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Introduction

Ivo Šlaus

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This issue of the *Međunarodne studije* journal is devoted to the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, specifically of nuclear weapons, and includes papers presented at international conferences in Dubrovnik, Amman, Zagreb and Split, as well as a summary of the conference organized to celebrate the International Day against Nuclear Tests. This describes activities of students and professors of the Dag Hammarskjöld University College of International Relations and Diplomacy in disarmament, notably in achieving a world without weapons for mass destruction.

In Dubrovnik in September 2012 Dag Hammarskjöld University College of International Relations and Diplomacy (DHUC), together with the World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS) and the European Leadership Network (ELN), organized the International Conference on Nuclear Threats and Security sponsored by NATO and co-sponsored by the Croatian Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and the Geneva School of Diplomacy. This was one among many conferences devoted to non-proliferation and eventual elimination of all weapons of mass destruction (WMD) held in 2012: in Pugwash, Vienna, Astana, Dubrovnik, London and Amman. The main conclusions of this conference were invited to be presented at the IX Annual NATO Conference on WMD Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, held May 6 and 7, 2013 in Split. Organizers of the Dubrovnik conference decided that it was proper to organize a pre-conference in Zagreb, May 3 and 4, 2013, to formulate their current thoughts. The Zagreb conference, “Actions to Enhance Global Security”, was attended by Dr K. J. Tokayev, UN Under-Secretary-General, UN Office in Geneva, Ambassador Tibor Tóth, Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization, Vienna, Lord Des Browne, convener of the European Leadership Network, Prof Paolo Cotta Ramusino, Pugwash Secretary-General, Mr Alyn Ware, Founder and International Coordinator, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, Mr Ted Whiteside, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, and over 20 fellows of WAAS – altogether about 40 participants

from the UK, the USA, Spain, France, Hungary, Sweden, Kazakhstan, New Zealand, Canada, India, Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia, as well as 11 students and 8 professors from the Dag Hammarskjöld University College. The conference was sponsored by the NATO and co-sponsored by the Croatian Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and by the Atlantic Council of Croatia.

This issue of *Međunarodne studije* contains several papers presented at the Dubrovnik and Zagreb conferences, the paper presented at the Amman conference, as well as the paper presented at the Split IX Annual NATO conference by D. Browne, G. Jacobs and I. Šlaus. This paper focuses on some of the most important issues that participants of the Zagreb conference believe require immediate actions. However, the paper is not formulated on behalf of WAAS, ELN, or DHUC, but it is inspired by all recent conferences organized by WAAS, ELN, Pugwash and DHUC. Lord Des Browne, Garry Jacobs, chair of the Board of Trustees and Ivo Šlaus, president of WAAS, attended the Split NATO conference, as well as Mr Ted Whiteside.

The organizers of the Dubrovnik and Zagreb conferences have once again demonstrated their continuous devotion to peace, disarmament and non-proliferation of WMD. Cooperation of DHUC with WAAS, Pugwash, ELN and Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, notably with UN organizations: UN Office in Geneva and CTBTO, Vienna and NATO Public Diplomacy, as well as with the academia and scientific institutions, Geneva School of Diplomacy and Monterey Institute of International Studies, is quite fruitful and can contribute significantly towards the achievement of a common goal – peace, disarmament and non-proliferation of WMD.

On December 2, 2009 the 64th session of the UN General Assembly at the initiative of the Republic of Kazakhstan, co-sponsored by many nations, declared August 29 the International Day against Nuclear Tests. To celebrate this day DHUC, together with the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Zagreb, organized a conference attended by former Croatian president Stjepan Mesić, Ambassador B. Lončar, Charge d'affaires T. Barlybayev and students and professors of DHUC. Papers and discussions at this conference presented a brief history of nuclear testing that started on July 16, 1945 with the Alamogordo test in New Mexico, and since then over 2000 nuclear tests were performed: 1032 by the USA, 715 by the USSR (first on August 29, 1949, 45 by the UK, 210 by France, 45 by China, two by India and two by Pakistan in 1998, and several by DPR Korea. Nuclear weapons tests have been carried out in all environments: above ground (atmospheric – 25 per cent), under water and underground (75 per cent). By 1950 the USA had established a dedicated test site (Nevada Test Site) and was also using the Marshall Islands, while the USSR began testing in Semipalatinsk (Kazakhstan). In 1954 Prime Minister J. Nehru became the first statesmen to call for a “stand-still” agreement on nuclear testing. In

1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty banned nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater and in space, but did not ban underground testing. Underground nuclear testing was banned by the 1996 Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Unfortunately, CTBT has yet to come into force, since all 44 states listed in the Treaty – those with nuclear technology capabilities at the time of the Treaty negotiation in 1996 – must sign and ratify the Treaty before it can enter into force. Of the nine countries listed these are still missing: China, DPR Korea, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and the USA. DPR Korea, India and Pakistan have yet to sign the CTBT. Otherwise, 182 countries have signed the Treaty, of which 153 have ratified it, including three nuclear weapons states: the UK, France and the Russian Federation. The Republic of Kazakhstan closed the Semipalatinsk Test Site on August 29, 1991. Nuclear testing had done terrible harm, caused death and illnesses, and by banning nuclear tests one eliminates development of nuclear weapons by additional states and prevents improvements of nuclear weapons. Our goal is not only to eliminate WMD, but also to eliminate war!

Sažetak

Ovaj broj časopisa *Međunarodne studije* posvećen je međunarodnim konferencijama koje su organizirali Visoka škola međunarodnih odnosa i diplomacije Dag Hammarskjöld u suradnji sa Svjetskom akademijom umjetnosti i znanosti, European Leadership Networkom, ženevskom Geneva School of Diplomacy te Atlantskim vijećem Hrvatske pod pokroviteljstvom NATO-a i Ministarstva vanjskih i europskih poslova Republike Hrvatske u Dubrovniku (2012.), Ammanu (2012.), Zagrebu i Splitu (2013.), usmjerenim eliminaciji oružja za masovno uništavanje, te konferenciji koju su organizirali Visoka škola međunarodnih odnosa i diplomacije Dag Hammarskjöld i Veleposlanstvo Republike Kazahstan, posvećenoj Međunarodnom danu protiv nuklearnih pokusa.

Actions to Enhance Global Security – Discussion Paper on WMD and Terrorism*

Ivo Šlaus

This paper incorporates perspectives and recommendations developed at the WAAS-ELN- Dag Hammarskjöld University College conference on Nuclear Threats and Security in Dubrovnik in September 2012, as well as proposals submitted by participants in advance of the Zagreb conference, May 3-4, 2013. The document is intended to serve as a basis for discussion leading to the preparation of a formal presentation to the NATO conference on WMD in Split, May 6-7, 2013.

At the time when we are preoccupied with the financial and economic crisis, with unemployment, climate change and ecological disasters, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the greatest existential threat to our civilization, to life on Earth, is the continued threat of nuclear weapons and of nuclear weapons proliferation to state and non-state actors (Fig. 1).

Biological, chemical and nuclear weapons form weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Some military arsenals are enriched with 21st century weapons: high tech non-WMD, autonomous weapon systems, killer robots, laser weapons, prompt-strike non-WMD force and cyber weapons. In 1947, doomsday clock on the front page of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* put the humankind at 7 minutes before midnight. Following the end of the Cold War in 1990 it was set at 17 minutes before midnight and now it is set at 5 minutes before midnight. Threats and dangers facing the contemporary world are interconnected and interdependent. War and violence make all problems and threats worse. As President D. D. Eisenhower said in his speech on August 16, 1953: "Every gun made, every warship launched, every rocket signifies in the final sense a theft from the hungry. The world in arms is not only spending money. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists." Current crises destroy human capital and harm and humiliate human dignity, which, together with the frustration resulting from unfulfilled expectations, provides fertile grounds for terrorism. Terrorism in turn aggravates all problems. Mistrust and tensions in economic, social and political spheres reinforce each other. Albeit advocating the abolition of nuclear weapons (NW), some

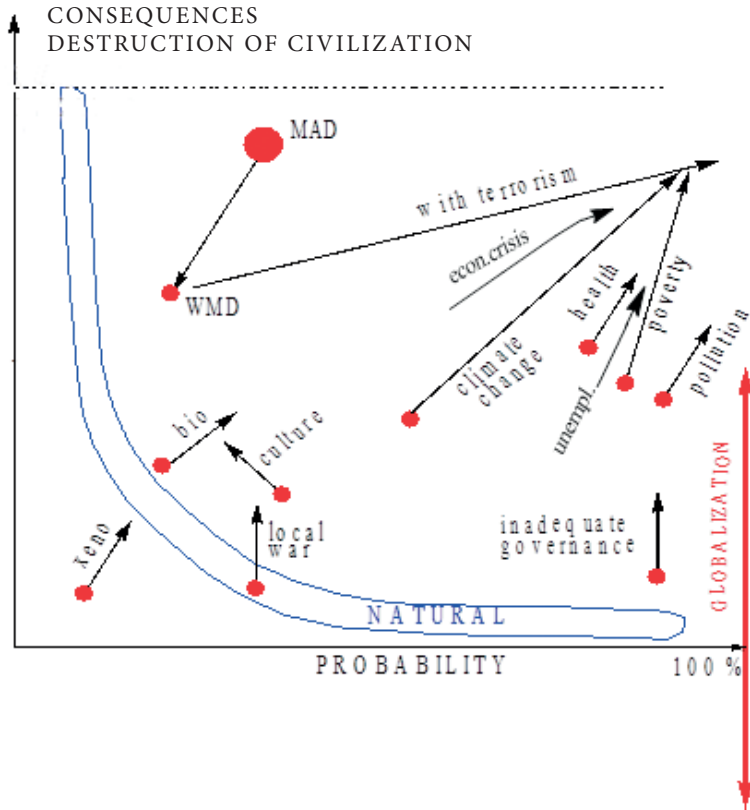


Fig. 1

argue for creating conditions for a nuclear-weapon-free world and this set of conditions could postpone the abolition of NW to a distant future.

It appears to be a mission impossible. Nevertheless, the global environment increasingly favours the abolition of WMD. First, growing unwillingness to tolerate the fact that a few states keep all the world hostage of their possible disagreement; second, significant accomplishments have been achieved: Chemical Weapons Convention, Biological Weapons Convention, land-mine and cluster-bomb prohibition agreements, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the UN General Assembly on disarmament, and, most importantly, significant scientific breakthroughs; third, several nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZ) have been established: including 115 states, which equals to 39 per cent of world population; fourth, increasing awareness of most citizens of the world that meeting present dangers and threats with old approaches must end,

that new strategy for building mutual security – global, regional, of each sovereign state, of each human being – are required; fifth, in addition to several global organizations devoted to the abolition of WMD and even to the abolition of war, collaboration of sovereign states and civil organizations are formed, e.g. Middle Power Initiative; sixth, following the end of the Cold War, a relative agreement among the major military powers was formed convincing their political elites that WMD represent more danger than benefit; and seventh, pressure of other threats and a realization of catastrophic intertwining of all of them.

Reducing a multitude of diverse threats and dangers requires new, innovative, out-of-the-box ideas. This is a paramount challenge and we attempt here to humbly propose some – what we believe are practical and achievable actions:

1) Commit to remove all nuclear weapons from prompt-launch status globally over the next 10-15 years. As the first step, to be achieved within 5 years, the United States and Russia should remove from prompt-launch status 50 percent of strategic NW operationally deployed today.

2) Implement a 50 percent reduction in the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons now stationed in Europe, with a target for completing consolidation of all U.S. tactical nuclear weapons to the United States within five years; and with reciprocal steps by Russia. All other nuclear weapons states (NWS) should follow this action. In addition to the countries that have nuclear weapons, there are countries that have relied on protection from a foreign country. If their confidence in protection falters, they may be tempted to develop their own nuclear capabilities. Rather than depending on the balance of political blocks, all countries should depend on the global system for their security.

3) All States should affirm the goal of the complete abolition and elimination of nuclear weapons through a multilaterally-verified instrument – a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

4) All NWS should reduce the number of their NW to one half within 5 years.

5) Official declarations by all NWS of a No First Use policy, and adoption of Negative Security Assurances which states that nuclear weapons will never be used against countries that have legally bound themselves not to acquire nuclear weapons.

6) The NATO and Russia should work together – in the context of the NATO-Russia Council – to resolve the contentious issues related to missile defence. The establishment of Missile Defence Cooperation Centre and the pooling and sharing of data and information from early-warning radars and satellites should be implemented within the next 5 years through the new Euro-Atlantic Security Forum. Reciprocal transparency measures regarding missile defence systems and capabilities and annual declarations looking ahead 5-10 years (e.g. numbers of silos and mobile launchers, missiles, radars, ships, and so forth). Joint missile defence exercises should continue and written

political commitments not to deploy missile defences in ways that would undermine stability should be implemented.

7) Full funding and implementation of the International Monitoring System of the CTBT to ensure continued moratorium on nuclear testing, prior to the entry into force of the CTBT. It is crucial that Annex 2 countries sign and ratify the CTBT and the initiative of the USA would be an important leadership act (Russia, UK and France did sign and ratify).

8) Securing nuclear materials to prevent catastrophic nuclear terrorism. Materials necessary for building a nuclear bomb today are stored at hundreds of sites in 28 countries (down from 40 countries just over 10 years ago). But many of these sites are not well secured, leaving the material vulnerable to theft or sale on the black market. Important commitments were undertaken to secure nuclear materials and improve co-operation during the 2010 and 2012 Nuclear Security Summits. These could improve security for generations to come. Yet no global system for tracking, accounting for, managing and securing all weapons-usable nuclear materials is in place.

9) Without verification and transparency, nuclear security agreements cannot be completed with confidence. The US should launch a “verification initiative” that involves the US NW laboratories and global scientific experts in developing essential technologies and innovations for reducing and controlling nuclear weapons and materials. Taking the lead in fostering greater transparency sets an important base line for all nations and can facilitate future verification of nuclear materials and weapons.

10) Complete prohibition of the deployment and use of space weapons. Within 5 years the Information Exchange Pilot project for the International Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities should be implemented using the new Euro-Atlantic Security Forum and the Missile Defence Cooperation Centre.

11) The stability and security of the global society is increasingly dependent on the operation of ICT system for both civilian and military purposes. National and international security systems depend on the access to reliable information from ICT systems to provide a measure of protection against unexpected threats. Any difference in the smooth operation of these monitoring systems could result in a dramatic escalation of tensions or false perception of threats leading to drastic consequences. ICT also serves as a core of social systems for health, education and human welfare. Most cyber-attacks constitute a direct, indiscriminate attack on innocent civilian populations. Extending the arms race into cyber-space multiplies the threats to global security and undermines the existing security systems. For both these reasons, cyber-attacks must be universally outlawed. New international laws are needed to outlaw the electronic form of aggression and terrorism completely, especially those directed against the civil functions essential for the survival and stability of modern society. The Euro-Atlantic Security Forum

can and should provide a venue to discuss and assess shared approaches to the defence of networks, responses to cyber-attacks and the means of strengthening international partnership to ensure cyber-security.

12) New weapons are constantly developed and the Euro-Atlantic Security Forum can and should provide a venue for assessment and, most importantly, for mutual confidence building.

13) Our global, fast changing world is marked by conflict areas superimposed on uncertainties and instabilities. It is essential to reduce and to resolve – as quickly as possible – these conflict areas. One such area is the Korean Peninsula, the other is the Middle East. The Middle East is the cradle of civilizations. Currently, the Middle East represents a vibrant domain of development, an important source of conventional energy – oil and gas – and it is a place of unnecessary, often violent confrontations, posing imminent threat with catastrophic consequences. Two issues dominate and intertwine: the unresolved dispute between Israel and Palestine and the nuclear energy programme of Iran (Iran claims it develops its facilities exclusively for peaceful use). It can prove its position since it is currently the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and could lead a process of establishing the Middle East WMDFZ. The Tehran Declaration (August 30-31, 2012) states: “State Parties to the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) have the obligation under the Article VI of the NPT to destroy all NW within a time bound framework, which is yet to be fulfilled.” NAM working paper sets 2025 as the deadline for the achievement of the elimination of NW. The previous chair of NAM, Egypt, and the future chair, Venezuela, belong to the NWFZ of Africa and Latin America, respectively. Leading a process of establishing the Middle East WMDFZ, Iran demonstrates its commitment to remain a non-nuclear weapon state and to adhere to NPT.

We re-emphasize: threats and dangers facing the contemporary world are interconnected and interdependent and we have to, almost simultaneously, address nearly all of them. This is a tall order, but as stressed in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto: our survival depends on accomplishing this task.

In 1961 the UN Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermo-nuclear Weapons, though not a binding international law, stated: “**The use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and as such a direct violation of the Charter of the UN.**”

The NPT (1968) clearly calls for complete elimination of NW. The Article VI reads: “**Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiation in good faith on the effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on the treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control**” [bold added]. The Court clearly im-

posed an obligation on the NWS to demonstrate that good faith by concrete measures designed to lead to total disarmament, yet there has been no significant progress during the last 17 years. On the contrary, a rapid proliferation of NW is taking place and it is likely to spread further, unless specific measures are taken to de-legitimize the production and use of NW. The Court should now be requested to provide specific guidelines and the procedure for meeting the requirements of the NPT.

The problem of nuclear security cannot be resolved merely by the arms reduction negotiation and treaties. Even if all WMD were eliminated, the threat of their renewed production and use would remain. The establishment of a universal norm and a legal standard declaring the production, possession and use of WMD illegal must also constitute an essential component of any effective global security strategy. Only then would any immediate advantage of their use be offset by the assurance of future prosecution by the world community.

The most important legal expression concerning the lawfulness of the threat and the use of NW emerged in an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ Report 1996). The dissenting opinion aimed at strengthening the conclusion is even more important: “The use or the threat of use of NW is illegal in any circumstances whatsoever. [...] It contradicts the fundamental principle of dignity and worth of the human person on which all laws depend. It endangers the human environment in a manner which threatens the entirety of all life on the planet.” An instructive example is a recent Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). Over the years Conference on Disarmament has worked, but the consensus requirement stifled the process, and finally – when several countries supported by the NGOs (such as Oxfam) asked the Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to put the ATT to a swift vote in the UN General Assembly on April 3, 2013, the UN General Assembly adopted the ATT by a massive majority. This shows a success of innovative measures: cooperation of sovereign states and NGOs. The international law must be predicated on the rights of not only sovereign states but also on the rights of individual citizens within states/nations and the rights of humanity as a whole. The international rule of law needs to satisfy the need of our global, fast changing and yet diverse world. Therefore, together with the UN structure, various global organizations and networks of regional organizations such as Pugwash, the Club of Rome, European Leadership Network, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), Oxfam, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, International Organizations of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, the International Network of Engineers and Scientists Against Proliferation and WAAS should be collectively engaged in proposing and finding the measures and solutions to overcome the present political and economic crisis. The world democratic structure has to be enriched ensuring anticipation and prevention of threats and conflicts. Various forms should be gradually introduced, e.g. the

UN Parliamentary Assembly and possible direct decision-making through referenda on vital issues such as the abolition of WMD, disarmament and war. Democracy can and should also be global, long-term, fast-response and anticipatory. In addition to the parliaments and governments of sovereign states, an involvement of various NGOs, IGOs and academic organizations proved to be useful.

Many problems subsist on the basis of deeply-seated incorrect misconceptions and prejudices regarding the utility and usefulness of WMD, and the necessity of war. A concerted effort of supportive civil society organizations and sympathetic sovereign governments is needed to conduct a global programme of education to challenge these myths and prejudices. Our goal is the Culture of Peace – introduced by F. Mayor and UNESCO.

The NATO is in many ways a unique structure. It should not be underestimated that one of the three pillars of the NATO is Science for Peace and Security, and that scientific research is among the most important generators of our global fast changing world. Since the world is no longer a bipolar confrontation, but our common global home, the NATO should and could fulfil the role of a significant actor guaranteeing global and human security.

- These recommended actions are based on numerous conferences organized by Pugwash, WAAS, ELN and many other NGOs, as well as the following materials: Building Mutual Security in the Euro-Atlantic Region (2013), Creating the Conditions and Building the Framework for a Nuclear Weapons-Free World (MPI, February 21-22, 2013), WSJ articles by George Schultz, Bill Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn, and contributions by participants of the Zagreb May 3-4, 2013 pre-conference.

Biology Does Not Condemn Humanity to Violence

by

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Abstract

A brief history of the preparation of the Seville Statement on Violence (SSV) and a short exposition of its propositions are provided. The SSV was originated by ISRA (International Society for Research on Aggression), a UN-Committee launched in the late seventies of the past century. Which were the main reasons urging us to elaborate the Statement, which difficulties were found on the way and how was that first 'scientific' step towards peace finally achieved? Its final product, elaborated by more than twenty scholars from different scientific disciplines and from all continents, was presented in Seville in 1986, at the VI Coloquio Internacional sobre Cerebro y Agresión (CICA). Three years later, it was endorsed by the 25th General Conference of UNESCO, in Paris. Its main message is that violence and war are not genetically unavoidable, and that human nature does not oblige us to behave violently.

