The concept of "Comprehensive security" as a draft for reconstructing security in a system of international relations

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Abstract

To explain how applicable the concept of "comprehensive security" is in Kosovo, at first, I will try to analyze the term of security, and development of international relations in relation to the phenomenon of "Security". Initially the term "security" is to be elaborated, in theoretical terms, the impact "national security" had during the Cold War, and the development of the international relations system, especially after "the fall of the Berlin Wall," and the fall of communism. In the broadest sense, the post- modern security is characterized by many threats, such as terrorism, failing states, climate change etc. The elements of comprehensive security will be part of the analysis of developments in Kosovo after the war and briefly transformation of the security sector after independence.

Keywords: Security studies, political transformation, peace building, security sector.

1. The definition of "security" in the IR system

The term **"security"**, since the Ancient times, the Roman Empire, and until today, represents a vital segment in terms of protection and development of a nation, state or wider.[1] On the other hand, the term security policy implies that all sovereign states pursue political and diplomatic developments and take measures in preserving and protecting external and internal

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[1] The notion of security comes from the Latin word "securitas", which means without concern or worry, namely an absence of insecurity, avoidance of threats and risks to security, and also it includes protection of citizens against criminality, political/religious extremism, terrorism, etc. Most important is securing the political system from internal enemies. In: Nohlen, Dieter, Schunltze , Reiner- Olaf (Hrgs.): Lexikon der Politikwissenschaft. Theorien, Methoden, Begriffe. Verlag C.H. Beck, München. 2002, pg. 837.

security, aimed at ensuring political and economic invulnerability of a society, which in turn, guarantees protection against threats and attacks from the outside.[2] For this, conventional steps are made, such as policies of demonstration of power, political treaties, armament controls and disarmament policies. Thus, the central matter to be addressed by this paper is the following: What should be the role of the state or the international community in relation to new challenges? How suitable is the "comprehensive security" concept in resolving state, regional and global problems? What is the extent of its applicability?

The global political system during the Cold War was characterized by two great world powers, meaning a bipolar system. The theoretical school of realists/neo-realists was in favour of preserving the "Balance of Power", which means that "security" was only relevant in two plans, "military" and "political",[3] because this theory represents the thesis that the only actors of international policy must be sovereign states.[4] From a view of Kenneth Waltz, all states in the international arena fight for more power and security.[5] On the other hand, one of the pioneers of theory of the "English School", Hedley Bull,[6] presents sovereign states as the starting point of international relations. Thus, according to the "classical English school", there are five institutions responsible for preserving an international system and order: balance of power, international law, diplomacy, function of war, great powers.[7] Also, in today's global political system, there are in fact three major theories of the security sector, which are applied by international and regional institutions/organizations.

These concepts are impossible to be recognized as similar: collective security (UN)[8], collective defence (NATO)[9] and cooperative security (OSCE)[10]

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[2] Magenheimer Heinz: COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY. Zum erweiterten Verständnis von Sicherheit. Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie, Nr. 2, Wien, 2001, pg. 9.

[3] Morgenthau, Hans: Macht und Frieden. 1963, pg. 246

[4] Dunne, Timm, Schmid .C, Brain (2001): Realism. pg.141-149. Ne: Baylis, John, Smith, Steve(Ed.): The Globalization of World Politic. An introduction to international relation. 2.Ed, New York, 2001

[5] Waltz, Kenneth: Theory of International Politics. McGraw-Hill, pg. 91

[6] Hadley Bull: The Anarchical Society. A Study of Order in World Politics. London, 1977

[7] According to the author's interpretation, the "Classical English School" is a combination of realist elements, such as the "balance of power", "Great Powers", "war" (high politics) and liberalism components, such as "Diplomacy" and "Human Rights"(low politics).

[8] Gärtner, Heinz (1997): Modelle europäischer Sicherheit. Wie entscheidet Österreich? Wien. (1997). pg. 54.

[9] Dembinski, Matthias (2002): NATO - Auf dem Weg von der kollektiven Verteidigungsgemeinschaft zur offenen Sicherheitsgemeinschaft. In: Ferdowsi, Mir A. (Hg.) (2002): Internationale Politik im 21. Jahrhundert. München. pg. 278.

