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SECURITY SECTOR EXPERT FORMATION: ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEEDS IN MACEDONIA

1.5 Assessment of Security Sector Expert Formation

1.5.1 Introduction

This paper presents initial work on Civil-Military Relations (CMR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) Expert Formation in the Republic of Macedonia. It is part of the broader assessment of the issue since the basic initiative for defining the status of CMR and SSR Expert Formation in Southeast Europe has come into existence as a first priority of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Consortium SSR-Working Group. Being part of a broader overview on Expert Formation in Southeast Europe and the Stability Pact area, this study initially closes the gap on the current status and essentials of expert formation. Based on an initial research and qualitative assessment of various primary and secondary sources, as well as interviews conducted by officials on different segments of the security sector, such assessments need to be a priority on the agenda of security sector institutions. There are two reasons why security sector reform is of such high importance: first, Macedonia is going through serious and specific post-conflict peace building consolidations and secondly, because of previously outlined joint political decisions of bringing the Macedonian security sector closer to standards, norms and requirements for integration into Euro-Atlantic security institutions. One of the challenges within this process is to identify and classify priorities in SSR according to the assessment of previous achievements and to dispose the framework of activities that will match a set of governmental democracy consolidation programmes and activities according to the Framework Agreement.

Although the Republic of Macedonia has gone through specific peaceful processes of transition since last year, it is questionable whether the reform processes have been deeper and of more substantial significance. In this regard, reforms within the security sector institutions are considered slow and challenging. These characteristics have almost been imposed on the public and some of the critical analysts, due to inappropriate and uncoordinated actions taken by military-security forces during the Macedonian crisis. The image of partially reformed and adapted institutions, dependent on international security mechanisms, is strengthened by the constant so-called 'security recipient' position of the country. Alongside benefits from the status of partner countries and improved relations with NATO through Membership Action Plan (MAP), it can be concluded that there are still open issues subject to reforms in the security sector. However, the atmosphere of a post-conflict environment and the ongoing processes of political and democratic consolidations that are typical for peace building in war-torn societies will not be eradicated by simply advertising a Framework Agreement and/or Constitutional Provisions. The complexity of post-conflict environments additionally obscures the process of SSR, though the ongoing process has by no means been insufficient or unsubstantial.

Based on this introductory analysis on expert formation and its function in improving civil-military relations and the SSR process in Macedonia, it could be anticipated that the successfulness of the reform process will not only depend on domestic political will and decisions or international appraisal, but also on the availability and capacity of expert formation to support the process. Aside from anticipated political will for modification of security sector according to international and professional standards and principles, it should be noted that such reforms ought to contain support for the genuine identified reform needs. The best practices can facilitate the process of identifying possible solutions, but universal recipes do not exist.

Much criticism can also be found concerning the issue of the assessment of needs posed by specific expert formation in support of the national security strategy, excellence of academic and non-academic security strategy and policy, excellence of academic and non-academic

educational and training programmes, and continuous education and training of the experts and experts' profiles. This introduction also criticises the issue of appropriate methodology and strategy, because the assessment of needs often only deals with fractional, inconsistent or short-term based political and individual interests. Generally, a limited number of experts are capable of professional engagement in specific segments of the security sector, and a limited number are incompletely and inappropriately engaged.

In conclusion, this approach is not the best defined starting position towards security cooperation and integration in Euro-Atlantic military-security organisations.

1.5.2 Objective

The main objective of the introductory analysis is to enable relevant political and academic institutions and the broader public of Macedonia to become more aware of the serious need of reconsidering the position of the democratic as well as civilian control of the security sector. The analysis constitutes a stocktaking research on the existing expert formation in the area of civil-military relations and security sector reform in Macedonia. It outlines the general situation of expert fulfilment in the segments of executive and legislative branches dealing with the security sector. It further overviews the role of civil society in influencing the processes relevant to civil-military relations and the SSR, particularly the role of NGOs. The specific questions addressed in the analysis are:

1. How well are security sector institutions (executive) staffed with civilian and military experts and how do they influence the activities of the institutions?
2. What is the quality of preparedness of specific experts for their task assignments and the potential need for additional training, programme coordination or assistance?

