

# Strengthening Regional Stability through Human Security

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## **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**

Conference

### **“Strengthening Regional Stability through Human Security in Western Balkans”**

17 November 2007, Hotel Holiday Inn,  
Skopje, Republic of Macedonia

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the Center for Prevention and European Values (former Initiative for Peace-building and Democracy) in 2004 launched a project entitled “Partners in Peace and Prevention” which aimed at endorsing the concept of conflict prevention in order to raise awareness and social responsibility of the beneficiaries in the process of peace-building, democratization and integration. This conference was a continuation of the previous regional conferences “Prevention through Integration” and “Regional Perspective on Prevention-Stability, Human Security and Development”, which took place in Skopje, November 2005 and 2006 respectively, under the same project. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia supported these Conferences as part of the Project and a general promotion of the conflict prevention norm and human security as foreign policy goals.

This conference contributed to the further promotion of the concept of Human Security in the framework of the regional perspective. The regional perspective of the problems that are connected with politics of prevention and human security provides recognition of priorities and building common values for the states and the citizens from the region and for the Republic of Macedonia.

Invited were representatives of the academic, political and expert community from the region and EU. The conference was organized as a one day event that consisted of panels connected to these topics: 1) promoting human security and prevention as common European and regional values; 2) transfer of principles of human security into the regional dimension and defining regional priorities; 3) strengthening the bottom-up approach in applying prevention and human security – trust and participation in local democracy; and 4) strengthening the dialogue and action through socio-economic aspects of prevention and human security.

This Conference report includes speeches and papers of the panelists at the Conference, as well as final conclusion and recommendations.

*The Organizers would like to extend their gratitude to all speakers, chairmen and participants for their positive contribution. Authors take full responsibility for the interpretation of the presentations summarized in this Report.*



Giorgio RADICATI

*Head of Mission, OSCE Spillover Mission, Skopje, Macedonia*

## **TRANSFERRING THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN SECURITY AS COMMON EUROPEAN VALUE**

Thank you Mr. Chairman  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
your Excellency Minister Milososki,  
dear fellow members of the diplomatic corps in Skopje,

1. I am honored to be here today to present a brief overview of the OSCE's concept of a comprehensive, human security and its role in the regional processes in the Western Balkans. As security is also at the core of OSCE's mandate in general and of the Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje in particular, please allow me to say a few words on the work of our Mission.

2. The OSCE is the primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation in the OSCE area. In fact, the early warning, conflict prevention and crises management have always been at the core of the OSCE and procedures available to the OSCE, which assured the implementation of those core tasks, dated back to the time of the CSCE. The OSCE had been ahead of its time in turning new ideas in European security to concrete mechanisms and procedures that allowed participating states to mobilize for concerted action to prevent, diffuse and manage crises and conflicts.

3. There are four broad categories of existing mechanisms and procedures:

- Those relating to human dimension issues;
- Those including specific early warning mechanisms intended to reduce the risk of conflict;
- Those referring to provisions related to early warning and preventive action in situations that could develop into crises, including armed conflicts;
- Those applying to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

4. On this matter, a debate recently took place in Vienna. Here are comments of some participating states:

It has been said that: “existing mechanisms were either insufficiently known or not well suited to the situations that arose and ...that existing mechanisms be reviewed to see if implementation and awareness could be improved.”

It has been said that: “...there were many commitments on early warning and conflict resolution and that it would be useful for pS to be reminded of existing possibilities to address security-related incidents.”

It has been said that: “...it would be good to have an overall view that included the contributions made by OSCE institutions, such as the High Commissioner on National Minorities or the Representative on the Freedom of the Media... that the mechanisms could be useful, but could not be implemented without a political will.”

It has been said that: “the OSCE was more successful in creating mechanisms than in using them. It expressed concern that the OSCE might be launching another diplomatic exercise resulting in improved mechanisms that may never be used.

It has been said that: “the OSCE had a solid stock of mechanisms and procedures for conflict prevention but that they were not active or had never been used. Finally, circumstances were always changing in the different areas and the mechanisms could not always keep pace.”

5. That said, not only is the OSCE's approach to security a comprehensive one, but it is also co-operative and depends on the collective support of the International Community and the host country. It deals with a wide range of security issues, including arms control, preventive diplomacy, confidence-building and security-building measures, human rights, election monitoring and economic and environmental monitoring.

6. Human rights, democracy, the rule of law, economic freedom, security - are values regarded as European and rooted in the OSCE founding principles. Our organization regards security much more broadly than the more traditional, narrow limits of the armed or violent aspects of a conflict, seen in our fields of operation. Dealing with existing or potential conflicts with this approach not only improves our chances of having a positive impact on efforts to resolve conflict situations, but the early warning monitoring incorporating a more comprehensive definition of collective security also increases our prospects of preventing conflicts from further escalation into armed conflicts.

7. The methodology we employ includes efforts to improve the economic and social situation in the country which the current Government correctly focuses on. While efforts



in this direction will require some time to show significant results, the OSCE and other International Organizations can help pave the way for a more investment-friendly climate and attracting foreign engagement into the domestic economy while increasing the economic security at the same time. The past years have clearly shown that political stability and economic prosperity go hand in hand.

8. Attention must also be paid to the more traditional security threats to security such as Organized Crime, Anti-Trafficking, and terrorism. Given their importance, it is no surprise that a large portion of our Mission's budget, through the Rule of Law and Police Development programmes, is dedicated to helping combat these crimes which, if left unchecked, may threaten the overall regional security. Both the Rule of Law and Community Policing will remain priorities in the immediate future for the OSCE Mission.

9. This year, the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje marks its fifteenth anniversary, the longest serving of such mission in the Balkans. Throughout the course of these years, the mission has streamlined its activities, targeting exactly those areas that lay at the foundation of Macedonian stability and security. From the initial years of exercising monitoring the possible spillover of the, then existing, conflicts across the former Yugoslavia, the Mission expanded and restructured its programmes in order to implement a wide array of activities and assisting the host country in reaching Euro-Atlantic standards of good governance.

10. Since the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement, OSCE Mission to Skopje has had three main areas of activity: Rule of Law; police training and development; and monitoring which is supported by a wide range of confidence-building measures and initiatives. In accordance to the provisions in Annex C of the Agreement and passed upon various Decisions of the OSCE's Permanent Council, the Mission was called upon to assist in a number of specific areas, which were added to the initial mandate. They include:

- re-deployment of police to the former crisis areas;
- assistance to the Government to increase representation of non-majority communities in public administration, military and public enterprises;
- strengthening of the institutions of local self-government;
- projects in the area of Rule of Law;
- projects in the area of media development; and
- continuing support for the engagement of the High Commissioner on National Minorities in the field of education.

11. I highlighted the list of tasks in our mandate only to illustrate the comprehensive approach to human security, which is the underlying theme inherent in our work. As

evident from the broad list of priority areas of our current mandate, one can see the OSCE's commitment to a multifaceted approach to assisting the host country in overcoming these challenges that can often lead to greater conflicts if left unaddressed. In the wider context of regional processes, the other OSCE missions such as those in Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia – Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania; are assisting the host nations with the same approach and zest for achievement where all share one major strategic priority: commitment to regional cooperation and European integration. By assisting the nations of the region in their ambition to establish societies with functional and professional institutions, ones that cherish the rights of the individual, as well as the rights of ethnic and cultural groups, is a contribution towards the establishment of sustainable stability and prosperity.

12. The OSCE's commitment to a collective security in the region is not a strange concept and is very much inherent in European values, which, in the context of today's seminar, are also part of the criteria for EU membership. The EU plays an important role, as these commitments have become a regional priority and are the benchmarks on which a country's stability and the regions as a whole is to be evaluated. The absence of a visible armed conflict does not in itself make the country a stable one, since an armed conflict is more often not the ultimate manifestation of inappropriate policies, lack of the Rule of Law and inequality within society. That said, the OSCE's approach to implementing a broad range of projects contributes to this end and to the country's stability.

13. The OSCE, most certainly, does not stand alone in its efforts to improve security. The EU, as I already mentioned, is an important contributor to stability in the country and in the region as a whole, promoting common values across borders and mutual respect for the Rule of Law. The International Community as a whole, augments our collective efforts in bringing lasting stability and a collective security for all citizens in the region. Their contribution as participating states of the OSCE and as bilateral assistance in this aim are significant and should not be overlooked.

14. To an insider of the region, a local, the achievement of this multifaceted approach of the OSCE, where the human dimension of security is central, may seem short of delivering results. Here one must bear in mind the starting point where the Western Balkans region has come from – the situation in the early and mid-1990s, when all of the OSCE missions in the area were established, was at best on the brink of an all out war, when large parts of the region were already in the middle of heavy armed conflicts. At that time, it would have been hard to imagine that, only five to ten years later, these very same nations would be sharing a common ideal and perspective on a more secure and stable future.

15. In my opinion, I believe it is the emphasis put on human security and the committed work of many local and international organizations and of the host governments in the

areas of Rule of Law, police reform, mediation in political processes and reconciliation, which have all contributed to the current progress.

16. Progress, however, comes with a price and is not free of dangers and many obstacles on the way to the eventual goal of sustainable stability, collective security, and economic development in the region. The ongoing challenges in Kosovo, Bosnia, and even here, in this country, only underline the need for continued efforts that embrace the human security approach to managing and overcoming regional conflicts.

17. In conclusion, the OSCE, together with the International Community, must remain vigilant in monitoring the security situation on the ground throughout the country, and be prepared for any possible scenario of spillover from Kosovo. Due to the regional uncertainties of the situation, this must remain a top priority until we see clarity on the final status of Kosovo.

18. Only by seeing the larger picture, rather than the smaller, more simplified image of a conflict, one that is seemingly only associated with ethnic antagonisms and armed conflict, can we manage to implement appropriate policies that tackle those conflicts before the flare up and state institutions no longer have the ability to intervene appropriately. It is here, just through the lenses of human rights, social and economic issues, and Rule of Law where the OSCE will continue to focus its assistance to the peoples of the Western Balkan region.

19. In conclusion, to assure full human security basically means to build a civilized society in which human beings remain always at the center of the government's action.

Thank you for your attention.



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## **NATIONAL SECURITY AS OPPOSED TO PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN SECURITY**

### **Introduction**

The Western Balkan countries must meet the defined criteria that they are asked to meet, if they are to become candidates for and then “become members” of the club of countries - members of the European Union. The question is here raised why for some countries this seems a “mission impossible” or what is it that needs to be done to have the “new iron curtain” lifted up for the Western Balkan countries. Do the years going by also bring changes in the criteria which – the impression is – become higher and higher only due to the “drop in quality” of the states referred to as candidates for membership in the privileged club of the European states of welfare. In the states that are potential candidates for membership in the European Union, the reforms are at various stages and are implemented through processes and projects requiring enormous efforts, resources and internal political consensus. On one hand, the priority of each country-candidate is in most cases the stabilization (or the first part of the Stabilization and Association Pacts) of the country by ensuring a higher level of national security. On the other hand, the thesis about the priority of the national security and national interests – understood through the prism of traditional values – slowly evolves as the European integration becomes more intensive.

The game and criteria slowly change, probably “at the cost” of the new states - candidates for membership (or in favor of the citizens/nationals), while the standards to be achieved are more and more inclined to what is called - human security (individual or men security). Human security relates more to security of individuals and communities than to states and combines human rights and human development, as well as freedom from fear and freedom from want<sup>1</sup>. Human security should be a challenge for the policies and institutions, which need to find new ways of protecting each human life in a manner that would increase human freedoms and human self-realization. The academic community of Europe, i.e. the team engaged on the project for new security doctrine of the European Union suggests that the European security policy be firmly based on

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<sup>1</sup> Kaldor, Mary (2005) What is Human Security?, Debating Globalization, David Held et al., Polity Press, p.177

multilateral respect for the international law and that it should give priority to the individuals, rather than to the states. This is why it is recommended that this policy have a top-down approach, and that its analyses should have a regional focus and should be based on the methods or directions that are appropriate to the human security approach.

We live in a world of numerous inter-dependencies, where power and sovereignty have changed their meaning at a global level. The new proposed European security policy is nothing else than an attempt to transfer the values of the European Community created over the past 50 years into areas where laws still do not rule, where human rights are not protected and where power and sovereignty are abused in the name of the nation, at a time when democracy provides opportunities for creation of a better world. Human security should relate to the freedom of individuals from the basic dangers and threats caused by significant violations of the human rights. Millions of people around the world live in situations of brutal insecurity, as a consequence of political and criminal violence. The position of Europe is that there can be no safe living if the rest of the world is unsafe, and particularly if this is happening in the regions near Europe itself, including the Western Balkans. These countries are close to EU, and yet far from the European peace, prosperity and welfare.

In an attempt to transfer the human security into a policy and governing standard, the European Union used several instruments, which may roughly be divided into strategies in the immediate neighborhood and strategies for external missions, geographically remote from the European Union. There is a large difference between these two groups of strategies: the essential difference certainly is the opportunity offered by the European Union to the countries from East and Southeast Europe of becoming membership in a family in which peace, stability and prosperity rule. The key instrument for the implementation of this strategy is the process of enlargement of the European Union. This is one of the strongest political tools, with the help of which the European Union helped transform Central and Eastern Europe into modern, well-functioning democracies. The enlargement recently inspired comprehensive reforms even among the candidate countries and the potential candidate countries; all European citizens gain by having neighbors that are stable democracies and prosperous market economies.

The enlargement is a carefully managed process, which helps transform the countries involved and spread peace, stability, prosperity, democracy and the rule of law throughout Europe.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the enlargement process, the candidate countries go through a period of adaptation, implementing reforms in several areas and – as a result of the process – the level of quality of life and economic power of citizens are improved, as parts of their social welfare. Regardless of the aspect of analyzing the enlargement process, i.e. whether one looks at it as a policy of the countries in the region or as a strategy of the Union, it is most certainly priority number one for both parties in

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<sup>2</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/index_en.htm)

the context of the future of both the Balkans and Europe. For the countries in the region, the process – as many politicians will often underline – has no alternative.

### **In the Name of National Security**

The question of how to ensure better life and higher living standard in the Western Balkans is one that is frequently raised - have the Balkans learnt their historic lessons, or is it the destiny of the Balkan peoples to keep repeating the mistakes. We believe that one lesson learnt in the Balkans is that huge crimes and large injustice have been done in the name of national security and national interests. To be objective, the same was also happening in the second half of the 19th century, as well as during the first half and over the past two decades of the 20th century. What is, therefore, new on the Balkans is actually already seed in the collective memory of the nations in the entire region. The Great Powers have again returned to the Balkans to yet again measure their powers at the cost of the “ordinary” people and in the name of protecting the national states, i.e. their protégées in the region. To be honest all the way, the Balkan states are the ones to blame for many of the problems, and the powerful states are only trying to “help” stabilize the restless Balkans. There is a great difference that what was happening in the past – everything is now negotiable, except for the borders of the states that have already been internationally recognized and verified. Kosovo is an exception.

Due to Kosovo and the Serbian-Albanian clash, which has been going on for almost three decades, several Balkan neighbors and the entire international community have been hostages. The hostages are several sovereign and independent states, all from the Western Balkans (Croatia somehow pulled out from it), and the entire region is slowly becoming one, along with the overall policy of the European Union and its strategy to expand to this part of Europe. In the name of national security, the Balkan states, following the successful European processes of building the nations, have committed endless violations of human rights. Both in the past and today, they have been trying to produce societies where the dominant national group – through the process of building a nation-state – will establish a unique cultural matrix and a unique political structure in which there is no room for those who differ by their ethnic or cultural identity. Building apparently cultural nations, they have conducted ethnic cleansing on many areas on the territory of the entire Balkans. These are lessons one must not forget.

What must be added to the consequences in the context of the Balkan countries and the crisis in the 90s is that a particular type of fear influenced the perceptions and behavior of several nations and their collective action; this was happening not only then, but is taking place even now, before the conclusion to the Kosovo crisis – it is the fear from future insecurity. The perceptions of insecurity for a group or community influence their actions, while the feeling of being endangered gives birth to a reaction aimed towards the protection of the group interests, as well as towards the defense and survival

of the group. The fear from future insecurity was initially extrapolated in the behavior of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia, as defense of their (national) interests on grounds of fear from future developments. Then it was Bosnia and Herzegovina's turn. Fear of everyone from everyone – Muslims, Serbs and Croats. Those were groups closed within an internationally recognized state, yet unsafe. We all know what happened next. Today, we again have fear from future insecurity among the Serbs on Kosovo, but also among the Serbs in Bosnia, as we have the Macedonians fear for the survival of their state as a unitary one, fear among the Kosovars that they are again faced with a period of ethnic conflict, etc. These fears largely influenced the destiny of former Yugoslavia, but also the future of the Western Balkans.

Those are complex processes that may not be resolved by any single process or project. The enlargement of the European Union might amortize those fears from future insecurity and impose the “values won in battle” through the process of integration. Only such integration will be able to outlive the historic frustrations and unsettled differences of several Balkan peoples. There is, however, not much time and important decisions are to be made concerning the Balkans. We will either make those decisions on our own or they will be imposed upon us through the policies and instruments for integration in the EU, but also in the NATO. The Balkans have a unique chance to become an integral zone in the European space in a short period of time (5-10 years), to become united, more secure and richer in comparison with the past years. There is no more time for hidden scenarios. There is no more space for large, but weak states. There are no more conditions for absolutistic and “romantic” ideas. The future of our nations no longer depends only on the national myths and flags. There is no more time for debates whether we are for America or for Europe (or, for some, even for Russia). Because, it is obvious that there is consensus in the Euro-Atlantic relations about one important issue – the future of the Balkans is in the European Union.<sup>3</sup>

But, it is no longer possible to catch up with Europe through strategies of national armies, but through changes and programs aimed at protecting nations, all communities, but also every individual, regardless of the citizenship, national affiliation, religion or language. Made human security is the solution that will pull us out from history and introduce us to the future. “Having been a Commissioner for Enlargement for already three years, I am convinced that the enlargement is at the heart of EU's soft power – its power to transform the neighborhood into functional democracies, market economies, and true partners in overcoming the common challenges.”<sup>4</sup> According to Olli Rehn, the enlargement has shown that it is one of the most important instruments of European

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<sup>3</sup> Atanasov, Petar (2006) Od nacionalne do humane bezbednosti, Nova pravila igre, Evropski forum, <http://www.becei.org/EF%2011-1206/Hunmana%20bezbednost.html>

<sup>4</sup> Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Enlargement as an instrument of the EU's soft power Anna Lindh Award Ceremony, 19 October 2007



security. It reflects the essence of EU as a civil force, expanding the area of peace and prosperity, freedom and democracy. This soft power has been evident exactly in Central and Eastern Europe over the past 15 years. "It now seems normal that the countries that emerged from Communism in 1989 and 1991 have become stable democracies with fast-growing economies, firmly anchored in the EU. In reality, this seems as a highly secure exit from the 1990's, but things could have gone in a wrong direction."<sup>5</sup>

Both EU and the candidate countries from Central and Eastern Europe (which are now already EU Member Countries) believed in the success of the process. Both sides strongly supported the enlargement of the number of Union members from 15 to 26 (nowadays already 27). The national security of the new Union members became integral part of the process of attaining the high standards of the European human security.

