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NATO, REDEFINITION OF SECURITY AND CROATIA

The issue of security is one of the fundamental postulates of the UN system, but also of members of the NATO Alliance. The changes in the world balance of powers and disappearance of the bipolar world have made the NATO Alliance redefine its scope of operation, but also its tasks expected in the light of new threats and challenges. The role of the Alliance is interwoven with and supplemented by the establishment of a new political factor – the European Union. In the context of new precepts of the world and provision of security, the Republic of Croatia is undergoing a process of involvement in the system of regional and world security, which also includes all hazards that this active accession to NATO and the EU brings about.

Keywords: NATO, security, Croatia

No matter how much it may seem so, the end of history, as put forward by Francis Fukuyama,¹ did not indicate the end of the image of the world as we know it (because everything is going to be recurrent from now on). In social terms, first and foremost, it indicated that our environment, whether closer or larger, is an integral social civilisational structure confronted with new challenges and efforts to find their resolutions. In the 21st century national systems, their mutual political and economic status, and consequently, the status of security are confronted with a number of lines of force modified on everyday basis. In this turbulent movement saturated with diverse aspects, the issue of security has come to foreground as one of the crucial issues. It ranges from the individual and the community to the state, and subsequently to the community of states, geographical areas and political community as a whole.

The Cold War, the Bloc Division, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, drowning of the Warsaw Pact within itself, and afterwards, the Post-Block World confronted with

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¹ Francis Fukuyama: "The End of History and the Last Man", New York: Free Press, 1992. He was a member of the RAND Corporation's Department of Political Science in the following periods: 1979-1980, 1983-1989, 1995-1996. In his book he argues that history reached its end "because the major alternatives to liberal democracy had exhausted themselves".

challenges of terrorism, Near East and similar crises² are some points of reference that have challenged a relatively simple definition of security for self-defence.³ Let us recall the North Atlantic Treaty (the Washington Treaty) of 4 April 1949,⁴ i.e. signed in last century when the NATO Alliance was established, which sets out general values such as democracy, individual rights and freedoms, freedom, common heritage and civilisation in the North Atlantic area, but also the issue of security in Article 5.⁵

The Treaty sets out mutual assistance in restoration and maintenance of peace and security in Europe and North America in the event of a threat or an attack against any of the Parties. At the time, despite long decades of tense international relations and many occasional situations of crisis, the matter was nonetheless perceptively simple. In essentially bipolar confrontation, the central position was occupied by the two Blocs, which largely depended on one another in terms of their engagement and *raison d'être*, as was the case with the so called nonalignment, for that matter. NATO was confronted with new problems at the end of the Two-Bloc World, after the Eastern military and political Bloc was extinguished, having collapsed in the arms race and owing to internal economic weaknesses and failure to respect elementary freedoms of individuals, nations and states. These problems involve redefinition of external political goals precisely because of new challenges to security.⁶

Nevertheless, in this new century the fear of general war has been pushed to the background due to new threats of terrorism, ethnic conflicts, arms of mass

² F. Fukuyama: "Nobody wants to live under fundamentalist Muslim regimes..." *op. cit.*

³ Although previously within the NATO Alliance security was primarily considered from the military aspect, nowadays the "multidimensional meaning" of security is strongly manifested. See e.g. Tobias Damjanov: "NATO, Security and Sustainable Development", www.inesap.org/bulletin15/bul15art04.htm. The paper, nonetheless, puts forward more critical viewpoints.

⁴ The North Atlantic Treaty came into force on 24 August 1949, after the deposition of all ratifications of Signatory States in the archives of the Government of the United States of America, and transmission of certified copies to all Governments of Signatory States. In accordance with Article 14, the English and French texts of the Treaty are equally authentic.

⁵ In particular, Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty sets out mutual assistance of the Signatory States in the event of "an armed attack" against one or more of them in Europe or North America. Besides other necessary measures, it also provides for military actions ("the use of armed force") to restore *the security of the North Atlantic region*. Moreover, the Article also mentions international peace and security, which are conferred to the Security Council. When the Security Council takes the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security, all further defensive actions of the Atlantic Alliance are terminated.