Keywords: violence, war, psychobiology, Seville Statement on Violence

INTRODUCTION

It is an honour and a privilege to be invited to participate in this International Conference on Nuclear Threats and Security, held at the Inter-University Centre of Dubrovnik, among this selection of distinguished politicians and scholars from so many countries from four continents.¹ I would like to acknowledge the support of the World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS), the European Leadership Network and the Dag Hammarskjöld University College of International Relations and Diplomacy. I would

¹ International Conference on Nuclear Threats and Security, Dubrovnik, September 14-17, 2012

like to give special thanks for the invitation to take part in it to its main convener, academician Ivo Šlaus, President of the WAAS, for his efforts in enabling this project of acknowledging the fact that scientists have a very important role in the achievement of world peace, a process through the analysis of nuclear threats and security.

Within this context, it seems only adequate to remember that during the Cold War some politicians on both sides used their belief that war was highly likely to justify the manufacture and deployment of an increasing amount of nuclear weapons. Although the Cold War is over, war continues to be pervasive throughout the world, and there are those who see war as an inevitable consequence of the human nature, based on the belief that people cannot change, that peace is therefore impossible, and that the only thing that works is lethal and effective prophylactic of separation and overwhelming force. For instance, this “psychological trap” was recently described by Patrick Tyler (2012) related to a hawkish Israeli general.

In a wider context, many children, adolescents and young adults are currently exposed to different degrees of violent behaviour from postnatal violent experiences, violent social models and violent forms of entertainment. This devastating form of structural violence is becoming more and more integrated in our daily lives because of scientific ignorance and poor level of citizenship.

This “politically correct” culture of violence has survived in different forms because it is very appealing to both the public and the authorities. It relieves, in fact, the public from the responsibility of changing their life style and the authorities from changing an old, contradictory way of dealing with crime. This belief is so strong to allow the commercial-media system to promote essays, documentaries and fiction that support it and to ignore the information confuting it on the basis of theories accepted by natural and humanistic sciences. No wonder the public is uninformed and still accepts violence as an inevitable human trait.

We may feel collectively responsible for this perpetual acceptance of the current culture of violence and war in society as something unavoidable. In fact, some people say that war and violence cannot be ended because they are part of our biology, in the same way that they used to justify slavery and racial or sexist domination by claiming that they were biological and inevitable; in the same way that they were wrong in these latter justifications, it is also scientifically incorrect that peace is not possible.

This feeling was what drove us, scholars from all around the world and from many different disciplines, dedicated to research on aggression, to think that it was our responsibility as scientists to speak out on the basis of the latest information, although aware that conclusions in science are never final, science is a human cultural product which cannot be definitive or all-encompassing. An increased understanding of the relations between genes and environment allowed us to acquire a deeper understanding

of the bases of aggression, and lead us to elaborate the Seville Statement on Violence from 1986. Its main message stated that peace is possible and that wars and violence can be ended, making it clear that there is nothing in biology that stands in the way of making the world a place without war.

My present task will be to dedicate the core of my intervention to make a short historical comment on its genesis; the main reasons urging us to elaborate the Statement, the difficulties we found on the way and how we finally achieved that first “scientific step” towards peace, explaining what its main message is: even if we accept that humans may have a psychobiological propensity for aggressiveness, it does not indicate that these acts, aggression, violence, or war, are inevitable.

A PSYCHOBIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Biology is the foundation of all behaviour only in the way bricks and paper are the foundation of all (traditional) libraries, but the content of the library, whilst being printed on paper, is not otherwise dependant on the bricks and paper. Thus, biology is the means by which information is accumulated and transmitted both in day to day interactions between people (in the brain), and in the generation to generation transmission of adaptations right up to speciation information (the genome). But, it is the interaction with the environment that steers these changes. It is just as true to say that the environment is the foundation of the content of behaviour and that the interaction between the environment and the phenotype determines which behaviour will be selected, i.e. reinforced.

Behaviour, then, is the selection of what can be done (the phenotype) from what is available (the environment, including conspecifics) with the ultimate goal of maximum survival of current and future generations. In humans, survival of non-physical elements may be treated as highly as or higher than the physical: one's reputation, legacy, knowledge, religion, people, country, political belief and so on may be the object of behaviour over and above one's physical survival, inheritance and legacy (Robert Karl Stonjek, personal communication).

For the psychobiologist who studies brain mechanisms supposed to be involved in aggressive behaviour, conceptual as well as ethical, problems arise from the fact that research dealing with brain-behaviour relationships is both a research endeavour like any other and one that clearly differs from many others. It differs in that the data obtained, the interpretation given and the generalized conception of brain-behaviour relationships derived from them, contribute to shaping our vision of man, his “nature”, his being and his evolution. Conversely, this vision of ourselves, of our supposed “nature, is bound to somehow orient – unconsciously, or more deliberately – the way in which we construct the conceptual framework within which we elaborate our working

hypotheses and interpret the results obtained when verifying them. It matters all the more to be fully aware of these reciprocal relationships between personal convictions and actual scientific endeavour since our basic interest lies in a deeper understanding of the biological determinants of our own personality and behaviour, even though our experimental analysis is carried out – for obvious ethical reasons – on the brain of some animal species. The true weight and the real influence of our personal convictions clearly appear when, on the basis of one and the same array of available facts, but, admittedly, with selective emphasis put on some of them, some feel entitled to deliver, with regard to human aggression and violence, a “message” of necessity and fate, while others are led to deliver one of freedom, responsibility, and hope (for more precise questions related to this topic as well as many relevant individual features fruitfully subjected to psychobiological investigation see Karli, 1996).

TOWARDS THE SEVILLE STATEMENT

The elaboration of a document stating the scientific state of art on the field of human aggression and violence would give a needed message of hope to humankind, as opposed to the myth that it was something naturally inevitable. But the obstacles found in our attempts, however, illustrate the extent to which ideological preconceptions often interfere with an actual scientific endeavour. I want to mention some objectively revealing events (see Ramirez, 1997).

In the late 1970s, the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA) decided to launch a UN-Committee that, among other goals, would aim at organizing a series of symposia under the auspices of UNESCO. There was hope that these symposia would eventually lead towards a UNESCO statement on human violence, following the example of what had previously been achieved by UNESCO with regard to the notion of “human race”. A provisional programme was drafted and submitted to UNESCO. Both our Swiss colleague Pierre de Sénarclens and Mr M. Bow, at that time head of the Division for Human Rights and Peace and director-general of UNESCO, respectively, responded in a most favourable and encouraging way. But then, highly polemical discussions took place within UNESCO concerning our proposal, to the extent that Pierre de Sénarclens resigned from his UNESCO position (he went back to Lausanne to resume his post as professor of political science) and M. Bow sent a second letter telling our President that the proposed topic was too “touchy” to be dealt with under the auspices of UNESCO.

Later on, Carlos Chagas, at that time the President of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, invited us to draft a motivated proposal for a Symposium devoted to “the biological and sociocultural determinants of human violence”. We soon heard that the Pope had read the proposal, that he fully approved of both its structure and general

spirit, and that he encouraged us to proceed. But then, after a long silence, we learned that the Pontifical Academy had come to the same conclusion as UNESCO: it was not timely to deal with the determinants of violence.

However, instead of giving up, we – scientists from very different disciplines – kept discussing it freely and openly. A working group was appointed in 1982, at the ISRA biennial Conference on Aggression in Mexico City. The main question we wanted to answer was whether the modern natural and social sciences knew of any biological factors that were an insurmountable or a serious obstacle to the goal of world peace. We exchanged the latest information about animal behaviour, psychology, brain research, genetics, anthropology, and other related sciences. Finally, after several years – at that time mail connections were not at all easily established among people geographically scattered throughout all the continents, when fax, e-mail or internet were not existent yet – a draft was elaborated and sent to all of us for study. Then, around twenty of us met in Seville and La Rabida. And after one week of seclusion – we were in a monastery, from where Columbus started his discovering trip to the New World – the final Statement on Violence was born. It was May of 1986, the International Year of Peace.

In plain words, the SSV says that peace is possible and that wars and violence can be ended, making clear that there is nothing in biology that stands in the way of making a world without war. War is not in our genes, as stated very expressively by Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1979), and we need not accept human aggression as a fate; as his mentor, Nobel Price laureate Lorenz, pointed out (1963), “We shall not improve our chances of counteracting [intra-specific aggression] if we accept it as something metaphysical and inevitable, but on the other hand, we shall perhaps succeed in finding remedies if we investigate the chain of its natural causation.” Far from condemning humanity to war, thus, biology makes it possible to end violence and the suffering it causes and, consequently, to achieve peace (see Adams, 1991; Ramirez, 1994, 1996, 2003).

Afterwards it has been successfully endorsed and published by many scientific organizations around the world. UNESCO itself, by the decision of its General Conference at its 25th session (Paris, 16.11.1989), endorsed it and ordered its dissemination. It was followed by the creation of the UNESCO’s Culture for Peace Programme in 1994, as well as by the UNO Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the General Assembly in 1999, proposing a Decade for a Culture of Peace, which ended in 2010.

PROPOSITIONS RELATED TO VIOLENCE

Even if we were aware that many other issues could also be fruitfully addressed from the standpoint of our disciplines, the Statement was specifically focused on individual and social violence, with special consideration of war.

Related to individual violence, several propositions are stated:

1. *Violence is not in our genes.* It is not genetically programmed into our human nature. While genes are involved at all levels of nervous system function, they provide a developmental potential that can be actualized only in conjunction with the ecological and social environment. Behaviour is controlled not only by the characteristics of the nervous system, but also largely by external events surrounding and impinging upon that nervous system. For instance, human beings possess structures conducive to the use of language, that is true, but without a “linguistic environment” those structures would not function. This is even clearer in the case of aggression. Virtually all data on its control show that the genetic contribution to aggression is strongly modulated by environmental factors. Our first genetic directive is survival – and we will do anything to survive at all costs. If we have to kill others, we will; but if it is not necessary, we will not. Except for rare pathologies, the genes do not produce individuals necessarily predisposed to violence. Neither do they determine the opposite. While individuals vary in their predispositions to be affected by their experience, it is the mutual interaction between their genetic endowment and conditions of nurturance that determines their personalities and their behaviour. While genes are co-involved in establishing our behavioural capacities, they do not by themselves specify the outcome. Propensity and predisposition do not necessarily lead to specific behaviour. In our case, feeling aggressiveness does not necessarily mean behaving aggressively.
2. *Violence is not our evolutionary legacy.* Aggressiveness is not a necessary consequence of human nature. In the course of the human evolution there has not been a selection for aggression more than for other kinds of behaviour, such as altruism or pro-social behaviour. All humans have a propensity to be kind, helpful, cooperative and loving (“pro-social”), and all humans have a propensity to be selfishly assertive and even aggressive to their fellows as well: neither inevitably results in behaviour. For instance, “dominance” involves social bonding and affiliations; it is not simply a matter of the possession and use of superior physical power, although it does involve aggressive behaviour.
3. Although both *pro-sociality and aggressiveness are influenced* to some extent by *constitutional factors, experience and moral rules and conventions of the culture* are the main factors. In this direction, the theory of kin selection developed by Bill Hamilton in the 1960s says that insects such as ants evolved to become altruists because co-operating with their kin helped individuals promote their own genes. It does not matter if you give up the opportunity to reproduce yourself, the theory goes, so long as close relatives spread your genes instead. Hence kin selection was invoked to help explain social and cooperative behaviour across the animal kingdom, even in humans (Hamilton, 1963). And, according to the

more recent theory of social evolution proposed by Ed Wilson and his collaborators Martin Nowak and Corina Tarnita (2010), generosity, as mandated by group selection, is humanity's secret ingredient, continually in conflict with more selfish instincts in each one of us. This robust defence of kin selection, or inclusive fitness, suggests that humans are at least a "eusocial" species (the technical term for displaying altruistic behaviour), like ants and termites. But people are more complicated than ants: human selflessness and cooperation, however, is of a different sort, also involving the interaction of culture and sentience, not just genetics and environment (Wilson, 2012). In all well-studied species, status within the group is achieved by the ability to cooperate and to fulfil the social functions relevant to the structure of that group.

4. *Humans do not have a "violent brain"*. While we do have the neural apparatus to act violently, it is not automatically activated by internal or external stimuli. Like higher primates and unlike other animals, our higher neural processes filter such stimuli before they can be acted upon. How we act is shaped by how we have been conditioned and socialized. There is nothing in our neurophysiology that compels us to react violently. As our title states, aggressiveness can be tamed.

PROPOSITIONS RELATED TO WAR

A special focus on war (see Hinde, Nelson & Wrangham, 2010; Ramirez, 1987, 1995) as a specific kind of social violence leads us to state the following:

1. *We have not inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors*. Although fighting occurs widely throughout animal species, only a few cases of destructive intra-species fighting between organized groups have ever been reported among naturally living species; for instance Jane Goodall (1986) described chimpanzees engaged in something that may look like war. But none of these aggressive interactions involve the use of tools designed to be weapons. Normal predatory feeding upon other species cannot be equated with intra-species violence. Peace predates warfare in humanity's evolution, as attested in the morphological development of our primordial ancestors. "Pre-human peace and peace-making, as discernible in prehistoric remains and primate conduct, point to the irreplaceable roles in making us the species we are, and without which we would not exist as we do" (Adolf, 2009, pp. 9). Warfare does not occur in other animals. It is a peculiarly human phenomenon.
2. *War is not a necessary consequence of the human condition either*. The fact that warfare has changed so radically over time indicates that *it is a product of culture*. Its biological connection is primarily through language, which makes possible the coordination of groups, the transmission of technology, and the use

of tools. War is biologically possible, but it is not inevitable, as evidenced by its variation in occurrence and nature over time and space. There are cultures which have not engaged in war for centuries, and there are cultures which have engaged in war frequently at certain times and not at others. According to some anthropologists, for instance, structural violence emerged in fact only in the Late Neolithic period, as a purely cultural innovation due to the socially stratified human settlements of food producing cultures, having been mostly unknown in previous Palaeolithic hunter-gathering cultures (Fry, 2006, 2013). Recent findings of lethal events among mobile forager band societies have shown that nearly half of the sample societies (10 of 21) had no lethal events perpetrated by two or more persons, and only one third of those killings investigated were done by several people. These numbers do not suggest hunter-gatherers were going out looking for trouble with their neighbours, but, on the contrary, that only a minority of the incidents would stem from war (Fry & Söderberg, 2013). Along with attitudes and actions of war, thus, efforts toward cooperation and peaceful endeavours consistently existed during the whole of the human existence.

3. Even more, humans have used wars as a means to obtain resources or satisfy their ambitions, but we are fully capable of finding other, *better ways to settle disputes*. Conflicts of interest between peoples or nations have been, and should be, resolved by peaceful negotiation. This is one of the main reasons why the United Nations were set up: to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international cooperation in order to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” (UNO Chart, 1945).
4. Far from being something “instinctive” or caused by any single motivation, *war is usually a multifactorial product*, with a primacy of cognitive factors. Modern war involves institutional use of personal characteristics such as obedience, suggestibility, and idealism; social skills such as language; and rational considerations such as cost calculation, planning, and information processing. The technology of modern war has exaggerated traits associated with violence both in the training of actual combatants and in the preparation of support for the war in the general population. As a result of this exaggeration, such traits are often mistaken to be the causes rather than the consequences of the process (Hinde, Nelson & Wrangham, 2010).
5. *War is an institution*, with numerous constituent roles, each associated with specific rights and duties. These roles include the politicians, the commanders, munitions workers, transport workers, health workers, and many others, as well as combatants. Influences from many directions may cause politicians to believe that it is their duty to lead their country into war and in doing so they create duties for the generals, who create duties for the combatants, and so on. Each does

what (s)he does primarily, though not entirely, because it is his/her duty in the role that (s)he occupies in the institution of war. The institution of war is supported by the military-industrial-scientific complex, whose power even politicians may not be able to resist (Ramirez, 1987).

NEXT STEP

This is the first step and the most important of our tasks: concluding that biology does not condemn humanity to violence and war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism and empowered with the confidence to undertake the transformative tasks needed now and in the years to come.

Of course, we could also consider other important points, such as the boundaries between “us and them” (Pittinsky, 2012), stressing the genetic uniformity of the human species. The increased connectedness of peoples around the world inspires a vision of a future in which the common humanity of all peoples will be globally recognized, following the final message of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto (1955): “Remember your humanity, and forget the rest!”

Once we become aware that violence is avoidable, a second important step has to ensue: the analysis of how to achieve the culture of peace that we scientists are looking for (Ramirez, in press). It is not an easy task at all, but we should never forget that peace is possible and that, in order to influence our surroundings positively, we must learn to develop the inner peace within our minds. Yes, finishing with the same consideration which ended the SSV, we may remember that just as “wars begin in the minds of men”, peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.

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Sažetak

U članku je opisana povijest pripreme *Seville Statement on Violence* - SSV (*Seviljske izjave o nasilju*, op. ur.) i ukratko su izložene najvažnije tvrdnje. *Seville Statement on Violence* je nastala zahvaljujući *International Society for Research on Aggression* ISRA (*Međunarodnom društvu za istraživanje agresije*, op. ur.), UN-ovog odbora koji je pokrenut krajem sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća. Koji su glavni razlozi koji su nas potakli da obrazložimo Izjavu, koje poteškoće su se pojavile i kako je postignut prvi 'znanstveni' korak prema miru? Konačni zaključak koji je razmotrilo više od dvadeset znanstvenika iz različitih znanstvenih disciplina i sa svih kontinenata, predstavljen je na *VI. Coloquio Internacional sobre Cerebro y Agresión* - CICA (*Međunarodni simpozij o mozgu i agresiji*) u Seville 1986. godine. Tri godine kasnije zaključak je potvrđen na 25. Općoj konferenciji UNESCO-a u Parizu. Njegova glavna poruka je da nasilje i rat nisu genetski neizbježni i da nas ljudska priroda ne prisiljava na nasilno ponašanje.

Ključne riječi: nasilje, rat, psihobiologija, *Seviljska izjava o nasilju*

The Levant, the Mediterranean and the Future of the European Union¹

*Emil Constantinescu**

On Thursday, June 14, 1325, the second day of Rajab 725 after Hegira, the 21-year-old Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Battuta left Tangier. Thirty years later, after traveling more than 75,000 miles, he returned to Fez, Morocco, and wrote a book, *The Famous Travels of Ibn Battuta*. His memoirs tell us about a world that stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Seven hundred years later, do we know more about this world? We travel with similar airplanes, we land in similar airports, we lodge in similar hotels, we eat in the same fast food restaurants and we watch plasma TVs providing us with the same news. Do we know more about this world often called the Levant?

People looking it up in dictionaries or browsing the Internet for the term *Levant* will not find much explanation. For some, it is a word which sounds poetic or romantic. To others, Levantinism is a lifestyle appreciated for its enjoyment of life or, treated in a derogatory manner, as negligence or a passion for subtle intrigue. From the etymological perspective, the word *Levant* was borrowed from the French word *levant* (rising), meaning the point where the Sun rises. In its biblical sense, it includes most of modern Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, the Palestinian territories, sometimes parts of Turkey and Iraq. In the 13th century, the inhabitants of Venice called all the Mediterranean territories east of Rome, including the Black Sea area, *the Levant*. The term first appeared in English in 1497, originally meaning the East, in general. But the most appropriate definition of the Levant was described as the intersection of roads connecting Western Asia, Eastern Mediterranean and North Eastern Africa.

The Eastern Mediterranean area has fascinated the Western Europe in the Renaissance, during the Romanticism, up until Modernity and the admiration for the Levant made outstanding writers, artists and musicians create prodigious visions and impressive literary, artistic and musical works. The cultural connections between the coun-

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1 Speech given at the international conference *South East Europe and the future of the EU*; Collaboration between institutions of higher education, Zagreb, October 8-11, 2013

tries in the Balkans, the Middle East and Northern Africa have continued in the second half of the 20th century, even during the Cold War and the autocratic regimes through the creation of intellectual elites educated in the universities of South Eastern Europe and through mutual cultural exchanges. Resuming these connections would represent a good opportunity for the diversity of our shared traditions to oppose the tendencies towards uniformity of globalization overwhelmed by the pressure of profit and proposing a lifestyle closer to the aspirations of human beings.

Traveling during the first decade of the third millennium through the Middle East, Northern Africa, the Balkans and the Caucasus, I was struck by the common origin I found in some of the historical and architectural remains, but especially by the multitude of affinities of behaviour deriving from common psychology.

Why should we now talk about something that seems to belong only to a long gone past? Firstly, because the recent popular movements which occurred in Tunisia, Egypt and Syria drew the world's attention to the Mediterranean area and also to the absence of a dialogue, an efficient diplomacy looking to alleviate the causes generating conflict. Secondly, because I find risky the way the economic crisis made many people look at Europe just as if it were a big corporation to be assessed through economic indicators. The construction of the EU based on democratic ideals, law enforcement and Christian morality makes ridiculous those statements made by financial analysts or politicians who talk about a war as a possible consequence of the single currency collapse. These assertions are not only irresponsible and foolish, but they also show ignorance of history. I can see the temptation, especially of those who caused the crisis, to forget that the European Union is primarily a model of civilization. The roots of this model – Athenian democracy, Judeo-Christian religion and Roman law – are in the East, where the Islamic civilization was born, too.