### **In the Name of Human Security**

We are witnesses of how conflicts spilled over from one area into another and from one state into another over the past years. The strategy of the international community for one state did not work in another, or the peace-keeping operations were not allowed to get engaged in prevention activities in the neighboring country. Thus, many opportunities were missed to prevent the next Balkan conflict in a simple manner and with much less financial means. The failure to include Kosovo in the Dayton peace talks about Bosnia and Herzegovina was the factor that led to a war in Kosovo in 1999. In 2001, despite the intensive involvement in Kosovo (and, to a certain extent in Albania as well), the violence caused in Macedonia was still taken as a surprise by the European Union. In the Balkans, EU was involved in the combat against organized crime and ethnic violence in Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo. These efforts were all under different missions and were not sufficiently linked.<sup>6</sup>

Brussels is aware that the effects of insecurity and lack of order in the Balkans such as crime, refugee floods and human trafficking are, for example, felt in Europe more than the effects of conflicts taking place at a greater distance.<sup>7</sup> To prevent this, the study group for human security proposes 6 principles: the primary status of the human rights, legitimate political authority, bottom-up approach, effective multilateralism, integrated regional approach and a clear and transparent strategic direction. The success of Europe – its project for integration, peace-building among its members, the entire economy and

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<sup>5</sup> Ibidem

<sup>6</sup> A Human Security Doctrine (2004) The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Capabilities, Barcelona, September 15, p.18-9

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p.15

trade block – was achieved due to the decisiveness and abiding by principles, such as consensus, cooperation, democracy and rule of law.<sup>8</sup> This is what Europe needs to build at home and believes should export through its initiatives, operations and evaluation of its own effectiveness. The European way of security ought to be focused on protection of the individuals and communities. But, how is this to be done? We propose three priorities, particularly for the Western Balkans.

Priority number one in achieving human security are certainly human rights. The primary status of the human rights is what differentiates human security from the state-based traditional approaches. Although the principle is obvious, there are deeply rooted institutional and cultural obstacles that must be overcome for this principle to be implemented in the reality. Human rights include the economic and social rights, as well as the political and civil ones. This means that the human rights like: the right to life, the right to housing, or the right to freedom of opinion, must be respected and protected under any circumstances.<sup>9</sup>

Although the Study Group for Security – in the course of the several years of researching human security – has changed on two occasions the number of principles important for the attainment of human security – from seven down to five, then up to six again, with the attainment of human rights always set on top under any conditions.<sup>10</sup>

Priority number two – as a prerequisite for the achievement of human security, particularly important in the case of the Balkans – is human development. Hundreds of projects and programs have been implemented on the Balkans in the postconflict period and millions of Euros have been invested, but little results have been achieved. This priority is a long-term one, difficult to realize over a short period of time. Human development, along with the human rights, is based on the democratic society and – consequently – on permanent increase of the opportunities for universal development of people. Development-wise, the quality of human development stands against the growth of the national economies. Ways must be found to help the individuals, even when the state has poor governing or fails to meet the various standards. How to achieve higher human development is a known topic. Yet, somewhat more recent theoretical hypothesis is the one claiming that a higher level of human security may be reached through human development.

Priority number three is, of course, the balance between liberalism and multiculturalism as a policy, although this is not stated precisely anywhere, but has to be

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<sup>8</sup> A European Way of Security (2007) The Madrid Report of the Study Group on Europe's Capabilities, Madrid, November 8, p. 4-5

<sup>9</sup> Kaldor, Mary (2005) What is Human Security?, *Debating Globalization*, David Held et al., Polity Press, p.180

<sup>10</sup> The Barcelona Report 2004, The Madrid Report 2007, etc.

read in between the lines. This is particularly relevant at a sub-national level, i.e. for the minority communities and the communities in general, which are one of the fundamental entities to be protected through the policy and doctrine of human security. Community security is a significant precondition for complete attainment of human security. This is so not only because of the overall cultural development of the members of a minority community, but also because of the enormous importance that the community has in all the relations and relationships in the group. If a community feels insecure, it mobilizes and starts fighting for its security and its rights (freedom). In heterogenous regions, therefore, security of the community is a precondition for security of the individual. We will not go into the limitations that the ethnic leaders and „laws“ impose on their members in this text. We only underline the fact that human security is often unattainable without and before community security, i.e. it is a great challenge to attain human security outside the concept of national security.

However, it is not so simple when the strategies and policies need to be brought down to the field. When you go down among the people and when you commence analyzing the Balkan situations, you come across an „ideology of ethnic dioptry“ about the situations looked through the prism of the group or community in question. Unfortunately, for some nations on the Balkans the notion that – one day and because of the enlargement – the states will have to forget about the borders of their countries, seems as if not attractive enough. On one hand, for instance, when the Republika Srpska made it clear that, when it comes to choosing between the Republika Srpska or the European Union, Serbs will opt for the Republika Srpska. The Republic of Serbia also stated that, when it comes to meeting the criteria for membership of Serbia into EU, Brussels may wait. On the other hand, as positive examples, the evidence from Croatia and Macedonia is that true political reforms only come when the main nationalist party goes through complete transformation, freeing itself from the position of extreme nationalists and adopting the agendas for accession into the EU and NATO.<sup>11</sup> 'No' to nationalism, 'yes' to respect for the human rights of 'the others' in our societies. Let us try and elaborate several perspectives.

Things on the Balkans are not only complex from a political and strategic aspect, but also due to the psychological ones, i.e. the perceptions for limited presence and unreachable future. If one analyzes the current situation (November 2007) on Kosovo – which seems to be approaching its solution – the discourse on this topic includes terminology about borders, ethnic conflicts, insecurity, but also economic development and integration into EU.<sup>12</sup> This polemics or debate imposes several

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<sup>11</sup> Comment: Europe's Balkan Travesty – and How to Fix It (2007) by Edward Joseph in Washington, BIRN, Balkan Insight, No. 109, October 26

<sup>12</sup> Comment: January 5, 2020 – Kosovo's Moment of Truth? (2007) by Baton Haxhiu in Prishtina, BIRN, Balkan Insight, No. 110, November 2

questions: Will Kosovo lose its north if it one-sidedly declares independence? When will the international community recognize Kosovo if it declares independence? Which side will be the next to be isolated by the international community – Serbia or Kosovo? Is Kosovo's economic growth something that may be discussed? etc.; the discourse includes topics like instability and inter-ethnic conflict and the increasingly small chances of integration into the EU. The Serbian and Kosovar negotiators are firmly positioned in their trenches and no party will make concessions, defending its own national rights and border. Along these lines, on Kosovo, for instance, the physical violence is currently smaller in scope than the lack of economic and social rights – in terms of unemployment, poor electricity supply, lack of appropriate roads – which is at the center of the growing insecurity issue. Yet, from a political perspective, the emphasis is more on the status than on the individual rights. The policy of „retaining peace“ often means tolerance for ethnic extremists on both sides, which allowed for the development of an „abnormal“ political economy, additionally worsening the social and economic human rights.<sup>13</sup>

In addition, in spite of the entire progress achieved in Macedonia following the Framework Agreement, the ethnic Albanians continue to complain against institutional discrimination. They are concerned with the slow progress in achieving what – according to them – is just and appropriate representation in the Government ministries. Although there is constant progress and new staff is recruited, the ethnic Albanians remain inadequately represented in the Army and Police. The ethnic Albanians complain about the distribution of the public educational resources and that this distribution is disproportionate to their representation in the overall population as a group.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the opinion of the representatives of the smaller communities in Macedonia about the 2001 conflict is that those events brought progress for the Albanians only and that the Albanians secured in this way a privileged position in the society. The Framework Agreement, according to them, is unjust and has complicated the system by imposing the categories of ethnicity and ethnization of society and that the cultural differences appear as a problem in the communication. The position of the smaller communities is that Macedonia has perspectives only as a civil state and by ensuring prosperity for the citizens, instead of for the ethnic groups.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> A European Way of Security (2007) The Madrid Report of the Study Group on Europe's Capabilities, Madrid, November 8, p. 16

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78826.htm#>

<sup>15</sup> Results from the research of the Centre for Ethnic and Security Issues for the Implementation of the Framework Agreement.

## Macedonia between National and Human Security

According to the data from several surveys done by the Center for Ethnic and Security Issues, this line between the national and human security may be clearly detected, as it is the same line that is most frequently pointed to in the analysis of the Macedonian society as an ethnically divided society.<sup>16</sup>

Namely, „ethnic knots“ may be identified in Macedonia in the cross of the relations between the Macedonians and Albanians which, to a large extent, burden the social cohesion and integration of the society. In this, the perceptions of the Macedonians about the „ownership“ of the state and the national (cultural) identity do not leave much space for a „more civic“ concept of the state. At the same time, there is great amount of dissatisfaction among the Macedonians with the Framework Agreement and the ethnic project of the Albanians, taking place „at the cost of the Macedonians“. On the other hand, certain level of satisfaction is growing among the Albanians with their progress as a community, although they are aware of the way in which their rights are increased – through „radicalization of the national map“ and against the „national concept of the majority“. It is only the smaller communities and their perceptions that are against ethnic concepts and „badges“ and which – understandably - clearly „favor“ civil Macedonia that are the communities which deviate from this black-and-white picture of the Macedonian multiculturalism. In short, the Macedonians and the members of the smaller communities have a generally negative attitude towards the framework Agreement and the changes introduced by it, while the Albanians are positive towards the changes and the acquisition of a higher political status as a community.

If it may be said that the Macedonians and the Albanians agree upon one thing in this context - it is certainly the position about the objective of the Framework Agreement and about the issue which has the worst impact on the chances of membership for the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union. Namely, for the Macedonians (43% of them), the objective of the 2006 Framework Agreement (5 years after the conflict) was to increase the rights of the Albanians, with a percentage „close to 50%“ of the Albanians sharing that opinion. This response may be treated as „consent and recognition“ of the Macedonians that „equity“ was not as ideal in the state's treatment of the Albanian community. It is here somewhere where we would locate the consent and would support the arguments for the importance of the first priority in the achievement of the human security, and these are by all means the human rights. Furthermore, other „general knots“ to the consent for joining the European Union for the Macedonians and the Albanians are also the progress regarding the issues of reduction of corruption, functioning of the rule of law and improvement of the economy. The Macedonian society did „learn“ over the past 5 years that the 2001 events took place

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<sup>16</sup> Between 2004 and 2006 The Centre for Ethnic and Security Issues has conducted several researches from which some results will be quoted. The Centre is working under the auspices of St. Cyril and Methodius University.

“also” due to the deprivation of the Albanians from some of their rights. Another recognition that may be derived from the responses of the “citizens” is the “fact” that the progress of the Republic of Macedonia depends on both the management with the “ethnic knots” (at least according to the rights and opportunities for development of the communities) and the “management” of the combat against corruption, efforts to have the rule of law functioning and, certainly, the improvement of the economic parameters and standards.

The most interesting common position between the Macedonians and Albanians is undoubtedly the position on the question of what stability of Macedonia mostly depends on. 63% of the Macedonians believe that the country’s stability depends, most of all, on the “higher living standard”, while 18% of them think it depends on the integration into the European Union. The Albanians, on the other hand, opted for the higher living standard by 47% and 24% for the EU integration. Both priorities are in the domain of non-ethnic categories. As to what types of crises are “more probable” in the future, there is also agreement that those are the economic crises – 49% of the Macedonians and 53% of the Albanians. A very small number of the respondents (at least in 2006) chose the options of political and security crises. It is here that would locate the agreement and would support the arguments for the importance of the second priority in the attainment of human security – the human development. If the exercise of the human rights would be the first and ultimate goal of a model of a more human and secure society, then human development is probably a condition without which no big progress on that road is possible. The humans, not as “figures” in the national “family”, but as a factor and essence of the future politics and reality.

What is important for our analysis is that the Macedonians – after a certain period of 5-6 years following the conflict – slowly „accept” the Framework Agreement as reality and believe that its implementation also means higher level of security for the country. It goes without saying that the acceptance of the Framework Agreement by the Albanians is high and that – according to them – its implementation means higher stability for the country, as well. As opposed to this, at least according to the presented situations, Macedonia’s progress will also have to be supported by a real social integration, which depends on several factors – ethnic and non-ethnic altogether. What is relevant in the case of the Macedonians is their concern for preserving the state as a nation-state, having in mind the multi-ethnic composition of the society and the number of the Albanians. What is of interest for the Albanians is their request of larger political (ethnic) concessions. The line that brings together these opposed positions in Macedonia is the Framework Agreement, signed in 2001. With the Framework Agreement, the Albanians lifted their political status in Macedonia and received cultural concessions and legal protection against the efforts of majorization by the Macedonians. The most important gains for the Albanians are the use of the Albanian language as official, just representation in the institutions of the state, decentralization of the central government and the Constitutional protection mechanisms. As a sub-context of the changes

introduced by the implementation of the Framework Agreement is the „resistance“ among the Macedonians to give the monopoly and ownership of the national matrix (or the dominant political power). In this, certain division of power has been introduced, at least for some issues, as well as division of the resources in order to meet the Albanian requests for equal public status of their language and just and appropriate representation in the state institutions. It is here that would locate the agreement and would support the arguments for the importance of the third priority in the attainment of human security – the balance between liberalism and multiculturalism as a policy, particularly in the heterogeneous societies. This balance will have to produce appropriate political structure as well, such that will have to manage the model. What this model will look like and whether it will work, depends on the approach that may vary from “moderate” liberalism to “extreme” multiculturalism.

## Conclusion

If we have declared the enlargement of the European Union as the absolute highest regional priority. i.e. as a foreign policy objective of the countries candidates for membership, the internal political priority, above all other priorities in the Balkans, is certainly the coping with extremist groups and extreme politicians who, acting together with the organized crime, are the main jeopardy for the national security and – in a wider context – for the human security, as well. Extremism produces weak states, unable to offer higher-quality living conditions, protection of the human rights and sustainable human development. The national and human securities are related, but they have different goals: for the national security, the most important thing is the state, whereas for the human security, the most important thing is the security of people.

In any case, each country has its own specifics in this area as well, but they do not obstruct the priorities. The example of Macedonia – without too much emphasis on the civil, instead of on the ethnic rights in society (and the set up of the Ohrid Agreement allows for this, especially in the direction of making a more visible distinction between the state and the nation and the devolution of the central functions down to local levels) – shows that Macedonia will neither achieve a higher level of human security, nor will it progress as a matrix for a model of multicultural cohabitation that acknowledges the differences, but does not take them as an absolute.<sup>17</sup> In this context, the three priorities go in favor of the enlargement of the concept of human security in this part of Europe, too.

To be precise: the question is not whether, but when all Western Balkan countries will join this – historically most successful – integration project that has ever

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<sup>17</sup> Atanasov, Petar (2007) The Project Europe, *Odbrana*, Ministry of Defense, No. 129, January.

been created in the more recent European history. The European Union, through its enlargement, offers a model of integration in which peace, stability and development are essential values. Of course, they also include the aspect of human security, which is increasingly of importance in the theoretical debates about the European values and the past successes of the European project. It remains for the Western Balkan countries to do their homework and to “become members” of this club, which has no competition by its achievements, but also with no competition in establishing values that may also be named as “society of human security”. Any other trajectory at this point in time would be wrong.



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## **CHALLENGES OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION: WESTERN BALKANS' CASE**

During the last decade of the XX Century, Western Balkans' countries experienced situations of tension, which have been accompanied with armed conflicts, violence and ethnic cleansing, flows of refugees, etc., which constituted the main sources not only for jeopardizing human security, but also the regional one. These dramatic situations, which have deep roots in the memory of our peoples, are not completely overpassed, regardless of the progress achieved, as regards strengthening of the rule of law, economy, education, regional integration in NATO and EU of our countries.

It is difficult, and perhaps impossible, in a short period of time, to eliminate completely the material tracks of these conflicts and to make thousands of people, hurt physically and mentally, have rest. But even today, it is not easy to provide them with most vital issues: human security, social and natural environment for a secure life in conditions of full physical, material and spiritual freedom - Standards which are proclaimed and sanctioned in the basic documents of Brussels.

There is no doubt that regional security, including the one of Western Balkans in its frontiers, is complementary with continent's security, and even further, with the global security. The same reasoning stands also for the human security of the region, which is complementary with the European one and beyond. This point of view has been synthesized in some very important documents such as: "Human Security Doctrine for Europe", and constitutes one of the main problems for guaranteeing the real integration of our countries into the European Union.

The required standards of human security constitute our serious challenges we have to face with full consciousness and serious engagement. They are so difficult, delicate and complex. Their essence, apart from a comprehensive analysis, requires that they have to be dealt with an extensive engagement of state structures and the civil society.

The challenges that regional security and stability is facing with, are almost identical for each of the countries; therefore, they need to be analyzed in details, in an

inter-disciplinary manner and jointly. Beyond these analyses, a special importance is devoted to the effective measures that are undertaken at the national and regional level in combating organized crime, trafficking and corruption, which are challenges that may be confronted not only individually, but even better collectively.

But maybe this is not enough. We need to know their origin, and not only the inherent outcomes. Therefore, we have to step down up to the individual level of the citizen, in order to consider human security as one of his attributes. He has to be not only consumer of human security, but also its contributor. This way of perception will help us in the conceptual aspect and in placing the individual at the focus of human security.

Western Balkans' countries are confronting with relatively high costs for the achievement of human security Standards.

First, because of the bitter legacy of a not distant period of conflicts, which seriously harmed the national environment of security, natural environment, vital resources, and so on.