⁶ "...Nowadays NATO comes forward as an organization that operates on three continents in Europe, Asia (Afghanistan and Iraq) and Africa (Darfur). Exactly around these points, where the NATO forces are deployed today, we can observe a new definition of tasks that will become effective for the 21st century, and where the NATO activities will take place." – Radovan Vukadinović, "NATO kao instrument sigurnosti", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Croatian ed., January 2007, No. 1, p. 8.

destruction and spreading of crises. The strategic concept of NATO of 1999⁷ and the Prague Summit Meeting indicated these global general security hazards. There is a noticeable move towards the European and the Near East under new circumstances of geo-strategic positioning alongside strengthening of military-defensive and political component within the NATO Alliance. In this respect the security requirement for the Alliance Members, as well as for the North Atlantic, i.e. North American and Western European areas, was also added for new states that are getting involved in the activities of the Alliance in different ways and through different programmes.⁸

Naturally, future membership is founded on Article 10 of the Washington Treaty whereby the existing State Members of the Alliance are authorized, by unanimous agreement, to invite any European state to their membership.⁹ In this way the access to East was wide open, not immediately and unequivocally, but following the fulfilment of necessary accession requirements, which implies gradual fulfilment of certain tasks, whether social and economic or military, through different programmes.¹⁰

In that respect, Croatia is at a certain turning point: its defensive war resulted in a lot of casualties, ravaged economy and considerable expenses, and under new circumstances of world challenges it strives to achieve its own political, but also security goals. The goals of accession to the European social and political area, following the membership candidature and the processes of monitoring and harmonization of domestic legislative system with the law of the European Community, seem attainable.

⁷ See e.g. the book: *Future NATO Security/Addressing the Challenges of Evolving Security and Information Sharing Systems and Architecture*: www.iospress.nl/html/1586033921.php

⁸ NATO's willingness to spread from the Central European area to the South-Eastern European area is indicated first of all by the involvement of Croatia and Macedonia in the Partnership for Peace programme, but then also by the establishment of the so-called Adriatic Charter, which besides the two countries also involves Albania.

⁹ The first extension of NATO membership, and consequently, of the area under security protection was set out and put in force by the London Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the Accession of Greece and Turkey of 22 October 1951. The invitation to membership communicated to Turkey involves placing a portion of the Near East and Asian territories under protection. The text of the North Atlantic Treaty, as well as of the Protocol on the Accession of Greece and Turkey can be found on: www.nato.int/docu/basic/text/treaty.htm

¹⁰ Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty specifies a wider area protected by the NATO Alliance, which alongside the territories of the Signatory States in Europe or North America explicitly also includes the then Algerian Departments of France, the territory of Turkey or Island areas under the jurisdiction of Member States (north of the Tropic of Cancer). Further on, the wording specifies that any area with military forces, vessels or aircraft of any of the Signatory States in Europe, the Mediterranean or the North Atlantic shall also be protected. Since 3 July 1962 the Treaty provisions have no longer been applied to the former Algerian Departments of France, as reported on 16 January 1963.

On the other hand, other security challenges have not been completely addressed. A recently established peace in our neighbourhood does not need to be of a lasting nature. Therefore, a realistic positioning of the Republic of Croatia in terms of security is not only an imperative of its political leadership, but, first and foremost, an interest of any citizen. The military forces of the European Union are in the process of emerging, and as such they cannot be a military supplement, let alone a replacement of the military force of the NATO Alliance, as a means of protection and deterrent against a potential, future aggressor. The national forces of a sovereign state in our case are insufficient, as they require excessive financial engagement of an indebted society, and both quantity- and quality-wise they cannot substitute collective guarantee of security of an alliance.¹¹

Naturally, in rational approach to the issue of security, national security, the issue of sacrificing a portion of one's own sovereignty comes to the fore. At this point there is no need to tackle the legal aspect of philosophic and legal considerations on national sovereignty, its holder and place of origin, which have been debatable issues in law ever since Jean Bodin¹². It is a fact that the absolute of sovereignty is established merely theoretically, because nevertheless sovereignty is, excluding a legal analysis, constrained by a number of factors. This military aspect of sovereignty is constrained by entrance into a system of military and political activities of an alliance, implying involvement in military and similar operations within activities of the Alliance and outside the parent area.

