

МЕЃУНАРОДНА НАУЧНА КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈА

РЕФОРМИ НА БЕЗБЕДНОСНИОТ СИСТЕМ КАКО ПРЕДУСЛОВ ЗА ЕВРО - АТЛАНТСКИ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ



INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

SECURITY SYSTEM REFORMS AS PRECONDITION FOR EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS

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ПРЕДУСЛОВ ЗА ЕВРО - АТЛАНТСКИ
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ZORAN TODOROV, MSC

PREFACE

The mission of the international scientific conference is to encourage the academic community and practitioners in the security sector to share knowledge based on the application of subject specific research scientific methods and upgrade the practical experience with a scientific – research dimension. The idea for organizing this Conference coincides with the need for essential reforms of the security sector in the Republic of Macedonia.

The papers received by means of a public announcement offer solutions for the future establishment and renaming of the security system in order to respond efficiently to the contemporary security risks and threats, that is, the destabilizing factors that create conflicts.

On that note and in correlation with the Conference title, the rational assumption for full application of the required reforms in the security sector presented in the papers that treat security issues in a number of sub-disciplines of the science of security, confirms the existing and encourages the creation of new solutions within the security system, based on a holistic approach in view of efficient and timely dealing with security risks and threats and accelerating the Euro – Atlantic integration process.

Hence, the mission of the conference is to stimulate scientific workers to exchange views and knowledge of the science that should identify the security needs and determine the security reforms and opt for an appropriate security concept, as one of the prerequisites for Euro – Atlantic integration of the country.

The practical goal of the topic of Conference Compendium is multifaceted, primarily due to the scarce number of papers and analyses on this topic in scientific and expert literature and the partial scientific approach in those that exist, which implies imposing effects in practice. The Conference and the Compendium aim to produce valid results and scientifically verified knowledge that will enable the implementation of a rational and acceptable solution for the security sector reforms. Argumentative substantiation and presentation of the derived results and the overall situation are used to consider the systemic and institutional solutions and to initiate a new phase of qualitative development of the security system and its institutions.

Security sector reforms aim to provide an efficient security system with appropriate security capacities to deal with potential threats. Hence, security sector reforms contribute not only to a more efficient security apparatus, but also to a more responsible one.

The overall goal of the “security sector reform” is directed toward transformation of the security institutions so that they acquire an efficient, legitimate and democratically responsible role in ensuring the external and internal security of its citizens. The work invested in these reforms is expected to yield certain positive effects that will be felt primarily by the state itself, and then by its citizens. In terms of the effects or the implications that may arise in the process, they should be grouped in two segments; positive and negative effects.

Positive effects mean increased internal and external security, greater and increased investment process, higher level of employment, greater mobility of population and capital, offering more possibilities to the citizens and a wider choice of living conditions, receiving assistance from European development funds, assistance in the defence sector, modernization, development and all other areas on which the progress of the security sector is dependent.

The positive effects also concern the citizens directly, in terms of respect of human rights, the rule of law, equitable and ethnic representation in the security structures, improved living and working conditions, participation in different peace missions, requesting certain competences for executing the assigned tasks, control over the work – external and internal, assessment, ensuring a quality system, increasing the services for the citizens and their quality, more stringent criteria for non-legal conduct, etc. What is more important, considerable progress has been made in increasing the communication of the security structures regionally and internationally and developing their cooperation within international security organizations, which has resulted in positive effects in conducting major actions against international crime covering trafficking in drugs, weapons, people, radio-active materials, etc.

On the opposite side, there are also negative effects of the reforms: downsizing of employees, losing some privileges, decreasing competences, jurisdictions and the possibilities for fight against crime.

It is evident that there is a global process of continuous changes of the security threats worldwide, which calls for transcending the local needs of the security structures and stimulating them to think and act globally.

The papers in the Compendium and the Conference cover the following topics:

- ❖ The relation between external threats and internal weaknesses as the basis for security reforms
- ❖ Civilian and democratic control of the security system
- ❖ Transformation of the secret (intelligence and counterintelligence) services
- ❖ The role of the police and the Army in the crisis management and protection and rescue system
- ❖ Restructuring of the security system to enable dealing with contemporary threats, terrorism and organized crime
- ❖ Coordination and reorganization of the security institutions
- ❖ Regional security cooperation as an imperative for Euro – Atlantic integration
- ❖ Prevention against internal risks and asymmetric threats
- ❖ The role of non-state actors (private security, civic organizations, the media) in the security system and its reshaping;

The Faculty of Security – Skopje has a key role in promoting the security system. Moreover, it aims to increase the security and stability in the Republic of Macedonia by learning, creating professional personnel, conducting research and implementing the best practices in the security sector reform process in the country.