Second, by adjudicating effectively, the dramatic changes of the past have caused a considerable distrust and passivity among citizens, who appear to be indifferent and unsatisfied by the failure to achieve their personal security as required.

We will need a long time to get over the effects of crisis, and to finally get rid of the post-crisis period, which has to be overcome as soon as possible with joined efforts. These situations continue to conserve such factors and causes that make our region be still problematic as regards criminality, trafficking, corruption. I would add also that post-conflict situations are keeping alive harmful factors which, by jeopardizing national security, are keeping the lives of citizens in tension and insecurity.

Allow me to briefly summarize some of the key factors of a global nature and their impact on the violation of human security in the region.

### **Terrorism, organized crime, trafficking - potential factors jeopardizing regional and human security**

The ascertainment that there has been a progress in the way of confronting with these noxious factors that affect the regional security, and particularly the recent 2-3 years, is well-found and acceptable. However, this does not exhaust the continuous efforts that are being undertaken to eliminate and prevent these potential factors, which are, unfortunately, still persisting.

Economic progress, strengthening of the rule of law, reforms in security forces, their close cooperation with their counterparts in the countries of the region, have had a

positive impact in strengthening regional stability and security, which is directly reflected in the enhancement of human security Standards, as well.

The establishment of permanent contacts among security bodies on bilateral, regional and global level, has positively influenced in the intensification of the struggle against terrorism, organized crime and trafficking, in the reduction of criminality indicators and the improvement of human security Standards.

Insufficiency of financial resources and of competent and specialized officials, reminiscences of past practices, are still negatively affecting the weak efficiency of the national security bodies in combating these phenomena, as well as in the infringement of human security and illicit inviolability of the individual's freedom.

Another challenge we are frequently facing with is organized crime, which is actually having a pronouncedly trans-national character spread-out in many countries. Criminal organizations and trans-national criminal networks have succeeded to put in danger the national and regional security by means of control over the routes of drugs and human trafficking.

These trafficking routes traverse our region as well. They own financial means, sophisticated equipments of communication and transport. Criminal networks which have a direct implication in trafficking of weapons are the main suppliers of organized crime and gangs which have endangered even the citizens' lives. In our region, organized crime and criminal activities, which are conducted "under the nose" of incompetent and corrupted officials of politics and security, continues to be a phenomenon that affects human security.

Another source of insecurity and a serious risk for security remains an enormous arsenal of weapons and military ammunitions existing in the hands of civil population. Wars in former Yugoslavia, but also the riots which occurred during the last decade in some countries of the region, brought about the supplying with weapons of different types to thousands of persons. A considerable amount of this armament remains in the hands of civilians, which are not voluntarily handed over by them. This is a lethal arsenal, causing even nowadays the death of hundreds of civilians, feeding up organized crime and spreading fear and insecurity among people.

Initiatives undertaken for the collection and destruction of weapons have been effective, but they have to continue together with the raising of awareness of population on the dangerousness they represent. To this aim, it is so indispensable that, apart from the Information of population, there should continue systematically well-organized actions from bodies of local government with the participation of citizens, and youth in particular, in the campaign of collection and destruction of this arsenal. Consequently, the population would participate actively in the process of guaranteeing human security.

Generally speaking, these would have been some of the main challenges of security, which are threatening our national and human security. But, the truth is that we have tended to take into consideration and to strengthen the components of national security, giving less attention, unwillingly, the components of citizens' security.

For a long time, we have concentrated on the achievement of national security objectives. This is the way of treating security issues in a macro plan, by neglecting the micro plan, which has to do with human security.

The delay in time and the real judgment of these two organic dimensions of security must be overcome as soon as possible. It is precisely this Conference, its agenda items, our discussions and the subsequent publications, which will help in raising the awareness, not only of governmental bodies, but also of public opinion, which has to be aware about the objectives of national security and human security.

More than that, citizens should understand that these security Standards are added values of contemporaneous civilization; that these Standards and values are, at the same time, a moral Obligation for the responsibilities they have, in relation with national security and the individual one.

Citizens have to be conscious to become self-secured. This concept defines the awareness of citizens, not only for the responsibilities and duties that governmental institutions have, but also for their own security, for the social, natural, nutritional and sanitary environment, but also related to assuming individual and collective responsibilities and attaining them for the common benefit.

This awareness or voluntary participation in defending human security does not exclude cases when citizens become aware of the limitation of human rights, when this is demanded by major interest of national security.

Logically, we can pose a question. How much are our citizens prepared for these minor, but forced violations, is it because of dangerous situations or in cases of preventing great dangers? This depends on the level of understanding the responsibilities of everyone in guaranteeing national and human security. Its not easy to change the mentality and prejudices of many people, who, while asking from authorities for stronger measures in fighting against criminality, might not agree even with the easiest restrictive measure over individual freedoms.

These situations and contradictory positions are not casual. They are related with the social psychology and ethno-psychology of nations and various social groups who, not a long time ago, considered national and human security only as a state responsibility.

Practices in European countries on human security issues are converging in one common point, which focuses on the sensibility of citizens on national security and their Obligation to contribute to the protection of human security

Of course, these Standards, which are being integrated by Western Balkans' countries in the basic documents of their national security strategy, are not easy to be implemented in practice. Nevertheless, there is something we have to be sure about. Regardless of difficulties and obstacles, they are being transformed in added values of the European consciousness of our citizens. This is the right path making us come closer to a new reality, that of the EU member.

The future membership of Western Balkan countries in the European Union will obviously have an outstanding impact in the regional, national and human security environment. The Integration process of these countries into EU served to transforming them profoundly by way of initiating domestic reforms in all areas and by producing a comprehensive framework for conflict settlement and setting up mechanisms for regional co-operation and Integration.

The multi-ethnic environment in the Western Balkans calls for effective community-building measures, which are of a political, economic and social character. The main goal of these measures is to create trust and tolerance among the peoples of this region. There are many regional initiatives in place, such as the Stability Pact, whose aim is precisely to make our countries work together for the same goal: creating an environment where all individuals live in harmony regardless of their ethnic belonging, undertaking joint efforts in the process of becoming future members of the European family.

Finally, I could not end up without making some brief remarks on the last pending problem in Western Balkans, i.e. the final status of Kosova. The question of Kosova Status has been strongly related for a long time with the question of regional security, dating back in the early XX Century. These might be the last days in which we would be uncertain about the answer to this important question.

We are aware of the present situation in Kosova and we have witnessed the significant progress that people of Kosova have made to create a secure multi-ethnic society, by guaranteeing human security for every citizen. But these efforts need to be finalized with a Status for Kosova. We have been looking for a long time at the process of negotiations between parties, with the active participation of the international community, for determining this Status. Unfortunately, this process is not producing any concrete outcome.

We should all be aware that any delay in this process may cause instability in the region and beyond. Therefore, we need to accept the fact that new realities that may occur in our region after these negotiations, which will reflect the free will of the people of

Luan HAJDARAGA

Kosova, in line with what is proposed by Ahtisari Plan, will obviously have a tremendous and long-standing positive influence to the European future of our countries and, naturally, to our regional security.

Thank you.

Maria Luisa SILVA  
*UNDP Resident Representative, Skopje, Macedonia*

## **BOTTOM UP APPROACH IN PRACTICING PREVENTION AND HUMAN SECURITY**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for me to participate at this Conference which treats an issue, usually ignored, but creating a crucial key-stone in human development. The issue of Human Security is one of the highlights in the system of values which UN is trying to build up. I hope that our discussion today will provide modest, but important contribution in defining human security means and ways how local focus and preventive action can boost it.

Before starting my discussion, please allow me to extend my gratitude to the Friedrich Ebert Foundation for organizing this event. The pleasure is even higher knowing that UN and the Foundation share the objective of promoting development and being partners in several important projects around the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the concept of human security is rather new; however, I am very pleased to say that it is already infused into the global objective of UNDP. It is internalized in our corporate philosophy and the projects which UNDP implements all around the world. UNDP is an organization focused on people and devoted to expanding people's development opportunities. So is the human security. One simple idea lies at its core – the idea that **security of people is of paramount importance, even of higher importance than security of states**.

Shifting of the focus from security of states to security of people was a **paradigm shift** and it is not by coincidence that it took place after the beginning of the transformation in Europe and elsewhere in the world towards democracy and market economy. The process of transformation brought not only the need of such shift in the focus of security area – but also provided the means to materialize it. The means is people's energy, empowerment and enlargement of their choices. so that they can make the best of their talent, skills and energy.

People-focused approach and putting people at the core of policy actions is not entirely new. Many systems and philosophical concepts have attempted this before – but they all failed. Most recently, the centrally-planned, top-down system proved incapable of

utilizing this potential, merely because it was top-down. Democracy and market economy relies on empowered individuals, focuses on their potential and gives us an opportunity for unleashing their energy.

This is how **the process of transformation, bottom-up approach and human security are inter-linked**. The very definition of human security as security of people and individuals assumes such a decentralized, bottom-up approach.

Ladies and Gentlemen, human security for UN is an **indicator of the societies' capacity to identify and offset threats** in various dimensions – economic, environmental, educational, personal... - all major aspects of part of daily life. In fact, this capacity determines the outcome of different areas of general human development. What is important here is that in most of these areas (if not all) **higher levels of human security can be achieved through bottom-up approaches**.

Let's take as an example the economic security, as the most visible form of human security. In this sense, the unemployed do not have much to feel secure about, especially the unemployment of young people, which can be viewed as a security threat. There is no omnipotent State which provides secure employment. Small businesses operating at local level are the backbone of employment generation.

The same applies to other areas of human security, like food and health security. Environmental security, which was at the fourth place on the original 1994-list of the HDR, has increasingly local dimensions. Personal, community and political security are also increasingly "local" and since the late 1980s, there has been an increasing focus on community safety issues in Europe, and a realization of the social and economic implications that have an impact on local communities. Under the framework of community planning, 'Safer Communities' is now a strategic priority of key players who can collectively build safer, more inclusive, healthier, more economically attractive and vibrant communities.

UNDP is not just promoting the human security approach at conceptual level, through reports and policies, but also uses its framework for country programming. United Nations' global development network designed to help people all over the world to build a better life is one example. Small Arms' and Light Weapons' (SALW) control, security and development is another one. Both are inter-related factors in successfully addressing and improving human development through human security.

Human security can also be defined as **freedom from fear**. Given the fact that human development is often defined as **freedom from want**, the mutually reinforcing link between the two becomes obvious. Again, translating this conceptual framework into practice, the local level of policies and programs emerges as critically important.



But what is “local level of policies and programs”? Isn’t it the process and the predecessor of decentralization? It is, indeed, and this is the reason why UNDP in Macedonia has devoted so much efforts and resources to supporting the process of decentralization. By encouraging this process, we actually improve human security. With the ongoing decentralization process, governance was brought to the most local level in many areas that have significant impact on human security, namely education, social care, local economic development, land management, firefighting and basic healthcare. In order to ensure the most fruitful and enduring results in sustaining human development and human security, UNDP promotes the concept of holistic and participatory approach to local development, with wide involvement of all development agents. One main goal being pursued with the decentralization process is to improve the overall efficiency of the public sector and to increase access of local services so as to improve the lives of all citizens wherever they reside in the country. But in addition, the decentralization process has the promise of strengthening democratic representative institutions and of significantly contributing to national solidarity and the political cohesiveness of the country.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We need to also recognize importance of individual action and bottom-up approach for human development and human security. It does not mean dismantling the state and central government; just the opposite - it means strong state institutions, capable of delivering efficient services to the citizens and functioning in synergy with self-government. The **complementarity** between the competent, effective and efficient state structures and bottom-up self-governance **is key to human security**, particularly in post-conflict environments like the Balkans. But this requires expanding people’s opportunities as well. Conflicts may easily find a fertile soil when development is not well balanced among the different groups and regions of a given territory. Thus, a key to prevent such security threats is prevention and this requires, as a first step, good understanding and intelligent policy choices. In transition environment, where inequality rises and individuals and groups alike may fall behind, it also means **equity**. Economic growth should reach the extremely poor, otherwise its base is not built on secure foundations. This is especially important for ethnically mixed countries, where unbalanced economic development may get additional, political dimension which can lead to further ethnic divisions.

What can be done in this regard? I consider that a strong focus on human capacities – and education in particular – is a winning strategy. Proper education is one of the strongest responses against security threats, though it shows results only in the long-run. Economic entitlements and individual property rights must be subject to the rule of law, without exception. The baseline is that there must be a policy in place that gives

a platform for the manifestation of these principles; otherwise they remain abstract or even non-existent.

This policy cannot be top-down. The individuals in any group are best positioned to describe the details of their insecurity, and propose options for addressing them through respective policy measures. This is how, again, we come to bottom-up approaches and self-governance, which entail at least three basic elements: **citizen preferences and public choice; citizen participation in generation and administration** of public goods and services; and citizen **participation in evaluation of quality and impact of public policies**, particularly those concerned with human security. Democratic planning could be one of the most powerful instruments of decentralization and local human development. It can help to focus public actions on social priorities; it involves people in problem identification and needs assessment; it raises conventional and unconventional resources through social organization, and above all, it gives people ownership on the local agenda. This suggests that the main challenge of democratic planning is to identify and develop the right mechanisms and instruments to improve public choice and decision-making processes following democratic precepts and practices.

Development of policy options and their implementation in any given case must be a result of good information flows between central and local authorities and ultimate beneficiaries. This is why UNDP considers it important to periodically conduct People-Centered Analysis, which should provide any policy and decision makers with solid, relevant data, based on information gathered from the ground.

Prevention is considered to greatest efficacy locally and planning is most informed and creative when it engages those most affected. Participatory governance is the best way to address the threats of human security. We at UNDP strongly believe in this concept, which is one of the reasons why most of our activities focus on the local level.

This kind of broad participation ensures, furthermore, inter-ethnic confidence, which is of significant importance in ethnically diverse regions, as is the South-east Europe. A creative and sensitive approach in policy making, which guarantees participation across ethnicities could be instrumental in transforming the status of a threat to one of security. Sometimes, the difference between these two choices is very small, even one simple gesture or statement, but yet, it needs to be done. We hope that in the near future, more positive steps will be done in order to make people feel more secure and more free to search for better choices.

Thank you!

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## **DECENTRALIZATION – OPPORTUNITIES AND/OR OBSTACLES FOR EFFECTIVE PREVENTION AND HUMAN SAFETY**

### **Introduction**

With the start of the process of decentralization two and a half years ago, the local self-government received legal competencies in several areas important for the lives of people. The gradual transfer of competencies and resources created certain preconditions necessary for strengthening the role of local authorities in the realization of the interests of their citizens. At the same time, the units of local self-government were also faced with large responsibility for successful implementation of new competencies they now had in all areas. The period for adjustment of the existing capacities to the new obligations of the 84 municipalities and the city of Skopje is still ongoing. As a matter of fact, experiences in other countries where this process has long been underway show that it is a complex and a long-lasting reform undertaking. What is needed for its successful implementation is - full dedication of the central and local governments, great deal of patience and additional investments in strengthening all capacities of the municipalities. The most important thing for the prosperity of our country and the efforts for our successful inclusion in the Euro-Atlantic integration processes is that the process of decentralization has a high priority on the agenda of the state agencies. It may also be said that there is some consensus between all political options and other interested parties for completion of the decentralization process gradually and in accordance with the conditions we live in. The municipalities in Macedonia over the past period -- and even nowadays -- function under different conditions, not only in financial and spatial terms, but also in terms of their technical and organizational, i.e. human capacities. This practically means that they are limited in their efforts to fully carry out their competencies at an equally qualitative level, due to the differences in their capacities and resource that they have at hand. Along these lines, it should also be mentioned that the multiple changes of the territorial organization of the country also had its impact on the continuity in the development of some municipalities. In spite of the efforts over the past period, the state failed to ensure fully harmonized development of the units of local self-government in the country.

### **Advantages of a decentralized local self-government**

The local self-government may, by all means, be also defined as an organization based on the interests and needs of the citizens of common development, with a particular focus on, or with an overarching goal of, improving the life in a community, thus becoming effective means for wider inclusion of all, even of its isolated or marginalized members, as well as for reducing the potential sources of crisis and conflicts.

The reasons that were identified as being of utmost importance for more favorable end-results of the local authorities – as compared to those achieved by the central government in the same areas of competence until recently - are as follows:

- Identification of the citizens to the development results,
- Higher motivation of local authorities and the citizens
- Enhanced information to local authorities and citizens,
- More goal-driven way of thinking by local authorities and citizens for the future development of the community,
- Improved conditions for the vision of additional opportunities for development: financial and non-financial.

In the past, municipal authorities mostly relied on their own capacities and, by engaging all available natural and other resources, as well as by rational use of those resources, were mainly able to somehow cope with the increased scope of obligations. Some of them are successfully using the advantages offered by the inter-municipal cooperation in different areas of common interest, i.e. the funds that come into the country through various projects and programs in the form of donations or investments from the international community, aimed at strengthening the capacities of the local self-government. Certain municipalities – economically better off – have ensured additional financial support for the achievement of the visions and objectives project it in their strategic documents from the local economic entities, from the state investment funds, as well as by direct participation in projects for regional and cross-border cooperation.

All efforts undertaken by the local authorities over a relatively short time in the past may be felt by the citizens – more or less – as positive effects on their everyday life. If things continue in the direction of improving the employment opportunities at a local level,

far larger opportunities will be created for development of the community in all aspects, most of all in terms of local economic development, as the basis for all other planned activities. The weaknesses that are inevitably present in all such complex activities are increasingly recognizable and appropriate solutions for them are being sought. Such solutions do not always successfully deal away with problems, but this does not mean that the search for validated practices that will assist in minimizing or elimination of those issues should be given up. Raising the awareness of, and interest in, following the work of the local administration and the constant pressure of the public through the media, may be a successful corrective instrument, but also a motivator for responsible and transparent work.

### **Participative decision-making at a local level**

The principles of legality in the decision-making and equality before the law are certainly one of the most important ones for the local self-government when it comes to carrying out the competencies delegated. Together with the created possibilities for inclusion of the citizens of this process, local authorities may count on a far higher quality and implementation of the decisions made and of its other acts, being able at the same time to guarantee the protection of interests of all groups of citizens and of all other entities in the community.