1.5.3 Relevance

The analysis on expert formation in civil-military relations has not resulted in a serious attempt to initiate complex and coordinated strategies for reforms. Moreover, it has served as an emerging trend with large publicity by the acknowledgement that future, more serious reforms are necessary, aimed at improving the democratisation of civil-military relations and efficiency of the security sector. The debate on this issue is not encompassed by an all-inclusive and complex viewing of the SSR in general. However, there is certain unified political and institutional concern regarding the debate of driving the system towards new organisational/functional or rational/efficient challenges. The ongoing reforms were not a result of a general national strategy, but were perceived as the composition of diverse reform activities.

Different institutions within the security sector initiated and conducted their own reforms without any support or backup from serious scientific or expert research.

Experience has shown that dilemmas about civil-military relations have been considered an exclusive academic issue rather than a serious practical problem in the process of democratisation.

The improvement of civil-military relations, together with reforms in the security sector, were promoted and handled in terms of necessary criteria for NATO accession, rather than a fundamental necessity of the country. That is the only reason why this process is not perceived as new, but more as a continuous activity initiated by the decisions of the Macedonian Parliament to achieve NATO membership. The military reforms – including size, equipment and professionalism – overshadowed other aspects of reforms.

Questions of democratisation of civil-military relations and SSR that are prioritised within the process of post-conflict peace building in Macedonia are not considered newly integrated segments by the larger part of the security expert community. SSR is rather perceived as a step to address a new security environment and challenges that followed the

crisis in Macedonia. Here, the integration of unlearned lessons plays a crucial role as well.

This process plays a fundamental role in the future stabilisation and promotion of democratic security in the country. It remains unclear whether this process should incorporate first generation SSR's. However, old mistakes should not and cannot be repeated.

1.5.4 Assessment of Expert Formation in Parliament

The Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia should have a key position in parliamentary oversight of the security sector. According to the highest normative acts, the Macedonian Parliament exerts key legislative and monitoring functions. Parliament's competence includes the following aspects: declaring the state of war or the state of immediate danger of war; monitoring the executive on defence issues; decision-making on the defence budget; international activities related to the defence issues as well as deciding on the concept of national security. Within the framework of its competence, parliamentary oversight of the security sector should be emphasised but the issue has not been sufficiently actualised within Parliament's activities. Such attributes about the role of Parliament come from the general estimation that Parliament, being a central political institution in a parliamentary democracy, has had a secondary role in the political process during the years that followed the independence of Macedonia.

This is particularly the case in fulfilling the monitoring function of Parliament with regard to the executive. The estimation that the role of Parliament is simply a voting instrument for decisions taken in the executive supported the previous opinion. Even the evaluation of the role and achievements of its agents has not sufficiently changed this image.

According to the established competence of Parliament, different Commissions were founded to support its function.⁴⁰ Regarding the issues of defence and security, the Commission on Defence and Security, as well as the Commission on Euro-Atlantic Integrations were set up.⁴¹ Apart from the division of responsibilities between Commissions, the impression exists that the issue on defence and security is addressed by two aspects: one covers the sphere of defence and security of the state and its legal dimensions, whereas the other covers the international aspect of Euro-Atlantic integrations.

According to the sphere of responsibilities, the Commission on Defence and Security reviews the documents and legal acts proposed by the executive. Depending on the level of discussions, the Commission presents its comments in the form of reports. This is basically the total domain of activity of the Commission, not presenting a sufficient monitoring function or influence on the procedure.

According to some evaluations, this is a consequence of over-numbered competencies. For example, the competencies of the Commission include issues related to the census, legal proceedings, bankruptcy proceedings etc.

The inefficiency can be blamed on experts who considered the constitutional position of this Commission as weak.⁴² The work of the Commission has been substantially dependent on the consciousness and presence of parliamentarians. Some indications show that discussions on these issues have been non-critical and most often formal. Instead of filtering and critically viewing proposals under discussion, the work of the Commission has often been guided to support received proposals. In

⁴⁰ With Rules of Procedures on the Parliament adopted in 2002, the number of Parliamentary Commissions was reduced from 23 to 17. While the former Rules of Procedures anticipated external members, the new one does not, but according to article 119 participation of external experts without a right to vote is enabled. The number of members in the commissions was also increased from 9 to 13.

