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Kosovo in the Security and Defence Context of the Western Balkans

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Executive Summary

The Western Balkans countries¹ have achieved a major progress in reforming their security and defence policies in line with the requirements of NATO membership and Partnership for Peace Program. However, according to the countries' national security and defence documents, there are several key risks that may destabilize the region and bring re-emergence of armed conflicts, including conventional responses, among which the major ones are threats of political nature - nationalistic/ethnic and religious, of state formation, and of contested/undetermined borders. In essence, despite the formal commitment of all the Western Balkans countries to good neighbouring relations and to contributions to regional stability and security, within them is still prevalent a certain obvious degree of anxiety, due to their evident lack of trust about the future behaviour of certain other countries of the region.

In terms of military capabilities and of defence spending and industries, Serbia and Croatia are two dominant countries of the region. The military capabilities of other countries of the region are marginal when compared with those of these two countries. The possible creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces will not have any significant effect in changing regional balance of power.

NATO's involvement in the Balkans had four major effects. Firstly, its military involvement as a deterrent and stabilizing force has discouraged armed disputes and has transformed the region from that of war torn societies and hostile neighbouring relations, into a relatively stable one. Secondly, NATO exercised a decisive influence on changing the patterns of hard balancing and the doctrines of massive armies that were based on territorial defence and deterrence: thus, the national armed forces were transformed into professional armies, and their offensive capabilities against their neighbours were significantly reduced. Thirdly, NATO's enlargement in the Western Balkans has a fundamental role in locking the interstate borders of the individual countries of the region. And, fourthly, Partnership for Peace has ended all the hopes for bilateral or regional defence counterbalancing collaboration, by making the cooperation exclusively through Brussels a price for membership.

A complicating factor for regional security, and a matter of high concern, is Serbia's defence cooperation with Russia, which entails three components: The establishment of the Joint Serbian-Russian Centre for Reaction to Emergency Situations, which is the first one of this kind that Russia has opened in Europe after the Cold War; Joint military exercises, where the first is planned to take place this autumn; and the Serbia's Observer Status in the Parliamentary

¹ Western Balkans Countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia.

Assembly of the Russian led intergovernmental military alliance - Collective Security Treaty Organization.

By using Serbia as a harbour of its interests and intentions against the West, Russia is re-exerting its influence in the Western Balkans by exploiting the region's uneasy ethno-national relations, and weaknesses of the states that are not full members of the European Union and NATO, namely, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia. Russia will continue to have a fertile ground for achieving its aims as long as the Brussels indecisiveness and the lack of a strong US leadership regarding further enlargement of NATO and of EU will continue to prevail.

Kosovo faces a favourable, but also a complex security and defence environment. Its immediate neighbours, Albania and Macedonia exclude any direct threat that might come from Kosovo, while Montenegro sees it as an unfinished story in terms of regional stability and security; and Serbia projects it as a direct conventional threat and rogue entity, rather than as a neighbour with whom it has not settled relations, at the same time when it shares the aim of European Union membership.

Serbia has most probably in place contingency military planning against Kosovo, which is assumable because of the Belgrade's hostile security and defence policies against Prishtina. Any strategic option that may be used if Serbia chooses to attack Kosovo, except for the conventional offensive for "annexation" of the territory North of the river Ibar, will hardly determine the winner of a war, and in such cases both sides may suffer a more or less equal internal and external political vulnerability in a prolonged conflict.

Therefore, hard balancing of Kosovo against Serbia is not economically and militarily a rational option that will ensure its successful defence and deterrence of Belgrade's possible offensive intentions. Only normalization of the defence relations between Kosovo and Serbia, through confidence building measures, as well as the PfP membership of Kosovo, will open a venue for KFOR's withdrawal that would leave behind stability and security in the entire region.

Recommendations:

- a) Modalities for possible dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade on Normalization of Defence Relations:
- Facilitation of the dialogue has to be done jointly by EU and NATO.
 - Confidence building measures between two countries can be based on the OSCE model on Confidence and Security–Building Measures.
 - Demilitarization of the North of Kosovo, as well as of Presevo Valley, until Kosovo gets Membership Action Plan by NATO, and Serbia becomes an EU member.
 - Changes of Belgrade’s security and defence policies towards Kosovo, National Security Strategy, and Defence Strategy.
 - Representation of Kosovo Serbs in the leadership of future armed forces of Kosovo.
 - Full membership of Kosovo in the South – Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial.
- b) Components for possible structural dialogue of NATO with Kosovo:
- Assistance and assessment of the Defence Sector Development of Kosovo, based on NATO’s Partnership Action Plan (PAP) on Defence Institution Building (DIB).
 - Assistance and assessment of the development of interoperability of the future Kosovo armed forces, based on NATO’s Planning and Review Process of the Partnership (PARP).
 - Upgrade of the NATO Liaison and Advisory Team and of the NATO Advisory Team into a single NATO’s Liaison Military Office in Prishtina, and establishment of Kosovo’s Liaison Office to NATO.
 - The dialogue has to be viewed as a temporary measure for building relations between NATO and Kosovo. Only full membership in PfP and in the Euro-Atlantic Council will enable Kosovo to become part of NATO led security and defence cooperation mechanism.
- c) Containment of Russia’s hostile intentions in the Western Balkans:
- NATO and EU should put clear redlines to Serbia regarding its military and security cooperation with Russia.
 - NATO’s Secretary General and member state supporters should take a concerted leadership for a fast track membership of Kosovo in Partnership for Peace and Euro-Atlantic Council, and for membership of Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO.
- d) Legal framework for involvement of military forces of the Western Balkans countries in fighting terrorism:
- The involvement of military forces in the fight against terrorism has to be defined strictly by law, in order to disable the misuse of these forces by national governments for political purposes, as well as to prevent the violation of human and national minority rights.

Introduction

The Western Balkans is the single sub-region of Europe that instead of taking the path of transition to democracy, after the end of the Cold War ran into wars and atrocities, which ended with the dissolution of its dominant power – Yugoslavia – and with the subsequent emergence of seven new states. As a region that is not fully integrated in NATO and EU, it is still prone to inter- and intra-state disputes and conflicts of nationalistic nature. Due to the current asymmetry of power between the actors in and around the Western Balkans, it belongs to external powers (NATO and/or EU) to ‘force’ the region into the (undivided) European security complex,² which will consequently disable any potential for re-emergence of open conflicts. The recent crises in Ukraine, and the not so recent one in Georgia, are good lessons to be learned by Brussels – and hard ones, indeed – that whatever cooperation short of full membership in NATO and EU, cannot guarantee protection from external aggression and/or inter-state conflicts.

This paper aims to examine Kosovo’s security and defence environment within the context of the Western Balkans. For this purpose, it firstly analyzes the national security and defence policies of the countries of the region,³ their military capabilities and defence spending, military exports and imports, as well as the distribution of military bases, independently from the influence of the key external security and defence actor – North Atlantic Alliance. Also, this analysis entails a wide range of the official data on these issues. Secondly, it analyzes the impact of NATO’s involvement on the security of the region, and this is done through the analyses of the military involvement, cooperation and membership mechanisms. Thirdly, it discusses Kosovo’s security dilemmas and defence challenges, including those with Serbia, and the prospects for possible official cooperation with NATO.

Finally, the paper provides a set of recommendations on the modalities for possible dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia on normalization of defence relations, on the components for possible structural dialogue of NATO with Kosovo, on the containment of Russia’s hostile intentions in the Western Balkans, as well as on the strict regulation of military forces of the countries of the region in fighting terrorism.

² Barry Buzan and Ole W’ver: “Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security,” Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 377.

³ For detailed information on the National Security and Defence Policy documents of the Western Balkans countries see Annex 1: “Bibliographical Sources of the Tables” . The research on these documents has been completed on June 30th, 2014.

1. National Security Policies

1.1. Introduction

In the last 15 years the Western Balkans has experienced a dramatic transformation of geopolitical, security and defence circumstances, starting with NATO intervention against Former Yugoslavia (1995, 1999), and continuing with Ohrid Agreement (2001), independence of Montenegro (2006) and Kosovo (2008), NATO membership of Albania and Croatia (2009), and EU membership of Croatia (2013). Subsequently, the countries of the region have moved from war to peace, from peace to détente, and from détente to bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Relations between Kosovo and Serbia, which are at the early stages of détente, are an exception to this general trend.

The change of these circumstances had a major impact on the security sector reform and subsequent reviewing and adoption of the new national security related documents by individual countries of the region. The purposes of these documents in democratic countries are institutionalization of national-level guidance for national security issues, presentation at the unclassified level to the national public audience, and in some cases for external audiences as well.⁴

In order to assess the genuine security of the region, independently from the key security and defence external actor – NATO – this section will analyze the cornerstones of national security policies – security threats assessments, national security interests and objectives of the individual countries of the Western Balkans from the external audience’s perspective.⁵ This analysis is fundamental for assessing Kosovo’s security in the context of its immediate neighbourhood as well as prospects for lasting peace and stability in the region.

⁴ For further clarification see: Alan G. Stolberg: *How Nation States Craft National Security Documents*, Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the US Army War College, Carlisle, October 2012, p. 2-3.

- a) They serve as a broad construct for government departments or ministries (as well as legislative and judicial bodies), to ensure that they understand the intent (approach or direction) that the elected senior leadership desires in selected national security areas.
- b) They can function to inform the legislative body within a democracy (e.g., Parliament, Congress) on the resource requirements for the strategy in question, and thus facilitate the (fiscal) authorization and appropriation processes.
- c) Have the ability to be a strategic communications tool for both domestic and foreign audiences. These audiences include the domestic constituents of a democratic state—those that are considered key to the election of a party in power such as lobbying groups or unions. It could also be directed at other actors in the international system, such as other nation-states or entities that are potential threats that are considered to be significant to the state developing the document.

⁵ *Ibid.*, see point c)

1.2. Security Threats Analyses

Security threats, as specified by strategic national security documents of the individual Western Balkans countries, are elaborated in a limited manner and face a number of problems in their formulation, which vary from the lack of clear differentiation between challenges, threats and risks, to prioritization of threats.⁶ Threats and risks assessment (estimated negative impact vs their likelihood) may be used to assign risk management responsibilities,⁷ including contingency planning and responses within executive governments and their agencies, as well as providers of public services. For the purpose of focused analyses they are clustered in Conventional and WMD, Political, Non-Conventional and Transnational, Weak Governance and Emergency/Disaster categories.⁸

Conventional threats are viewed by the Western Balkans countries with the same glasses, but with different lenses. Armed conflicts threats are considered by Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia as almost inexistent, Albania and Kosovo foresee that there will be a significant decline and that they will be less likely to happen in the near and short future, Croatia and Montenegro consider them as greatly/significantly reduced, and Serbia treats them just as reduced. Nevertheless, none of the countries exclude totally armed conflict as threats that can be mainly caused by attempts for violent change of borders (as viewed by Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia), but it is evident (as viewed by Croatia) that capacity of successful offensive against others in the region is small. Thus, one may conclude that re-emergence of violent conflicts in the region in terms of threat assessment by all countries of the Western Balkans is remote, but if this might be the case, limited armed interventions cannot be excluded as an option.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) is identified by all countries of the region as a threat of military nature, but responses to it are foreseen by none among them. One may assume that this threat is “courteously imported” from NATO and EU strategic documents, rather than derived from any serious assessment of potential and likelihood of proliferation and use of WMD in the region. Nevertheless, it can be expected that if such a threat becomes a reality, it will be treated in conjunction with the international collective security and defence organizations, such as United Nations Security Council, NATO, EU and OSCE.

⁶ This problem that has been noted by the DCAF Publication: “Study on the Assessment of Regional Security Threats and Challenges in the Western Balkans”, Edited by István Gyarmati and Darko Stančić, <http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Study-on-the-Assessment-of-Regional-Security-Threats-and-Challenges-in-the-Western-Balkans>, Geneva, 2007, is still fully relevant.

⁷ Todor Tagerev: The Art of Shaping Defence Policy: Scope, Components, Relationships (but no Algorithms), Connections, Volume V, Number 1, Spring – Summer 2006, p.33

⁸ See Table: Security Threats

As illustrated by the respective table at the end of this section, the risks that may destabilize the region and bring re-emergence of armed conflicts, including conventional responses, according to the countries' national security and defence documents are threats of political nature - nationalistic/ethnic and religious, those of state formation and of contested/undetermined borders.

All the states of the region, with the exception of Montenegro and Serbia, list threats of this nature without targeting any specific country as a direct concern or a threat. While Montenegro considers future developments concerning Kosovo as crucial for security and stability of the region, Serbia targets Kosovo, including Kosovo Security Force (KSF) as a direct threat "to the existing mode of regional arms control which threatens the balance in the region." Even harsher is the vocabulary used by Belgrade on the creation of Kosovo Armed Forces.⁹ The projection of Kosovo as a security threat of such magnitude represents an obvious fact of security and defence policy intentions of Belgrade towards Prishtina.

Ironically, Kosovo Government has ignored this fact in its Strategic Security Sector Review (2014). Moreover, it considers that "the relaxation and normalization of relations between the Republic of Kosovo and Serbia has commenced and is continuing in the spirit of non-confrontation and European integration,"¹⁰ while prematurely assuming change of the overall Belgrade's policy towards Kosovo. Similarly to Government of Kosovo, there were no reactions whatsoever recorded by NATO, EU and their member-states on these policies of Belgrade. The disregard of this problem is not a proper prescription for solving it, regardless of NATO's presence in Kosovo and its current peace-enforcement mandate and overwhelming deterrent capacity.

In terms of non-conventional and transnational threats, all countries of the region share more or less same concerns. Terrorism, organized crime, extremist movements, illegal trafficking and cyber-crimes dominate their threats assessments. The addressing of these threats in efficient manner requires interstate co-operation at bilateral and multilateral level, primarily between countries of the region but also with Washington and Brussels. Due to its uncompleted integration within international community, Kosovo is handicapped regarding its direct regional multilateral cooperation, which is compensated through mirroring channels of communication via UNMIK and direct bilateral cooperation with countries of the region, (except for Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), USA, and EU member countries that have recognized its statehood.

⁹ See for example the declaration of the Defence Minister of Serbia Bratislav Gasic: Vojska Kosova bi bila pretnja, http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2014&mm=07&dd=27&nav_category=640&nav_id=881519, News Agency B92, July 27th, 2014.

¹⁰ Analyses of the Strategic Environment Review of the Republic of Kosovo, March 2014, p.16. http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analysis_of_Strategic_Security_Sector_Review_of_RKS_060314.pdf

However, a complicating matter is the hostile attitude of Serbia that similarly to conventional and political threats, projects Kosovo as a source of terrorism and organized crime.

The identified Weak Governance threats reflect the uncompleted transition of the states of the region from communism and war torn societies to stable democratic states with strong institutions and fully functional rule of law systems. Corruption, organized crime, socio-economic problems, weak institutions and unemployment dominate the threat assessment agendas of these countries, which also coincide with the EU enlargement criteria that have to be met by individual countries of the region that aspire, are candidates, or have opened accession negotiations, for membership.

In terms of security threats assessments of individual countries of the Western Balkans, it can be concluded that Kosovo faces a favourable, but also a complex environment. Its immediate neighbours, Albania and Macedonia exclude any direct threat that might come from Kosovo, Montenegro sees it as an unfinished story in terms of regional stability and security; and Serbia projects it as a direct conventional threat and rogue state entity, rather than a neighbor with whom it has not settled relations, and with whom it simultaneously shares the aim of European Union membership. Under such circumstances, it is illusory to foresee a fundamental normalization of relations between Prishtina and Belgrade as well as a credible exit strategy for NATO, whose presence remains crucial for the defence of Kosovo as well as for the security and stability of the entire region.

SECURITY THREATS

Threats	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
CONVENTIONAL AND MASS DESTRUCTION	Conflicting states or groups of states against each other, are expected to experience a significant decline in the short and medium term.	Virtually no risk of external aggression in the near future; But, relatively high concentration of military capabilities in the region	The danger of a military threat in the region is greatly reduced	Conventional confrontations between countries within and around the Euro-Atlantic area are less likely to happen in the near and mid-future.	Not facing currently direct conventional threats to its national security	The danger from military threat is significantly reduced as a consequence of the reduction of military assets in the region, but it cannot be excluded in the future	Threat of armed aggression reduced but not excluded
	Change of state borders through violence, extreme nationalism, confrontation of ethnic, cultural, ideological, religious groups, beyond national borders, may remain a risk to regional security in the following years.	Attempts for secession, autonomy and independence by certain ethnic groups, in conjunction with the relatively high concentration of military capacities.	Crises in its neighboring areas as well as those within a larger area, especially those located in the Southern Mediterranean/Northern Africa, the Middle East and the Caucasus	Unexploded Ordnance/Improvised Explosive Device UXO/IED	Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) (Non-state actors)	Possible resumption of multi-ethnic and multi-religious conflicts	Armed rebellion , as a specific form of armed conflict motivated by unconstitutional and violent aspiration to change the borders. Disputes with the use of weapons may arise as a result of escalating terrorism and border, territorial and other disputes.
	Spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD),	Excessive amounts of armaments and ammunition stored in inadequate facilities	Capacity of successful offensive against the others is small.	Proliferation of Small Arms		Surplus obsolete armaments and ammunition	Kosovo Security Force represents a serious threat to the existing mode of regional arms control and threatens the balance in the region
	Development of ballistic missile capabilities by countries outside NATO	The uncontrolled production and sale of weapons, including WMD; Land mines unexploded ordnance	WMD proliferation for terrorist purposes; Mines explosive devices	Proliferation of Nuclear and other WMD	Proliferation of WMD	Proliferation of WMD	Proliferation of WMD

Threats	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
POLITICAL	Nationalistic feelings	Slow implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords	National minority protection and rights in countries within the region and one-sided solutions for these issues	Ethnic and religious extremism	Religious radicalism and extremism	Past events and unsolved problems, which may cause instability in smaller areas	Illegal unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo
	Unresolved problems (complex history)	The remnants of political and social animosities as a result of the 1992-1995 conflict, supported by elements propagating various forms of nationalistic extremism	Border issues which resulted in the fall of the former Yugoslavia	Regional political instability	The region still burdened by unsolved issues and faces complex security risks	Future developments concerning Kosovo remain crucial for stability and security of the region as well as for its European and Euro Atlantic perspective	Unlawfully and unilaterally proclaimed independence of Kosovo
	Regional destabilization (nationalism and ethnic conflicts).	Latent danger and problems within certain countries and in relations between countries in the region.	Problems in the finalization of formation of new countries	Contested/undetermined borders	Sources of instability and potential conflicts will continue to contribute to the unpredictability of the security environment of the Euro-Atlantic area including the Region of Southeast Europe		Unresolved status and difficult situation of refugees, displaced and internally displaced persons
		Moves to succeed or gain autonomy-independence	Potential conflicts or interests of countries to gain control over transit routes of natural resources				Unfinished process of demarcation between the states of the former Yugoslavia
		Ethnic religious racial and political intolerance	Instability, escalation of national religious and economic disparities				Destructive action of certain religious sects and cults
							Kosovo (ethnically motivated acts of violence, insecurity and fear among members of the Serbian people)

Threats	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
NON CONVENTIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL	Confrontation between states and non-state actors are expected to increase in the years ahead. They may be generated from terrorism , extremist movements, failed states, illegal activities, or various crises	Terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism (incl. terrorism and expansion of organized crime in Kosovo)
	Organized crime	Money Laundering and Financing of Terrorist Activities	Illegal trafficking of drugs, weapons and human beings as a source of terrorist financing	Transnational crime	Transnational organized crime	Security can be negatively influenced by the crises in the immediate surrounding, but in the wider area as well, (Middle East, Caucasus and North Africa - . destabilized by crises, conflicts, demographic growth and reduction of strategic resources), the demonstration of transnational threats and the transferring of crises towards Europe	Foreign intelligence activities in the country
	Illegal trafficking	Geostrategic position of the region, located on important routes between Europe and Asia (which are routes for the transport of oil and natural gas, but also for illegal traffic in weapons, narcotics, white slavery etc., Impact of extreme ideologies	Organized Crime	Organized crime	Crossroads of the main routs means greater possibility for terrorism, illegal migration, drug, human and weapons trafficking as regular transnational threats	Organized crime	Organized crime (Drug trafficking, human trafficking and illegal migrations, as well as in economic and financial sphere, the proliferation of conventional weapons - Kosovo special focus- and the possibility of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
	Cyber Crime	Trafficking (human beings and narcotics)	Conflicts of interest regarding control over transition routes, access to new resources or gaining influence within areas which are sources of such resources	Economic inequity at global level	The slow economic recovery and high financial deficit for some EU member states result in the overflow of the financial instability to its surroundings.	Smuggling of narcotic drugs, weapons, illegal migrations, human trafficking	Energy security
	Energy security and scarce resources	Differences between the rich and the poor parts of the world	Negative results due to the process of globalization Refugee crises	Extremist movements	Computer attacks	Consequences of the globalization; difference between rich and the poor countries along with the political consequences	Cyber crime and threats to information and telecommunications systems
		Intensified forced migration as a consequence of extreme situations	The possibility of endangering information systems	Cyber Crime		Cyber crimes	

Threats	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
WEAK GOVERNANCE	Misinformation of the public opinion favors the destabilization.	Organized crime that underpin constant social and political stability in certain states. Porous borders that allow trafficking (including international criminals and terrorists)	The transition problems of countries in the area of East and Southeast Europe	Economic crimes	Illegal migration	Corruption	Corruption
	The insufficient economic development	Corruption	Problems with the functioning of the judicial system and the slowness of conducting legal procedures	Economic underdevelopment	Unstable and non-functional countries	Economic, social and political difficulties that come along with the transition process	Problems of economic development
	Inadequate development of education, science and culture	Growing differences in economic and social development	Unemployment	Unemployment		Problems of transition	Uneven economic and demographic development
	Illegal immigration	Social consequences of unemployment.	Threat of economic collapse	Weak security/justice institutions			
	Fragile government institutions	Instability resulting from the transition to market economies exacerbated by the stagnation of the region in comparison to more developed countries	Negative population trends	Corruption			
	Uncontrolled migration	Problems of transition to a market economy.	Disadvantages of globalization and asymmetric economic development	Failed states			
	Internal Political Instability	Problems of transition and instability within states	Incomplete democratization, problems of transition.				