Due to the very position of the local self-government in the system, there is a natural and most direct connection with the citizens. Municipalities should make use of this potential for successful planning and completion of the majority of their activities. In communities where local administration functions on the basis of partnership between the elected government representatives and the citizens, the process of decentralization will be successfully managed, and citizens will be able to be, most directly, included in the process of decision-making related to their rights and obligations. A local government that constantly creates mechanisms for inclusion of its citizens in the decision-making process may count on a wide support by all stakeholders in the community, thus also investing in building of public confidence in the government, which is not easy to create. In areas where members of several ethnic communities live together, local authorities have the obligation to ensure the exercise of all legal rights of the citizens of various ethnic affiliations and to create earned environment for equality and cohabitation, respecting the different cultural and social aspects. Despite the differences, citizens have no other choice but to share the material and other conditions for life and to join in the search for solutions to their existential and other issues. If the government is successful in recognizing the common challenges that are specific to each individual municipality, if there is realistic assessment and analysis of the situation and the possibilities for cooperation with the citizens, i.e. with the civil non-governmental sector, the identification of the best-exit solutions may then be successful and rational. This will significantly reduce the sources of conflicts and crisis in the community.

The inclusion of the wider public is of a great importance, as this will contribute to greater utilization of the available expert and working potential in carrying out the competencies on the part of the local government. At the same time, this will motivate citizens to regularly take part in the process of making important decisions, mostly because all those participating in such processes are in a position to directly feel the positive effects of each successfully completed activity, to be proud of the achieved results and to feel/respect those achievements as their own. It often may happen that citizens are tracked to take part in the realization of projects that are important for them as well, even by volunteering.

It is, therefore, of priceless importance that the intellectual capacity of the citizens in a community be put in function of developing the municipalities; this requires clearly expressed will by the Mayor and the Municipal Council, as well as developed mechanisms for them upon which the best initiatives of such kind will be realized.

Citizens are always ready to cooperate with the Government, provided that they feel honest readiness to be heard and have their suggestions of common interest seriously taken into consideration. With only one successful cooperation and mutual exchange of information, all potential sources of conflicts and crisis may be prevented and the consequences of various possible natural disasters and calamities may be minimized; in this context, the largest role to be played is that of the decentralized units of the institutions for dealing with crises and protection and rescue of citizens. One of the legal possibilities in this sense (citizen safety) is also the participation of the local authorities in the selection of the commanding officer of the police station in the municipality, which was not the case up until November 2007<sup>18</sup>. It is certain that, in the upcoming period, along with the strengthening of the municipal administration, conditions will be created for additional transfer of competencies in this and in the remaining areas.

As regards to the competencies in the field of urban affairs and spatial planning, which is an exceptionally sensitive segment of everyday life of the citizens, local authorities may take the advantage of all mechanisms for identification of the true situation out in the field, for conducting analysis of the expectations and real needs of all stakeholders, making use of the expertise of the competent institutions, setting priorities and satisfying the common and individual interests on basis of previously defined standards and criteria. The spatial planning and manner of managing construction land (which is still under the competence of the central government) is an important prerequisite for the overall development of the community; this is why this area calls for wide inclusion of all those who may contribute to defining the best solutions, as the latter – as a rule – have long-term consequences. The approach is also similar when it comes to implementing the plans in the area of communal infrastructure, protection of the environment and local economic development: all those are plans that represent

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<sup>18</sup> Article 24 of the Law on Police, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 114/2006

fundamental values for the development of the communities accompanied by investing considerable finances, which are mainly to come from the municipal budgets. The skills in managing the investments in these areas, as well as the transparency and accountability in using the funds collected from the citizens on various grounds may, to a large extent, prevent the sources of conflicts in the community and enhance the feeling of safety among the people. The mechanisms for conscientious decision-making, based on accurate data and expert analysis, should always dominate the process of decision-making by the local government. It is only in this way that the plans may be effectuated and the results will be respected. The strategic plans in these areas must always be born in mind, but also adjusted to the reality, i.e. to the new regulations and conditions. Everything that a local administration plans and implements is of concern for the citizens; the latter, by paying the taxes, duties and other charges pursuant to the Law on Financing Units of Local Self-Government and to other laws, indirectly finance those activities and this is why the responsibility of all those participating in the decision-making process in a municipality should be of the highest level. Any wrong decision, i.e. a decision with no built-in mechanism for coping with possible risks in the implementation of such decisions (such as, for instance, a plan for monitoring and assessing the progress) will in reality bring down the confidence in the local government and increases the dissatisfaction that the citizens may express by democratic (and, sometimes even by non-democratic) means, thus causing conflicts and conditions for crisis.

In this context, no less important are also the other competencies delegated to the local self-government (education, culture, social and health protection, sports and recreation, protection and rescue of people and material goods, etc.<sup>19</sup>), where a well-conceptualized policy, developed along with the other entities that still have certain competencies in this part, may lead to the construction of a system of provisioning high-quality services in line with all modern standards. This may have concrete impact on the protection and safety of all groups of citizens, particularly of children, adolescents, women and people with special needs. It is encouraging to see that there is recognition on the part of the majority of the municipalities of the opportunities offered by the education when it comes to prevention of crisis and protection of the most vulnerable group of citizens, i.e. children and adolescents. The legal powers that the local self-government has to affect the successful management of the elementary and secondary education create real conditions for improvement of the situation, although the realization of this will require considerable time. Investments that will be channeled into the education via municipalities – both from the national budget and from international donors – will, after many years of problems, now help in the renovation of a portion of the spatial conditions in the existing buildings. This will increase the safety during the stay of the students, teachers and non-teaching staff in the schools, which will not only affect the quality of teaching itself to a considerable extent, but will also raise the level of

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<sup>19</sup> Article 22 of the Law on Local Self-Government, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia No. 05/2002

satisfaction among the citizens. Municipalities having better material resources are already in a position to invest in complete renovation of the existing educational and social buildings, in building new ones, but also in modernizing the teaching process and enriching the extra-curriculum activities with new content.

### **Possibilities for prevention under conditions of decentralized powers**

The local self-government offers numberless opportunities, which depend on the capacity of each unit of local self-government (ULSG) individually. On a general level, the following are some of the identifiable opportunities opened for the local authorities:

1. Decisions made at local level are always more sensitive to the local conditions, are more appropriate to the local needs and leave a space for a higher degree of responsibility and transparency, thus improving the management and human development. Everything that the local authorities plan and implement in close cooperation with the citizens is a guarantee for the quality of the assessments, decisions and activities overall. Herewith, the responsibility for everything that is not imposed, but is a way to satisfy the majority interests of the community, is felt as one's own and is defended by accountable and transparent behavior of the main players. The collective pride in such achieved results is, in fact, building self-respect of all individuals involved in the process and motivation for further, similar joint activities, based on the same principles.
2. There is a wide inclusion and representation of all ethnic groups in the process of political decision-making at a local level and this may contribute to the prevention of possible inter-ethnic and other conflicts. By promoting togetherness and setting, and attaining higher goals that are in the interest of the majority of the citizens in a community, economic, social, cultural, and most of all ethnic differences between the members of a certain community are overcome; in this way, people join forces around a common human objective that surpasses stigma, misconceptions and misunderstandings. Conditions for direct communication at the local level allow for development of positive values that people by definition own, build a dam to everything that is destructive and obsolete, and simply erase all artificially set borders and differences between people that are imposed, most of all by "higher" politics, which is increasingly losing its humane aspect and is becoming alienated in its own elitism, thus becoming almost insensitive to the problems of the ordinary citizen.
3. If human development is defined as a process of enhancing the opportunity to select the people, then the possibility for the human individual to live a long, healthy and quality life, to be better educated and to have a decent living standard, should be a maximally guaranteed and protected category. The local



economic policy, therefore, ought to generally be oriented towards the human development, primarily focused on reducing poverty, increasing equality among people and employment opportunities, inclusion in the social mainstream, high-quality education and health and social protection at a certain, guaranteed level, in accordance with defined standards. Decentralization may contribute to the improvement of human development, provided that it is aimed at just participation in the process of making political decisions and wider participation of citizens in the decisions that directly affect their everyday living.

### **Expectations from the decentralization**

The success of the decentralization process is to be measured by the degree to which it will help improve the quality of life and the equitable access of the population to development opportunities. The increased level of professionalism of the executive and administrative bodies in a municipality, along with the improved communications with the citizens and inclusion of the latter in the decision-making process, should all maintain the positive trend in the management with municipalities. Decentralization should maintain its high priority on the political agenda, and the decentralized approach to the local development may be a sustainable way for consistent introduction of attainable multiculturalism in an ethnically and culturally diversified country, as well as for ensuring an accelerated economic and social prosperity of the community.

In future, decentralization should be directed as much as possible to bringing the Government close to the people in the most direct way and to reducing the sources of crisis and conflicts, not only through the ULSG, but – even more so – through other mechanisms, such as the local neighborhood self-governing units.

### **Other opportunities and threats for improved human safety at a local level**

Human safety may also be increased by reduction of the threats to the development in general, but also to the groups of citizens at risk in particular. Often, the groups at risk are economically and socially marginalized or consisted of certain members of minority ethnic communities. The central government has traditionally been attempting to control the parts inhabited by minority ethnic communities, in order to minimize any possible attempts for secession. Fortunately, however, this trend has taken quite a different route over the past decades, as a result of the raised awareness about equality and the complete inclusion of minority communities in all social mainstreams. It becomes increasingly clear that, whenever minority communities have larger autonomy and development opportunities, the smaller the chances for their involvement in a violent conflict.

To secure human safety, the directly affected groups need to be identified, as well as the economic, environmental and social-cultural sources of threat they are faced with, and the strategies that they employ themselves to cope with crises and pressures, and in particular mechanisms they have at disposal in the management with conflicts/challenges they face. Such research may best be done at a local level through the opportunities provided/supported by the local authorities, which represents the interests of all groups of citizens or through partnerships between the authorities and the civil sector, which allows for the inclusion of a wider circle of representatives of the local community. The existence of appropriate capacity and access to timely and accurate information are integral parts of this process. Building appropriate capacities of the local authorities to assume larger responsibilities and to be able to cooperate with the other governmental and non-governmental institutions is a key element for success of the decentralization and coping with poverty by the local self- government. It must not be forgotten that even those who are poor have a need to be educated, to provide education for their children, and access to information and an opportunity to take part in the decision-making process.

Decentralization may result in a state-of-the-art system for local planning and creation of policy for development of the community. The centralized planning is often a result of a compromise between the higher government instances' will to give up the control and the poor coordination between various institutions at local levels, which are entrusted with similar obligations and tasks. The remaining threats belong to the categories: institutional structures, financial liabilities, and human resources management. What is common for the first two categories are the burdened coordination and exchange of information and the low capacity, but also the inadequate manner of selecting the employees and their deployment to jobs that are not always the right ones for them. There are several problems with the management of human resources, which is inherited from the old system of centralized planning and governance. As a result, it often happens even nowadays that the central government attracts the better qualified workers, while employees in the local government have a relatively lower qualification structure and skills that are required for carrying out the duties and tasks. In this sense, it should also be noted here that there is still a high degree of politicized relations, both in the process of recruitment and employment and in the functioning of the employed public officials in the municipal administration, which has an adverse impact on the end-results.

With regard to the additional preconditions required for planning human safety at local level, the following is of utmost importance:

- Solid political basis,
- Strategy, developed by the central government,
- Capacity to identify the threats to the development of the target vulnerable groups
- Sufficiently wide space and potential for resolving certain conflicts.

In communities populated by inhabitants of different ethnic and cultural affiliation, the local government is often composed of members of the majority community, which may imply less than sufficient understanding of the needs of the minority. The increasing percentage of representation of women in the Government is also something that is a consequence of the sensibility of political parties and the public in terms of the issue of equal gender representation. Local authorities often abuse the power in the local community, manipulating the information and investing in the development of only one group, to which they belong themselves.

Local elites may use local power to their own personal benefit as well, which often results in limited opportunities for the poor and the vulnerable groups. Even under conditions of full functioning of the legal mechanisms in force, which relate to the wide representation of the economically and socially marginalized groups, additional effort and support are still needed for the latter to be well organized and secured by having sufficient information and to be able to exercise their rights and take active part in the process of decision-making and governing.

To ensure that the advantage of the decentralization will be utilized, gradual investments in building the capacities of the local authorities need to be made. Decentralization is transfer of power and resources from the central down to local level, as well as transfer of the bureaucratic type of governing into governing by the citizens of the communities. This, most of all, means existence of an expressed will of the national government to give over the majority of power, resources and capacities to the local government; on the other hand, it will allow for a successful utilization of the newly acquired resources for future local development and reducing poverty.

The increased trend towards electronic practicing of power (e-government) is of particular interest, as it provides an opportunity to standardize the needs of information and enhanced exchange of information between the various government institutions, improvement of the delivery of services to the citizens and to other users and increased transparency and responsibility. Although this creates more opportunities for improvement of the planning of, and management with, the development projects in the context of decentralization, the resistance to the changes is also notable. A portion of the state officials in the local government will, by no means, accept to change their current (and past) approach to the work and be open in their decision-making. In parallel to this, there is an increase in the need of e-government and of participative planning, using, above all, the advanced information technology. Where it is already used to strengthen and mobilize the community, it results in improved relations between the government and the citizens, leads to rapid positive changes, increased demands for/expectations of accountability in the decision-making processes and minimizing the power of the local bureaucracy to abuse its authority. It is also needed to create appropriate trainings for coping with the technical aspects linked with the modern technologies, but also with the other challenges, such as: development of the awareness of advantages from using

technology, openness to exchange of information, as well as the willingness to give up full control of power.

In the direction of more efficient carrying out the competencies of the local self-government and bringing the municipal authorities closer to the citizens, the mechanism of the civil service centers is put to use, which will communicate with the citizens in the most direct manner and refer them to the ways of optimal exercise of their right. These municipal offices have been set up on a voluntary basis, with a financial support of the international donors and further maintenance of their functioning with the assistance of budget funds of the municipality, which has decided on its own to provide such service for its citizens. The creation of this model of openness of the municipal administration towards the citizens results in abandoning the non-efficient and obsolete practice of sending citizens through the mazes of public administration and exposing them to possible non-professionalism and corruptive behavior. Instead, what is being introduced is circulation of the documents that are ex officio distributed through all sectors and units of the municipality, for the purpose of their processing. Herewith, software solutions are also put to use for electronic management of the documents, for the use of which the employees undergo appropriate training.

The accessibility of the municipal services for the citizens through the civil service centers means provisioning of the mentioned services under defined and standardized procedures and deadlines that minimize the arbitrariness or lethargy of the public administration. These procedures can help reduce the possibility of arbitrary decision-making by some of the bodies and state officials on issues of their competency, as in this way they are obliged to abide by the determined criteria and legal deadlines in their operation. These procedures create realistic conditions for minimizing the opportunities for corruption, as the procedures themselves significantly reduce such possibilities, narrowing down, at the same time, the room for possible political interventions in the decision-making process. In addition to creating opportunities to limit corruption<sup>20</sup>, standardized procedures will also prevent marginalization of certain groups of citizens who have, in the past, often been placed on the periphery of societal, cultural and political activities of the local self-government, which was already mentioned on several occasions earlier in this text as a source of certain conflicts. This type of operation affirms the principle of equality of all citizens living on the territory of a municipality, regardless of their ethnic, gender, religious and political affiliation or choice, through transparent behavior of the elected and employed management bodies in the local self-government, which helps the citizens exercise their guaranteed rights.

The introduction of municipal service centers for the needs of the citizens is not a one-off activity, but a long-term continuous process, which has prospects of being

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<sup>20</sup> Law on Prevention of Corruption, "Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia" No. 28/2002, 46/2004 and 126/2006 and 2007 Working Program of the State Commission for Prevention of Corruption ([www.dksk.org.mk](http://www.dksk.org.mk))

upgraded over time and gradually, through learning and developing on their own experience and the experience of the more developed democracies, all with the aim of increasing the level of satisfaction of the public with the local authorities and of raising the quality of the lives of the citizens in general.

The benefits of such transformation, in the sphere of direct communication with the citizens, is multiple; it is manifested in developing better professional relations between the municipal bodies and optimal use of the human resources available. On the other hand, it reduces the time period that the citizens would need to receive the specific service from the municipality, reducing, at the same time, the financial expenditures that the citizen would have. The above said creates a relationship of a higher quality between the citizens and the municipality; the latter, by offering to service the needs of its citizens is already building its authority of a government that it always at disposal to the citizens and their needs, which – on the other hand – is most directly reflected in an increased satisfaction among the citizens with the functioning of the local self-government.

The above stated value principles may only be achieved in an environment of consistent respect for the laws and the rule of law, which undoubtedly leads to building a loyal attitude of the citizens towards the local government, thus strengthening the mutual relations and achieving, at the same time, accelerated development of the community, such that would also be useful for the society as a whole.

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## **RECOGNIZING HUMAN DIMENSION OF SECURITY: CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE CONCEPT IN MACEDONIA**

### **Introduction**

„Less confidence implies less security”<sup>21</sup>

Over the last two decades, a series of issues was initiated in the expert and political debates, with a focus on security, conflicts, human rights, development, and integration as exceptionally important and inter-related concepts. Analyzed through the prism of postmodern, global society, these issues caused more controversial discourse than a consensus on the essence of the concepts and their application. Consequently, this also caused turbulent shifts in the understanding of the basic concept of security, which -in parallel with the political changes caused by the disintegrations and conflicts following the Cold War - was restructured with the integrations and interdependency and set within wider and deeper theoretical parameters.

In this context, there is a dominating understanding that security, as a basic concept, is not only a state of the country and a product of the international security environment, but is also a social construction and consequence of factors affecting concurrently the security of the individual, as well.

This, wider understanding has created prerequisites for the introduction of the concept of human security as a new level of understanding the growing threats to the survival of humanity and the individuals in a globalized world<sup>22</sup>. The politization and

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<sup>21</sup> J. Peter Burges: Non-military security challenges; in Craig A. Snyder, (ed.): Contemporary Security and Strategy; London Palgrave, 2007

<sup>22</sup> The problems surrounding the concept focused on how to approach the contemporary understanding of security if both the state and individual are regarded as equally significant security subjects, while their survival in the globalized world may be challenged by various - but not always of the same type - threats. (e.g., pandemia, diseases, poverty, AIDS, humanitarian catastrophes, terrorism, ethnic conflicts). See more about the critical approach in Krause, K. and Williams, M.C. eds. Critical Security Studies: Cases and Concepts, Borderlines Volume 8, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997

operationalization of the concept and its penetration into the policy of the regional forces have contributed to the formulation of various political strategies for its implementation. Thus, an entry was also made into a deep and multidirectional process of re-examination of the theoretical and practical political strategies for the realization of human security, for the threats that need to be removed, i.e. for the most efficient policies and instruments for its realization.