⁴¹ With the decision of the Parliament taken on 12.11.2002, the Commission on internal policy and defence was renamed to Commission on defence and security.

⁴² Up to the present, this Commission has discussed the Law on Service in the Army, The Law on Defence, and The Law on Internal Affairs as the only acts related to defence and security.

addition, the work of the Commission has been burdened with internal political struggle and permanent efforts for quorum. Furthermore, the work was significantly influenced by its composition, including the professional orientation and interest of the members and the role of the Chairman of the Commission.

In this context, the capacity and preparedness of the members of the Commission for issues related to parliamentary oversight over security sector or democratic control are especially important. Nevertheless, keeping in mind that the members of the Commission are parliamentarians recommended by their parliamentary group (very often following the principle of personal affinity), any type of special expertise cannot be expected. Even the participation of two former Ministers in the Commission did not contribute to major successful activities.

In order to improve the work of the Commissions, Parliament introduced a new act on the Rules of Procedure, which defined more clearly the issues in the domain of the Commissions.

According to the competencies established with the new Rules of Procedure, the Commission on Defence and Security is to cover the issues related to: protection of the order established by the Constitution, supervision in the area of defence and security, issues related to civil defence; protection of life, personal safety and property of the citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution; production, trade, purchase, possession of weapons; maintenance of the public peace and order, public gatherings, identification and resolution of border incidents. In this case, the domain of the Commission is more clearly defined as a monitoring function over the executive. Although this is still a reactive function, it will improve the previously completely devalued position of the Commission.

The Commission on Defence and Security in its concept is directed towards the Commission on European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. A first glance at competences will not immediately discover possible

relationships.⁴³ The competence of the Commission is to address issues regarding European and Euro-Atlantic integrations; to provide an adjustment of views concerning Parliamentary activities on key issues related to the process of integration; to perform evaluations and initiate new activities that are of particular interest to Parliament; and to undertake activities on the harmonisation of the Macedonian legislative with the EU and the documents of international organisations. The Commission also initiates reviews of issues by parliamentary commissions, and other activities on coordination of parliamentary activities related to the process of integration. In terms of its competences, the Commission holds a position that allows bringing to the attention of the Commission on Defence and Security, different aspects concerning the country's integration into EU or NATO. In this respect, there are complex requirements for improving the role of Parliament in overseeing the security sector, while strengthening its monitoring, legislative and representative function. Accordingly, qualified civilian experts are needed to support the activity of the Commission.

A service was set up by Parliament for the purpose of expert and administrative support. In the domain of defence and security an important role belongs to the Sector for International Cooperation, Sector for Research and Analyses and Sector for Legislation. The Sector for International Cooperation, having been active since 1995 (since Macedonian inclusion into various international institutions), presents a competent institution for the multilateral and bilateral cooperation of Parliament. Six delegations were established with the new rules of procedure by Parliament, among which the Parliamentary Delegation in the Parliamentary Assembly of NATO can be found. In general, it could be noted that the parliamentary representatives have a greater interest to participate in the parliamentary delegations than in parliamentary commissions. But most importantly, there is no cooperation, coordination or exchange of expert opinion among the Commission of

⁴³ This commission is under the direct competence of the Chairman of the Parliament. Members of the Commission are the Vice-chairpersons of the Parliament, coordinators of the Parliamentary groups, chiefs, delegations and chairpersons of Parliamentary groups of the Parliament in the Parliamentary Assemblies of the European and Euro-Atlantic organisations.

Defence, Security and the Sector for international cooperation, or Parliamentary Delegation in NATO, regarding common issues associated with defence and security.

