INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

IDEA OF SECURITY COMMUNITY AND THE BALKANS

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Abstract: The idea of a security community that is based on trust, closeness in values and interests and common perception of security and processes that threaten it, represents a model that can create a social context for permanent stabilization and strengthening the security culture in the Balkans. The initiators and the main agents in ending violence and promoting post-conflict stabilization of the Balkan region through the process of socialization and affirming models of the security community are undoubtedly EU and NATO. After stopping armed violence, primarily through the idea of membership and the enhancement of regional ties and cooperation, both organizations have sought to encourage the process of reconciliation of conflicting nations and to promote confidence as important prerequisites in building a security community in the Balkan area. Such efforts have given undeniable results in the elimination of the most dominant factors threatening regional security. However, without denying contributions, the idea of a security community is faced with many challenges. Although the experience of unity in the former common state should be a factor that would encourage the concepts of regional unity, the legacy of the recent past still largely limits the full range of the security community. Confidence and a sense of regional unity, as important aspects of common security perception, are very controversial and of variable intensity.

Key words: security, security community, the Balkans, EU, NATO, post-conflict society, integration.

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INTRODUCTION

The Balkans is a region where, during the last decade of the 20th century, the processes occurred that largely stood in contrast to the general trend of integration that affected the most part of the Euro-Atlantic area. Thus, the Balkans missed the opportunity to join the processes that could help the people of this region avoid huge destruction, violence, and general deterioration. Reconfiguration of the Balkans was accompanied by enormous violence, and the process of transition of the countries in this region was accompanied by the collapse of the most important social values and rising inequality, poverty, and a wide range of socio-pathological phenomena.

The Balkans, burdened by strong processes of disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, has become a serious threat to European stability and security. Such circumstances imposed the need for greater internationalization and involvement of leading international actors to stop the process of retraditionalization of the Balkan societies. The EU first, and somewhat later NATO, imposed themselves as agents of the process of establishing peace, stabilization and post-conflict socialization of the Balkan states.

Through the processes of European and Euro-Atlantic integration, the EU and NATO have sought to pacify ethnic and other animosities of the Balkan societies, and through the process of social reconceptualization based on the values of Western societies, create a framework to establish a model of the security community as already exists in the Euro-Atlantic area. The idea of membership, as the most important instrument of socialization, proved to be very pragmatic and successful in managing the efforts of the Balkan countries in encouraging them to create conditions that would qualify them for joining the European and Euro-Atlantic community. Thus, the EU and NATO have opened spaces for promotion and institutionalization of the security community practice and expansion of the area of peace and stability in the European region.

Significant EU and NATO investment in the socialization of the Balkan states has contributed to overcome the experience of armed conflicts in the region. National and religious animosities and hostilities have been mitigated and the processes of comprehensive social reconstruction and integration of the Balkan countries into European and Euro-Atlantic processes initiated. Today, some Balkan countries are already part of European and Euro-Atlantic structures, while others are clearly directed to achieve this. The processes of identification with European values that have primary importance in creating social dynamics of development of the Balkan societies have been encouraged.

However, the Balkans is still significantly far from the model of mature pluralistic security community as practiced in Europe. Ethnic distances still persist; the Balkan states are unfinished states and numerous suppressed processes pose a

threat to the further dissolution of the Balkans. It should be added that the transition processes have also imposed a number of restrictions, which makes socio-economic and political context very complex. Thus, the ranges of the idea of regional unity and affirmation of the security community model are limited.

SECURITY COMMUNITY – POSTMODERN SECURITY CONCEPT

The end of the Cold War and the victory of the liberal model, as well as strengthening of the global processes which affirmed the optimistic concept of international politics have created a specific social framework for the promotion of multilateralism in security. The model of the security community as an important aspect of modern concept and practice of security means the process of transformation from individual to collective security of the states, where closeness in values and interests represent the starting point of multilateralism. One of the key premises of the security community is to avoid the security dilemma as traditional approach to security. The model of the security community has gained significant recognition in the practical functioning of the EU and NATO. The reconfiguration of international relations after the Cold War and the global power of the United States have opened space for the development of these international organizations into the most influential actors of the contemporary world politics.