Another theoretical possibility for Croatia and its security was the establishment and emphasis on the neutral position of the state. However, no matter how appealing and presumably more acceptable for a majority of citizens it may be, it remains a romantic vision we are personally entitled to, like we are entitled to our independence. Its deficiency lies in the absence of a traditional external military guarantor of such neutrality. Nonetheless, the general public, which has never been asked yet, may be more inclined to this solution or may become more inclined following grave effects of our external engagements.¹³

¹¹ The Summit of NATO Alliance Members (26) in Riga from 28 to 29 November 2006 clearly specified the necessity to set out priorities for the next ten to fifteen years. The Presidents of States and Prime Ministers published Comprehensive Political Guidelines that classify the threats of the modern *security environment* such as terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, failing states, regional crises, misuse of emerging technologies and the disruption of the flow of vital resources. The focus was placed on the maintenance of joint intervening, well coordinated, mobile and adaptable military forces ready to implement all types of assignments, from small and low to medium intensity. The Guidelines supported the 1999 Strategic Concept.

¹² In 1576 Bodin inaugurates the doctrine of sovereignty in his work "Six Livres de la République" (Six Books of the Republic).

¹³ On 26 November 2006 Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia Berislav Rončević paid a visit to Croatian soldiers in the ISAF mission. The 11 soldiers were members of the Opera-

In politically practical sense, the path to full membership in NATO has been considerably designated and marked by active Croatian efforts.¹⁴ Having signed the American-Adriatic Charter of 2003 in Tirana, Croatia (alongside Albania and Macedonia) committed itself to strengthening of defence and security within the Military Action Plan (MAP)¹⁵, which it had been involved in a year earlier. As one of the implications/effects was reference of Article 12 to medical group to the mission of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.¹⁶ Since February 2003 Croatia has sent to Afghanistan to the mission of NATO forces 50 members of armed forces, and since recently by the decision of parliament it has been increased by 150 members, and also a liaison and scouting/ group is being prepared/undergoing preparations of seven people. Besides, in Afghanistan there is also 1 diplomat and two civilian policemen.¹⁷ Therefore, the increase/growth would account for 200 soldiers in 2007, and in 2008 for 300.

Following the NATO meeting in Riga Croatia is expecting/has been expecting the invitation for the membership,¹⁸ while the countries to the East from us were invited into the Partnership for Peace.¹⁹ It indicates NATO's comprehension

tional Mentor and Liaison Team (OMLT) in Kandahar. During the occasion he also spoke to a wounded Corporal, Goran Špehar. Fortunately, the shrapnel wound was not lethal, but in some future war operations the possibilities of death casualties are not be excluded.

¹⁴ By its Decision of 12 December 2002 Croatian Parliament approved deployment of Croatian military forces in Afghanistan within the ISAF mission. Versatile forms of cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the NATO Alliance may be seen on the web pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, i.e. the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Croatia to the NATO Alliance in Brussels: nato.mfa.hr

¹⁵ MAP is a peculiar adaptation for NATO Alliance membership and involves: I. political and economic issues, II. defence issues, III. issue of resources, IV. security issues and V. legal issues. For more, see the web address: www.morh.hr/nato/documents/map.asp

¹⁶ Secretary-General of the NATO Alliance Jaap de Scheffer and president of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan signed on 6 September 2006 Declaration between NATO and IR Afghanistan, which emphasizes out the necessity of NATO's contribution to security and stability of Afghanistan, and it also mentions the role of ISAF. The text of the statement is available on: www.int/docu/basicstxt/b060906e.htm

