

# Democracy and Security

in Southeastern Europe

The Lead Story

## Euro-Atlantic Integration of the Western Balkans



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# Atlantic Initiative

*The Atlantic Initiative (AI) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, established in Sarajevo in 2009 by a group of academics and journalists concerned about the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the slow pace of its accession to NATO and the European Union.*

*We believe that Bosnia's integration into NATO and the EU is of crucial importance for the country, but are equally convinced that lively and informed public debate before and during this process is sine qua non for its successful completion. In that spirit, we wish to initiate, encourage and enable this debate through a wide range of activities on various platforms in order to reach and involve multiple audiences.*

*The journal "Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe" is only one of our projects under this stated aim, carried out in partnership with the governments of the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Norway. We are thankful for the encouragement from several non-governmental organizations in the region and particularly grateful for the support of the NATO HQ Sarajevo, the Bosnian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Bosnian Ministry of Defense and the George Marshall Alumni Association in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

*For more information on the Atlantic Initiative, please visit our web page:  
<http://www.atlantskainicijativa.org/>*

# EDITORIAL



Vlado Azinović  
Editor-in-Chief

## Dear readers,

*This is the first issue of Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe, a publication designed to promote Euro-Atlantic values and a culture of dialogue in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the region.*

*The selection of the name as well as the contents of the magazine reflect our belief that the transition process towards establishing functional democracies, rule of law and human rights protection in the region is closely connected with security models. We believe that security is a precondition for democracy.*

*Security is most often defined as a condition without danger or without threat, or as the provision of protection against a threat. However, it is much more.*

*American psychologist Abraham Maslow placed security at the very foundation of his own hierarchical pyramid of key human needs. Immediately after the basic biological needs, such as the need for food, water, oxygen and sleep, Maslow listed security as the basic psychological need. It includes protection against violence; safety of home, family and health; protection of property; having a steady income; a need for order and predictability of events in the near and distant future. Maslow maintains that the fulfillment of these needs helps a person grow and develop as a human being.*

*“The fact is that people are good. Give them care and safety, and they will give care back and be secure in their feelings and behavior,” he wrote. Only when a person fulfills their need for security will they be able to start fulfilling other primary needs – for belonging, love, respect and self-actualization.*

*In a post conflict society, such as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the conscious and continuous introduction of insecurity and fear into public discourse is undeniably politically motivated, it does not seem particularly wise or justified to continue keeping the discussions and decisions on security solutions in the exclusive domain of local political elites. It is almost unnecessary to warn against the possible consequences of such a monopoly for the development of democracy. In addition, the Dayton institutionalization of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s state legal provisions, which incorporates the dynamics of the previous conflict, urges that debate on security models finally be extended to civil society too.*

*Starting with this magazine, the Atlantic Initiative in Bosnia-Herzegovina wants to launch a forum for thought and debate on these issues and enable readers to develop opinions on the key problems of democracy and security, based on knowledge of the facts and understanding of the relevant processes. In so doing, we want to contribute to the creation of a society of knowledge, one where the competition of ideas represents a commitment to progress, and not a constant source of seemingly unsolvable disputes.*

# Did NATO Win in the Balkans?



By: *Danko Plevnik*

**The geopolitical situation in South-Eastern Europe represents, doubtlessly, NATO's tactical triumph. However, this region is ceasing to be a motivator of NATO strategy, which is, in the 21st century, directed towards the Middle East, Central Asia and Far East.**

*The author is a writer and columnist of the „Slobodna Dalmacija“, daily newspaper in Split, Croatia*

“Peace in the Balkans was not brought by Dayton, but by Avignano. Dayton brought unrest. Peace was brought by the planes that took off from the NATO base in this Italian town.”<sup>1</sup> Hadžem Hajdarević’s statement laconically summarizes NATO’s role in the achievement of the peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and South-Eastern Europe and into promotion into peace-maker. South-Eastern Europe has helped NATO not only to maintain its reputation of a safety alliance, but also to affirm itself as a war and a political formation. It was in the region of South-Eastern Europe, where NATO undertook a few operations (Deny Flight, 1993; Sharp Guard 1993-1996; Deliberate Force, 1995, and later Essential Harvest, 2001), operated outside of the Article 5 framework, and waged its first humanitarian war against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo (Operation Allied Force) in 1999. Without South-Eastern Europe, NATO’s development as an intervening force would be neither this smooth nor this quick, because, in the doctrinaire sense, it was only at the NATO Summit in Prague in 2002 that it was decided that defense shall be extended outside the area specified in Article 5. This resulted in the establishment of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, comprising of 44 countries, and marked a shift from guarding the security of NATO members to guarding international security.

The dynamics of the BH war was “a systemic benchmark” in the forming of a new NATO, which in 1996 prompted the Associate Director of the Policy Planning Staff in State Department, Daniel Hamilton, to say that the NATO mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina was, probably, “the most important one for the future of the Alliance”.<sup>2</sup> Without Bosnia and the deployment of NATO forces there, the atmosphere would not have been created for the intervention in Kosovo and the construction of Bondsteel, the second biggest American military base in the world. This is not a coincidence, since NATO in South-Eastern Europe was and has remained at the service of Pax Americana as a means for the pacification and geopolitical unification of the region, rather than the lever used by one country to settle its accounts with another. This was clearly demonstrated in 1995 when NATO, encouraged by the US, denied aerial support to the Croatian Army in its campaign to gain control over Banja Luka.



Journal „DEMOCRACY AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST-ERN EUROPE“ is available at Central and Eastern European Online Library (C.E.E.O.L.) (<http://www.ceeol.com>).