The basis of the EU and NATO functioning, whose origins date back to Europe after the Second World War and the efforts of European countries to protect their people from the terrifying consequences of global conflicts and war devastations as they had been brought by the two world wars, primarily was harmonization in values and interests of the member states policies and suppression of the state-centric approach to national security with a simultaneous affirmation of multilateralism in protecting the security of European and Euro-Atlantic area. Such EU and NATO approach has opened space for the establishment of a specific type of pluralistic security community that was based on shared values regarding external and internal threats and common response to them, as well as the common perception of the future. Such a model of the security community, which follows a general idea of the new Europe, transforms the centre of European political space into a very stable nucleus in which the threat of war and war disappeared (Moustakis & German, 2009, p. 20).

The concept of security community, as a model to overcome the traditional approach of security and thinking according to the pattern of security dilemma, was theoretically founded by Karl Deutsch in the middle of the last century. According to Deutsch, "security community is a group of people which has become integrated." (Deutsch, 2014, p. 125). The concept of integration means "the attainment, within a territory, of a sense of community, and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long-term

dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population." (Deutsch, 2014, p. 125). Such change involves solving social problems through institutionalized procedures and without resorting to large-scale physical force. In other words, the term security community means regions or groups of states that have voluntarily renounced to resolve their mutual disputes by force and reached a significant level of integration (Simić, 2011, p. 369).

The theory of the security community got its strong affirmation and started to have significant impact on international relations after the Cold War, when those who plead for social constructivism accepted these ideas. Constructivism is trying to re-actualize the importance of human factor in the study of international relations, by putting the ideas, norms and culture at the centre of analysis of international politics. The constructivist vision involves primary importance of the idea in the development of those norms in international society that limit the tendency of the state and enforce specific behaviour.

The constructivist theoretical concept and the intensification of global processes of interdependence have opened spaces for new understanding of security and further actualization of the idea of the security community. Adler and Barnett gave a significant contribution to the redefinition of the theoretical framework and further elaboration of the security community. According to the understanding of Adler and Barnet, members of the security community are characterized by common identity and value system, multiple and intensive relations and a kind of reciprocity based on the long-term interests of community members, including altruism, whose basis is the sense of duty and responsibility (Adler &Barnett, 1998, p. 30-31).[3] In addition to the values, interests and common identity that form the basis of cohesion on which the security community is built up, an important aspect is the common interpretation of reality (Grillot et al. 2010, p. 64), as well as mutual expectations. When it comes to values, it is almost universal agreement that these are liberal values, as supporting values of the political ideology of Western societies.[4]

Important observation of social constructivism is the view that the process of building a security community takes place gradually and that it takes time. According to their opinion, communication and transactions between states lead to their *socialization* and the construction of a new common identity that underpins the solidarity of members of the security community. In the constructivist perception of international relations, international institutions are seen as social institutions

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[4] Tusicisny argues that the influence of liberal values has not been verified in the process of establishing the security community, or the importance is not universal. (Tusicisny, 2007, pp. 425-449).

around which identities, ideas and expectations of their members are built. In addition, socialization in international relations occurs most often after wars and other major crises, in conditions of great social and political turmoil. An example of this type of security community is post-war Europe, which has embraced the idea of economic and security integration of the European and Euro-Atlantic space, although its legacy of two world wars was pointing in a different direction (Simić, 2011, p. 372). As a result of this process of "socialization", modern Europe was created, gathered in the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance.

Social constructivists attribute a special role in this process to international organizations as institutions that have a particularly important role in translating ideas and beliefs into practical politics. In the opinion of Adler and Barnett, international organizations and institutions encourage interaction between states, discovering new areas of common interest, shaping norms of behaviour of states and enhancing the formation of a common identity of the included states and societies (Tusicisny, 2007, p. 28.) Although international organizations and institutions primarily result from socialization, they may be the drivers of this process. Hence, there are ideas that the EU and NATO could play a significant role in the creation of a security community in the Balkans, and thus ensure its continued stabilization and integration into Euro-Atlantic space. Seen from a constructivist perspective, the contemporary Balkans in many ways fits into the model of space where socialization is necessary. First, the region has gone through a decade of violent conflict in which previous common state disappeared, successor states and their societies are burdened with post-conflict trauma, their economies are fragmented and their political elites opposed to one another (Simić, 2011, p. 373).

