Global security challenges and their impact on the Security Strategy of Kosova

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Abstract

Security is a fundamental prerequisite for the existence and development of humans and their society. Its scientific research and understanding is focused both on the State as a single entity, and on the international politics, as a System of States. At the current level of social development, security policy is implemented through various security systems, which analyze the possibilities and degrees of organization to perform security function in contemporary society. It is part of the Comprehensive State Policy as a whole, and implemented through a host of National Security Goals. This means that, in order to formulate and develop a security concept, any state, must take under consideration both internal and external factors, both traditional and non-traditional factors.

Contemporary concept of the security policy is seen as a combination of objectives, interests, and actions in economy on one hand, and of the Strategy of the Armed Forces, on the other hand, including international cooperation and coordination. Kosova has fallen behind in this field, because it still misses some documents of crucial importance, i.e. "Comprehensive Security Strategy", a Comprehensive document defining the National Critical Infrastructure. These two documents are supposed to define the basic national interests of Kosova, as crucial elements of the National Being, and define institutions and actions for their preservation and development. To make the situation even more difficult, Kosova is still missing a clear definition of its security environment, whereas the entire security policy is based on the capability of KFOR, EULEX and other international presence, to provide their support.

The presence of parallel structures, and even criminal groups, sponsored, or instigated, by the official Government of Serbia, have a serious impact on the situation. Those structures and groups are a constant challenge against legal institutions of Kosova, in their efforts to execute the sovereignty throughout its territory.

Keywords: security; security concept; personal security; terrorism; corruption; alliances; UN; NATO; OSCE.

Introduction

Contemporary concept in defining the security, especially after the Cold War, has changed profoundly, to mirror the efforts to include all the factors that have the capacity to use the force, or to exercise violence, beyond the traditional ones (Military Force, International Relations, etc. which in great part define the State and National Security). Even the definition of the victim has been expanded, to include not only the state, but also the individual. Also, the security environment includes not only the state in general, but also the local level in which there is violence (from the family through to the arena of military activity on a grand scale). Furthermore, the definition of security is expanded to include the freedom of movement, freedom from illness, freedom from hunger, repression, etc.[1] Interweaving of all these categories and planes, has created new factors (non-traditional), with impact to security: civil society and media, International Organizations (Governmental, and Non-Governmental), big International Corporations, globalization, environment, etc. These new factors, cannot be treated and explained by the "traditional" concept of National Security, but, it takes a new concept to do so. In this new concept of "Societal Security", these elements are not only considered part of the National Security, but as referential entities of security, in and of themselves[2]. As a logic outcome, the security concept, which Kosova is supposed to build, should take under consideration the mutual interactions and dependency of these factors, even as they become less distinct and less obvious.

The process of globalization has created new opportunities of interaction, in this new framework. This is further mirrored in the security policies of individual Countries. This new framework, gives life to the new concept of security (Human Security concept), which in contrast to the traditional concept of National Security, gives precedence to the security of the individual over that of the state. So, in this new concept, the individual is the cornerstone, upon which, not only the National Security should rely, but, also the regional and global security as well[3]. Many different disciplines are involved in establishing this new concept – which study the International Relations, Human Rights, Security, Peace, etc. In this regard, the Security Policy in Kosova, must also consider a wide variety of fields, both at the state level (security policies and institutions, full access to various international security organizations, creating regional and cross-border relations to fight organized crime, etc.), as well as at the social level (society, wellbeing, politics, ecology, health, etc.), in order to obtain the comprehensive security for all the citizens, and for the country in general.

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[1] SACHS, Stephen E: The Changing Definition of Security, *International Relations, Merton College, Oxford* (2003) http://www.stevesachs.com/papers/paper_security.html

[2] BUZAN, Barry; WAEVER, Ole; WILDE, Jaap de: Security: A New Framework for Analysis, *Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998*

[3] Digital encyclopaedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security, also Human Security report Project, Affiliate to Simon Frasier University, Vancouver http://www.humansecurityreport.info/content/view/24/59/

The Security Policy

The Security Policy, in a wider sense, can be defined as the activity to obtain security against the threat sources – in nature, society, and between different societies (Countries). In its narrow sense, the goal of the Security Policy is to create a general concept of mechanisms and tools, with which to sustain internal and external security within the society. This represents the materialization of political principles, technical and organizational and other principles of Security Policy, in the broadest sense of the word. Policies of National Security are intended to integrate economic, diplomatic and military policies, in order to meet the threats to National Interests. However, in the "post-Cold War", the over-focusing on security issues has made evident the shortcomings of this approach, especially since the threats and risks have already become unclear and "remote". Therefore, the logic and cohesion of the formulation of these policies has become less convincing.