Threats	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
EMERGENCY AND DISASTER	Natural, industrial and human factors	Environmental challenges (including natural and man-made disasters, management problems of solid and military waste, pollution)	Natural and technical-technological disasters in the country or region	Natural disasters		Natural, environmental, technical, and technological disasters	Uncontrolled spending of natural resources and endangering the environment
		Constant threats to the environment as a result of industrial and technological development	Spread of infectious diseases and epidemics	Epidemics		Chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological catastrophes,	Natural disasters and technical and technological accidents
		Spread of various incurable diseases	Potential environment bombs (nuclear plants outdated industrial installations)	Human-made disasters		Epidemics	Appearance and spread of infectious diseases in humans and diseases in animals
						Ecological threats	Drug addiction
							Global warming

1.3. National Interests and Security Objectives Analyses

National interests are cornerstones for the formulation of national security policy and serve as a guideline for coping with security threats and available opportunities,¹¹ while national security objectives serve as a guideline for defence and advancement of national interests. In the majority of national security documents of the countries of the region, these two concepts face a number of problems in their formulation and differentiation.¹² Also, national interests are not categorized and their intensities (stakes) are not specified, which makes analyses under these terms extremely difficult.

Categorization of national interests that can be found commonly in literature is provided in the following Table¹³:

Survival	The single most important interests for any state, and its very essence — the protection of its citizens and institutions from attacks by enemies. It addresses an imminent threat of attack and is an interest that cannot be compromised. If not attained, it will bring costs that are catastrophic, or nearly so. Whatever can be done would be done to ensure the survival of the state, including the use of military force.
Vital	A vital interest exists when an issue is so important to a state’s well-being that its leadership can compromise it only up to a certain point. Beyond that point, compromise is no longer possible because the potential harm to the state would no longer be tolerable. If the interest is achieved, it would bring great benefit to the state; if denied, it would carry costs to the state that are severe but not catastrophic. Such costs could severely prejudice, but not strictly imperil, the ability of the state’s government to safeguard and enhance the well-being of its populace
Important	These interests would be significant but not crucial to the state’s well-being. They could cause serious concern and harm to the state’s overseas interests, and even though the result may be somewhat painful, it would much more likely be resolved with compromise and negotiation, rather than confrontation. The potential value, as well as potential loss of these interests, would be moderate and not great.
Peripheral	These interests involve neither a threat to the state’s security or the well-being of its populace, nor seriously impact the stability of the international system. They are desirable conditions, but ones that have little direct impact on the ability of the state to safeguard its populace

¹¹ J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr. (Ed), *National Security Policy and Strategy*, Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the US Army War College, Carlisle, July 2010, p.5.

¹² For detailed information see the Sources of the Table: National Interest and Security Objectives, Annex 1, Bibliographical Sources of the Tables.

¹³ Table adapted from: J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr (Ed), *National Security Policy and Strategy*, Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the US Army War College, Carlisle, July 2010, pp 8-9.

However, this framework is not applicable for assessing the national security interests of the countries of the region, due to the above mentioned deficiencies in their formulations. Therefore, in order to get a clearer assessment picture in comparative framework of the vaguely defined national security interests and objectives by the countries of the region, they are merged within and sorted in four groups – Existential, Neighbourhood and the Region, Euro-Atlantic Integrations and International Security, and Internal Governance Interests and Objectives.¹⁴

Existential interests of the countries of the region cover the defence of sovereignty and independence, character of the country (multi-ethnic or national), and protection of its citizens. However, there are differences on how the states foresee protection and advancement of these interests outside of multilateral framework, which reflects their state of affairs in terms of their capabilities and limitations.¹⁵ Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro do not specify clearly security objectives for protection of these interests, Albania and Kosovo foresee consolidation and development of security (defence institutions), while Croatia emphasizes that it will use all available capacities, including the use of armed forces. Serbia, apart from using these capacities, aims to utilize preventive (foreign) intelligence gathering (“timely identification, gathering information and undertaking activities to prevent and stamp out the causes of risks and threats to security”) and preventive security measures (“preventive action through the implementation of effective measures and activities”). Taking into account the fact of the projection of Kosovo by Serbia as one of its major security threats, it can be assumed that intelligence operations of Belgrade within the territory of Kosovo are intensive. Also, it is hard to believe that other measures, including those of military nature, are excluded by Serbia.

These countries view their security as inseparable from regional security and stability. Therefore, in principle, they are committed to good neighbouring relations and contribution to regional stability and security. Nevertheless, further analyses will show that an obvious degree of anxiety exists in these countries, which can take forms that vary from unpredictable political developments, up to fundamental lack of trust in the future behaviour of other states of the region.

Albania considers regional cooperation and good neighbourhood relations as a priority. Croatia recognizes that “optimal degree of national security cannot be achieved without peace and security within the immediate surroundings,” but it does not dismiss the importance of

¹⁴ See Table: National Security Interests and Objectives.

¹⁵ Only Croatia and Serbia have in place military and other security forces able to provide self-defence from external aggression, other Western Balkans countries are highly vulnerable (see section 3.5).

controlled military capabilities by treating “Arms Control and Confidence and Security Building Measures” as an important component for enhancing regional security. Macedonia attributes good neighbourhood relations as “vital national interest” that is evident having in mind, firstly its ethnic composition and unresolved issues, especially with Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. Montenegro aims to create and strengthen adequate mechanisms of security at the regional level, while Serbia aims to improve cooperation and build “joint capacities and mechanisms for resolving contradictions, disputes and all kinds of challenges, risks and threats at regional level.” Kosovo admits reality of its current institutional incapability and aims to “develop capabilities to enhance regional cooperation and partnerships,” and it still remains largely non-integrated in the regional mechanisms of security and defence cooperation, mainly due to the Serbia’s opposition. These individual countries’ policy facts bring us to the conclusion that long-term security and stability of the region is not a closed chapter.

In addition, Albania, Croatia and Serbia assume the role of mother countries for members of ethnicities that reside outside of their state borders. These countries have different approaches on protection of their interests. Albania sees “Albanian issue” as an open one, it foresees that it will be solved by Euro-Atlantic integrations of the countries of the region, and aims to protect national values and rights of Albanians abroad. Croatia considers that it has a significant interest for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be a stable and democratic state, integrated into the EU, because Croats are a constitutive ethnic group of this country, but it does not mention Croats living in other countries of the region. Differently to Croatia, Serbia aims to promote cultural, economic and “other forms of cooperation” with Serbs living outside of its borders and supports keeping their national and cultural identity, thus projecting itself as a political epicentre for Serbs in the region.

Albania does not act as a mother country for Kosovo Albanians. Albania and Kosovo view each other rather as sister countries. Regardless of the fact that it is constitutionally defined as a multi-ethnic state, Kosovo in practice plays separately from, as well as jointly with Albania, the role of the mother country for Albanian ethnic minorities in former Yugoslavia.

Therefore, geopolitical changes that occurred in the Western Balkans during the last 25 years have created mono-polar centres of Serbianism and Croatism, and bipolar, two-centred, Albanianism. The emergence of these centres reflects open issues of national minorities in the Western Balkans as well as their particularities and consequent distinctive solutions applied so far. However, there is a distinction between Croatism and Albanianism, on the one side, and Serbianism, on the other. While Croatia, Albania and Kosovo encourage integration of Croats and Albanians in the countries where they reside, Serbia does not the same with the Serbs, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. In these two countries Belgrade is pushing

with non-integrationist policies, in conjunction with normative definition of territories where Serbian ethnic minority constitutes majority. In terms of ethnic geopolitics in the Western Balkans, unclosed issues of Albanianism, Croatism and Serbianism are key factors of regional (in)security and (in)stability, and these are still burdened with open ethnic minority issues and fragile inter-ethnic relations.

Internal governance interests and objectives of the countries of the region deal with the matters of preservation of constitutional order, democratic values, rule of law, human and economic security, as well as of internal reforms that are necessary for Euro-Atlantic integrations. They aim to become members of EU (Croatia is already a member), and most of them of NATO (Albania and Croatia are already members), with the exception of Serbia that has no ambition for membership in North Atlantic Alliance, and is limited to participation in the Partnership for Peace.

All countries of the region have ambitions and support international peace and security, though Kosovo still has to develop basic capabilities to contribute to international missions of this nature. Serbia is, however, the only country of the region that in addition to multilateral organizations includes “great powers,” namely US, EU and Russia, in the protection of “shared values in accordance with its national interests.” In this regard, a source of particular concern is Serbia’s strengthened security cooperation with Russia, which is moving increasingly towards the collision course with EU and NATO. It should be mentioned that in April 2013, Serbia got Observer Status in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Russian led intergovernmental military alliance - Collective Security Treaty Organization,¹⁶ which is in contradiction with the Belgrade’s stated objective to become an EU member and, subsequently, an integrated part of ESDP – the European Security and Defence Policy. Having in mind recent aggressive Russian security and foreign policy that culminated with illegal annexation of Crimea and confrontational policies with NATO and EU, Serbia’s double-headed policy with Brussels and Moscow may produce grave security implications for the region and Kosovo as well. In this regard, the agreement concluded in October 2011 between Belgrade and Moscow on the establishment of the Serbian-Russian Centre for Reaction to Emergency Situations¹⁷ in Nis is of particular concern.

Contradictory to its decision to remain outside of NATO and to flirt with Russia in security and defence cooperation, Serbia so far has not objected the possible membership of Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO. As a consequence of this position of Belgrade, Republika Srpska did not

¹⁶ CSTO press release: “Parliamentary Delegations of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and Republic of Serbia Granted Observer Status in Parliamentary Assembly of Collective Security Treaty Organization,” Moscow, April 12, 2013, http://www.odkb-csto.org/news/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=1776.

¹⁷EurActive: Russia Opens “Humanitarian base”, October 18, 2011, <http://www.euractiv.com/enlargement/russia-opens-humanitarian-base-s-news-508382>

veto the Membership Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina with NATO. Once after Bosnia and Herzegovina becomes NATO and EU member, the (geo)politics of the ethnic nation-state in the Western Balkans may be fundamentally altered. This will (un)intentionally enable the 'decentralization' of ethnic nationalism, it will strengthen nation state identities, and it will diminish nationalism and self-projected mother country roles. Similar outcomes may be produced by the membership of Kosovo and Macedonia in NATO and EU.

NATIONAL INTERESTS AND SECURITY OBJECTIVES

	Albania	BiH	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
EXISTENTIAL	<p>Sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country</p> <p>Prosperity and security for its citizens</p> <p>Peace and security in the country</p> <p>The consolidation of institutions and instruments of security</p> <p>Consolidation of Armed Forces</p>	<p>The protection of constitutional order and constitutionally guaranteed human rights and freedoms</p>	<p>The survival of a sovereign, independent and territorially integrated state with its national identity and fundamental values, as well as the protection of its citizens' lives and property</p> <p>Use all its available capabilities and resources, including its armed forces if necessary, to protect its vital national interests</p> <p>Build and maintain effective security mechanisms and resources and successfully face any security challenges, risks or threats</p>	<p>Independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity</p> <p>Life, welfare, property and safety of the citizens of Kosovo</p> <p>Protection of life and property</p> <p>Increase social welfare for all citizens</p> <p>Ensuring the overall safety of the citizens</p> <p>Conservation and protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity</p> <p>The use of diplomatic means in the interest of protecting the sovereignty and integrity</p> <p>Capacity development of Security and Defence (institutions and instruments)</p> <p>Integrated management and control of the state borders</p>	<p>Independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the unitary character of the country as well as its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character are the lasting interests of the country.</p> <p>Protection and promotion of peace, security, health and personal security of the citizens</p>	<p>Defending the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. Defending from all forms of conventional, unconventional and asymmetric threats, particularly from the threat of terrorism</p> <p>Protecting the lives and property of citizens and economic goods</p>	<p>Maintaining the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as well as national, cultural, religious and historical identity of the Serbian people and national minorities</p> <p>Protection of life and property of citizens, their freedom, equality, national equality and gender equality, social justice, human and minority rights and the inviolability of private and other forms of property are universal values that are accepted as national</p> <p>The right to defend includes a free decision on the form and manner of implementation of national security, as well as on the participation in regional and international security organizations, taking into account the interests of the country</p> <p>Strengthening the national security by means of timely identification, gathering information and undertaking activities to prevent and stamp out the causes of risks and threats to security</p> <p>Use all available capacities and resources to protect its national interests. Preventive action through the implementation of effective measures and activities</p> <p>Improvement of security of citizens society and state, and strengthening national security institutions</p>

	Albania	BiH	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
NEIGHBORHOOD AND REGION	<p>Promoting a regional environment of peace, security and stability, the establishment and development of sincere and reciprocal relationships with neighbouring countries and also, the rights and freedoms of Albanian citizens everywhere, are a priority for the security of country</p> <p>Protection of national values and the rights of Albanians</p> <p>The Albanian national issue will be solved through EU and Euro-Atlantic Integration of the countries of the region</p> <p>Commitment to support regional peace and security</p>	<p>Contribution to Regional Co-operation in South East Europe</p> <p>Integration into collective security structures</p>	<p>The regional aim of security activities is derived from the fact that the country is a relatively small state and that the security problems of the modern world are numerous and complex</p> <p>Developed relations and cooperation with neighbouring states are the foundation, as well as the precondition for complete integration into the European hub. An optimal degree of national security cannot be achieved without peace and security within the immediate surroundings</p> <p>Regional cooperation is an important component of the countries security policy</p> <p>Due to its geographical position and the fact that Croatians are one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's three constitutive ethnic groups, has a significant interest for this country to be a stable and democratic state, capable of independent sustainable development and, in the near future, for it to be completely integrated into the European hub.</p> <p>Regional cooperation is an important component of the countries security policy.</p> <p>Arms control and Confidence and Security Building Measures</p>	<p>Active participation in Regional and International mechanisms</p> <p>Contributes to the processes of regional integration and cooperation, pursues membership with full right and obligations and participates actively in regional organizations and initiatives</p> <p>Development of capabilities to enhance regional cooperation and partnerships</p>	<p>Leading an active, good neighbourly policy and participating in the improvement of regional cooperation.</p> <p>Contribution to the peace and stability in the world, in Europe and in the Region of Southeast Europe</p> <p>Development and maintenance of all possible forms of cooperation with neighbouring countries, expedient to the vital interests</p> <p>Promoting the policy of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation on the regional and global level</p>	<p>Making efforts to create and strengthen adequate mechanisms of security at the regional and local levels, with all organizations and states interested in achieving stability and security</p> <p>Promoting the policy of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation on the regional and global level</p>	<p>Improvement of cooperation with neighbours and building joint capacities and mechanisms for resolving contradictions, disputes and all kinds of challenges, risks and threats at regional and global level, the country contributes to creating a peaceful, stable and reliable security environment</p> <p>Constantly maintain and strengthen links of the Serbs who live and work abroad with the mother country, promote cultural, economic and other forms of cooperation with them and supports keeping their national and cultural identity</p> <p>Respecting the interests of other countries in the region and the world as a whole.</p> <p>Develop and promote good neighbourly relations, actively participate in protecting the values it shares with the countries involved in the process of European integrations, the great powers and other countries of the modern world, in accordance with its own national interests.</p>

	Albania	BiH	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY	<p>Integration into European, Euro-Atlantic and global community</p> <p>Commitment to support international peace and security</p> <p>Commitments for the CSDP Concept and European Security Strategy.</p> <p>The fight against terrorism</p>	<p>Seeks membership in the NATO and other security alliances, as soon as possible, as the basis for the selection of strategic bilateral partners</p> <p>Accession to and membership in collective security systems</p> <p>Integration in the European Union</p> <p>Combating terrorism, organized crime and illegal trafficking</p>	<p>NATO integration is one of the main goals of foreign and security policies.</p> <p>Integration with the European Union and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)</p> <p>A peaceful, stable and secure environment. Development of democracy and democratic values and principles, both in its closer and wider region</p> <p>The preservation and further development of international order based on the principles of justice, respecting international law, as well as political and economic equality</p> <p>Co-operation with international organizations</p> <p>Contributions to international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations</p>	<p>Membership and integration in the European, Euro-Atlantic and global institutions, particularly NATO/EU/OSCE/UN</p> <p>Preparation of capabilities to contribute in peace and humanitarian operations and other international missions of NATO /OSCE/ EU/ UN</p> <p>Contribute to building and safeguarding regional and global stability</p> <p>Develop, build and strengthen intelligence services in the interest of security, fight against terrorism, organized crime and corruption</p> <p>Development of national capabilities to face civil emergencies within and outside the territory of the country</p>	<p>Political-defence integration to NATO</p> <p>Political, economic and security integration to EU</p>	<p>Integration into NATO and European Union</p> <p>Contributing to stability and world peace by demonstrating its international solidarity, participating actively in combating terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in demining, in humanitarian and peace-keeping operations, and by allowing the possibility of use its land, air and sea space to support the missions undertaken by the UN, NATO, EU and OSCE</p> <p>Strengthening the capacities for combating terrorism, organized crime and corruption, strengthening the security of borders</p> <p>Strengthening the capacities and institutions responsible for management in emergency situations caused by natural, technical-technological (manmade), biological, chemical, nuclear, radiological and other accidents</p> <p>Supporting multilateral approach in resolving security issues</p> <p>Safeguarding peace and security in Europe, in its immediate, strategically relevant region and in Europe</p>	<p>Integration into European and other international security structures and participation in the NATO Partnership for Peace programme.</p> <p>Participation in building a favourable security environment and in the European integrations and other regional and international structures</p> <p>Maintenance and development of international order, based on the principles of justice, respect for international law and political and state equality. As a responsible member of the international community, respects international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the assumed obligations and advocates for the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations and states</p> <p>Maintenance and development of international order, based on the principles of justice, respect for international law and political and state equality. As a responsible member of the international community, the Republic of Serbia respects international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the assumed obligations and advocates for the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations and states</p> <p>Indivisibility of security is achieved through active contribution to the general security, as well as through cooperation and partnership with the subjects of international relation</p>

