

**МЕЃУНАРОДНА НАУЧНА КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈА  
БЕЗБЕДНОСТА НА ПОСТКОНФЛИКТНИОТ (ЗАПАДЕН)  
БАЛКАН, ТРАНЗИЦИЈАТА И ПРЕДИЗВИЦИТЕ НА  
РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА**

**INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE  
SECURITY IN THE POST-CONFLICT (WESTERN) BALKANS:  
TRANSITION AND CHALLENGES FACED BY THE REPUBLIC OF  
MACEDONIA**



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НА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА**

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(WESTERN) BALKANS:  
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## **INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE**

# **SECURITY IN THE POST-CONFLICT (WESTERN) BALKANS: TRANSITION AND CHALLENGES FACED BY THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA**

*(Security Studies and the Science of Security)*

The Faculty of Security in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia in cooperation with the Academy of Criminalistics and Police Studies (ACPS) in Belgrade, Serbia, the Police Academy "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" in Bucharest, Romania, the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security in Ljubljana, Slovenia, the Higher Police School, Police Academy, Croatia, Academy of the Ministry of Interior, Bulgaria and the Higher School of Internal Affairs in Banja Luka, Republic Srpska, BiH organize the international scientific conference "SECURITY IN THE POST-CONFLICT (WESTERN) BALKANS: TRANSITION AND CHALLENGES FACED BY THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA".

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The scientific conference is organized with the goal to contribute to the clarification of issues related to the Post-conflict (Western) Balkans, security, transition and challenges faced by the Republic of Macedonia, through presentation of scientific papers and discussions in the context of contemporary Balkan and Euro-Atlantic integrations.

The specific objective of the Conference is the theoretical conceptualization of topical issues, with the task of encouraging and giving impulse to the evaluation of practice, with emphasis on opening discussions on theoretical and epistemological problems of asphaliology (the science of security), especially the need for defining the scope and the development of research methodology for security phenomena and security in general, its structure and forms of occurrence and the relationships between them.

The contemporary (global) security is focused on the issues of security and transition, building democratic relationships, open society, i.e. communities of free citizens, which inevitably requires synergy of science, politics and practice in addressing and solving systemic and acute problems of the contemporary society.

Closely related to the problems of security are also issues related to the erosion of social values and disintegration of the value system and the process of criminalization of society. Social crisis and the positioning of closed societies inevitably lead to the occurrence of authoritative forms of government, accompanied by a certain degree of non-democracy, authority, corruption, organized crime as well as institutions without adequate capacity for performing their own functions.

In the last two decades the (Western) Balkans has been in the process of defining its reform processes and building institutions and institutional structure able to meet the requirements for Euro-Atlantic integration. The countries from this region have achieved the objectives set by the Euro-Atlantic integration, with different levels of efficiency and dynamics.

In the last few years, normative conditions were created in the Republic of Macedonia for increasing and deepening the reform process of its security systems, particularly of the police and the sector for internal affairs in general. That is why it is important to consider the experiences

from the reforms of the security systems, especially the transformation of police systems and organizations. In this sense, the exchange of experiences in EU member and candidate countries is of great importance. Also important are issues related to security and security challenges, particularly in the Republic of Macedonia in the period when the country has made a visible step forward in reforming its security systems and has become part of Euro-Atlantic integrations. Bearing in mind all this, a need has emerged for the analysis of the preparations, the fulfillment of the conditions imposed by the European Union, and especially the definition of the legal framework and the functioning of the political system.

Taking into consideration the fact that the Faculty of Security functions within the system of higher education institutions of the University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, as well as its tasks of continuous organized efforts for theoretical conceptualization and re-evaluation of security practice, the organization of the Conference is a serious challenge for contemporary science, whose task is to open dilemmas and debates about the extent of the constitution of asphaliology (the science of security) as a science and the scientific disciplines constituted for studying specific issues which are related, above all, to internal and external security. In this aspect, it is of great significance to evaluate the constitution and the development of police sciences, as organized and systematized knowledge of the police as a phenomenon, its organization and relations, as well as its activities, which impose the need for critical revalorization of scientific and research efforts.

The Conference will host scientific workers from eight countries, mainly from the Balkan region.