The 20th century Europe was the Europe of nation states which appeared after World War I, as a consequence of the revolutions of 1848 against the Austrian, Ottoman and Russian empires. It was a process that triggered much progress-generating energy, but conflicts as well. The desire for expansion of some states, the dissatisfaction of some nations about how their own territory was bordered, the folly and ambition of some leaders to demonstrate their superiority by occupying and annihilating the independence of other states have led to the outbreak of regional wars and two world wars. But peoples' aspiration to live in peace could not have been annihilated. On the contrary, huge war losses to both losers and winners encouraged impulses towards pacifist movements and the desire of surpassing misunderstandings through dialogue and the Treaty of Good Neighbourship. The culture of peace is based on the relations between states, but also on the relationships between people who share common values, born long before the current nation-states. It is a good time for cultural diplomacy and for us to evoke the legacy which old Levant left us.

When the Academy of Cultural Diplomacy launched the project of a new type of relationship between states and nations, based on understanding the other instead of relationships based on military or economic pressures, I thought about which kind of laboratory is needed for such an approach to be tested? And the answer came right away. It seems obvious to me that this kind of relations, the one that offers peace a chance in the globalized world, can find an inspiring source in the old world of the Levant. This happens not only because the Levant has been, over millennia, the cradle of cultural diplomacy, but also because the Egyptian, Jewish, Assyrian, Babylonian, Phoenician civilizations, and the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman empires have, each in their own way, created an extended area for changes — from goods to ideas — and for cultural dialogue. The Balkans and South Eastern Europe have for a long time been in contact with the areas like Northern Africa and the Near East and people living here have a vast experience in the inter-cultural dialogue.

The political project of the European Union was outlined as a new chance at the end of a great historical tragedy that bled the world: World War II. It was developed after the fall of communism, at the end of another huge historical trauma: the Cold War, as an opportunity for the countries and peoples in Central and Eastern Europe.

It was a new project. A project that began from the conflict generating diversity during the time of national states, not only did it accept, but it also promoted the development of national, linguistic, religious and cultural identities. At present, the European Union, despite the deficit encountered due to all its bureaucracy and administration, works like a harmonious body where diversity seems to be an advantage and not ballast.

From my experience as a geologist, while researching big natural petrographic areas, I learned that a system subjected to strong oriented pressures (stress) holds better if it is flexible than if it is rigid. In the present crisis, such a harmonious system can be achieved by an extensive partnership with the Levant area. Europe can offer possibilities for transferring the pressures, like the case of the monetary crises, or the opportunities of alternative approaches during some global or regional political crises.

Making up strategies starting from the present policies, and further on, the vision of the future, based on these long-term strategies, no matter how sustainable they are, means nothing but moving ahead towards the future while facing backwards. On the contrary, if we start from an inspired vision upon the future to the present, we can advance to the future head on, and at the same time notice obstacles and dangers.

In addition to the draft of public policies, as well as long term and short term strategies, something else is necessary. We need a vision which allows us, in a fast changing world, to imagine what seems unthinkable today. But to do this, except achieving the *acquis communautaire* and accomplishing the economic, administrative, social, and military projects, we need to rediscover our European *ethos*.

Upon reaching this point, let us go back to the acknowledged terms of contemporary debates, to ask ourselves about “the added value” new members bring to the EU and “the added value” they receive from the EU; what changes “the *country brand*” of each EU member is subjected to, and what could be the “*Europe brand*” in a globalized world. We could enter the field of *advertising* and *public relations* policies which invaded the election campaigns mainly based on advertising elements, degenerating more than once into cheap populism.

Or we could use the “conform language” of the European bureaucracy, characterized by technical and “politically correct” features, which merely masks the unpleasant realities, without solving the real problems.

None of these approaches can help us manage the serious challenges of tomorrow’s world, with a society traumatized by the obsession of risks involved by European integration and globalization. The traumatized societies are those whose leaders are not able to explain neither the historical project missions nor the balance between its benefits and costs. The citizens’ capacity to support important projects must not be underestimated. The European Union is thus the most important historical project of the 20th century and is unique in the whole history of mankind.

There are people in the European Union, people that a century and a half ago fought in the Revolution of 1848 to free their countries from the Habsburg, Ottoman and tsarist empires and to build national states able to modernize themselves and join the prosperous states of Western Europe. The EU succeeded in stopping the inter-European conflicts that caused two world wars and, after the fall of communism, became a strong attraction for the states in the former USSR area of influence. These countries would otherwise have become victims of regional and domestic conflicts frozen under communist dictatorships. People from Central and South Eastern Europe have proved an understanding, an unthinkable sacrificial capacity and an enviable solidarity. But Europe cannot be reduced to the sum total of the states and nations comprising it. Europe is not a wider nation; Europe is a vast ongoing experience, the experience of solidarity, differences and of equality in diversity.

That is why I believe the long way towards a European solidarity should start from the very heart of every nation, local community or even family, where we can often find many of the contradictions we describe as typical to the discrepancies between the North and the South, the East and the West, and worldwide. But here also lies the very place where we can find the identity binder of a common *ethos*.

We talk about a common European identity founded on shared values. What are these values which define the European identity? How could they be surpassed, without forgetting the specific features and even the national limits, on the way towards a common identity? The answer to these questions lies in the very heart of the European

projects, as well as within the European anxieties. If we continue to imagine projects without taking into account the inevitable anxieties involved by a political construction of half a billion inhabitants, we have poor chances of developing a powerful and united democratic Europe.

I am very interested in this discussion as, undoubtedly, in my capacity as professor, intellectual and statesman I have assumed most of the answers to these questions. Also because these ideas correspond entirely to the ones of the organizers of this conference. I truly believe in the future of Europe and I trust the capacity of young Europeans to conceive and build the Europe of tomorrow.

My generation is used to referring to European values, bringing democracy, freedom and citizens' equality into discussion, even getting to use these words without thinking of their substance. What means are there, in the age of global communication, to make Europe a participative democracy? To support the practice of frequent public consultations, to include the electronic referendum in the current institutional mechanisms, to conceive an administration not only local or national, but also European, which could reorganize itself as an e-governance, according to the new communication ways?

Undoubtedly, we should improve the informational methods; but what are the mental methods we are familiar with today? Europe, an important actor in a world quickly evolving, was not always known to give its citizens the place they were destined to occupy. A lot of citizens, most of them young, have doubts regarding Europe, regarding the way it is created and its development rhythm. The difficulty to conciliate the aspirations, even prejudices with this huge European project, should be confronted with proper intellectual and practical means, for often beyond the preconceived idea, there are real questions and problems, waiting for real answers from our present and future decision makers.

For instance, what should we do with history? The role of history in creating a specific Europe would be to examine the common features of different national cultures, to create fundamentally European events, to propose common places of memory in Europe. Of course, for two centuries, Europe's cornerstone was connected principally to national identities and it is not easy at all to integrate them as part of European history. Moreover, even if we could, we would risk to slide into Euro-centrism, often denounced as being a prejudice and even a tool for influence and domination. But what would European citizenship be without the European culture, including the great culture of the past, considered as an enriching culture, opposed to the consumption culture?

Of course, the modern world should finance the technical development, as it allows us to live and to progress during the time we live. But what is the future of technical innovation without developing the scientific fundamentals? The transfer of technology could take place in the absence of the transfer of the abilities necessary to use them and

of a system of values to assure proper usage? The technological development puts pressure upon the human resource. The precocious talents discovery and the management of their evolution becomes a science, which imposes itself on education and research to create new game fields and new players.

These are a few questions waiting for responses from the European decision makers. We must find ways to pass through without making sacrifices: to surpass the past without forgetting it, to enlarge our familiar linguistic and cultural horizon without forgetting our roots, to cross over the geopolitical areas, without losing our interests and our legitimate pride.

My generation has enlarged Europe founded by our parents, by tearing down the Berlin Wall. Now is time when the new generation should make a thorough start and amplify Europe's values to the extent of their aspirations. This new generation could build a new destiny, not only for our countries and for Europe, but also for the entire world.

Actions to Enhance Global Security – Focus on WMD and Terrorism*

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International Relations and Diplomacy*

Under the auspices of the European Leadership Network (ELN), the World Academy of Art & Science (WAAS) and the Dag Hammarskjöld University College of International Relations and Diplomacy, a group of experts propose to present a set of recommendations to the conference.

Politicians are distracted with the ongoing economic crisis and instability. While understandable, this is far from being the only challenge facing the world as we have been discussing today. If we are to seize the opportunities of the future, then we have to address the legacy of the past and nowhere is this more evident than in defence and security issues. The blunt truth is that security policies in the Euro-Atlantic region, in the NATO's back yard, remain on Cold War autopilot, strategic nuclear forces remain to be launched in minutes, thousands of tactical nuclear weapons remain in Europe, a missile defence debate remains stuck in neutral, while new security challenges such as cyber, conventional, prompt strike force, and space remain contentious and inadequately addressed. The truth is that this legacy contributes to the tensions and mistrust across the Euro-Atlantic region and needlessly drives up risks and, most importantly, at a time of unprecedented austerity drives up the cost of defence. But this is about more than guns and butter. The likelihood of a major war in Europe may have practically disappeared since the end of the Cold War but this legacy with its attendant mistrust undermines any effort to build a true partnership in the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond to meet the challenges of the 21st century, including what we are focusing on in this session, WMD and global terrorism. The *status quo* legacy divides our continent and sets both Europe and Russia up for a future of failure and even worse, a future of irrelevance in the 21st century.

The overwhelming conclusion of our experts' deliberations is that we need a new approach, a new paradigm for the 21st century which is not dependent on what has wor-

ked in the 20th century. Among other things, we considered the recommendations of Building Mutual Security, the report of deliberations by a group of experts and political leaders brought together by the Nuclear Threat Initiative, the European Leadership Network, the Munich Security Conference and the Russian International Affairs Council which was published on April 4. The report analysis, its key findings and matrix of steps for a new cooperative global security discussion commended itself to our participants and we recommend that it be given serious consideration by our political leaders.

The world faces unprecedented challenges to global and human security. The threats facing the world are interconnected and interdependent. Current crises destroy human capital and harm as well as humiliate human dignity. The frustration resulting from unfulfilled expectations provides fertile grounds for terrorism. Mistrust and tensions reinforce each other. War and violence make all the problems and threats worse. Under these circumstances it is easy to lose sight of the existential threat posed by the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

We must recognize the progress that has been made in reducing the number of nuclear warheads by about 75 per cent since the end of the Cold War. And that number is decreasing still. But at the same time, we must acknowledge our collective failures. The number of nuclear armed states has increased, and this proliferation has taken place in the most unstable regions and in some of the unstable regimes of the world. The CTBT is still not ratified and stalemate prevents progress on the FMCT. We know terrorists are striving to obtain access to nuclear weapons and materials. Although the world has succeeded in avoiding the use of these weapons for the past 68 years, there is no assurance that this record of no use will be maintained in the future as the present very dangerous confrontation with North Korea should make evident.

We are far from being able to guarantee the security of existing nuclear weapons and materials. Recent experience in both North Korea and Syria demonstrates that a deterrence strategy based on the threat of use of WMD has failed to deter both threats of use and actual use of WMD. Inconclusive evidence has emerged suggesting that chemical weapons have been used. If it is true, it will be a very serious precedent and maybe also the breach of a red line followed by impunity. New thinking is called for and the NATO has a special obligation to take the lead in that thinking.

Before coming to specific proposals, we would do well to ponder some fundamental questions related to nuclear weapons. Answers to these questions will reflect our willingness to take the courageous actions necessary to address the threats that they pose.

- Is there presently a problem that nuclear weapons solve that is a greater danger than the weapons themselves?
- Can a non-proliferation regime based on the premise of “do as we say and not as we do” be sustained?

- When the world's most powerful military alliance in human history claims a need for these deployments for security, what message does a weak state in a dangerous region hear?
- Do the weapons provide prestige or military value?
- Can the resources of the NATO not come up with a better way of enhancing security and thus set an example that can truly be emulated by all nations?

Now for our specific proposals, which are by necessity limited to a small number of priorities, but as my presentation suggests, are part of a longer list of necessary steps:

1. Reduce the role of NW in the NATO Strategic Concept and national security doctrines of NWS members of the Alliance.
 - a. Elimination of US non-strategic NW from Europe;
 - b. Build-up of the non-nuclear aspects of the NATO security concept and exploring ways to provide US assurances of commitments without stationing of NW in Europe;
 - c. Committing not to use NW against a non-nuclear-weapon state under any circumstances.
2. Make NATO-Russia missile defence cooperation more productive and report on its results in the spring of 2014; the US and Russia to engage in negotiations on further reductions in nuclear arsenals, including all types of nuclear weapons.
3. Demonstrate good faith commitment to achieving a world without nuclear weapons and, in this regard, engage seriously and constructively in the deliberations of the Open-Ended Working Group on taking forward the multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations, which will commence its substantive work in Geneva on May 14, 2013.
4. Call on NPT depositaries and co-sponsors of the 1995 Resolution on a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction to exert all efforts to convene the Conference on the zone, as mandated by the final document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference, as soon as possible. Also, call upon the states in the region to engage constructively with the Facilitator (Ambassador Jaakko Laajava) and with each other to agree on modalities and the agenda of the Conference at an early date.
5. Reaffirm that any use of chemical and biological weapons is unacceptable.

The NATO is in many ways a unique structure. One of the three pillars of the NATO is Science for Peace and Security. Scientific research is among the most important generators of our global fast changing world. The world is no longer a bipolar confrontation, but our common global home. The NATO should and can fulfil a role of a significant actor guaranteeing global and human security.

World without WMD and without War

(invited talk at the International conference *Maintaining the Momentum and Supporting the Facilitator, Prospect for a Zone Free from Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East*, Amman, Jordan, November 1-14, 2012)

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Abstract

Contemporary world is faced with numerous threats and dangers. None of them can be solved by war, military action and economic sanctions. Neither disagreement nor conflicts can be solved by war. Humans are “eusocial” species (the technical term for displaying altruistic behaviour), like ants. Humans are cooperative and competitive, selfish and altruistic. Even if we accept that humans may have a psychobiological propensity for aggressiveness, there is no evidence that the acts of aggression, violence or war are inevitable. The Seville Statement on Violence stated in 1986 that peace is possible and that wars and violence can be ended, making it clear that there is nothing in biology that stands in the way of creating a world without war. Recent history proves that war and even possession of destructive weapons do not guarantee victories in conflicts. Participants at the International Conference on Nuclear Threats and Security organized by the World Academy of Art and Science, European Leadership Network and Dag Hammarskjöld University College under the NATO sponsorship emphasized that nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in general and war do not solve confrontations and that it is imperative to establish nuclear weapons free zones (NWFZ). Several NWFZ have already been established. World without nuclear weapons and eventually, world without war are achievable goals. Countries in the Middle East can benefit if Middle East NWFZ is established and extended to associations of countries similar and better than the EU.

World without War

Throughout history more efficient weapons meant victory. Now, countries possessing the most powerful nuclear weapons have lost wars: the USA in Vietnam and the USSR in Afghanistan. Clearly, in neither cases war achieved realization of political

goals. War cannot solve any of the real problems humankind is faced with: economic crisis, ecological disaster characterized by ecological footprint 50 per cent larger than the Earth can tolerate, destruction of human capital. War cannot achieve economic goals (to conquer, to get resources, women, and simple looting (1)). No war since WWII (2) accomplished “desired policies”, and war leads to destruction of resources – natural, human-made and human. However, war has been and still is very convenient to focus attention of the people away from the real problems. Peace Index (3) developed by the University of Sydney group and by *The Economist* team based on 24 input indicators puts Norway, Denmark and Japan at the top of the list. France is ranked 36th and Vietnam 37th, the UK 49th, Croatia 60th, Turkey 92nd, the USA 97th, India 107th, Pakistan 127th, Russia 131st and North Korea 133rd – all nuclear powers are ranked very low and the famous old dictum “prepare for war to enjoy peace” does not seem to be correct. Doomsday clock on the front page of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* put in 1947 the humankind at 7 minute before midnight. Following the end of the Cold War in 1990 it was at 17 minute before midnight and now it is at 5 minute before midnight. Actually, war and violence make all problems and threats worse. As President D. D. Eisenhower said in his speech delivered on August 16, 1953: “Every gun made, every warship launched, every rocket signifies in the final sense a theft from the hungry. The world in arms is not only spending money. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists.”

Yet, peaceful societies are an exception. It is estimated that 90-95 per cent of societies were engaged in war. Evidence from 12,000 BCE found in the Nubian cemetery reveals 50 per cent violent deaths. Though, throughout most of history war casualty rates were 60 per cent compared with a few percent today, a war among nuclear powers today would result in the destruction of humankind or at least of the present civilization. There are other unexpected conclusions in early societies, e.g. there is no correlation between population density and war, between war and trade, and most importantly, dominant activities even in the most war-like society are peaceful, e.g. art and pleasure. There are historical examples that violence has been abandoned when it was counterproductive! Archaeologists discovered a civilization in Canal, Peru, that lasted a thousand years. Total population of Canal is estimated to have been over 20,000 and the Canal people engaged in pleasant commerce with their neighbours (4). Warfare changed radically over time, i.e. it is culture-caused and culture-shaped. There are several peaceful tribes today.

Therefore, it is important to ask: “Does modern biology and social science know of any biological factors including those concerned with the biology of violent behaviour, that constitute an insurmountable or serious obstacle to the goal of world peace based upon the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people and including the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament through the United Nations?” On May 16, 1986, The Seville Statement on Violence was issued (5) stating that it is scienti-

fically incorrect to claim that animals wage war, and since we are like animals, war is our destiny. It is incorrect to claim that war is part of our nature, that we have a genetically programmed violent brain, that evolution “selected” aggressive behaviour, and that war is caused by instinct. The robust evidence argues that humans are eusocial species (the technical term for displaying altruistic behaviour) like ants, but much more complicated than ants: human competitiveness, selfishness, altruism and cooperation, however, are of a different sort involving interaction of culture with genetics and environment (6,7). The warfare does not occur among animals. War is biologically possible, but it is not inevitable. Anthropological evidence suggests that structural violence emerged in Late Neolithic, and was mainly unknown in Palaeolithic (8). The Seville Statement was signed by 20 leading scientists and it concludes that “biology does not condemn humanity to war. The same species that invented war is capable of inventing peace”. On the evening of December 24, 1914 as the WWI was entering its fifth month and millions of soldiers were in trenches shooting at each other, German soldier started to sing *Silent Night* and the English applauded and then joined them. This Christmas truce involved almost 100,000 soldiers, but it quickly ended (9).

Elimination of war and violence is presently essential to assure our existence. On the one hand, it has been shown that democide – death by governments of mostly their own citizens has resulted in the 20th century in killing 170-360 million children, women and men, more than the battle/war dead estimated to about 50-70 million (10). Democide is committed by the absolute power, its agency is the government and inadequate laws, as M. Gandhi correctly emphasized. “An unjust law is itself violence.” Likewise, Aurelio Peccei wrote in 1984 that in order “to ensure the development of humankind, it is necessary to banish war, and any military and non-military violence from our culture. Violence and its ideology are remnants of the past, social pathologies incompatible with the new era”. “Aggressive behaviour is learned, especially its more dangerous forms of military action and criminal assault. But the learning is prepared – we are predisposed to slide into irrational hostility under certain conditions. These rules have evolved during the past hundred thousands of years of human evolution. However, these rules are now obsolete”, as emphasized by E. O. Wilson.

Famous Russell-Einstein Manifesto concludes: *Shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war? People will not face this alternative because it is so difficult to abolish war. The abolition of war will demand distasteful limitations of national sovereignty. Although an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments would not afford an ultimate solution, it would serve certain important purposes. There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.*

War is immoral; the UN made it almost illegal and it is certainly useless. Sir Joseph Rotblat in his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech said that “the quest for a war-free world has a basic purpose – our survival”. The very survival of humankind, the survival of our environmental basis demands abolition of war. It can and it should be done soon, very soon, so that humankind can endeavour to face and solve its real problems and task.

World without Weapons of Mass Destruction

Victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki said: “People and nuclear weapons are incompatible.” Nuclear weapons are immoral, we can make them illegal as the International Court of Justice almost did in 1996 and they are useless, as we argued in the first part of our paper. Then, why do states have them?

Though nuclear weapons have no conceivable military value, their possession provides perception of significant status and prestige. The argument to maintain the *status quo* structure of the Security Council is at least partly influenced by the fact that the UK and France have nuclear weapons, while a rotating member representing the EU would not. US Army Lieutenant Colonel Warner Farr wrote in 1999: “One purpose of Israeli nuclear weapons, not often stated, but obvious, is their *use* on the US.” (11) Tito’s Yugoslavia pretended to build nuclear weapons – it was all a political bluff needed to strengthen and maintain Tito’s prestige in the Non-Aligned Movement (Indira Gandhi had just started nuclear weapons programme).

Is the world without weapons of mass destruction, notably without nuclear weapons, realistically possible? The argument which states that “you cannot stuff the nuclear genie back into the bottle” – one cannot un-invent nuclear technology – is absolutely correct, but as Ward Wilson argues (12), it is irrelevant. Many technologies that become obsolete are being replaced by better technologies (e.g. penny-farthing was replaced by bicycles) and/or are found to have serious disadvantages (as Hiller VZ-1 developed by the US Army in 1953) from – in this case – the military viewpoint.