¹⁷ For a more detailed overview on the role of Croatian military forces in ISAF in Afghanistan see: www.morh.hr/nato/documents/isaf1.asp

¹⁸ President of the United States of America George Bush gave the promise when he said that three countries (Croatia, Macedonia and Albania) are candidates for membership/invitation for at the next summit meeting in 2008, which was pointed out also in an official document from the summit. These signals from Riga were also satisfactory to the National Committee for RH Membership in NATO, which on 7 December 2006 was held under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic of Croatia, Government and Parliament.

¹⁹ The countries Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia were invited to join the programme Partnership for Peace without any questions being asked or conditions for cooperation with the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in the Hague and detainment and

of the necessity of military cohesion of the European South-East, which obviously precedes political stability/. Also the National Committee for Membership of Croatia in NATO welcomes the signals from Riga, and we must not forget that it involves President of the Republic, Government and Parliament.²⁰

Active involvement of Croatia in activities of NATO Alliance obviously may not be avoided as long as there is political will. It is indicated by a fact that our soldiers were within rotation moved from north Afghanistan, to more turbulent south where the first threat to security and first wounding happened/occurred. Removal of the constraint for the use of forces of some Member States of the Alliance will “unwillingly” lead to our stronger involvement. We are already witness that our forces, which have not been included in more direct military operations so far, were partly and temporarily moved (following the units of Afghanistan’s army which is training them) to the Afghan South. There they were exposed to military attacks and forced to operate in military self-defence. The path from passive security/ to active defence security is very slippery. It is a question whether there will be accusations for excessive use of ammunition, because the commanding responsibility will not take place.

With operation of 32,000 NATO ISAF forces from 26 countries they should become more operational,²¹ which is necessary because the gravity of the issue is indicated by the data in report of Office for Drugs and Crime of the UN of October 2006. It reported a 50% increase in opium production in the country in last year despite presence of military forces. Afghanistan is a producer of 92% of world opium, and this year’s yield/crop is a record.²²

extradition of Karadžić and Mladić, indicted for war crimes. NATO’s presence in the region of Kosovo is provided with their 17 thousand members.

²⁰ By Decision of Government of the Republic of Croatia on 19 September 2002 a cross resource task force for cooperation with NATO was established and for execution of the Action Plan for Membership in NATO. It is headed by national coordinator and it involves representatives from the Ministry of Defence (Vice President of one of whom is Vice Chairman of the cross-department task force), and Foreign Affairs; economy, labour and entrepreneurship; Ministry of Justice; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Sea, Tourism, Transportation and Development; Ministry of Science, Education and Sports; Ministry of Health and Social Welfare; Ministry of Environmental Protection, Physical Planning and Construction; Ministry of Family, War Veterans and Intergenerational Solidarity; representatives of Croatian Parliament, Office of President of the Republic of Croatia, Central National Office for State Property and Government’s Office for Legislation.

²¹ Minister of Foreign Affairs Kolinda Grabar Kitarović declared on 26 June 2007 in Brussels (A. Palokaj, Jutarnji list, 27 January 2007) that the Republic of Croatia, with considerable assistance to Afghan NATO mission „remains at the standing point that the Croatian forces will not be involved in attacking/ operations“. However, by the transfer of units of Afghan army the question remains to what extent the reality of more intensive conflict will reform defensive into offensive activity.