There is no doubt that the EU and NATO meet the demands of the social constructivists as the initiators of establishing the security community in the Balkans as an important framework for the pacification of relations between the Balkan countries and their modernization through European and Euro-Atlantic integration processes. It is an undeniable fact that the EU and NATO have played an important role in the pacification of relations between the countries of Western Europe and strengthening and maintaining the basic fact that these countries do not want to fight against each other anymore (Kuper, 2007, p. 46). In addition, both organizations are among the key actors in international politics whose integration capacity significantly influences the direction and pace of development of the modern world. As advocates of social organization on the foundations of liberal democracy, the rule of law and the universalization of human rights, the EU and NATO are organizations that can initiate the process of creating trust and a sense of community among regional actors and intensify various forms of communication and cooperation between them, ranging from economic, political, social and security. Important assumptions of their constructivist role is the continuous work towards the creation of a security community and the promotion

of mutual understanding of security and social ideas that encourage political actors to see each other as trustworthy. Successful practice of the security community model in the Euro-Atlantic area, as a post-modern concept of security, which promotes integration and openness rather than nationalism, (Kuper, 2007, p. 80), according to constructivist views, makes the EU and NATO credible organizations for the socialization of the Balkans.

Many social processes and events at the beginning of the last decade of 20th century – the collapse of socialism, war destruction, fragmentation of the region and the creation of new states, contradictions that came with transition, impoverishment, etc., have weakened the solidarity mechanisms and reinforced forms of ethnic distance between the peoples of the Balkans. This resulted in the suppression of civil principle and return to the cultural patterns of pre-civil communities (Mitrović & Stjepanović, 2007, p. 163). Such retrograde Balkans possessed serious threats and generated strong flows of instability (Yesson, 2003, p. 64) that endangered the achieved stability in the European core. Huge destabilizing effect of the Balkans, which is not caused only by actions of internal social and ethnic contradictions, but also encouraged and instrumentalized by the game of interests of the major powers and their geopolitics, (Mitrovic & Stjepanović, 2007, p. 163), created a security vacuum that was out of control and posed a threat of transnationalization of processes that encouraged instability and (endangered) insecurity. In particular, such a divided and insecure Balkans was a big problem for the swarming integration processes in the European region and the EU and NATO, as the main promoters of these processes. Hence, the processes of disintegration and extreme violence on the periphery of European space sought strong international involvement (Grillot at al. 2010, p. 72).

The signing of the Dayton Agreement and the end of the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the beginning of systematic efforts by the EU and NATO to stabilize the Balkans, where they have significantly gained in intensity after the escalation of the crisis in Kosovo and Metohija and the completion of NATO military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. When it comes to the EU's efforts to rebuild regional cooperation, they were intensified after the summit in Cologne in 1999, and especially after the summits in Zagreb and Thessalonica, where the policy was established that all Western Balkan countries can join the EU, provided that they fulfil the necessary conditions. Along with the efforts of the EU, NATO also seeks to significantly influence and direct the dynamics and character of post-conflict rehabilitation of relations in the Balkan region setting regional cooperation as one of the main conditions for the full membership and joining the Partnership for Peace.

Certainly, the involvement of the EU and NATO in the promotion of peace in the Balkans was not altruistic project but the project that primarily concerned their interests as socializing actors. Primarily it was a problem of security in Europe and

boiled down to a dilemma whether Europe would export stability to the Balkans or the Balkans would export instability to Europe (Kavalski, 2007, p. 76). Likewise, the motive of involvement of the EU and NATO in the Balkans was the need to strengthen their legitimacy (Grillot et al. 2010, p. 77). Namely, the involvement of the EU and NATO in the Balkans coincides with the process of their significant transformation. EU's Treaty of Maastricht laid the foundations of its growth into one of the most important actors in international politics. With its transformation, which began after the end of the Cold War, NATO was becoming not only a military alliance dedicated to collective defence of its members, but increasingly evolved into a political-security association whose area of responsibility outgrew the framework defined by the founding treaty. Both organizations were seeking ways to legitimate their visibility as an attempt to convincingly demonstrate their ability to manage the process of international socialization of states of the Warsaw Pact and the Balkans, and the spread of European peace zone (Kavalski, 2007, p. 94).

