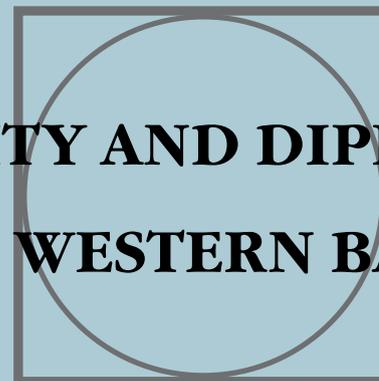




IFIMES

**SECURITY AND DIPLOMACY
IN THE WESTERN BALKANS**



Milan Jazbec

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ISBN 978-961-238-899-7



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LJUBLJANA, 2007

This publication was sponsored by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Ljubljana and by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Ljubljana, both on behalf of their respected countries.

The list of the Slovene and other sponsors is enclosed.

SECURITY AND DIPLOMACY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

- The Experience of a Small State and Its Diplomat -

A Selection of Papers
(2000 - 2006)

Milan Jazbec

IFIMES
The International Institute for Middle East and Balkans Studies

Ljubljana, 2007

From the Same Author:

Konzularni odnosi
(*Consular Relations*)

1997, Ljubljana: FDV www.fdv.zalozba.si

Diplomacija in Slovenci (ur.)
(*Diplomacy and the Slovenes /ed./*)

1998, Celovec: Založba Drava www.drava.at

Slovenec v Beogradu
(*A Slovene in Belgrad – a collection of essays*)
1999, Pohanca: self published, first edition

*The Diplomacies of New Small States: The Case of Slovenia with some
comparison from the Baltics*

2001, Aldershot: Ashgate www.ashgate.com

Diplomacija in varnost
(*Diplomacy and Security*)

2002, Ljubljana: Vitrum

Mavrica izza duše
(*The Rainbow Beyond the Soul – novel on diplomacy, first part of the trilogy*)
2006, Gorjuša: Miš www.zalozbamish.com

Ein Slowene in Belgrad
(*A Slovene in Belgrad – translation in German*)
2006, Celovec: Mohorjeva založba www.hermagoras.at

Slovenec v Beogradu
(*A Slovene in Belgrad*)
2006, Pohanca: self published, second edition

Vojaška in obrambna diplomacija
(*Military and Defense Diplomacy*)
2007, Ljubljana: FDV www.fdv.zalozba.si

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Forewords

The Western Balkans: A View From Overseas

Dr. Milan Jazbec has produced an outstanding work that should stand as a pillar of scholarly and analytical study, adding substantially to our understanding of recent developments in Southeastern Europe. It should also stand as a beacon for our future policies there.

The perspective of the author is that of a government official and diplomat from what Jazbec himself calls “a small country” in the region. But the scope of the book is breathtaking, since it encompasses some of the most sweeping changes emanating from Eastern Europe in the 1990s and analyses international activity in this regard since that time.

More to the point, Jazbec focuses on how “a small country” – his country, Slovenia – has made a considerable contribution to the positive forward movement of these developments. As a participant himself in the process, Jazbec provides up-close first-hand accounts of how the Slovenians confronted these changes and what they did to assist the international community to deal with them.

Milan Jazbec refers to a new “security matrix” in Europe, and, against this background, he traces the emergence of 22 new states from the dissolutions of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. He highlights the past activities and the future capabilities of multilateral associations, such as OSCE, NATO, the EU and others. And, an entire section of the book on “The Western Balkans” gives detailed and thoroughly researched analysis of each of the Southeast European states.

Through all of this, one gains the impression that we are indeed standing at a crossroad concerning Southeastern Europe. With the appropriate engagement of states in the region plus international associations plus significant outside powers, like the United States, we should be able to guide this region into full integration with the Euro-Atlantic community.

In fact, the continued engagement of the United States in South-

eastern Europe would seem to be a key, without which the very phrase “Euro-Atlantic” would lose all meaning. The traditional relationship between the U.S. and Europe was indeed a formidable basis for taking decisive action in this region when it was needed. It will presumably continue to be the foundation of our policy-making in the future.

But we will only succeed in this if we resist the temptation of complacency and understand that negative forces can be very powerful. We will also only succeed if we move forward with full respect for the talents and capabilities of the peoples of this region themselves. The international community can assist, but it cannot impose solutions.

Though Dayton gave us an armistice in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, it never provided a basis for a fully functioning state. And, though NATO actions in several places in the region provided a security umbrella allowing democracy to emerge, that does not take the place of regional homeland defense.

The future of Southeastern Europe lies in the hands of the states and the peoples of Southeastern Europe.

This monumental work by Milan Jazbec provides a vision from the perspective of a successful state in the region, a vision that all of us can gainfully study and implement.