Various studies assert that Government Policies that promote "non-military" security, have positive effect on development of the country, whilst policies of "insecurity" (military conflict), no doubt, cause destruction and prevent any economic development[4]. Understanding this interdependence has made the challenges of Conflict Management to be more difficult. The importance and dominance of "classical" approaches to security, such as intimidation, the "Balance of Forces", Collective Security and Collective Defense, are being challenged / replaced with new concepts which treat security as a mutual, comprehensive and cooperative. Global and regional institutions are experimenting with new techniques of handling conflicts, such as preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peace building and humanitarian intervention, often with mixed results[5]. The idea behind international initiatives, such as Stability Pact, is based on the principle of creating "intra-regional" economic interdependence. This principle is based on the assumption that by rooting economic freedom, prosperity and democracy, it will be possible to bring normality in the region and enable integration of the region. The core belief is that, if economies are interdependent, than respective governments and people will avoid violence, because companies and citizens will suffer deep economic loss[6].

In addition to the billions of Euros invested in economic and institutional infrastructure, these initiatives attach great importance to security issues, expanding the sphere of interest beyond issues of national security, the joint regional struggle against corruption and organized crime, cooperation in border security, Security Sector Reform, etc.

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[4] STEWART, Francis: Development and Security; *Queen Elisabeth House, University of Oxford, 2004*

[5] S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies: http://www.ntu.edu.sg/rsis/teaching/MSc.asp#

[6] STANCHEV, Krassen: Insights into Balkan Economic Interdependencies, Executive Director, Institute for Market Economies, Sofia. Extract from *Economic Colloqium of NATO, Bucarest, 2-4 May 2001*: Economic developments and reforms in cooperation partner countries: the interrelationship between regional economic cooperation, security and stability, (page 73), The Economics Directorate, NATO: http://www.nato.int/docu/colloq/2001/2001-07e.pdf.

In this way, the issue of National Security as the core of national sovereignty, more and more is going into the hands of international institutions, increasing even more the interdependence of economy and security. The Achilles heel in this approach to security is that states can never be completely equal, or completely interdependent. If a country has a strategic advantage over other countries, then, it may attempt to impose its agenda to any degree possible, claiming various areas of interest, as does time-after-time Russia in blocking system gas conductors Western European right, or currently, Serbia's attitude to try and impose itself as the most important factor in talks with Kosova, and considering these discussions as a matter of secession, not as talks between two equal parties.

With the declaration of Independence on 17 February 2008, Kosova has defined its first strategic orientations of foreign policy, which determined the shaping of security policy, and other policies, as an integral part. Strategic orientation of Kosova security policy and foreign policy are: political and diplomatic activities to increase the number of international recognitions of Kosova's Independence; constructive role in international politics and economic organizations; commitment to the growth of bilateral relations with all partner countries, especially with neighboring countries; political activities, cultural and economic promotion of Kosova in the international community; promoting of national interests; care for Kosovars in the world, etc. The strategic orientations can be clearly seen in the analysis of the activity of the parliament, who over the years has passed a considerable number of laws in the field of security, as well as some important documents of strategic orientations.

Security and defense policy of Kosova is defined by the Constitution, which defines and addresses the security environment, establishing and adjusting the relevant institutions to prevent and minimize the effects of internal and external threats and risks. It acts in two directions: first, sets Policy Objectives towards which the Strategy is directed, and secondly, establishes rules for action. Contemporary concept for Security Strategy is seen as a combination of economic objectives, interests and activities, combined with the Strategy of the Armed Forces. However, there is a heavy stagnation in this area, because Kosova lacks documents of crucial importance such as "General Security Strategy", as well as document dealing with National Critical Infrastructure. These two documents would broadly define and treat the interests of Kosova, as well as key elements of National Being, which should be protected by Institutions charged with National Security. These interests are: the preservation of the Sovereignty of the Republic of Kosova, protection of Constitutional Order, Independence and Territorial Integrity, Freedom and Human Rights, development and protection of Key Systems (Transportation, Communications, Energy, Water Supply, Food Supply, elements of National Culture and Identity, etc.), Economic Development and Prosperity, membership in International Security Structures, etc.