		Macedonia	Serbia	Croatia	Slovenia	Montenegro	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Srpska	Bulgaria	Romania	Total
Authors	1 author	30	2	2	1	1		1	2	39
	2 authors	12	5	2	3		1		1	24
	3 authors	8	8				2			18
	4 authors	1	2		1					4
	Abstracts	70	22	1		1	3	1	4	102
	Papers received	61	17	4	5	1	3	1	3	95
Reviews	Positive reviews	51	17	4	5	1	3	1	3	85
	Negative reviews	10								10

### ***Conference topics:***

- Sciences of security, criminology, police, criminalistics and other affiliated sciences: theoretical, epistemological and methodological issues of the science and the system of sciences;
  - Challenges to the criminal justice reforms through the perspectives of Euro-Atlantic and European integration processes;
  - Security, globalisation processes, crime in the post-conflict (Western) Balkans, transition, crime and organised crime;
  - Security and security perspectives of the Balkans- situation, challenges and orientations, with particular emphasis on Euro-Atlantic and European integration processes;
  - Reforms and restructuring of the security sector in the Republic of Macedonia through the perspectives of Euro-Atlantic and European integration processes;
- Reconciliation and reconstruction in post-conflict societies in the (Western) Balkans; ten years after the conflict in the Republic of Macedonia- the truths silenced and setting the path to the future.

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## ***DEMOCRACY AS A MECHANISM IN PREVENTION OF ASYMMETRICAL SECURITY THREATS***

### *Abstract*

*At the time of the Cold War, democracy had communist ideology as its rival and the largest threat to the security of democratic states was seen in the countries of the Eastern block led by the Soviet Union. In the new international relations a rival of the democratic ideology is the ideology of radical Islamists, and the greatest threat to national security of democratic states are threats that often stand behind the followers of this ideology. Western democracies try to implement democratic values in the "apostate" Arab states in order to ensure their own national security. The question that inevitably arises is whether democracy has a mechanism strong enough to suppress asymmetric threats (global terrorism, transnational crime and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction)?*

***Key words:*** *democracy, autocracy, asymmetric threats, terrorism, security*

### **A new system of international relations - new threats**

Bipolar system of international relations, typical for the Cold War, was a system in which the biggest threat to the states' national security was posed by other states or alliances of states. During this period there exist two conflicting ideologies, capitalist versus socialist. Democracy, civil and political freedoms and rights, freedom of the market and entrepreneurship, political pluralism, rule of law were the basic characteristics of the Western world. Eastern states were led by communist ideology, centralized management market, one-party system, control the media and restrictive

interpretation of freedoms and rights. But with the fall of the Berlin Wall, which converted to symbolic mark the end of the Cold War, and with it the end of the bipolar system of international relations, the world enters a new multi-polar system in which it seemed that liberal ideology prevailed. Initiated by the events that will follow in the early nineties of the last century Francis Fukojama published the book "The End of History and the Last Man", according to which wars are over, because the values of liberal democracy will be accepted by all societies. Unlike Fukojama, Huntington over the same period published the book "Clash of Civilizations" in which he launched the thesis of religious wars. Neither Fukojama nor Huntington predicted primary threats to national security of states seen in terrorism, transnational crime and proliferation of weapons for mass destruction.

### **The network of asymmetric threats**

The involvement of extremist groups in criminal activities is a topic that emerged several decades ago. In recent years, various sources claim that the relationship between international terrorists and transnational crime is stronger. According to some reports it is a symbiosis between crime and terrorism. This connection represents the old-new serious security threat to democratic societies.

Overall, it seems that there are three basic ways in which crime and terrorism are overlapping: common tactics and methods, through a process of transformation from one type of group to another and through short-term or long-term exchanges of services between groups.<sup>1</sup>

Globalization facilitates the transnational connections. Criminal organizations easily accomplish their cooperation, but the same is true for terrorist organizations. Because both have a common enemy (the authorities of countries where they operate) their enemy, brings them together in sharing information about its sustainability. Second, but perhaps more important reason that the criminal-terrorist link becomes stronger is a result of joint opportunities to achieve financial gain. The third reason, in our opinion, is associated with the changed nature of the activities of criminals and terrorist organizations. First, the development of technology, trade and financial industry enable criminals to exploit weaknesses in the new criminal sectors, such as computer crime, credit cards, money laundering etc. While terrorist groups, especially those who are the greatest threat to democratic states, are motivated more by religious rather than ethnic or nationalist-separatist

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<sup>1</sup> Sam Mullins, "Parallels Between Crime and Terrorism: a Social Psychological Perspective," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 32, No. 9, 2009

motivations. This would mean that terrorists and criminals constantly increase areas of cooperation on the one hand, and on the other they becoming more connected (for example global network of Islamic terrorism).