The summary of world nuclear haves and have-nots is instructive. There are nine nuclear weapons (NW) states: the USA, Russia, the UK, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea. However, nine countries have abandoned nuclear weapons programmes: Argentina, Brazil, Iraq, Libya, South Africa, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland and Taiwan, and three former republics of the USSR inheriting huge nuclear stockpile (Ukraine as much as 5,000, Belarus 81 and Kazakhstan 1,500 weapons), decided to transfer them to Russia and decided to be non-nuclear. Several other countries, including Australia and Canada, considered nuclear weapons programmes, but quit them at an early stage. Clearly, more than a dozen of sovereign states that contemplated having nuclear weapons decided that it was not worthwhile. They represent an

important model and a warning.

If the purpose of weapons is to dominate and impose the hegemony of one group over others, a variety of different, “new” weapons can be invented and many can have advantages over nuclear weapons and other WMDs, i.e. they can eliminate specific targets without the destructive effects on natural and human-made capital that the use of nuclear weapons would have. Cyber weapons, laser and “precision-guided munitions” are such examples. Leon Panetta, the US Secretary of Defense, in his recent speech has warned about a possible cyber – Pearl Harbor. Development of new, truly 21st century, weapons (as opposed to nuclear weapons that are the 20th century technology) – though they may appear as more humane and much less destructive – is an important reason why we are arguing for the abolition of war, not just the abolition of nuclear weapons. If such ultra-modern weapons were developed and used in any form of war (or attempted hegemony), it is only a matter of time when WMDs, notably nuclear weapons, would be quickly reinvented and used. Our goal has to be the abolition of war! War is useless and it creates and maintains an illusion that it accomplishes given objectives, while it is only a total waste and destruction of all forms of capitals: human, social, natural and human-made.

Though our essential goal has to be the abolition of war, the first step is the abolition of nuclear weapons. Arguments that nuclear weapons have not been used for 67 years and it appears they will not be used, arguments that nuclear weapons contributed to preventing war (old Kantian argument, modernized by Kenneth Waltz’s argument in 1981 in favour of proliferation) fade when realized that thousands and thousands of nuclear weapons are on a hair-trigger alert basis and can be launched within less than an hour and without any “democratic” decision on going to war (democracy and war, as well as just war are oxymorons – but we will not discuss that here). Analysis of the Cuban Missile Crisis provides many useful lessons: firstly, the entire concept of mutually assured destruction as preventing nuclear war rests on the assumption of rationality. One of the worst mistake is to assume the rationality of the opponent; secondly, escalation can and does occur at lower level, e.g. during the Cuban Missile Crisis *war readiness condition* was set by the US Air Force without presidential authorization; thirdly, crises are characterized by limited information, large uncertainty and rapid development leading to lose-lose situations. The best scenario is to act at the very beginning of an indication of a crisis (conflict prevention). Sustainable conflict-resolution derives from win-win deals (13).

It is often said that after Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear weapons did not cause any death and suffering. This is incorrect! Numerous nuclear weapons tests injured hundreds of thousands of persons in Kazakhstan, the Pacific and even in the USA. One still hears arguments – and to some extent they are justified – that maintaining an adequate stock of usable nuclear weapons requires nuclear tests.

There is no doubt that the world today is more complex and uncertain than during the Cold War. Nuclear weapons are deployed in 14 countries. Many of the nuclear disarmament commitments are still pending of accomplishment, while successful cooperation systems such as the Cooperative Threat Reduction Agreement between the USA and Russia (so called Nunn-Lugar Agreement) which made the dismantlement of more than 7,000 nuclear warheads from the former USSR possible, run the risk of being deactivated. The overarching goal of global policy and policy of any country today should be to ensure that nuclear weapons are never used (13).

Important Contributions by Pugwash and the Club of Rome

A very significant contribution made by the Pugwash Movement is its constant emphasis on impeccable science. This enabled fruitful cooperation between scientists from the allegedly opposing blocks. Throughout the Cold War, Soviet, American, and European scientists as well as those from the non-aligned countries met, exchanged ideas and discussed and searched how to eliminate the causes of conflict, to prevent conflicts and they tried to resolve disagreements and misunderstandings. Essential features of a scientific method have to be included, our approach has to be: objective, cumulative and global.

A very important contribution of The Club of Rome is the realization of interdependence of most of the issues forming a web of *problematique*: economy, ecology, social issues, general and complete disarmament, peace, human, natural and human-made capitals, policy and politics. It implies that the abolition of nuclear weapons requires a simultaneous approach to issues of governance, rule of law, economic development and energy.

Actions – Conclusions of the 2012 Dubrovnik Conference

At the time when we are preoccupied with financial and economic crises, with money (the euro-issue), unemployment, climate change and ecological disasters, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the greatest existential threat to our civilization, even to our environmental basis is the continued threat of nuclear weapons and of nuclear weapons proliferation to state and non-state actors. The opening sentence of Dickens' novel *A Tale of Two Cities*, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times", is quite appropriate for this moment. Significant accomplishments have been achieved in the domain of governance: CWC, BWC, land-mine and cluster-bomb prohibition agreements, CTBT and the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, and most importantly, we are constantly facing significant scientific breakthroughs. Several nuclear weapons free zones (NWFZ) have been established: including 115 states (14), 39 per cent of world popula-

tion. Four NWFZ have nuclear plants generating electricity. Argentina and Brazil are operating uranium enrichment facilities.

Our contemporary world is facing numerous threats. Some, as problems in the Middle East, where conflict involving Arab countries and Israel, is now amplified by the Iranian development of nuclear plants and enrichment. None of them violates NPT agreement, but it is perceived by some as a threat. Of course, the economic and ecological problems augment all potential conflicts, and therefore the current situation is much worse than it was five years ago. It is instructive to compare the conclusion of the Pugwash conferences in 2007 with those of the 2012 Dubrovnik conference.

At the 50th anniversary of the first Pugwash conference, a conference was held on July 5-7, 2007, again in Pugwash, this time in collaboration with the Middle Power Initiative, a group of NGOs collaborating with governments of the "New Agenda Countries": Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa and Sweden. Thirty outstanding scientists and politicians concluded: *As long as nuclear weapons exist, they will be used one day. This sober, inescapable truth continues to haunt the international community. Every minute of every day, more than 26,000 nuclear weapons – many thousands of them on hair-trigger alert – are poised to bring monumental destruction if they are ever used. Nuclear weapons have spread to more countries, and the international non-proliferation regime is perilously close to collapse. Poorly guarded stockpiles of highly enriched uranium and plutonium around the world could fall into the hands of terrorists who would think nothing of exploding a nuclear device in a major city. Momentum is growing in the international community, however, from many different political quarters, to re-energize the campaign to declare nuclear weapons illegal and immoral, and to reduce and eliminate them. But the time is now for decisive leadership and action to mount a global political campaign to eliminate these weapons of mass destruction, before it is too late. Great changes in history – the end of slavery, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War – have come about through concerted political action, often suddenly and with little warning. The international community has the opportunity to achieve yet another epochal event: ending the reliance on nuclear weapons and the total elimination of these genocidal weapons. We ask all governments, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, a simple question: What are you doing to fulfil the basic obligation of every government: the 'responsibility to protect' the lives and human rights of its citizens that would be obliterated by nuclear devastation? Given political leadership and political will, implementation of the following steps could greatly reduce the risk of nuclear weapons use:*

- *immediate de-alerting of the thousands of nuclear weapons that could be launched by accident, miscalculation, or unauthorized computer hacking of command and control systems;*
- *official declarations by all nuclear weapons-states of a No First Use policy, and adoption of Negative Security Assurances that nuclear weapons will never*

be used against countries who have legally bound themselves not to acquire nuclear weapons;

- *immediate resumption of US-Russian nuclear negotiations to reduce their nuclear forces to 1,000 or fewer nuclear weapons; to accelerate the dismantlement and destruction of all excess nuclear forces and fissile material; and to jointly develop early warning systems to reduce the risk of accidental or unauthorized launch of nuclear weapons;*
- *political agreement by the NATO to withdraw all US nuclear weapons from Europe, and to conclude a global agreement that nuclear weapons of any country not be deployed on foreign territory;*
- *full funding and implementation of the International Monitoring System of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to ensure the continued moratorium on nuclear testing, prior to the entry into force of the CTBT;*
- *an early start to negotiations of a global Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty and a complete prohibition on the deployment and use of space weapons;*
- *finally, all States should affirm the goal of the complete abolition and elimination of nuclear weapons through a multilaterally-verified instrument – a Nuclear Weapons Convention – and work towards making such a convention a reality.*

All these steps have been re-emphasized, endorsed and strongly supported in Dubrovnik and several more have been underlined:

The task before us is survival and that requires general and complete disarmament as well as the abolition of war. This can be achieved only if and when major improvements in the political structure of the world are performed. Our global world demands more democracy: in addition to the system based on about 200 sovereign states it is necessary to form parliamentary assemblies where all citizens of the world are represented, and where the diversities of cultures are taken into account. Representative democracy has to be enriched by direct democracy assuring the anticipation and the prevention of threats and conflicts. Though referenda have been used with various successes, it is necessary to include the direct decision-making of all citizens on essential issues such as war, disarmament, abolition of WMD and development. Short-term, narrow focus, slow response, almost zero anticipation and total lack of a global concern of many present political systems should not tempt us to propose autocratic systems. Democracy can and should be global, long-term, fast response and anticipatory and it involves the richness of billions of active citizens. Our political structure has to encompass, in addition to parliaments and governments, a variety of NGOs, IGOs, academic/scientific/scholarly organizations – local, regional and global. Their role and responsibility have to reflect the needs of our global, fast changing world. The responsibility and the role

of the World Academy of Art and Science, of Pugwash, of the European Leadership Network, of The Club of Rome, of physicians and parliamentarians, of lawyers – as professionals and as citizens should be focused on assuring survival, sustainable development and happiness of all humans.

It is urgent to re-address the legality of WMD and of war. Nuclear weapons constitute a clear and present danger to all humanity. No country has a right to unilaterally possess or wield a weapon whose consequences endanger the entire human race. Nuclear weapons, WMD and war have to be made illegal! A global referendum would provide an opportunity to all humanity to voice its view on this issue. Success achieved in land-mine and cluster-bomb could be useful models. Conventional weapons, ranging from small arms to new high-technology weapons, are all too often the instruments of indiscriminate destruction, especially for civilians. Accordingly, the pursuit of further international monitoring and restriction of conventional arms development, production, and transfer remains our important priority. The vulnerability of modern computer systems to cyber-attack represents a new type of catastrophic threats to national and human security. The use of cyber-attacks sets a dangerous precedent for a new form of terrorism and warfare. This form of attack challenges traditional principle of deterrence as unknown attackers make it extremely difficult to retaliate. The same is true for terrorist attacks. The ballistic missile defence becomes questionable and provides more illusion than reality. It could be instructive to analyse various forms of defence-walls in history from walls and moats that eventually became malaria infested and were replaced by parks, e.g. as in Krakow. Maginot line also was not useful. Ballistic missile defence may be equally useless now, as defence walls were in the 19th century.

The universal principles of justice and the will of humanity as a whole are not fully and adequately represented by national governments. International law must be predicated on the rights of not only sovereign states but also on the rights of individual citizen within states/nations and the rights of humanity as a whole (15). International rule of law needs to satisfy the need of our global, fast changing and yet diverse world. It is necessary to preserve and enrich our cultural diversity. This is a high order, but a very necessary one, since we depend on cultural diversity as much as we need biodiversity. Cultural diversity does not imply that cultures are unchanging and rigid. On the contrary, cultures constantly evolve and intertwine.

It would be desirable that NWFZ are not reduced only to one aspect – elimination of nuclear weapons. These zones should gradually grow into regional economic and political structures. Middle East is an excellent example of how common needs and complementarity of capacities, richness and potential of each sovereign state in the Middle East can be beneficial to all of them, and to each one of them. That means working to prevent, transform and reverse the conditions of economic deprivation, environmental deterioration, and resource scarcity and unequal access that are deplorable in them

and give rise to despair, resentment, hostility and violence around the world. We have to address this broad web of inter-related dangers, and to work for the sustainable use of energy and natural resources and the constraint of anthropogenic disruption of climate.

The Middle East is the cradle of civilizations. Currently the Middle East represents a vibrant domain of development, an important source of conventional energy – oil and gas – and is a place of unnecessary, often violent, confrontations posing imminent threat with catastrophic consequences. Two issues dominate and intertwine: the nuclear energy programme of Iran and the unresolved dispute between Israel and Palestine. Iran, currently the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement could lead a process of establishing the Middle East NWFZ. This is strengthened by the fact that the previous chair, Egypt and the future chair, Venezuela belong to the NWFZ of Africa and Latin America, respectively. In addition, the countries included in the NWFZ are mainly non-aligned countries. Leading a process of establishing the Middle East NWFZ, Iran demonstrates its commitment to remain a non-nuclear weapon state and to adhere to the NPT. It is natural that countries which initiated and led the Non-Aligned Movements, such as India and now seven sovereign states emanating from the SFR Yugoslavia, as well as countries that gave up their nuclear weapons such as Ukraine and Kazakhstan will strongly support such a process of establishing a new NWFZ. It is also natural that international NGOs such as Pugwash, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as many outstanding individuals (many of them also Nobel Peace Prize laureates), as well as the World Academy of Art and Science and the European Leadership Network, strongly support the establishment of the Middle East NWFZ.

War and peace, democracy and sustainable development are strongly intertwined. It is necessary to develop a mechanism to protect human rights and human dignity and to assure human needs everywhere, to prevent democide (which as we stressed is as threatening as war). It is necessary to assure positive interference without limiting specificity and without military intervention, yet mechanism should be such as to prevent hegemony, dictatorship and the abuse of power. This opens a question of international forces, possibly military, and of their responsibility and role. There is no doubt that such forces should be employed to anticipate, prevent and reduce all forms of threats and disasters. Certainly the NATO has a different role and responsibility today than it had at the time of the Cold War. Our task is to formulate a time-bound plan, steps leading to reduction of the number of nuclear weapons, specifically leading to de-alerting, and finally to complete the nuclear disarmament to be presented at the NATO conference in Split on May 6-7, 2013. Though 95 per cent of all nuclear weapons are in the USA and Russia, all nuclear-weapon states have to reduce the strength of their nuclear weapons. In addition to the countries that have nuclear weapons there are countries that have relied and rely still on the protection of a foreign country. If their confidence

in protection falters, they may be tempted to develop their own nuclear capabilities (15). Rather than depending on the political blocks balance, all countries should depend for their security on the global system.

The tasks before us are demanding. Paradigmatic changes leading to happy and prosperous humankind are possible if we enhance human and social capitals, through ideas (mostly out-of-the-box ones), actions and wisdom of all of us.

References

- (1) I was told that few weeks before the beginning of the Iraqi war, private art collectors were informed that various objects from the Baghdad museum could be purchased at bargain prices.
- (2) An exception is the First Gulf War, fought with a very limited and clear objective – to liberate Kuwait, a private discussion with General Colin Powell.
- (3) Global Peace Index, see Wikipedia and www.visionofhumanity.org/gpi/results/ranking.php
- (4) Th. Hartmann (2009). *Threshold – The Crisis of Western Civilization*, Viking Penguin. Anthony Adolf, *Peace – A World History*, J. Wiley and Sons, N.Y. (2008). L. H. Keeley *War before Civilization: the Myth of the Peaceful Savage* (1996). Oxford University Press, Oxford
- (5) The 1986 Seville Statement on Violence, www.unesco.org/shs/human_rights/hrfv.htm; see also M. Ramirez/ Pugwash; Seville Declaration is related to the UNESCO Statement on Race (1950-78), UNESCO Culture for Peace Program (1994) and Jerusalem Statement on Science for Peace (1997). Though the Seville Declaration was endorsed by the UNESCO General Conference at its 25th session (Paris 16/11/1989) followed by the UNESCO's Culture of Peace Program in 1994 promoted by F. Mayor, an original effort in 1982 was slowed down since UNESCO considered the issue of peace too touchy, and similarly, Pontifical Academy considered it also too touchy.
- (6) J. M. Ramirez, an invited talk at the International Conference on Nuclear Threats and Security, Dubrovnik, September 2012 – to be published
- (7) E. O. Wilson (2012). *The Social Conquest of Earth*, Liveright Publishing/W. W. Norton & Com.
- (8) D. P. Fry (2007). *Beyond War: the Human Potential for Peace*, Oxford University Press
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- (11) N. Chomsky (2012). *Making the Future*, Hamish Hamilton, Penguin Book, pp. 95
- (12) W. Wilson, *The World Today*, October-November 2012, pp. 26
- (13) Irma Arguello, *50 Years after the Cuban Missile Crisis*, [http:// npsglobal.org/eng/component/content/article/147-articles](http://npsglobal.org/eng/component/content/article/147-articles)
- (14) There are 9 nuclear states (47 per cent of world population) and 68 that cannot be classified as either NWS or NWFZ (14 per cent of world population). There are five zones covering continental or sub-continental groups of countries (Tlatelolco – Latin America and the Caribbean, Rarotonga – South Pacific, Bangkok (ASEAN), Semei (Central Asia) and Pelindaba – Africa (53 states and 30 millions square kilometre area), zone consisting of a single country – Mongolia, and three governing Antarctica, the seabed and outer space.
- (15) W. Nagan (2012). *Simulated ICJ Judgment*, Cadmus, No. 4, April 2012, pp. 93: W. Nagan and G. Jacobs (2012), *New Paradigm for Global Rule of Law*, Cadmus, No. 4, April 2012, pp. 137-8, pp. 142-3
- (16) H. A. Kissinger and B. Scowcroft, *Nuclear weapons reduction must be part of strategic analysis*, Washington Post, April 23, 2012

Sažetak

Suvremeni svijet suočen je s brojnim prijetnjama i opasnostima. Nijedna od njih se ne može riješiti ratom, vojnom akcijom i ekonomskim sankcijama. Niti neslaganja, niti sukobi ne mogu se riješiti ratom. Ljudi su "eusocialna" vrsta (tehnički termin za prikazivanje altruističnog ponašanja), poput mrava. Ljudi su kooperativni i natjecateljski raspoloženi, sebični i altruistični. Čak i ako prihvatimo da ljudi mogu imati psihobiološku sklonost k agresivnosti, nema dokaza da je čin agresije, nasilja i rata neizbježan. Seviljska izjava o nasilju najavila je 1986. godine da je mir moguć i da ratovi i nasilje mogu biti okončani, naglašavajući jasno da ne postoji ništa u biološkom smislu što bi onemogućavalo stvaranje svijeta bez rata. Novija povijest dokazuje da rat, pa čak i posjedovanje destruktivnog oružja ne jamče pobjedu u sukobima. Sudionici Međunarodne konferencije o nuklearnoj prijetnji i sigurnosti, u organizaciji Svjetske akademije umjetnosti i znanosti, European Leadership Network i Visoke škole međunarodnih odnosa i diplomacije Dag Hammarskjöld pod pokroviteljstvom NATO-a, istaknula je da je nuklearno oružje, oružje za masovno uništenje (WMD) općenito i rat, ne rješavaju sukobe i da je neophodno uspostavljanje zona slobodnih od nuklearnog oružja (NWFZ). Nekoliko takvih zona - NWFZ već je uspostavljeno. Svijet bez nuklearnog oružja, a konačno i svijet bez rata ostvarivi su ciljevi. Zemlje na Bliskom Istoku mogu imati koristi ako Bliski Istok uspostavi NWFZ zonu koja može biti proširena i na druge saveze zemalja, slične i bolje nego EU.

Evaluating Tuđman's Foreign Policy

(Un)successful Protection of National Interest; From Defender to Despot¹

*Bojana Klepač Pogrmilović**

Summary

The majority of Croatian foreign policy creators and certain scholars evaluate Croatian foreign policy as very successful, especially when compared to domestic policy. Furthermore, the first Croatian president Franjo Tuđman – the main creator of Croatian foreign policy during the 1991-2000 period – is often invoked as a supreme defender of Croatian national interests. This article challenges such positions by setting up a normative framework, which states that Croatian national interest was (is) to become a functional Europeanized parliamentary democracy, based on values, norms and principles formulated in *acquis communautaire*. Through simplified normativism, the article evaluates four main points: “respect for sovereignty”, “peace”, “market economy” and “rule of law” in which the Croatian foreign policy, whose main creator was Franjo Tuđman, largely contributed to the alienation of Croatia from its vital national interest. The final part of the article evaluates Tuđman's thought that focuses mainly on the position of small peoples within multinational entities, democracy, Croatia and the EU etc. One of the main reasons of a failed democratic transition is found in Tuđman's perception that Croatia became a democratic state just by formally adopting a democratic Constitution.