²² The World Drug Report of 2006 Volume 2. Statistic Report of UN on Drug Production. In

After the report of Baker-Hamilton's group on Iraq was published²³ it was evident that in that war about 2,900 soldiers got hurt/toll/killed, and more than 20,000 were wounded (so far this adventure has cost about 300 billion, and the total amount could come up to about half a million dollars).²⁴ Since Defence Secretary/ Robert Gates during inquiry at the Senate Committee admitted that America is not winning the war in Iraq.²⁵ The exit conception is only being posted/made,²⁶ and the war increasingly overflows also to Afghanistan.²⁷ The current efforts of ISAF forces were obviously not enough, so the current allied forces are becoming stronger and larger in number.²⁸ The increase is followed by not only removal

2005 illegal poppy growth for opium decreased in the entire world by 22 percent, which especially accounted for one of the three greatest producers – Afghanistan 67% (the other two are Mijanmar 22% and Laos), where the number of ha of 131,000 ha in 2004 dropped to 104,000 in 2005. But the production of opium in Afghanistan in 2005 was increased by 22% and amounted to 39 kg/ha (in 2004 32 kg/ha), and this country earned 80% of the entire world production (!). The price of fresh opium during picking amounted to 100 US\$/kg in 2005. The opium growing households accounted for 309 thousand with average income per household of 1,800 US\$ (2005). In 2004 there were 356 households of growers with income of 1,700 US\$.

²³ Co-chairman of the study group for Iraq, James Baker and Lee Hamilton, invited on 6 December 2006 American Congress to support their 79 recommendations on modification of military, diplomatic and economic strategy in Iraq.

²⁴ At the end of January 2007 it was published that American President George W. Bush will ask another 10,6 billion dollars from the Congress for security and renovation of Afghanistan. From this amount 8,6 billion will be used for training and equipment of the Afghan army and police, and two billion for renovation. So far the Americans have spent for Afghanistan 14,2 billion dollars.

²⁵ Gates was a member of Baker-Hamilton's Commission, and he resigned from the post owing to nomination for the Head of Pentagon. According to his words, one to two years are needed in Iraq, and greater increase of American or allied forces in Afghanistan. At the beginning of January 2007 President Bush increased American forces in Iraq for another 20,000 soldiers.

²⁶ At the beginning of November 2006 military commanders in Pentagon (headed by Commander of Joint Headquarters General Peter Pace) worked on reforming the current strategy in Iraq, and Democratic Senator Carl Levine announced that after the elections his Party would ask for gradual withdrawal of American forces from that country.

²⁷ *Voice of America* published on 11 January 2007 that 60 to 150 talibans were killed in a strong night battle in South East Afghanistan, the strongest in the last months. Last year in this country more than 4 thousand people were killed, predominantly along the border with Pakistan, which is evidently difficult to control. Prevention or decrease of border operations by agreement with the Pakistani authorities with local tribal leaders has remained merely a trial (see the text: Seth G. Jones: „Pakistan's Tribal Deals Aren't Working“, www.rand.org/commentary/122806IHT.html) *Hina* on 2 February 2007 reports that the USA are taking command over NATO forces in Afghanistan doubling the number of their soldiers. American General Dan McNeill headed the ISAF. At the moment strong fights are fought for the town of Musu Qualu taken over by the rebels. Talibans have announced great actions in 2007, for which they have prepared „thousands of suicide bombers“ for that purpose.

²⁸ About 32,000 American soldiers will remain in Afghanistan four months longer than planned owing to sudden increase of the level of conflict.

of impediments against coordinated military operation and tendency to abolish constraints for the use of particular military contingents of the countries involved in ISAF. Similarly, actions have been taken to reform and establish adequate domestic police and military forces. However, as emphasized by former American ambassador to NATO Mr. Robert E. Hunter “The time for success in Afghanistan is running out.”²⁹ Since in October the NATO Alliance took responsibility for security of entire Afghanistan, a more coordinated action is needed.³⁰

In this respect the Croatian engagement will be greater as our involvement in the NATO Alliance structure is stronger, and especially when we become its active Member. Will accession to EU membership after the process of review and harmonization with the European *acquis* be coordinated with NATO accession or the NATO membership will precede, it is not clear at the moment. What is evident is that our military forces expect greater, more serious and coordinated, but also more risky engagements. The NATO Alliance membership will provide security in immediate surrounding, but what will our activities on the territory of Afghanistan imply for security of the country is yet to be seen.³¹

After the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, the beginning of nuclear terrorism through radiation of people, the security issues are going to increase. It shall concurrently apply to Croatia as well, which has so far been a victim of both the aggressive war and terrorist attacks,³² which as a tourist country depends on security of international communication and free and safe journey of European citizens.