EU AND NATO AND POST-CONFLICT REHABILITATION OF THE BALKANS

The process of socialization of the Balkans and its transformation, from the zone of armed conflicts into the zone of European area of peace and stability (Kavalski, 2007, p. 78), primarily meant to stop violence and then stabilization and promotion of peace and stability, reconciliation, change of social and security perception and intensification of different forms of regional economic, political and security communication. The continued presence and operation of the EU and NATO had a crucial importance for the control and guidance of these processes. The EU and NATO based their socializing involvement on the need to preserve the stability of the European centre and the process of socialization aimed to establish security and stability in the Balkans and create conditions for democratic and economic development of the Balkan societies, their modernization and identifying in values with the European and Euro-Atlantic community, as well as establishing security community and strengthening the sense of regional unity (Grillot at al. 2010, p. 63).

The European Union adopted a policy of stabilization and association that represented a specific political arrangement applied to the Balkans conditions. Basically, the policy of stabilisation and association presented a strategy for the prevention of conflicts and creating conditions for building peace, stability and democratization through the affirmation of the social model based on the EU values. The policy of stabilization and association is essentially based on the achievements of the two main instruments: a regional approach and the conditionality policy (Simić, 2011, p. 374). A regional approach to the Western Balkans aims to build regional economic and security community, while conditionality means that these countries

are given the opportunity to become members of the leading Western institutions, the EU and NATO. The condition for this is the process of "socialization" that would make them compatible with the values, goals and practices underlying the European and Euro-Atlantic community (Simić, 2011, p. 374). The view that the improvement of relations and development of regional cooperation in the Western Balkans is a prerequisite of successful integration of these countries into the EU became the official policy of the EU in its relations with all of them. Basing its impact on the importance of democratic standards in the reorganization of the Balkan states, the EU has provided high motivation for action on achieving European standards (Kavalski, 2007, p. 76) and thus confirmed its socializing power. In this way, membership in the EU has become a key stimulating factor of the transformation of the Balkan societies and a major source of encouraging unity in the Balkans (Grillot at al. 2010, p. 77).

When it comes to NATO, the association's policy towards the region relied on the practical achievements of its peacekeeping missions, receiving countries of the region into full membership and activities within the Partnership for Peace. After stopping the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the armed intervention in 1999, NATO took over peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina-IFOR and SFOR and Kosovo-KFOR. Peacekeeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the undoubted success because after the signing of the Dayton Agreement and the deployment of NATO forces, there were no armed conflicts or victims of combat operations in this former Yugoslav Republic. The NATO mission in Kosovo, which was preceded by the NATO military intervention in 1999, encountered far more complicated situation in which there were several armed attacks on Serbs, their property and Serbian cultural heritage, including attacks and large-scale ethnic cleansing in March 2004. Likewise, NATO contributed to prevention of renewed violence by engaging in action to stop the rebellion of Albanians in the Preševo Valley, which was co-organized by KFOR and Serbian security forces. When it comes to the Partnership for Peace Program, it is important to point out that it is an initiative that was supposed to unite Europe after the Cold War and to support the aspirations of the Eastern European countries wishing to become members of NATO (Grillot et al., 2010, p. 75).

After a two-decade acting in the Balkans, EU and NATO were able to stop the further radicalization of violence and provide the indispensable role for itself in the process of post-conflict rehabilitation of relations between countries in the region and to encourage the process of their reconciliation and cooperation. Slovenia, Croatia and Albania were admitted to full NATO membership, while Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina are included in the Action Plan for NATO membership (MAP), and Serbia, which declared military neutrality, became a member of NATO "Partnership for Peace". Croatia and Slovenia became members of the EU and other Western Balkan states have concluded Cooperation

and Association Agreements with the EU, and some have begun negotiations on membership.[5]

The accession of the Western Balkan countries to the Partnership for Peace, as well as admission of Albania and Croatia to NATO, have strengthened the position of this organization in the Balkans, thus being given the possibility of long-term impact on the development of the security sector in all countries of the region, including the scope and structure of the national armed forces, their interoperability, joint military exercises and the like. Promoting standards and content of security organization of contemporary states, and NATO leadership on these issues is not in dispute, as well as promoting multilateralism and partnership played an important role in creating conditions for intensifying regional cooperation. Advocating new models of cooperation in the security sphere, whose underlying ideas are multilateralism and partnership, gave a particularly strong impetus to the redefinition of security policies and the adoption of modern standards of security organization of newly formed Balkan states. Such incentive policy strongly promoted the idea of a security community in the region.