According to the DEA, overlap of terrorist and criminal groups in recent years is mostly seen in drug trafficking.<sup>1</sup> It is important to mention that crime in certain terrorist organization becomes a part of ideology. One of the earliest examples of such justifications is Hezbollah's fatwa stated in the 1980s: "If we can not kill them with guns, will kill them with drugs".<sup>2</sup> A newer example is with Mohammed Khan, who justifies his willingness to sell the heroin, because he sees it as a form of jihad: „Whether it is by the opium or shooting, it is our common goal“.<sup>3</sup> Similar is the justification of Fatah al-Islam leader who said: „stealing money from the heretics, who belong to the atheist regimes and states, is something that Allah allows us to do. This money is taken away from them and used in jihad “.<sup>4</sup>

Because of this relation between transnational crime and terrorists, counterterrorist activities and activities against criminals intertwine, and national strategies for elimination and suppression of one threat, simultaneously, use the combat methods of the other threat. This is especially evident in the case of Afghanistan. (For example, the arrested drug dealers are often used as informants for the locations and capabilities of terrorist gangs.)

However, the most dangerous and worrisome area in which there is great cooperation between transnational crime and international terrorism is the proliferation of materials for making weapons of mass destruction. The cooperation between terrorists and criminals has increased considerably in zones where there are efforts to democratize society by force (Afghanistan, Iraq), societies that disagree with U.S. foreign policy (Iran, North Korea, Syria), corrupt autocratic societies of the Middle East, and societies in transition. The current strategy for eliminating these asymmetric threats refers to the democratization of societies. But the real question is whether through the democratization of authoritarian and poor societies terrorism, transnational crime and proliferation of materials for weapons of mass destruction can be prevented as global asymmetric threats.

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<sup>1</sup> For further information on U.S. drug control policy see CRS Report RL34543, *International Drug Control Policy*, by Liana Sun Wyler.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Rex A. Hudson et al., "A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups," Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, May 2002, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew Levitt and Michael Jacobson, "Drug Wars," *The New Republic*, January 27, 2009

## **Democracy as a mechanism in prevention of asymmetric threats**

Democracy represents the “majority rule” or the “will of majority”. Put simply it is a game of desires. In these societies the most often used phrase is „Very well, then, let’s test your will and see how strong it is” Actually, this is a continuation of the war but by peaceful means. The minority which lost is not satisfied. Although minority groups can exercise further their interests through rights and freedoms provided by democracy when they have interests outside the system, they try to achieve it with violent methods.

Democracy is not just matter of elections. In the Western world, the democratic values are the peak of human civilization, according to which a society should be governed. Democracies are by definition open societies that guarantee respect for civil liberties and rights. In these societies there are prohibitions on oversight and investigations with the use of force by police. Weak intelligence capabilities mean limited capacity for prevention and protection of minority criminal-terrorist groups. Checkpoints by police in these systems are rare. Also, these societies have easily transient border crossings and allow easier opportunities for infiltration and operation of the members of these groups.

Presumption of innocence, one of the constitutionally guaranteed rights in democracies, detention as a temporary measure, the opportunities for fair trials are extenuating circumstances when violators of legal norms have been arrested. Because of these opportunities, available to criminal and terrorist groups, democratic states have opened for their actions. For terrorists, however, democracies are additionally interesting because of media publicity and popularity offered by the media. Disturbing fact to the authorities, and useful for terrorists, is the fact that the media are very important in conveying messages of terrorist activities in public. With that, terrorists are encouraged to perform a new political violence.

Unlike democratic systems, autocracies, generally, were considered as guarantors of stability. History shows that totalitarian systems are less vulnerable to asymmetric threats than autocracies. Totalitarian governments have advantages in dealing with potential criminal-terrorist groups. They do not need to worry about gathering evidence for trial, presenting credible or relevant evidence. They can also use more extreme interrogation methods and research, and even threaten the family members as a means of acquiring evidence.

However, the most vulnerable to asymmetric threats are societies in transition. In the political systems in transition, control mechanisms are weak



and corruption is an integral part of society. For these reasons, societies in transition provide attractive locations for criminal-terrorist groups.