Thus, the Faculty of Security – Skopje continues its orientation toward organizing international conferences in the security field in order to contribute to the development of scientific thought, and help policy creators (political level) and decision makers (senior practitioners) on the regional, national and local level to overcome the practical problems they are facing in a faster, simpler and timely fashion with the acquired knowledge and research results.

I believe that the next 10th jubilee will crown the successful joint project of the Faculty of Security – Skopje that is a combination of experience and youth of this higher educational institution, stimulating its greater development in future into one of the most important security academic fora of South Eastern Europe.

***Chairman of the Organizational Board
of the International Scientific Conference and Vice Dean for Science and
Development at the Faculty of Security – Skopje
Assistant Professor Marjan Gjurovski, Ph.D***

Country	Original scientific paper	Review scientific paper	Professional paper	Total work papers
Bulgaria		2		2
Bosnia and Hercegovina		5	1	6
Croatia		2		2
Dubai		1		1
Kosovo		1		1
Macedonia	8	30	14	52
Serbia		13	1	14
Slovenia		1		1
Turkey	1	1	1	3
United Kingdom		1		1
Total work papers	9	57	17	83

STATUS AND CHALLENGES OF DEFENSE REFORMS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FOR NATO INTEGRATION

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Abstract

After the NATO summit in Bucharest in 2008, the focus of NATO discussions related to further enlargement has been directed towards considering the opportunities for admission of the interested countries from the region of Southeastern Europe. Most of them were countries with an Action Plan for membership in NATO for Southeastern Europe. Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of those countries.

At the same time the Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration path to NATO has been set through more dependent scientific variables and indicators which are fundamental foundations for meeting the basic conditions for NATO integration, such as: political, economic and judicial reforms, defense reforms, Interior Ministry, etc. The comprehensive analysis of the defense reforms focused on expenditures of the state's annual budget in relation to the number of armed forces and the needs for progressive increase in the defense budget. In addition, the strategic position of Bosnia and Herzegovina was analyzed and assessed in relation to the following variables: projection of the overall defense forces, internal borders, new types of risks and threats to the national security, deterrence ability, and influence on the cohesion of NATO. As a conclusion, an overall numerical assessment of the strategic position was made.

Comparison of the defense spending was made with other NATO member states from Southeast Europe, such as the Republic of Slovenia, Croatia and Montenegro. An analysis of the transformation of the number and effectiveness of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been made with the countries of Southeast Europe which are NATO members and have approximately the same population, such as the Republic of Croatia and Albania.

Research analysis has also been done on Freedom House estimates in order to make an overall analysis and assessment of the fulfillment of the basic criteria for membership of Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO: political, economic, military and final observations based on numerical parameters for Bosnia and Herzegovina's concluding assessments of the meeting criteria for NATO membership by 2020.

Keywords: *criteria, challenges, defense reforms, NATO integration, Bosnia and Herzegovina*

1. INTRODUCTION

After the end of the armed conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this country has been facing a number of unresolved issues, starting with the unfinished transition process, tension in the part of interethnic relations, many unsolved disputes, infrastructure issues, organized crime, etc. The need to secure lasting peace and stability was the strongest motive for the political entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the efforts to join NATO. In this context, *"the concept of collective security is the cornerstone of Bosnia and Herzegovina's long-term defense strategy"*, based on political and defense determination of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a process of deep structural changes and reforms in the socio-political system, including defense reconstruction. In this direction, a change was made in the overall political dialogue in Bosnia and Herzegovina followed by political decisions with clearly stated commitments for the country's accession to NATO.

The accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Partnership for Peace program on 14th December 2006 was an event of particular importance and confirmation of the efforts of this country on the path to NATO. "Although the membership in this program does not imply guarantee of the collective security of the member states, as in the case with NATO membership, it is yet the first step in that direction"¹¹⁷.

Bosnia and Herzegovina began active cooperation with NATO, primarily in the area of democratic, institutional, and defense reforms, as well as practical cooperation on issues of common interest. In accordance with the national legislation of this country, an agreement with the partner countries and NATO on the status of forces was signed. In the period from 2007 onwards, the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the framework of the Defense Planning and Review Process was constantly transformed. Moreover, the assistance provided by the NATO team in this process was of particular importance for progress in the process of Bosnia and Herzegovina's membership in NATO. "During April 2007, Bosnia and Herzegovina started cooperation with NATO in the Individual Partnership Program. As a result, Bosnia and Herzegovina in cooperation with NATO could carry out an independent selection of activities from the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Work Plan which NATO or the Member States offer for training on a two-year basis"¹¹⁸.