Efforts to set normalization of relations between the countries of the Western Balkans and the development of regional, economic, political and security cooperation as a condition for improvement of their relations with the European Union and NATO have brought some results. Undeniable progress in expanding the European zone of peace to the Balkans region (Kavalski, 2007, p. 214) has been made in restoring economic relations and the free flow of goods between the countries of the Western Balkans. There has been a significant improvement of cooperation of law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities in the fight against organized crime, as well as in some other areas. The number of regional initiatives, organizations and projects has increased, and economic and political relations among the countries of the Western Balkans have apparently progressed and many of the obstacles to the free circulation of people and goods in the region have been removed.

Changes to security policy and a clear commitment to modern approaches to security based on cooperation and multilateralism are a strong incentive to cooperation in improving regional security. Military cooperation has been intensified, particularly in the fields of education, professional development and training and the idea of joint use of capacities in these areas are significantly promoted. The Adriatic Charter was signed and the Adriatic group established gathering Croatia, Albania and Macedonia together, as a kind of regional alliance within NATO. Institutionalized meetings of defence ministers and chiefs of staff

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[5] Long before Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria were received into full membership of NATO and the EU, which also had a positive impact on overcoming the radical forms of regional security threats and raising awareness that peace and stability are a prerequisite for democratic development of all countries of South Eastern Europe.

of South Eastern Europe were initiated. These activities laid the foundations of building a security community in the region.

Regardless of the tragic experience of the 1999 bombing, the fact that NATO is an essential factor of the Euro-Atlantic security with a strong influence on the security architecture of the Balkans, as well as the knowledge that it is the leading security association to promote the standards of modern security organization, have influenced the clear orientation of Serbia to improve relations with NATO. Joining the Partnership for Peace, the Republic of Serbia has intensified cooperation in many areas, and there are many reasons we can say that this cooperation has given a strong impetus to the adoption of contemporary standards of organizing the defence forces and improving their abilities. Adoption of the Individual Partnership Action Plan in early 2015 confirms that the highest form of cooperation with the security association has been reached. In addition, the successful cooperation of KFOR and the Serbian Armed Forces, which is believed to make a significant contribution to the stabilization of the situation in the region, confirms a gradual change in official perception of NATO in Serbia.

Basing their actions on liberal democratic values as the most significant mark of civilization of the Western world, the EU and NATO have contributed to the fact that the area of conflict began to convert into an area of stability and order. In this sense, the construction of European identity, which is certainly the most significant contribution of the EU and NATO (Simić, 2011, p. 380), had a important impact on improving the security of the Balkans, promoting unity and multilateralism as the foundation of regional security community.

Security in the Balkans, after a period of traumatic events and processes, has largely been improved. It is believed that the commitment of Southeast European countries to join the EU and NATO, as well as the acceptance and promotion of the values of democracy, economic development and social stability and security had a positive effect on the stabilization process regarding the security of the states in the region. Relations between the countries have been normalized, there has been significant progress in joining NATO and the EU and the achievement of the requirements in terms of democratic development, human rights, minority rights and security. Although the reforms of the armed forces have not been fully completed, it can be said that the national security and defence strategies and doctrinal concepts of the armed forces of the neighbouring states provide balance and transparency of military power of the states in the region. Cooperation and intensifying the process of harmonization of policies and activities in the field of security, and other areas increasingly strengthen the processes of maintaining stability and forestalling crises in the region. The Balkan countries are involved in a number of regional initiatives and significantly participate in the EU peacekeeping missions and other activities of its Common Security and Defence Policy. Such activities lead to the conclusion that some basis of the security community have been adopted and

become patterns of behaviour in the field of security of the Balkan societies. However, there is general agreement that the security community in the Balkans is still in an embryonic stage of development (Kavalski, 2007, Ejdus, 2011).

CHALLENGES OF THE BALKAN TRANSITION TOWARDS A SECURITY COMMUNITY

Security transition of the Balkans from the zone of conflict to the zone of lasting stability is faced with a number of challenges and problems, which is why the development of a regional security community is slow and the progress nonlinear (Grillot at al. 2010, p. 82). It turned out that the unambiguous European and Euro-Atlantic orientation of the Balkan states is not a guarantee for the full stabilization and improvement of confidence among the countries of the region, as well as strengthening the sense of community and belonging to the Balkan region.