Key words: Franjo Tuđman, national interests, Croatian foreign policy, Europeanization, (de)*Tuđmanization*

Introduction

On the “historical day for Croatia”, when its “return to Europe” was finally about to happen, there were “two Croats”. One celebrating the “new” Croatia, and the other

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1 The majority of the material quoted in this article was in the Croatian language. It is not official, but author's translations. Note: the term *narod* (and its derivatives like *narodni*) that is often translated as “nation” is translated in this text as “peoples” and term “nation” is a translation of Croatian word *nacija*.

crying for the old one.² The first celebration, attended by 15 000 people, among them high Croatian and European officials, began with the Croatian national anthem and exactly at midnight, on the 1st of July, the EU anthem was performed. The other celebration, attended by 50 000 people and a few Croatian officials and war generals began with Franjo Tuđman's speech about those who are "against Croatian freedom and independence" and who "align themselves with all adversaries of Croatian independence and sell themselves for Judas' thirty pieces of silver".³ More than a decade after his death, the first president of the independent Croatian state, Franjo Tuđman, is still omnipresent in Croatian politics. His thoughts are quoted, his figure invoked whenever patriotism is at stake, *Tuđmanization* is often perceived as a desirable course towards which Croatia (Croatian politics) should strive and he is perceived (often by both the left wing and the right wing politicians) as a supreme defender of Croatian national interests or, to quote the current president of HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union)⁴ Tomislav Karamarko, as "the greatest Croat of the 20th century". Therefore, to illuminate one part of his work and rule, this article proposes a normative evaluation of Croatian foreign policy (CFP) during Franjo Tuđman's rule, from 1991 to 2000. The main argument primarily attacks the position that Croatian foreign policy was very successful and that Franjo Tuđman was the protector of Croatian national interests. The argument is different from the perception and the arguments presented by certain scholars and the majority of Croatian foreign policy creators who perceive Croatian foreign policy as very successful, especially when referring to domestic policy, which was "less successful".

- 2 Marko Perković Thompson (1966, Čavoglave) is a famous Croatian singer, known for patriotic and nationalistic songs, sometimes characterized as pro-Ustaša. He is often described as controversial, because some members of his audience frequently appear in his concerts with Ustaša insignia and some of the songs he performed glorify the Ustaša regime. Thompson had a concert in Split on the same day (July 30, 2013) as the (central) "Celebration of Croatia's Accession to the European Union" in Zagreb.
- 3 Franjo Tuđman's well-known speech, given at Pleso Airport in Zagreb, right after his return from the United States where he received medical care, on November 23, 1996: "We shall not allow the remains of the Yugo-Communist nor the Yugo-Serbian system, the situation we found in Croatia at the time of establishing Croatian freedom and democracy. We shall not allow them to put it all into question. We shall not allow these Yugo-Communist remains, or those political dilettantes, headless muddle-heads who don't see what really goes on in Croatia today and in the world with all sorts of regional plans... We shall not allow those who align themselves with the black devil himself against Croatian freedom and independence, not only with the black, but also with green and yellow devils... We shall not allow those who align themselves with adversaries of Croatian independence, not only align, but offer themselves, not only offer, but sell themselves for Judas' thirty pieces of silver... And they align themselves with everybody, from the fundamentalist extremists to all sorts of false prophets, pseudo-democratic bluffers who preach to us today grand ideas about human rights and the freedom of media" (translated from Croatian by Nebojša Blanuša).
- 4 Croatian Democratic Union (Croatian: Hrvatska demokratska zajednica – HDZ) is a Christian democratic, conservative and the main centre-right, oppositional political party in Croatia that was founded in 1989 by Franjo Tuđman.

The article aims to show how foreign policy – whose main creator was Franjo Tuđman – contributed to domestic policy in alienating Croatia from its main national interest, which is to become a functional Europeanized parliamentary democracy, based on values, norms and principles formulated in *acquis communautaire*. The article consists of three parts. The first part sets up a normative framework, defines the Croatian national interest and introduces the leading figure – the president Franjo Tuđman. The second part of the article presents a successful side of Croatian foreign policy and afterwards evaluates its unsuccessfulness. Through the four main points – “respect for sovereignty”, “peace”, “market economy” and “rule of law” – the article shows that Croatian foreign policy was successful in achieving only a few goals, but in fact was not clever nor successful when it came to accomplishing the above specified normative (national) interest. The third part of the article deals with Franjo Tuđman’s thought and attempts to get behind his policy and see how he, who is often invoked as a supreme protector of Croatian national interests, became its despot. His thought greatly contributed to his policy-making and it is hence very important to illuminate Tuđman’s positions towards the EU, multinational entities, integrations, democracy, Croatia within the EU etc., in order to observe how it influenced the alienation of Croatia from its national interest. One of the reasons why true democratic transition of Croatia has failed can be seen in Tuđman’s perception that Croatia became a real parliamentary democracy just by adopting a democratic Constitution.

Setting up a Normative Framework

Realist school of international relations emphasizes the role of national interests in the creation of foreign policy. Tuđman perceived himself as a scientist – a historian on the one hand, to whom rational scepticism and relativism are inherent, and a statesman on the other, characterized by political optimism and pragmatism (see Tuđman, 2009:115). His close co-workers mostly perceived him as a “realist politician” (see Nobilo, 2000 and Rudolf, 1999). Evaluating his scientific and political work, he would in many aspects largely fit somewhere within the framework of normative political realism, whose imperative states that “each state should promote its own national interest and interests of other states, only if they comply with its own national interest” (Jolić, 2011:48). Vukadinović writes that national interests are “whatever wants to be achieved or preserved in relation to other states”. In theory, national interests are often defined as constant foreign policy lines that are above internal policy agreements or disagreements (Vukadinović, 2009:155). A frequently quoted definition accused of tautology and poor analytical contribution states that “national interest is whatever decision makers say it is” (Furniss and Snyder in: Jolić, 2011:46). On the other hand, Jović states that “countries’ foreign policy is subject to change, as all other public policies, and therefore doesn’t need to be mystified with

‘national interests’ phrase” (Jović, 2011:24). This article does not attempt to challenge various definitions of national interests, nor to further mystify “national interests”, because this concept is already, at least in Croatia, “mystified” by the public, abused by politicians and insufficiently discussed by scientists. Therefore the article proposes a normative national interests framework fully in line with national interest(s) proclaimed by the Croatian main decision maker. On several occasions, Franjo Tuđman emphasised that the “inclusion in Europe and Europeanization of Croatia” are in Croatia’s best interest. “Along with internal democratic transition all the necessary steps need to be taken into account for including Croatia in the European Community as soon as possible” (Sabor.hr, 1990). Through the eyes of the majority of Croatian foreign policy creators of Tuđman’s era and certain authors, most of the foreign policy goals were achieved, Croatian national interests were secured and Croatian foreign policy was “very, very successful” (except when it came to the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina).⁵ However, if it is observed through another normative lens, Croatian foreign policy becomes much less clever and successful and it did not serve national interest(s) that well.

National interest of Franjo Tuđman was basically ethnical interest of the Croats: divide Bosnia and achieve Great Croatia, clean Croatia from the Serbs, create a ‘small power’ in the Balkans that will play the role of policeman in the region, build authoritarian and autarchic state which will develop its own democratic model that will in reality be a nationalistic dictatorship. Furthermore, impose that model on Europe and force it to accept Croatia as such, without real interaction with the democratic and cultural values of contemporary Europe (Grubiša, 2001).

If one defines Tuđman’s national interest as Grubiša did, then Tuđman’s policy, both domestic and foreign, was a complete failure – neither clever nor successful and it failed to serve national interests as well. However, the article will not employ Grubiša’s definition, but will focus on the normative criticism of Croatian foreign policy. As stated before, the set normative framework is established around the claim that the national interest of the Croatian state is to become a functional, Europeanized⁶ parliamentary

5 The article especially challenges prof. Dejan Jović’s thesis of a “very, very successful foreign policy in the last 20+ years... Taking into account what domestic policy was like, foreign policy was saving and palliated”. Although such claims can be defended, especially when taking into account that the main goals were achieved (see chapter (*Specious*) *Success of Croatian Foreign Policy*), if observing the CFP through a different – “normative lens” – success becomes seriously disputable.

6 For this purpose I will not enter into an extensive scientific debate on the meaning of Europeanization, but will rather adopt a definition of Europeanization as “accepting liberal, enlightened and democratic values in the political culture of Central European and East European peoples” (Prpić, 2004:46). Furthermore, I will agree that in the case of Croatia we can employ “retrospective Europeanization” that can be explained through these three steps:

- 1) rejecting the communist system of government,
- 2) enabling the penetration of European institutions into the national systems of government,

democracy based on *acquis communautaire*. Before further evaluation, it is important to observe the argument that the “foreign policy is a reflection of internal processes, restrictions and fears of the political elite or its courage and determination”. Throughout the article emphasis is put on foreign policy and its effect on national interest(s). However, a distinction line between foreign and domestic policy is sometimes very thin. “Searching those accused of war crimes by the Hague Tribunal, judicial reform in order to make Croatian courts more effective, caring for the freedom of the media, are equally foreign policy issues as well as issues used in the internal political struggles” (Jakovina, 2010:84). Therefore, domestic and foreign policy will sometimes overlap. Article will not extensively elaborate the policy of the international community towards Croatia during the 1990s. It will require an entirely new detailed research. The focus is mainly put on Croatian (foreign) policy, irrespective of the sometimes “shameful” policy led by some “foreign forces”.⁷

Franjo Tuđman – A Symbol of Croatia (Croatian Policy) and a Supreme Defender of Croatian National Interests

The article focuses on (the work of) Franjo Tuđman since he is considered to be the main Croatian (foreign) policy creator – both from his own and from a domestic and often external point of view.⁸ “Tuđman saw himself as the personification of Croatian unity” and Croats saw him as “the father of the nation” (Bellamy, 2003:67). Even though formally, foreign policy is “led by the head of state, the government and parliament (FP committe) within the countries’ constitutional framework”, young Croatian state had a different experience (Nick, 1997:56). The instrumentalization of political functions was present so “the president can decide everything by himself” (Blanuša, 2011:52). Mate Granić⁹ states that “Tuđman had complete control over the Ministry of Defence, Foreign Affairs and the police, as well as the intelligence, sometimes even controlling the work of the Ministry of Finance”. Furthermore, when Tuđman appointed Granić as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he said: “Don’t forget that I am, according to the Constitution, the only head of state and in regard to any problem, you have to come to me. Fo-

3) gradual change of national systems through processes of adaptation, harmonization and convergence for the purpose of accepting European multilevel government (Grubiša, 2006:133).

7 Great Britain, France and Russia were usually mentioned and perceived as “pro-Serbian enemies” (see Tomac, 2012 and Rudolf, 1999).

8 This can clearly be observed through Tuđman’s rhetoric, because he often referred to himself as the “highest representative of the Croatian people”, “statesman”, “sovereign”, “president of all Croats” etc. “He prefers to call himself the Head of State more than simply the President”. Therefore, any “attempt to endanger the Head of State is an attempt to decapitate Croatia” (see Uzelac, 2013).

9 Mate Granić (Baška Voda, 1947) was the Vice President of the Croatian Government (1991-1993) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1993-2000).

reign policy is not a governmental issue" (Granić, 2005:47-49). Interestingly, even more than a decade after his death, the rhetoric that identifies Tuđman with Croatia and Croatian patriotism remains. Or, in the words of Tomislav Karamarko, "*de-Tuđmanization* means *de-Croatization* of HDZ and the Croatian society" (*Jutarnji list*, 2013). Zdravko Tomac¹⁰ states that "*Tuđmanism* means gathering of patriotic forces and finding a place for action of different political options and different people that are connected by patriotism" (Tomac, 2012:352). Abuse and mystification of the "national interests" concept is partially related to the political discourse of the 1990s, especially Tuđman's rhetoric. In Croatia's daily politics Tuđman is often invoked as a supreme protector of Croatian national interests (see Tomac, 2012:347).¹¹ Davorin Rudolf¹² states how Tuđman was a statesman who often irritated other politicians, mainly because "he wouldn't give Croatia for anything. It can be observed through his talks with Kinkel or Albright; feathers flew because he was always firmly defending Croatian national interests" (HRT, 2010). Interestingly, when commenting on Tuđman-Izetbegović Agreement, Rudolf states how "it was a mistake, harmful for Croatian national interests. Negotiators were superficial and politicians who made the decisions weren't patriotic enough" (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 2012). Suddenly the chief negotiator and the main politician became less patriotic. After 2000 things changed and the "once beloved and respected president Franjo Tuđman was being presented as a product and a representative of Balkan mentality. Such a turn changed the political climate in the country because it meant the ending of the identification of Croatia and Tuđman and the identification of Croatia with Tuđman" (Zambelli, 2010:56). However, as stated above, in the year when Croatia entered the EU, Tuđman was again perceived as a symbol of "Croatization", patriotism and defence of Croatian national interests, because "to *re-Tuđmanize* the Croatian state and HDZ is the biggest accomplishment, not just for HDZ, but also for Croatia and Croatian national interests in general" (Tomac, 2012:350).

10 Zdravko Tomac (Garčin, 1937) was, as a member of SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia, former League of Communists of Croatia), the Vice President of the Government (1991-1992) and a member of Croatian Parliament (1993-2003).

11 Surprisingly, a similar claim was recently (September, 2012) indirectly underpinned when Croatian Prime Minister, the president of SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia), Zoran Milanović defended Tuđman's policy in 1999 – the Agreement with Alija Izetbegović. When HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) accused Milanović to be a trader of Croatian national interests because he was giving away a small part of Croatia's territory to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Milanović invoked "Tuđman's will" claiming that "he (Tuđman, A/N) knew for sure what Croatia was". Usually, if Tuđman's role of a supreme "Croatian national interest defender" is questioned (mostly by the so called "left intellectuals"), such individuals immediately become discredited by attributes such as Yugonostalgic, communist, Serbian, Yugo-communist, Serbo-communist and all sorts of similar derogatory names.

12 Davorin Rudolf (Omiš, 1934) was the Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs from May 3 until July 31, 1991. Later on he became the ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Croatia to the UN. He is a member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

(Specious) Success of Croatian Foreign Policy

It would be unfair, inaccurate and one-sided to declare Croatian foreign policy (and policy makers) completely unsuccessful. From (not just) a normative point of view, Croatian foreign policy was, when observing the achievement of stated goals, successful and clever. These aims were considered to be of great national interest and were successfully achieved. Rudolf claims that the Croatian "goal was to proclaim and preserve the independent democratic Croatian state" (Rudolf, 1999:376).¹³ After the Croatian state was established it was especially important to achieve international recognition. However, it is hard to measure to what extent international recognition was connected with skilled diplomacy and clever moves of the Croatian foreign policy actors. Mario Nobile¹⁴, for example, mentions "Serbian aggression" as an external factor that "speeded up recognition". Interestingly, Tuđman admits that very often "the old glory of Tito" was responsible for the success in the achievement of international recognition. "Wherever we representatives of Croatia show up in Asia, Africa, they ask for Tito. When we say Tito was a Croat, it makes it easier for them to support us as Independent Croatia" (Predsjednik.hr, 1996). After signing the Dayton Agreement, Tuđman announced that the "*great and holy aim* of the Croatian people was the attainment of total sovereignty over its entire, internationally recognised territory" (Bellamy, 2003:72). Croatia is an internationally recognized, independent state that managed to reintegrate its territory peacefully. "With skilled diplomacy and policy, this time using international factors, on January 15, 1998 Croatia recovered Croatian Podunavlje" (Rudolf, 1999:392).¹⁵ Granić openly claims how Tuđman should get the most credit for that. Furthermore, it is important to note that, for example, successful "play" on the quasi-acceptance of the Z4 plan is also considered to be Tuđman's clever and farsighted move. The perception in Croatia, especially after the war, was that "Tuđman would not only protect Croatia from the Serbian threat; he would also stand up to the 'Great Powers' who threatened Croatia's national interests" (Razsa, Lindstrom, 2004:643). Throughout his speeches

13 Even though it will not be debated in the article, because it mainly observes CFP from Croatian independence onwards, it is interesting to observe Vesna Pusić's opinion on independence that is completely opposite from what the other foreign policy actors claim(ed). Pusić states how "Croatia became independent from Yugoslavia in June 1991 more as a result of being pushed than because of any plan", which undermines the attributed role of crucial political actors in the achievement of Croatian independence (Pusić, 1998:111).

14 Mario Nobile (Korčula, 1952) was Franjo Tuđman's spokesman in 1990, and from 1991-1992 his foreign policy adviser. Furthermore, he was the Vice President of the Croatian Council of European Movement and the Europe House in Zagreb (1990-1992) and the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Croatia to the United Nations (1992-1997).

15 Reintegration is considered to be primarily an "internal policy goal, however, it has important foreign policy dimensions", as stated by Rudolf, "because it can't be achieved without an active foreign policy" (Jović, 2011:10).

and interviews Tuđman strongly fought against EU's "regional approach" in the name of the protection of national interests.¹⁶ He was strongly convinced that "foreign forces" (from all over the EU and the world) were trying to push Croatia back to the Balkans and create a new Yugoslavia, and he greatly opposed the Western Balkan concept. Eventually, the regional approach was slowly abolished and Croatia has entered the EU independently from other "Western Balkan" countries. Furthermore, during Tuđman's era Croatia became member of the UN and member of the Council of Europe, which is also considered to be a great foreign policy success. Therefore, in some aspects, foreign policy moved Croatia towards Europeanized parliamentary democracy. However, Croatian policy was often, with a little help from foreign policy, moving the country away from that goal. The next chapter will show the four most critical steps that largely contributed to the alienation of Croatia from the process of becoming a functional democracy.

The defeat of Croatian Foreign Policy

This chapter will evaluate major mistakes of Croatian foreign policy and its main creator, presented in four main points – *respecting sovereignty, peace, free and fair trade and the rule of law*. Ivo Banac stated: "If there was no Tuđman, I am sure that Croatia would already be in the EU." (*Jutarnji list*, 2007) Furthermore, unlike the often-quoted thesis on "Croatia's rush to join the EU", some other scholars claim that Croatia is entering the EU too late (Despot, Reljić, 2011:1). "Croatia is going to enter the EU too late. It is like you are coming to a party at 3 am when all the guests are leaving" (Niall Ferguson for Tportal.hr, 2011). Branimir Lokin claims that the economic benefit for Croatia will be poor to none, because Croatia is "entering the EU a little bit too late" (*Novi list*, 2011). Or, in other words, "the only real problem with Croatian membership in the EU is the fact that we are not there yet" (Jakovina, 2010:91). Even though Banac is "sure", it is very difficult to prove actual causality and claim that "Brussels" would have acted differently if Tuđman's foreign (and domestic) policy was different and that Croatia would have already been an EU member state. Also, it is a rather demanding task to determine what "too late" really means. Many scholars argue that Brussels does not actually act upon the fulfilment of the membership criteria, but it rather acts on pure political decision/will. However, what could be argued is the fact that because of Tuđman's "unclever" policy (both domestic and foreign), Croatia did not become a Europeanized parliamentary democracy. As stated by Grubiša, "Croatia is the only country among all the countries in transition where process of retrospective Europeanization lasted too

16 Ivo Sanader also firmly emphasized the importance of an individual approach and not a regional one, when it comes to Croatia's accession to the EU (see Sanader, 1999).

long" (Grubiša, 2012:31). One could immediately employ the "war argument", which is fully legitimate and quite correct. "Croatia is the only post-communist country in which the process of democratic transition coincided with the process of creating a state by means of war" (Kasapović, 1996:84). In other words, "the fact that it (Croatia, A/N) went through a serious conflict has made its democratization and Europeanization much more difficult" (Jović, 2011:37). However, "Croatia is also the only one among all the countries in transition that has rejected professional help offered by the European Community in designing its legislation" (Grubiša, 2012:32). Banac states how Croatia "was facing the post-war blues", both on the international level, by isolation, and the domestic level, because Croatian "economy was nearly shuttered by deindustrialization, which was not caused by war but by Tuđman's policies" (Banac, 2009:468). One clear example of his harmful behaviour for the national interests was refusing CEFTA membership for Croatia, because of his paranoid fear of a new Yugoslavia and a "regional approach". In 1995 the Croatian Institute for International Relations published a Strategy – the effects of joining CEFTA on the Croatian economy – which presented a conclusion that Croatia should be involved in the "international European space of free trade, because every delay opens up new negative effects" (Vuković, Vižjak 2001:120). Therefore, some "un-clever" aspects of Tuđman's domestic and foreign policy contributed to the slow Europeanization and to the "de-Europeanization".¹⁷ Tuđman was constantly arguing and proving Croatia's historical position in Europe, its "return to Europe", its Middle-European heritage far away from the Balkans. However, it was his "policy that ultimately distanced Croatia from Europe and placed it firmly back in the 'Balkans', in a political sense", which was harmful for Croatian national interest(s) (Jović, 2006:93). Attempt to build internally and present externally Croatia as a Europeanized parliamentary democracy has failed. Nobilo states how lesser diplomatic mistakes were made before the Homeland war, however "Croatia did not use its winner status, because after 1995, there was a decline of its international reputation and those years were lost" (Camo.ch, Lopandic). Violation of human and minority rights, freedom of the press and unfair elections happening in the domestic political arena were not directly foreign policy's fault. However, all those events had a large impact on the demolition of Croatia's image in the international political surroundings. Due to the fact that they fall primarily under the domestic policy domain, those cases will not be evaluated. Foreign policy (also) played a great role in "Croatia's fall from grace, from the euphoric declarations of returning to Europe in the early 1990s to the lamentations by the late 1990s of being relegated to the status of a small, marginal, autocratic state" (Razsa, Lindstrom, 2004:637). Following paragraphs will present four points, evalua-

17 The term Balkanization is intentionally not used as opposed to Europeanization, because it includes another dimension of research and argumentation, which is not the subject of this article (see more in Razsa, Lindstrom, 2004).

ting the role of foreign policy in Croatia's alienation from becoming a "Europeanized parliamentary democracy".