[10] Souchon, Lennart: Europäische Sicherheitspolitik und Strategie im Umbruch. In Deubner, Christian (Hrsg.): Die Europäische Gemeinschaft in einem neuen Europa. pg. 23

1.2. Transformation of the world into a new "political constellation"

Since the end of Cold War, the constellation of the international political system is in a crossroad. Various concepts and strategies which for long ensured a "functional peace", "surprisingly", after the fall of the bipolar system, became obsolete. Setting from this point, the end of the Cold War brought many "abrupt" changes in international relations, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Warsaw Treaty, the fall of Communism in the South-Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the Soviet Union.[11] War in the former Soviet Union republics and in the Balkan, organized transnational crime[12], hence the change of form of wars, from symmetrical to asymmetric[13], which explains the importance and transformation of new wars from the state aspect to local context, or fights between various rival groups using territories of various countries for material benefits, or trade in weapons, etc. this means that violence is mainly guided against the civil population, and an example can be taken with the fights in Africa and Asia.[14] Also, we have the hypothesis of Samuel Huntington on **"Clashes of cultures"**[15]**,** which according to the author, in the future, will be the source of new problems or conflicts. This means that the author defends the thesis that conflicts of the future will be between civilizations which pertain to different social-cultures, and not to different ideologies or economies. Also, in another way, Joel Kotkin defends such a thought: *Tribal ties, race, ethnicity, and religion are becoming more important than borders.*[16]

On the other hand, enlargement of Europe enjoys some continuity,[17] meaning therefore that the meaning of national boundaries is losing its classical relevance. These changes bring about liberalization of markets, freedom of

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[11] Fukuyama, Francis: Das Ende der Geschichte. Wo stehen wir? Kindler Verl. München 1992, pg. 11

[12] On one hand, organized crime finds ways to reorganize and expand better, for instance, due to the capital available, it used countries of South-Eastern Europe in transition for various businesses, hence "money laundry", which means that organized transnational crime poses a serious threat for both national and international security, in consideration of threats in the area of security, but also in the fields of economics, politics, society, etc:

Williams, Phill: Transnational Criminal Organization and International Security. pg. 317. Excerpt: Mafia, " Newsweek, 13 December 1993, pg. 22–28. In: http://www.rand.org/publications/ MR/MR880/MR880.ch14.pdf [checked on 24.10.2005]

[13] Meaning changing form of war from waging war with a defined enemy, to an undefined enemy.

[14] Herfried Münkler: Die neuen Kriege. Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek, 2002

[15] Samues P. Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. Simon & Schuster, First ed. (1998)

[16] Kotkin Joel: New World Order. Në: http://www.newsweek.com/2010/09/26/the-new-world-order-a-map.html?from=rss# [05.01.2011]

[17] Currently, there are 27 European Union Member States. Most of the Balkan states, including Kosovo, are negotiating their MSA-s. In terms of the EU, there are many challenges, including the establishment of the European Army -EUROKORPS. In: Schneckener Ulrich: Die Zivilmacht Europa und die pra-wesfalische Herausforderung. SWP Berlin 2005, pg. 5

movement of people, etc. In this changed reality, the traditional meaning of "State Security" changes substantially in its meaning and content, due to a wide range of global threats: organized crime, increasing international terrorism, especially after 9/11,[18] poverty, pandemics, migration, climate changes, proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons, natural resources, Cyber-War etc.[19] From this viewpoint, in the academic debate, there is a requirement to expand the definition of security due to numerous global threats. Specifically in the beginning of the 80-es, Joseph S. Nye claimed that *"Security is more than a military matter".*[20] The USA have remained almost the only military and technological superpower (which may react at any given time, moment and place of the world)[21]. According to Erich Reiter (an Austrian expert of security policy), Europe might need from 8 to 12 years to be able to compete with capacities and military/technological potentials of the US, but above all, he claims that EU will need courage and a clear vision on foreign policy first.

Hence, to achieve stability, prosperity and long-term welfare, both nationally and internationally: states, organizations and the international community cannot be based on military and police alone,[22] but also in the civil presence of the state.[23] This point is valid also for civilian/military missions in post-conflict countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Iraq, etc.

Democracy	**Rule of law**	**capitalism**	**Reconstruction**	**Basic services**
Free elections, legitimacy	Independent courts, public order, etc.	Free market economy	Infrastructure	Electricity, water, etc.