	Albania	BiH	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
INTERNAL GOVERNANCE	Sustained socio-economic development	The protection of constitutional order and constitutionally guaranteed human rights and freedoms	Freedom, equality, national equality as well as gender equality, pacifism, social rights, human rights, inviolable property, the preservation of nature and the environment, a government of justice and democracy.	Constitutional order	Promotion of the multi-ethnic democracy and multi-ethnic relations	Further strengthening democratic institutions and increasing openness and transparency in the public sector	Protection of life and property of citizens, their freedom, equality, national equality and gender equality, social justice, human and minority rights and the inviolability of private and other forms of property are universal values that are accepted as national
	Prosperity and security for its citizens	Achieving faster economic growth, higher living standards and the development of functional social programmes and mechanisms of economic assistance for citizens.	Preserving and developing democracy and democratic institutions, a just government, economic prosperity and social justice.	Maintaining and strengthening the rule of law and order throughout the country	Preservation and improvement of democratic values of the state: human right and liberties, rule of law, political pluralism, open political dialogue between the political parties, principle of division of power, protection of the cultural identity and heritage of all citizens	Safeguarding and further strengthening of the rule of law	Keeping internal stability, the rule of law and development of democracy and democratic institutions and integration in the European Union and other international structures
	The rule of law and democratic constitutional order	The development of a self-sustaining economy as a precondition for independence, improvement of living standards, and accession to the European Union	Democratic values such as freedom, human and minority rights and equality represent integral parts of these interests.	Respect for the human rights and freedoms according to the international standards and norms	Stimulation of sustainable economic and social development of the country based on the principles of market economy, private property and entrepreneurship	Protection of human and minority rights	Economic development, with environmental protection and the protection of natural resources, is a precondition for the prosperity of citizens and the state and the protection of national values
	Consolidation of a democratic society and human rights observation		Preserving and protecting the environment and the health and well-being of all its citizens.	Ensuring a unified and independent judicial system	Building a just social state from the aspect of creating equal opportunities for all citizens regardless of their gender, race, religion, political or ethnic background	Safeguarding the constitutional order of the state	Development of politically and economically stable and prosperous society
	The economic consolidation		Develop the preconditions and conditions for free, just and stable, political, economic and social development of the society in cooperation and mutual agreement with other democratic states.	Sustainable economic development	Strengthening the process of transparency of the defence sector and civilian control of the armed forces	Strengthening democracy, rule of law, full protection of human and minority rights	Harmonization of parts of the national security system and the acceptance and implementation of international standards in the field of security
	The approximation of legislation to the standards of EU		Preserving its cultural and historical identity	Policy development for a free market and stable economy	National security in line with Constitutional provisions, international law norms and international obligations.	Strengthening independence, autonomy and efficiency of the judiciary, accessibility of judicial authorities and public trust in the judiciary	
	Environment and natural resource protection			A favourable environment for foreign and domestic investment	Encouraging research, development and use of new technologies	Strengthening the process of transparency of the defence sector and civilian control of the armed forces	
	Respect for freedom and fundamental human and minority rights			Regional and international economic cooperation	Encouraging research, development and use of new technologies	Ensuring conditions needed for the protection of tradition, culture, language, national identity and customs	
				Strengthen the rule of law , independent judicial system and enforcement and implementation of the laws	Ensuring the protection of information resources from unauthorized access or modification of information while storing, processing or transferring them, including the measures of detection, documentation and elimination of threats	Ensuring the protection of information resources from unauthorized access or modification of information while storing, processing or transferring them, including the measures of detection, documentation and elimination of threats	
				Promote a functional democracy, to further develop political pluralism, to promote free trade economy and to respect human and ethnic minority rights	Development of a modern democratic society	Preservation and protection of nature, healthy environment and promotion of sustainable development	
			Develop sufficient national infrastructures for the free movement of people and goods within, and with neighbouring countries	Protection and improvement of the environment	Preserving a multi-party, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-confessional democratic system of government with full respect of democratic values		
			Continuously improve health care services for the population	Improving the standard of living of citizens by offering better quality public services through efficient education, health and social protection systems			
			Encourage development of scientific research and develop and use new technologies				
			Investment in education and schooling				
			Harmonize the legislation according to EU and NATO standards				

2. Defence Policies and Military Capabilities

2.1. Introduction

The natural right of all states to self-defence is clearly sanctioned by the Article 51 of the United Nations Charter,¹⁸ which, as such, does not exclude non-member states from this right. Also, the UN Charter prohibits the interstate use of armed force (Arts 2.4)¹⁹ and explicitly protects every state from the external use of force, regardless of whether the states have recognized each other, or their UN membership (it relates to “any state”).²⁰ Thus, in terms of international law, these provisions are fully applicable for all countries of the region, including Kosovo, regardless of the fact that it is not yet a UN member.

Therefore, it is not a surprise that the common point of departure for drafting the defence policies and military doctrines of all the states is the natural right to self-defence. Other components of these policies differ from state to state, as a consequence of internal, neighbourhood, regional and global circumstances, as well as of their national ambitions, alliances and international obligations. In this regard, the countries of the Western Balkans are not an exception of the rule in formulation of defence policies and military doctrines.

This section will analyze the Western Balkans individual countries’ defence policies, military capabilities, defence budget projections, military industries, military exports and imports, and military bases, in order to assess the immediate defence and military context in which Kosovo is situated.

¹⁸ Art. 51 of the UN Charter: “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.”

¹⁹ Article 2(4) : “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of **any state**, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

²⁰ For further explanation see: Dr. René Värk: The Legal Framework of the Use of Armed Force Revisited, Baltic Security & Defence Review. Vol 15, Issue 1, 2013.

2.2. Defence Objectives and Armed Forces Missions

The self-defence is the primary defence objective and armed forces mission of every country of the region - defence and protection of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. For achieving this primary goal, these countries envisage the development of effective national defence systems and their democratic control, integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions and assisting civilian authorities.²¹ Also, all countries of the region aim to contribute to missions related to international peace and security.

In addition to purely national defence requirements, Albania and Croatia, in line with their NATO membership obligations, also aim and are obliged to develop capacities for collective defence within NATO's defence planning framework. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, as aspirant countries that have acquired Membership Action Plans, aim to achieve full interoperability of their armed forces with those of NATO. As a country that has declared military neutrality and is not aspiring NATO membership, Serbia's aims are limited to interoperability with the NATO Partnership for Peace member countries,²² which, as such, does not exclude interoperability with NATO. Kosovo, as an aspirant state for NATO membership, has not yet military forces in place, but it aims to transform the Kosovo Security Force into an armed force – Kosovo Armed Forces – with the mission of protecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces is neither formally objected nor supported by NATO Alliance, but it has been strongly opposed by Serbia, even at the level of the UN Security Council.²³

Interestingly, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia have assigned to their armed forces the mission of fighting terrorism, while other countries of the region do not foresee these tasks for their armed forces. The inclusion of armed forces in fighting terrorism within the territories of the respective states poses a risk in itself for democratic governance of national security and justice institutions, given the possibility of the projection of the problems with minorities as terrorist, rather than political and/or social threats, which they might be in the reality. Involvement of armed forces, in addition to police forces, in dealing with national minority problems have proven to be disastrous in Former Yugoslavia, by producing civil and inter-ethnic wars with catastrophic consequences.

²¹ For detailed observation see tables: Defence Objectives and Missions of Armed Forces.

²² Interoperability with Partnership for Peace member countries does not exclude interoperability with NATO, but is short of full interoperability. For basic explanation of interoperability of the armed forces of NATO member countries see: Interoperability: Connecting NATO Forces, http://www.nato.int/cps/ar/natohq/topics_84112.htm?

²³ Appeal of the President Nikolic to the UN Security Council, Official Web-Site of the President of Serbia, <http://www.predsednik.rs/en/press-center/press-releases/appeal-president-nikolic-un-security-council>, May 27th, 2014.

The worrisome issue is that none of the countries in the region has a particular law for involvement of military forces in fighting terrorism within national borders,²⁴ which, in its essence, is a matter of the rule of law. If involvement of the military forces is necessary due to the lack of preparedness of other rule of law enforcement agencies, then it has to be clearly defined how this matter has to be regulated in order to avoid misuse for internal political benefits at the cost of human and political rights. Thus, it is necessary that this kind of possible involvement of the national military forces to be strictly defined by law in order to disable the misuse of these forces by national governments for political purposes as well as to prevent violation of human and national minority rights.

In addition, Serbia is the single country that aims to use deterrence for protecting its defence interests from risks and threats that might challenge them,²⁵ including terrorism and separatism. In this regard, Serbia's definition of security threats is very problematic, given that both, Kosovo and KSF, are considered as separatist, terrorist and military threats.²⁶ Consequently, regardless of whether the methodology that can be used for defence planning is capability, threat, or scenario based defence planning,²⁷ what is said above imposes the assumption that Serbia has in place military contingency planning against Kosovo. This fact questions the protection that is given to Kosovo by the International Law (UN Charter), which will hardly be respected by Belgrade under current circumstances.

These defence policy intentions of Serbia, combined with its military capabilities, constitute a direct threat to Kosovo and, as such, a challenge to peace and stability of the Western Balkans. This fact describes the obvious lack of lasting peace and stability, which are currently almost impossible to preserve without NATO's peace-enforcement presence in Kosovo.

²⁴ Involvement of military forces of Albania is not envisaged by any law, and is poorly specified by a government decision: <http://www.asp.gov.al/pdf/kunder%20krimit%20te%20organizuar%20trafiqeve%20dhe%20terrorizmit.pdf>
Bosnia and Herzegovina has not a specific law, though the task has been mandated by the Law on Defence: <http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/legal/laws-of-bih/pdf/014%20-%20ARMY%20LEGISLATION/BH%20Law%20on%20Defence%20of%20Bosnia%20and%20Herzegovina%2088-05.pdf>
Croatia has envisaged solely the role of Military Security Intelligence Agency by the Act on the Security Intelligence System: https://www.soa.hr/UserFiles/File/Zakon_o_sigurnosno-obavjestajnom_sustavu_RH_eng.pdf
Kosovo has poorly specified the role of KSF in fighting terrorism only by the National Strategy and Action Plan Against Terrorism, http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/Strategy_for_Counter_Terrorism_2012-2017_eng.pdf
Macedonia has not a specific Law, though the task has been only mandated by the Law on Defence: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3f549185d.pdf>
Montenegro has only foreseen anti-terrorist protection by the Law on Armed Forces: <file:///C:/Users/Studio/Downloads/Law%20on%20the%20Armed%20Forces%20of%20Montenegro.pdf>
Serbia has only foreseen anti-terrorist protection by Military Police of the Armed Forces and Ministry of Defence: <http://www.voa.mod.gov.rs/documents/law-on-the-saf.pdf>

²⁵ See Table: Armed Forces Missions.

²⁶ See Table: Security Threats – Serbia Column.

²⁷ For further explanation of capability, threat and scenario based defence planning see: *NATO Handbook on Long Term Defence Planning*, RTO/NATO, St. Joseph Print Group Inc., Ottawa, Canada, April 2003.

DEFENCE OBJECTIVES

Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
<p>Guaranteeing sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, the protection of population during peace, crisis and war time, and safeguarding of the national interests.</p> <p>Reforms in the field of defence focus at the creation of a small armed force, but more operational and professional, able to fulfil its constitutional missions and to be interoperable with armies of Alliance countries</p> <p>Develop its package of Capability Targets in support of the collective defence of the Alliance.</p> <p>Commitments within the country for the protection and support of civilian authorities and the Albanian people.</p> <p>Making available their capabilities in accordance with the contingency plans for national emergencies.</p> <p>Commitment to support regional and international peace and security</p> <p>Contribute with capabilities for crisis management and peace support missions and non-combat activities, such as training assistance and advisory roles, capacity building within defence and military cooperation programs.</p>	<p>A balance of forces and capabilities within Bosnia and Herzegovina, the immediate sub-region and South Eastern Europe</p> <p>Modernization of forces to include developing interoperability both within the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and with NATO</p> <p>Democratic, civilian control of the military with parliamentary oversight.</p> <p>Integration into Euro-Atlantic collective security structures</p> <p>Co-operation in the field of arms control and confidence- and security-building measures, to include participation in South East Europe security structures and protocols</p> <p>Partnership for Peace/NATO Standardization and Interoperability</p>	<p>The primary task of the defence system is securing capabilities for self defence</p> <p>The defence system must develop towards providing direct support to the security and foreign policy</p> <p>The Armed Forces will also develop capabilities for tasks supporting civil institutions under immediate threat and in other crisis situations.</p> <p>Within the framework of developing a defence system, the Armed Forces must become a modern and well-equipped military force; Armed Forces must be the establishment of interoperability with forces of member states of NATO</p> <p>Must recognize which elements of its military industry to retain and develop further, and which to develop in collaboration with its partners</p> <p>Defence system is based on principles of the democratic control of Armed forces and the transparency of defence capabilities, plans, programs and resources</p>	<p>Homeland defence</p> <p>Participate in crisis response operations, including peace support operations; assist civilian authorities to respond to natural disasters and emergencies, including readiness for a regional or an international response; conduct explosive ordinance disposal; and assist civilian authorities in civil protection operations tasks.</p> <p>NATO standards of interoperability and ultimately membership.</p> <p>Contribute to building and safeguarding regional and global stability</p> <p>Advancement and establishment of a defensive national security system with the necessary security capacities in the fields of diplomacy, intelligence services, defence and security</p> <p>Functioning of the defence and security institutions in the concepts of "joint", inter-agency and multinational, with a wide participation of military and civil capacities, as well as governmental and non-governmental agencies</p>	<p>Defence and protection of the territorial integrity and independence and developing capabilities to defend the country</p> <p>Developing MoD capacities for efficient management of the defence resources and processes</p> <p>Completing, developing and maintaining the ARM military capabilities.</p> <p>Integrating in NATO's political, defence and military structure and participation in the NATO collective defence</p> <p>Participating and contributing to the European Security and Defence Policy</p> <p>Providing continuous contribution to the international peace support operations</p>	<p>Developing and maintaining its credible capability to protect and defend its sovereignty, borders, territory, air and sea space and its population against threats and use of force of strategic magnitude.</p> <p>Development of interoperable capabilities for participation in peace support activities in the world.</p> <p>A degree of readiness that can be adapted to various developments and interoperable forces capable to act jointly with the forces of other states</p> <p>Contribution in building up stable security environment</p> <p>Development of partnership and co-operation with other democratic countries</p> <p>Development of required capabilities to join NATO and EU</p> <p>Implements the strategic defence concept in the following manner:</p> <p>a) in peacetime: by establishment of reliable partnership and alliance as well as by making contribution to establishment of more favourable security environment,</p> <p>b) in wartime: by decisive defence of its territory, supported by partners and allies.</p>	<p>An effective system of defence,</p> <p>Peace and a favourable security environment, and</p> <p>Integration into European and other international security structures and participation in the NATO Partnership for Peace Programme.</p> <p>Efficient system of defence, peace and a favourable security environment and integration into European and other international security structures.</p> <p>Transformation and professionalization of the AFS Building and development of the capacities of the AFS</p> <p>Reform and capacity building of the institutions of civil defence</p> <p>Efficient management of defence system</p> <p>Participation in multinational operations aimed at building and maintaining peace in the region and worldwide, as well as providing support to civilian authorities in combating security threats, are also significant aspects of the defensive resources engagement</p>

Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
<p>Supporting the government's foreign policy objectives, especially for county's integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures and promotion of international peace and security.</p> <p>Commitments for the CSDP Concept and European Security Strategy.</p>	<p>Wishes to develop partnership relations in the following areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Command and control, including communications and information systems, navigation and identification systems, interoperability, procedures and technology; • Defence planning, budgeting and resource management; and • Concepts, planning and operational aspects of peace support operations <p>Is ready to develop co-operation in other areas, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanitarian demining; • Military education, training and doctrine; • Small arms and light weapons; • The study of foreign languages; • International humanitarian law; • Civil emergency planning; • Defence policy and strategy; • Military geography; • Military infrastructure; • Airspace control and management; and • The fight against terrorism, organized crime and human trafficking. <p>Bilateral and Multilateral Defence Co-operation Programmes</p>	<p>Military capabilities goals:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish the targeted CAF organizational and personnel structure. 2. Equip the CAF with required weaponry and military equipment. 3. Increase participation in international military operations. <p>Doctrinal normative goals:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish the targeted system of training and education. 2. Adjust legislative and other regulations to the new defence concept, adopt the required doctrinal documents. <p>Goals aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the CAF:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Man the CAF with volunteers (professional military personnel, soldier-trainees and members of the contract reserve). 2. Achieve the planned placement of units in modern facilities. 3. Completely care for surplus, obsolete and faulty weaponry and military equipment 	<p>Gradual transformation of KSF to an organization with a mission of protecting Kosovo's sovereignty and territorial integrity</p> <p>As one of the basic principles of a democratic country, the security institutions of the country abide by the principle of civilian and democratic control of the authorities as foreseen by the Constitution and the laws as well as all international legal acts.</p>	<p>The Ministry will develop and enhance its civil-military planning capacities for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Defence policy and planning; – Strategic communications; – Development of capabilities and capacities; – Human resource management; – Evaluation and responsibility for the achieved results; – Support to international operations; – Participation in NATO defence planning; – International defence collaboration and defence diplomacy. <p>Transformation into effective, efficient and well-functioning organizations, ready to tackle the challenges of the 21st century.</p> <p>Developing, achieving and establishing greater national strategic and operational capacities and capabilities aimed at reaching the appropriate level of interoperability, efficiency, effectiveness and flexibility with NATO, regional and partner armed forces</p> <p>Modernizing the defence capabilities for command, control, communications, computers and intelligence;</p>		<p>Involvement in the activities of the European Security and Defence Policy</p> <p>Involvement in the NATO Partnership for Peace programme</p> <p>Achieving interoperability with the defence systems of the member state to the NATO Partnership for Peace programme</p> <p>The capacities of the elements of the defence system will be built in order to perform the obligations within the European security and defence policy.</p> <p>Application of total defence system, through a joint engagement of the defence actors and defence capacities. The concept fully appreciates the need for strengthening partnership and multilateral cooperation with other countries and international organizations and institutions in safeguarding and protection of the defence interests</p> <p>Depending on the types and intensity of the security challenges, risks and threats, shall protect its defence interests primarily by deterrence, using joint and effective defence system.</p>

Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia
	<p>Contribution to Regional Co-operation in South East Europe</p> <p>Special Arrangements (NATO, EU)</p> <p>The ultimate goal of the Common Defence Resource Management System is to achieve the greatest degree of security at the least cost, while applying scarce defence resources in an efficient and cost effective manner to address those military tasks most critical to the security of the State.</p>	<p>First level priority (I): is assigned to projects and tasks that directly affect the achievement of the CAF key operational capabilities to fulfil missions and tasks.</p> <p>Second level of priority (II): is assigned to projects and tasks which either directly support the organization of doctrinal, conceptual and normative engagement of the CAF or directly influence the dynamics and quality of achieving the military capabilities.</p> <p>Third level of priority (III): is assigned to projects and tasks which affect an increase in efficiency and rational use of resources.</p>		<p>Transforming the human resource management system for recruitment, retention and stimulation of the highly qualified and dedicated military and civilian personnel;</p> <p>Contribution to operations in the broad spectrum of UN, NATO and EU led missions;</p> <p>Adapting and improving training so as to complete the ARM missions, goals and tasks;</p> <p>Improving the defence infrastructure.</p>		<p>A reliable partnership and cooperation in building a favourable security environment significantly contributes to protection of the defence interests and to a resolute defence of the nation by our own forces and with the partners' assistance.</p>

ARMED FORCES MISSIONS

ALBANIA	BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	CROATIA	KOSOVO	MACEDONIA	MONTENEGRO	SERBIA
<p>Defend the territorial integrity of the country, stop any invasion of the country's territory and re-establish control of the national territory and borders.</p> <p>Conduct defensive operations against threats, defend the population of the country</p> <p>Providing combat readiness for defence.</p> <p>Monitoring and Surveillance of sea, air, and land territorial space</p> <p>Participation in humanitarian aid operations in case of environmental disaster or catastrophe in support of civil structures.</p> <p>Fight against terrorism</p> <p>Participation in Peace Support Operations</p> <p>Participation in peacetime security cooperation operations (joint, bilateral, multilateral, NATO/PfP)</p> <p>Prevention and management of environmental damage</p> <p>Direct defence of the population in cases of threats, incidents, accidents, or natural disasters and environmental catastrophe</p> <p>Support the protection of constitutional order (through engagement, in a support role to civil structures) in the war against illegal trafficking and terrorism.</p> <p>Prevent illegal conventional (and WMD) weapons trafficking</p>	<p>Ensure its sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, and international personality;</p> <p>Promote its foreign policy objectives;</p> <p>Protect the citizens of the country</p> <p>Carry out military training for combat and other forms of military defence</p> <p>Assure combat readiness</p> <p>Provide military defence of the state in the event of an attack</p> <p>Assist civil protection authorities in responding to natural disasters and accidents</p> <p>Fulfil the international obligations of the country</p>	<p>Defence of the country and allies</p> <p>Contribution to international security</p> <p>Participate in peace support operations, crisis response operations, humanitarian operations and other activities abroad</p> <p>Provide assistance in the defence of allied states in the event of an armed attack against one or more of them in accordance with international agreements concluded</p> <p>Participate in joint efforts of the European Union, in a spirit of solidarity if a member of a terrorist attack or exposed has become the victim of a natural or human-induced disaster activities</p> <p>Assist civil authorities institutions, organizations and agencies designated for protection and rescue, and the population in case of disasters, major accidents and disasters, search and rescue, transport of injured or diseased</p> <p>Supporting civil institutions.</p>	<p>Defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity</p> <p>Defend the citizens, their property, and the interests of the country</p> <p>Support to civilian authorities and communities</p> <p>Participate in crisis response operations, including, peace support operations</p> <p>Contribute to building and safeguarding regional and global stability</p>	<p>Defence and protection of the territorial integrity and independence</p> <p>Protection of the population against external threats</p> <p>Contribution to NATO collective defence. Contribution to the broad spectrum of peace support operations led by the UN, NATO, EU or friendly coalitions.</p> <p>Surveillance and air defence of the national air space. Participation in international (multilateral, regional and bilateral) air policing arrangements for our national air space</p> <p>Support to the police and other state institutions in the protection of the critical national infrastructure and support in dealing with the consequences in case of a terrorist attack. Effective military intelligence and reconnaissance in support of the ARM expeditionary operations;</p> <p>Support of the state institutions in case of natural disasters and epidemics technical – technological and other hazardous situations and crises;</p>	<p>Protection of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country</p> <p>Achieving the required level of interoperability of its forces with allies and partners</p> <p>Host nation support</p> <p>Participation in international operations and missions</p> <p>Arms control in accordance with the international agreements</p> <p>Participation in international military cooperation in order to develop trust and partnership</p> <p>Support to civilian institutions in natural and man-made disasters</p> <p>Support to the police in the fight against terrorism</p> <p>Support in search and rescue operations</p>	<p>Deterrence from armed threats</p> <p>Deterrence of the violation of territorial integrity</p> <p>Defence of Air Space</p> <p>Participation in international military cooperation</p> <p>Participation in multinational operations</p> <p>Assistance to civilian authorities in combating internal security threats, terrorism, separatism and organized crimes</p> <p>Assistance to civilian authorities in responding to natural disasters, technological accidents and other disasters</p>

2.3. Military Capabilities and Defence Budgets

During the last decade, the armed forces of the countries of the region have experienced radical transformation as a result of Euro-Atlantic integrations, of changed nature of security threats, as well as of national security ambitions. The armed forces of these countries have adopted the concept of professional armies and they have abandoned conscription and the Cold War doctrine of territorial defence. In addition, in line with their defence objectives, they are aiming to achieve interoperability with NATO and Partnership for Peace countries, respectively.