The process was seriously and more clearly placed in the context of the SEE and Western Balkan countries, a region perceived as space in which the democratic norms and the norms of humanity and respect for human rights and diversities have been repressed over the past period burdened with conflicts and violence. The consequences of the conflicts went on to produce insecurity, and - in the post-conflict period when peace was being built - were a framework in which the human security-related issues were still burning and even more complex. In fact, the lack of democratic norms and the insufficient political and institutional capacity to avoid risks contributing to renewal of conflicts were, in fact, not to be eliminated by the application of the short-term crisis management instruments.

On the contrary - the introduction of a long-term strategy, focused on the removal of risks and threats to citizen security, but understood more widely as freedom from want, may be accepted as an enhanced platform for stability and development. This also includes removal of risks of armed conflicts, but also risks of disrespect for the basic human rights and freedoms, risks of abuse and torture, of illegal human trafficking, crime, corruption or terrorism. The application of prevention as a conflict- preventing policy and a policy for reducing the deep causes for insecurity of the individual and not only of the state, will also mean opening serious space for bottom-up preventive action and ensuring a feeling of security in each local environment.

## **Security in the globalized and inter-dependent world**

Security, as a key concept related to the survival, is sustainability, as well as to the dangers and fear they cause, plays a significant role in and affects the human existence and experiences. Yet, traditionally, the understanding of the concept has been linked to the survival of the state and its relations with other states and, as a concept dominating the international studies, defined the state as a primary subject, but also as a primary provider of security<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Krame, Ghaleb (2003?): "What Do We Know About Security After Three Generations of Security Scholars? A Hermeneutic De-construction of "Security" as a Sub-Discipline in IR" ;

The dramatic changes in the security environment, especially following the end of the Cold War, caused by the enormous distribution of non-military risks, brought about changes in the understanding and perception of security. It is exactly the raised awareness of the relatedness and key impact of the non-military risks on security that contributed to having the latter re-conceptualized and to having the principles and instruments of the traditional security concept revised<sup>24</sup>.

In this direction, it is important to mention several issues that influenced to a certain extent the new understanding of security and the direction of the discourse, which contributed to crystallizing what is nowadays referred to as an expanded and deepened agenda of the international security studies.

The issue of how interdependency and globalization multiply the security problems and the way in which they overcome the barriers set by the state-centric international system emerged as primary issues in the international security studies and in other disciplines. Further on, the following question is also posed in a globalized security environment: in what way are the states and individuals, regions, sub-regions and human beings exposed to insecurity and risks, i.e. how and by what means is security to be achieved under conditions of mutually induced insecurity and under conditions of security inter-dependency. The debates and attempts to crystallize the new understanding of security have had the most essential impact on the promotion of relatively new concepts that will allow for a new perception of security.

One of the most exposed and influential concept - emerged from all those debates - was the human security concept. The security in the international relations, analyzed through the human security concept, comes closer to the individuals and their need of security, analyzes more the fears causing insecurity of citizens; it may be concluded then, that the concept is making an attempt to open up and expand the security by developing its human dimension.

Thus, the contemporary understanding of security is increasingly losing the features that used to define the traditional security concept dominated by the state-centric model, with new features appearing, according to which security is recognized as a complex issue, affected by the dynamic processes of globalization. Thus, for instance, one of the recognizable features of security is becoming the high level of commercialization of the process during which the security needs are met. According to Burges, security may be bought on the market in this process, just as one buys any other product<sup>25</sup>. The cases when the police or army (which have a key position and role in the

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<sup>24</sup> Georgieva L.: Management of Risks, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje, 2006

<sup>25</sup> See more details about this in J. Peter Burges: Non-military security challenges; in Craig A. Snyder, (ed.): Contemporary Security and Strategy; London Palgrave, 2007

traditional national security system) may nowadays be completed with or replaced by private consultants and security companies to implement the security process, only affirm this claim.

Security, which, as it may be seen today, is provoked by the risks (as opposed to the threats occupying the attention in the traditional concept) increasingly relies on the high-technology achievements and less and less depends on the human potentials. This process, which may be described as *technologization of security*, will - according to the analysts - cause higher level of dependence on the "product" offered as the most efficient and easily accessible means for removal of the insecurity. The search for sophisticated and efficient instruments for reduction of insecurity and reliance on high-tech achievements also creates higher dependency in the process of attaining security...

Security is also becoming globalized. As the attributes of the state are exposed to revision and the borders and sovereignty are linked to new forms of threats, security - being the object of concern - is more and more linked to the risks. In this way, the real danger is upgraded with the perceptions of a virtual jeopardy, characterized as non-specific or atypical, but measurable danger<sup>26</sup>.

The long-lasting and dynamic debates about the previous (but also about other) issues pointed to an increasingly wide consensus on the fact that, under conditions of a globalized and interdependent society, security is not only an attribute of the state and a result of the dynamics of the international security environment, but that it is also a social construction and a consequence of factors that work at different levels (international, regional, local) and affect (in)security. As a result of the innovative understanding, security is perceived as a shared value, meaning that both the state and the individuals are equally significant security subjects<sup>27</sup>.

The process of turning security into a problematic issue in the globalized world also directed the debated towards more specific issues, including the evident need of filling the concept with what the critical studies imposed as priority: by revising the concept, it should be allowed for including the subjective dimensions of security, which are, most of all, related to freeing the individual from fear as well, rather than from threats only<sup>28</sup>. By uniting the critical discourse, the critical security studies are promoting the non-

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> In this direction, the critical and constructivist approach to security open new dimension through which security may be analyzed and defined. Instead of defining it as it used to be defined until the period before 9/11 (meaning absence of threats to the survival), it is suggested that it be defined as a state of absence of fear (not only of threat). More details in Georgieva L: *Management of Risks*, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje, 2006

<sup>28</sup> A wider overview of papers emerging from this critical approach to security includes: Ken Booth, "Security and Emancipation", *Review of International Studies*, 17:4, (1991), pp.313-327; Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds.) *Critical Security Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1997; Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods", *Mershon International Studies*

centralistic approach to security and - in a way - redo or re-conceptualize the security concept and yield different answers to the questions: *What is security? Security for whom? Security from what and by what means?* Giving the individual priority in the debates on security over the past two decades and supporting the direction of adding human aspects to security, critical studies have created a room for filtering the past views and approaches to achieving security of the individual and the states.

### **Human security, development and rights**

As regards to the concept of human security, it may be concluded that it has grown into a leading concept, used to clarify the meaning of the security of the individual. The concept, however, was instrumentalized and is more and more often treated in the practice as an instrument that may be used to also measure the capacity of the states to produce and guarantee security for their citizens. The 1994 UNDP Report had the most direct and wide-reaching influence on the promotion of the new concept in the debates on security, linking those debates explicitly with the development and prosperity as a prerequisite for sustainable security and with the exercise of the human rights. This Report caused wider and more fundamental debates since its publication, both in terms of the political priorities and the instruments of the states in the realization of their political ambitions and activities on the international arena, mostly for the purpose of setting a new focus of interest and action in coping with the security and humanitarian crises: towards security of the individual/citizen<sup>29</sup>.

The human security concept emerged from the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report. The Report concluded that the problem of the security until then was still too narrowly defined: as security of a territory from an external aggression; as protection of the national interests in the international political relations or as global security resulting from the nuclear holocaust... Herewith, what was marginalized was the legitimate concern of the ordinary people who experience security in their everyday

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Review, vol. 40, supplement 2 (1996), pp. 229-254; Keith Krause "Critical Theory and Security Studies: The Research Programme of 'Critical Security Studies'", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 33:3 (1998), pp.298-333; Richard Wyn Jones, *Security, Strategy, and Critical Theory*, Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner 1999; Bradley Klein, "Politics by Design. Remapping Security Landscapes", *European Journal of International Relations*, 4:3 (1998), pp.327-346; Bradley S. Klein, *Strategic Studies and World Order: The Global Politics of Deterrence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994;

<sup>29</sup> The examples of Canada, Japan, Switzerland, Norway and the development of their foreign policy are an instance of how the states apply it, but at the same time also exercise influence over the understanding of the human security and prevention. See more details about the different aspects of the human security policy in Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen (eds.): *Human Security Now; Report of the Human Security Commission*, NY, UN, May2003

lives<sup>30</sup>. Further on, the Report defines human security by including two aspects: the first one recognizes the chronic threats to the human beings, such as hunger, diseases and repression; the second one, on the other hand, acknowledges the urgent, sudden threats that people face in their everyday life, at their home, at the working place or in the community. The basic components of the human security concept - according to the Report - include: economic security (problems related to poverty); safe access to food; health security (providing access to health protection and protection against diseases); security of the environment; personal security (problems related to physical security from torture, war, criminal assaults, domestic violence, drugs, suicide, traffic security); community security (existence of the traditional culture and the ethnic groups, as well as their physical safety); political security (exercise of civil and political rights and protection against political pressure).

This formulation of human security remains the most frequently cited one and an illustration of how the human security concept is initially understood. The defined concept and the report itself went on to unlock the debates and activities in the international institutions, but also within the individual states, in the direction of adjusting and implementing the humanistic message built into the concept. Ten years later, in October 2005, the UN called on to the international institutions and states to become more engaged and initiative in the work on the human security issues, i.e. on globalization of the responsibility for human security<sup>31</sup>.

In the period since the initiation of the human security concept, at least two general directions were differentiated regarding the understanding and usability of the concept. One of them unites the interpretations of the concept that support the wider definition and interpretation of the concept and came about as a result of the initial vision of human security from the mentioned UNDP Report. The wider interpretation of the contents of the concept points to the need of satisfying the basic human needs related to the economic issues, health, food, and social and environmental issues, i.e. the concept is acknowledged as allowing for the needs<sup>32</sup>. The second direction unites the interpretations saying that the human security concept may be a usable analytical and political one only if it is reduced to the narrower understanding of the concept, described

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<sup>30</sup> Human Development Report; UNDP, 1994(New York: Oxford University Press,1994) str.22

<sup>31</sup> In 1999, the Japanese Government and the UN Secretariat introduced a new fund for human security (UNTFHS); in 2001, an independent (but supported by the Japanese Government) Human Security Commission was set up, led by the Nobel prize winner Amartya Sen and the ex UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata. In 2003, the Commission submitted to the UN the Human Security Now Report. Within the Office for Coordination of Human Affairs (OCHA) also introduced a human security unit, to instrumentalize and implement the human security concept. More about the report on <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org>

<sup>32</sup> This wider approach to human security is also used in the 2003 Human Security Commission Report which, in addition to the emphasis on the threats related to conflicts, also treats issues related to health security, education, basic freedoms.

as *freeing from fear*. This interpretation is, actually, narrowing the concept down to removing the threat or use of force and violence in people's everyday lives.

Anyway, both the wider and the narrower debate on the concept unite and confirm that the security of the individual is equally important as the one of the state, meaning that security - seen through the human dimension - is a much more complex problem than removal of danger of direct physical violence or aggression. These debates had a direct impact on the operationalization of the human security concept.

Along such lines, the Canadian Government accepted the narrower approach - setting up two main objectives in the promotion of human security and implementation of the Program adopted in 2002; first of all, the Government will advocate for political initiatives at a multilateral level, such as agreements against mines or establishment of an International Criminal Court; and, secondly, to initiate and realize active partnership with other governments and representatives of the civil society and through a bottom-up approach to promote the issues related to human security.

In 1999, Canada also put on the table the issue at the G-8 Summit, and in 2008 it initiated an independent International Commission for Intervention and State Sovereignty, which published the Responsibility to Protect Report in 2004. The report points to the responsibility of the governments to undertake a collective action and protect the victims of genocide, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity. Canada also initiated a network of states supporting the Human Security Network within the UN.

On the other hand, the Japanese Government accepted the wider concept of human security. The human security policy of the Japanese Government was formulated over the period between 1995 and 1997, under the influence of the Asian financial crisis, among other things. This is why new economic development strategies are sought for, such that will make the problems of the socially vulnerable groups easier.

The Swiss Government is the second co-founder of the Human Security Network (HSN) and its motives and activities are linked with the status of neutrality. In its approach, the Swiss Government includes issues of human rights, humanitarian and migration issues, civil aspects of peace-building and gender issues. Advocating the narrower approach within the HSN, the Swiss Government opens up the issue of small weapons and the international humanitarian law.

EU is yet another one of the key international actors who have accepted the human security concept and, in the report on the European security capacities, known as the Barcelona Report (2003), it concludes that the human security concept is the most appropriate security strategy for EU. In an attempt to formulate a specific and uniform approach to security through the report, it defines the principles of multilateralism and respect for human rights as the guiding principles in the attainment of security. Further on, it also identifies the human security principles and points to the need of combining the

military and civil capacities to ensure efficient civil crisis management. It is these aspects, i.e. the manner of instrumentalization of the concept in the Report in the direction of an „external security” that caused the most fierce criticism and skepticism<sup>33</sup>. Here, the critics underline that the EU is militarizing its CFSP, looking at the human rights - one of the principles of the concept - as to an „external” problem only. This is also further supported by the criticism related to the operationalization of human security, i.e. it defines the parameters of the European approach to security and offers recommendations for further development and implementation of the concept<sup>34</sup>.

These examples show that the human security concept has various forms of operationalization within the foreign policy of the developed countries and is mostly treated as an ambitious and open concept. In addition, critics believe the concept also includes issues that are impossible to clearly characterize as those belonging to the area of human security or in the sphere of development problems and the one of human rights<sup>35</sup>. The dilemmas are implicit in the skepticism which claims that interventions may be abused as instruments of the international politics by implementing the concept of human security in the name of human rights, i.e. by neglecting the fact that violations of human rights may, at the same time, generate or be generated by violent conflicts, i.e. by overlooking the fact that economic under-development is the cause and generates inequality.

This, in practice, shows that the relation between security and development is a complex one, that it is not possible to achieve development unless the basic level of security is provided and vice versa - development is a prerequisite for security. Therefore, the questions of the type: Can poverty generate violence in society? Can urbanization or inappropriate health protection generate conflicts? Which problems related to the identity and survival of communities may generate civil violence? - may also not be treated as being of secondary importance and insignificant. Hence, human security may also be understood as a cluster of policies that are needed to protect the vulnerable communities which cross the borders and which individual governments are not able to tackle on their own<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> A Human Security Doctrine (2004) The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Capabilities, Barcelona, September 15, p. 12

<sup>34</sup> A European Way of Security (2007) The Madrid Report of the Study Group on Europe's Capabilities, Madrid, November 8, p. 16

<sup>35</sup> Roland Paris, Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air? International Security, Vol.26. no.2 (Fall 2001)

<sup>36</sup> Alison Brysk, Expanding the politics of human rights? The promise and limits of a human security approach, ”



## **Regional complexity as a framework for conceptualizing and practicing human security**

The relation between the national and human security is one of the key relations that need to give the answer to several essential dilemmas, including the one related to the primary status of one concept in relation to the other. Several significant UN documents show that the state is primarily responsible not only for its own security, but also for the security of its citizens, for human security. States, as well as the citizens, are exposed to lower or higher risks and levels of insecurity, which the process of globalization has defined with a new frame and priorities (terrorism, global warming, weak states). The dilemma as to whether such risks have more impact on the security of the states or on that of individuals, i.e. whether the problems of environmental, nuclear, economic security, internal conflicts and ethnic violence present a challenge to the individuals within a state, in addition to being a challenge to the state itself; those individuals being: society in general, social groups, and citizens, may hold the key to many answers. What represents a threat to the survival of the state surely represents a threat to the citizens, as well. Yet, it is not always the case that the threats that pose a threat to the citizens are also threats to the state. It follows that the concept of human security needs to be treated as a separate one.

The validity and usability of the concept - mostly valorized through the regional specificities and dynamics - are yet another dilemma. Looked from this perspective, the recent analyses that treat conceptual dilemmas, regional challenges and currently hot issues related to human security shed light on the concept from different angles.

Thus, the UNESCO analysis, which presents the concept through the aspects of socio-economic insecurity, health and environment security, migrations and safety, cultural identity, personal freedoms and political security in Western Europe, provides an answer to some of the dilemmas that have been accompanying the development of the concept<sup>37</sup>. What is significant is that the analysis makes an attempt to overcome one of the key contradictions regarding the question of how Western democracies approach the concept, i.e. that the human security concept is not exclusively designed to resolve the problems of the underdeveloped countries and the insecurity of their citizens.

The expanded concept of human security and the Western European context presented in this report allow for (as deduced in the conclusion) a re-definition of the concept in a certain way and overcoming the barriers between the external and internal dimension of the security policy. This is recognizable - on one hand - in the tendency of

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<sup>37</sup> J.P.Burges et al.: Promoting Human security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in Western Europe, UNESCO, 2007, str.98

the integration processes of EU to surpass the differences between the national and supranational base of formulation and implementation of the policy, even on the issue of security. The second aspect is recognized in the tendency to link the interdependency of the world with the interdependency of the threats and to locate the risks to human security in this, specific Western European context. It is through these tendencies and the expanded concept that the report supports the principle of monitoring and protecting human rights, the latter being both the basic fundament of, and a precondition for security-for-all-and-anywhere-in-the-world.

On the other hand, the analysis which includes the countries in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, the problem of defining the human security concept is exposed via linking the risks related to *freedom from want*<sup>38</sup>. Unlike the Western regional concept, the Eastern and Central European context - in addition to linking the content of the concept with the problems related to the freedom from want as economic insecurity, health and environment insecurity - also add the issues of freedom from fear of war, organized crime, migrations. The analysis encompasses a specific set of issues tackling the two aspects of the concept - both freedom from fear and freedom from want.