Source: Defense Science Board 2004 Summer Study on: Transition to and from Hostilities. Washington, December 2004, Chapter – 1

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[18] From the American position, after 9/11, international security has substantially changed, and has become very dangerous due to an assymetric enemy, which may operate from the US territory too. The US are currently at "state of war" in Iraq and Afghanistan, while another conflict with Iran seems to be near, due to the Iranian Nuclear Program.

[19] This implies that not only states are actors in international relations, there are also various governmental and non-governmental organizations.

[20] Nye, Joseph S., 1974: Collective Economic Security, International Affairs, Vol. 50, No. 4, pg. 585.

[21] Nevertheless, in the global arena, there are appearances, or efforts to return, of strong political actors such as Russia (which in fact is a large military power, but with outworn technology), China tries to appear or become an economic and military "superpower" (the Taiwan problem remains unsolved). On one hand, Japan, an economic/technological power wishes to reform the constitution to establish a modern military. On the other hand, Iran and Northern Korea pose a threat not only for the US, but also for all other democratic countries and political-economic development of the Region.

[22] Military for stability, and police for public security

[23] Source: Defense Science Board 2004 Summer Study on: Transition to and from Hostilities. Washington, December 2004, Chapter- 1

1.3. Elaboration of "General Security"

In the beginning of the 90-es[24], many academicians elaborate that future threats will be of a "non-military nature",[25] and they can only partially be addressed by military means. In relation to this, security theoreticians such as Buzan, Weaever, De Wilde: they try to reformulate, namely recommend, a new concept titled "comprehensive security".

In this context, authors defend the thesis that institutions, actors and down to the individual, *(...)everything is security"*.[26] What is the point of this concept then? In principle, the point is that protection against various threats (military, political, economic, social, and environmental) both to the population and the individual. Hence, by sector and level, there are actors, threats and measures to apply. From this viewpoint, "comprehensive security" is characterized by five sectors.

Military sector – is about military doctrine, armed forces, state capacities, etc. This sector, in the military vocabulary, is otherwise called "Hard Power-Sector"[27].

Political sector – This sector concentrates on several points: state stability, governance system, legitimacy and sovereignty.[28]

Economic sector – is about resources (e.g. energy, water), finance, market, social welfare, etc[29].

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[24] Heinz Gärtner: Internationale Sicherheit. Definitionen von A-Z. 2005, pg. 127

[25] Wittmann Fritz: Nationale Sicherheitsinteressen in globaler Verpflichtung. f. 10. Ne: Politische Studien. Sonderheft 9/1993: Strategien für die Zukunft. Brauhen wir eine neues Denken in der Sicherheitspolitik. Atwerb-Verlag KB, Grünwald

[26] Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole: Regions und Powers: Structure of International Security. Cambridge, 2003, pg. 71

[27] Is mainly about preserving state order against internal military threats (social order, revolutionary militant groups, territorial integrity, etc.) and external threats (foreign armies, saboteur groups, etc.), particularly after the Cold War, from threats of a non-military nature, such as migration, ideologies-nationalists spread throughout countries, such as Kurds, Serbs, terrorism, organized crime, etc. in this sense, one should be *„Putting Security first",* meaning it's impossible to defend civilians and the state without maximum security. This explicitly implies that this sector om principle entails state self-protection in total.

[28] This sector is about threats of a non-military nature against sovereignty, because only full sovereignty defines a state (according to Jean Bodin). Therefore, political and ideological threats like transnational movements: ethnic (Palestinians, or Communism/Socialism, etc.), religious, etc., may endanger the existence of a state. This sector entails and protects/defends political and social relations, and the existence of state itself.

[29] Risks at this point are: uncontrolled growth of population (or migration from neighbouring countries, which may aim for destabilization of the country), which may come down to the "battle for jobs", threats from global markets, which implies the instability of the financial system, unemployment, poverty (there are around 1.8 Billion people in the world living off less than 1 dollar per day), and organized crime. The primary task of this sector are *"basic human needs"* (Sheehan, Michael , 2005, 76), e.g. nutrition, or according to Jean Ziegler *"Food security"* (Ziegler Jean, 2005, 238). Emancipation/education of society for a facilitated integration in the

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Social sector – entails the identity of society or collective identity, which may exist independently of the state (e.g. people, religion, such as Albanians in the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro etc.)[30]

Environmental sector – the main purpose is to preserve natural resources (e.g. energy, water, forests, etc.) and flora and fauna, a term which was coined by the UN was "Human Environment"[31]

2. Kosovo under UN administration

In short, to understand the problem of Kosovo, one must unavoidably return to ancient history, to some short points, to explicate the complexity of this problem.[32] After the failure of talks in Rambouillet, NATO (Allied Force) on 24 March 1999 begun bombing Serbian targets and military. Due to the

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labour market and preservation of workplaces, free movement of goods, capital and labour, use of resources based on interest.