In terms of military capabilities there are huge discrepancies between countries of the region in terms of personnel, weaponry and budgets.²⁸ In the region, only Croatia and Serbia have credible military capabilities in terms of defence and combat capacities. These two countries are the single ones that have acquired military aviation,²⁹ serious air defence and land forces. Air-forces of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro are constituted by a modest number of military helicopters and they don't have any military aircrafts, while Kosovo has, neither military helicopters, nor military aircrafts. In terms of air defence the air-space of Albania is fully dependent on NATO, while the air-spaces of other countries are practically undefended. The same pattern among countries of the region can be found in respective land forces as well: Albania and Montenegro have the smallest, and Kosovo has no capabilities at all.³⁰

As far as defence budgets are concerned,³¹ Croatia's is the highest in the region, and it is planned to increase in the next two years (from 609.49 to 624.23 million Euros). Serbia's defence budget is the second one, and it is planned to increase in 2015 (from 495.00 to 501.14 million Euros) and to decrease in 2016 (from 501.14 to 472.97 million Euros). The defence budgets of Croatia and Serbia separately are higher than the total defence budgets of all other countries of the Western Balkans together. These two countries are dominant in the region in terms defence spending and military capabilities and can counterbalance each other. Other countries of the region have no individual capacities to match with them in a foreseeable future.

²⁸ See tables: Military Capabilities and Defence Budgets.

²⁹ The Military Balance 2014, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, January 2014, p.132-133 "Serbia has a "Small number of combat aircrafts in service, and had been aiming to procure one or two squadrons of a modern multi-role types. Funding constraints have meant that this project has been delayed. Serviceability and platform availability are likely to be a problem for the air force".

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ See table: Defence Budgets.

After Croatia and Serbia, Macedonia is the third country in terms of defence spending and it has planned the highest budget increase for the next two years (from 156.06 to 202.95). Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Kosovo have planned minor increases of their defence budgets (147.04 to 150.15, 43.14 to 47.21 and 42.03 to 45.50 million Euros respectively), while the defence budget of Albania is planned to remain at the same level (101.75 million Euros), regardless of its very limited military capabilities.

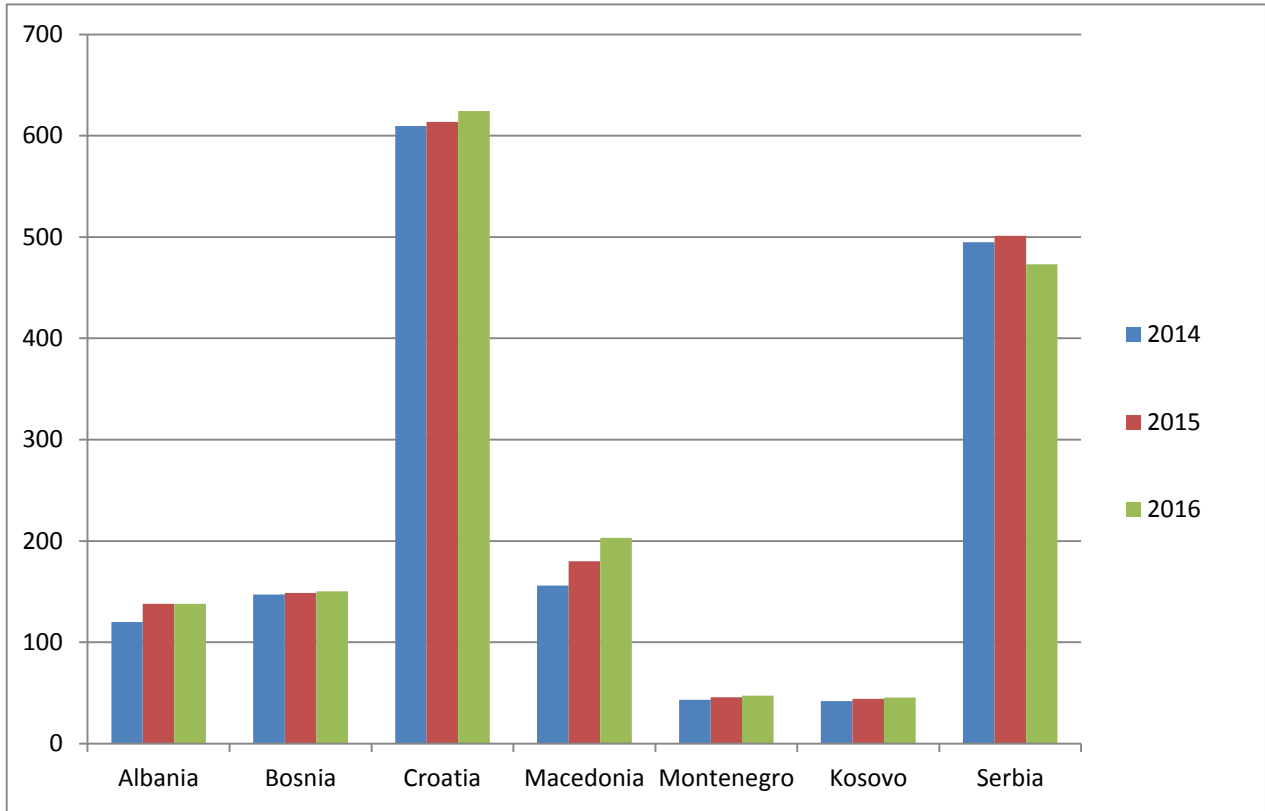
In terms of planned defence budgets per capita, Croatia is the leading country of the region, followed by Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. Contrary to expectations, planned defence budgets, in amount and per-capita terms of Albania and Kosovo do not match their defence ambitions. Albania's projected defence spending as a new member of NATO is small and does not give a perspective of strengthening its military capabilities.

Defence spending projections of Kosovo are symbolic and do not match the needs of transformation from Kosovo Security Force into Kosovo's Armed Forces, thus giving the impression of a political symbolic rather than of building military capabilities in line with national interests and defence ambitions of the country. The creation of Kosovo Armed Forces will not have a significant role in terms of regional military balance and as such does not pose a military threat to any of its neighbours.

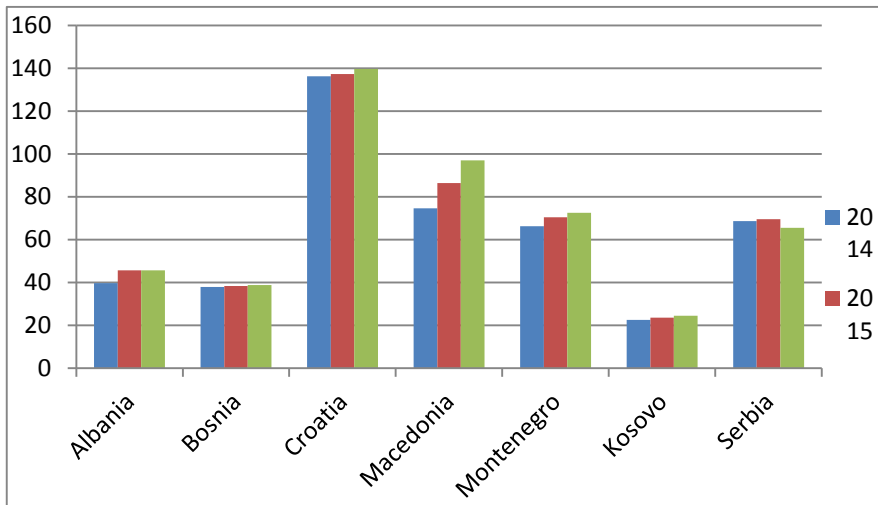
MILITARY CAPABILITIES					
	Population	Active Forces	Reserve Forces	Major Land Units	Major Air Units
Albania	3,011,405	14,250		Special Forces 1 cdo regt Manoeuvre Light: 1 (rapid reaction) lt inf. bde Combat Support 1 arty bn, 1 cbt spt bde, 1 sigs n Combat Service Support 1 log bn	Helicopter 5 AS-532AL 6 light helicopters AS-532 7 helicopters Bell-205/UH-1H 7 light helicopters Bell-206/OH-58
B&H	3,875,723	10,500		Manoeuvre Light: 3 inf bde (1 recce coy, 3 inf bn, 1 arty bn) Combat Support 1 cbt spt bde (1 tk bn, 1 engr bn, 1 EOD bn, 1 int bn, 1 MP bn), 1 EOD bn, 1 CBRN coy Combat Service Support 1 log comd (5 log bn)	Helicopter 1 sqn with Bell with Bell 205; Mi-17 Hip H 1 sqn with Mi-8 Hip; Mi-8MTV Hip 1 sqn with Mi-8 Hip; SA342H/L Gazelle (HN-42/45M) Air Defence 1 AD bn
Croatia	4,475,611	16,550		Special Forces 1 SF bn Manoeuvre Armoured: 1 armd bde Light: 1 mot inf bde Other: 1 inf trg regt Combat Support 1 arty/MRL rgt, 1 AT regt, 1 ADA regt 1 engr regt, 1 int bn, 1 MP regt, 1 NBC bn, 1 sigs regt Combat Service Support 1 log regt	Fighter/Ground Attack 1 (mixed) sqn with MiG-21bis/UMD Fished Transport 1 sqn with An-32 Cline Training 1 sqn with PC-9M; Z-242L 1 hel sqn with Bell 206B Jet Ranger II Fire Fighting 1 sqn with AT-802FA Fire Boss; CL-415 Transport Helicopter 2 sqn with Mi-8MTV Hip H; Mi-8T Hip C; Mi-171Sh
Kosovo	1,859,203	2,500	800		
Macedonia	2,087,171	8,000	4,850	Special Forces 1 (Special Purpose) SF regt (1 SF bn, 1 Ranger bn) Manoeuvre Armoured: 1 tk bn Mechanised: 1 mech inf bde Combat Support 1 (mixed) arty regt, 1 AD coy 1 engr bn, 1 MP bn, 1 NBC coy, 1 sigs bn	Transport 1 (VIP) sqn with An-2 Colt Training 1 sqn with Bell 205 (UH-1H Iroquois) 1 sqn with Z-242 Attack Helicopter 1 sqn with Mi-24K Hind G2; Mi-24V Hind E Transport Helicopter 1 sqn with Mi-8MTV Hip; Mi-17 Hip
Montenegro	653,474	2,080		Special Forces 1 SF bde Manoeuvre Reconnaissance 1 recce coy Light: 1 mot inf bde (1 SF coy, 2 inf regt (1 inf bn, 1 mtn bn), 1 arty bty, 1 cbt spt coy, 1 CBRN pl, 1 sig pl) Combat Support 1 engr coy 3 sigs pl 1 MP coy	Training 1 (mixed) sqn with G-4 Super Galeb; Utva-75 (none operational) Transport Helicopter 1 sqn with SA341/SA342L Gazelle

Serbia	7,243,007	28,150	50,150	<p>Special Forces 1 SF bde (1 CT bn, 1cdo bn, 1 para bn, 1 log bn)</p> <p>Manoeuvre Mechanised 1 (1st) bde (1 tk bn, 2 mech inf bn, 1 inf bn, 1 SP arty bn, 1 MRL bn, 1 AD bn, 1 engr bn, 1 log bn) 3 (2nd, 3rd & 4th) bde (1 tk bn, 2mech inf bn, 2 inf bn, 1 SP arty bnm 1 MRL bnm 1 AD bnm 1 engr bnm 1 log bn)</p> <p>Combat Support 1 (mixed) arty bde (4 arty bn, 1 MRL bn, 1 spt bn) 2 ptn bridging bn 1 NBC bn 1 sigs bn 2 MP bn</p>	<p>Fighter 1 sqn with MiG-21 bis Fishbed; MiG-29 Fulcrum</p> <p>Fighter/Ground Attack 1 sqn with G-4 Super Galeb*; J-22 Orao; Isr; 2 flt with IJ-22 Orao 1*; MiG -21R Fishbed H*</p> <p>Transport 1 sqn with An-26; Do-28; Yak-40 (Jak-40); 1 PA-34 Seneca V</p> <p>Training 1 sqn with G-4 Super Galeb* (adv trg/light atk); SA341/342 Gazelle; Utva-75 (basic trg)</p> <p>Attack Helicopter 1 sqn with SA341/342L Gazelle; (HN-42/45); Mi-24 Hind</p> <p>Transport Helicopter 2 sqn with Mi Hip; Mi-17 Hip H</p> <p>Air Defence 1 bde (5bn) 2msl, 3SP msl) with S-125 Neva (SA-3 Goa); 2K12 Kub (SA-6 Gainful); 9K32 Strela-2 (SA-7 Grail); 9K310 Igla - 1 (SAP-16 Gimlet) 2 radar bn (for early warning and reporting)</p> <p>Combat Support 1 sigs bn</p> <p>Combat Support 1 maint bn</p>
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Country	2014		2015		2016	
	Defence Budget (Million Euro)	Defence Budget per capita (Euro)	Defence Budget (Million Euro)	Defence Budget per capita (Euro)	Defence Budget (Million Euro)	Defence Budget per capita (Euro)
Albania	101.75	33,69	101.75	33,69	101.75	33,69
BiH	147.04	37,98	148.82	38,44	150.15	38,78
Croatia	609.49	136,34	613.77	137,29	624.53	139,70
Kosovo	42.03	22,61	44.00	23,67	45.50	24,47
Macedonia	156.06	74,61	180.73	86,40	202.95	97,03
Montenegro	43.14	66,37	45.84	70,52	47.21	72,63
Serbia	495.00	68,66	501.14	69,51	472.97	65,60



Defence Budget (Million Euro)



Defence Budget per capita (Euro)

2.4. Defence Industries and Military Exports and Imports

This section will analyze defence industries as well as military exports and imports of the Western Balkans countries, in order to get a comprehensive overview of their production know-how of military weaponry, and their export capabilities in this kind of trade. Another aim of reviewing military imports is to get a picture of 'political orientations' of individual countries regarding their supplies with military weaponry.

Serbia is by far the leading country of the region in defence industry, and it produces a wide range of military weapons, including missile systems, artillery weaponry, grenade launchers, training military aircrafts and has overhaul capacity for MIG 21, MIG 29, Galeb, Super Galeb and Orao aircrafts, for transport aircrafts, as well as for helicopters (light and transport).³² Croatia has developed defence industry that mainly covers the needs of its armed forces, and produces narrower range of weaponry in comparison to Serbia. However, it has domestic production capacities, among others, for anti-aircraft missiles, battlefield information and navigation systems, ballistic protection, battle tanks, multiple launcher rocket systems, grenade launchers and military vessels.³³ Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina have very limited defence industry capacities, while capacities of Albania are symbolic, and Kosovo has none.³⁴

Serbia is, by far, a leading country in the region in military exports as well. It has partially inherited customers from former Socialist Yugoslavia and nowadays its arms productions are used by NATO Missions, like that in Afghanistan.³⁵ Military exports of other countries are symbolic and they are not a result of capacities of their defence industries, but rather of sales of used weaponry and military equipments.³⁶

Military imports of the individual countries of the region have different patterns.³⁷ Albanian military imports come mainly from NATO countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina has diverse imports that range from China, Russia, and Middle East, to US, Croatian and Macedonian imports come mainly from NATO/EU countries, but also from the countries of the former Soviet block, while Serbia's imported weaponry mainly comes from Russia and Ukraine. There are no recorded evidences of any weaponry imported by Kosovo and Montenegro.

³² See Table: Defence Industry.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ BBC News: Serbia arms industry boom time detonates NATO debate, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13731608>, 10 June 2011.

³⁶ See table: Military Exports 1992-2013.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Therefore, it can be concluded that, in terms of defence industry and military exports Serbia is by far the leading country in the Western Balkans. Croatia stands after Serbia in defence industry, but it has very limited military exports, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro have small defence industry and symbolic military exports, and Albania's defence industry and exports are symbolic. Kosovo has none of these capacities, and its know-how capacities are inexistent.

Military imports of the Western Balkans countries are a result of their legacies of wars for independence of the last decade of the 20th century, and of their approaches toward membership in NATO. Albania and Croatia have been mainly oriented towards military markets of the Western Countries. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a record of military imports that originate from Middle East, to US and Russia. Macedonia has supplied its armed forces with weaponry from Western Countries and Ukraine, while Serbia's military imports come mainly from the countries of former Soviet Union. Kosovo and Montenegro have no records of any military imports.