Victor Jackovich
President, Jackovich International
U.S. Ambassador (ret.)

The Western Balkans: An EU Challenge

The book "Security and Diplomacy in the Western Balkans" is the result of many years of work and research by our Institute's very respected and distinguished member, dr. Milan Jazbec. We are particularly delighted that the suggestion and initiative for publishing this book came from several world famous European and American professors, experts who deal with regional and global security.

The dilemma that faces us is whether to Europeanize the Western Balkans, or let it them become a ghetto. There are less than few choices. If we allow it to become a ghetto, we will continue to threaten the EU and the Balkans, but if we Europeanize and include the Western Balkans in the EU, both the Western Balkans and the EU would gain from this.

There cannot be any second thoughts about the region discussed. The Western Balkans are Europe, and will soon become integral part of the EU, thanks to the thought-out and visionary actions of brave men who have created the foundations of the modern EU and thereby created the opportunity that Europe will never again be the Europe of war, but a Europe of peace, co-operation, and co-existence. Some states in the Western Balkans have become full members of NATO, while others joined the Partnership for Peace and are steadily moving closer to full membership. If we desire peace and stability in the Western Balkans, the EU and NATO are the solution. There is, for now, no other way.

In this book, we are witness to thorough and very interesting reading that, aside from aspects of security and reform of armed forces in the Western Balkans, offers the reader the evolution of the security process in Europe and Slovenia, the role and importance of several international organizations, such as the OSCE and NATO, and finally the role, importance, and co-operation of the UN, NATO, the EU, and the OSCE for ensuring world peace and stability.

The Berlin Wall is gone, and so are internal borders in the EU. The EU is in a process of enlargement. That is why we must all strive towards defeating the physical borders and the borders in

our heads that separate the Western Balkans from the EU. Let us lend a hand to the Western Balkans, so that it may become an integral and indivisible part of the EU and NATO. This will be a victory for everyone.

We hope that dr. Jazbec's book will contribute to the understanding of the Western Balkans, and thereby do its part in the process of bringing this region closer to the EU.

Zijad Bećirović, M.A.
Director of the International Institute IFIMES

Introduction

From 1989 to 2006 and Beyond

This book is a collection of papers of mine, which were not written with the intention to construct a comprehensive volume but rather to reflect security processes and diplomatic projects. They appeared partially as follow ups of my presentations at various international gatherings and partially as contributions for various publications. Their main ambition has been the theoretical contemplation of practical experiences of the author and Slovenia with the region presented and processes analyzed. Their main message is supposed to be an increased need to cooperate, exchange and go Euro Atlantic. These thirteen selected contributions, published in seven consecutive years, cover a time span of seventeen years. It begins with the End of the Cold War in the *Annus Mirabilis* and closes in 2006, the year during which the international community has been heavily engaged in the issue of Kosovo. All articles have been published in various publications in several countries, from the USA to Slovakia and from Finland to Croatia.

When I look back now I can say for sure that my writings and understanding of contemporary international relations, including security and diplomacy, has been inspired as well as shaped by the *impetus* which the Fall of the Berlin Wall brought to the understanding of the international relations, both in theory and practice. Therefore, it is obvious how the texts concerned show my engagement in contributing to understand the mentioned processes in the international community. Since I also try to reflect on them, the same message is repeated here and there in some of the texts. I find it useful, as this shows not only the way I understand processes and projects but also where Slovenia contributes to them. Because of this, I didn't feel any need to update or adapt the articles while publishing them in the book - they were left intact also for the reason that it is good sometimes to repeat certain messages and point them out in various forms to different audiences. This ambition could bring closer the under-

standing of the complexity of security processes in the wider European area, but also the potentials of the region concerned.

The journey from 1989 to 2006 and beyond, which follows, shows the evolution of diplomatic endeavor in the Western Balkans and also of the selected topics, security in particular. The region discussed has been a theatre of diplomatic efforts of various international players. This has resulted in institution building, cooperation of international organizations, in complementarity of security processes and in the theoretical promotion of lessons learned. From this point of view I am grateful for having had an opportunity to participate in the mentioned processes; this collection of papers is a small sign of a diplomat's effort, aimed at contributing to the development and understanding, as well as the promotion, of the region. This has been combined with presenting the Slovene contribution and experience within the discussed framework. Let public diplomacy work.

My gratitude goes to many colleagues and friends who have supported me during writing these contributions and in finalizing this book; their encouraging attitude has strengthened me decisively. My special thanks goes to IFIMES and to the authors of the Foreword and the Afterword, for their support, understanding and cooperation.

I dedicate the book to my son Luka and to his friends from the region. They have matured during the mentioned time span and the future is theirs.

Ljubljana / Pohanca, August 2007
M.J.