[30] Barrry Buzan views migration as a threat to the society itself, rather than to the state, because in this manner, the society may change from the inside, because "(...) *community will not be what it used to be",* e.g. 40% of Estlandës are Russians, around 40 million Latin-Americans live in the USA, together with 37 million African Americans and 13 million Asians, while there are around 20% foreigners living in Switzerland, more than 10% in Austria, Slovakia has over 11%, Slovenia around 6.9%, Bulgaria over 14%, Romania over 9%, Macedonia around 30%. In: Buzan et al. (1998) pg. 121; a primary task of this sector is protection of common identity.

[31] Hence, the environment, respectively the livelihood of citizens is of great importance. It is the only sector in which it may be stated that there are threats without enemies (Buzan et al. 1998, pg. 81), e.g. earthquakes, volcanoes, natural/climatic disasters, and human-made activities, e.g. nuclear military industries. This sector is of particular importance in terms of the strategic resource of water, because it is thought that in the short term future, water will be more expensive than gold and more strategic than oil, often termed "the fight for blue gold." (Simonis E, Udo, 2002) the environmental sector deals with the so-called *"disaster scenarios"* (Buzan et al. 1998, pg. 85). For example, the explosion of the nuclear plant in Chernobyl, pandemics such as bird flu, tsunamis, volcanic ashes more recently in Iceland which blocked flights for several days in Europe, etc. the primary goal of this sector remains the protection of environment in local, regional and global aspects.

[32] Starting with the Illyrian predecessors, invasions of the Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, the Prizren League and the established Albanian identity, the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the declaration of independence of Albania on 1912, recognition in 1913, but without territories of Kosovo, Western Macedonia, Cameria, after the Balkan wars, Albanian territories were given to Serbia, Montenegro (Kosovo, Macedonia), Greece. After the WWII, Kosovo remained again part of Tito's Yugoslavia, massive forced displacement of Albanians to Turkey, on 1974 an "expanded" autonomy, until 1989, when everything was ultimately annexed by Serbia, hence a classic occupation of those institutions. 1991/92, fights in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, ruined Yugoslavia. Since 1990, Kosovo was placed under an invading military regime. Kosovars decide to embrace a peaceful policy, known as a "Gandhist", hoping for a reward from the International Community. But, after the Dayton Treaty, it was obvious that the Kosovo issue was left aside, and the people understood that the problem will not be resolved in a peaceful manner, and therefore, they began organizing for combat for the liberation of Kosovo. After the appearance of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), the war in Kosovo began between the KLA and the Serbian occupying military/police/paramilitary forces. After numerous massacres against Albanian civilians, the Contact Group and NATO gave an ultimatum to Serbia that it will be bombed if it doesn't stop massacres.

humanitarian tragedy of that time, NATO (without consent of the Security Council) justified air strikes as a "humanitarian intervention". More than 12.000 civilians were killed and slaughtered, 2500 remain missing, and more than 1 million were chased out of the place. An event like that had not taken place in Europe since the end of World War II. According to Nicolas Wheeler *„(...) NATO had moral obligation to act to stop such criminal actions."*[33]

After a bombing campaign of three months and the Kumanovo agreement, the war ended in Kosovo[34]. Serbian forces signed the withdrawal of military/police and paramilitary forces from Kosovo. Hence, in June 1999 and with the UNSCR 1244, the NATO forces (KFOR – Kosovo Force) started deploying, together with the UN protectorate (UNMIK- United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo).[35] If we analyze the post-war situation, since 1999 and factors that are responsible for the area of security, economy, politics, society, there were external factors such as NATO, UNMIK, OSCE and EU. Therefore, a question is raised: what are the tasks taken by the military and civilian presence in Kosovo? How did the process of democracy and state building develop? In this context, one must explain how are responsibilities divided, and who is responsible for which field, and what is important for a post-conflict society and reconstruction for the state. The analysis though focuses more on the post-independence stage of Kosovo, in the reconstruction of the security sector. Therefore, the question is what is the contribution to be given by external factors to the concept of "comprehensive security" in the post-war Kosovo.