²⁹ Robert E. Hunter: “The EU Should Put Up or Shut Up in Afghanistan/ Zašto se EU treba postaviti ili isključiti u Afganistanu”, RAND Commentary, www.rand.org/commentary/11806PS.html
The author points out that from 20,000 American soldiers in Afghanistan, 8,000 operates independently, while others are involved with other 26 NATO allies, and 11 other countries in ISAF mission. All these 40 thousand is not enough, and the author criticizes the European Union that it does not want to take adequate responsibility, although there are 19 of 26 NATO EU Members, owing to a lack of people and money. It also warns against defeat in decrease of opium and heroin production, funded by talibans, and which is still the most important crop. And alongside weak Afghan administration constraints in the use of ISAF forces affect their efficiency.

³⁰ In the EU document „A Secure Europe in a Better World/European Security Strategy“, Brussels, 12 December 2003 on page 12 it is pointed out that it is necessary to reform the European armies into more efficient, flexible and mobile forces and train them for new threats, and provide more money for defence. The EU-NATO partnership is also mentioned, which should increase the active capability of the European Union and establish a framework for strategic partnership between the two organizations, especially when management in crisis is concerned.

In current situation, Afghanistan should be a confirmation of efforts for coordinated action on the relation of EU-NATO.

³¹ It is expected that NATO engagement in Afghanistan will last from 5 to 10 years. See e.g. www.whartonjournal.com under NATO in Afghanistan – News.

³² Let us just remember the terrorist car-bomb in Rijeka as a retaliation for our alleged extradition of a suspected terrorist to American Security Services.

The Croatian search for its own security, for the community as well as for the citizens, in many ways will depend on the success of the NATO security realization, which is to be seen in the years to come.

CONCLUSION

The issue of security is one of the fundamental postulates of the UN system, but also of members of the NATO Alliance. In the 21st century national systems, their mutual political and economic status, and consequently, the status of security are confronted with a number of lines of force modified on everyday basis. The Cold War, the Bloc Division, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, drowning of the Warsaw Pact within itself, and afterwards, the Post-Block World confronted with challenges of terrorism, Near East and similar crises are some points of reference that have challenged a relatively simple definition of security for self-defence.

NATO was confronted with new problems at the end of the Two-Bloc World, after the Eastern military and political Bloc was extinguished. In this new century the fear of general war has been pushed to the background due to new threats of terrorism, ethnic conflicts, weapons of mass destruction and spreading of crises. The strategic concept of NATO of 1999 and the Prague Summit indicated these global general security hazards.

In this respect the security requirement for NATO Members, as well as for the North Atlantic, i.e. North American and Western European areas, was also added for new states that are getting involved in the activities of the Alliance in different ways and through different programmes. Republic of Croatia is at a certain turning point: its defensive war resulted in a lot of casualties, ravaged economy and considerable expenses, and under new circumstances of world challenges it strives to achieve its own political, but also security goals.

Therefore, a realistic positioning of the Republic of Croatia in terms of security is not only an imperative of its political leadership, but, first and foremost, an interest of any citizen. A military aspect of sovereignty is constrained by entrance into a system of military and political activities of an alliance, implying involvement in military and similar operations within activities of the Alliance and outside the parent area.

In politically practical sense, the path to full membership in NATO has been considerably designated and marked by active Croatian efforts. The Croatian National Committee on NATO Membership also welcomes the signals from Riga.

It is evident that active Croatian involvement in NATO activities cannot be avoided as long as it is supported by political willingness. The removal of the constraint of the use of forces of some NATO Member States will “unwillingly” lead to our stronger involvement. The path from passive security provision to active defensive security is evident.