Analysis of the effects of the efforts of the EU and NATO to promote regional cooperation in the Balkans suggests that it has some unexpected consequences (Simić, 2011, p. 376). Despite the desire of all countries of the Western Balkans to become part of post modern processes in Europe, it does not automatically affect the improvement of their relationships. The activities of regional cooperation are often seen as a side effect of the process of European integration, which excludes authentic regional impulses for improvement. Some researchers even estimate that efforts of some countries to accelerate their integration into the EU lead to a weakening of the regional cooperation (Simić, 2011, p. 377). Contrary to expectations, the regional cooperation initiated from the outside does not necessarily lead to improving confidence among countries in the region and thus the prospects for creating a permanent security community.

It seems that pleading of the Balkan elites for Euro-integration processes – with the hope that, in this context, they will find solutions to their problems arising from the economic and technological underdevelopment, as well as resolving backlog of ethnic and social conflicts, do not provide fully convincing results yet. Just because of that, overcoming the current state of the nations – as the dominant ethnic groups in the Balkans – their growing into mature civil societies, highly democratically integrated, will last a long time (Mitrović & Stjepanović, 2007, p. 164).

What to some extent specifically limits the scopes of regional cooperation in the field of security, and what has a negative impact on the improvement of measures of trust and cooperation, is the problem of underdeveloped identity of the region. Here, it should be emphasized that a number of authors think that sense of community is built on the elite level of the Balkan states and the EU, as well as between elites within the region, but when it comes to identifying the citizens of the Balkan states with regional affiliation, that sense is very weak (Grillot, 2010, p.

83). In the opinion of a number of theorists, the Balkans is treated as the alter ego of Europe, so it is not surprising that none of the countries in the region wants to be among the Balkan states, as a synonym for the Orient. The fact that an acceptable cultural and regional unity of the peoples from the Balkan states has not yet been established is the result of these negative political and value judgments about the Balkans. Hence, the Balkans can be regarded as a geographical concept, but not as a region whose countries are sufficiently related with social, economic, political and other ties (Simić, 2011, p. 368).

The quality of inter-ethnic relations, as well as lack of awareness of regional identity and the possibility of cooperation and integration in the Balkans suggest that in this area there are still strong social and ethnic contradictions that are manifested in various forms, most often through inadequate intensity of positive interethnic relations and the existence of ethnic distance. Although the process of forming a modern, pluralistic cultural identity is in progress, arrays of traditional consciousness are still strong enough, which also causes an underdeveloped awareness of regional identity.

Of course, when it comes to the achievements of the idea of regional security community, an unavoidable question is specific relations between the Republic of Serbia and NATO. Experience of the 1999 bombing, as one of the most drastic examples of violation of international law and partiality in solving one extremely complex problem, is something that significantly reflects on Serbia's relations with NATO. In addition, the support of most EU and NATO members to Kosovo independence and the absence of full commitment to seek compromise to this problem also limit the power of the EU and NATO as promoters of the idea of a security community in the Balkans.[6]

It should be emphasized that the complexity of a number of primarily internal problems of the countries in the region contributes to the fact that the Balkans is struggling to overcome the experience of ethnic tensions, border disputes, immigration and many issues of refugees, as well as corruption and organized crime (Grillot at al. 2010, p. 63). In terms of security, the most sensitive Balkan areas remain Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo and Metohija, which is why the concept of establishing a multi-ethnic society as a European concept is still slow and difficult to achieve, and the peace that exists is not easily sustainable (Moustakis & German 2009. p. 2).

Different perception of the future of the Dayton Agreement and attempts to reconceptualize Bosnia and Herzegovina through advocating the concept of its

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[6] Today, after the current events in Ukraine, it is increasingly evident that the case of Kosovo, as a striking example of violating the principle of territorial integrity of sovereign states, will constitute cause for the increase of instability and insecurity around the world. The effort that the Kosovo case is seen as a precedent, which is in many ways hard to maintain, obviously does not solve the problem.

organization as a unitary state, remain a threat to destabilization of the security situation and formal existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The weakness of state institutions, economic difficulties and political instability are the social milieu that makes Bosnia and Herzegovina mechanical combination of three nations living there rather than a community that has a certain perspective (Simić, 2011, pp. 367-381). Such a situation, especially the lack of internal sovereign and functional constitutional and political system and the absence of internal consensus complicates the process of integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into European and Euro-Atlantic processes (Šolaja, 2011, pp. 317-330).