In this sense, one might analyse the applicability of the concept of "comprehensive security".[36] In the case of Kosovo, there were two dimensions in a post-conflict reality, the military and civil reality.

Military dimension - KFOR had the following tasks: preserving and holding the ceasefire, KLA demilitarization, building a safe environment, border control, guaranteeing free movement, etc.

Civil dimension – is a more comprehensive one: support to the autonomy and self-administration in Kosovo, establishment of administration, rebuilding

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[33] Wheeler, Nicholas. J, Bellamy Alex. J(2001): Humanitarian intervention and the world politics. pg.482 In: Baylis, John, Smith, Steve(Ed.): The Globalization of World Politic. An introduction to international relation. 2.Ed, New York, 2001
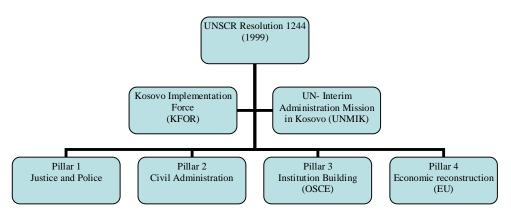
[34] Nevertheless, in most of European literature, one finds the term "*Kosovo Conflict*" instead of war. For this reason, former General Wesley Clark stated: "One must not forget, that this was a particular victory at this time", but he also thought that none of the allies was overjoyed with the victory. For this reason, it was very difficult to call it a "victory", because no one had called it a war earlier. Clark Wesley K „WAGING MODERN WAR: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Combat" New York, 2002 pgs. 412- 414

[35] King, Ian, Mason, Whit: Peace at Any Price: How the World Failed Kosovo (Crises in World Politics). Published by KOHA, Prishtina 2006, pg. 67. Kosovo refugees returned at own initiative, while some Serbian minority members went out of Kosovo together with Serb forces (some of them did partake in crimes against Albanian civilians).

[36] Reiter, Erich/ Selten Reinhard (Hrsg.): 2003, pg. 62

successful institutions, building key infrastructure, guaranteeing public safety and development of local police force, support and protection of human rights, etc.[37] (compare illustration no: 1).

Organizational structure of the UN Mission in Kosovo

No: 1. The model was taken from Wittkowsky Andreas „Modelfall Kosovo"(Kosovo example)

At this stage begins the process of "democratization" in Kosovo. This means that for a lasting peace and stability strategy in post-conflict societies, in addition to the legitimacy of the state, the formation of new political institutions is required, with all ethnicities represented. Linked to this is Francis Fukuyama's view that state-building means creating new institutions and strengthening of existing institutions.[38] In this context F. Fukuyama asserts that in an explicit manner, that the U.S. does not want Kosovo to start building a state, but a safer place, then at a later stage, development of a state.[39] Thus, the support of the "international community" in Kosovo has been extraordinary. Despite "minor defects" results have not been lacking, considering that everything started from zero. Creating an exemplary police for the region, the creation of the KPC, which for most people in Kosovo would be the stem cell for the future army, development and construction of public institutions, and for the first time, free and democratic elections.[40]

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[37] Kramer, Helmut/Dzihic Vedran : Die Kosovo Bilanz. Scheitert die internationale Gemein-schaft? Wien, 2005, pg. 22.

[38] Fukuyama, Francis**:** Staaten bauen. Die neue Herausforderung internationaler Politik, Propy-läen Verlg. Berlin, 2004, pg. 7

[39] Compare ibid pg. 7

[40] Kramer Helmut, Dzihic Vedran (2005) pg.168-169, also Daxner, Michael: Zukunft des Kosovo. At: http://www.zukunftsforum.info/docs/Kosovo_12-01-05 [last checked on 10.11.2005]