### **Humanizing security via regional and local perspectives**

The issue and problems of human security in Macedonia may be located in at least two parallel processes that used to be taking place in and around the country in the course of the past decade and a half. The process of gaining independence and the long-lasting transition most of all differentiated a group of issues related both to setting the problem and ensuring security for the state and to ensuring security for the citizens and the various vulnerable groups. The regional dynamics and the escalation and spill-over of the conflicts in Bosnia, from Kosovo, raised the sharper edge of the issues related to the direct armed and ethnic violence, refugees and displaced, illegal weapons, crime and corruption, environmental degradation. Ensuring the basic feeling of security under conditions of a still fragile peace has differentiated the agenda of human security in the region in the form of common content and mutual problems, having in mind that a large number of them have been or are present as direct or potential threat to the security of states and citizens. What may be derived as a key common feature is the fact that the danger of occurrence and spill-over of inter-ethnic violence, as well as the problems of illegal arms, refugees and displaced, crime, have been inducing or imposing a double - or, more precise, partial - perception of the human security concept in the region.

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<sup>38</sup> Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh & Odete Tomescu-Hatto at. all: Promoting Human security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in Eastern Europe, UNESCO, 2007, str. 11-23

As a consequence of those forms and intensity of insecurities, the international stakeholders accepted and, generally in the region, practiced the approach of *freeing from fear, applying the same tools for managing acute crises, followed afterwards by strategies* for post-conflict peace-building. On the other hand, there is a dominant perception in the region (already devastated by the ethno-political confrontations and economic stagnation) that even the problems of poverty, unemployment, social exclusion, corruption, education, all equally (and now even deepened) contribute to the increased level of insecurity among the citizens. As opposed to the expectations that only international intervention and assistance will prevent violence and will resolve conflicts, the region is increasingly faced with a perception that the chances for peace will be greater if the causes for inequality, social exclusion and distrust are reduced. In this direction, the unemployment, poverty, corruption and crime are regarded as symptoms of insecure societies that are going through serious transition diseases - symptoms that will continue to generate insecurity and incite resurrection of the old or occurrence of new conflicts, until such time as they are equally embedded in the content of human security. In this sense, the prevention of future conflicts and violence should, to a large extent, be set as a long-lasting process that will equally mean stabilization and strengthening of the capacity of the states in the region for democratic and constructive coping with the common problems, on one hand, while - on the other hand - it will also mean strengthening their capacity to protect the citizens from both the effects of structural economic and social problems, and from the forms of direct violence caused by extremist or criminal groups.

The dilemma about the achievement of human security in Macedonia was raised through several problems in the theoretical, expert and political debates. Although many of the problems related to human security have come to the surface as serious issues with the process of transformation of the Macedonian society, they - from theoretical or practical and political perspective - were not framed into a single human security agenda. For instance, the problems of unemployment, poverty, education, human and minority rights, crime, corruption, rule of law, etc. - despite the fact that they have constantly been at the top of the problems of the Macedonian society, were still treated as individual and, to some extent, unrelated problems.

Each of these problems, at a certain point in time, emerged as exceptionally critical to the citizens; we may even state that they were also subject to securitization or attempts to that effect. This primarily happened in the case of minority and ethnic issues, namely the issue of ethnic-political identity, human rights and mother-language education. This set of questions stood out as a key aspect of the concept of human security in Macedonia, given the forms and consequences of conflict-laden conduct. The problems connected with human security emerged as topical through three groups of issues. This primarily occurred with the minority and ethnic issues, namely the issue of ethnic-political identity, human rights and mother-language education. The consequences of the different perception of the importance of the issue of interethnic relations, of

unequal division of political power by ethnic, and not by ideological and democratic principles, created the preconditions conducive to ever wider differences, easier ethnic-political mobilization and acceptance of violence as a means of political action. The armed conflict of 2001 raised the sharper edge of the issues of human security in that on hand, it was continuously stressed that violence was used in the name of achieving human rights, while on the other hand, legitimacy was given to the defence of territorial integrity and the attacks on the institutions of the state. Hence the acceptance of the more attenuated approach defined by the fear and elimination of armed violence, addressing the problems concerning refugees and displaced persons, personal security and the security of the communities.

On the other hand, the problems of organized crime, criminal violence, illegal trafficking of women and children, as well as problems which are continuously present and represent a part of the human security agenda have been raised. These questions have been looked at as catalysts of insecurity on a regional, national and on a local level. Their connections and complexity are recognized through the perception that they represent a chronic disease for the region which, through the string of regional initiatives, is trying to resolve them with a small or limited success.

The socio-economic dimension is distinguished as a third dimension of human security which forms equally through poverty and unemployment problems, as well as through other forms of social insecurity, the special dimensions of human security.

Although we are talking about three differentiated aspects of human security, it should be stressed that each of them is equally important for the citizens' security; however, they are mutually connected aspects, as well. The apparent domination of the ethno-political aspects on the problems connected with achieving and respecting human rights in unequal economic and social conditions with insufficiently built and inefficient institutions makes the human security issue extremely complex.

One of the key problems to be resolved is to determine the common, shared agenda of the problems and issues which the Macedonian citizens recognize and feel as factors which contribute to their insecurity. This will contribute to the removal of the feeling that the problems which one community mostly perceives as causes of insecurity and part of the human security agenda will not constitute the causes of insecurity and, in turn, will not be perceived as part of an agenda that runs contrary to human security. In this respect, a careful and continuous analysis of the real and subjective reasons for the citizens' insecurity is needed so as to design a sensitized policy in relation to the attainment of human security in Macedonia.

Nevertheless, by following the trend of opening the problems and formulating the human security agenda, it can be said that only after 2001 were these problems connected (at least in terms of analysis) by virtue of establishing links between certain problems in a human development index. According to the 2004 report put together by

UNDP on the Human Development Index, Macedonia is ranked 84th, as a state with a medium level of development<sup>39</sup>. Furthermore, in achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals, Macedonia joins the global agenda of improved human development through attainment of eight components: reducing poverty, achieving a universal primary education, gender equality, decreasing child mortality, increasing mother health, prevention and fight against AIDS and other diseases, environmental improvements and forging global development partnership<sup>40</sup>.

In this way, through issues registered as part of the problems which the state should tackle in order to receive an invitation for EU and NATO membership, a human security agenda is additionally formulated. The priorities of fulfilling the membership criteria, in addition to leading towards efficient institutions, the rule of law, strengthening of democratic processes, nonetheless underline, in the core of these processes, the efficiency of the state and its institutions in terms of ensuring stability, prosperity and development of its own citizens. Prevention, as a principle of functioning within these processes, is of a major importance for the efficient functioning of institutions on the one side and enhanced citizens' confidence on the other side.

The raising of public awareness of the connection between security and development in general is what contributed to the reinforcement and further formulation of the problem of human security, namely between the security of the state and the prosperity and safety of the citizens. Meanwhile, the clarification of the problems representing an obstacle or a threat to achieving the development can be also defined as an obstacle to achieving human security.

The critical view of the academic and expert community contributed to the strengthening of the debate on human security in Macedonia regarding the current practice and experience in achieving human security. Generally, this debate is aimed at highlighting the advantages of preventive and soft mechanisms for reducing the risks and threats, such as structural prevention of conflicts and peace-keeping, as well as the broader approach to peace-building, which does not focus solely on removing the direct forms of violence, but also on structurally indirect violence. The forms of prevention applied in Macedonia which, as instruments for achieving security and removing the causes of conflicts were above all those falling into the group of short-term mechanisms, were criticized as part of the narrow international agenda of human security which increasingly relies on the hard mechanisms.

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<sup>39</sup> The report itself is based on formulating an index which incorporates three composite factors: life expectancy, meaning and a decent life standard. According to the report, Skopje has the highest index (0.806); the urban municipalities have a medium index 0.796 while the rural ones have 0.765. More details on the data and methodology of the report in the NHDR 2004, Macedonia, Decentralization for Human Development, UNDP, 2004.

<sup>40</sup> The first report on achieving the Millennium Development Goals has been published by the State Statistical Office in 2005.

## Local microsphere of human security

In establishing the local microsphere of human security, we can use real and subjective indicators. But in the first attempt to formulate it, another complex problem is detected in addition to the problem of the poorly defined concept: paucity of systematic data and information on certain issues defining the human security agenda. One of the analytical instruments enabling the monitoring of the subjective indicators is the survey of public perception conducted by UNDP as a segment of development of the Early Warning Report. In this report, questions are continuously asked on the basis of which we can create a general picture of the risks which concern citizens the most. In one of the questions, 15 factors are listed, which are considered as part of the risk agenda of the gravest concern to the Macedonian population (corruption, region instability, ethnic problems, unemployment, crime, smuggling, presence of light and small firearms, government policy, social security, poverty, education, high prices, terrorism, degradation of the environment and an improper usage of the resources and economy). Although the list can be broader and closer to the concept of human security, still, out of the factors listed unemployment, corruption and poverty are perceived as most disconcerting factors for a longer period of time<sup>41</sup>.

The indicators according to which the highest percentage of citizens are most concerned about the influence of structural, social factors, show that citizens are not indifferent, namely that the social processes strongly influence the perception of the risks and the feeling of security, while the number of those who believe *nothing can be a concern to them* is insignificant. Although it can be assumed that the frequency of the events which are perceived as a threat, and the intensity of a problem, can significantly influence the citizens' perception and impose some other priority risk factor, the feeling of structural insecurity, according to this research (unemployment, poverty, and corruption), still prevails in the public agenda.

In that sense, the processes of integrating the Republic of Macedonia into EU and NATO, in which the broader structural reforms are realized, represent sensitive and

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<sup>41</sup> Thus, the unemployment in general is the most serious problem concerning the citizens. The percentages show that in urban, as well as the rural environments, citizens are equally concerned about unemployment, women more than men, and the biggest concern is in the Kumanovo region, although the problem is also serious in other regions where the research has been conducted. Corruption which as a general factor follows the unemployment in rural environments is perceived as a more serious problem than in urban environments, while the ethnic communities equally perceive the problem. Crime as a general factor also concerns part of the citizens. Men perceive it as a bigger problem than women, while the ethnic Albanians perceive it as a bigger problem than the ethnic Macedonians. More details regarding the indicators on the page of UNDP, [www.undp.org.mk](http://www.undp.org.mk)

important processes which will additionally produce and influence the perceptions of (in)security and concern<sup>42</sup>.

A more concrete idea of the problems is perceived when problems which generally concern the citizens are also evaluated on a level of individual perceptions regarding the feeling of security. The concern connected to the issues which were generally ranked highest (unemployment, corruption and poverty) are reflected within the perceptions on a local level. So the general local level risks acquire more concrete dimensions, are more differentiated and are recognizable through citizens' perceptions regarding: possession of arms, street crime, corruption of the government and non-observance of the laws, organized criminal groups, natural disasters and influence of other ethnic communities.

The perception of (in)security at a local level is differentiated through a group of questions as to where most of the threats to personal lives, the feeling of threat to personal security and the security in the municipality compared to other municipalities arise from. According to these data, a complex set of risks which comprise first and foremost the local security agenda, depicted into individual perceptions of the risks in the local community, can be initially formulated. The priority attached to the risks connected to the proliferation of arms and street crime, as well as organized criminal groups and misuse in the form of corruption and non-observance of the law, lead to a conclusion that these are immediate risks which have a direct influence on the personal security at a local level. These immediate risks can be analyzed as a consequence of an enduring presence of structural factors, but even more so as possible accelerators and a cause of reinforced feeling of personal insecurity and the insecurity of the citizens within the local community.

In addition to the identification of perceptions, related to the causes of insecurity which the citizens feel, the problem of human security was opened at workshops and seminars before the members of the local communities. The debates in regards to human security indicated additional and significant characteristics of the problem, above all from the perspective of local actors. One of them indicates that the challenges and problems which cause insecurity in citizens are not included and defined in a clear problem framework on a local level. Another general characteristic is that, even though the priority problems are not located within the problems to human security on a local level, the critical approach towards certain issues is nevertheless felt.

It is in particular realized that one of the most serious risks of new conflicts and lack of trust arises from the poorly prepared legal solutions which should regulate the

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<sup>42</sup> The main expectations of the citizens of Macedonia from EU membership are: the increase in the life standard, increase of salaries, reducing of corruption and improving security. These expectations are directly linked to the problems which concern Macedonian public the most. [www.undp.org.mk](http://www.undp.org.mk)

conditions at a local level, but also the attitude of the local and central government. Another aspect which contains a significant level of risk to the stability and efficient functioning of the local self-government arises from the relationship and relations between the position and the opposition on a local level, or the insufficiently built political and institutional communication of different interest groups, as well as the impossibility for them to establish direct communication at a local level. One of the key problems that are stressed is the likelihood of relational conflicts (especially such conflicts as the one between the municipalities and the City of Skopje) or lack of interdepartmental cooperation.

Additional risk factors arise from the process of public administration downsizing, which, according to participants in various seminars, weakens the efficiency of the work of the local government, and in particular because of the partisan and political nature of this process. The efficient functioning of the local self-government requires a preparation of strategic programs and action plans where it is necessary to integrate the segments concerning the prevention of conflicts of different types and issues of local human rights and freedoms agenda.

The connection of the security problems and local level development raised the issue of the unequal regional development by municipalities, due above all to the lack of resources, as one of the possible sources of conflicts. The fact that the local self-government is insufficiently prepared to use the preadmission funds, *inter alia* due to the high criteria, makes this problem even more complicated.

The local level security issue and, especially, the human security issue are expressed differently in different environments. In certain environments, this is a problem connected with the presence of the small and light or illegal weapons or crime, while in other local environments, those are the vulnerable groups and human rights issues.

The outline of the problems citizens face on a local level shows that a complex debate regarding human security issues is necessary in order to come closer to an understanding and achievement of individuals/citizens-connected security. This debate should define the conceptual determinates, or in other words, it should provide an answer to the question of which problems constitute the basic human security agenda in the local microsphere. Social dialog, besides the institutional dialog and the political dialog, can offer more concrete responses to the questions which trouble the citizens and which are the priorities to the human security agenda in the upcoming period. In essence, this form of constructive social dialog in which mutual problems can be identified should represent the uniting human security agenda in Macedonia.



## CONCLUSION

The broader understanding of the security concept in an era of globalization created preconditions for the introduction of human security as a new level of understanding the threats to the survival of humanity and the individual. Despite the differences concerning the broader and the attenuated approach, the debate regarding the concept led to the realization that the individual security is equally important as the security of the state, namely that security perceived through the human dimension represents a more complex problem than the removal of the threat of direct physical violence or aggression. These debates directly influenced the operationalization of the human security concept.

The inclusion of the concept in the foreign policy priorities of the regional powers contributed to the formulation of different political strategies and implementation instruments. Thus, through multidirectional processes, a re-examination commenced of hands-on political solutions aimed at achieving human security, of the risks that need to be covered and of the policies and instruments for its implementation.

This re-examination should be highlighted as a sharp-edge issue in the context of the Western Balkans region. The perception that it is a place where democratic norms and the norms of humanity and respect of human rights and differences have been, and still are repressed, is a starting point for such an analysis. Furthermore, the lack of democratic norms and the insufficient political and institutional capacity for avoiding risks to be produced by citizens' insecurity create, to a lesser or greater extent, a specific regional context of problems posed to human security. It includes the still present risk of armed conflicts, but also of disregard of the basic human rights and freedoms, risk of abuse and torture, of illegal trafficking in humans, of crime, corruption or terrorism. A key shared characteristic here could be that the risk of emergence and spill-over of interethnic violence, as well as the problems of illegal arms, refugees and displaced, crime, have imposed a long standing, partial (freedom from fear) perception of the human security concept in the region.

On the other hand, it is well accepted that the relationship between security and development is complex and that it is impossible to achieve development unless the basic level of security is provided. Therefore, questions such as: Can poverty generate violence in society? Can urbanization or improper health care generate conflicts? Which problems connected with the identity and survival of communities can generate civil violence? - cannot be treated as insignificant questions of secondary importance. Hence, human security should be understood as a cluster of policies which should be used to protect the vulnerable communities against problems which cross regional borders, and which individual governments cannot tackle on their own.

The issue and the problems concerning human security in Macedonia cannot be isolated from regional dynamics, and accordingly they can be located in at least two

parallel processes occurring in and around the state over the past decade and a half. The independence and the long-term transition process defined groups of questions connected with the problem of establishing and ensuring the security of the state, as much as with providing security for the citizens and vulnerable groups in the state.

The problems connected with human security emerged as topical through three groups of issues. This primarily occurred with the minority and ethnic issues, namely the issue of ethnic-political identity, human rights and mother-language education. The consequences of the different perception of the importance of the issue of inter-ethnic relations, of unequal division of political power by ethnic, and not by ideological and democratic principles, created the preconditions conducive to ever deeper differences, easier ethnic-political mobilization and acceptance of violence as a means of political action. The armed conflict of 2001 raised the sharper edge of the issues of human security in that on hand, it was continuously stressed that violence was used in the name of achieving human rights, while on the other hand, legitimacy was given to the defence of territorial integrity and the attacks on the institutions of the state.

Another group of issues involves organized crime, criminal violence, illicit arms, illegal trafficking of women and children, as problems which are continuously present and which constitute a part of the human security agenda. These problems represent catalysts of insecurity on a regional, national and local level.

The socio-economic dimension is distinguished as a third dimension of human security which forms equally through poverty and unemployment problems, as well as through other forms of social insecurity, the special dimensions of human security.

However, even though it is about three different aspects of human security, each of them is equally significant in terms of achieving the security of the citizens. The seeming domination of ethnic-political aspects over the issues connected with achieving and respecting human rights in unequal economic and social conditions, where institutions are poorly built and inefficient, renders the issue of human security extremely complex.

Along such lines, one of the key problems to be resolved is to determine the common, shared agenda of the problems and issues which the Macedonian citizens recognize and feel as factors which contribute to their insecurity. This will contribute to the removal of the feeling that the problems which one community mostly perceives as causes of insecurity and part of the human security agenda will not constitute the causes of insecurity and, in turn, will not be perceived as part of an agenda that runs contrary to human security. In this respect, a careful and continuous analysis of the real and subjective reasons for the citizens' insecurity is needed so as to design a sensitized policy in relation to the attainment of human security in Macedonia.

That the citizens are not indifferent, namely that the social and economic processes strongly influence the perception of the risks and the feeling of (in)security, indicate the data according to which the highest percentage of citizens are most concerned with the influence of the structural, social factors, compared to the number of those who are indifferent. The feeling of structural insecurity caused by the high unemployment, poverty and corruption prevails as the most serious issue on the public agenda.