DEFENCE INDUSTRY

ALBANIA	BiH	CROATIA	MACEDONIA	MONTENEGRO	SERBIA
<p>Pistol type "Makarov "Parabellum" with caliber 19mm</p> <p>Manufacturing services for defence industry with its high precision machines; repairing, heat treatment and enameling of surfaces.</p> <p>Dynamite</p> <p>Ammunition</p> <p>Black powder</p> <p>Safety fuses</p> <p>TNT</p> <p>DNT</p> <p>RDX</p> <p>Propellants (NG/NC) with single and couple bases</p> <p>Nitrocellulose</p>	<p>Cartridge 40mm</p> <p>Fuses</p> <p>Hand grenade</p> <p>Gun percussion and electric primers</p> <p>Anti-tank mines</p> <p>Guns and howitzers</p> <p>Mortars, recoilless guns</p> <p>Rocket launchers</p> <p>Machine guns</p> <p>All kinds of percussion primers for small arms ammunition, primers, duplex and blasting caps, delay elements, electric primers, intended for fuses, electric squibs, igniters, different types of initiating explosives and chemical ammunition</p> <p>Small arms ammunition cats. 5.56 – 7.9 mm</p> <p>Ammunition of cal. 12.7mm</p> <p>Hunting & sporting ammunition</p> <p>Metal links for ammunition</p> <p>Mortar ammunition, artillery ammunition</p> <p>Tank and anti-tank ammunition</p> <p>Rockets</p> <p>Infantry weapon ammunition</p> <p>Air bombs</p> <p>Overhaul of machines and tools</p>	<p>Aiming devices</p> <p>Aircraft maintenance</p> <p>Ammunition</p> <p>Antiaircraft missiles</p> <p>Armoured personal carriers</p> <p>Artillery digital assistants</p> <p>Artillery fire control systems</p> <p>Backpacks</p> <p>Ballistic protection</p> <p>Battlefield information and navigation systems</p> <p>Communication solutions</p> <p>Demining machines</p> <p>Diving equipment</p> <p>Electrical equipment</p> <p>Flying targets</p> <p>Fuses</p> <p>Geoinformation services</p> <p>Grenade launchers</p> <p>Hand grenades</p> <p>Helmets</p> <p>Main battle tanks</p> <p>Military vessels</p> <p>Multifunctional consoles</p> <p>Multiple launcher rocket systems</p> <p>NBC protection</p> <p>Nightsights</p> <p>Pistols</p> <p>Radio broadcasting transmitters</p> <p>Remote laser mine activators</p> <p>Rifles</p> <p>Search and rescue vessels</p> <p>Simulators</p> <p>ATGW</p> <p>Flight simulators</p> <p>MANPADS</p> <p>Software, IT security</p> <p>Unmanned aerial vehicles</p>	<p>Ballistic protection equipment intended for personal ballistic protection, such as: ballistic helmet, ballistic vest, ballistic plate, ballistic shield and other similar equipment</p> <p>Hand-held rocket launchers is available in various calibers such as: 64mm, 90mm and 120mm</p> <p>Rocket Launchers</p> <p>Ballistic Helmets</p> <p>Visors for helmets</p> <p>Ballistic vests</p> <p>Ballistic plates</p> <p>Ballistic shields</p> <p>Transparent shields (Antiriot)</p> <p>Ballistic folding briefcases</p> <p>Ballistic attache case</p> <p>Sleeping bag</p> <p>Blast suppression blanket & Blast containment ring</p> <p>Mortar shells</p> <p>Magazine for automatic rifle 7.62 (Kalasnikov)</p> <p>Bayonets</p> <p>Batons</p> <p>Accessories</p> <p>Hermelin TM 170</p> <p>Humvee - HMMWV</p> <p>M1114</p>	<p>Electronic and telecommunication systems</p> <p>Pyrocartridges</p> <p>Rocket engines</p> <p>Detonators</p> <p>Metal industry</p> <p>Galvanization and pressing</p> <p>Nonmilitary explosive</p> <p>Fuses and electrodetonators</p> <p>Hydraulics and pneumatics, pumps, valves distributors</p>	<p>Initial, classical ordnance and new missile systems, ordnance for civilian market and material pre-processing.</p> <p>All types of nitro-celluloses, gun powder, powder charge, nitro-glycerine and powerful compounds</p> <p>TNT</p> <p>Octogen</p> <p>ANFO explosives</p> <p>Antifreeze and methyl ester</p> <p>Shooting, practice, artillery subcaliber and "ecology" ammunition, machines and devices</p> <p>Aircraft, antiaircraft, tank and artillery ammunition</p> <p>Grenade launchers as well as ordnance for civilian market</p> <p>Automatic weapons of 5.56 and 7.62 mm caliber</p> <p>Grenade launchers</p> <p>Sniper rifles</p> <p>Machine guns</p> <p>Canons of 20 and 30 mm calibre</p> <p>Development of semiautomatic sniper rifle, heavy machine gun and subcaliber grenade launchers in NATO caliber</p> <p>Overhauls supersonic aircraft MiG-21 and MiG-29, jet planes Super Galeb, Galeb and Orao, transport aircraft An-26, An-2, piston aircraft Utva-75, light helicopters Gazela and Mi-2, transport helicopter Mi-8</p> <p>Overhaul of piston, turbopropeller and turbo-shaft power trains; OTO and diesel engines, medium overhaul of missile system KUB and NEVA; medium overhaul of radar systems PRV-16, P-12, P-15; overhaul of rockets V-V: R-3R, R-13M, R-60M/MK, R73E, R-27, AGM65B</p> <p>Technical maintenance and overhaul of armament and military equipment, including appropriate related systems, generators and device</p> <p>Overhaul of combat means: tracked and wheeled vehicles, artillery and rocket weapons, small arms, means of communication, optical and optoelectronic devices, energy resources and rocketry</p> <p>Lasta 95</p> <p>Cobac</p>

MILITARY EXPORTS

Albania	BiH	Croatia	Montenegro	Serbia
<p>Burkina Faso : 12 mortars M-43 120mm</p>	<p>Afghanistan : 60 towed guns D-30 122mm</p> <p>Cameroon : 31 armoured cars AML-60/90</p>	<p>Guinea : 40 mortars UBM-52 120mm</p>	<p>Armenia : 16 towed guns D-30 122mm</p> <p>Egypt : 70 anti-ship missiles P-15M/SS-N-2C Styx 5 FAC Project-205/Osa</p> <p>Serbia : 16 SPAAG BOV-3 6 trainers/combat aircrafts G-4 Super Galeb</p>	<p>Bangladesh : 18 self-propelled guns B-52 NORA 155mm</p> <p>Myanmar : 30 self-propelled guns B-52 NORA 155mm 36 towed guns M-101A1 105mm 54 towed guns M-56 105mm</p> <p>Cambodia : 60 tanks T-55</p> <p>Ethiopia : 64 towed guns D-30 122mm</p> <p>Iraq : 20 trainer aircrafts Lasta-95</p> <p>Sudan : 12 light aircrafts Utva-75</p> <p>Pakistan IFV</p>

MILITARY IMPORTS

Albania	BiH	Croatia	Macedonia	Serbia
<p>China : 1 coast defence system HY-2 CDS 15 anti-ship missile HY-2/SY-1A/CSS-N-2</p> <p>France : 5 helicopters AS-532AL</p> <p>Germany : 6 light helicopters AS-532</p> <p>Italy : 7 helicopters Bell-205/UH-1H 7 light helicopters Bell-206/OH-58</p>	<p>China : 10 tank destroyers WZ-91/Type-92 300 anti-tank missiles Red Arrow-8</p> <p>Egypt : 10 tanks T-55 12 towed gun D-30 122mm 12 towed gun M-46 130mm</p> <p>Iran : 1 mobile SSM launcher Nazeat N-10</p> <p>Qatar : 25 infantry fighting vehicles AMX-10P</p> <p>Romania : 18 self-propelled MRL APR-40 122mm 8 towed gun M-46 130mm</p> <p>Russia : 1 light helicopter Mi-34S/Hermit</p> <p>United Arab Emirates : 41 armoured car AML-60/90 36 tanks AMX-30B 36C towed guns Model-56 105mm</p> <p>U.S. : 15 helicopters Bell-205/UH-1H 80 APC M-113</p>	<p>Czech Republic : 5 trainer aircraft Z-142/Z-242L</p> <p>Finland : 126 APC AMV</p> <p>2 FAC Helsinki</p> <p>Norway : 80 APC turret Protector</p> <p>Russia : 30 helicopters Mi-8MT/Mi-17/Hip-H</p> <p>Sweden : 126 Diesel engines (AV) DI-12</p> <p>Canada : 20 turboprop PT-6</p> <p>Italy : 10 APV M-65E LMV 4 sea search radar Falcon-2</p> <p>Kyrgyzstan : 4 fighter aircraft MiG-21PFM/ Fishbed-F</p> <p>Germany : 25 Diesel engines BT-6L</p> <p>Poland : Fighter aircraft Trainer aircraft</p> <p>Switzerland Trainer aircraft</p> <p>Soviet Union 1 AK-630 30 mm</p> <p>UKRAINE 5 MiG- 21 bis/Fishbed-N</p> <p>USA 10 Light Helicopters</p> <p>Unknown Country 2 Transport aircraft 5 Combat helicopter 10 Combat helicopter 100 Anti-tank missile 10 SAM 50 Anti-tank missile</p>	<p>Bulgaria : 94 tanks T-55 8 towed guns D-20 152mm 108 towed guns M-30 122mm</p> <p>France : 62 anti-tank missiles MILAN 20 ground surv radar RATAc</p> <p>Czech Republic : 4 trainer aircrafts Z-142/Z-242L</p> <p>Germany : 60 APC BTR-70 115 APC TM-170 Hermelin</p> <p>Greece : 2 helicopters Bell-205/UH-1H 10 APC 4K-7FA</p> <p>Ireland : 4 light helicopters Bell-206/OH-58</p> <p>Ukraine : 4 mobile SAM systems Strela-10/SA-13 12 combat helicopters Mi-24V/Hind-E 4 ground attack aces Su-25/Frogfoot-A 4 helicopters Mi-8MT/Mi-17/Hip-H 22 APC BTR-80 11 infantry fighting vehicles BMP-2 31 tanks T-72 6 self-propelled MRL BM-21 Grad 122mm 100 SAM Strela-10/SA-13 Gopher</p> <p>Kazakhstan : 12 APC BTR-80</p> <p>Russia : 4 hlicopters Mi-8MT/Mi-17/Hip-H</p> <p>Italy : 30 APC M-113</p> <p>Serbia : 22 mortars UBM-52 120mm</p> <p>U.S. : 1 helicopter Bell-412 1 light aircraft Cessna-337/O-2 1 APV UMMWV Up-Armoured 36 towed guns M-101A1 105mm</p>	<p>Kazakhstan : 226 portable SAM Iglu-1/SA-16 Gimlet</p> <p>Montenegro : 16 SPAAG BOV-3 6 trainer/combataircraft G-4 Super Galeb</p> <p>Ukraine : 2 combat helicopters Mi-24V/Hind-E 2 helicopters Mi-8MT/Mi-17/Hip-H 31 tanks T-72</p> <p>U.S. : 1 light transport aircraft PA-34 Seneca</p> <p>Russia : 2 helicopters Mi-8MT/Mi-17/Hip-H 650 anti-tank missiles 9M14M/AT-3 Sagger 150 portable SAM Strela-2/SA-7 Grail</p>

2.5. Military Bases

All the countries of the region have well developed networks of military bases/barracks of land forces.³⁸ If we look at the geographical distribution of these bases, we will notice that, in the case of Croatia, they are more concentrated towards Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and those of Serbia are more concentrated towards Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other countries do not have any specific concentration of military bases towards their neighbours.

In terms of air-defence bases,³⁹ Croatia and Serbia have the highest capacities in the region, and strategically they are very well distributed. Behind them is Macedonia, followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania.⁴⁰ Kosovo has one major air-base in Prishtina, and a reserve one in Gjakova,⁴¹ and these are currently being used by KFOR. Regarding naval bases, Croatia is the leading country in the region, followed by Albania and Montenegro. Croatia and Serbia have each one river naval base.⁴²

Interestingly, one third of Serbia's land forces bases are concentrated in the vicinity of Kosovo, and two of them are in the wider area of Preshevo Valley. This is both, dangerous and ironic, not only given the notorious legacy of Serbia's security institutions' involvement in Kosovo, but also of its insistence for non-deployment of Kosovo Security Forces into Kosovo's northern municipalities. In addition, a matter of high concern is the Joint Serbian-Russian Centre for Reaction to Emergency Situations, established in October 2011.⁴³ This Centre is the first one of this kind that Russia has opened in Europe after the Cold War. Declaratively, this Centre is planned to become a regional hub and to manage responses to natural and technological disasters,⁴⁴ but according to the then-Prime Minister Dacic, to terrorism as well.⁴⁵ This base may also play a security role for Russian South Stream gas pipeline that is planned to cross Serbia and to pass close to the city of Nis.⁴⁶ It is worth highlighting that 51% of the South Stream Serbia is owned by Gazprom, and 49% by Serbijagas.⁴⁷

Moreover, Russian ambitions to install military presence are not limited solely to Serbia. In mid-December 2013, Russia asked Montenegro to establish its naval base in the port of Bar.

³⁸ See Map: Land Forces Bases.

³⁹ See Map: Air Defence and Naval Forces Bases.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ EurActive: Russia Opens "Humanitarian base", October 18, 2011, <http://www.euractiv.com/enlargement/russia-opens-humanitarian-base-s-news-508382>

⁴⁴ Balkanopen report: "No Russian Military Base in Serbia", October 18, 2011, <http://www.balkanopen.com/article.php?id=365>

⁴⁵ <http://www.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/vest.php?id=60064>

⁴⁶ Gazprom South Stream, <http://www.gazprom.com/about/production/projects/pipelines/south-stream/>

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Contrary to Belgrade, Podgorica rejected the Kremlin's request,⁴⁸ notwithstanding its significant economic dependence on Russia. Moreover, Russia is exploiting the uneasy ethno-national relations of the region, as well as the weaknesses of the states that are not full members of European Union and NATO, namely Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia. Russia will have favourable grounds for achieving its aims as long as indecisiveness of Brussels and the lack of a strong US leadership regarding further enlargement of NATO and EU will continue to prevail.⁴⁹

By flirting and engaging with Russia, Serbia is obviously playing soft-balancing strategy with the US and the Western Europe. Through soft balancing against Washington and Brussels – though, this is still short of any formal alliance – and via non-offensive but opposing, case by case, coalition building with Russia, Serbia intends to neutralize an overwhelming imbalance with which it is confronted with the West, regardless of its declaratory EU integration objectives. A worrisome act of this pattern of Belgrade's policy is the recently strengthened defence cooperation with Russia. After the crisis in Ukraine, Serbia is the single country in Europe that will conduct military exercises with Russian military troops on its soil. The joint exercise of the elite Special Brigade of Serbian Army (based in Pancevo and Nis), and the 106 Russian Air-Troopers Division is expected to take place this autumn.⁵⁰

Ironically, while being in heavy collision course with Russia, Brussels had not even a single public reaction on the strengthened military cooperation of Serbia with Russia. Obviously, Brussels' policy towards Belgrade has been both, to diminish the possibility of belligerent use of Serbia's conflict making capacity, and to integrate it into the European Union. Nevertheless, this policy might prove disastrous, if Brussels does not impose clear redlines to Serbia's adventurous defence and security cooperation with Russia. Moreover, having in mind that both, Belgrade and Moscow, share a view of Kosovo as a source of terrorism, it is not hard to assume that in any changed international circumstances, this Centre might pose a serious threat to Kosovo and the region, if Belgrade does not change its policies towards Brussels and Prishtina.

⁴⁸ Montenegro Rejects Russian Request to open military base in Bar, <http://www.balkaninside.com/montenegro-rejects-russian-request-to-open-military-base-in-bar/>, December 19th, 2013.

⁴⁹ Edward P. Joseph and Janusz Bugajski "Long March to Brussels: Why NATO and EU Must Reopen their Doors to the Balkans", Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.com/print/138680>, June 26, 2014.

⁵⁰ Ruski Padobranci na vezbi u Srbiji, <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Ruski-padobranci-na-vezbi-u-Srbiji.lt.html> , Politika Online, July 17th, 2014.



Military Bases of Land Forces



3. The Impact of NATO's Military Involvement and Integration Instruments on Regional Security

3.1. Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the crisis in the Former Yugoslavia have changed perception of threats of NATO, which initially led to 1991, and, ultimately, to 1999 Strategic Concepts. Russia's military potential as a major conventional security threat to NATO gradually faded, though, technically, Moscow's nuclear weapons potential remained the greatest security threat. Nevertheless, concerns over political developments in Russia and possible re-emergence of its aggressive politics, especially towards what Moscow has defined as its Near Abroad, continue to influence even nowadays the security and defence thinking of the Atlantic Alliance.

On the other side, the events of the 1990's have simultaneously transformed the geopolitics of the Balkans and of the Post-Cold War NATO. At the beginning of 90's, the conflicts and wars that outbroke in Former Yugoslavia showed a potential for escalation, which endangered the European and international stability. Interestingly enough, at that time NATO's high ranking officers were rejecting the option of possible military intervention of the Alliance in Former Yugoslavia, even in the case of political consent, due to logistical shortcomings,⁵¹ thus indicating that they were confronted with the fact of insufficient capabilities to project an overwhelming force even in its immediate neighbourhood. Political-Military responses to this threat remained un-clarified within NATO practically until Kosovo War erupted, when the Alliance for the first time in its 50 years history waged an "out of area" war against an independent state. Crisis in Former Yugoslavia was one of the key driving factors of NATO's transformation from the "Old" to the "New" one, capable of conducting both, "Article V," and "Non Article V," operations in the new international security environment that emerged after the end of the Cold War.

In parallel to its internal structural reforms, NATO also concentrated on its expansion as an evolutionary process that should bring closer former communist countries. In 1993, the US Administration initiated an internal debate on the possibilities of NATO enlargement. The results of the debate were the proposal for the development of the Partnership for Peace Program, aiming to foster military cooperation between NATO and non-NATO states, which was launched at the January 1994 Brussels Summit, and principle decision to open the Alliance to new members. In 1995, NATO launched the "Study on NATO Enlargement" that determined the

⁵¹ Henning A. Frantzen, *NATO and Peace Support Operations 1991 – 1999: Policies and Doctrines*, Taylor and Francis Group, USA and Canada, 2005, p.61.

principles to guide this process, as well as the implications of the eventual inclusion of new members for both, the alliance and for possible new members.⁵²

The first countries of the Western Balkans to join the Partnership for Peace were Albania (1994) and Macedonia (1995). Even though Croatia was keen to join the PfP, the invitation by NATO was delayed until 2000, after Croatia made crucial steps on democratization, that were possible only after the death of President Tudjman. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia joined the PfP in 2006. The most significant event after NATO's military interventions in the Western Balkans was the April 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit invitations to Albania and Croatia to join the Alliance. Both countries officially became NATO members on April 1st, 2009.

In addition to NATO's military presence in the Western Balkans, the membership of Albania and Croatia in the Alliance had major impact on increasing the regional security and stability. Also, Macedonia (1999) and Montenegro (2010) have joined the Membership Action Plan (MAP), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (2010) is invited to join it as well. Serbia is the single country of the Western Balkans that does not aim to join the Alliance, while Kosovo, despite of its aspirations, remains the single country in the wider Euro-Atlantic area that has not joined the PfP, mainly because of the non-recognition by 4 NATO members (Greece, Romania, Slovakia and Spain).

⁵² Barret J., "NATO's Year of Study: Results and Policy Implications," in David G. Haglund ed. *Will NATO Go East?*, The Center for International Relations, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1996, p. 95.

3.2. NATO's Military Involvement

In spite of the fact that the atrocities and refugee crisis that was ongoing in Former Yugoslavia were the largest that occurred in the territory of Europe ever since the World War II, the involvement of NATO in the crisis was gradual, rather than immediate. NATO's involvement in the area started in the summer 1992, with the UNSC mandated monitoring operations "Maritime Monitor,"⁵³ and "Sky Monitor."⁵⁴ NATO's military intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina achieved its peak after three years, with the Operation "Deliberate Force" in the summer 1995, which included the bombardment of the Bosnian Serb Forces and the establishment of its first peace keeping operation, the "Implementation Force – IFOR,"⁵⁵ at the end of the same year. In this operation initially participated 60,000 troops from 16 NATO members and 17 non-NATO countries. A year later, this operation was transformed into "Stabilization Force – SFOR." Both operations operated under peace enforcement rules of engagement mandated by the UN Security Council.⁵⁶ This NATO's mission provided a deterrence force against re-emergence of hostilities and of threats to peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Apart of amputating the potential for internal armed conflicts, SFOR Mission faded possibilities for re-emergence of armed conflicts between Belgrade and Zagreb over territories inhabited with Serbs and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The SFOR Mission ended at the end of 2004, when the ESDP Peace Mission EUFOR took over the peace-keeping responsibilities.

NATO's reaction to Kosovo's conflict was faster when compared to Bosnia and Herzegovina's one. It started with the UNSC mandated Operation "Eagle Eye,"⁵⁷ in the fall of 1998, and lasted until the NATO War against Yugoslavia started at the end of March 1999. After the Yugoslav Federation refused to accept the Rambouillet Peace Accords, NATO conducted the 78 days air campaign, the Operation "Allied Force," that ended on June 20th, 1999, upon the achievement of Military-Technical Agreement with Belgrade on June 9th, 1999.⁵⁸ The NATO Air Campaign over Yugoslavia was the first war conducted by the Alliance, though without specific mandate by UNSC. NATO led Peace Enforcement Operation – Kosovo Force (KFOR) – entered Kosovo on

⁵³ Mandated to monitor the compliance by the warring parties in Former Yugoslavia of the UNSC embargo on weapons in the Adriatic Sea, See: NATO's Operations 1949 – present, <http://www.aco.nato.int/resources/21/NATO%20Operations,%201949-Present.pdf>

⁵⁴ Mandated to monitor the UNSC declared "No Fly zone" over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁵⁵ In December 1996 IFOR was transformed into Stabilization Force – SFOR.