Of a particular importance for the Bosnia and Herzegovinian progress in achieving cooperation with the countries in the region and the United States is its accession to the US-Adriatic Charter in December 2008. Bosnia and Herzegovina also greatly contributes to international peace and security through the participation of its military members and units in international operations led by NATO or UN. As a result of the progress made by Bosnia and Herzegovina in the democratization of the defense system, as well as the cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at the NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008, NATO's cooperation with this country was intensified on the level of dialogue. During April 2010, the framework of NATO agreement was reached with joining Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Membership Action

¹¹⁷ Defence White Paper of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2005). Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 16.

¹¹⁸ Turcalo, S., Kapidžić, D. (2014). NATO Integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The pursuit of local ownership in externally led-state building. *Croatian International Relations Review*. Institute for Development and International Relations. p. 79. Accessed on 7 December 2017.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/268514744_NATO_Integration_of_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina_The_pursuit_of_local_ownership_in_externally-led_state_building

Plan¹¹⁹. In this direction, NATO emphasized that Bosnia and Herzegovina's annual national plan will not be accepted under this program until all of the country's military property is registered as state property in the possession of the central government of this country. Over the past period, Bosnia and Herzegovina has made significant progress in the achievement of the technical and military aspects of NATO integration. Nevertheless, there is a lack of cooperation between the political entities regarding the fulfillment of the political criteria for membership in NATO. Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress on the road to NATO has been "status quo" for a long time because of irresponsibility and lack of serious access to certain political subjects of this country.

2. DEFENSE REFORMS AND FULFILLMENT OF MILITARY CRITERIA

The Ministry of Defense with the Joint Headquarters of the Armed Forces as its expert body performs the tasks as single defense system under the supreme command of the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹²⁰. In order to strengthen the integrity of the defense institutions, among other things, measures have been taken to create an "effective system for equipping, supplying, and maintaining the assets and the infrastructure of the armed forces, intensifying the training and empowering the forces to perform tasks, education and training system and provision of an effective system for the full armed forces with personnel"¹²¹.

As part of the efforts in completion of the process of implementation of the defense reform decisions, measures were taken to resolve the surplus weapons, ammunition, mine-explosive devices and equipment, unexpected property and resolving ownership of the real estate. As a turning point which led to the creation of the current structure of the Armed Forces of this country, the achievement of an agreement between political entities during 2005 for the unification under a single command of their separate Armed forces and ministries was considered. "The Armed Forces constitute a single military force composed of representatives of the order of all three constituent ethnic groups and on the order of others in accordance with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina"¹²².

At the end of January 2006, the transfer of all responsibilities and personnel from the domain of defense and entities to the Ministry of Defense of this country was completed. In July 2006 the total number of Armed forces was limited to 16 000 of which 10 000 were active military personnel, 1 000 civilian, and 5 000 active reserves¹²³.

¹¹⁹ Woehrel, S. (2013). Bosnia and Herzegovina: Current Issues and U.S. Policy. CRS Report for Congress. p. 7. Accessed on 27 December 2017. <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40479.pdf>.

¹²⁰ Programme of the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2017, p. 1. Accessed on 14 March 2017. <http://www.mod.gov.ba/foto2015/1PROGRAM%20RADA%2017-I%20DIO-PREDNACR T.pdf>

¹²¹ Medium-term plan of the work of the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2016 - 2018. p. 3. Accessed on 16 March 2017. <http://www.mod.gov.ba/foto2015/01.22.16.1Srednjorocni %20plan%20Edin%202012.pdf>

¹²² Law on Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2005). Art. 2, Para. 1, Armed forces. Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina No. 88/05. Accessed on 17 December 2017. <http://www.mod.gov.ba/files/fil e/zakoni/Zakon-o-odbrani-bs.pdf>

¹²³ Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Accessed on 17 March 2017. <http://os.mod.gov.ba/o-oruzanim-snagama-bih/misija/Default.aspx?id=41&pageIndex=1&lang Tag=en-US>

Table 1. Peacetime Active Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Albania, 2001-2006

Year	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Albania
2001	24000	68300	40500
2002	19800	61000	27000
2003	18800	30800	22000
2004	24000	30000	21500
2005	12000	31000	22500
2006	9000	21000	11500

From the data shown in (Table 1), peaceful situation of the Armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 2001 to 2006 was markedly reduced. In the stated period, an identical process of reducing the peaceful status of the Armed forces of Croatia and Albania was made. Defense spending by any NATO member state by the end of 2024 should be no less than 2 percent of their Gross domestic product (GDP)¹²⁴.