1. *Respecting Sovereignty – "Once upon a time in the East"*

"I said: Either this kind of Bosnia that will also ensure the interests of Croatian peoples or – division! I also said: one part to Serbia, one part to Croatia, and there can remain a small Muslim state in the middle – that historical small country of Bosnia that would not have the possibility to have ambitions to create some kind of a great Islamic state in Europe" (*Novi list*, 2005). As shown in this Tuđman's statement from September 17, 1991, the biggest black stains on Croatian foreign policy are related to Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁸ The "division of Bosnia"¹⁹, "aggression on Bosnia"²⁰ and Dayton agreement²¹ were probably the most harmful for Croatia (Croatian national interests). Bosnia is a "focal point" where foreign policy played a great role in the alienation of Croatia from its normative interest. Ivo Banac states how "Tuđman was really responsible for the division of Bosnia. He was always pledging for what was a nonsense that harmed all peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia as well" (*24 sata*, 2011). Vučkadinović states how "Croatia was the only country that has rejected the membership" in the Council of Europe mainly because of the "behaviour regarding the Bosnia and

18 Even though it could be challenged, I consider the policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina to be a foreign policy, because Bosnia was a sovereign state from October 1990.

19 Detailed transcripts that witness Franjo Tuđman's division of Bosnia are published in 2005; two volumes in more than 1000 pages. The original title of the book, "Stenogrami Franje Tuđmana o podjeli Bosne i Hercegovine", published by Feral Tribune (Split, Croatia) and Dani (Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

20 Along with the "division of Bosnia" comes a thesis on the Croatian "aggression on Bosnia". In 2011, the Hague prosecution stated that there was in fact "a joint criminal enterprise" led by Franjo Tuđman, whose goal was "to create an ethnically clean Greater Croatia with the persecution of Bosniaks and non-Croatian citizens from those parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina that were supposed to unite with Croatia". A recent verdict (May 2013) found all the six accused political/military officials from Herzegovina guilty and stated that Franjo Tuđman participated in this "joint criminal enterprise".

21 If observed through the "normative lens", peace would be the highest value, so therefore the Dayton Agreement will not be disputed as harmful for national interest(s). However, according to some FP creators, we could dare to argue that for a large majority of Croats, in Croatia and Bosnia, Dayton was highly unjust and harmful for the Croatian national interests. Mate Granić claims pressure on Tuđman was so high the he could not avoid such a solution. "The most important thing was that the war was over and peaceful integration of Podunavlje was ensured" (Granić, 2005:134). However, political and public discourse often emphasizes how "the aggressor was rewarded with 49 per cent of Bosnian territory" (Slavko Perović, Ivan Supek etc.). The Dayton compromise stopped the war, but also made Milošević look like a more skilful negotiator than Tuđman. Zdravko Tomac states that immediately after Dayton was signed he criticized it in the media claiming it was "harmful for Croatian interests". "While the church bells on St. Mark's church rang and Mate Granić spoke in Parliament about Bosanska Posavina, people shouted from the streets: "Betrayal! Betrayal!" (Tomac, 2012:323).

Herzegovina problem” (Vukadinović, 1996:160). Or to put it differently, “Tuđman’s stance on the Bosnian question caused Croatia to be frequently rebuked by the international society. At best, Tuđman was clumsy in his dealings with the Bosnian question” (Bellamy, 2003:72). In his memoirs, Nobile plainly stated his disagreements and criticism towards Tuđman’s politics in Bosnia. Nobile wrote how Tuđman openly presented the issues such as the “division of Bosnia”, “just borders” etc. to some of the highest European officials. In 1991, at a meeting with the special French delegate Jacques Bolt Tuđman said: “Crisis cannot be solved without the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Nobile, 2000:538). Granić does not exculpate Tuđman, but rather distributes the guilt. He states how it would be highly unjust to blame only Tuđman for the division of Bosnia because the international community played a great role in this policy. “Until the Washington Agreement was signed, the country was divided by everyone” (Granić, 2005:82). Balancing on the edge of international sanctions was a direct consequence of Tuđman’s policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even though the formal sanctions were avoided, informal ones were present. “As soon as it became obvious that Tuđman’s regime got into open games with Milošević on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a ‘Russian winter’ followed for Croats and Croatia in the European and the German media. A lot of time will need to pass for a picture of ‘another Croatia’ to be established in the consciousness of a regular western reader or viewer” (Lasić, 2011:51). Dušan Bilandžić²² claims that Tuđman told him, “Once we divide Bosnia, Sloba and I will be allies” (*Nacional*, 2012). Furthermore, Milan Kučan²³ stated that, primarily, “it was a war against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Later on it gained certain characteristics of an ethnical conflict, but in fact it was a war against Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on an unrealised agreement between Milošević and Tuđman on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Seebiz.eu, 2012). Even though Hrvoje Šarinić – Tuđman’s main negotiator with Milošević – did not explicitly write anything about the division of Bosnia, his testimony on that matter in The Hague was interesting because “in the name of national interests” he could not testify on that subject (*Nacional*, 2004).²⁴ The testimony of Paddy Ashdown at the Hague Tribunal was well remembered among the Croatian public. Ashdown was astonished by how indiscreet Tuđman was when dividing Bosnia “on the back of the menu”. He claims Tuđman drew the map and said that Bosnia will be “carved up between Serbia and Croatia and would simply disappear” (Youtube, 2010).

22 Dušan Bilandžić (Maljkovo, 1924) is a Croatian historian, politician and a member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who was Tuđman’s representative in Belgrade after 1991.

23 Milan Kučan (Križevci, 1941) was the first president of the Republic of Slovenia (1991-2002).

24 It is interesting to observe what Šarinić states about Tuđman’s position towards Bosnia: “Tuđman did not believe in the integrity of Bosnia. As a historian, he believed Bosnia is a historical absurd. However, as a realistic politician, he changed his position, adopted it to reality, recognized Bosnia and sent an ambassador to Sarajevo” (Šarinić, 1999: 85).

The Hague's prosecutor Kenneth Scott, who supported the thesis of "rewriting Bosnia and Herzegovina", underpinned these claims. He used many testimonies by "Croatian, Bosnian and foreign representatives and transcripts from the President's Office. Witnesses showed that Tuđman was obsessed with the idea of the renewal of Banovina".²⁵ In his memoirs Tomislav Jakić states that he will never forget Tuđman's comment on the silhouette of Croatia's map: "Look at the shape of this plumelet! Isn't it obvious that something is missing?" (Jakić, 2010:224).

With no attempt to revile the "historical truth" on the "division of Bosnia" after what has been stated, Tuđman's policy towards Bosnia was neither clever nor successful and harmed Croatian national interests. The epilogue to this chapter and the introduction to the next are presented in the explanation of the recent ICTY ruling, in the case of six wartime Bosnian-Croatian leaders, which states that Franjo Tuđman "participated in the joint criminal enterprise and took part in the decision of changing the ethnic make-up of Herzeg-Bosnia".

2. Peace – "Dr Tuđman or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the War"

In this chapter, I will not elaborate whether the war could have been avoided and will not enter a debate with the thesis of Josip Boljkovac²⁶ that "Croatia deliberately caused the war" because it would require new, extensive research (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 2009). However, through the evaluation of "maintaining peace" as one of the highest values that was and still is fundamental for founding and preserving the EU, I will observe how "peace" was sometimes unfortunately only a declarative priority of Croatian (foreign) policy. Although Rudolf, in his memoirs *War we didn't want* elaborates in detail how Croatian politicians were formally and informally against the war, Croatia was not always leading a "just" and "defensive" war in which it was "impossible to commit war crimes" (Tportal.hr, 2011).²⁷ Tomislav Jakić, for example, states that "Živorad Kovačević wrote how the Americans were warning the leaders of Croatia and Slovenia not to go the way they intended, because there would be war, however, the answer was: *We don't care!*" (Jakić, 2010:125). Furthermore, on the readiness to use all the "means of war", Kasapović wrote: "Even though Croatia led a defensive war, the ruling party did not hesitate to use war in politics. War actions were sometimes used as a dynami-

25 "Scott underpinned this by quoting statements of the former Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolić, the former American Ambassador in Croatia Peter Galbraith and also the book of the former Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granić" (see HRsvijet.net, 2011).

26 Josip Boljkovac (Vukova Gorica, 1920) was the first Minister of Internal Affairs in the Government of Croatia.

27 Statement was given by Milan Vuković (Krilo-Jesenice, 1933) who was president of the Supreme Court of Croatia (1992-1995 and 1997-1999) and Constitutional Court judge (1991-1992, 1995-1997, 1999-2007).

zing factor for the inner political life of the country” (Kasapović, 1996:86). Richard Hoolbrooke stated how he and Peter Galbraith told Tuđman that there was “no excuse for the brutal treatment of Serbs that followed most Croatian military successes... I told Tuđman that the current Croatian behaviour might be viewed as a milder form of ethnic cleansing. Tuđman reacted strongly but did not quite deny it; if our information was correct, he said, he would put an immediate stop to it” (Holbrooke, 1998:166). However, ten months after this meeting, on July 22, 1996, *Feral Tribune* reported that “942 elderly citizens of Serbian nationality who stayed in their homes in the Krajina region were killed since September 1995, i.e. since all military actions in Krajina were stopped” (Uzelac, 1997). Lalović wrote how Croatian policy was “permanently looming danger of war, in the sense of the constant ideological production of enemies (both external and internal), inciting the nationally aware masses to a holy war as the ultimate confrontation with Evil” (Lalović, 2000:49). Great consequences of the “enemy production” policy were best visible on the economic front.

3. *Free & Fair Trade – “Back to the Past”*

Foreign policy has helped domestic “nationalistic capitalism” to drag Croatia further from becoming a functional market economy based on free and fair trade. Tuđman and HDZ were the creators of “nationalist capitalism” whose characteristics Blanuša describes as “frequent use of inner and outer enemies, nationalism and tolerance of neo-Ustašism, arbitrary and autocratic rule of the President, as well as the creation of parallel public authorities, the tycoonization of the economy, clientelism, the abuse of the secret services, the attempt to control the media and the long-lasting isolationism in the international politics” (Blanuša, 2011:55). Economical isolationism was present throughout the early 1990s when Croatia “aborted economic cooperation with certain economies that seemed to us unworthy of trade” (Jakovina, 2010:87). Even though the evaluation of criminal “conversion and privatization”, “200 rich families plan”, “the tycoonization of the economy” etc. will not be elaborated because they are primarily in the domain of domestic policy, as previously shown in the example of the refusal to join the CEFTA, foreign policy was (as well as domestic) unsuccessful in bringing Croatia closer to its normative interest. This was mostly the regional approach’s fault.

Any expert on the European methods of action will immediately object that the regional co-operation is *conditio sine qua non* for cooperation with Europe, but after this war, in these communities, all regional connections have a completely different significance. In any suggestions aimed at regional co-operation, connection or grouping, Croatian foreign policy reads primarily a danger of eventual reconstruction of a new Yugoslavia, or a group resembling it. Even quite harmless, very theoretical ideas on a certain *Euroslavia*, or a *Federation of Adriatic States*, have been received extremely negatively in Croatia. This

is aimed at making clear that after recently obtained independence, and one paid for dearly, there is no external force that could make Croatian policy accept any new ties, even if evident economic benefits were apparent (Vukadinović, 1996:162).

Paranoid fear of the renewal of Yugoslavia led Croatia “back into the Balkans” and stopped it from achieving certain economic benefits. “It was nearly impossible to turn on the television or radio, or to open a newspaper in Croatia in 1997 without learning about the danger of a world conspiracy aimed at forcing Croatia *back into the Balkans*” (Razsa, Lindstrom, 2004:18). Tuđman was, especially after 1995, convinced that “Europe tries in all areas to include Croatia in an ex-Yugoslav, Balkan, south-eastern European regional space” (Tuđman, 2009:166). The most common example of such “fear” is the famous speech from the beginning of this article, popularly known as “Black, Yellow and Green Devils”, where he accused some internal enemies of the Croatian state who compromised Croatian independence and sold themselves to foreign (Jewish) capital – “Judas’ thirty pieces of silver”. In 1997, fear culminated and got its legal shape. It entered the Croatian Constitution in the form of Article 135, which states that “it is prohibited to initiate any process of association of the Republic of Croatia with other states, if such an association led or could lead to the restoration of Yugoslav state community or any new Balkan state union in any form”.²⁸ Therefore, Tuđman’s policy (domestic and foreign) did not use “internal and external circumstances for greater integration in the international community and economic development” (Turek, 2001:186). Although Croatia became a member of the UN and eventually a member of the Council of Europe, Tuđman did not use those memberships for brining Croatia closer to becoming a functional free market economy. He rather “observed the UN membership more as a status symbol, a final confirmation of sovereignty and less as a mechanism of integrating Croatia in modern global currents” (Nobilo, 2000:267). Significantly, most of the crucial foreign policy goals in the economic and political integration were achieved (immediately) after Tuđman died.²⁹

4. The Rule of Law – “The (Un)usual Suspects”

The issues related to the rule of law and Croatia’s alienation from it through the catastrophic judicial reform, Tuđman’s breach of the Croatian Constitution etc. will not be

28 Translation by Dejan Jović, original text of the Article 135: “Zabranjuje se pokretanje postupka udruživanja RH u saveze s drugim državama, u kojem bi udruživanje dovelo, ili moglo dovesti do obnavljanja jugoslavenskog državnog zajedništva, odnosno nekog balkanskog državnog saveza u bilo kojem obliku”.

29 Croatia became a member of WTO and the Partnership for Peace in 2000. Negotiations for the *Agreement on Stabilization and Accession* opened in November 2000 at the Zagreb summit. At the end of 2002, the agreement for accession in CEFTA was signed.

elaborated because they (mainly) fall under the domestic policy domain. However, the rule of law was successfully obstructed on a foreign policy level on the example of (non) cooperation with the Hague Tribunal. Although on November 5, 1991 the Croatian Government initiated the formation of such a court, after realizing it was possible that some (high) Croatian officials could end up there, the obstruction started. In the words of Carla Del Ponte, “Instead of trying to reveal crimes and extradite offenders to the Court, as they have promised, three years before my arrival (1996, A/N), Tuđman and other Croatian officials initiated and organized a secret obstruction of the (Hague) Tribunal’s work” (Del Ponte, Sudetic, 2008:241). Nobile also openly spoke about such obstruction, claiming that the crucial issue in the Zagreb-Hague cooperation was the fact that Zagreb “didn’t want to enable insight into the documents that incriminate all persons who committed crimes, regardless of their origin, justifying such behaviour for safety reasons” (Nobile, 2000:384). To conclude, in 1999 Tuđman said: “Not one Croatian general should go to the Hague, not as a witness, nor as a defendant” (*Novi list*, 2005).

Behind the Policy – Tuđman’s Thought

To sum up the arguments, the final chapter will focus on Franjo Tuđman’s thought and perception in order to offer a better understanding of his (un)successful policy – making that arises from his primarily nationalistic discourse. This chapter aims to reveal Tuđman’s position towards the EU and Croatia’s position in relation to the EU (and small peoples within multinational entities in general) on the one hand and one of the reasons why Croatia did not become a functional democracy on the other. “One of the main goals of Croatian foreign policy is the inclusion in the European integrations and the middle European civilizational and economic space”. On several occasions throughout the period of his rule, Tuđman emphasized that some of the main goals of Croatian foreign policy were the Europeanization and membership in the EU and NATO “as soon as possible”.³⁰ For Tuđman, “Croats are – following their historical traditions consistently – among the most sincere advocates of the peaceful European integration of sovereign peoples” (Tuđman, 2009:195-202).³¹ However, regardless of these claims, Tuđman was often being described as a “Eurosceptic”, “anti-European nationalist”, “hostile towards Europe”, “Europhobic”, “suspicious towards liberal European ideas”. Apparently, Tuđman, as a historian, did not put much hope in this “Project”, but was more

30 Jović, on the other hand, states that the Croatian accession to the EU or the harmonization of policies with the EU was not a priority of the Croatian policy, until Tuđman’s death (see Jović, 2011:12).

31 These quotations are taken from two of Tuđman’s speeches: from April 21, 1997 in the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest (title: Croatian People Have Always Strived to Accomplish their Own Independent and Sovereign State) and from October 11, 1997 in the Council of Europe, Strasbourg (title: Croatia Has Always Been a Middle-European Country).

of a political “realist” who believed that national states are and will be the key players in the international arena (see Jović, 2011, Rudolf, 1999, Nobile, 2000). His views were easily underpinned with the EU “being too passive in preventing the worst consequences of the war, being morally deficient and completely insensitive to the suffering of other Europeans or for remaining interested for too long in preserving the *status quo*, i.e. Yugoslavia” (Jović, 2011:39). However, his political behaviour and thoughts about the EU were modified according to the political circumstances, so accusing him of being Europhobic and hostile towards the EU and its very idea would be one-sided and unfair. In 1968, Tuđman wrote that the only path Europe can take is to “neutralize and self-organize by uniting in the *Union of European States* in order to become an independent factor in world’s relations. This is a historical task of the whole world and the old Europe” (Tuđman, 2009:41). Furthermore, there was one permanent, unchangeable “leading thought” that remained present throughout his ruling days – returning Croatia to its natural home, away from the Balkans, especially from Serbia. He was a strong advocate of the Croatian return “from the dark of one-party totalitarianism to the middle European and European civilization circle”; as opposed to the east European, orthodox civilization circle (Tuđman, 2009:114).³² Croatia, with its “history, culture, geographic position, economy and mentality” has always belonged to this circle and a renewal of Croatian statehood needs to be based “on the principals of market economy, human rights, multi-party democracy, social partnership and European communion” (ibid. 115). For Tuđman, it is “inappropriate to say that Croatia needs to be brought closer to Europe”, because it is already part of the western European civilization and Croatia has contributed significantly to its development and defence (ibid. 201).³³ Integration is possible only and exclusively “with the countries from Western and Central Europe”, because this is where Croatia belongs “by nature of its civilization and culture” (ibid. 202).³⁴ This is the key to the understanding of his thought, strongly influenced by Samuel Huntington, about the Croatian position within Europe and multinational and supranational entities. Tuđman thought that any form of political-cultural association of nationally shaped subjects that come from different civilizations eventually contributes to destabilization. He did not believe globalization and integration would bring the world to the “failure of the classical nation-state” (Castels, 2003:334). On the contrary, he thought it lead to a more “nationalized individualization” (Tuđman, 2009:221). His ideas were close to those which implying that “multi-national entities can, on the one hand, be a great support to a more globalized, closer world that can weaken nation-states, but on the other, it can stimulate – in a new way – ethnical and

32 October 20, 1990, a letter to the participants of the “Ost-West Symposium” in Vienna

33 25th November 1990, a thank you note for the honorary doctorate in the campus Lugano, Switzerland.

34 11th October 1997 in the Council of Europe, Strasbourg (title: Croatia has always been a Middle-European country).

cultural groups to demand their own local and regional autonomy” (Held, 1995:152). Tuđman was deeply concerned about the interests, fate and position of small peoples. He believed that the Croatian people have always strived towards an independent and sovereign state. “Croatian national being had a consciousness about its national uniqueness and about the permanent values of its political and cultural heritage – from medieval rulers to its ingenious giants that contributed greatly to the European and global civilization”. That consciousness was not changed even by the “great”, “supranational ideas of Pan-Slavism, Austro-Slavism, Yugoslavism, liberalism, pacifism, socialism or communism (Tuđman, 2009:191).³⁵ For Tuđman, any form of democratic universalisms is a “utopian illusion”, because those “greatest ideas” are hidden in the imperialistic, hegemonic theory. According to this interpretation, historical experiences showed that all great ideas, such as “socialist internationalism or universal integralism, the so called free democracy” are always used as an instrument of the ruling peoples against subordinated and small peoples (Tuđman, 1996:50). He believed that history showed how small peoples in Europe were often denationalized and assimilated, because their national identity was constantly jeopardized by the “universal or quasi supranational monarchies and the imperialism of great peoples”. Those great peoples used contemporary ideas such as “catholic universalism, enlightenment cosmopolitanism, civil democratic civilization to Nazi-Fascism and socialism to achieve domination over small peoples” (Tuđman, 1996:9).

There are forces which, in the name of ‘great ideas’ such as international order, internationalism and peace, serve the imperialistic hegemony of the great states and deny the right of all peoples to self-determination and freedom. Only pluralism provides assumptions for survival and coexistence in the nuclear age. From that cognition arises the conclusion of the necessity of recognition and national sovereignty to all non-independent and therefore dissatisfied peoples, as an assumption for harmonious social development of each nation and for voluntary integration in the spirit of the needs in contemporary European and global community (Tuđman, 1996:266-267).

For Tuđman, associations and integrations in a larger, supranational union can be done only by free and equal-righted peoples that belong to the same civilization. Therefore, he was not *a priori* against European project, multinational entities or a Croatian membership in the EU, but was, in his own opinion, “critical towards Europe”, because “he didn’t want Croatia to kneel before such a Europe”. “In all types of integration it is necessary to preserve the interests of the nation-state and subjectivity” (Tuđman, 2009:170).³⁶

35 April 21st 1997 in the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest (title: Croatian people have always strived to accomplish its own independent and sovereign state).