The sector for research and analysis should be capable of providing parliamentarians and staff with information relevant to the issues of defence, security and parliamentary oversight on the security sector. But this is not a regular parliamentary practice. There were individual requests referred to this sector but it hasn't been overloaded with research activities. Associating this sector with academies and research institutions, as well as international governmental and non-governmental organisations working on problems of democratic control on the security sector, would improve Parliament's role.

Initial analysis of the activities of Parliament and its commissions and sectors concerning issues related to defence and security shows that it is treated insufficiently and inappropriately. Parliament and its bodies, due to inappropriate and insufficient expert formation, failed to accomplish most of its functions with reference to defence and security issues (i.e. monitoring, legislative and representative function).

The evaluation of expert formation and expert preparedness for their assignments indicates an alarming situation in the structures of Parliament. Actually, there is not a single civilian expert on defence and security issues among parliamentary staff.

Based on that recognition, a deeper, systematic and unified analysis on expert formation and expert requirement is necessary. Furthermore, a survey on the new composition of the Parliament and its agencies would be necessary to identify the needs for additional education or training through formal or informal methods. Although different levels of requirements could be identified, this process should include members of Parliament, members of parliamentary delegations, members of Commissions and parliamentary staff. Another important issue suggests the support of the Commission on Defence and Security with appropriate expertise on parliamentary oversight of the security sector. For instance, a programme on Democratic Control has been active since September 2001, which is precisely an educational programme for parliaments and

parliamentary staff in SEE. This programme consists of a series of meetings on various topics such as: Bases of legislative control, Parliaments in SEE and reform priorities for the security sector, promotion of successful parliamentary control of the security sector, co-organised by CESS and ISPPI. There were no other activities on training and education of the deputies or staff on similar topics.

It should be emphasised that short study and working visits in relevant institutions or conferences, and/or seminar participation, are among the most appropriate forms to attract the interest of parliamentarians. In the case of parliamentary staff, specialisation and training are appropriate tools alongside the possibility for postgraduate studies. Such an opportunity is offered by the Institute for Defence and Peace Studies in Skopje.

1.5.5 Assessment of Expert Formation of the Ministry of Defence

The Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia is an integral part of the segment of the executive authority. According to acts governing the role of the Ministry, that is, according to the Law on Defence, its competence has been regulated in details.⁴⁴

The wide range of responsibilities of this Ministry and its successful, efficient and professional functioning is based on a row of prerequisites. Those include a well-defined sphere of responsibilities but also clearly established civil-military relations and expert formation. The domain of this initial analysis is not to penetrate into the paradigm of democratic and civil control over the military-security sector, but to locate and initiate the problem of expert formation in these institutions.

⁴⁴ The Ministry of Defence role is significant in the domain of creation of defence policy; preparation of the defence system; planning, programming and budgeting; education and training for defence as well as other activities. The Defence Law adopted in 2001 in Article 20 defines almost similar set of responsibilities for the Ministry of Defence. The accomplishments of the Ministry in the area of defence are posted on official site of the Ministry: <http://www.morm.gov.mk/zakon/eng/chapter03e.htm>

The evaluation of expert formation within the Ministry of Defence asks for the following aspects to be taken into account:

1. The evaluation should be based on the assessment of normative acts that regulate personnel formation and the status of the administration within the Ministry. It should evaluate their projection on the scope of inclusions of experts of various sectors and especially the inclusion of civil experts from the area of civil-military relations.
2. The evaluation should be conducted to the extent of the appropriate engagement of experts in accordance with the existing organisational scheme. These two aspects should be accompanied by:
3. the level of preparedness of different experts for their tasks and assignments.

Through such a comprehensive evaluation, some of the problems and dilemmas related to the issue of expert appointment and preparedness could also be defined.⁴⁵ Alongside the normative aspects of these issues, those challenges could be directed and defined by two processes:

1. different problems related to the politicisation of the process of appointment of personnel on managing positions but also in the administration of the Ministry, and
2. problems related to internal coordination and functioning of the structures in the Ministry, as well as coordination of the Ministry's activities with other governmental institutions, particularly those covering the security sector.