Of course, a unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo is an issue that potentially represents a major challenge for the fragile regional stability. The question of Kosovo's independence remains an issue around which there is a sharp confrontation and disagreement. There are authors who reasonably believe that the recognition of Kosovo's independence could represent a strong incentive for the revitalization of the "Greater Albania" project. This act, which is considered "the last phase of the break-up of the former Yugoslavia" for many people is not the last step in the "stabilization" of the region. In addition, it is evident that the declaration of independence of Kosovo and Metohija encouraged and strengthened serious separatist demands, both within the region and throughout not only the European space (Moustakis & German, 2009, p. 45). In this sense, there are numerous unknowns of sustainability of the Ohrid Agreement and the future of ethnic relations in Macedonia.

Extreme nationalism and obsession with the past continue to represent significant features of the social milieu of the Balkan societies, which, in combination with a number of other, primarily economic constraints and severe poverty and weak institutions has a negative reflection on the processes of modernization and creation of truly civil political communities. In this context, the strengthening of religious extremism, particularly Islamist, accelerates the processes of closure and mistrust towards other religions, which largely restricts the scope of a multi-ethnic social order and security community as a project of the EU and NATO. Substantial differences in the interpretation of recent history are also a powerful generator of divergence, which causes the persistence of negative stereotypes about others as enemies, and slows down the process of reconciliation and limits the ranges of the concept of multiculturalism. Significant features of communion that existed between the Balkan societies within the former Yugoslavia were seriously challenged and degraded during the armed conflicts in the still recent past and have no impact on the socialization process and the creation of a regional security concept.

Also, it is evident that some of the activities of the EU and NATO, as holders of socialization of the Balkans and establishment of a regional security community, fostered processes that have resulted in greater instability and slowed down the

process of reconciliation. Thus, some states have sought to take advantage of their membership in NATO and/or the EU for favouring their own national interests in relation to their neighbours in an unprincipled manner. The inconsistent application of some of the proclaimed principles of the establishment of new states in the Balkans, the lack of readiness for dialogue and agility in implementing the most drastic measures of violence, such as the bombing of the Republic of Srpska and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, contrasted strongly with the supporting ideas of the concept of security community. Powerful inclination to impose solutions rather than accept them often gave hegemonic aspects to the EU and NATO activities (Kavalski, 2007, p. 201). The lack of sensibility for sensitive Balkan issues, insufficiently balanced attitude towards all stakeholders of the Balkan conflicts, tolerating some nationalism, the persistence of the tendency to interpret the reality in the Balkans according to a simplified matrix, to some extent discredited the socializing power of the EU and NATO.

Likewise, the focus of the EU and NATO was primarily focused on the development of a sense of communion and belonging to the region at the level of the elites of the Balkan newly created states, and without significant influence among the citizens of the Balkan states, the idea of regional security community is rather difficult to achieve. The importance of membership in the EU and NATO have motivated a multitude of activities towards structural social reforms in each country, but these activities were primarily directed towards European and not Balkan identity, because it was more important to be European than Balkanian (Grillot at all. 2010, p. 83). Identity crisis and the abandonment of some of the basic ideas of the EU, the economic downturn of a number of the Member States, as well as a decline in its integration capacities, also has a negative impact on the strength and dynamics of integration processes in the Balkans and on the low level of regional unity and trust, without which peaceful expectations are not possible.

Of course, a significant constraint in the creation of a security community in the Balkans has reflected in the current international politics. A strong weakening of the idea of a global society and increasingly dangerous processes of global divergence reactualize real political approach to international politics (Kejgen, 2009, p. 10). The escalation of the conflicts in the Arab world, the civil war in Libya and, as it seems, easily made decision on the NATO involvement in it, as well as the controversial events in Syria, have opened up numerous dilemmas between the US, EU, Russia and China. The aggravation of relations due to Ukraine and the civil war on its eastern borders and the Russian annexation of the Crimea, as well as frequently simplified ideological perception of Western actors regarding Ukrainian crisis seems to announce the return of the traditional principles of practicing security. Instability in the periphery and the absence of a common vision of how to build reliable Euro-Atlantic security architecture, Cold War stereotypes, devalue the idea of the security community as a postmodern concept of organizing security.