But despite this situation, the promotion of democracy around the world has always been one of the basic values of U.S. After the attacks of Sept. 11, this value gets and security dimension<sup>1</sup>, especially in the fight against terrorism, which is already recognized as a central threat and coupling of the three asymmetric threats. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have shown that this value as a mechanism for the suppression of asymmetric threats has become affordable for most European countries. After wave of protests that swept the Arab states, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Tony Blair, stated „This is a moment when the whole region will face the changes of modernization and democratization.“<sup>2</sup> The question that arises here is "how much democratization of totalitarian societies is a successful mechanism for dealing with asymmetric threats"?

In scientific publications often there are tendencies to make the connection between democracy and the absence of terrorism, and thus the other asymmetric threats. The basic claims are based on the thesis that democracy is the white side of terrorism. There are three supplement theses regarding this claim.

**1. Democracy brings more political participation, civil liberties and the rule of law in compare to autocracy, and with this reduces the need for the creation of terrorist organizations.**

In the period after the Second World War until 1989 to more terrorist groups were established in democracies compared to non-democratic societies. After the Cold War, it is interesting to note that Western democracies are not only faced with the politically motivated terrorism. They

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<sup>1</sup> The relationship between national security and the promotion of democracy in the world, became part of the National Security Strategy of the United States. The National Security Strategy of the United States in 2006 states: "Because democracies are most responsible members of the international community, promotion of democracy is most effective long-term measure to ensure international stability, reducing regional conflicts, counter terrorism and ensure peace and prosperity." And this goes even further back in the 1998 A NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY FOR A NEW CENTURY: "We seek to create a stable, peaceful international security environment in which our nation, citizens and interests are not threatened. The United States will not allow a hostile power to dominate any region of critical importance to our interests... (The US) vital interests—those of broad, overriding importance to the survival, safety and vitality of our nation. Among these are the physical security of our territory and that of our allies, the safety of our citizens, our economic well-being and the protection of our critical infrastructures. We will do what we must to defend these interests, including—when necessary—using our military might unilaterally and decisively"

<sup>2</sup> Robert Spenser, "Democracy is a Relative Term", February 15, 2011, <http://www.radicalislam.org/content/democracy-relative-term> date of access 26.03.2011

have become more vulnerable to radical Islamic terrorism. The biggest threats are not coming from the leaders of these terrorist organizations, but from the second and third generation immigrants, which despised the fact that they had their lifetime in the Westerns democracies, inspired by the ideology of al Qaeda, have become a serious threat to these societies.

In terms of young democracies and societies in transition, the cases of Iraq and Afghanistan indicate that these societies are particularly vulnerable to terrorist attacks. Experience shows that an even bigger problem is to democratize the societies in which main religion is Islamic fundamentalism. Replacing the authoritarian regime even with perfectly functioning democracy will not satisfy Islamic fundamentalists because for them this elected government will not have legitimacy to manage the state. However, in the minds of the radical Islamists, even autocratic regimes governed by shari'at law are not good enough. According to them, the only legitimate way is to govern with society by rules that god created, i.e. to regulate the states known as the Caliphate from the time of Muhammad.

Besides the statistics, regarding the terrorist attacks performed, one fact is in favor of democracy. Authoritarian states generate suicide terrorists, while democracies that are not immune to terrorist groups do not generate this kind of terrorists.

**2. Democracy reduces terrorist attack.** If we claim that democracy is a mechanism for long-term solution to terrorism, then it is justified to expect a reduction in the number of terrorist attacks throughout its existence. In one research of Piazza in 2008 on 153 countries in the period from 1986 to 2003, he concludes that democratic countries from year to year does not reduce the terrorist activities, on the contrary the data speak for their increase. In the same research, data indicate that democracies in transitions are dealing with most terrorist activities (e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen and the Horn of Africa). If we compare the two largest countries of the world, the situation is as follows. According to the report "Patterns of global terrorism" for the period 2000-2003 in India, the largest democratic country in the world, there were 203 terrorist attacks, while in China, the biggest totalitarian state in the world, none.<sup>1</sup>

**3. Efforts to transition from autocracy to democracy are successful and the results are permanent**

To break the nation is far easier than to compile broken pieces. According to the data of one Norwegian study, in which military

