Transport, evacuation of wounded and injured, observation of airspace, assistance in case of disasters.

If complied with long-term development plan of the army, the Army will have a modern force with greater capabilities for mobility and firepower cooperative with NATO forces.

Conclusion

In the past, the Army of Republic of Macedonia successfully addressed with all challenges and was the main factor to the defense of Republic of Macedonia. Army is institution that most of citizens has trust. But that doesn't mean to stop with transformations and modernization of the Army. In accordance to new threats for national security, goals of defense, it must be made analysis and assessment to resources and if it is necessary to make correction of the composition of the Army.

Of course the defense would not be complete if not covers all segments, including civilian sector. It must be consider the introduction of compulsory military term which would receive the following benefits:

- Civilian personnel would be trained and equipped to engage in the reserve forces and national defense if necessary,
- Part of the obligations of professional soldiers such as certain duties, guard security, work out the logistics would have taken the soldiers serving in the military, with professional soldiers can no longer engage in more complex tasks as: dealing with migrant crisis, participation in missions, international exercises, training etc.
- By hiring troops for military service would save some financial costs because for hiring professional soldiers requires payment of salaries, wages, certain benefits that are not paid to soldiers serving in the military.

Also it is necessary to accelerate the establishing of general and active reserve, which in case of escalation of migrant crisis would be engaged in securing the state border and other tasks if there is an indispensable need for them to keep the security and survival of the state.

The strength of the army depends not only on its numbers but also by its willingness, the weapons and equipment that are available. For this purpose, fulfilling the long-term development plan for the army, but that the additional funding that would allow the purchase of modern weapons and equipment as soon as possible, which are necessary for tackling the Army according to the new challenges. In light of all this goes the revival

of specialized industry in the country with necessary weapons and equipment would be produced in our country, and exports would provide additional revenues to the state budget.

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