To emphasize the importance of identifying National Critical infrastructure, we will mention some of the common problems that people don't even notice: lack of International Telephone Code, causes all telephone calls from Kosova (including those coming from and to the Institutions) are made through another Country (Serbia, Monaco, Slovenia). This means that foreign Intelligence Services can have open access to all official conversations between all Kosovar Institutions. The situation is the same with the International Internet Codes (IP Addresses) - all "surfing" on the Internet from and to Kosova, is done through servers located in Serbia. This means that Serbia can take hostage all the "virtual" information from the Kosovar institutions, much like it did in 1999. with printed documentation. The lightning strike on the Power Plant "Kosova B", which occurred in 2003, brought the entire Power Grid of Kosova, out of order. What has never been connected to this case is that, in the event of a military air-strike, or a terrorist attack by proximity, the same fate awaits not only plants, but also all the facilities of National Critical Infrastructure (including Government buildings and other institutions, systems, drinking water supply, etc.).

The policy of cooperation and integration in international security institutions, with particular emphasis on NATO integration, as a means of achieving stability in the country and region, is the core objective and essential strategic choice for Kosova's security and for defending the National Interests. However, the rate of success in the implementation of this policy depends on achieving internal stability and consolidation of democratic society and human rights, economic development, human capacity building (level of "functional", i.e. applicable education); consolidation of security institutions and security instruments, affirming Kosova as a contributing factor in the progress of the processes of regional and global security. Kosova, supported by NATO and EULEX, is building a European security system, which is based on mutual cooperation at Regional and International level. This concept has full support from the international community on the financial and professional level, in particular by NATO, the US and the European Union. However, to meet these objectives, Kosovar Institutions should speed up the process of building the legal infrastructure for security, which must be in full compliance with standards and legislation of the European Union. From the perspective of Kosovar policy, the European Union and NATO are the main factors of European architecture, which have experienced large progress after 90's. Core documents for the field (which are still in the drafting stage) should reflect the policy of these two organizations, following the standards and related changes with a goal to creating conditions for full integration into these structures. NATO's presence in Kosova strengthens the security and boosts defensive factor, which is the basis for overall stability in the Country. However, important and special role for stability in the region, with particular emphasis on Kosova, plays the presence of the United States, because they were and are a promoter of regional stability and progress.

The main goal of the policy of general security of Kosova should be to draft a broad concept of security (Personal Security) and to strengthen security by cooperating with other Countries based on the principles of the UN, OSCE and European Council. Maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the countries of the Western Balkans is of particular importance to Kosova and to the stability and security of this region. In this regard, the establishment and expansion of the "EULEX" Mission throughout the territory of Kosova, is of particular importance, because this Mission is making efforts to meet the basic principles of the Declaration of Lisbon (1996) for "Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-First Century"[7] as "freedom of states to decide its own security commitments, including alliances and treaties; obstruction of strengthening the state against other states, or, claim to areas of interest; on the modalities of security are required to take into account the legitimate interests of other countries, especially neighboring countries, etc."

The main goal of EULEX is to assist and support the Kosova authorities in the rule of law issues, in particular in the area of Police operations, Judiciary and Customs. The Mission is not to rule or govern Kosova, but it's a technical one, with the main mandate to monitor, mentor and advise the Kosovar Institutions, which are responsible in their respective fields. However, this Mission was attributed a limited number of Executive Powers as well. These powers, though unspecified, probably refer to the authority of EULEX to overturn or annul operational decisions taken by the competent Kosova authorities, but also to exercise direct responsibility in prosecuting and trying the perpetrators. As such, this mission has the responsibility to develop and further strengthen the independent and multiethnic Justice system in Kosova, ensuring that the institutions of the rule of law are free from political interference and adhering to internationally recognized standards and best practices. This was decided on the basis of an act of the Council of the European Union named as Council Joint Action 2008/124 / CFSP of 4 February 2008. on the European mission for Rule of Law in Kosova[8]. This document specified EULEX powers, structure, status, staff etc. In fact, the deployment of EULEX is made on the basis of the framework of Resolution 1244 of the Security Council of the UN. "EULEX" Mission offers expert assistance and material support to all the issues on which consensus is reached with Kosova institutions.