⁵⁶ [UN Security Council Resolution 1088](#) – under provisions of Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

⁵⁷ During this period NATO aircrafts conducted aerial monitoring of the situation in Kosovo to verify Serbian compliance with UN resolutions regarding a ceasefire, and with NATO-Serbian agreements regarding force reductions in Kosovo, See: NATO's Operations 1949 – present, <http://www.aco.nato.int/resources/21/NATO%20Operations,%201949-Present.pdf>

⁵⁸ See: Military-Technical Agreement between the International Security Force (KFOR) and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Serbia: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990609a.htm>

June 12th, 1999, authorized by the UNSC Resolution 1244 (1999) of June 10th, 1999.⁵⁹ KFOR initially numbered 50,000 troops,⁶⁰ and with the improvement of security situation this number was gradually reduced to around 4,900 troops.⁶¹ NATO's military presence in Kosovo has removed options of an armed inter-ethnic conflict in the country, and, in practice, is a guarantor of Kosovo's territorial integrity, questioned by Serbia. In terms of military security, NATO's presence is fundamental mitigating factor against the outbreak of internal armed conflicts, and it also serves as a deterrent force against any possible use of armed forces by Serbia against Kosovo. Moreover, peaceful management of Kosovo's Declaration of Independence and its stable development, would not have been conceivable without NATO's presence on the ground. In spite of the fact that NATO was not formally involved in the process of acquirement of independence of Kosovo, in practice, it was the key factor that made its implementation possible. Also, while EU is given generous credit for the agreement between Kosovo and Serbia of 19 April 2014, that deal was ultimately made possible via NATO's involvement, once after Serbia requested guarantees for KSF's non-deployment in Kosovo's northern municipalities.

In addition to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, NATO was involved in a very limited level in Macedonia's internal conflict between Skopje's Government and ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA), with Operations "Essential Harvest" in summer 2001, "Amber Fox" that lasted from the end of September 2001 to mid-December 2002, and "Allied Harmony" that lasted from December 2002 to the end of March 2003. These missions had the role of disarmament and withdrawal of the NLA, and supporting the OSCE and EU Monitors who were observing compliance of the Ohrid Agreement⁶² of August 13, 2001⁶³ by the conflicting parties. NATO's involvement was fundamental for the end of hostilities and democratic transformation of Macedonia.

NATO's military involvement in the Western Balkans as a deterrent and stabilizing force has discouraged armed disputes and has transformed the area from that of war torn societies and hostile neighbouring relations, into a stable region, whose countries are aspiring Euro-Atlantic integrations. Nevertheless, NATO's military presence in Kosovo remains crucial for stability and security of the Western Balkans, as long as full normalization of relations between Prishtina and Belgrade is not achieved.

⁵⁹ UNSC Resolution 1244 (1999), June 10th, 1999,

<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/172/89/PDF/N9917289.pdf?OpenElement>

⁶⁰ See: NATO's role in Kosovo: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48818.htm

⁶¹ See: KFOR Troop Numbers & Contributing Nations, <http://www.aco.nato.int/kfor/about-us/troop-numbers-contributions.aspx>

⁶² See full text of Ohrid Agreement: <http://www.ucd.ie/ibis/filestore/Ohrid%20Framework%20Agreement.pdf>

⁶³ See: NATO's Operations 1949 – present, <http://www.aco.nato.int/resources/21/NATO%20Operations,%201949-Present.pdf>

3.3. NATO's Cooperative and Integration Instruments with the Western Balkans Countries

While the concerns of the US about Russia had a major impact on launching the Partnership for Peace Programme (Brussels Summit, January 1994), as an evolutionary process for NATO Enlargement and as an instrument for building the new security relations with the former communist countries of Europe,⁶⁴ the Alliance's enlargement "would never have happened absent the U.S. and NATO's all-out and eventually successful effort to stop the war raging in Bosnia."⁶⁵ Thus, NATO's intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina was fundamental for bringing to life the vision of the new Post Cold War European security architecture.

Partnership for Peace, as a device for defence related cooperation between NATO and non-NATO states, is addressed to all the OSCE states able and willing to contribute to this Programme. It serves as the means to expand and intensify political and military cooperation throughout Europe, and to diminish threats to peace, to built and strengthen relationships by promoting a spirit of practical cooperation, and commitment to democratic principles that underpin the alliance. On the other hand, it also serves as a vehicle for membership of new aspiring states. Through its political mechanism of consultations, the Partnership for Peace proved to be the 'preventive defence' instrument aiming at the creation of the conditions for peace, thereby minimizing the likelihood of war.⁶⁶ Since both, PfP and NATO, call for consultations under the Article IV of the Treaty, if consultations work, NATO will never have to use the Article V.⁶⁷

The Partnership for Peace Program has facilitated the transition of Central and Eastern European countries, through the reforms of military forces, of civil military relations, of doctrine and peace keeping exercises with NATO nations, demonstrating in practice how military can support democratic institutions. In this regard, the detailed Individual Partnership Programmes which have been agreed and implemented were of distinguished value. PfP has had an impressive impact in shaping the foreign policy cultures of many of the states of Central and Eastern Europe, through the promotion of good neighbouring relations, transparency on defence related matters and consultations through Brussels.

In regard to the enlargement and operability, the Planning and Review Process of the Partnership (PARP) is of special interest. As set out in the PfP framework document, the PARP is

⁶⁴ For further explanation see: Ronald D. Asmus: *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance remade itself for a New Era*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, p.p. 48-57.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶⁶ Perry. J. W., "Keeping the Door Open?," in S. Serfaty eds. *NATO at 50, What now, What next, What else?*, February 10, 1999, Center for Strategic and International Studies, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Kipp, p. 16.

to provide basis for identifying and evaluating forces and capabilities that might be available by partners for multilateral training, exercises and operations, in conjunction with the forces of the Alliance. The PARP focuses on areas contributing to interoperability, such as communications, equipment standards, operation procedures and operational skills. Other important PARP objectives are pursued with increasing emphasis to include promotion of democratic control of the armed forces in partner countries, and to introduce partners with collective defence planning consistent with NATO practices.

Moreover, since the Alliance's defence needs are classified, and cannot be shared with candidate states before they become signatories of the Washington Treaty, it is possible that PARP can provide general indications of NATO's expectations for new members, because it designates the steps that countries should undertake to improve their interoperability.⁶⁸ Most importantly, in terms of reformation of strategic cultures⁶⁹ and foreign policies of the aspirant countries, PfP ended any hope for bilateral or regional defence collaboration, thus turning the cooperation exclusively through Brussels into a price that countries should pay for the membership.⁷⁰

The Kosovo Crisis has showed in practice the value of the PfP in peace enforcement operations. By responding to the Belgrade's ethnic cleansing – deportation of Albanians, Albania and Macedonia have played crucial roles in the overall success of NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia, as well as on the subsequent rapid deployment of NATO troops in Kosovo. On the other hand, after the spectacular Russian 'occupation' of the airport of Prishtina, Bulgaria and Romania, by acting politically with the same attitude as NATO, took part in the subsequent 'pacification' of Moscow, among others by refusing the Kremlin's request to use their airspace. The experience of Kosovo has contributed to the reinforcement of the category of 'merits', as a crucial one for membership in NATO.⁷¹ Nevertheless, though additional progress can be made in this direction, as is widely recognized, the strategic prize of Article V remains the ultimate guarantee of stability. This is what Partnership for Peace, no matter how it is consolidated or

⁶⁸ Gallis, P., "NATO Enlargement: The Process and Allied Views," CRS Report for Congress, July 1st, 1997, <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/gprime.htm> p. 15.

⁶⁹ See Basic Definition of Strategic Culture: "Strategic culture is a number of shared beliefs, norms and ideas within the given society that generate specific expectations about the respective community's preferences and actions in security and defence policy. In this context, a community's security and defence identity, expressed through preferences and behavioral patterns, derives from shared experiences and accepted narratives specific to a particular security community"; quoted from: Heiko Biehl, Bastian Giegerich and Alexandra Jonas (eds.), *Strategic Cultures in Europe, Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, Spriger VS, Postdam, 2013, p.12.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 34.

⁷¹ See Washington Summit Communiqué and Security Issues Digest No 124, The US Mission to NATO, June 29th, 1999, (Kosovo crisis – a defining moment in NATO-Bulgarian relations), Ambassador Vershbow A. <http://usa.grmbi.s19990629g.htm>

institutionalized, fails to provide,⁷² which is a fact proven by the recent annexations by Russia of the parts of territories of Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014).

In 1999, following the first round of the Post Cold War enlargement (1997), NATO sought to make the assessment process more structured and rigorous through the introduction of its Membership Action Plan (MAP), which drew heavily from lessons learned during the first round of enlargement. The MAP did not change the criteria for membership or establish a comprehensive set of legal commitments to which prospective members were required to subscribe, but it required that each aspirant state to draft and submit an Annual National Programme, detailing its preparations for NATO membership in five key areas: political and economic, defence/military, resources (to meet member commitments), security (to protect NATO information), and legal (legal arrangements to govern the cooperation with NATO).⁷³ It also provides additional resources to candidate members that have expressed readiness for a more substantive relationship with NATO than PfP membership can provide, by introducing a practical, individualized, NATO membership-oriented action program.⁷⁴ However, it has to be clarified that MAP does not replace the PfP Programme. In fact, participation in PfP for aspiring countries remains essential. The enhanced PfP and Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) apply PARP procedures to all MAP partners' armed forces.⁷⁵ Moreover, aspirants are able to request a tailored Individual Partnership Programmes (IPP), in order to better focus their participation in PfP directly on the essential membership related issues.⁷⁶

Similarly to the Study on NATO Enlargement, MAP does not provide any specific set of criteria for membership to aspiring countries. Furthermore, even a successful participation in the programme doesn't prejudice any decision by the Alliance on issuing an invitation to begin accession talks. Decisions on invitation for membership remain to be taken on case-by-case basis, taking into account political, security and military considerations.⁷⁷ Moreover, the fulfilment of qualifications for membership is considered by NATO as a *necessary condition*, but not as a *sufficient one*. The *sufficient condition* will be determined by NATO – and it has to "serve the overall political and strategic interests of the Alliance, strengthen its effectiveness and enhance the overall European security and stability." This means that NATO membership of the aspirant countries of the Western Balkans is not guaranteed, even in the case of fulfilment

⁷² Hunter, Robert, *Strategic Survey 1996/97*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 118.

⁷³ Membership Action Plan (MAP) Press Release NAC-S (99) 66, April 24, 1999.

⁷⁴ Petre. Z., "A view from Lithuania," in Simon Serfaty (ed.), *NATO at 50, What Now, What Next, What Else?*, A CSIS European Studies Conference Report, 10 February 1999, CSIS, Washington D.C, p. 24.

⁷⁵ Simon J. "Partnership for Peace: After the Washington Summit and Kosovo," NDU Strategic Forum, No. 167, August 1999, <http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/nato/NDU0899.htm>, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Membership Action Plan, Defence/Military Issues, point 3a.

⁷⁷ Klaiber K.P., "The Membership Action Plan: Keeping NATO's Door Open," *NATO Review*, Vol 47, No. 2, Summer 1999, p. 25.

of qualifications. Nevertheless, the opposite might be the case as well, that is, the invitation for membership without complete fulfilment of qualifications for membership, if it is in the strategic interest of NATO.

With the introduction of the Partnership for Peace (1994), and the Membership Action Plan (1999), NATO – though with different pace and intensity – has developed relations with countries of the Western Balkans since the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council – NACC (1992) – which was later renamed into the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council – EAPC (1997).

Albania was the first country of the region to built formal relations with NATO, by joining the NACC in 1992, and PfP in 1994, followed by Macedonia that joined PfP at the same year. Croatia joined PfP in 2000, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia joined in 2006. Albania and Croatia were the most successful countries of the region, by joining the Alliance in 2009. Macedonia's membership to NATO is pending, due to the unresolved issue of its name with Greece, though it has fulfilled the membership criteria. Montenegro got the MAP in 2010, while MAP for Bosnia and Herzegovina is pending since 2012, due to the unresolved issue of the registration of immovable defence property as a state property.

Serbia is the only country in the region that has chosen “military neutrality” and has no ambitions to join the Alliance, though it has intensive relations with NATO, including the establishment, within its soil, of the Partnership Training and Education Centre – the Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Training Centre – in Krusevac.⁷⁸

Regardless of its aspirations for NATO membership, Kosovo is the single country in the wider Euro-Atlantic Area that did not get an offer to participate in the Partnership for Peace. Kosovo's isolation from the NATO's consultative instrument, EAPC and PfP, is in itself a challenge for completion of the security architecture of the region, and of Europe at large, especially due to the unresolved disputes with Belgrade and to the uncompleted national defence institutions.

However, the PfP and the NATO enlargement prospects had a crucial effect on the shaping of defence and security policies of the Balkans' states. They have crushed all the dreams that extremist political elites of the countries of the region might have had in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, for returning the area back into the conditions similar with those of the Balkans' Wars. The conflicts in Former Yugoslavia, caused by Belgrade's ambition to create 'Greater Serbia' over the ashes of the 90's wars, indicated clearly in which direction the region might have headed in the absence of NATO's involvement. Moreover, NATO's cooperation and

⁷⁸ Partnership Training and Education Centers: <https://www.act.nato.int/ptecs>

integration mechanisms have had crucial impact on radical reforms of the defence policy makings of the region's countries. The patterns of hard balancing and of the doctrines of massive armies, based on territorial defence and deterrence, have been transformed into professional armies, while amputating significantly offensive capabilities against neighbours.

Also, the PFP has helped countries of the region to become security providers through participation in NATO, as well as in UN and EU, led peace-keeping missions. Croatia is by far the leading country of the region in terms of contribution to international peace-keeping missions, which include those led by NATO, UN and EU, but it has not participated in the US led operation Iraqi Freedom. Albania and Macedonia have participated in all NATO led missions, and in the US led mission in Iraq, as well as in a number of UN and EU led missions. Bosnia and Herzegovina participates in NATO led ISAF mission in Afghanistan, and in one UN led mission. Montenegro's and Serbia's participation is limited to UN and EU led peace-keeping missions. Kosovo is the only country in the region that has not participated in any international peace mission.

Moreover, coinciding invitations for membership to Albania and Croatia in NATO, and the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo in 2008, had a fundamental effect on locking of the interstate borders of the Western Balkans countries. NATO membership has obliterated the ambitions of a part of ethnic Albanian elites in Kosovo for joinder with Albania, and of a part of ethnic Croatian elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina for joinder with Croatia.

It should be emphasized here that the case of German unification in 1990 has built a precedent within the Alliance regarding the unification of two independent countries, when one of them is a NATO member. All the NATO members firstly gave their consent for unification of the Federal German Republic with the Democratic Republic of Germany, and after that welcomed the Unified Germany in NATO, something that would not have been possible without great efforts of the US Administration.⁷⁹

If this is to be applied in, let us say, the case of hypothetical unification of Albania with Kosovo, then the consent of all the NATO members is required, the achievement of which is, indeed, highly improbable. This means that, under existing circumstances, the unification of Albania with Kosovo is not possible without previous decision of Tirana to dismember itself from NATO, which, in turn, is in collision with the highest security interests of both, Albania and Kosovo. On the other side, this implies that regardless of its membership in Partnership for Peace, Serbia will continue, up to a certain extent, to be a free security rider whose compass will oscillate between Moscow and Brussels. This, in turn, means that the security of the region, and

⁷⁹ For a profounder explanation see: Michael Cox and Steven Hurst, "His finest hour: George Bush and the Diplomacy of German Unification", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Frank Cass, London, December 2002.

especially that of Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, will continuously be challenged, as long as all the countries of the Western Balkans don't become NATO members. Thus, in order to overcome the uncertainty of the security situation in the region, it is necessary that NATO should to pave the way for a fast membership of Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as to provide the MAP for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the PfP for Kosovo.

PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

ALBANIA	BiH	CROATIA	KOSOVO	MACEDONIA	MONTENEGRO	SERBIA
ISAF (Afghanistan) KFOR (Kosovo) ALTHEA (Bosnia - Herzegovina) Iraq Freedom MINURCAT (United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad) UNOMIG (United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia)	ISAF (Afghanistan) UN Mission in Congo	UNAMSIL (United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone) UNMEE (United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea) UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan) MINURSO (United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara) ISAF (International Security Assistance Force, Afghanistan) UNMISSET (United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor) UNMIL (United Nations Mission in Liberia) MINUSTAH (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti) UNOCI (United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire) UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus) UNOMIG (United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia) UNMIS (United Nations Missions in Sudan) UNIOSIL (United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone) UNMIN (United Nations Mission in Nepal) UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) BINUB (United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi) UNDOF (United Nations Disengagement Observer Force) EUFOR (European Union Force) MINURCAT (United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad) EU NAVFOR (EU Naval Force, Somalia) KFOR (Kosovo Force) Operation Unified Protector (NATO, Libya)		ISAF (Afghanistan) Iraqi Freedom ALTHEA (Bosnia and Herzegovina) UNIFIL (Lebanon) KFOR (Kosovo)	UNIFIL (Lebanon) UNOMIG (Georgia) MONUC (Congo) UNMIL (Liberia) UNMIT (Timor - Lester)	MONUSCO (DR Congo) UNMIL (Liberia) UNOCI (Côte d'Ivoire) UNFICYP (Cyprus) UNIFIL (Lebanon) UNTSO (Middle East) EUTM (Somalia) EUNAVFORS (Somalia)

NATO's Relations with the Western Balkans Countries

ALBANIA	BiH	CROATIA	KOSOVO	MACEDONIA	MONTENEGRO	SERBIA
<p>1992 - Albania joins the newly created North Atlantic Cooperation Council, renamed the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in 1997.</p> <p>1994 - Albania joins the Partnership for Peace (PfP).</p> <p>1996 - Albanian forces join the NATO-led SFOR peacekeeping force in Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p> <p>1999 - NATO establishes a logistical base in Tirana to support Allied operations in Kosovo.</p> <p>2000 - Albania hosts the PfP exercise "Adventure Express" in April and "Cooperative Dragon" in June.</p> <p>2001 - Albania hosts the initial phase of the PfP exercise "Adventure Express 01" in April and May.</p> <p>2002 - NATO HQ Tirana is established to assist Albania in the implementation of its defence capability reforms as well as to contribute to the command and control of KFOR.</p> <p>2003 - Albanian forces deploy in support of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.</p>	<p>1993 - In April, NATO begins Operation Deny Flight to prevent aerial intrusion over Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p> <p>1994 - On 28 February four warplanes violating the no-fly zone are shot down by NATO aircraft in the Alliance's first military engagement.</p> <p>1995 - In August, Allied air strikes on Bosnian-Serb positions help compel the warring parties into peace negotiations. The Dayton Peace Agreement is signed on 14 December. The 60 000 strong NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) deploys to implement the military aspects of the peace agreement. IFOR is NATO's first peacekeeping operation.</p> <p>1996 - In September, the first elections are held in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Allies agree to maintain a security presence in the country to facilitate the country's reconstruction. The Stabilization Force (SFOR) replaces IFOR in December.</p> <p>2003 - Establishment of a State-level command structure over the two entity armies in December.</p>	<p>1994 - Senior Croatian diplomats publicly express an interest in joining the Partnership for Peace.</p> <p>1999 - Croatia allows the use of its airspace for operation Allied Force and provides logistical support to KFOR.</p> <p>2000 - Croatia joins the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and the Partnership for Peace (PfP). Croatia joins the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP).</p> <p>2001 - Croatia develops its first Individual Partnership Plan (IPP).</p> <p>2002 - Croatia accepts an invitation to join the Membership Action Plan (MAP). Croatia hands in its first Annual National Programme in the framework of the MAP. Croatia hosts a PfP civil emergency planning and relief exercise.</p> <p>2003 - Croatian forces contribute to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Croatia hosts the PfP exercise "Cooperative Engagement 2003".</p> <p>2004 - Croatia hosts a</p>	<p>13 October 1998 - following a deterioration of the situation, the NATO Council authorized Activation Orders for air strikes.</p> <p>10 June 1999 - UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1244 was adopted on 10 June 1999.</p> <p>12 June 1999 - The first elements of the NATO-led Kosovo Force, or KFOR, entered Kosovo. By 20 June, the withdrawal of Serbian forces was complete. KFOR's mission:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • contribute to a secure environment and ensure public safety and order • support and coordinate the international humanitarian effort and civil presence • support the development of a stable, democratic, multi-ethnic and peaceful Kosovo • support the development of the Kosovo Security Force <p>20 June 1999 - Demilitarization and transformation of the Kosovo Liberation Army – KLA.</p> <p>20 September 1999 - Establishment of the Kosovo Protection Corps.</p> <p>12 June 2008 - NATO agreed to start implementing additional tasks in Kosovo, i.e. assist in the standing</p>	<p>1995 - The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia joins the Partnership for Peace.</p> <p>1996 - The country hosts its first PfP training exercise, "Rescuer".</p> <p>1999 - The country plays a key role in supporting NATO operations in Kosovo, and the Allies provide assistance to ease the humanitarian crisis as refugees from Kosovo flood into the country.</p> <p>The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia¹ joins NATO's Membership Action Plan (MAP) and the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP).</p> <p>2001 - Violence flares up in the west of the country. NATO plays a key role in facilitating negotiations on a cease-fire reached in June. NATO Allies deploy a task force to collect arms from former combatants and support the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.</p> <p>2002 - The country deploys personnel in support of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.</p> <p>2003 - The NATO-led peace-monitoring mission in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia¹ is handed over</p>	<p>2003 - The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is replaced by a looser state union named Serbia and Montenegro.</p> <p>2006 - Montenegro votes for independence on 21 May and the parliament formally declares independence on 3 June. The country joins the Partnership for Peace in December.</p> <p>2007 - In support of NATO's efforts to equip and train the Afghan National Army, Montenegro donates weapons and ammunition.</p> <p>2008 - NATO Heads of State and Government agree to start an Intensified Dialogue with Montenegro on its membership aspirations and related reforms. Montenegro starts working with NATO on its Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) agreed with NATO in July 2008.</p> <p>2009 - First IPAP assessment. In December, NATO foreign ministers invite Montenegro to join the Membership Action Plan.</p> <p>2010 - In February, Montenegro decides to contribute to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Summer 2010, Montenegro leaves the IPAP process. Autumn 2010 Montenegro submits its first Annual National Programme, under the Membership Action Plan.</p>	<p>1999 - A 78-day NATO air campaign is triggered by violence in Kosovo. The NATO-led Kosovo peacekeeping force (KFOR) is deployed to maintain security and support reconstruction efforts. KFOR and Serbian Armed Forces sign Military Technical Agreement (Kumanovo Agreement).</p> <p>2001 - NATO and the newly elected government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cooperate in crisis-management operations in southern Serbia.</p> <p>2003 - Belgrade formally applies for PfP membership. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is replaced by a looser state union of Serbia and Montenegro. NATO completes a PfP trust fund project to destroy 28,000 surplus small arms and light weapons in Serbia.</p> <p>2005 - Serbia hosts a PfP trust fund workshop 'Together reducing unsafe surplus tools of war' in Belgrade. Serbia and NATO sign a transit agreement for KFOR forces.</p> <p>2005 - NATO launches a PfP trust fund project to develop alternative livelihoods for former</p>