When it comes to Bosnia and Herzegovina's defense expenditures, (Table 2), as a percentage of Gross domestic product, they are only 50 percent of the mentioned reference value. Based on the data given in column 3 (Table 2) it can be concluded that defense expenditures as a percentage of the Gross domestic product of Bosnia and Herzegovina are higher than those of Slovenia which are 0.9 percent. These expenditures in Bosnia and Herzegovina amount to 71 percent in relation to those of Croatia and 67 percent in relation to Montenegro.

Also, the defense expenditures for a soldier in Bosnia and Herzegovina amounting to 15619 dollars (column 5 from Table 2) are significantly lower than the defense spending per soldier in Montenegro amounting to 34461 dollars and even lower than those in Croatia - 37466 dollars and Slovenia, worth 53,157 dollars.

¹²⁴ Techau, J. (2015). The Politics of 2 Percent. NATO and Security Vacuum in Europe. Publications Department 1779 Massachusetts Avenue NW Washington, D.C. 20036. p. 3. Accessed on 17 December 2017. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_252_Techau_NATO_Final.pdf

Table 2. Defense Expenditures of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Montenegro

State	Defense Expenditures ¹²⁵	Defense Expenditures as % of GDP ¹²⁶	Peacetime Active Force Size ¹²⁷	Defense Expenditures Per Troop ¹²⁸	Defense Expenditures Per Capita ¹²⁹
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	\$164 million	1,0	10500	\$15619	\$43
Croatia	\$695 million	1,4	18550	\$37466	\$162
Slovenia	\$404 million	0,9	7600 ¹³⁰	\$53157	\$205
Montenegro	\$67,2 million	1,5	1950 ¹³¹	\$34461	\$105

According to this, it is necessary to take into account that aspirant countries with low values of defense expenditures per soldier have armed forces with low degree of sophistication which is a disadvantage in terms of meeting the criteria for admission to NATO. Furthermore, the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina fall in category of less fashionable because their defense expenditure per soldier are lower than a NATO member state, with the lowest value similar to Albania whose defense expenditure per soldier amounts to 17294 dollars. Armed forces of Albania are 8500 persons¹³² and defense spending is \$ 147 million¹³³. Nevertheless, Albania as a NATO member is far away behind in the field of economic and defense development from all other member states¹³⁴. For example: Croatia which gained NATO membership status at the same time as Albania, has a twice bigger value of defense spending per soldier. Moreover, Bosnia and Herzegovina's Armed Forces belong to the category of small powers because their numerical status is less

¹²⁵ Calculated by SIPRI. Military expenditure by country, in constant (2015) US\$m, 1949 - 2016. Accessed on 08 January 2018. <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/SIPRI-Milex-data-1949-2016.xlsx>

¹²⁶ The World Bank. Military expenditure (% of GDP). Accessed on 08 January 2018. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS>

¹²⁷ The World Bank. Armed Forces Personnel, Total. Accessed on 08 January 2018. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.TOTL.P1>

¹²⁸ Calculated as a quotient of the expenses of defense (column 2) and the number of peacetime armed forces (column 4).

¹²⁹ Calculated as a quotient of the expenses of defense (column 2) and the total number of population.

¹³⁰ Sodobni vojaski izzivi (2015). Ministrstvo za obrambo, Znanstveno-strokovna publikacija Slovenske vojske, ISSN 2232-2825, December 2015 - 2017, p. 35. Accessed on 17 December 2017. http://www.slovenskavojska.si/fileadmin/slovenska_vojska/pdf/vojaski_izzivi/2015/svi_17_4.pdf

¹³¹ Report on the state in the army of Montenegro for 2015. Ministry of Defense of Montenegro. p. 6. Accessed on 8 December 2017. file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/5_152_31_03_2016.pdf

¹³² The World Bank. Armed Forces Personnel, Total. Accessed on 08 January 2018. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.TOTL.P1>

¹³³ Calculated by SIPRI. Military expenditure by country, in constant (2015) US\$m, 1949 - 2016. Accessed on 08 January 2018. <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/SIPRI-Milex-data-1949-2016.xlsx>

¹³⁴ Madej, M., Gorka-Winter, B. (2010). NATO Member States and the New Strategic Concept: An Overview. The Polish Institute for International Affairs, Warsaw, 9.

than 50 per cent of the reference value of 25,000 soldiers¹³⁵. By comparison, Armed forces of Croatia and Slovenia fall into the category of small and modern armies. Based on the data given in Table 3, it can be concluded that Bosnia and Herzegovina has 30 soldiers per kilometer border line towards countries without an Action Plan for membership, not NATO or EU members, as a rough gauge for determining the ability for distraction from aggression directed to its territory.

