

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

from the forum

“Managing Defense”

organized by

**The Association of Macedonian Alumni of
the “George C. Marshall” European Center for Security Studies,**

Skopje, May 9, 2008

As part of its 2008 program, the Association of Macedonian Alumni of the “George C. Marshall” European Center for Security Studies held a forum at the Army House in Skopje. Numerous members of the association, defense experts, representatives of NGO’s, ministries and government agencies attended the event.

The forum began with welcoming remarks from the president of the association, Prof. Stojan Kuzev. Presentations were then given by Professor Zoran Nacev, head of Macedonia's Institute for Peace and Defense Studies, Professor Dragi Lozanchich, professor of defense studies at the Marshall Center, and LTC Jordan Ugrinovski, from the Operations Planning Directorate, General Staff of the Armed forces of Republic of Macedonia (ARM).

Professor Nacev analyzed the progress that has been achieved in transforming our defense system. On the plus side, he singled out the defining of Macedonia's strategic goals and our fulfillment of criteria for NATO membership. At the same time he pointed out the evident weak points, referring to poor coordination among institutions and the failure to involve scholars and intellectuals in the drafting of strategic projects.

Dr. Dragi Lozanchich spoke about civil-military relationships in the countries undergoing transition and the prerequisites for the democratic transformation of the defense system. Basic elements of his presentations are as follows:

- Civil-military relationships in the Western Balkans have not been sufficiently explored. There are a number of reasons why the subject merits deeper study:
- There is not a "one-size-fits-all" model for the civil-military relationship and for civilian democratic control over the armed forces. This is because consideration must always be given to the distinctive features of each country (i.e. national traditions, as well as social, political, cultural and other factors);
- The relationship in one country cannot be copied wholesale to another. Just like democracy itself, civil-military relationships and civilian democratic control over the military evolve and develop continuously;
- Civil-military relationships in those states undergoing transition from communism should encompass two key issues in democratization of the military:
 - Democratic, political control and
 - Democratic, military professionalism.

Today’s complex of civil-military relationships, which is appropriate for the needs of democratizing states, also meets the need for political advisors to direct military reforms. (According to Huntington) :

- today, cooperation lies at the heart of civil-military relationships;

- military institutions are constructed on the security needs of a society and on that society's predominant strengths, ideology and institutions;
- Thus, civil-military relationships depend on mechanisms which will ensure that military institutions develop into institutions responsible to the society they are serving.
- A key issue in the civil-military relationship is the issue of civilian or governmental control of the military.

This issue can also be treated in terms of other social values, norms and experiences:

- Civilians should direct military institutions. The army is and will be under the democratic control of the state
 - o It depends on the on the political power of the civilian institutions and **the political power of the military institutions;**
 - o **the army is not allowed to have any political role;**
 - o the only way to secure the effective defense of the state
 - o only in cooperation with civilian administrators does the army place its security expertise at the service of the state – and fight for the resources it needs
 - o the army is loyal to any and every fairly elected government
- the ethics and the beliefs of the army must be subordinated to transformed democratic values.
- traditional beliefs on the role of the army and on the civil-military relationship are being abandoned.

Cooperation between democratic and military institutions should provide protection for the state and democracy.

The military system as a subsystem of the political system is an important in terms of the role of the army in the process of democratization of states and in terms of interaction with the democratic institutions as well as in terms of resolving conflicts among them.

Mr. Jordan Ugrinovski from the Directorate for Operations Planning (GS of ARM) gave his views on the reforms and the defense transformation. The focus of his presentation was on the managing of both of defense and its transformation. Key elements of his presentation were as follows:

- The defense system of the Republic of Macedonia is in the process of permanent transformation and the Strategic Defense Review is the only recognized reform within the system;
- Reform is being conducted in fragmentary fashion, in the absence of any defined methodological procedure or scientifically defined solutions;
- Many key players in the defense and security sphere do not have defined mechanisms for cooperation in the transformation and reform process;
- External advisers and available examples, literature and expertise are accepted uncritically, without any analysis of the consequences likely to flow from their application;

- Many times, due to insufficient expertise and mechanisms, quality solutions and proposals are rejected or only partially accepted. This mostly results in greater harm than benefit and leads to rapid replacement of solutions;
- The expertise of civil servants and uniformed personnel is haphazard and mechanisms have not been created for gathering the lessons gained from experience;
- Key strategic issues, without which functioning of the system is inconceivable, have not been identified as such. As a consequence resolution of these issues is not even on the agenda.

Basic recommendations:

- We need to designate those within the defense system who, in cooperation with the universities and other educational institutions, will analyze Macedonia's defenses, identifying weaknesses and offering long-term solutions.
- We need to study the way other transitioning societies have forged civil-military relationships and to find solutions that will decrease the misunderstandings between the army and the civilian authorities and eliminate the feeling among uniformed personnel that they are being rejected and humiliated by the very country they are expected to defend and protect.
- We need constant review and improvement in the preparedness of the system: (strategies, doctrines, rules, education and exercises, equipping and modernizing, order and discipline, personnel management, management of overall quality, standard of living, human dignity and care of the family.)

The “George C. Marshall” European Center for Security Studies gives representatives of national security agencies and state bodies a genuine opportunity for improvement in the processes of training, refreshing of ideas, opinions, improvement of security options and capacities. The center makes a significant contribution through its students to accomplishing the security and defense strategies of the international community.

The work of the Alumni Association is a real refreshment, an important factor and assistance to the state administration of Republic of Macedonia by which the security flow in planning and accomplishing the national strategy for defense and security will contribute to Macedonia's taking its rightful place in the international community and is a clear signal to realize our aspiration for NATO and EU membership.

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