<p>2005 - Albania joins the Operational Capabilities Concept. A combined medical team of the three MAP countries joins NATO-led forces in Afghanistan in August. Albania hosts the PFP exercise “Cooperative Engagement 05” in September.</p> <p>2007 - Albania hosts a meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Policy Advisory Group of the EAPC in May.</p> <p>2007 - Albania hosts the PFP exercises “Cooperative Longbow 07” and “Cooperative Lancer 07”.</p> <p>2008 - In April 2008, Albania is invited to start accession talks with the Alliance. NATO Allies sign protocols on Albania’s accession to the North Atlantic Treaty on 9 July 2008.</p> <p>2009 - 1 April 2009, Albania becomes a full member of the Alliance.</p>	<p>2004 - In December, the European Union peacekeeping force (EUFOR) takes over responsibility for maintaining security in Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p> <p>2005 - Agreement to merge the two entity armies into a single military force, the Armed Forces of BiH, on 1 January 2006.</p> <p>2006 - Bosnia and Herzegovina joins the PFP and agrees its first Individual Partnership Programme (IPP).</p> <p>2007 - Bosnia and Herzegovina joins the PFP Planning and Review Process (PARP).</p> <p>2008 - In April, the country is invited by NATO to begin an Intensified Dialogue on the full range of political, military, financial, and security issues relating to its aspirations to membership. In September, Bosnia and Herzegovina agrees its first Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) with NATO.</p> <p>2009 - Bosnia and Herzegovina deploys officers to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.</p> <p>2010 - In April, Bosnia and Herzegovina is invited to join the Membership Action Plan, pending the resolution of a key issue concerning immovable defence property.</p>	<p>number of PFP disaster-management seminars.</p> <p>2005 - Croatia participates in its first PFP crisis-management exercise.</p> <p>A combined medical team of the three MAP countries joins NATO-led forces in Afghanistan in August.</p> <p>Croatia hosts a PFP seminar on littoral warfare and a conference on movement and transportation.</p> <p>2006 - Croatia hosts a disaster-management training project for south-eastern Europe.</p> <p>Croatia hosts a meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Policy Advisory Group of the EAPC in May.</p> <p>2007 - The Croatian parliament endorses a proposal to increase the country’s contribution to ISAF.</p> <p>Croatia hosts the disaster-response exercise “IDASSA 2007” in May.</p> <p>Croatia hosts the PFP maritime exercise “Noble Midas 2007” from end September to mid October.</p> <p>2008 - In April 2008, Croatia is invited to start accession talks with the Alliance.</p> <p>NATO Allies sign protocols on Croatia’s accession to the North Atlantic Treaty on 9 July 2008.</p>	<p>down of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) and in the establishment of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF), as well as a civilian structure to oversee the KSF. The following tasks have been implemented in close coordination and consultation with the relevant local and international authorities:</p> <p>The KPC was conceived as a transitional post-conflict arrangement, under the responsibility of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo. Its mandate was to provide disaster-response services, perform search and rescue, provide a capacity for humanitarian assistance in isolated areas, assist de-mining and contribute to rebuilding infrastructure and communities.</p> <p>20 January 2009 - The KPC ceased its operational activities on 20 January 2009 and was formally dissolved on 14 June 2009. In parallel, the Kosovo Security Force was developed to ensure that key capabilities were available for emergency situations.</p> <p>21 January 2009 - The first Kosovo-wide recruitment campaign for the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) started.</p> <p>9 July 2013 - NATO declared Full Operational Capability (FOC) for the KSF. FOC means that NATO considers the KSF fully capable to perform its assigned tasks</p>	<p>to the European Union.</p> <p>2005 - A combined medical team of the three MAP countries joins NATO-led forces in Afghanistan in August.</p> <p>2007 - The country hosts the EAPC Security Forum in Ohrid.</p> <p>2008 - In April 2008, Allies agree that the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia¹ will be invited to start accession talks as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the issue over the country’s name has been reached with Greece.</p> <p>2010 - The Secretary General visited Skopje in June 2010.</p> <p>2012 - Prime Minister Gruevski addressed the North Atlantic Council on 25 January.</p>	<p>2011 - In June, the NATO Secretary General attends an Adriatic Charter meeting and delivers a major speech “NATO and the Western Balkans” in Montenegro.</p> <p>2012 - Prime Minister Luksic addressed the North Atlantic Council on 21 March.</p>	<p>Serbian armed forces personnel as the service is downsized.</p> <p>2006 - Serbia joins the Partnership for Peace. NATO opens a Military Liaison Office in Belgrade.</p> <p>2007 - Serbia joins the PFP Planning and Review Process (PARP). NATO completes a PFP trust fund project that safely removed 1.4 million anti-personnel landmines from Serbian territory. In September, Serbia submits its PFP Presentation Document to NATO.</p> <p>2009 - Serbia agrees its first Individual Partnership Programme with NATO.</p> <p>2010 - NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen meets the President of the Republic of Serbia, Boris Tadic while in New York.</p> <p>2011 - In April, the North Atlantic Council approves Serbia’s request to undertake an Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) with NATO.</p> <p>In June, Serbia hosts the Allied Command Transformation Strategic Military Partners Conference, one of the largest NATO partnership events each year.</p> <p>2012 - At a meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council on 11 December, ambassadors observe a</p>
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	<p>2011 - In February, Bosnia and Herzegovina agrees its second IPAP with NATO.</p> <p>2012 - In May, at NATO's Chicago Summit, Allied leaders welcome the political agreement reached in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 9 March 2012 on the registration of immovable defence property as state property. They urge political leaders to implement the agreement without delay to allow the country to start participation in the Membership Action Plan.</p>	<p>2009 - 1 April 2009, Croatia adheres to the Alliance.</p>	<p>and missions in accordance with standards set by NATO.</p> <p>The declaration of FOC will not affect the mission of the KSF; KSF's tasks will continue to include search and rescue operations; explosive ordnance disposal; control and clearance of hazardous materials; fire -fighting and other humanitarian assistance tasks.</p>			<p>minute of silence in memory of the Serbian Ambassador to NATO, Branimir Milinkovic, who had passed away the previous week.</p> <p>2013 - NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen welcomes the Belgrade-Pristina Agreement on Normalisation, on 19 April, congratulating all parties for their constructive approach to finding a lasting solution through EU-mediated talks. He emphasises that NATO will continue to ensure a safe and secure environment throughout Kosovo and stands ready to support the implementation of this latest agreement.</p> <p>In June, the North Atlantic Council accepts Serbia's offer to make its Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Training Centre in Krusevac a Partnership Training and Education Centre, opening its activities to Allies and partners.</p>
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4. Kosovo's Security Dilemmas and Defence Challenges

4.1. Introduction

More than six years after the Declaration of Independence, Kosovo faces two main security challenges: That of the lack of political security due to the uncompleted integration within international community, which includes membership in the key international organizations, like United Nations and OSCE, as well as blocked path towards Euro-Atlantic integrations, and that of the disputes over the recognition of its statehood with Serbia.

In international relations, Kosovo is living in two realities, the reality of an independent entity, and that of a sovereign state. On the one hand, it is treated as an independent entity in its relations with Euro-Atlantic institutions and with majority of the states that have not recognized Kosovo, at the same time when Serbia treats it, as both, a separate territory governed by UNSC Resolution 1244, and a part of itself. On the other hand, Kosovo is treated as a sovereign state only at the bilateral level, by the states which have recognized its independence.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Kosovo does not face any direct security and military threats from the countries of the Western Balkans, with the exception of Serbia. Therefore, Kosovo's military security remains heavily dependent on NATO's presence in the country. In addition, in the case of KFOR's withdrawal, under the circumstances of UN membership, Kosovo's protection by International Law will remain exceedingly vulnerable in the case of armed conflict with Serbia. Moreover, from the current perspective, the conclusion of the NATO's led KFOR Mission will remain hostage to the unsettled relations between Prishtina and Belgrade, and particularly so due to the absence of any perspective for Kosovo to join the PfP and to acquire the membership into the Alliance.

Furthermore, regardless of its membership in the Partnership for Peace and its aspirations to join the European Union, the "military neutrality" that Serbia is claiming for itself is not similar to the neutrality of the EU member states, like Sweden and Finland. Serbia is the only security free rider in the region that is strengthening military cooperation with Russia, at the same time when the West is in a harsh collision course with Kremlin. This cooperation might have troublesome consequences for Kosovo's and for regional security, especially if Serbia and Russia jointly undertake steps in a wrong direction.

As a summary, the single military threat to Kosovo derives from the hostile Serbia's defence and security policies, which give the political direction to its military forces. Thus, it is hard to

believe that Belgrade has no contingency military planning against Kosovo. Indeed, it is evident that Kosovo does not present, either currently, or in the foreseeable future, any military threat to Serbia, notwithstanding the “securitization” of this non-existent issue by Belgrade, which, in essence, is a consequence of Belgrade’s lack of willingness to recognize the statehood of Kosovo. In addition to all this, the Prishtina–Belgrade dialogue facilitated by Brussels has not addressed security and defence confidence building measures between two countries. The achievement of meaningful normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia, including even the mutual recognition, is inconceivable without addressing current doctrinal confrontation and moving ahead towards defence cooperation.

4.2. Kosovo's Serbian Security Dilemmas

Kosovo's security dilemma with Serbia is instigated by the hostile policy intentions of Belgrade, rather than by its military capability. On one hand, Kosovo does not officially perceive Serbia with hostility, and, on the other, it doesn't have potentials to build any threatening military capabilities against it. Still, with its military might, Serbia can gravely damage Kosovo, if it chooses to attack it, and, with the conventional forces in its possession, Kosovo cannot effectively defend its territorial integrity and sovereignty. However, it should be noticed here, that Serbian President Nikolic has excluded the possibility of war as long as he is at the office, but he has not excluded it as an option for the future, if the citizens of Serbia take that decision, by choosing a leader "who will re-buy the weapons, instead of building houses."⁸⁰

Therefore, the key question that is almost impossible to answer is, how much interest has Serbia to use force against Kosovo, in any international circumstances, that from the current perspective may seem as unfeasible, but which might emerge as favourable in the future. If this interest of Serbia will be high, then it has to mobilize its polity to take the risk of war in order to don't face any political opposition. Current official security and defence policies of Serbia do not exclude such an option, but it is hardly to estimate the capacity for polity mobilization to return Kosovo by force within its sovereignty. Yet another issue is that of the kind of strategy that Belgrade might use for attacking Kosovo: conventional attack,⁸¹ barbarism,⁸² or a combination of both. However, in any given circumstances, it is highly probable that Serbia will not undertake any form of attack against Kosovo without strong Russian support and/or visible disunity within NATO and EU, similarly with the strategy of Milosevic during 1990's.

⁸⁰ Nikolic: 'Dok sam ja Predsednik, Srbija nece ratovati,' Srbija Danas, June 28, 2014,

<http://www.srbijadanas.com/clanak/nikolic-dok-sam-ja-predsednik-srbija-nece-ratovati-28-06-2014>

⁸¹ See the explanation of the term: Ivan Arreguin-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.p. 30-31: "Conventional attack means the use of armed forces to capture or destroy an adversary's armed forces, thereby gaining control of that opponent's values (population, territory, cities, or vital industrial and communications centers). The goal is to win the war in a decisive engagement or a series of such engagements by destroying the adversary's physical capacity to resist. In the most common pattern of a conventional attack strategy an attacker's forces advance to capture a defender's values or strategic assets — say a capital city, industrial or communications center, or bridge or fort — and the defender moves to thwart that effort. A battle or series of battles follows, sometimes marked by lulls lasting entire seasons, until one side admits defeat."

⁸² *Ibid.*: p.p. 31: "Barbarism is the deliberate or systematic harm of non-combatants (e.g., rape, murder, and torture) in pursuit of a military or political objective. Unlike other strategies, barbarism has been used to target both an adversary's will and its capacity to fight. In a strategic bombing campaign, for example, when will is the target the strong actor seeks to coerce its weaker opponent into changing its behaviour by inflicting pain (destroying its values). In a counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign, when will is the target the strong actor may attempt to deter would-be insurgents by, for example, a policy of reprisals against non-combatants. But strong actors in a counterinsurgency can also target a weak actor's physical capacity to sustain resistance by, for example, implementing a concentration camp policy. Historically, the most common forms of barbarism are the murder of non-combatants or civilians during combat operations); concentration camps; and since 1939, strategic bombing against targets of little or no military value.

If Serbia chooses the conventional attack as a military strategy, then, most probably, the political objective will be the annexation of the North of Kosovo, because it will be impossible for her to win “hearts and minds” of Albanian population in the rest of the country. There is no doubt that Serbia will win this limited war, given the total disbalance of the Kosovo’s military capabilities for the conventional defence of its territory. Moreover, due to the fact that this part of Kosovo’s territory is inhabited mainly by the members of Serbian community, it will be impossible for Pristina to organize any guerrilla warfare to repel Serbia’s limited invasion.

On the other hand, if barbarism is chosen as an offensive military strategy, then the political objective of Serbia will be the same as the one of Milosevic during the war of 1998-1999: the occupation of most of Kosovo’s territory, in conjunction with its depopulation from Albanian majority. In this case, the guerrilla warfare combined with conventional forces, will, most probably, be the strategy of Kosovo against the invasion of Serbia.

Finally, if both strategies are used by Belgrade, then the political objective could be the occupation of the North and Central part of Kosovo, depopulation of these territories from Albanians, and the creation a “tampon zone of devastation” in the rest of the country. The response of Kosovo’s authorities will most probably be combination of the conventional⁸³ and guerrilla⁸⁴ defence.

The key test for Kosovo, if any of these Serbia’s options are brought to life in a future, will be the treatment of Serbian community south of Ibar river. If Kosovar authorities choose to distinguish Serbia from the members of Serbian community of Kosovo, then the likelihood for getting NATO’s support and involvement will certainly be higher. Any of these strategic options that may be used if Serbia chooses to attack Kosovo, except for the conventional offensive for

⁸³*Ibid.*: Conventional defence is the use of armed forces to thwart an adversary’s attempt to capture or destroy values, such as territory, population, and strategic resources. Like conventional attack strategies, these target an opponent’s armed forces. The aim is to damage an adversary’s physical capacity to attack by destroying its advancing or proximate armed forces. Examples include most limited aims strategies, static defence, forward defence, defence in depth, and mobile defence.

⁸⁴Guerrilla warfare strategy (GWS) is the organization of a portion of a society for the purpose of imposing costs on an adversary using armed forces trained to avoid direct confrontations. These costs include the loss of soldiers, supplies, infrastructure, peace of mind and, most important, time. Although GWS primarily targets opposing armed forces and their support resources, its goal is to destroy not the capacity but will of the attacker. GWS requires two essential elements: (1) sanctuary (physical, e.g., swamps, mountains, thick forest, or jungle — or political, e.g., poorly regulated border areas or border areas controlled by sympathetic states), and (2) a supportive population (to supply fighters with intelligence, supplies, and replacements). GWS is not a strategy for obtaining a quick defeat of opposing forces. Moreover, because guerrillas cannot hold or defend particular areas (save isolated base areas), they do not provide security for their families while on operations or when demobilized to await new missions. GWS is therefore a strategy that requires placing key values (e.g., farms, family, religious or cultural sites, and towns) directly into the hands of the adversary. Logically then, important costs of adopting a GWS depend on the purpose and restraint of the adversary. When invading or occupying forces do not exercise restraint in the use of force, or when their political objective is the destruction rather than coercion of a weak actor’s people, GWS can become a prohibitively expensive defensive strategy.

“annexation” of the territory North of the river Ibar, will hardly determine the winner of the war. Moreover, regardless of the type of the offensive and defensive strategies used by Serbia and Kosovo, in a prolonged conflict, both sides will most probably share more or less equal internal and external political vulnerability.

Therefore, any major armed conflict between Serbia and Kosovo will most probably produce a balance of power paradox, that was remarkably perceived by James J. Writz: “the tendency of war to erupt during confrontations between weak and strong states – wars that strong states should strive to avoid and weak states cannot realistically expect to win.”⁸⁵ The weak power – in this case, Kosovo – will not accept an invasion as the *fait accompli*, and may enter in an armed confrontation with the enormously powerful adversary – Serbia – because of its assumption that the much larger power (Serbia) will not be able to deploy all of its forces into the conflict, and also because of the limitations imposed by the balance of power on the adversary, like the risk that some other great power (US or NATO) will be brought into the conflict as an ally of the weak power.⁸⁶ The stronger state – in this case Serbia – may intend to focus on the power imbalance between itself and the weaker adversary – Kosovo – but it may fail to comprehend that the weaker adversary might perceive reasons for confidence beyond a strategic effect of the balance of power paradox, which makes both sides extremely risk acceptant.⁸⁷

The above mentioned assumptions of balance of power paradox are applicable, with or without engagement of other power(s) in the conflict as an ally of Prishtina. Serbia practically cannot afford to deploy all of its currently available military forces in Kosovo, which makes the option of the occupation and of permanent maintenance of the entire or majority of territory of Kosovo highly impossible.

Nevertheless, in reality, the security and defence policy hostile intentions towards Prishtina, make the Belgrade’s land forces that are built around four combined-armoured brigades and supported by an army aviation unit,⁸⁸ the most serious military threat to Kosovo. On the other side, regardless of huge disparity in military capabilities, in reality, Serbia’s military forces are capable only for an efficient limited intervention, which can be purely conventional or mixed, in the form of an “annexation” of the territory North of Ibar river and of incursion in the rest of Kosovo .

⁸⁵ James J. Writz, *Balance of Power Paradox, Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2004, p.128.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.129.

⁸⁸ *The Military Balance 2014*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, January 2014, pp.132-133.

Finally, hard balancing of Kosovo against Serbia is not economically and militarily rational option, which might ensure its successful defence and deterrence of Belgrade's possible offensive intentions. Therefore, only the normalization of defence relations between Prishtina and Belgrade, juxtaposed with the PfP membership of Kosovo, will open a venue for KFOR's exit that will leave behind stability and security of Kosovo, Serbia, and of the entire region.