EULEX Mission in Kosova is a complex effort. This complexity was conditioned not only by, conditionally speaking, generalized solutions provided by the above-mentioned documents of the Council of the European Union (2008/124 / CFSP), especially in the part that it addresses the executive responsibilities, but also the issue of heterogeneity of the staff, as well as the overall situation of the Justice system and functioning of State

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[7] LISBON DOCUMENT 1996, paragraph 7. of the Declaration (page 11). OSCE, *Lisbon Summit, 1996* http://www.osce.org/mc/39539 (Accessed 08/02/2016.)

[8] See: http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/eul/repository/docs/WEJointActionEULEX_EN.pdf

structures, especially in the north. These are considered to be the main factors that caused the Mission to fail in its mission and its objectives.

Among modest positive results one can mention: efforts to establish EULEX presence throughout Kosova; resolution of all criminal cases at the Supreme Court of Kosova, which were "inherited" from UNMIK; resolution of some complicated criminal cases, at other levels of the Judiciary; successful apprehension of several persons suspected of serious crimes during the War; successful management of a number of complicated criminal cases; some activities of exhumations and identification of the human remains from the War; several successful activities in the field of Customs; successful management of visits from top Serbian officials; etc.

In addition to these successes, however, the Mission is also marred by many failures, among which we highlight: some areas of the territory of Kosova continue to be outside the jurisdiction of the institutions of Kosova and of international authorities; illegal structures instigated and funded by the Government of Serbia (including the Serbian Intelligence Agency) continue to operate in certain parts of Kosova (especially in the North); utter failure to conduct the Amnesty and Demilitarization of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons; failure to re-open the Court and other Judiciary institutions in the northern part of Mitrovica; failure to re-establish proper functioning of the Customs at the Border Crossing Points 1 (Leposavic) and 31 (Zubin Potok) in northern Kosova, etc.

Kosova is under the influence of its geostrategic position and as a result, even under the influence of "diplomatic games" in the international arena. This geo-strategic environment is considered, in one hand, as a "Balkan environment", with all the historical legacy of this region and, on the other hand, as a "European area" over which the USA, and (in particular) the Countries of the European Union exercise positive influence on stability, democratization and integration. Kosova's geographical position takes a special importance in relation to the directions of routes connecting the Central and Northern Europe with the Southern Europe and the Mediterranean Basin.

Kosova needs to support the new concept of security policy, which means cooperation and coordination at the international level. But to achieve this goal at this stage, Kosova lacks a clear definition of the security environment, while the Security Policies are based on the ability/support by KFOR and EULEX.

A huge impact in creating this situation was inflicted by a wide range of criminal groups, engaged in all kinds of activities, mostly sponsored by Serbia. Much like Cardinal Richelieu in his time, tried to prevent unification of Germany[9], these activities are intended to hinder Kosova security institutions to prevent them from exercising

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[9] KISSINGER, Henry: Diplomacy. *Simon and Schuster Paperbacks*, 1994.

sovereignty over the entire territory of Kosova. And, unlike the Europe during the time of Cardinal Richelieu, Europe today, is well aware of all these "Machiavellian" and opportunistic efforts of the Serbian Government, even as their public clearly has different opinions[10]. Unfortunately, instead of a straightforward action to cut-off such behavior, the International Community is feeling "satisfied" with their efforts, regardless of the fact that they continue to fail in delivering any substantive results, since 2008. when Kosovo declared Independence.

State Security of the Republic of Kosova, under current international and domestic circumstances

State security contains four basic elements: physical security, autonomy, development and rule[11]. Kosova was declared independent and sovereign state, as a result of strong tensions of international politics, however, precisely as a result of these tensions, the independence and sovereignty of the newest state in Europe, remain incomplete. The *physical security* of the state is not in doubt due to the military presence of NATO[12]. However, whilst the goal of Kosovar institutions should be that NATO continues to be present in Kosova, that should be achieved not by means of foreign armies. Instead, local capacities for security, and especially KSF, should be part of NATO. Still, there are elements in- and outside the territory of the Republic of Kosova, which make this presence a necessity, and which should be treated as challenges to physical security: the lack of a National Security Strategy, lack of identification of the National Critical Infrastructure, and a Strategy to protect that Infrastructure; institutional and territorial claims from Serbia, which are currently expressed through politics of "misleading" and degradation of any initiative that deals with Kosova, etc. Even the three other elements of state security are still very fragile and deeply under the influence of factors which vindicated the declaration of independence, according to the Ahtisaari Plan.