At a local level, the issue of security - and, in particular, the issue of human security - varies depending on the environment in question. In some areas, it is a problem related to the presence of small or illegal weapons or crime, whereas in other places, these are the problems of the vulnerable groups and the human rights.

The application of prevention, as policy aimed at preventing conflicts and mitigating the deep causes of insecurity of the individual, not only of the state, will also mean opening serious space for bottom-up preventive action and ensuring there is a feeling of security in each local environment.

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## **SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PREVENTION AND HUMAN SECURITY**

'Mankind has always lived dangerously. The dangers are no longer the same, but they have not disappeared. One mankind, united under a sole rational administration... would correspond to one possible end of human adventure. The adventure is still far from its final state, conforming not to the logic of history but to a partial logic that fascinates, because it at once attracts and repels' (Aron, 1966, p. 502). Elsewhere, he comments, 'History has more imagination than wise men do. It has thus far refused to choose between collective suicide and the abdication of states. It has gradually brought a certain order out of the anarchy common to all international systems, an order favouring the limitation of armed conflicts' (Ibid., pp. 485–6). These remarks of Raymond Aron have not lost any relevance since he wrote them in the mid-1960s<sup>43</sup>

The end of the Cold War and the diminishing dangers of a nuclear holocaust have supported Aron's analysis. The same developments, along with the disintegration of the Soviet empire and the systemic changes as a major political force, present new opportunities for nations to improve their relations and cooperate at all levels. However, it is still unclear whether countries are ready and willing to seize those opportunities and collaborate on effective global governance.

The international agenda brims with problems, old and new, each complex and connected with many others. Some are rooted in the uncertainties of the transition process and the largely unpredictable consequences of the evolving global power structure. Others concern the globalization of particular issues. Population growth, for example, is an acute problem that endangers the ecological, political, and economic systems of the world. Similarly, mounting social tensions, unemployment and poverty are not just domestic problems. They reach across borders in a myriad of ways, affecting the whole global system. Wars provoked by ethnic tensions and human-rights violations may engulf nations and even disrupt the political and economic stability of regions. The global economy is becoming more competitive: new challengers contend with earlier players in different segments of the world market. The world may be split into mutually hostile

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<sup>43</sup> Raymond Aron, "The Anarchical Order of Power," *Daedalus* (Spring 1966)

regional blocs by trade wars. Such problems remained manageable in the 1990s, but if not treated promptly, appropriately and jointly by the international community, they may soon threaten the future of humanity.

Anticipating, gauging, managing and trying to eliminate risk factors have always been necessary to the formulation and implementation of policies in the international political and economic systems. In recent decades, transnationals, banks, international organizations and governments have employed sophisticated scientific methodologies to assess the risks attending major decisions<sup>44</sup>. The social sciences, especially economics, have drawn a distinction between factors of uncertainty and factors of risk. According to John Maynard Keynes (1973, pp. 112–13), the term 'risk' refers to the chance occurrence of an event determined by some objectively verifiable probability distribution. Uncertainty, on the other hand, is a chance occurrence, the probability of which is not known. The two terms have often been used interchangeably in the jargon of international life.

Richard Herring defines risk as the possibility of an outcome that is less favourable than the expected outcome, or the possibility of unforeseen developments that reduce our welfare (Herring, 1983, pp. 3 and 23). This definition seems appropriate to the international political and economic system, and even more so, to the ecosystem, where the impact and interrelationship of processes and factors depend on a great number of variables. These may produce incalculable scenarios of instability, even when the causes are known. Here, let us define international risks as important, potentially disturbing and destabilizing factors or acts originating with, or generated by players on different structural levels, whose consequences may spill over onto other members of the international community.

Since every human activity involves elements of risk, and one group's risks may be another's opportunities, understanding and managing risks in international life calls for specific, unambiguous cases. Apart from identifying the sources of collective risk, it is necessary to understand and make allowance for sources of risks and instability that affect individual countries. Many of these may need international assistance in their risk management.

The broad character and implications of future collective risks can be summed up in different categories:

Risks of armed conflict, due to military intervention, war, civil war and other forms of mass violence, and national and international terrorism.

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<sup>44</sup> See F. T. Haner, with J. S. Ewing, *Country Risk Assessment, Theory and Worldwide Practice* (New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1985); and, from the point of view of international banking, Georg Junge, "Country Risk Assessment, Swiss Bank Corporation Approach," in Swiss Bank Corporation, *Economic and Financial Prospects Supplement* (Basle-Zurich: Swiss Bank Corporation, February\*March, 1988).



Risks from the political destabilization of governments, whose sources may be internal (revolutions, uprisings, separatist movements, ethnic problems, or the inefficiency of national and international political institutions) or external (unforeseen and unpredictable political actions by governments, adversely affecting other states).

Economic risks, whose sources are various. They include malfunctioning of the economic system and recessions in key countries, defaults by major debtors, adverse, unawaited results of technological change, bad economic decisions, the collapse of international cooperation regimes (especially those vital to the global economy, such as the international financial system), sudden restrictions on the availability of resources, and economic warfare risks deriving from social events, such as large population increases, mass migrations, large movements of refugees, social developments that overstretch a state's capacity to provide adequate health and educational services, and ethnic, national, cultural and religious problems. Ecological risks engendered by general deterioration of the environment, sudden environmental crises, and man-made and natural catastrophes.

While the concept of security is closely related to the absence or the avoidance of risks or elimination or at least reduction of anticipated and real dangers, it cannot be dealt with in abstract terms. Its horizontal dimensions embrace such issues as military, environmental, social or economic and the vertical dimensions include individuals regions and moving up to global structures. In the final analysis, each of these dimensions must be related to human beings. In a way, the „human development index“ calculated by UNDP since the early 1990s reflects a number of elements of individual security. The main components of the index included:<sup>45</sup>

Economic security, based on entitlements to sustainable livelihood: basic income either through gainful employment or other sources and from the social safety net.

Food security: access to food on the basis of employment or other sources of income.

Health security: mainly through access to basic health services. Environmental security, which makes his/her normal habitation possible.

Personal security: freedom of crime and violence.

Community security: peace in the community where the individuals live.

Political security: peace and the freedom from human rights' violations.

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<sup>45</sup> UNDP Human Development Report.1994.Redifining Security. P. 230

In my earlier research work I conceptualized security in concentric circles. In this concept, the central circle is the security of the individual and of its most direct community: the family. The next circle is the security of the state in which he/she lives. One may draw circles for regions, continents, but the largest circle is global security. Many sources of risks interrelate and overlap. It is therefore extremely difficult to anticipate the development and the consequences of risks factors in an isolated framework. Crisis prevention, which has to deal with the analysis of different risk factors, with the anticipation of their strength, extent and consequences must include a great number of tasks, including the analysis of the social, political and economic environment in which the sources of crises, rooted in risk factors develop. It is easier, theoretically, to assess and calculate the international political risks associated with a change of government or regime than to predict the consequences, say, of ethnic conflict, which may escalate into civil or international war. Social and economic risks are different again. In the short-term, they may not directly affect the international political environment, so that governments may not consider collective action. In the longer-term, social and economic risks may destabilize democratic regimes, inspire protectionist pressures and disrupt international cooperation regimes. It should be remembered that accumulating social and economic discontent in the 1920s and 1930s led to the rise of the extremist, aggressive regimes that precipitated the Second World War. In many cases there are different independent variables which determine or influence the process. While models for the given topics may be useful, they are often too rigid for practical purposes. They may still help the development of priorities for policy actions and instruments for the improvement of security. These may be short-term (such dealing with temporary unemployment problems, labour disputes, or short-lived disputes between countries) or long-term (major wars, environmental degradation or the economic or political collapse of a country).

It is a very important and debated issue whether or not the globalization process increased economic insecurity or just the opposite - reduced it. It is well known, that the process is developing in a global market system.

The forces of economic globalization--trade, financial flows, the activities of multinational corporations--have made the international economy much more inter-dependent. Globalization offers important opportunities for development, it is increasing the efficiency of many economic activities: production, logistics and trade. It produces many winners but also many losers, and poses a serious threat to traditional social values, beliefs. There is a growing feeling that we live in a world highly vulnerable to changes we cannot control; a growing sense of fragility among ordinary people, countries and entire regions. There are special difficulties faced by small enterprises in taking advantage of globalization - and yet that is where most employment is created. The rural and informal economies remain on the margins and the result is - persistent poverty. The dangers of the loss of jobs as a result of industrial restructuring in the face of competitive global markets, and the downward pressures on conditions of work and workers' rights -

in Europe and North America as well as in middle-income and transition countries is also a major concern. Moreover, the speed of spreading the influence of market shocks, periodic recessions and downturns can wreak havoc in peoples' lives. In all parts of the world there are voices calling for stronger systems of social protection and income security. The Bretton Woods rules which governed the international economic system have greatly eroded. Despite some important reforms, including the 1995 creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), are no longer adequate for the security of a highly integrated global economy. The problems arising from increased international integration of financial markets are particularly dangerous.

The necessity to create or strengthen global cooperation, „collective security” for the increase of security is, of course, not a new idea.

In the framework of the UN and in other intergovernmental organizations there has been a number of efforts to develop ideas, policies and instruments to promote the progress toward global security through cooperation. In fact, the mandate for such efforts has been laid down in the UN Charter. One of its path has been the human rights tradition which looked at the state both as a problem and the source of threats to individual security but also as an instrument for its guarantees. The other path has been the development of agenda, policies and actions that considered the state as the necessary agent for promoting human security. During the Cold War, the security agenda was dominated by confrontation between the two blocs and military concerns comprised the core of it. Human rights issues have been also subordinated to the ideological fronts of the Cold War. That bipolar relationship has ended. The military aspects of it have changed and ethno-national conflicts, complex humanitarian emergencies and even genocide with massive civilian deaths dominate it the 21st century. The non-military aspects of global security have been also raised even during the Cold War, in the framework of the detente policies in the UN. Since the end of the Cold War there have been a great number of international conferences raising other different aspects of security discussed above. In fact, most of the different new global non-military risk factors which emerged have been securitised: added to the agenda of global security. Thus, the United Nations has been instrumental in the shift of security-thinking in many ways, as an incubator and generator of new ideas on key aspects of human security thinking, as an institutional forum for debating, articulating and advocating alternative concept and as an actor through the operations and practices of the different agencies. Many new forms of cooperation developed during the past decades for collective human security which involve different security interventions and engagements on short, medium and long term by the international organizations. Governments and other international players in the international „omnilateral” institutional framework<sup>46</sup> have a

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<sup>46</sup> Here, omnilateralism is understood in its broader definition to mean an organizational design for collective management of international agencies and cooperation regimes for the elaboration of common norms defining the rights and obligations of countries, and the implementation of policies of collective sanctions when necessary. To date, some multilateral organizations have been of a multipurpose nature, whereas others have fulfilled more

vested interest in minimizing risks and increasing human security in its human or comprehensive understanding.

The concept of comprehensive global security, which has been suggested first by the Japanese Government and global human security was adopted by a number of states, as well as regional and international organizations. While these concepts are in many ways similar and overlapping, in the debates, however, people often make a distinction between comprehensive security and human security<sup>47</sup>. The difference in the two approaches may be observed in three areas. First, comprehensive security focuses on human needs, while human security stresses human rights. Secondly, while comprehensive security seeks to determine the origins of security threats, the core concern of human security is to determine whose security is at stake. Thirdly, comprehensive security focuses on "order" and "stability", while human security is geared more to justice and emancipation.

The experiences of the 1990s proved that the collective response of multilateral cooperation regimes to future security needs should be broader. It should take into consideration and try to harmonize global multilateral, regional multilateral, in some cases, bilateral policies and actions, include the states and the non-state actors. The states of the world understood that, with all its problems and weaknesses, it was still the UN system, which was not only the largest and most comprehensive and democratic intergovernmental cooperation system in existence, but the most open one for managing such structures<sup>48</sup>. The United Nations is, however, not flexible enough to adapt and respond to the evolving agenda of global needs with the necessary speed and efficiency, due to the diverging interests of the member states and its institutional and political inertia. The agenda is broad, broader indeed than at any time in the history of the world body. While the central role of the UN in maintaining international peace and security must remain, including such tasks as the establishment of international norms of behavior due to the diversity of the problems, the role of the UN in the enforcement of those norms will have to be shared with other different organizations.

This recognition has influenced the efforts for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals, adopted in 2000 by the participants on the Millennium

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limited functions. The "functional" approach to the international cooperation system can be used in different senses: functionalism may relate to such problem areas as politics or economics, or more specifically to legal problems, trade, human rights issues, or capital flows. It does not precisely define the structural nature of organizations.

<sup>47</sup> UNDP Human Development Report. 1994. Redefining Security. P. 230

<sup>48</sup> The preamble to the UN charter, speaks of the UN striving "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". By that phrase the founders implied both that development is possible only in conditions of freedom, and that people can only benefit from political freedom when they have at least a fair chance of reaching decent living standards. It has been the recognition of interdependence between development and security.

Assembly, and the follow-up Summit in 2005, reflected the global consensus, that progress toward a more equitable society and reduction of human poverty in the developing world must be the central goal of global and national development policies in the twenty-first century. This represents a new approach to the security of individuals in a comprehensive global framework.

In 2001, the UN established a Commission of Human Security. The Commission has developed policies in 10 areas which included the main aspects of global „comprehensive” human security:

1. Protecting people in violent conflict
2. Protecting people from the proliferation of arms
3. Supporting the security of people on the move
4. Establishing human security transition funds for post-conflict situations
5. Encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the extreme poor
6. Working to provide minimum living standards everywhere
7. Establishing higher priority to ensuring universal access to basic health care
8. Developing an efficient and equitable global system for patent rights
9. Empowering all people with universal basic education
10. Clarifying the need for a global human identity, while respecting the freedom of individuals to have diverse identities and affiliations

Conclusion: In the process of creating a more secure world, there are some encouraging trends. The global community, as a whole, and individual states have come nearer to accept a broader concept of security, one that encompasses not only military and political, but also economic, social, and environmental components. Awareness is growing that geographic distance from the epicenter of a crisis or conflict is no guarantee of safety; national or subregional instability\*whether military, political, economic, social, or environmental in origin\*creates shock waves that can easily spread throughout the international system. However, although the concept of common, human and comprehensive security has gained ground, it has yet to lead to the necessary transformation in the values and processes of national and international political structures. Countries have still to fully understand the positive implications of their interconnectedness and interdependence and the need to incorporate into their policies such ethical norms as predictability, responsibility, and solidarity.

It is also an important problem that the global security problematique by the 21st century in the international inter-governmental organizations and in the civil groups has been broadened to practically unmanageable degree. It is impossible to deal simultaneously with problems of military security, poverty and inequalities internal social cohesion, regime capacity and brittleness, failed states, economic development, structural adjustment, gender relations, ethnic identity, external threats, and transnational and global problems like AIDS, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, terrorism, ethnic cleansing, refugee issues etc. It is impossible to raise every possible issue to the highest security policy priority. It is necessary to establish priorities and thresholds below which people's lives are in danger and their dignity threatened.

One must add other major source of problems, as well. The responsibility to provide human political, economic and social security falls first and foremost on the states and its institutions. It is still an open question to what extent national governance and international cooperation based on it, will be able and ready to meet the new security challenges. In the framework of national policies, addressing security issues entails the necessity to establish priorities for action and policy, which of the many threats that exist deserve the most attention. Without a clearly established hierarchy, policy makers are often forced to choose between competing goals and to concentrate their resources on specific solutions to immediate problems. For the majority of states, national security issues are still confined to military security or the development of the capacity to handle problems that threaten its political security (to handle, for example, armed insurgency or ethnic strife). The capacity to reduce or eliminate threats to the health, welfare and level of life of its population is receiving much less attention. The concrete incentives for many states to consider global security as a priority in engaging in international cooperation are not sufficiently strong either. The expected positive changes after the end of the Cold War are evolving rather slowly and there are also contrasting trends.

One of the key issues for the 21st century is, and will be, how can the states and the international organizations operationalize the security approach in their policies and actions? Is it possible at all in the present world?

The world, i.e. the community of states must also understand, that in the final analysis, the security of human beings must be in the focal point of all efforts. Without this, security will remain a cognitive construct, and will not become an objective fact and a foundation for sustainable human development. It is also a danger, that without its operationalization, the security concept, in its broadest understanding, will be increasingly discredited as an empty slogan or as an artificial liberal imagination in the world with increasing ecological problems, growing inequalities, terrorism and other brutal, violent conflicts.

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## **HUMAN SECURITY, PREVENTION AND LOCAL CAPACITY-BUILDING. LESSONS TO LEARN?**

### **Introduction**

Traditional concepts of security primarily aim to ensure the security of states by defending their borders. Today, the idea of security is evolving and focusing increasingly on human security, the security of individuals. The concept of security tries to approach this problem taking into account all its major components: safety from violence, security of sustainable economic development and universal respect for human dignity.

It is clear that we need new approaches in dealing with problems of the contemporary world. The threats and challenges of the globalized world are simply too complex to rely on traditional concepts and mechanisms. The UN is still the only international organization to address these threats effectively, but it definitely needs to reform. The Outcome Document of the 2005 UN Summit showed that the UN managed to prevent major interstate conflicts, but it still lacks sufficient ability to deal with threats stemming from internal conflicts, gross violation of human rights and abuse of power, poverty, disease and a growing threat of international terrorism. The international community needs a commitment and a possibility to assist states when they cannot cope with such problems, but also to act when states are unwilling to do so, or are themselves the perpetrators.

### **The Concept of Human Security**

The first discussions on the concept of human security were held in the United Nations in the late 1980s. However, it was not until 1994 that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) further elaborated on the concept in its Human Development Report by identifying it as a concern for life and human dignity.

In March 200, the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan emphasised in his Millennium Report to the United Nations that a new understanding of human security was

evolving. Instead of being limited to the protection of a State's borders, it now encompasses the protection of communities and individuals from violence. He called upon the international community to advance the goals of "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want".

In May 2003 the Commission on Human Security presented its report "Human Security Now"<sup>49</sup> and proposed a new framework of security that concentrates directly on people. According to the Commission, the concept of human security focuses on protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowers people to take action on their own behalf. The report stated that human security means protecting vital freedoms: "freedom from fear", "freedom from want" and "freedom to take action on one's own behalf". It also stated that human security complements state security, furthers human development and enhances human rights.