4.3. The Way Ahead for Kosovo – Serbia Defence Relations: From “Doctrinal Attack” to Defence Cooperation

As elaborated in previous chapters, and pursuant with its anti-recognition policy, Serbia has projected Kosovo as the main security threat in almost all aspects, including military one. On the other hand, Kosovo has formally – but, also, unrealistically – chosen not to consider Serbia as such. This policy choice of Kosovo may have been a result of: (a) wishful thinking, (b) protection provided by KFOR/NATO that diminished the existing fear, or (c) suggestions given by some Western Governments that support transformation of Kosovo Security Force (KSF) to Kosovo Armed Forces (KAF). However, this choice cannot solve the problem by itself, regardless of the “fragile détente” between Kosovo and Serbia that is a result of the dialogue facilitated by the European Union. Therefore, one might conclude that Kosovo-Serbia defence relations are non-existent, and that, in essence, they are at the stage of “doctrinal attack,” by Belgrade, and of non-policy response, by Prishtina.

As an independent and sovereign state, Kosovo is fully entitled to have its own armed forces. However, regardless of the fact that the transformation of the KSF to KAF has been initiated by Kosovo Government, the necessary constitutional changes for formalizing this ambition have not been proceeded yet by the Assembly of Kosovo. The changes of the Constitution of Kosovo depend on the support by minority communities represented in the parliament, including qualified majority of the representatives of Serbian community. It is hard to believe that these representatives will vote for such constitutional changes without the support of Serbia. Therefore, the formalization of the transformation of KSF into KAF in reality remains a hostage of Belgrade's willingness and approval.

The inclusion of members of the Serbian community within the Kosovo Security Force is not a success story. In spite of the fact that Kosovo Security Force has almost completed the quota for minority communities,⁸⁹ the number of officers from the Serbian community' remains very

⁸⁹ Raporti Vjetor 2013 i Ministrisë së Sigurisë së Kosovës, http://www.mksf-ks.org/repository/docs/RAPORTI_VJETOR_2013_i publikuar_23_12_2013_shqip.pdf, January 14, 2014.

low (1.83%),⁹⁰ mainly due to the opposition and negative influence of Belgrade. Nevertheless, regardless one from the posts of Deputy Ministers of the Kosovo Security Force belongs to a political representative of the Serbian community,⁹¹ there is no justification whatsoever for the fact that the highest rank of a Serbian officer in the KSF is that of an officer in formation.⁹² This issue has to be addressed seriously by the future armed forces of Kosovo. A useful model that may be used here is the recent Macedonian practice, where either the post of the Minister of Defence or that of the Commander of the Chief of Staff belongs to Albanian community. Also, the introduction of the ceremonial dress of the KSF, based on the national dresses of Albanians,⁹³ is, in its very essence, against the spirit of the Constitution and of the multi-ethnic character of Kosovo. This, in a symbolic form, brings into the surface the lack of vision and/or of willingness to move forward of its leadership. Moreover, this populist act endangers relations with NATO and the supporters of the transformation of the KSF into KAF, and further alienates members of the Serbian community, without mentioning at all the impact it has on the reinforcement of Serbia's hostility towards the creation of the Kosovo's Armed Forces.

The rationale of Serbia's opposition towards the creation of the armed forces of Kosovo, and of its efforts to "securitize" Kosovo as a threat, is based, in a nutshell, on the fading hopes for potential failure of Kosovo's statehood and on the maintenance of strategic partnership with Russia, by harbouring the Moscow's energy and military interests in the Balkans. Nevertheless, at the end of the day, Serbia will have to make a choice between Brussels and Moscow, and this choice will certainly not be without the price of its own.

In spite of the fact that this might seem as paradoxical at first, the consolidation of the security architecture of Kosovo, is in essence, in the best interest of Serbia. Firstly, because it will pave the road for Kosovo to build partnership relations with NATO, which, in turn, will enable the development of the KAF under the auspices of the Alliance. As a country aspiring for membership in the Alliance, Kosovo will thus not have even theoretical chances for building any threatening army, or for conducting any hostile actions against Belgrade. Secondly, the participation of local Serbs in the multi-ethnic Armed Forces of Kosovo will engender trust among members of Serbian community towards these forces, similar to that that they have

⁹⁰ Donika Emini, "Inclusion or Exclusion? Minorities in the Security Sector in Post-Independence Kosovo", Kosovo Center for Security Studies, http://www.gkss.org/repository/docs/Inclusion_or_Exclusion_Minorities_In_The_Security_Sector_In_PostIndependent_Kosovo_223772.pdf, March 2014, p.17.

⁹¹ The current Deputy Minister of the Kosovo Security Force is Ms. Jasmina Vasiq,⁹¹ Raporti Vjetor 2013 i Ministrisë së Sigurisë së Kosovës, http://www.mksf-ks.org/repository/docs/RAPORTI_VJETOR_2013_i_publicuar_23_12_2013_shqip.pdf, January 14, 2014 p. 4.

⁹² KIPRED Interview with French KFOR, August 2014.

⁹³ FSK-ja, me uniformë tradicionale, <http://www.zeri.info/artikulli/41876/fskja-me-uniforme-tradicionale-foto>, July 15, 2014

towards Kosovo Police.⁹⁴ Also, officers from the Serbian community will have to participate in the defence planning, and it is unthinkable that they will agree on any planning, or that they will comply to execute any orders, that might be hostile towards Serbia. And, thirdly, through defence cooperation with Kosovo, Serbia, as a member of the PfP, and as a country aspiring integration within the European Security and Defence Policy mechanisms, can contribute to the completion of the last unclosed chapter of security and stability in the Western Balkans. This cooperation would help the region to evolve in the direction of a security community, similar to that of the Nordic countries, which brings together the NATO and the neutral PfP member states.

Therefore, the opening of the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia on the defence confidence building measures is a necessary stage towards full normalization of relations between the two countries. However, this dialogue may need a change of the current format of facilitation by the European Union. The involvement of NATO, as an organization that has superiority in defence matters, is instrumental for implementation of any achieved agreement between Prishtina and Belgrade. Therefore, due to its importance and high stakes, this dialogue has to be led jointly by the EU's CFSP High Representative and the NATO's Secretary General.

This dialogue is necessary to address modalities on the confidence building measures between the two countries that can be based on the OSCE model on the Confidence and Security – Building Measures,⁹⁵ especially on those of Risk Reduction,⁹⁶ of Prior Notification of Certain Military Activities, and of Observation of Certain Military Activities. There is no doubt that, due to the presence in Kosovo (KFOR, NATO Liaison and Advisory Team, and NATO Advisory Team), and in Serbia (NATO's Military Liaison Office in Belgrade), as well as of the fact that Kosovo is not a member of OSCE, NATO is the Organization most suitable to facilitate such arrangements between Prishtina and Belgrade.

Yet, another issue of high importance that has to be addressed in this dialogue, is the one of military bases of Serbia and Kosovo. Simultaneous demilitarization of the North of Kosovo and of Presevo Valley from the armed forces of both sides, during the period until Kosovo will get the Membership Action Plan by NATO, and Serbia will become an EU member, is a necessary

⁹⁴ Kosovo Police enjoys the trust 27.9% of Serbian community members, at the same time when they are, either not satisfied (25%), or have no opinion at all (61.60%), with the work of the Kosovo Security Force. Donika Emini, "Inclusion or Exclusion? Minorities in the Security Sector in Post-Independence Kosovo", Kosovo Center for Security Studies, http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Inclusion_or_Exclusion_Minorities_In_The_Security_Sector_In_PostIndependent_Kosovo_223772.pdf, March 2014, p.p. 20-21.

⁹⁵ Vienna Document 2011 on Confidence and Security-Building Measures, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, FSC.COC/1/11, Vienna, November 30th, 2011.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Risk Reduction Section: Mechanism for Consultation and Cooperation as regards to unusual Military Activities, Cooperation as regards to Hazardous Incident of a Military Nature, and Voluntary Hosting to Dispel Concerns about Military Activities, p.p. 12-14.

confidence building measure. After being undertaken by both countries, these measures will provide both of them the assuredness that the other will not use military threats as a means for solving possible disputes between them, which will be the first and the most fundamental step towards a substantial decline of fears among members of the Serbian minority community in the North of Kosovo, and of the Albanian minority community in Serbia.

Finally, a very important component of the dialogue, that has to be addressed in a single package, is the one of the changes of Belgrade's security and defence policies – the National Security Strategy and Defence Strategy, the representation of Serbian community members in the future armed forces of Kosovo, as well as the full membership of Kosovo in the South – Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial. Addressing these issues in a single package will shift the current mistrust and hostility into a détente that will pave the way for future cooperation and partnership between the two countries in security and defence matters.

4.4. What else: Building NATO's Official Cooperation with Kosovo

Almost seven years after the Declaration of Independence, and after fifteen years of NATO's peace-keeping mission, Kosovo remains the only country in the wider Euro-Atlantic area that has no official cooperation with the Alliance. While the European Union has managed to build contractual relations with Kosovo,⁹⁷ regardless of the non-recognition by five of its member countries,⁹⁸ NATO has not made even a single formal step in this direction.

Despite of its strong aspirations to join the Alliance, Kosovo's perspective for joining the Partnership for Peace Programme and for getting Membership Action Plan remains uncertain as a consequence of the non-recognition by four NATO members (Greece, Romania, Slovakia and Spain). However, it is difficult to imagine further development of security architecture and the establishment of armed forces, as well as the subsequent transformation of Kosovo from security consumer to security provider, without official cooperation with NATO.

Nevertheless, the official and structural dialogue between NATO and Kosovo is not impossible. The Foreign Minister of Latvia, Mr. Edgar Rinkevics, has already indicated that "If Kosovo and NATO countries are ready to cooperate; a structural and formal dialogue can be developed. A good example is Kosovo's structural dialogue with the European Union, and this can be done with NATO as well."⁹⁹ However, what this possible "structural and formal dialogue" will entail, remains a fundamental issue for Kosovo's perspectives for the membership in PfP and eventual integration within NATO.

Firstly, while Kosovo is not formal member of Partnership for Peace, the NATO's dialogue with Prishtina has to provide both, assistance and assessment of the defence sector development, similarly to the Partnership Action Plan (PAP) on Defence Institution Building (DIB), introduced at the NATO's Istanbul Summit (June 2004).¹⁰⁰ The Defence Institution Building covers Democratic Control of Defence Activities, Civilian Participation in Developing and Implementing Defence Policy, Legislative and Judicial Oversight of Defence, Assessment of Security Risks and National Defence Requirements, Defence Management, International Norms in Defence Governance, Personnel Management in Defence, Financial Planning within Defence and

⁹⁷ On July 27th, 2014, the EU and Kosovo chief negotiators initialled in Brussels the Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the EU and Kosovo, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/kosovo/index_en.htm

⁹⁸ Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia and Spain.

⁹⁹ "Dialogu i Kosovës me NATO-n është i mundshëm" KOHANet, <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=23095>, August 26, 2014.

¹⁰⁰ NATO Topics: Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50083.htm

International Defence Cooperation.¹⁰¹ This framework for defence institution building will ensure development of a democratic and sustainable defence sector of Kosovo.

Secondly, the dialogue has to prepare future armed forces of Kosovo for operations with NATO forces. The Partnership Planning and Review Process (PARP) model offers suitable tools for developing interoperability of future Kosovo armed forces with NATO, as well as for evaluating capabilities of these forces.¹⁰²

Successful implementation of these two components of the dialogue with NATO will prepare Kosovo for the Membership Action Plan, once after all the member countries of the Alliance will recognize its independence, and after it becomes a member of the Partnership for Peace. This dialogue will also deliver a strong political signal that NATO has a credible open door for Kosovo's membership, and, as such, will have a major effect on the general security and stability conditions of the Western Balkans.

Thirdly, NATO has to consider the opening of a Liaison Office in Prishtina, by the same token as it has done in the other countries of the region. The undertaking of this formal step is necessary for the implementation of a possible structural and formal dialogue with Kosovo, as well as for the facilitation of the defence relations between Prishtina and Belgrade. Likewise, and for the very same reasons, the opening of a liaison representation of Kosovo to NATO has to be enabled, as well as for preparing Kosovo to become part of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC).

However, at the end of the day, this structural dialogue has to be viewed as a temporary measure for building relations between NATO and Kosovo. Only the full membership in PfP and in EAPC will enable Kosovo to become part of NATO led security and defence cooperation mechanism. Thus, the United States and other member countries of the Alliance have to undertake bold steps in order for Kosovo to attain, firstly the PfP, and, eventually, NATO membership, which will mark the removal of the last dividing line on European soil, and which will preclude Serbia to continue to preserve for itself the role of a 'security free rider,' juxtaposed with the revival of the Russian influence in the region.

¹⁰¹ For further explanation see: Hari Bucur-Marcu, *Essentials of Defence Institution Building*, LAVAK, Vienna – Geneva, 2009.

¹⁰² NATO Topics: Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_68277.htm

5. Conclusions

According to national security and defence documents of the countries of the Western Balkans, the key risks that may destabilize the region and bring to the re-emergence of armed conflicts, including conventional responses, are threats of political nature - nationalistic/ethnic and religious, those of state formation, and of contested/undetermined borders. Also, the unclear legal framework for possible involvement of military forces of the Western Balkans countries in fighting terrorism might be a danger in itself, because of possible intentions to project minority communities as a threat of this kind.

The geopolitical changes that occurred in the Western Balkans during the last 25 years have created mono-polar centres of Serbianism and Croatism, and of a bipolar, two-centred, Albanianism. Nevertheless, there is a distinction between Croatism and Albanianism, on the one hand, and Serbianism, on the other. Croatia, Albania and Kosovo encourage the integration of Croats and Albanians in the countries where they reside, while Serbia is not doing the same with the Serbs living abroad, and especially with those living in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo. In these two countries Belgrade is pushing non-integrationist policies, in conjunction with normative definition of territories where Serbian ethnic minority constitutes majority.

There are huge discrepancies between countries of the region regarding military capabilities and defence industries, and only Serbia and Croatia have credible ones. Also, each of the defence budgets of these two countries is higher than all the defence budgets of all the other countries of the Western Balkans together, which makes them dominant powers in the region that are the only ones capable to counter-balance each other. In a foreseeable future the other countries of the region have no individual capacities to match Zagreb and Belgrade. Defence spending projections of Kosovo are symbolic and do not match the needs of the transformation of Kosovo Security Force into Kosovo's Armed Forces. The creation of Kosovo Armed Forces will not have any significant impact on the regional military balance, and as such will not pose a military threat to any of its neighbours.

NATO's military involvement in the Western Balkans as a deterrent and stabilizing force has discouraged armed disputes and has transformed the region from that of war torn societies and hostile neighbouring relations into a relatively stable one, whose countries are aspiring Euro-Atlantic integrations. Nevertheless, NATO's military presence in Kosovo remains crucial for stability and security of the Western Balkans, until the full normalization of relations between Prishtina and Belgrade is not achieved.

NATO's cooperation and integration mechanisms have had a fundamental impact on radical reforms of the defence policy makings of the region's countries. NATO's involvement has crushed all the dreams that extremist political elites of the countries of the region might have had in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, for returning the area back into a situation similar to that of the Balkans Wars of the beginning of the 20th century. In addition, NATO had a decisive influence on changing the patterns of hard balancing and doctrines of massive armies that were based on the territorial defence and deterrence, which subsequently were transformed into professional armies, while obliterating significantly the offensive capabilities that they had against their neighbours. Most importantly, Partnership for Peace has ended all the hopes for bilateral or regional counterbalancing defence collaborations, by turning the cooperation exclusively through Brussels into the price for admission in the Alliance. In spite of the fact that additional progress can be made in this direction, the strategic prize of Article V remains the ultimate guarantee of stability. This is what Partnership for Peace, no matter how it is consolidated or institutionalized, fails to provide, which is a fact proven by the, essentially, annexation, of the parts of the territories of Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014) by Russia.

The coinciding invitations for membership to Albania and Croatia by NATO, and the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo, in 2008, had a fundamental effect on locking of the borders of Western Balkans countries. NATO membership has obliterated ambitions of a part of ethnic Albanian elites in Kosovo for joinder with Albania, and of a part of ethnic Croatian elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina for joinder with Croatia. The case of German unification in 1990 has provided a precedent within the Alliance regarding the unification of two independent countries, when one of them is a NATO member. All the NATO members firstly gave their consent for the unification of the Federal German Republic with the Democratic Republic of Germany, and only after that they welcomed the Unified Germany in NATO. If this is to be applied in, let us say, the case of hypothetical unification of Albania with Kosovo, then the prior consent of all the NATO members is required, the achievement of which is highly improbable. This means that the unification of Albania with Kosovo will be possible only if Tirana chooses to dismember itself from NATO membership, which is in collision with the security interests of both, Albania and Kosovo.

Kosovo faces a favourable, but also a complex, environment. Its immediate neighbours, Albania and Macedonia exclude any direct threat that might come from Kosovo, while Montenegro sees it as an unfinished story in terms of regional stability and security; and Serbia projects it as a direct conventional threat and a rogue state entity, rather than a neighbour with whom it has not settled relations, and simultaneously shares the aim of European Union membership.

In addition, a complicating factor for regional security, and a matter of high concern, is Serbia's defence cooperation with Russia, which entails three components: The establishment of the Joint Serbian-Russian Centre for Reaction to Emergency Situations, which is the first one of this kind that Russia has opened in Europe after the Cold War; the joint military exercises that are planned to take place this autumn; and Serbia's Observer Status in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Russian led intergovernmental military alliance – the Collective Security Treaty Organization. By using Serbia as a harbour of its interests and intentions against the West, Russia is re-exerting its influence in the Western Balkans by exploiting the region's uneasy ethno-national relations, as well as the weaknesses of the states that are not full members of the European Union and NATO, namely, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia. Russia will have a favourable ground for achieving its aims as long as the Brussels indecisiveness and the lack of a strong US leadership regarding further enlargement of NATO and of EU will continue to prevail.

Serbia has most probably in place contingency military planning against Kosovo, which can be assumed based on Belgrade's hostile security and defence policies against Prishtina. Therefore, the key question that is almost impossible to answer in the current conditions is how great might be in the future the interest of Serbia to use force against Kosovo, in any international circumstances that in the current perspective may seem as unfeasible, but which might emerge as favourable in the future. Any strategic options that may be used if Serbia chooses to attack Kosovo, except of the conventional offensive for "annexation" of the territory North of the river Ibar, will hardly determine the winner of the war, and in such cases both sides may suffer a more or less equal internal and external political vulnerability in a prolonged conflict.

Finally, hard balancing of Kosovo against Serbia is not economically and militarily rational option that will ensure its successful defence and deterrence of Belgrade's possible offensive intentions. Only normalization of the defence relations between Kosovo and Serbia, through confidence building measures, as well as the PfP membership of Kosovo, will open a venue for KFOR's withdrawal that would leave behind stability and security in the entire region.

6. Recommendations

a) Modalities for possible dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade on Normalization of Defence Relations

- Facilitation of the dialogue has to be done jointly by EU and NATO.
- Confidence building measures between two countries can be based on the OSCE model on Confidence and Security–Building Measures.
- Demilitarization of the North of Kosovo, as well as Presevo Valley, until Kosovo gets Membership Action Plan by NATO, and Serbia becomes an EU member.
- Changes of Belgrade’s security and defence policies towards Kosovo, National Security Strategy, and Defence Strategy.
- Representation of Kosovo Serbs in the leadership of future armed forces of Kosovo.
- Full membership of Kosovo in the South – Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial.

b) Components for possible structural dialogue of NATO with Kosovo

- Assistance and assessment of the Defence Sector Development of Kosovo, based on NATO’s Partnership Action Plan (PAP) on Defence Institution Building (DIB).
- Assistance and assessment of the development of interoperability of the future Kosovo armed forces, based on NATO’s Planning and Review Process of the Partnership (PARP).
- Upgrade of the NATO Liaison and Advisory Team and the NATO Advisory Team into a single NATO’s Liaison Military Office in Prishtina, and establishment of Kosovo’s Liaison Office to NATO.
- The dialogue has to be viewed as a temporary measure for building relations between NATO and Kosovo. Only full membership in PfP and in the Euro-Atlantic Council will enable Kosovo to become part of NATO led security and defence cooperation mechanism.

c) Containment of Russia’s hostile intentions in the Western Balkans

- NATO and EU should put clear redlines to Serbia regarding its military and security cooperation with Russia.
- NATO’s Secretary General and member state supporters should take a concerted leadership for a fast track membership of Kosovo to Partnership for Peace and Euro-Atlantic Council, and for membership of Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO.

d) Legal framework for involvement of military forces of the Western Balkans countries in fighting terrorism

- The involvement of military forces in the fight against terrorism has to be defined strictly by law, in order to disable the misuse of these forces by national governments for political purposes, as well as to prevent the violation of human and national minority rights.

Annex 1.

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