36 May 26, 1996, Zagreb, the closing words at the Second Assembly of the Presidential Council (title: *We Must Lead a Policy with Which We Will Not Put Croatian Sovereignty to Risk*).

Beside these proclaimed goals of Europeanization and the inclusion of Croatia within the EU, he emphasised that the “internal democratic transition” is crucial for further development. In order to understand Tuđman’s inability to really turn Croatia into a Europeanized parliamentary democracy, as he wished and proclaimed, it is necessary to further analyse his thought. One of the main problems is his understanding of democracy and democratic transition. In October 1990, he believed that Croatia and Slovenia are “real democratic states” (Tuđman, 2009:112). Much the same, he believed that Croatia already is, by its historical contribution, a Western European country and does not need to be closer to Europe when it is already deeply there. Only by the fact that Croatia had its first multi-party elections and it formally adopted a democratic Constitution, for Tuđman, it became a democracy. Transition from a totalitarian, one-party system to a democratic multi-party system was enough to achieve Croatian national statehood fundamentally. In his speech in the Croatian Parliament, from May 30, 1990, Tuđman clearly stated the difference between a parliamentary democracy (which Croatia “now” became) and a one-party system, which belongs to the past. Tuđman was often irritated by the “inappropriate” thesis about the immaturity of Croatian democracy posed by some EU officials.³⁷ One can conclude that for Tuđman Croatia, while in Yugoslavia, (of course) was not a democracy, but before it became part of Yugoslavia, it was. Tuđman found the “maturity” of Croatian democracy in famous historical figures and the fact that Croatian philosophers, poets, artists and scientists were famous and influential “from Budapest through Florence to Paris” on the one hand and in Croatian “defence of Europe from the Ottoman overrun” on the other (Tuđman, 2009:166).³⁸ He strongly believed that some international factors kept repeating irrational requests for the “improvement of democratic freedoms and freedom of the press in Croatia for no reason at all”, even though he, for example, invalidated the results of the 1995 elections in Zagreb, because he did not like the outcome or tried to ban the radio that criticized him (Tuđman, 2009:211).³⁹ In the words of Ivica Račan during the “Zagreb crisis”: “It is easy to be a democrat when you win, you should be

37 Tuđman was especially annoyed by the regular European criticism of the insufficient minority rights in Croatia. “Ignorance of the real historical circumstances is present in the non-diplomatic behaviour of some European representatives when they lecture us about democracy and relations towards minorities. For example, from countries such as Sweden and Denmark, who forget how they dealt with their mutual issues before they went through the process of Scandinavization. Or in some other European countries that teach us lessons on how to treat minorities they forget that democratic France did not even recognize the existence of minorities. They recommend us to take back all the Serbs that escaped from Croatia, and they could not solve such problems between Czech Republic and Germany” (Tuđman, 2009:184).

38 May 25 and 26, 1996, Zagreb, introduction to the Second Assembly of the Presidential Council (title: *International Factors Were against Establishing the Independent Croatia*).

39 January 20, 1999, Croatian Parliament, Zagreb, Report of the President of the Republic of Croatia on the condition of the Croatian state and nation in 1998

one when you lose” (*Aimpress*, 1995).⁴⁰ Therefore, his concept of democracy and what a democratic state should represent was focused on pure form – adopting a democratic Constitution – and the historical contribution of Croatian rulers, scientists, artists, soldiers etc., without evaluating or considering the substance of democracy. That is one of the reasons why Tuđman could not contribute to bringing Croatia closer to becoming a functional democratic state.

Conclusion

Croatian foreign policy was, according to the majority of its creators and scholars, very successful. Main foreign policy goals during Tuđman’s era, such as international recognition and territorial integration, were successfully achieved. Furthermore, Croatia became a full member of the UN and the Council of Europe. Franjo Tuđman – the main foreign policy creator – was, and still is, invoked as the supreme defender of Croatian national interests. However, such success had limited scope. Its successfulness was evaluated through normative framework, which states that Croatian national interest is to become a functional Europeanized parliamentary democracy. Through four main points the article shows how Croatian foreign policy contributed to the domestic policy in alienating Croatia away from becoming a functional and Europeanized democracy. The first point is related to the intrusion of Croatian foreign policy in the sovereignty of another state, especially analysing Tuđman’s behaviour in the Bosnian issue. The second point evaluates foreign policy’s contribution to the “war behaviour” instead of accepting peace as a fundamental and founding principle of the EU. The third point evaluates the harmful manners that prevented Croatia from becoming a functional market economy based on free and fair trade. The last point shows how foreign policy was involved in the obstruction of the rule of law by not cooperating with the Hague Tribunal. Therefore, foreign policy played a significant role in the failed transformation of Croatia in the process of becoming a functional and Europeanized parliamentary democracy. The unsuccessful (foreign) policy by Franjo Tuđman led him from a “defender” to a “despot” of Croatian national interest(s). One of the reasons why Franjo Tuđman failed to bring Croatia closer to its goal lies in his overall thought and perception of democracy. For Tuđman, the acceptance of the democratic constitution was enough for Croatia to become a democratic state. Unfortunately, the heritage of Tuđman’s thought and political behaviour has not vanished from Croatian politics.

40 Ivica Račan (Ebersbach, 1944 – Zagreb, 2007) was a Croatian politician, the president of SDP from 1989 to 2007 (former League of Communists of Croatia that rebranded itself in 1990 into the Party of Democratic Reform and in 1993 became the Social Democratic Party) and Croatian Prime Minister from 2000 to 2003. He gave this statement at a TV show that was shot at the Kerempuh Theatre when he spoke about the elections in Zagreb, strongly applauded by the audience.

In the year when Croatia became a member state of the EU, several media outlets already made the direct comparison between Franjo Tuđman and the current Croatian Prime Minister Zoran Milanović and their (political) behaviour.⁴¹ On the other hand, the successor of Tuđman's thought (regarding democracy, Croatian membership in the EU etc.) is Tomislav Karamarko. This main invocator of *Tuđmanization* in today's Croatia, noticed that "it is absurd" how on the day of celebrating Croatian accession to the EU "nobody mentioned Tuđman". "Tuđman was dreaming about Europe, while heads and hearts of many others were in Belgrade" (*Večernji list*, 2013). At the 24th anniversary of the Programmatic Principles of HDZ, Karamarko emphasized that in Franjo Tuđman's time some new historical values occurred. "Croatian Berlin wall was demolished and Croatia became a country of parliamentary democracy" (HDZusa.com, 2013). Furthermore, according to Karamarko, "not only did the greatest Croat of the 20th century create the Croatian state but he also demolished the Croatian Berlin wall – by inducting democracy – a transition from a totalitarian system to a democracy" (Dnevnik.hr, 2013). These examples show how Tuđman's pure formalistic approach towards democracy and the heritage of his political behaviour are still present. Regardless of the Croatian membership in the EU, the undemocratic substance of Croatian "democracy" remained. Even though progress towards a Europeanized functional democracy has been made, Croatia is still far away from it, and Tuđman's rule has contributed significantly to this delay.

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41 In some media titles like: "Incompetent Milanović is behaving like Tuđman during the Zagreb crisis, Croatia will become isolated again" (see Index.hr, 2013) and "Will Milanović be like Tuđman?" (see *Novi list*, 2013) occurred. Furthermore, Milanović's former coalition partner Ivan Jakovčić accused him of behaving towards Istria like Franjo Tuđman behaved during the 1990s (see *Hrvatska riječ*, 2012).

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Evaluacija Tuđmanove vanjske politike (Ne)uspješna zaštita nacionalnog interesa; od branitelja do despota

Sažetak

Većina tvoraca hrvatske vanjske politike te neki znanstvenici procjenjuju hrvatsku vanjsku politiku kao vrlo uspješnu, pogotovo u odnosu na domaću politiku. Prvi hrvatski predsjednik, Franjo Tuđman – glavni tvorac hrvatske vanjske politike tijekom razdoblja od 1991. do 2000. godine – često se percipira kao vrhovni branitelj hrvatskih nacionalnih interesa. Članak preispituje takve teze definiranjem normativnog okvira, koji se temelji na postavci da je hrvatski nacionalni interes (bio) postati funkcionalna, europeizirana parlamentarna demokracija koja se temelji na vrijednostima, normama i načelima formuliranim pravnom stečevinom Europske Unije. Kroz takav pojednostavljeni normativizam članak evaluira četiri glavne točke: “poštivanje suvereniteta”, “mir”, “tržišnu ekonomiju” i “vladavinu prava”, čime su hrvatska vanjska politika i Franjo Tuđman uvelike pridonijeli otuđenju Hrvatske od njezina bitnog nacionalnog interesa. Završni dio rada analizira Tuđmanovu misao koja se uglavnom usredotočuje na poziciju malih naroda unutar multinacionalnih entiteta, demokraciju, Hrvatsku i EU itd. Jedan od glavnih razloga propale demokratske tranzicije leži u Tuđmanovoj percepciji da je Hrvatska postala demokratska država samo formalnim usvajanjem demokratskog ustava.

Ključne riječi: Franjo Tuđman, nacionalni interesi, hrvatska vanjska politika, europeizacija, (de)tuđmanizacija

Conflict In Macedonia: A Challenge For New Reform Policy

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Abstract: Despite the fact that it has been almost twelve years since the escalation of conflict in Macedonia, the conflict is still a subject of serious theoretical analysis and remains particularly popular in the internal policy circles, especially in creating the new reform policy in the Republic of Macedonia. Actually, from the Macedonian example of relatively successful prevention sprang out a general lesson for both international and domestic actors. That is to say that conflict prevention cannot be illustrated as a formula that men-
ds problems on the surface, but in fact it leaves open deep political (ethno-political mobilization, corruption, crime), economic (independence, unemployment, lack of investments, illegal trade), social (poverty, low standard) and security (illegal possession and trafficking in arms, illegal trafficking in people) reasons for conflict. The intersection of conditions in Macedonia before and after the conflict in 2001 is an obvious example of that. Therefore the elaboration of contents in this paper develops in three directions: firstly, there is an attempt for rational analysis of socio-economic, political and ethnic premises in Macedonian society, so as to indicate its immanent but important potential which led to armed violence between Albanian and Macedonian communities. The second line of analysis refers to the challenges and efforts of the Macedonian state for resolving the crisis, while the third line of analysis refers to political reforms as crucial for peace building, a stable and secure Macedonia.

Key words: conflict, reforms, policy.

1. Introduction

Conflict prevention supports numerous strategic political actions and new reform policies, which should contribute to the hindering of the re-emergence of violent conflict. Apart from the diplomatic and military approach to prevention, developing work can also be oriented toward stressing the roots of a conflict in a way that the state prone

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to conflicts will be capable of evading the re-emergence of violent conflict. Therefore, in the context of the majority of analyses regarding the conflict of 2001, a justifiable question is raised in Macedonia today: whether the new reform policy, emerging from the Ohrid Framework Agreement, will contribute to evading the re-emergence of the conflict. Thus, conflict prevention cannot be presented as a formula that will mend the problems on the surface, essentially leaving open deep political (ethno-political mobilization, corruption, crime), economic (independence, unemployment, lack of investments, illegal trade), social (poverty, low standard) and security (illegal possession and trafficking in arms, illegal trafficking in people) reasons for conflict.

The intersection of events in Macedonia before and after the conflict is an obvious example of that, because the Macedonian conflict ended with a political solution and full implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, representing political capital with special political and legal influence, which opens up new horizons for a new reform policy.

2. Socio-economic, political and ethnic premises in post-independence Macedonian society

In socio-economic terms, the Republic of Macedonia did not see an increase of its gross domestic product (GDP), which highlighted that the system based on socialized property was not able to generate positive economic effects any longer. The changes that occurred once the transition had been launched also initiated other negative tendencies, such as demographic trends, and enhanced social differences among Macedonian citizens. These elements increased the level of social and economic insecurity.

At the same time, it was expected that democratic institutions, market economy and the introduction of political pluralism would run smoothly and in harmony with the nascent free civil society. In particular, people expected much more rapid economic development. However, at the very outset of the transition, Macedonia encountered foreign political and economic pressures. According to some expert judgments, these pressures – inefficient privatization and economic restructuring – significantly decreased economic performance; which in turn resulted in mass redundancies, a serious decrease of the standard of living and a rapid increase in poverty.¹ Under such conditions, independence only exacerbated the situation. The former Yugoslav economic market was lost at the exact same time when the country faced additional economic problems triggered by the double embargo – one by Greece due to the name problem, and the other imposed by the need to respect the UN resolutions for economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). As a result, socio-economic conditions

1 Macedonia was one of the least developed republics in the former SFRY.

in Macedonia developed in an increasingly negative direction. It should be underlined that the ethnic premises were also specific. Namely, along with the Macedonian population, population of other ethnic backgrounds has been living within the borders of the Republic of Macedonia. As in most countries in the region, such demographic conditions are the result of population displacements, taking place in the past, due to wars, political, and economic reasons. According to the 1948 census data, Macedonians were represented with 789,648 inhabitants, or 68.49 per cent of the total population; in 1953 the percentage of the Macedonian population was 65.98 per cent. In 1961, Macedonians comprised 71.19 per cent of the total population. This increase was primarily a result of the mass emigration of the Turks in the period from 1953 to 1961. According to the 1971 census data, Macedonians comprised 69.35 per cent, in 1981 they comprised 67.01 per cent, and in 1994 the number was 66.6 per cent of the total population; by 2002 they comprised 64.17 per cent (Mileski, 2005:236).

During the same time period, the Albanian population increased continually. According to the data from 1948, they were represented with a total of 197,389 inhabitants, or 17.12 per cent of the total registered population. The 1953 census registered an evident decrease in the Albanian population percentage. This is explained by the fact that Turks, Macedonian Muslims and Roma, who had been recorded as Albanians in 1948, were now registered as Turks due to their interest to emigrate to Turkey. From 1961 to 1981 the percentage of Albanians in the entire population was continually increasing. In 1994 the percentage increased rapidly to 22.6 per cent. In 2002 it reached 25.17 per cent.

Based on these findings, we can conclude that the proportion of the Albanian population in the Republic of Macedonia has been continually increasing relative to ethnic Macedonians partly as a result of higher population growth. Such an increase inevitably leads to changes in the composition of the ethno-territorial map of the Republic of Macedonia; often creating enclaves, which – under certain circumstances – can have a negative impact on the overall security of the state.

The Republic of Macedonia, as an independent and sovereign state in the Balkan Peninsula on the one hand, experienced all the processes, shifts and changes that have occurred in this area, and on the other, obtained sovereignty and statehood at a time of great uncertainty, facing a series of security challenges unique to its context, but also sharing characteristics with the rest of the Balkans. Nevertheless, in terms of specific political, socio-economic and ethnic conditions, Macedonia was long considered an “oasis of peace” in a region plagued by severe inter-ethnic clashes triggered by the dissolution of the FRY.

3. The Genesis Of The Conflict In The Republic Of Macedonia (From Latent To Active Phase)

The surprisingly rapid escalation of violence in the Republic of Macedonia shocked the public, as well as parts of the political establishment. The rhetoric towards marginalized groups was intensifying quickly; initially it was called a “hysterical reaction of the rebels” or “freedom fighters”, “fighters for rights” and an act committed by “terrorists”. At the same time, tensions and incidents in Kosovo and Preševo Valley were chronically threatening and added to the gravity of the situation (Mitrevska, 2009:110). Increasing tensions in the province of Kosovo and South Serbia added to the emerging conflict, and the extremists continued to use the buffer zone for their own protection. Namely, in South Serbia the Liberation Army for Preševo, Medveđa and Bujanovac (LAPMB) was formed. The LAPMB was created in order to encourage mass participation in the so called «uprising», hoping to destabilize parts of South Serbia with the goal to secede to join Kosovo. In the meantime, the Liberation Army (LAPMB) had been formed in South Serbia as a response to provocations by the Yugoslav security forces.

In Kosovo the situation was unfolding in a very different manner. In accordance with the UN Resolution 1244, an international military and civilian presence had been established. Within Kosovo, Yugoslav security forces withdrew, and security in Kosovo was to be provided by international forces, mostly comprised of the NATO troops. Furthermore, the resolution established a civilian administration within Kosovo, “under which the citizens of Kosovo can enjoy essential autonomy within FRY, which can ensure a transitional administration by establishing and executing supervision on the development of the temporary democratic self-government institutions” (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 of June 10, 1999, Annex 2.4, Annex 2.5, Paragraph 10). The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) officially ceased to exist and was transformed into the “Kosovo Protection Corps”.²

With the introduction of an international security and civilian presence in Kosovo the process of returning Albanian refugees from Macedonia, Albania and elsewhere began. Almost simultaneously, Serbs were leaving Kosovo on a massive scale. For example, UNHCR announced that some 164,000 of the approximately 200,000 Serbs in Kosovo had left by the end of June 1999. This was also confirmed by the then head of the UN mission in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner. The international community and the UN failed to understand properly the hardened attitudes of the Kosovo Albanians towards the minority of Serbians left in the region. Kouchner urged the Kosovo Albanians to stop the violence and the killings of Serbs, and warned them that in the eyes of the international community they had turned from victims into oppressors (Ku-

2 The Kosovo Liberation Army officially ceased to exist in September 1999.

zmanovski, 2003:34). One startling example of violence against Serbs took place on February 16, 2001, when a bus explosion killed 11 Serb civilians. These events, i.e. the continuous tensions in South Serbia and Kosovo, had direct implications on the security of the Republic of Macedonia. Violence spilled over the borders and focused on the triangle of Kosovo, South Serbia and Macedonia.

With hostilities increasing within the Republic of Macedonia, the situation and the perception of what was happening was drastically changing. While the ruling political parties insisted that inter-ethnic relations were peaceful, in reality tensions were increasing and spiralling out of control. The Republic of Macedonia saw terrorist attacks directed against state security institutions, for which the so called Special Unit Team of the National Liberation Army (NLA) claimed responsibility. This confirmed the formation of the National Liberation Army of the Albanians within the Republic of Macedonia (Mitrevska, 2009:111).

In the meantime, the government of the Republic of Macedonia looked to address the demand of the ethnic Albanians for an institution of higher education in their (Albanian) mother tongue. As a result, the board of the new College of Teaching in Albanian inaugurated the South East European University in Tetovo.³

Parallel to the evolving situation described above, the "joint Macedonian-Yugoslav commission on demarcation and delineation of the state border", continued talks in Skopje.⁴ The joint commission reached the agreement for demarcating the border between the two states (the Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), signed by the presidents of Macedonia and Yugoslavia on February 22, 2001. On the one hand, this decision was met with approval of the international community, as the closure of this issue was to contribute to improving international relations in the Balkans and the wider region. However, on the other hand, ethnic Albanians from Kosovo and South Serbia were not satisfied. Several days after the decision, dissatisfied Albanians from Kosovo penetrated the border region in Macedonia, entered the village of Tanuševci as well as other villages on the northern border of the Republic of Macedonia (Kodra Fura, Brest and Malino Malo). The militarized action and subsequent occupation of territory was seen as an organized group's violation of the state's territorial integrity.⁵ The days that followed the occupation confirmed that the mobilization of people was not a sporadic incident, but a planned series of aggressive actions. Macedonian security forces reported movements of large numbers of armed people in black uni-

3 The university, at a cost of about 22 million dollars, was to have the following faculties: Law, Pedagogy, Public Administration and Computer Communications.

4 On January 16, 2001.

5 More precisely, the village of Tanuševci was under extremist control from February 16 to March 12, 2001.

forms grouping and regrouping on the Kosovo side of the border. Macedonian security personnel felt the groups were intent on crossing the border and entrenching themselves on Macedonian territory. All this was followed by reinforced political activity as well as numerous armed incidents (Kuzmanovski, 2003:63). The motives behind these developments were disparate and varied. A wide range of explanations were given as reasons for mobilization; either the acts were due to internal destabilization, caused by dissatisfaction with the political system, or to external geo-political motives, or they were a reflection of turf wars among smugglers. However, seen in their entirety, the events of 2001 confirmed that there had been an interest in the destabilization of the state inside the Republic of Macedonia (Mitrevska, 2009:113).

Despite enhanced political activities by the Government and the President of the Republic of Macedonia, the armed incidents did not stop and on March 14, 2001, in Tetovo⁶ the Macedonian security forces came under heavy fire.⁷ The security situation worsened and presented a high potential for further escalation. The conflict did indeed escalate, spreading rapidly to another region (Kumanovo-Lipkovo) in the Republic of Macedonia. The escalation of the conflict led to mass displacement of non-Albanian population in the region. Several analysts concluded that the aim of the armed attacks by the Albanian extremists was to occupy as much territory of the Republic of Macedonia as possible – especially in the areas bordering Kosovo – and to destabilize the region by shifting major population groups. That is to say, the main aim was to realize the dream of a “Greater Albania”, where all Albanians who lived in the Balkans would unite in one common state. This goal was officially announced by the NLA in February 2001 upon the entrance of the armed Albanian groups from Kosovo into the Republic of Macedonia, focused in the village of Tanuševci and other villages bordering Kosovo. During the later phase of the armed conflict, the NLA changed their rhetoric. In another communiqué the NLA stated a completely different goal. Namely, the announcement stated that the aim of their fight was to promote human rights and equality for the Albanians in Macedonia by amending the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. Several questions quickly arose in response to the shift by the NLA. Why did the NLA change its aim? Did the change of their goals mean that the NLA had abandoned the idea of creating “Greater Albania”? Who was responsible for the shift of rhetoric, the international community or the NLA itself? Through the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, a territorial exchange between the Republic of Macedonia and Albania was promoted. The idea entailed an exchange of territories and population in the western part of the Republic of Macedonia with a dominant Albanian population for the areas in Albania where Macedonians prevailed. The territorial exchange would last for

6 Tetovo is mostly inhabited by Albanians.

7 According to the findings of the Ministry of the Interior, the group which had attacked the police forces in Tetovo on that day was around 200 strong, out of which 140 were from Kosovo.