In this respect the Croatian engagement is going to increase together with our greater involvement in the NATO structures, and especially after we become an active NATO Member.

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- Sjevernoatlantski ugovor /www.morh.hr/nato/documents/nato_ugovor.asp
- The North Atlantic Treaty, www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm

Abbreviations:

NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, RAND = Research and Development
Web sites:

www.nato.org , www.nato.int , nato.mfy.hr , www.morh.hr/nato ,
www.state.de.us/cjc/terrorism/history.shtml , www.osce.org , www.rand.org ,
www.whartonjournal.com , www.unodc.org/world_drug_report.html ,
www.jointogether.org/resources/world-drug-report-2006.html ,
www.voanews.com , iwpr.net

(Translation: Hrvoja Heffer)

Sažetak

NATO – redefinicija sigurnosti i Hrvatska

Pitanje sigurnosti jedno je od temeljnih postulata sustava UN, ali i članova NATO saveza. U ovom su 21. stoljeću sustavi država i njihovi uzajamni političko-gospodarski i slijedom toga sigurnosni položaji suočeni s mnoštvom silnica koje se svakodnevno mijenjaju. Hladni rat, blokovska podjela, rušenje berlinskoga zida, utapanje Varšavskoga pakta u samoga sebe, pa potom postblokovski svijet suočen s izazovima terorizma i bliskoistočnim krizama neke su od odrednica koje su relativno jednostavnu definiciju samoobrambene sigurnosti dovele u pitanje.

Kraj dvoblokovskoga svijeta utrućem istočnoga vojnopolitičkoga bloka koji se slomio u treći za naoružanjem i unutarnjim gospodarskim slabostima i zbog nepoštivanja elementarnih sloboda pojedinaca, nacija i država postavio je pred NATO nove probleme. Oni se sastoje od redefiniranja vanjskopolitičkih ciljeva

upravo zbog novih izazova sigurnosti. U ovom je novom stoljeću strah od općega rata ipak potisnut u pozadinu zbog novonastalih opasnosti terorizma, etničkih sukoba, oružja za masovna uništavanja i širenja kriza. Strateški koncept NATA iz 1999. i Praški sastanak na vrhu ukazali su na takva opće globalne sigurnosne opasnosti.

U tom je smislu zahtjev za sigurnošću za članice Saveza, kao i za sjevernoatlantsko, dakle sjevernoameričko i zapadnoeuropsko područje, pridodan i za nove države koje se na razne načine i putem raznih programa uključuju u aktivnosti Saveza. Hrvatska je u tom smislu na određenoj prekretnici, jer iz obrambenoga rata izašla s mnoštvom žrtava, poharanim gospodarstvom i znatnim troškovima, u novonastalim situacijama svjetskih izazova pokušava ostvariti vlastite političke, ali i sigurnosne ciljeve.

Stoga je realno sigurnosno pozicioniranje Republike Hrvatske ne samo imperativ njezinoga političkoga vodstva, nego prije svega interes svakog državljanina. Ulaženje u sustav vojno-političkoga djelovanja nekoga saveza ograničava vojni aspekt suverenosti impostirajući uključivanja u vojna i slična djelovanja u aktivnosti Saveza i izvan matičnog područja.

U političko praktičnom smislu put prema stvarnom članstvu u NATO-u je umnogome naznačen i obilježen aktivnim hrvatskim djelovanjima. Aktivno uključivanje Hrvatske u aktivnosti NATO saveza očito se ne može izbjeći dok za to postoji politička volja. Uklanjanje ograničenja za uporabu snagu nekih država članica Saveza dovest će i “ne želeći” do našeg jačega angažiranja, a put od pasivnog osiguravanja do aktivne obrambene sigurnosti je vrlo uzak. U tome će smislu i hrvatski angažman biti to veći što je i snažnija naša involviranost u strukture NATO saveza, a pogotovo onda kada postanemo njezinom aktivnom članicom.

Ključne riječi: NATO, sigurnost, Hrvatska