Modern concept of security is arranged in an organized manner as a "Security System", which at the Country level is further developed to become the System of National Security. Many new geo-political and geo-economic developments have had a great impact in the process of developing this concept. These new developments are reflected in the re-dimensioning of the security system, including the public security and order[13]. However, in the globalized world of the End of the Twentieth Century and

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[10] JELINCIC, Jadranka: Serbia still continues to misuse the issue of Kosovo *Fond for Open Society*, June 2012 http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/srbija-i-dalje-zloupotrebljava-kosovo/1434/6 (Accessed on 08/02/2016).

[11] MORGAN, Patrick Security in International Politics: Traditional Approaches. *Contemporary Security Studies, part I – Approaches to Security*, page 13. Oxford Press University; Edited by Alan Collins (Published in Albanian by UET Press, Editor Bashkim Gjergji), ISBN: 978-99956-39-14-3

[12] Security Challenges following the Declaration of the Independence, A group of authors, *Institute for Studies of Security and Integrations "Katana"*, Pristina, February (2008)

[13] Personal security in Kosova (Requires a Comprehensive Analysis), A group of authors, *Institute for Studies of Security and Integrations "Katana"*, Pristina, August (2007)

the beginning of this Century, in which the monopoly on the use of force[14] is not in the hands of the State, many States in the traditional sense, are "forced" to give up a part of their *autonomy* of action, as an element of National Security. After the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, Ireland, Portugal, Greece, are subject to the rules of the IMF and World Bank, renouncing their "right" to control their own budget.

The impact of these Institutions on the Government's "autonomy of action" was evident also in Kosova, when the Government decided to raise the salaries in the Public Sector. The results, or better say – the consequences, of this decision, will become clear as the effects of the IMF's decision to cancel the loan agreement with the Government of the Republic of Kosova start to show. These institutions require prudence and application of certain rules even in the process of privatization of Socially Owned Enterprises and Public Assets. As a result of this impact, and under the conditions of political tensions, several Governments in a row are continuously failing in the privatization of PTK (Post and Telecom of Kosova) and KEK (Kosova's Power Corporation).

Unfortunately, not only International Institutions are influencing our Government's autonomy of action. Above and beyond the Ahtisaari Plan, Kosovo still must "pay tribute" to Belgrade. Serbian Government has even established a Political Party in Kosova, which is currently part of the Government in Pristina, and whose proponents openly declare that they "take orders from Belgrade". Any politician from the Serbian Minority who falls from the grace of Belgrade, will surely feel the consequences, like Mr. Nenad Rasic, who was Deputy Prime-Minister of the Kosovar Government, and is now Member of the Parliament[15].

In the article "Security Economy" (Figure 4. Curve "Consuption-Security" in the case of Kosova, page 10)[16], authors foresaw the problems with the Government's "autonomy of action", its prospect of taking over the competences from the "International Presence" and its efforts to gain "real power" in the field of security, along with the long-term impact which the "Security Curve" will have on the Economic Development and on the General Security of the Country. It is clear that the stalemate in the process, will have a profound impact on the third element of national security - *Economic Development*, because the Government of the Republic of Kosova is basing the Economic Development on the Project of Constructing the Pristina - Elez Han Highway, whereas the construction of this Highway, is based on the revenue to be derived from the privatization of public assets mentioned.

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[14] WEBER, Max: Politics as a vocation, Published as "Politik als Beruf," Gesammelte Politische Schriften (Muenchen, 1921), pp. 396450. Originally a speech at Munich University, 1918, published in 1919 by Duncker & Humbldt, Munich.

[15] RASIC, Nenad explains the pressure and influence from Belgrade, http://www.gazetaexpress.com/komiteti/nenad-rashic-2199/

[16] GASHI, Bejtush; JUSUFI, Agron: Security Economy, *International Studies*, A Review of International Relations, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy. The Center for International Studies; Zagreb, in Croatian (Ekonomija Sigurnosti, slučaj za analizu: Kosovo poslije rata) (August 2009)

Finding new supply routes, creating local capacities of economic development, and finding new markets, are the prerequisites to create new investment opportunities and to reduce the deep negative foreign trade balance, particularly and especially with Serbia. "Access to Sea", respectively, using the Albanian Sea-ports (i.e. Shengjin), as alternative to uncontrolled influx of goods from Serbia, is an important strategic element, not only in economic terms but also in terms of regional security and stability. Such a solution is necessary, as an adequate response to the misleading and degrading "style" of politics coming from the Institutions of Serbia.