4-5 months, during which time both countries would open passage ways for the transfer of populations. This solution was certainly influenced by the thesis that the Albanians in Macedonia did not want greater equality within the Republic of Macedonia, but instead opted for the secession of territories from the Republic of Macedonia and their annexation to Kosovo or Albania. Such a “quick fix” of the situation was completely at odds with the basic principle of the inviolability of borders, and was not approved by the international community or the Republic of Macedonia (Mileski, 2005:87). The beginning of the second phase of the conflict in the Republic of Macedonia was directly connected to the signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the EU in April 2001. The signing event directly coincided with the second phase of the acts by Albanian nationalist in the Republic of Macedonia, beginning in May of 2001. The conflict was clearly escalating and destabilizing the region. The breadth and the intensity of the conflict were suggesting that the crisis in the country could easily degenerate into a civil war with severe consequences for the state and stability in the region (Ružin, 2006:130). The stability and security of the Republic of Macedonia were in such peril that it seemed impossible to find another solution apart from military conflict, civil war, and self-destruction. This may explain why the political authorities in the Republic of Macedonia and the international community tried to find a political solution for managing the conflict. Thus, one of the advocated solutions was the formation of a new government – the Government of Political Unity.⁸

During the escalation of the conflict, the political elite of the Albanian national block was in close coordination with the political and military management of the NLA. Leaders of the Albanian political parties Arben Xhaferi (DPA), Imer Imeri (PDP), and the political (and military) leader of the NLA, Ali Ahmeti, signed the Prizren Declaration in Prizren, Kosovo.⁹ The declaration meant to be an opportunity for the NLA to be recognized as a legal entity, granting them credibility to negotiate a settlement. This combined effort led to a coordination of demands and attitudes between the political and military wings of the NLA with the Albanian parties (DPA and PDP) in the Republic of Macedonia. With the very act of signing the Prizren Declaration, a symbiosis was created between political and military wings of all the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia (Mitrevska, 2009:116). A broad coalition including the President of the Republic of Macedonia Boris Trajkovski and the international community (NATO, EU, and OSCE) joined the efforts to create the necessary conditions for peace agreement. However, regardless of a united effort towards peace, the armed conflict continued to escalate, leading to more human casualties and increased material costs.

8 On May 13, the new Government elect comprised of VMRO-DPMNE, as the ruling party, and its coalition partners – Liberal party and DPA, as well as SDSM as the opposition party, together with PDP and VMRO.

9 The Prizren Declaration was signed on May 23, 2001 in Prizren, Kosovo.

4. Endeavours Of The Macedonian State To Resolve The Conflict

Through the Macedonian lens, the activities of 2001 put great pressures on the internal workings within the Republic of Macedonia. Armed groups occupying several villages in western Macedonia jeopardized the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state, the life and safety of its citizens, as well as regional stability and security. In order to address each of these issues a unique approach was applied by all political entities within the Republic of Macedonia both in terms of the manner and methods for dealing with the crisis. On May 13, 2001, with the support of the international community, the Government for National Salvation, a broad coalition of parliamentary parties, was formed in Skopje. There was a conviction that the creation of this broad coalition was a highly valued opportunity for dialogue to be accelerated between the differing political parties. The coalition and the dialogues would be a part of the attempt to isolate terrorism, extremism and paramilitary formations. The efforts to prevent violence would be driven from a centralized effort within the institutions of the Macedonian political system. In that sense, it is particularly noteworthy that both Albanian parties joined the newly formed government, especially given the fact that declarations of the NLA stated very clearly that they did not recognize the governmental political parties. After the formation of the broad coalition a coordinating body was established to deal directly with the issues relating to the crisis. Within this body a crisis management centre was set up. The two bodies were tasked to strengthen the coordination among the institutions responsible for maintaining security and defence of the state. Furthermore, the bodies were to coordinate and efficiently secure available resources of the state, as well as to ensure appropriate responses to the security threats against the Republic of Macedonia (Mitrevska, 2009:118). The Coordinating Body was headed by the Vice-President of the Government. Several ministries participated as well (Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, etc.). The Coordinating Body was to organize the efforts to manage the escalating conflict in the Republic of Macedonia. The Crisis Management Working Group located at the Crisis Management Centre, and a subordinate government body were tasked to gather information from all institutions (domestic and foreign) and to exchange it with the international community. The Crisis Management Centre was tasked to gather, process, analyse and forward data and information to the Coordinating Body. The Coordinating Body would use this information to deal with crises, to propose measures and activities for dealing with crisis situation, and to submit information to the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of the Interior and the Intelligence Agency.

It was impossible, however, for this Working Group to manage the crisis entirely as the Crisis Management Centre did not have a legal framework to establish three important needs:

1. the foundations for national security system, which would define cooperation and coordination among all intelligence-security segments in the state;
2. an entity within the crisis management system where the highest ranking elite from the ministries and government agencies would be responsible for defence and security of the state;
3. clear competencies and well-defined executive powers that would hold someone directly responsible to respect and apply its recommendations and solutions.

Furthermore, in order to ensure a quick and efficient resolution to the crises, the Government carried out several other activities:

- providing security forces for the protection of all citizens and the prevention of terrorism and extremism, implementation of appropriate measures when necessary;
- promotion of the political process, encouraging legally elected representatives of the Macedonian Albanians to build the civil society in order to ensure that all civil and human rights be protected.

The Republic of Macedonia anticipated full support from the international community and, at the same time, expected assistance in the realization of these activities. Moreover, within the efforts to achieve a peaceful resolution of the crisis, the Republic of Macedonia prepared and implemented a Disarmament Plan (in 2001) by establishing cease-fire and giving the armed extremists an opportunity to surrender their weapons and reintegrate into the society.

The disarmament plan stipulated several key activities that should have been carried out. Namely:

- complete disarmament and disbandment of the armed extremists;
- elimination of all forms of threats to state sovereignty and territorial integrity and assurance of a complete normalization of the work of state institutions and other legal bodies on the territory affected by the crisis;
- complete personal and property safety of all citizens and free movement and actualization of other civil and human rights and liberties on the entire territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

The parameters for successful termination of the crisis were established through the realization of the following key procedures:

- any solution that implies autonomy whatsoever, or a special status of any part of the Republic of Macedonia or a change of the border was unacceptable;
- the crisis, involving the entry of armed groups from Kosovo, could not be resolved with military-police means alone;
- the solution to the crisis also required political measures and diplomatic activities to isolate and thereby neutralize armed extremists;

- all relevant political parties and institutions in the Republic of Macedonia supported the plan and the program for dealing with the crisis and actively participated in the political process which had been initiated by the President of the Republic of Macedonia;
- KFOR and UNMIK undertook measures against those who supported and managed the terrorist actions against the Republic of Macedonia;
- the Republic of Macedonia called on all countries to undertake all possible measures in order to stop the financial and material support for the armed extremists;
- confidence-building measures were crucial in paving the right path to the future; they were visible at the local level and known to the population in the area; for this purpose a coordinated campaign of public information was undertaken;
- the international monitors played a role in the confidence building process.

In addition to the above measures, the Republic of Macedonia undertook a number of activities. It isolated the armed extremists who operated in the northern and north-western parts of the country by preventing the support from their accomplices within and outside the state. ARM, in cooperation with KFOR, intensified the controls on the border between the Republic of Macedonia and Serbia, in the areas adjacent to Kosovo, as well as on the border with the Republic of Albania. In addition, confidence building measures were developed, which were crucial for the establishment of long-term peace. Infrastructural and social projects were undertaken in the areas affected by armed activities (including repairs of facilities, improvement of public health conditions, water supply, roads etc.). One important measure was the process of disarmament and reintegration of locals. The disarmament process was coupled with unilateral cease-fire, enforced by neutral security forces. The disarmament process would target specific regions and slowly expand to the entire country; beginning in the Kumanovo-Lipkovo region, then to the Tetovo-Šar Planina region, the Debar region, and finally to the rest of the country. The overall process of disarmament would be based on a gradual process carried out in several phases, leading to a comprehensive solution to the conflict (Mitrevska, 2009:122).

Amnesty and reintegration would be offered to the members of the Albanian armed groups who were willing to lay down their weapons. After the disarmament had been completed, state security forces, along with the ethnic Albanian police, assumed normal peacetime law enforcement duties. As security forces returned to duty, they strictly abided by the international humanitarian standards and the common principles of human rights, and were monitored by the OSCE and the EU. The Redeployment of the Security Forces Plan envisaged a return of the police in three phases.

- Phase one: entry into the villages estimated to be the most stable
- Phase two: entry into the villages with disrupted security condition
- Phase three: entry into the villages with more complicated security situation

Each of these phases was carried out with specific dynamics, according to the six sub-phases with planned measures and activities that were envisaged, as follows.

The first sub-phase (information and preparation) included: conducting a campaign with media information; networking with non-governmental organizations; demining of roads; assessment of the status of the village (to determine the phase in which the village would be included) and deciding on the structure of the patrols. The second sub-phase (entry) included: entry to the villages, contact with leaders from the villages and initiating cooperation with the population, beginning of patrol and identification of initial problems. The third sub-phase (patrolling) included: assessment of damages and that of the threat of unexploded mines/explosive devices, coordination with the tasks of non-governmental organizations, continuation of the patrols (to increase the presence of the police patrols in the villages), execution of traffic control (without undertaking full legal measures – using warning and notification), establishing – setting up of contact bureaus (for immediate communication of the citizens with the police) and preparing for the establishment of police stations. The fourth sub-phase (regular police duties) included: investigation and reporting on criminal actions, 24-hour police work and removal of the police checkpoints and their replacement with police patrols from mixed ethnic composition.

The fifth sub-phase (continued police duties) included: the investigation of incidents occurring during the silent hours and the establishment of regional police stations. The sixth sub-phase included: 24-hour police patrols without the presence of monitors from foreign missions.

After carrying out the responsibilities and the measures envisaged in the Redeployment of the Security Forces Plan (police), the Ministry of Interior continued its activities and measures to fully establish the rule of law in the former crisis regions. For that purpose measures were envisaged to maintain the confidence building activities between the police and the locals, along with the commitment for a joint resolution of specific problems. It contributed to help citizens regain confidence in the institutions of the state. The “Work of the Police in the Community” project has also contributed to this purpose through the establishment of counselling groups for the citizens, in which the police members had active participation. Furthermore, in order to provide a 24-hour police presence, there was a need to reconstruct a significant portion of the police facilities destroyed during military actions in the crisis region. The damaged facilities of the police stations were reconstructed and the working conditions of the police in those regions have greatly improved.

In addition, the Government undertook activities to care for displaced persons; some were placed in host families, and others were accommodated in collective centres in Kumanovo and Skopje.

For the purpose of the implementation of the provisions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, as a determined strategic priority, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia adopted a Plan for the Implementation of the Framework Agreement. The framework lays out the following measures for the promotion of the inter-ethnic confidence and security of the persons and property: the strengthening of safety and security in the territories affected by the conflict in 2001, through reconstruction and rebuilding of the destroyed and damaged facilities of the police stations (Matejče, Tearce, Žerovjane and Raduša) and the creation of conditions for their normal functioning, as well as construction of new police stations in areas where a need for enhanced security is acknowledged (Aračinovo); enhanced presence of police services with mixed ethnic composition; continuation of activities aimed at building mutual trust between the police, the local population, and the local government in the populated areas. In order to address the major economic hardships of the conflict zones, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia adopted a Programme of Activities for Economic Revitalization of the Former Crisis Regions. After the reconstruction of damaged houses within the conflict zones, efforts were to be intensified towards economic revitalization. The economic sector to be focused on was to include: agriculture, public works and business.

5. Employment in public and state institutions

Results from the activities and concrete measures of affirmative action undertaken in the sphere of employment were evident in less than four years. During the period of implementation, the level of equitable representation of less represented communities in state institutions and public administration increased. In the period from 2006 to 2010, the number of Albanians employed in state institutions and public administrations was continually increasing. In this context it is also important to note that before the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the representation of ethnic minorities within security forces (that is the uniformed structures of the army and police) was relatively small. In 2001, the percentage of Albanian civil servants in police services was 2.5 per cent. However, in 2003 this percentage increased to 10.5 per cent and by 2006 rose to 16.5 per cent. Representation of the ethnic communities in the army, especially in the uniformed and civilian structure, was significantly improved, which is evidenced by the following tables.

Table 2. Representation of the Non-Commissioned Officers in the ARM According to their Ethnic Affiliation in the Period from 2001 to 2012

NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS BY YEARS																									
No.	Nationality	2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
		No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1	Macedonians	1209	90,36	1606	86,30	1848	86,60	1687	79,16	1430	76,59	1275	71,39	1248	70,59	1283	70,88	1329	71,92	1307	72,25	1293	72,48	1285	72,64
2	Albanians	44	3,29	164	8,81	191	8,95	329	15,44	316	16,93	405	22,68	417	23,59	420	23,20	410	22,19	397	21,95	391	21,92	385	21,76
3	Turks	8	0,60	7	0,38	8	0,37	19	0,89	27	1,45	31	1,74	33	1,87	36	1,99	36	1,95	32	1,77	29	1,63	29	1,64
4	Roma	2	0,15	3	0,16	4	0,19	3	0,14	6	0,32	11	0,62	14	0,79	15	0,83	15	0,81	15	0,83	15	0,84	15	0,85
5	Serbs	25	1,87	29	1,56	31	1,45	38	1,78	32	1,71	27	1,51	23	1,30	25	1,38	27	1,46	27	1,49	26	1,46	26	1,47
6	Bosnians	3	0,22	3	0,16	4	0,19	9	0,42	18	0,96	13	0,73	12	0,68	11	0,61	11	0,60	11	0,61	11	0,62	11	0,62
7	Vlachs			1	0,05	2	0,09	3	0,14	7	0,37	6	0,34	6	0,34	7	0,39	7	0,38	7	0,39	7	0,39	7	0,40
8	Others	47	3,51	48	2,58	46	2,16	43	2,02	31	1,66	18	1,01	15	0,85	13	0,72	13	0,70	13	0,72	12	0,67	11	0,62
Total:		1338	100	1861	100	2134	100	2131	100	1867	100	1786	100	1768	100	1810	100	1848	100	1809	100	1784	100	1769	100

Source: Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia, General Staff off the Republic of Macedonia, file 07 no. 102/4 from 08.04.2013

Table 3. Representation of the Officers in the ARM According to their Ethnic Affiliation in the period from 2001 to 2012

NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICERS BY YEARS																									
No.	Nationality	2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
		No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1	Macedonians	1372	90,80	1531	90,91	1499	90,79	1418	88,79	1226	87,89	1058	86,37	989	86,30	959	84,42	940	84,38	868	83,06	823	82,63	798	81,94
2	Albanians	34	2,25	45	2,67	51	3,09	68	4,26	68	4,87	89	7,27	86	7,50	104	9,15	103	9,25	108	10,33	106	10,64	109	11,12
3	Turks	6	0,40	8	0,48	10	0,61	14	0,88	13	0,93	15	1,22	16	1,40	17	1,50	17	1,53	18	1,72	18	1,81	18	1,84
4	Roma	1	0,07	2	0,12	2	0,12	3	0,19	3	0,22	3	0,24	3	0,26	3	0,26	3	0,27	3	0,29	3	0,30	3	0,31
5	Serbs	35	2,32	34	2,02	30	1,82	33	2,07	24	1,72	20	1,63	17	1,48	17	1,50	17	1,53	15	1,44	14	1,41	14	1,43
6	Bosnians	2	0,13	2	0,12	2	0,12	2	0,13	12	0,86	8	0,65	7	0,61	8	0,70	8	0,72	8	0,77	7	0,70	7	0,71
7	Vlahs	6	0,40	6	0,36	6	0,36	11	0,69	18	1,29	13	1,06	12	1,05	12	1,06	12	1,08	12	1,15	12	1,20	12	1,22
8	Others	55	3,64	56	3,33	51	3,09	48	3,01	31	2,22	19	1,55	16	1,40	16	1,41	14	1,26	13	1,24	13	1,31	14	1,43
Total:		1511	100	1684	100	1651	100	1597	100	1395	100	1225	100	1146	100	1136	100	1114	100	1045	100	996	100	975	100

Source: Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia, General Staff off the Republic of Macedonia, file 07 no. 102/20 from 08.04.2013

Based on the tables, one can conclude that the representation of the Albanians in the ARM has a positively rising trend. However, during the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the favouring of representatives of the biggest ethnic community, that is the Albanian one, is evident on account of the smaller ones, such as the Vlachs, Serbs, Turks, Roma, Bosniaks etc. The analysis leads to the conclusion that the time frame for realization of the measures for rapid integration in the area of employment of the less represented communities was not determined during the preparation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, nor upon its implementation. In such conditions it was possible ***to achieve exactly the opposite effect rather than the desired one***. That is why the Macedonian majority and smaller ethnic communities felt disadvantaged, in view of the favouring and rapid employment of the representatives of the Albanian community, especially in the context of a high rate of unemployment and unfavourable social and economic situation in the country. In other words, the need to apply the principle of appropriate and equitable representation of the communities, as well as the concrete measures of affirmative action in the function of consistent implementation of this principle in multi-ethnic, multi-cultural societies is apparent. However, the application of this principle demonstrates only a part of the overall process of social integration. In order to achieve real positive effects in terms of integrations in the society, an integral and overall approach in solving this complex yet necessary issue is needed (Cvetanova, 2006:178).

Conclusion

On the basis of the analysis of the armed conflict in Macedonia, which took place in the spring of 2001 and which can be classified as the type of internal conflict that emerged after the Cold War, we can draw the following conclusions.

- An important consequence of the radical strategic, geo-political, and geo-economic changes that took place after 1990 is the shift from international to internal conflict, as has been the case in Macedonia.
- The study shows that the “hot” phase of armed conflict in Macedonia was curbed in relatively short time. One of the main reasons for this was the uncompromising support by the international community and its main agents in the region (the UN, EU, OSCE, NATO, USA and others).
- The conflict reached a latent phase and the signing of a formal and legal framework (the Ohrid Agreement), which anticipates an improvement of the overall status of the Albanian population in Macedonia. Tensions were reduced, but the basic contradictions and causes for the outbreak of the conflict were not eliminated. In view of this, it can be concluded that, for some ethnic Macedonians,

the Ohrid Agreement widened the rift between the two ethnic communities as it has been interpreted as being too concessionary to the Albanians.

- Under certain conditions, the conflict in Macedonia, which is now in a latent phase, can again become acute and manifest itself. An important argument in the support of the assertion that Macedonia is still far from resolving the fundamental differences between the two ethnic communities is the fact that Macedonia underwent a serious political crisis in early 2008, which arose from the accusations by the Albanian coalition partners that the Ohrid Agreement is being implemented too slowly.
- It follows from the analysis that corruption and organized crime are important factors hindering the stabilization of the country and contributing towards the sense of ethnic inequality. These two phenomena are common to Macedonia and the wider region.

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Sažetak

Unatoč činjenici da je prošlo gotovo dvanaest godina od izbijanja sukoba u Makedoniji, sukob je još uvijek predmet ozbiljne teorijske analize, te je i dalje naročito osobito omiljen u unutarnjim političkim krugovima, pogotovo u stvaranju nove politike reforme u Republici Makedoniji. Zapravo, u makedonskom primjeru relativno uspješne prevencije, pouku mogu pronaći međunarodni i domaći akteri. To znači da se prevencija sukoba ne može predočiti kao formula rješavanja problema samo na površini, već ostavlja otvorene duboke političke (etno - politička mobilizacija, korupcija, kriminal), ekonomske (neovisnost, nezaposlenost, nedostatak investicija, ilegalna trgovina), socijalne (siromaštvo, nizak standard) i sigurnosne (ilegalno posjedovanje i krijumčarenje oružja, ilegalna trgovina ljudima) razloge za sukob. Skup svih navedenih razloga u Makedoniji prije i nakon sukoba 2001. godine je očigledan primjer. Stoga se razrada sadržaja u ovom radu razvija se u tri smjera: prvo, to je pokušaj racionalne analize socio-ekonomskih, političkih i etničkih premisa u makedonskom društvu, da bi pokazao svoj immanentan, ali značajan potencijal koji je doveo do oružanog nasilja između albanskih i makedonskih zajednica. Drugi smjer analize odnosi se na izazove i napore Makedonske države za rješavanje krize, dok se treći smjer analize odnosi na političke reforme, kao ključne za izgradnju mira, stabilne i sigurne Makedonije.

Ključne riječi: sukob, reforme, politika

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