In the report "In Larger Freedom" the Secretary-General proposed the agenda to be taken up at the 2005 Summit. His message was that the world must advance the causes of security (*freedom from fear*), development (*freedom from want*) and human rights (*freedom to live in dignity*) together, otherwise none will succeed: "... *we will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights*"<sup>50</sup>.

The World Summit Outcome Document stated the recognition of state leaders that "*all individuals, particularly vulnerable persons, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential*"<sup>51</sup>. Member States have agreed then to discuss this matter further on and try to define the human security concept within the UN.

There are still different schools of thought regarding what exactly this concept means. Some would prefer its codification before applying it in practice. Others believe that it is clear and complex enough for each country or organization to implement it in international relations. In many cases, these developments clearly show that the concept of human security, although not clearly defined yet, offers a possible way forward.

We believe that human security needs to be understood in a holistic and comprehensive manner. Although it is important to articulate a common definition of human security as requested by the Outcome Document, it is also important to take

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<sup>49</sup> Commission on Human Security: Human Security Now, 2003

<sup>50</sup> Report of the Secretary-General: In Larger Freedom, 2005, Par. 17

<sup>51</sup> World Summit Outcome Document, 2005, Par. 143

action in the meantime in order to contribute to human security on the ground and at present.

There are different ways of how we can contribute to this process. In continuation, I would like to describe some of the experience my country has gained in this regard.

### **Human Security Network**

At the political level, my country is involved in the activities of a group of like-minded countries, called the *Human Security Network*<sup>52</sup>. The Network was launched in 1998 to collectively promote the concept of human security.

The main purpose of the Network is to give an extra incentive to issues pertaining to human security on different international occasions and in different forms, especially within the United Nations. The added value of the Network lies in the fact that it comprises 13 countries from all continents and at different steps of the development ladder, and that it involves personal engagement of their ministers of foreign affairs.

The Network has neither a secretariat, nor a special financing fund. The activities are being financed by individual member states. The group convenes once a year at the level of foreign ministers. As well, the ministers meet every year during the UN General Assembly session.

The initial purpose or, perhaps, even the very reason for the creation of the Network, was the desire to contribute to the so-called Ottawa Process, i.e. to the universal acceptance of prohibition and eradication of antipersonnel landmines, as one of the serious left-overs of internal and international conflicts. The purpose of activities was mainly to get as many countries as possible to sign up to the Ottawa Convention, to destroy the stockpiles of landmines, to clear the existing landmines in their countries or help other countries to do so, and to provide assistance to mine victims. These weapons affect human lives long after armed conflicts have stopped, not only by endangering individuals, but also by presenting a long-term obstacle to economic activities and, thus, to development. The deadline put forth by the Convention to get rid of these heinous weapons by 2009 is quickly approaching. And the problem, as we know very well in this region of Europe, is far from being resolved.

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<sup>52</sup> The participating countries include: Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Norway, Mali, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand and South Africa as an observer.

In the nine years of its existence, the Network addressed several acute problems of human security. Beside the eradication of landmines, it dealt with light weapons, implementation of the concept of "responsibility to protect", women in peacekeeping, fight against HIV/AIDS, trafficking of people and fight against poverty. Special attention was paid to the human rights' education. A handbook compiled by Austria under the auspices of the HSN, translated into many different languages, is an important tool the teachers all over the world can use in strengthening the universal respect for human rights. Lately, the Network also focused on the role of the newly established Human Rights Council, the promotion of intercultural dialogue, the prevention of violence against children and the protection of children in armed conflicts. Many concrete projects were carried out. For example in the last three years, programmes to assist Iraqi children and their families and teachers have been carried out as a joint venture of the Network members Slovenia, Austria and Jordan.

### **United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security**

In March 1999, the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security was established by the Government of Japan and the United Nations Secretariat. Its aim is to finance projects carried out by organizations in the UN system to advance the operational impact of the human security concept. Projects are distributed globally with priorities given to countries and regions where the insecurities of people are most critical, such as the least developed countries and countries in conflict. The Fund is gradually evolving to a multi-donor fund that will need further attention and support of other countries which believe that the best way to develop the concept of human security is by starting to implement it in practice.

### **Strengthening Regional Stability through Human Security in the Western Balkans**

Coming to the topic of today's gathering here in Skopje, it is important to stress that the countries of the Western Balkans have made a considerable progress towards the consolidation of peace and stability following a decade of conflict. Nevertheless, threats to stability and human security remain. International agencies must shift their focus from traditional humanitarian activities to human security, which includes conflict prevention and capacity building through local government partnerships.

From the point of view of the implementation of human security concept in the Western Balkan region, there are indeed some lessons to be learned - lessons that can help this region continue on the path to reconciliation, stability, economic development, as well as integration into a wider region. The lessons learned here may also provide benefit to other regions that are facing similar problems.

Today, I would like to pay particular attention to three projects that are underway in this particular region, in different fields of human security: land mines, protection of children and human rights' education.

### **1. Mine action and International Trust Fund for De-mining and Mine Victims Assistance**

Regional cooperation proved to be very effective in mine action. The International Trust Fund for De-mining and Mine Victims Assistance (ITF), established in 1998, proved to be successful in many ways. The ITF has been funding mine activities in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. By now, the ITF cleared over 76 million square meters of mine-polluted areas in South-Eastern Europe, and contributed to physical rehabilitation of over 960 mine victims, which equals to 15 per cent of all surviving landmine victims in South-Eastern Europe.

The establishment of a regional cooperation in South-Eastern Europe, run by the affected countries themselves, assisted in rationalization of de-mining operations, bringing down the costs and, at the same time, contributing considerably to restoring confidence among neighbouring countries, as well as non-state actors that have just recently fought against each other in an armed conflict.

Recently, the ITF expanded its activities to Cyprus, Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Other regions which bear similar consequences of past conflicts have also expressed their interest in the experience of the ITF.

### **2. Prevention of Violence against Children and Foundation "Together"**

Unfortunately, special lessons were learned in this region, while dealing with children affected by armed conflict. The mere necessity to offer the desperately needed assistance to children refugees who took shelter in Slovenia during the recent Balkan wars, led to the establishment of a joint venture of the NGO Slovenian Philanthropy, the Government of Slovenia and the City of Ljubljana, called the Foundation "Together" – Regional Center for the Psycho-social Well-being of Children. Their work is based on experiences, gained in dealing with over 100,000 refugees, most of them children, who found safety in Slovenia. Later on, when the war-torn countries were able to take back refugees, they continued the project in cooperation with Slovenia. These activities involve psycho-social programmes for teachers aimed at strengthening their capacities to help traumatized children with special needs and the training of medical workers, helping them provide psychological assistance to children and parents in the framework of primary health-care services.

While at first the Foundation's activities focused only on the Western Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia and Macedonia), they have now extended their work to the North Caucasus and Iraq. In the five years of its existence, the Foundation "Together" assisted hundreds of thousands of children and their parents.

### **3. Pilot Project on Human Rights' Education**

In 2005, the OSCE initiated a pilot project entitled "OUR RIGHTS", based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child. A new teaching tool was designed, which was used throughout the OSCE region and which was identical for children in various cultural environments. Its aim was to develop human rights-related knowledge and values, as well as appropriate skills and, thus, contribute to the respect for, and the implementation of human rights among the young.

The newly devised teaching tool, reviewed by human rights' education professionals from all around the world, includes a set of teaching cards for pupils between 10 and 12 years of age and an information booklet for their teachers.

More than 66,000 participants, coming from Albania, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Ireland, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovenia, Turkey and Ukraine, took part in the pilot project in 2005 and 2006. This teaching tool was also used for national minorities in some participating countries; for instance, the pilot project involved Roma children from several countries of South Eastern Europe.

The results have, indeed, been positive: the project contributed significantly to the awareness raising, with regard to teaching and learning about human and children's rights in all participating states.

## **Conclusion**

The projects mentioned were small examples of how the concept of human security can be put into practice on a specific issue and on a relatively small scale and, yet, lead to a wider process of the establishment of overall stability and, thus, security in a given region. First, it was needed to address immediate problems, to prevent further casualties of the remnants of war, to help those who were deeply affected by war and cannot help themselves and afterwards start the healing process by awareness-building, through an education process.

We have left out the economic part of human security. Not because it is not important, but believing that economic activities in any society can only be truly effective if based on otherwise secure conditions and on an atmosphere of promising future. Having met these requirements, economic activities will follow soon.

The economic recovery of the Western Balkan region is well underway. Eventually, this region will be able to function as an equal part of European integration. The fast track approach of the countries of the Western Balkans to the European Union should be considered and assisted by other European countries as a proper way to resolving Balkan crisis, improving human security in the entire region, as well as on the European continent in general.

Thank you.





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## CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This conference, as a follow-up to the previous two, organized under the project “Partners in Peace and Prevention” in November 2005 and November 2006, the interest shown, its comprehensive presentations and open discussions asserted that our selection of the topic has been justified. The topicality and the importance of the issues related to human security, prevention, regional cooperation and stability, EU and NATO integration, i.e. their mutual influence and conditionality in practically all the segments of our daily life and overall social development, were raised in the presentations and discussions today in an eloquent and complex manner.

In his introductory speech, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, M. Sc. Z. Petrov, underlined, *inter alia*, the significance of human security as a concept which modifies the traditional understanding of security. The Republic of Macedonia upholds the same values and principles that the European Union rests upon, therefore it participates actively in all regional initiatives and, in compliance with its strategic commitments to accede the EU and NATO, it continues working on the promotion of human security, both internally, and in a wider regional context. Today, in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as in the region and even beyond, the thinking and acting on the basis of partnership and cooperation principles in mutual relations, is ever more prevailing. Nevertheless, it is necessary to bear in mind that the region is still facing challenges which directly or indirectly affect human security. Hence, the necessity arises, by improving regional cooperation, to influence the extent and scope of human security. The EC documents published – the Strategy for Enlargement and the Progress Reports of the Countries in the region, are a direction of extreme importance in this field.

In his speech, the political advisor in the EC Delegation in Skopje, P. Pake, addressed the EU external policy and instruments which, in their core, involve three vital freedoms of the human security concept (“freedom from fear”, „freedom from want” and „freedom to take action on one’s own behalf”). This concept reflects the highest European values and contributes to the international actions of the EU and its member countries, but also, of the overall international community. As a result, a considerable part of the external EC assistance (approximately €74 billion under the current financial

programme (2007 – 2014)), as well as the majority of the priorities of the EU external policy are aimed at accomplishing the goals behind the three vital freedoms. EU uses a wide range of instruments arising from its external policy in a specific manner, which has been illustrated in many cases, and which helps, both directly and indirectly, to face the challenges surrounding the human security concept. In this context, the regional context, and especially the EU role in the Western Balkans' countries, in light of the enlargement policy and the EU accession aspirations of these countries, were closely observed. Furthermore, P. Pake underlined that, under the new EU reform agreement, the capacity of the EU to act in a much more coherent and efficient manner, mainly in the field of external policy, shall be strengthened, and thus the possibilities to promote human security shall be reinforced.

There were three Conference sessions:

- 1) "Transfer of Human Security Principles as Shared European Value", where the stress was placed on the need to integrate human security more seriously in regional priorities and to establish conditions for the implementation of European values.
- 2) "Bottom-Up Approach in Prevention and Human Security", under which discussions were held on how trust and participation in building local democracy contribute to the raising of the awareness of citizens and institutions in building shared values.
- 3) "Prevention and Human Security Social and Economic Perspectives", where the possibilities to strengthen the discourse and action, i.e. the institutional and civil dialogue, were closely observed from the perspective of promoting human security.

Major points from the presentations and discussions:

- 1)
  - Security concept is changing and developing in compliance with the changes taking place on the international scene, whereas the focus has shifted from global to individual security.
  - Human security should be operational and observed not as a consequence, but as a sociological concept, whereby account should be taken of several open issues as to whether human security can be used as a reason to interfere in the internal affairs of a country, whether human security concerns those who need it most, etc. Hence, the necessity arises to have a clear and real concept which should stimulate political action, while prevention should be its primary goal.

- In addition to the traditional threats affecting security, it is necessary to take into consideration the new risks related to terrorism, energy dependence, climate changes, electronic crime, etc.
- Future collective risks in the region can be summarized into several different categories:
  - a) risks of armed conflict ;
  - b) risks of political destabilization of the governments as a consequence of internal and external reasons;
  - c) economic and social risks (poor functioning of the economic system, recession, excessive borrowing, economic sanctions, population growth, massive migration, massive inflow of refugees etc.);
  - d) environmental risks.
- It is extremely difficult, in a relatively short period, to obviate all the risks and causes of human security and stability in the Western Balkans, given the fact that organized crime, human trafficking, massive quantities of small and light weapons have been identified as most acute ones, as well as the possible impact of the process of resolving the open issues in the Region, primarily related to the final status of Kosovo.
- Countries in the Region have, for an extended period of time, been focused on accomplishing the national security goals (macro approach) by neglecting the human security goals (micro approach); hence the need to shift the focus urgently.
- In the efforts to transfer the human security principles in the W. Balkans region, it is necessary to set the priority on:
  - a) respect and protection of human rights,
  - b) promotion of human development, and
  - c) achieving a balance between liberalism and multiculturalism, primarily on sub-national level, more specifically in relation to minority communities, and the communities in general which need to be protected through human security policy.
- The challenges deriving from the transition and post-conflict recovery of the Region actually thrust upon the countries priorities for action, given that human security should be perceived as an important dimension of their internal and

external policy.

- As to the activities that international organizations are undertaking in this field in the Region, it is necessary to harmonize the standards and the principles in their work, and to introduce a higher level of mutual coordination. The Focus of the effort should be shifted from the traditional humanitarian activities and placed on human security involving prevention of conflicts and building of capacities, primarily by establishing partnership relations with the local government.
- The EU accession of the Republic of Macedonia and other countries from the Region, will undoubtedly influence the promotion of human security. However, on the other hand, speedy integration alone, without previous fulfillment of the necessary requirements, will not resolve all the problems in the Region.
- EU membership prospects for the Western Balkans' countries play the key role in human security promotion and its specific implementation, primarily due to the "soft power" of the enlargement policy and the fulfillment of the Copenhagen Membership Criteria, which by and large are with reference, direct or indirect, to human security, human rights and human development.
- In order to resolve the open issues on the Balkans speedily and improve human security, it is necessary that EU look into and support the possibility for accelerated accession of the Western Balkans countries to the EU (the so called fast-track approach); the EU membership of these countries will naturally have a markedly positive impact on regional, national and human security.

2)

- Ensuring human security at the highest level possible, actually means building a society in which human beings, as individuals, are always in the focus of actions undertaken by the governments, local authorities and also non-governmental organizations.
- Individual security, in the broadest sense possible, is equally important to that of the state, i.e. security perceived through human dimension is a much more complex problem than the obviation of the danger from direct physical violence or aggression.
- Prevention and human security are integral components of development policy and the policy of post-conflict peace-building in the region.

- Once the human security concept is brought down to the level of implementation in political practice at multilateral and national level, numerous activities may be registered, which, inter alia, confirm the thesis that development cannot be achieved unless basic level of security is ensured, and, vice versa, higher level of development raises the security level.
- It is necessary to work on raising of the awareness in that human beings as individuals are not only consumers, but contributors to security; it is necessary to change the mindset of the citizens.
- The decentralization process and the devolution of power to the local level, in practice means that local authorities play the key role in human security promotion.
- Decentralization can contribute to the promotion of human development, if it is directed towards adequate participation in the political decision-making and wider participation of the citizens in the making of decisions important to their daily lives.
- Decentralization should be kept as a top priority on the political agenda for the purposes of ensuring sustainable development for faster economic and social development of the local community.
- Most of the activities carried out by the OSCE mission in the Republic of Macedonia and in other members of the Region, are implemented in the light of human rights and human security, and these actions are not aimed at public institutions solely, but at local government as well.

3)

- One of the basic prerequisites for improvement of human security is the improvement of the political, economic and social conditions in the countries of the region.
- The inter-relatedness and mutual influence of risks warrant the need for a close attention to all possible categories of reasons for risks (political, military, economic, social environmental, etc.) in the analysis and drafting of the relevant prevention strategies.
- Although the Comprehensive Global Security (Comprehensive Human Security) and Global Human Security concepts are in many elements similar, or they overlap, it is necessary to make a distinction between them.

- It is encouraging that the international community as a whole, and an increasing number of countries are coming closer to embracing the broader security concept which involves not only military and political, but economic, social, and environmental components, and yet, far extensive and serious commitments are necessary in order to translate this concept into the values and norms at a national or international level.
- Although the primary responsibility to establish human security in political, economic, and social respect rests primarily with the countries and their institutions, the issue regarding the extent to which they are ready to respond to the modern security challenges, remains open.
- Hence, one of the key issues in the 21st century is how the countries and international organizations can operationalize the security concept in their policies and actions, given that they will have to acknowledge that the central focus of their efforts have to be human beings as individuals.
- As a positive example of action that might be put to a broader use was the so-called Human Security Network (informal group which comprises of 13 countries from all continents) whose primary goal is collective promotion of human security concept and additional support to the activities in the international field, primarily under UN, which concern human security.
- As to the countries in the Western Balkans' region, it is necessary to ensure additional and continuing efforts aimed at embracing the human security concept in the political vocabulary and operative actions, supporting the academic community and civil society to facilitate the process, as well strengthening and promotion of the political and social dialogue.

In conditions when the Region is still facing serious challenges concerning its stability, which may have a negative impact on human security, it is necessary to ensure that the priorities of the internal and external politics are in line with the European agenda and European values. In that respect, the promotion of regional cooperation, and the assumption of a higher degree of regional ownership, not only declaratively, but mainly through specific actions undertaken, shall serve for the purposes of acceleration of the Euro-integration processes and raising the level of human security. The Republic of Macedonia should continue to work actively on the promotion of human security both internally, through the integration of this concept in the operative policies, its support to the civil sector, etc, and internationally, and especially regionally, through specific engagement and contribution to the relevant platforms, programmes and initiatives.

Finally, in the framework of this conference, through the observations, assessments and analyses that were given, we managed to provide a specific contribution to a better understanding of this complex subject matter, with a view to having all the stakeholders at governmental, local, and nongovernmental level address the topics of human security and prevention in their policies, programme activities and actions in the appropriate and operative manner. In addition, with the conclusions from the conference we will contribute even further to raising of the public awareness and the prevention of human security as concepts and integral part of the European values.

Skopje, November 17th, 2007