Table 3. Troops and Border Length Ratios of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹³⁶

State	Peacetime Active Force Size ¹³⁷	Total Land Border Length + Coastline (km)	Total Border Length with Current Non-NATO or Non-EU States (km)	Troops per km of Current Non-NATO or Non-EU Border	Total Border Length with Current Non-MAP, Non-NATO or Non-EU States (km)	Troops per km of Current Non-MAP, Non-NATO or Non-EU Border
Bosnia and Herzegovina	10500	1543+20	345	30	345	30
Montenegro	1950	683+293,5	475	4	233	8
Latvia	5310	1370+498	493	11	493	11

By comparison, Bosnia and Herzegovina has a greater capacity in comparison to Montenegro and Latvia, which represent the countries with the lowest value within NATO, for an initial defense of its borders in eventual aggression.

3. FULFILLMENT OF POLITICAL CRITERIA

Based on the annual reports of the European Commission for the progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one can conclude that there is an insufficient commitment and absence of political will for achievement of serious progress in meeting the political criteria for admission to NATO. According to the data released by Freedom House, Bosnia and Herzegovina is estimated as a partially free country. In each column of Table 4, the first number represents the index of political rights, while the second issue is the index of civil liberties in the period 2012-2017. Both indexes are based on a scale of 1 to 7, where index 1 represents the highest and 7 the lowest level of development of political rights and civil liberties in the country.

¹³⁵ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000 - 2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 89. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

¹³⁶ Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook (Page last updated on January 3, 2018). Accessed on 12 January 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bk.html>

¹³⁷ The World Bank. Armed Forces Personnel, Total. Accessed on 08 January 2018. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.TOTL.P1>

Table 4. Freedom House Rating of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2012-2017

State	2012 ¹³⁸	2013 ¹³⁹	2014 ¹⁴⁰	2015 ¹⁴¹	2016 ¹⁴²	2017 ¹⁴³
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3, 3, DS / PF	3, 3, DS / PF	4, 3, DS / PF	4, 3, DS / PF	4, 4, DS / PF	4, 4, DS / PF

The third component in each column of the table is the assessment status of political rights and civil liberties expressed by "S" (free countries), "DS" (partially free) and "NC" (not free countries). Countries with an average value of the first two components between 1 and 2.5 are considered free, between 3 and 5.5 partially free, while between 5.5 and 7 for non-free countries.¹⁴⁴

According to Freedom House on the data given in Table 5, it can be concluded that there are no changes in the status of press freedom in Bosnia and Herzegovina compared to the previous year, where it was estimated as a partially free country.

Table 5. Freedom of Media and Press 2016-2017 Status of Bosnia and Herzegovina

State	2016 ¹⁴⁵	2017 ¹⁴⁶
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Partly Free	Partly Free

For comparison, Croatia is also estimated as a partially free country, while Slovenia for the same period was valued as a free country. Nevertheless, the fact remains that further significant efforts are needed by Bosnia and Herzegovina to fully meet the political criteria, as well as a serious approach and unreserved support on the path towards NATO by all its political subjects.

¹³⁸ Freedom in the world 2013: Democratic Breakthroughs in the Balance. Freedom House. p. 14. Accessed on 6 November 2017. <https://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FIW%202013%20Booklet.pdf>

¹³⁹ Freedom in the world 2014. Freedom House. p. 18. Accessed on 6 November 2017. <https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FIW2014%20Booklet.pdf>

¹⁴⁰ Freedom in the world 2015: Discarding Democracy, Return to the Iron Fist. Freedom House. p. 21. Accessed on 6 November 2017. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/01152015_FIW_2015_final.pdf

¹⁴¹ Freedom in the world 2016: Anxious Dictators, Wavering Democracies, Global Freedom under Pressure. Freedom House. p. 20. Accessed on 6 November 2017. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf

¹⁴² Freedom in the world 2017: Populists and Autocrats: The Dual Threat to Global Democracy. Freedom House. p. 20. Accessed on 6 November 2017. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FIW_2017_Report_Final.pdf

¹⁴³ Freedom in the world 2018: Democracy in Crisis. Freedom House. Accessed on 19 January 2018. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/bosnia-and-herzegovina>