2.1. Restructuring of security in the post-independence Kosovo

With the declaration of independence of Kosovo (17.02.2008), the majority of security institutions were unprepared to assume competencies at once. At a slow pace, restructuring and transformation of main security institutions[41] in Kosovo took place, such as the transition from the Kosovo Police Service to the Kosovo Police (KP)[42], although the reforms of the police are stalling, also because of political interferences.[43] KP is primarily tasked with "internal security". Also, the transition from the Kosovo Protection Corps to the Kosovo Security Force (KSF),[44] which according to the Law, it is more of a civilian mission, rather than a military one, but it is accepted by the public as the nucleus of a future Kosovar army. This is the assumption of competencies from international authorities. We have witnessed also the establishment of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA) and the Kosovo Security Council. Operationalization and capacity-building of security institutions requires much time and investment, because these institutions have so far acted as "independent", since 2008. therefore, despite the good will, it is impossible to attain all objectives set. One thing is sure though, that all security institutions of Kosovo are subject to parliamentary control.

2.2. Political and economic sectors

In relation to the political aspect, there is again political dualism, with the Government of Kosovo on one hand, and the International Civilian Office (ICO), which oversees the implementation of the Ahtisaari Proposal. In short, the largest deficiency which threatens the political sector is the judiciary, namely the justice system, because political will is missing, while there is some oversight from EULEX, and then the failure to control 30% of the territory in the northern parts of Kosovo. This inability to fully be in control of sovereignty is a very dangerous element for the future of Kosovo as a stable state. Meanwhile, we also have regard to serious violations of the 2010 parliamentary elections and the repetition of elections in several municipalities in 2011. Many analysts and civil society have found "serious violations", and that could produce a destabilization of the state institutions. Also, some international observers of the election process they call "industrial manipulations of election" or "organized fraud", or manipulated elections, therefore greater blame would be borne by Kosovar political parties. For in the future we will have serious

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[41] Compare Security Forum Report, 2010, Prishtina

[42] KP, pursuant to the Constitution and the Law on Police, has its competencies in protecting lives, safety and property, basic rights and freedoms, risk prevention, etc.

[43] Security Forum, pg. 10

[44] KSF has 2.500 active members, and 800 reserve corps. It is lightly armed, with its main mandate being response to crisis or emergencies, such as search and rescue, demining, demolition and removal of hazardous materials, response to fire and participation in peacekeeping missions outside the country.

problems regarding the electoral system and process on the one hand, and on the other legitimacy of state institutions. All this means that the justice system has failed in several segments, despite the fact that the legal framework is very similar to the European Union. Here we make the failure of rule of law. The **economic sector**, remains a very serious challenge to be managed. Because in the absence of rule of law, automatically, there is little foreign investment. Particularly, an additional problem for the economy of Kosovo is the "informal economy", which costs the Kosovo budget around € 100 million, only in the northern area, and according to some research "*international development organizations throughout the informal economy budget hurting the territory for about 700 million € per year*"[45]. CEFTA agreement is almost entirely detrimental to Kosovo's economy. The main energy sources, and every public company (PTK, KEK, airport concession is granted for 20 years) that are more profitable, either have problems with management, some tenders have been suspicious. The tendering process for the highway is still closed for the public and many other problems relating to the management of public money. The privatization process in some serious cases, most analysts believe, had serious violations in the privatization of public property. The main economic problems are: insufficient budget, lack of foreign investors, low standard of living, lowest wages in the region, infrastructure is still not at the right level, although there have been efforts in the last three years. And almost a total dependence on imports. Social problems are too large, due to high unemployment (around 43% according to official figures[46]) shows that 15% of households living in extreme poverty and 37% live in poverty. The low level of pensions, lack of social insurance, social assistance is very low at around € 70 / month, etc.. Although there is an increase of GDP of 6.3% in 2010, it is still not enough for a sustainable development of Kosovo's economy.

2.3. Social aspect

From the historical perspective, Kosovo has been and remains predominantly Albanian-inhabited, and culturally there is a "multi-ethnic climate." That is guaranteed in the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. A country that is characterized more by the past. In political discourse, there are often questions about the identity of Kosovo settlements. What makes its existence and identity? Apart from Albanians, (around 90% of Islamic confession, and a small minority of Catholics), there are many other ethnic and religious groups such as Serbs (6-8%, all belonging to Orthodox religion), Turks, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Roma, etc. Each group within the territory of Kosovo, has its own desires and ambitions that wants to live.