If the stated aspects were comprehensively analysed, a more complex idea on the importance of appropriate expert formation in this specific

⁴⁵ Some aspects related to service in the Army and its specifics and differences from the Law on State Servants are presented in Risteovski T: The Key for Higher Motivation (Kluc za pvisoka motiviranost). Odbrana. June 2002; and New Phase in Development of Defence System (Nova faza vo razvojt na odbranbeniot system) Odbrana, September 2002; also available on: <http://www.morm.gov.mk/mak/publik.html>

institution would be achieved. If we intend to continue making a problem of this issue, it would be in terms of a more detailed analysis of certain indicators, which are assumed as influential over the preparedness of expert performance on expected assignments. But this initial analysis has not been directed at that aim. Therefore, this portion of the evaluation of expert formation and preparedness in performing assignments could be more complex than it appears at first sight.

This problem could also be addressed and analysed as a consequence of various reasons related to previous education of experts in specific areas, or as an issue of continuous education and training on specific tasks.

The next aspect which contributes to the complexity of the issue is found in the efficiency of the educational programme offered at national level, to generate an expert with similar performances compared to those who perform related tasks within the security sector of Partner States. This aspect of the issue could, for example, be explained by a number of challenges that appeared through the activities on additional expert education of the personnel in the Ministry of Defence through bilateral and multilateral programmes on cooperation and education.

Nevertheless, part of the needs of the executive authorities would be met by specific personnel. For instance, civil experts in the defence area related to the sphere of democratic and civil control of civil-military relations.

The issue of expert formation and preparedness in this segment has been attributed by one more aspect, which will have a significant influence on the complexity of the process, particularly because of the process of post-conflict peace building. The Framework Agreement contains the principle of proportional representation of the communities within the structures of the security sector in general and the Ministry of Defence in particular. The principle of appropriate representation of the communities has been planned and conducted since the actual independence of Macedonia. For many reasons the efficient inclusion of communities failed, except at the higher officer level, but even in this case with significant observations and inconsistency. As such, this process did not produce appropriate effects on confidence building

among society and military structures as well as certain communities. Therefore, positive effects in that direction have been necessary to contribute to the stability and security of the state. This was probably the basic reason that the process was planned very carefully and completed to avoid the obstacles that delayed and impeded the overall process of expert formation.

One of the main problems of having an influence on the continuity and efficiency of the operation of the administration and managing personnel in the Ministry is the frequent change of the acts governing the status of the administration. A frequent practice can be found in that each new minister introduces a new act on job description (systematisation). This generates personnel problems that reflect on the efficient operation because qualified personnel cannot fill specific positions. One of the repeated explanations is that such personnel are not available, or the other reason states that though experts exist, they are not specifically engaged.

The Act on Systematisation enacted by the Minister of Defence, following prior approval by the Government, determines the criteria for specific posts and positions apart from the description of expert needs.

Most common interview comments with personnel of this sector showed that certain professional positions require education in the area of social sciences. Positions that require civil-military expert knowledge need to be provided with adequate educational programmes.

This happens despite the fact that within the framework of the system of higher education in Macedonia there is permanent education of civil experts on defence. Although this issue could be given broader and more comprehensive elaboration, the most substantial problem was pinpointed to several areas. The education quality of these personnel, in relation to the previously mentioned, needs to be comparable to the expert profile of partner states. This is a necessary criterion to improve the credibility of experts who are in the process of establishing efficient defence systems. The experts were additionally marginalised during the process of establishing the defence system after the independence of Macedonia, without any previous evaluation of their expert preparedness. Even

institutions of the political system of defence issues forgot about the availability of such personnel. Briefly, the priority of reforms in society was set in a manner that imposed the reform of the military sector by putting a strong influence of military aspects on security. This atmosphere, specifically relations and ratio of civil military experts, has disturbed the meaning of expert formation of the Ministry of Defence. This ratio presented a constant imbalance until the year 2000/01, when military officers were appointed to posts which in advanced democracies which were usually covered by civilians. This was the case concerning positions of under-secretaries and assistants to the Minister.