To close the circle, lack of economic development, coupled with the constant population growth, (which is constantly migrating to urban areas in pursuit of their luck), is facilitating the conditions that will precipitate the problems with the *rule*, as the fourth element of National Security. Other factors of importance are also part of this element - the ability of the State Institutions to control and govern the whole of its territory (currently being challenged in the Northern parts of the Country, with "majority" Serbian population), cross-border cooperation, (both regional and international), which has great effects in the fight against "diseases of modern society" - trafficking in human beings, trafficking in prohibited items (drugs, weapons, strategic articles, etc.). After the Independence, the Government of the Republic of Kosova is spending more time in finding its own pace, instead of implementing a comprehensive plan for treatment of the problems of National Security. Regardless of numerous elements that merit criticism, the Medium-Term Development Strategy, adopted by the Government, represents the first approach of Kosovar institutions to problems facing the new Country.

Kosovar institutions, which are still "under-construction" and clearly lack any tradition and experience in dealing with security challenges, in addition, are forced to face obstacles and difficulties coming from abroad, and furthermore, must continue to deal with the problems accumulated over past two decades. The challenges of societal security in Kosova are numerous. Some of them have a direct (acute) impact to security, while others have indirect (postponed) impact.

Among the challenges in the *first group*, we can emphasize Corruption and Organized Crime (trafficking in human beings, terrorism, illegal trafficking in controlled substances - drugs, weapons, technology, etc.). Corruption is a phenomenon that is also present in countries with developed democracy[17], but a characteristic to these countries is that the "environment" is very hostile toward corruption, for at least four reasons: firstly, because of a comprehensive legal framework; secondly, because of the tenacity and veracity of the institutions in the fight against the corruption; thirdly, because of the highly active, well-intending, and highly susceptible, civil society, always ready

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[17] Corruption Perceptions Index 2015, *Transparency International*: https://www.transparency.org/cpi2015#results-table (accessed on Feb. 05, 2016.)

to react; fourthly, because of the higher standard of the economic development in these countries[18]. Unfortunately, though, these elements are still at a nascent stage of development.

Corruption directly threatens the establishment and development of the Market Economy. It causes a distorting effect on Government Policies on trade and taxes and deters potential investors. It is the greatest threat to the democratization of Kosovar Society, as well as to the consolidation of its Democratic Institutions. It hinders the implementation of strategies and policies intended to fight and prevent crime, and it is a major obstacle to the successful implementation of methods and organization that establish the Rule of Law.

Privatization of SOEs (Socially Owned Enterprises) at any cost, under the guise of the fight against Corruption, is not the right strategy. Just the opposite: in many transition and developing countries, privatization often degraded and became a wholesale of public (or socially owned) assets below the market price, in a procedure lacking any transparency and highly susceptible to corruption.

In addition, such practices create conditions for corruption even after privatization[19]. Prolongation of the process of privatization of PTK (Kosovo Post and Telecom) and parts (services) of KEK (Kosovo Power Corporation), is an indication that "there is something rotten". Besides the blatant corruption, another awful practice that must be fought against is "coercive bribe" which means that citizens are coerced to bribe the public officials, to achieve something, which they are entitled to by law and / or civic norms. According to media coverage, this phenomenon is widespread through all the Systems of Government, as well as Public (and Socially Owned) Enterprises. Positive developments are being noticed with some Municipalities implementing new, electronic system (teller machines) to issue personal documents, without any interaction with the bureaucracy.

Corruption as a threat can be fought against through "preventive strategies" that reduce the chances for crime and remove the weak links within the system. These strategies will positively affect the economic and industrial systems and increase their resistance against infiltration by organized crime groups. The fight against organized crime, corruption and illicit trafficking, depends on the efficiency of the Anti-Corruption Agency, the Intelligence Agency, Police, Prosecution and the Judiciary.