Hence, although the security community in the Balkans is an important prerequisite for the involvement of the Balkan societies in the integration process in the European space, it turned out that it is still at the initial stage and not enough convincing or widely accepted model of permanent stabilization of the Balkans. Undertaken policies have not been fully effective, because of the absence of emphasis on building regional trust, shared responsibility and collective identity (Grillot et al. 2010, p. 84). All this has spread the areas for the influences that limited its scope and made its sustainability unimaginable without external impulse of the main socializing actors (Ejdus, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Great efforts of NATO and the EU over the last decade were crucial to stopping the destructive processes of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia and beginning with the process of reconciliation, regional cooperation and the creation of new forms of community in the Western Balkans. Based on a common foreign policy orientation of all countries in the region to join the processes of European or Euro-Atlantic integration, efforts of NATO and the EU have brought certain results. The framework of significant social reconstruction has been set and the processes of modernization and integration into European and Euro-Atlantic community initiated. The idea of European unity has particularly encouraged the development of the European identity of the Balkan nations. Identification with European and Euro-Atlantic values has opened spaces for new practice of security and spreading experiences of European security community.

However, the Balkans is still far from achieving the security community that would be based on a basic consensus of the Balkan political societies on the most important issues of regional security. Its scope is now limited and mostly reduced to the initial forms and contents. The Balkans is not fully stabilized and has not overcome particular forms of pre-civil societies, making the process of building a security community non-linear and with challenges. The results are absent in particular when it comes to the development of regional identity that is still strongly influenced by negative stereotypes, legacy of war and the logic of "Balkanization". Likewise, the problems the Union faces, in particular, the global economic crisis that hit the Balkan countries, in recent years have contributed to the waning influence of the EU and NATO in the Balkans and the mood of these societies for their membership. In addition, the weakening of the idea of global unity and return of real political instruments in international politics weaken the idea of multilateralism and joint action.

Processes of lasting stability in the Balkans and further development of values and institutions of regional security community will be accompanied by a number of uncertainties and significant limitations. It is certain that the idea of a security

community continues to be strongly related to the ability of the EU and NATO to manage the process of socialization and modernization of the region. However, these processes, as well as the further internationalization of European and Euro-Atlantic security community will depend on the attractiveness of membership in the EU and NATO and their overall credibility. Hence, it is particularly important that both actors, especially the EU, focus their actions on more effective instruments for the socialization of the general public of the Balkan societies and their faster integration into European political, economic and social trends. It is particularly important that external actors have substantially formed local approach and pay greater attention to the promotion of local security community. Hence, the activities that must focus on further affirmation of trust and building shared responsibility and collective identity of the region are of special importance. However, authentic regional impulses are of primary importance.

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IDEJA O BEZBEDNOSTI ZAJEDNICE I BALKAN

Apstrakt: Ideja o bezbednosti zajednice koja se zasniva na poverenju, bliskim vrednostima i interesima i zajedničkoj percepciji bezbednosti i procesa koji ga ugrožavaju, predstavlja model koji može da stvori društveni kontekst za trajnu stabilizaciju i jačanje bezbednosne kulture na Balkanu. Inicijatori u zaustavljanju nasilja i promovisanju stabilizacije u post-konfliktnom društvu Balkanu, kroz proces socijalizacije i afirmacije modela bezbednosne zajednice su nesumnjivo u EU i NATO. Nakon zaustavljanja oružanog nasilja, pre svega kroz ideju članstva i unapređenje regionalnih veza i saradnje, obe organizacije su nastojale da podstaknu proces pomirenja suprotstavljenih naroda i da promovišu poverenje kao važne preduslove u izgradnji bezbednosne zajednice na prostorima Balkana. Takvi napori su dali dobre rezultate u eliminaciji najviše dominantnih faktora koji ugrožavaju regionalnu bezbednost. Međutim, bez poricanja doprinosa, ideja o bezbednosti zajednice se suočava sa mnogim izazovima. Iako iskustvo jedinstva u bivšoj zajedničkoj državi treba da bude faktor koji će ohrabriti koncept regionalne jedinstva, nasleđe nedavne prošlosti u velikoj meri ograničava domet koncepta bezbednosti zajednice. Poverenje i osećaj regionalnog jedinstva, kao važni aspekti zajedničke percepcije bezbednosti, veoma su kontroverzni i promenljivog intenziteta.

Ključne reči: bezbednost, bezbednost zajednica, Balkan, EU, NATO, post-konfliktno društvo, integracija.