¹⁴⁴ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 63. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

¹⁴⁵ Freedom in the world 2017: Populists and Autocrats: The Dual Threat to Global Democracy. Freedom House. p. 20. Accessed on 6 November 2017. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FIW_2017_Report_Final.pdf

¹⁴⁶ Freedom in the world 2018: Democracy in Crisis. Freedom House. Accessed on 19 January 2018. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/bosnia-and-herzegovina>

4. ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia and Herzegovina is in early stage in development of a functioning market economy and in early stage of achieving capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union¹⁴⁷. A certain degree of progress has been made in the area of business climate, labor legislation, and identification of the existing weaknesses in the finance sector with the agreed reform agenda.

The public sector is estimated to be insufficiently effective, while progress within the private sector is moving in improperly slow pace. Based on the data in Table 6, the real growth rate of Bosnia and Herzegovina's GDP in the course of 2016 was 2 percent. For comparison, the real growth rate of Montenegro's gross domestic product for the same period was 2.5%, Croatia 3%, while Slovenia was 3.1%.

Table 6. General Characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Montenegro¹⁴⁸

State	Total Population	Gross Domestic Product (Purchasing Power Parity)	Gross Domestic Product – Real Growth Rate	Gross Domestic Product Per Capita
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3 856 181	\$42,04 billion	2%	\$10900
Croatia	4 292 095	\$95,65 billion	3%	\$22900
Slovenia	1 972 126	\$66,5 billion	3,1%	\$32200
Montenegro	642 550	\$10,37 billion	2,5%	\$16600

Bosnia and Herzegovina has made efforts to recover from the aftermath of the global crisis over the past period. Yet, this country is far behind the other countries in the region. The value of the Gross domestic product per capita in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 10900 dollars. According to the data given in Table 6, this value for Bosnia and Herzegovina is significantly lower than Montenegro, which is 16600 dollars and even lower than Croatia which is 22900 dollars and Slovenia - 32200 dollars per capita. In addition, integration of a particular aspirant country in the Euro-Atlantic structures is so much easier than the higher its GDP per capita value¹⁴⁹. Also, the insufficient efficiency of the measures and efforts undertaken by Bosnia and Herzegovina to restructure the public sector in accordance with the actual needs for functional improvements of the internal plan and solving the existing problem with the excess staff were noted.

Existing investments in the private sector are insufficient, while in the part of foreign direct investments there is a significant decrease. An additional problem is the

¹⁴⁷ Bosnia and Herzegovina 2016 Report. Commission Staff Working Document, Brussels, 9.11.2016 SWD (2016) 365. p. 30 - 36. Accessed on 13 March 2017. https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2016/20161109_report_bosnia_and_herzegovina.pdf

¹⁴⁸ Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook (Page last updated on January 3, 2018). Accessed on 12 January 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bk.html>

¹⁴⁹ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p.51. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

phenomenon of leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina from educated young people, which has resulted in further deterioration of the country's economy.

5. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AS A FUTURE NATO MEMBER

The assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a future NATO member is done by reviewing its progress in meeting the basic prerequisites for admission to NATO, as well as analyzing the strategic goal of NATO enlargement with this country.

5.1. Fulfillment of the basic preconditions for NATO admission

The aspirant countries on their way to join NATO have to meet three main categories of basic criteria: political, economic and military¹⁵⁰. In this context, Table 7 provides an overall assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina in meeting the basic prerequisites for NATO membership. Progress in meeting the political criteria, from possible four levels of valuation is valued at a low level ("countries with the sum of the first two components in the Freedom House estimates from 2 and 3 are valued at a high of 4 and 5 with intermediate- high, 6 and 7 with medium-low and with 8 and more are evaluated with a low degree¹⁵¹, since the sum of the first two estimated components for 2017 in Table 4 is 8.

Table 7. Overall assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina in meeting of the basic criteria

State	Political	Economic	Military	Total	Overall Assessment
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Low (1)	Low (1)	Medium-high (3)	5	2.2 (Low)

Each of the above-stated degrees in columns 2 to 4 is valued with a numerical value: 1 for low, 2 for intermediate-low, 3 for medium-high and 4 for high degree. Based on the time frame needed to establish a functioning market economy and gaining capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union, Bosnia and Herzegovina's economic progress is also valued at a low level.