Maintaining the general security, among other things, also requires a system that will prevent misuse of any information collected in the process, which thus will protect the

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[18] MAURO, Paolo: Why worry about corruption? *International Monetary Fund*, Economic Issues, Washington D.C. (1997), ISBN: 1-55775-635-X

[19] TANWEER AKRAM: Ineffective Privatization of Public Enterprises: The Case of Bangladesh,
UN Public Administration Network (1999) http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN024962.pdf

public consciousness from being manipulated. Kosova's Government should expedite the process of functionalizing such a system, including agencies tasked with collection and processing of information, and especially covert ones (their Mission, Standard Operation Procedures and Legal Framework), to build an information system integrated and interoperable among themselves, and with homologous structures in the region. It has become commonplace for such agencies to cross "traditional" boundaries and incorporate in their practices the concept of "Coalition of Information". Furthermore, considering the influence and "omnipresence" of the International Community in Kosovo, certain information, or information coming from certain fields, must be granted protection under the law, and be designated as "Classified" or "State Secrete". Such designation must also include information gathered through communication, or shared with International Organizations, or with other Countries.

Terrorism is now being considered one of the most serious threats to security in Kosova, as in many other countries. This has become one of the most serious threats to security worldwide, especially given the global trends of radicalization and violent extremism. These phenomena are drawing from the strengths and weaknesses of a globalized world to spread the messages of terrorist groups, to provide funding for their support groups and their criminal activities, and furthermore, in recruiting new members, to achieve their goals, even in countries that are far away from the conflict. The biggest threat currently appears to be the so-called ISIS based in Syria and Iraq, which is a global threat to security. In addition to that, this also constitutes an important threat to Kosova as well, since it is located in the region and includes countries with which a part of the population of Kosova has had traditional, cultural and historical relations. These phenomena, unfortunately, show no signs of abatement, and therefore, addressing these challenges is an urgent matter for the Republic of Kosova.

Considering the contemporary concept of security, described in Introduction, Kosovar Security Institutions must adapt their strategy and tactics. The threat of Terrorism is still exclusively domain of the Intelligence Agency and the Special Units of Kosovo Police, with no efforts being made to use the capacities of the Municipal Councils of Community Safety (MCCS)[20]. These Councils include Police officers dedicated to Community Policing, Municipality Officials, representatives from ethnic groups, representatives from the Religious Communities, etc. who's contribution would be very precious.

Increasing the number of Police Officers to Community Policing, would not only be a positive factor for the overall security[21], but, it would also be an important preventive element in the fight against Terrorism.

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[20] National Strategy and the Action Plan for the Community Safety 2011-2016, *Ministry of Internal Affairs*, June 2011 http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Strategjia_Nacionale_dhe_Plani_i_Veprimit_per_Sigurine_ne_Bashkesi_2011-2016.pdf

[21] Community Policing, A group of authors, *Institute for Studies of Security and Integrations "Katana"*, Pristina, August (2007)

Among the challenges of the *second group*, we distinguish: low quality of education across the board and through all levels, which is resulting in massive functional "illiteracy"; lack of agrarian policy and related strategy of urbanization; the integration of the Serbian minority in State Institutions; influence of Belgrade over the Serbian minority; etc.

Kosova is known for the fact that it has the youngest population in the Continent. But, although this is a welcomed fact, as a positive element in terms of capacity building, it is imperative to invest in protecting this capacity from degradation and destruction[22]. Few years ago, the extremely low level of success on the matriculation exam (similar to ETA test), has forced the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to do what it should not do - lower the threshold for passing the test. Private education system in Kosova has created an *inflation* of Scientific Degrees and Titles in the realm of Social Sciences - lawyers, bankers, managers, criminologists, political scientists, diplomats, etc., who can not find practical application. At the same time, the Technical Departments and Natural Sciences - medicine, construction, machinery, are non-existent in the private sector, while at the Public University of Pristina are practically facing extinction.

The integration of minorities with the rest of society and within the State Institutions, is a prerequisite for EU membership. But, regardless of that fact, putting the needs of a group of any affiliation (whether economic / social, or ethnic) before the needs and welfare of the Society as a whole, never brings about the expected results. In fact, human history has proved that such attempts always end in disaster for individuals, or even for the whole society. Such efforts in Kosova during the '90s culminated to open war of the KLA against the regime Serbia, and currently we are witnessing uprisings and civil strife in almost all Arab Countries. Therefore, Kosovar Institutions must learn from the bitter experiences of the past and must dismiss the wrong approach to security of minorities, which UNMIK has maintained as "keeping the status-quo" from past (before the war) and the International Community is trying continuously to impose to the Local Institutions as a "positive legacy"[23]. The influence of Belgrade upon Kosovar Serbs has decreased significantly in recent years, especially after "the Brussels agreement on the normalization of relations between Kosova and Serbia" which was signed on 19th of April 2013, after 10 rounds of political dialogue under the direction of the High Representative of the European Union (EU) for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Baroness Catherine Ashton. This was obvious during the Local Elections and during the National Elections in 2014. However, this influence still remains problematic. The agreement itself goes beyond the Comprehensive Settlement Proposal by Ahtisaari (CSP) and creates an institutional separation, based on ethnicity, whereby Kosovar