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[45] http://www.koha.net/index.php?cid=1,5,46827 [16.01.2011]
[46] http://esk.rks-gov.net/index.php/statistikat-sociale/sporti [11.01.2011]

A large part of the Serbian minority and others (Montenegrins, Turks, Bosniaks, Roma, etc.) and consider their homeland to be Kosovo, all are represented in the parliament of Kosovo, and thus protect their rights in a legitimate manner, and directly or indirectly support the independence of Kosovo. In a way, there is "civilian institutionalism". Religious relations in the past, have not had any particular role, both for Albanians and Serbs .

Some authors have argued that only the Serbian side (for political reasons) soured relations even when religion issues did not exist, and used them only for PR purposes, to instill inter-religious hatred. Indeed all the communities living in Kosovo can apply their rituals or religious practices, without exceptions[47].

This is a process not yet completed. The Environmental sector hardly has a large weight in security policies, because problems in the justice, economic and political systems, have made this sector somewhat circumvented by Kosovar politics. In most cases, there are several emergency strategies in cases of natural disasters, how to react, but in terms of preservation of natural resources (such as water, energy, forests, etc.) there is still no plan for how and what to do. But even if it exists, any such plan will not be realized.

3. Conclusions

So far no system in the world in the history of international relations has not given the desired results, especially in terms of regional and global security. This means, as a possible alternative, then, this concept remains. From all items analyzed so far, one can say that in the international / global, regional and state aspects, "comprehensive security" may give some contribution in the broadest sense of the word "comprehensive" because it provides the military political, civil, economic aspects, etc. In terms of the nature of various problems that particular states may cope with, especially post-conflict states. This means that no powerful state, has neither the capacity nor the technical and human resources for a long term solution, the multi-dimensional problems. Hence, there is a demand for powerful states and the international community to work together to guarantee the basic elements for the functioning of developing countries and post-conflict countries. For this to function, one would need:

- ∅ **First**, a liberal democracy, establish conditions for the rule of law, "know-how", financial resources, social welfare state, advanced technology, human rights, safe living environments, etc.
- ∅ **Second**, collaboration with various stakeholders such as states, international governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, which can run on several levels. This means a wide range of opportunities and capabilities available to use the approach of

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[47] Religious freedoms are guaranteed by the Constitution of Kosovo. See Article 38-2, pg. 11

comprehensive security in the reconstruction of societies after conflict. (As a typical reconstruction and functioning of the state of Kosovo).

Kosovo as a state and territorial unit, as regards the security aspect has marked some progress, but stalls behind in some segments, hence this is an area that requires more time. For some time, the state of Kosovo will not be able to provide maximum security for citizens. Also, it lacks a military structure, for KSF currently has no such role. The major problem is the uncontrolled part of the territory, which means also an ineffective management of borders in general. As regards more efficient combating of organized crime, that is very much connected with the justice system in Kosovo. Meanwhile, in the political aspect, one can say that there is much more development, but the fields stagnating are justice and law enforcement, combating organized crime etc. In the field of justice, the largest blame is to be taken by Kosovo itself, but also the international community. Also, problems have also surfaced in the electoral system and process, especially after the "manipulation" or even "destruction" of the parliamentary election process in 2010 and early 2011.

Meanwhile in the social sector, if we exclude the north, we can say that we have stability in this regard. Thus, a comprehensive integration of society in Kosovo institutions. An aspect that leaves room for doubt and uncertainty, is the economic sector.

The development of this vital sector, will be the biggest challenge of any government in Kosovo.

The successes of the peace building process in Kosovo are the following:
- Ø The formation and transformation of key security institutions in Kosovo as KP, KSF, KIA, KSC
- Ø Construction and development of political institutions, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, etc.
- Ø Integration of citizens in state institutions
- Ø Reconstruction of road infrastructure, investments in energy sector

Failures are:
- Ø Absence of rule of law throughout the territory, and law enforcement are the main obstacles.
- Ø parallel structures especially in the north weaken the legitimacy of Kosovo factor, but also the international one
- Ø Social problems are larger, highest unemployment in the region, very low wages,
- Ø Organized crime, trafficking, and the informal economy
- Ø Lack of health insurance
- Ø Public Services and a part of private services are not at a proper level.

From what I have so far analyzed, one can say that Kosovo, with slow but sure steps, is building a democratic country, safe for all communities living in Kosovo. Independently of "minor defects or deviations" that are inevitable in rebuilding a country and a society out of the war.

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