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<sup>1</sup> James A. Piazza, "Do Democracy and Free Markets Protect Us from Terrorism?" *International Politics* 45, (2008): 76

interventions were studied in the period 1961-1996, the establishment of democracy in the societies where those interventions were performed is very slow.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the military efforts, economic efforts for democratization of societies are even contra effective. Economic sanctions always reflect the masses, and almost not at all the authoritarian regimes. Authoritarian regimes impoverishment of its people prescribe to those who introduce the sanctions, which only further strengthens its position on account of the desire of its citizens to establish societies as they exist where sanctions come from, or the enemy. Typical examples of this statement are the situations in Iraq and Cuba. Perhaps the best results are achieved through support and foreign assistance in promoting democratic values, but even if this claim is entirely true, the results can be visible after long and laborious work. In short, military and non-military efforts would give any results if in a given state there has already been initiative of the process of democratization and the serious critical mass that would lead those changes would exist.

But if you look the Middle East societies, dominated by Islam and its values, this claim is even less accurate. The examples of Iraq and Afghanistan showed that the transition to democracy takes big material losses as well as human lives, while the promotion of democracy in the Middle East helps extremists in recruitment of new members. The greatest criticism to the Western countries regarding the promotion of democracy is explained by the thesis that democracy is actually a euphemism for neo-colonialism, i.e. democracy represents a good excuse for the 'elimination' of rogue regimes and their replacement with 'friendly' ones or with political elite that would play by the rules of the largest oil importers and through which the explanation of this natural resource will 'go easier'.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the democratization of the wealthy Arab states, theory of 'state renters' has explanation about the challenges that this issue is facing with. When an underdeveloped country will reveal that possess natural resources and rapidly get enriched, the chances to become democratic significantly are reduced. The reason is the connection between taxes and participation in government. When the state does not tax its citizens (like most Middle Eastern countries), the most basic reason to participate in government is lost. This means that when citizens do not pay taxes they do not develop a sense of ownership of their political system. So, demands for respect of political freedoms and rights are illegitimate when there is no accountability. The next problem is the structure of the economic system.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid

<sup>2</sup> F. Gregory Gausev, Can Democracy stop terrorism, *Foreign affairs*, September/October 2005, p.68

Regarding this issue we can say that Arab countries build their economies on exports of its natural resources. The private sector practically does not exist. The state is corrupted, and because there is no honorable management with money, the money literally runs out. Civil society is weak, and most people are employed in state administration. None of the 23 states whose economy is based on exports of oil and gas are democratic.<sup>1</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Experiences from the past actually do not convinced us that terrorism is reduced with the increase of democracy, hence, it can be concluded that the democratization of the world neither will solve the problem with terrorism nor will it solve the problem with other asymmetric threats. In fact, on the contrary it can be said that democratization has led to increased terrorist activities. What is even more disturbing is the transitional period of democracies where this value was imposed by violent means. These states are often too sensitive to asymmetric threats. Weak governments and confused security forces leave wide room for extremists operations.

Regarding the positive effects of democracy as a mechanism to reduce asymmetric threats it might be said that democracy has a limited impact on eliminating terrorism, i.e. democracy decrease the rate of suicide terrorism.

But what most serious concern is the paradox that democratic societies in which the force is not a mechanism for achieving the goal, are trying by force to impose democracy. If democracy can be imposed for a reason, by influence, by example, then for sure it can not be impose by force.

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## **ДЕМОКРАТИЈАТА КАКО МЕХАНИЗАМ ВО СУЗБИВАЊЕТО НА АСИМЕТРИЧНИТЕ ЗАКАНИ**

*Резиме: Во времето на студената војна демократијата за ривал ја имаше комунистичката идеологија, а демократските држави најголемата закана по својата безбедност ја гледаа во источниот блок држави предводени од Советскиот сојуз. Во новите меѓународни односи ривал на демократската идеологија е идеологијата на радикалните исламисти, а најголемата закана за националната безбедност на демократските држави се асиметричните закани зад кои најчесто стојат токму приврзаниците на оваа идеологија. И додека западните демократии се обидуваат насилно да ги спроведат демократските вредности во „одметнатите“ арпски држави, со цел да ја обезбедат сопствената национална безбедност, прашањето кое што неминовно се наметнува е дали и колку демократијата е доволно силен механизам во сузбивањето на асиметричните закани (глобалниот тероризам, транснационалниот криминал и пролиферацијата на оружјето за масовно уништување)?*

*Клучни зборови: демократија, автократија, асиметрични закани, тероризам, безбедност.*

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