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[22] GASHI, Bejtush; JUSUFI, Agron: Security Economy

[23] Personal Security in Kosova (Requires a Comprehensive Analysis), A group of authors, *Institute for Studies of Security and Integrations "Katana"*, Pristina, April (2007)

Serbs are put above all others. Such segregation presents a heavy blow to International Community's efforts in the last decade and a half in building a multiethnic Society in Kosova. This situation is especially visceral in the north of the Country, where Local Serbs, intermittently block the Highways, banishing not only Kosova Police, but also KFOR and EULEX Police as well. This attitude can easily have deep impact on Security. It can be further exacerbated for no legitimate cause and be misused for the purpose of "daily politics" on either side (e.g. the Serbian PM Vucic has said during the talks in Brussels, that the coming Elections in Serbia, will be held "throughout the Country, including Kosovo and Metohia"). Furthermore, if maintained further, it can provoke similar acts from other ethnic groups.

Conclusions

In XXI century, security is no longer identified with military power, and the use of force is no longer a monopoly of the state. Classic challenges are replaced with new ones, which are not primarily related to classical military strength and its attributes. They come from different sources and it is difficult to foresee their nature, the intensity of their threat, place and time of their outbreak and their longevity. The time we live in, in addition to economic globalization, has brought also the globalization of risks and security threats on the international, regional, national and individual / human level. Globalization, favoring the free movement of people and goods, has also created opportunities for crime and terrorism to benefit from. Interdependence and interrelation of the economy and security has increased, but with this increase, these phenomena have become increasingly amorphous and undefined. Societal Security can no longer be treated as proximate part of State Security, but should be treated as a separate and important National Interest. Numerous institutions and international initiatives have been established and operating, spending huge sums of money, to "concert together" these two sectors vital to any State or Nation.

After the Declaration of Independence on 17th of February, 2008, Kosova has been largely peaceful and stable, but the International Community has not provided adequate support to guarantee the Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity and to preempt any effort aimed at dividing the State in any way.

The EULEX Mission has also faced many challenges, of which, the important ones, we consider, are: the lack of clarity in the executive functions of EULEX; lack of sustainable security; fuddle system of "tripartite" Governance (UNMIK EULEX Kosova institutions); the issue of missing persons; the heterogeneous composition of EULEX Mission; etc. However, the major failures remain: the issue of the "functional sovereignty", i.e. some areas of Kosova are still outside the jurisdiction of authorities in the Country, with illegal structures functioning freely and openly in the North and in other areas

with Serb minority (e.g. Serbian Secret Service, the Bridge Guards, etc.), with financial support from Serbia; impossibility of proper functioning of the Judiciary, in the Northern part of Mitrovica; impossibility of proper functioning of the Customs at the Border Crossing Points 1. (Leposaviq) and 31. (Zubin Potok), etc.

The strategic objective of the Kosova security policy is Integration into Euro-Atlantic Security Structures. Kosova's membership in NATO and the EU is the primary long-term objective, which has the full support of the people of Kosova and of the political spectrum. Kosova does not base the security of the Country on its own forces, but in a joint effort, through integration and cooperation with International Organizations. It has a historic opportunity to build a modern State and become an example in the region, where its citizens, regardless of ethnicity or religious beliefs, feel equal, where families are guaranteed to build their future and their children by equal contributions, where hope for the future will be greater than the fear of the past.

While the International Presence in Kosova (KFOR, UNMIK, EULEX, etc) was enough for National Security, their failure for a timely and proper treatment of societal security, is now presented as a very complicated problem, in which the influence of the International Community has not been to the required degree. Consequently, today, Kosova is not threatened as a State, or territory, but the Kosovars are living under increasingly difficult Societal Security. To improve this situation, we need deep commitment of local institutions, but that will do no good, without a serious and urgent "change of heart" from the International Community. The International Community must begin to trust Kosovar Institutions and invest in local (Municipal) capacities, including MCCS, to face the contemporary challenges of security.

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