The country's progress in meeting the military criteria is evaluated with a medium-high degree because the amount of its defense expenditure per soldier ranges up to 25 percent in a negative or positive direction compared to the European country with the lowest expenditures in NATO (Table 2)¹⁵². In addition, the sum in column 5 of this table is 5. By simply converting the given collective value represented on a measuring scale with 9 triangles (3-12) in the proportional value in column 6 using a measuring scale with finishes of 0-10 is coming to an overall assessment of the country's meeting of NATO's basic

¹⁵⁰ North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO Enlargement&Open Door. p.1. Accessed on 23 December 2017. https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2017_11/201711_30_1711-factsheet-enlargement-eng.pdf

¹⁵¹ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 68. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

¹⁵² Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 69-70. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

criteria. From this aspect, Bosnia and Herzegovina is generally estimated at a low level (low for values from 0 to 3, average for values from 3.1 to 6.9 and high for values from 7 to 10) because the value obtained in column 6 of Table 7 is 2.2.

5.2. Strategic expediency for admission to NATO

By recognizing the strategic position and researching the armed forces, the strategic importance of Bosnia and Herzegovina's accession to NATO comes to light. Table 8 gives an assessment of the strategic position of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Table 8. Assessment of the Strategic Position of Bosnia and Herzegovina

State	Power Projection	Interior Borders	New Risks	Impact on NATO Cohesion	Overall
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	High (1)	High (1)	Medium (LH) (0.5)	Low (0)	2.5 (Medium)

In the part of the "*projection force*" criterion (column 2), Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly valued (1) because its accession to NATO makes a contribution to increasing NATO's efficiency in carrying out operations in the Balkans and wider.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is also highly valued (1) in the category of "*internal borders*" (column 3), because according to the values in Table 3, with its admission to NATO, the length and exposure of its borders to countries without Action membership plan are not NATO or EU members. In the category of "*new risks*" (column 4) the existence of bilateral disputes between Bosnia and Herzegovina and any neighboring country, as the first sub-criterion is valued at a low level (0). For example, it is interesting to point out that Bosnia and Herzegovina is opposed to Croatia's plan to build a bridge from Klek to Peljesac, because they believe that this would impede the country's exit at sea as well as a gross violation of the rights they belong to in accordance with the international maritime law.

On the other hand, Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly valued (1) because its admission to NATO does not have a negative impact on the security environment in Europe, as the second subcategory of the mentioned category.

In the "*new risks*" category, Bosnia and Herzegovina is valued at a median level (0.5) as the average value of the individual assessments of the mentioned sub criteria.

In the category of "*influence on NATO's cohesion*" (column 5), Bosnia and Herzegovina is valued at a low level (0), primarily because it has not yet received a candidate status for EU membership. Column 6 of Table 8 gives the sum of the values from columns 2 to 5 and represents the overall assessment of the strategic position of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The strategic position of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose sum is 2.5, is assessed with a medium degree ("low for values from 0 to 1.5, medium for values from 1.6 to 3.5 and high for values of 3, 6 to 4¹⁵³"). Furthermore, Table 9 provides an assessment of the Armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the criterion of

¹⁵³ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 96. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

"*projection of force*" (column 2), armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are valued at an intermediate-low level (2), because they belong to the group of small and less modern armed forces, while in the "*deterrence ability*" criteria, the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are valued at a high level (4), since it has a larger number of troops per kilometer border line towards countries without an Action Plan for membership, not NATO or member states of the European Union. For example, Montenegro and Latvia are countries with the lowest value in NATO (Table 3).

Table 9. Assessment of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina

State	Power Projection	Deterrence	Overall
1	2	3	4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Medium-Low (2)	High (4)	Medium (6)

Column 4 of this table represents the sum of the values from columns 2 and 3, with possible values of the aggregate score of 0 to 8 and represents the overall assessment of the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, the armed forces of this country are assessed in an aggregate grade, because the sum of the values from columns 2 and 3 is 6 (low for values from 2 to 3, average for values from 4 to 6, and high for values from 7 to 8¹⁵⁴).

By reviewing the obtained results from the assessment of the strategic position and the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina we can make an insight of the strategic importance of Bosnia and Herzegovina's accession to NATO (Table 10).

Table 10. Assessment of Strategic Rationale of Bosnia and Herzegovina

State	Strategic Position	Armed Forces	Overall Assessment
1	2	3	4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6.2	6.6	6.4 (Medium)

In addition, the numerical value for the category "*strategic position*" in column 2 of Table 10 is 6.2 and it is obtained by simply converting the value into column 6 of Table 8 represented on a measuring scale from 0 to 4 in the proportional value in column 2 from Table 10 using a measuring scale with fins of 0-10. However, the numerical value for the category of "*armed forces*" represented in column 3 of Table 10 is 6.6 and it is obtained in a similar manner with the exception that it converts the given cumulative value in column 4 of Table 9 represented on scale with values from 2 to 8.

Column 4 of Table 10 presents the average value of the sum of the multiple values of columns 2 and 3, with possible values of the aggregate score 0 to 10 and represents the overall assessment of the strategic validity of Bosnia and Herzegovina's accession to NATO. In addition, the strategic importance of Bosnia and Herzegovina's accession to NATO is generally assessed with a medium degree since the average value of

¹⁵⁴ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 98. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

the numerical values of columns 2 and 3 is 6.4 (low for values from 0 to 3, average for values of 3.1 up to 6.9 and a high degree of values from 7 to 10¹⁵⁵).

5.3. Final assessment for admission to NATO

Finally, by combining the obtained results that refer to the meeting of the basic criteria and strategic expediency, the final assessment for Bosnia and Herzegovina is coming to an end.

Table 11. Final Assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina

State	Criteria	Strategic Attractiveness	Overall
1	2	3	4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2.2 (Low)	6.4 (Medium)	4.3 (Medium)

In column 2 of Table 11 are represented the numerical values from column 6, Table 7, and column 3 presents the numerical value from column 4, Table 10. In column 4 of this table, the average value of the sum of the numerical values from columns 2 and 3, which is 4.3. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina is finally assessed with a medium degree (low for values from 0 to 2, medium-low for values from 2.1 to 4, average for values from 4.1 to 6, medium-high for values from 6.1 to 8 and high degree of values from 8.1 to 10) on the readiness and strategic desirability of admission to NATO.

6. CONCLUSION

NATO membership is an issue of vital interest for Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only in terms of preserving the existing borders under NATO's umbrella, but also for contributing to the international peace and security. Among other things, NATO membership implies acceleration of the economic progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina with creating favorable working conditions and increasing foreign direct investments. Such development would have a positive impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina's trade relations with other NATO member states. However, the eventual membership of Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO, among other things, would result in the strengthening of the legitimacy of other countries and its rapid accession to the EU. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that in the period from 2010 onwards Bosnia and Herzegovina has not made a significant progress on its path to NATO.

The reason for this unfavorable situation is the lack of political will and unwillingness of some of the political entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina to register the entire military real estate of the country as a state property in the possession of the central government. Moreover, this "requirement" set by NATO in relation to the activation of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Membership Action Plan should in no way be misunderstood and interpreted. Finding a solution to this issue is an essential step for development of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a unified state.

It is also an opportunity for the Bosnia and Herzegovinian political leaders to demonstrate their determination for full implementation of the reforms as a prerequisite for

¹⁵⁵ Szayna, S. T. (2001). NATO Enlargement 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping. Rand, Santa Monica. p. 99. Accessed on 16 August 2016 <https://www.questia.com/library/103985408/nato-enlargement-2000-2015-determinants-and-implications>

NATO membership. Considering the complexity of social and political relations and the marked division of ethnic backgrounds, we can conclude that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country that has no other alternative than its integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures, such as NATO. In this context, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period up to 2020 will have to undertake measures and activities for meeting the criteria for admission to NATO as follows:

(1) Overcoming the essential differences between political entities and intensifying efforts to continue the ongoing process of comprehensive reforms in the country, with a focus on appropriate resolution of the basic and most important priorities in meeting the criteria for admission to NATO;

(2) Taking concrete steps by the political entities in the country for practical implementation of the undertaken obligations regarding the registration of the entire perspective real military property from the entities under the jurisdiction of the state, as a basic precondition for the activation of the Membership Action Plan;

(3) Promote overall relations with the neighboring countries through economic, cultural, and political cooperation within key areas, as well as peaceful settlement of all bilateral disagreements;

(4) Increasing public support for Bosnia and Herzegovina's membership in NATO, especially among citizens in Republika Srpska, through intensive holding of public discussions and informing citizens, including direct face-to-face communication, on the benefits of joining the country in NATO;

(5) Consistent implementation of defense sector reforms and achieving full compatibility of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Armed forces with the NATO member states;

(6) Continuation of the active participation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO-led international peacekeeping missions and cooperation with member states and partner countries on issues of common interest;

(7) Promoting democratic processes and achieving high standards in respecting citizens' political rights and freedoms, including the rights of minorities;

(8) Increasing efforts and achieving progress in the area of establishing a functioning market economy and gaining capacity to cope with the pressure of competition and market forces with the European Union.

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