The implementation of democratic and civil control over the army is a constant challenge for the Ministry of Defence.⁴⁶ The present evaluation states that the Ministry of Defence lacks sufficiently educated civilians and military professionals with regard to defence issues. Incidents of confrontation between civilian and military experts continue to worsen cooperation. According to military experts, civilian political officials in the Ministry of Defence do not possess the required expertise as is possessed by the colleagues of the General Headquarters. According to civilian experts, the General Headquarters lacks adequate civilian professionals who would be of assistance in various work processes. As a result, the Ministry of Defence has not efficiently pursued the establishment of a policy which is a prerequisite to comply with Western standards of democracy and civil control over the military.

Due to lack of experienced and qualified civilian professionals in the Ministry, military experts required an extension of the military segment to the portion that traditionally has been considered the area of civilian activity. The development of programmes in the absence of civilian expert personnel causes military solutions to prevail. However, there are still military personnel who do not feel sufficiently integrated into the Ministry of Defence.

⁴⁶ More detailed analysis on civil-military relations and current challenges may be found in Vankovska, B. and Wiberg, H., 'Civil-Military relations in Macedonia', *COPRI Working Papers*, No. 16.,(2000) and Handziski, B. and Goreski, V., 'Democratic Civil Control of the Armed Forces in the Republic of Macedonia', paper presented at the seminar on *Legal Framing of Democratic Control of Armed Forces and Security Sector Norms and Reality/ies*, DCAF, 4-5 May 2001.

Civilian defence officials react in a reserved way to advice and criticism posed by military officers and, according to some opinions, try to extend civilian control and influence to the traditional military zone. But in the majority of cases, both civilian and military officials are forced to accept or support the objectives and philosophy of certain political parties.

This is one of the reasons it is imperative to achieve a better balance and appropriate positioning between civilian and military experts than is currently in existence. As a final result, the Ministry does not create any policies as is the case with the majority of defence systems in developed democracies.

The problem of expert formation has contributed to the process that even more erodes the capacity of the Ministry regarding expert formation. Examples show that certain personal decisions within the Ministry, starting with the Minister himself and the State Secretary, deputies and advisors, positions with key influence over the efficiency of operations in the Ministry, have permanently posed and discussed the issues of their qualification and professionalism. Factors that create suspicion over their qualifications were the application of principles of nepotism and/or party membership during the process of personnel selection. Such cases portray the fact that principles of depoliticisation have been violated, i.e. that policy involvement is part of the problem that erodes expert formation of the Ministry.

Another activity that influenced the process of expert formation in the Ministry is the continuous change of deeper portions of managing functions within the Ministry. The deep cuts are made in the administrative and expert formation of the Ministry as a result of the policy of political changes that are introduced with every new appointment of the government or minister. The staff, which created expertise for current positions has been repositioned. This fact creates confusion among expert opinions about the meaning and consequences of this process. For instance, a dual opinion exists on the solution of the State Secretary function. Some of the interviewed experts believe that this function should not be subject of change in order to maintain continuity and expertise and reduce policy involvement and its influence

over the Ministry's efficiency. The others share opposite opinions. According to them, this function has to be subject to change, but should also be followed by additional preparations (education and training) to perform anticipated tasks.

The Cabinet of the Minister presents another segment where the principle of expert formation needs to be observed. According to the summarised comments from the interviews, the Cabinet of the Minister plays an exclusively important role in the successful functioning and coordination of the activities. Previous experience of the functioning of the Ministry has shown that it generally served a bottleneck function due to inappropriate formation, or lack of organisational priorities. According to the formation development of this cabinet over the period 1992/93, no expert executive was established; since 1993/95 an individual executive covers the activities. At later stages, huge structures will be introduced, despite the earlier tendency of non-formation. This issue greatly influences the activities of the Ministry's structure and its efficiency. It affects the coordination of activities between different sectors and departments of the Ministry, where the meeting of its highest-level officials forms a main body for coordination. In this regard, there are a lot of comments and much pointing out the need of a serious approach to the formation of this segment and to overcome the stockholder position.

An additional problem concerns the efficient organisational structure, relations and coordination of the various independent sectors of the Ministry. According to some observations, they are not equally structured and supported by expert formation; some of them have a more emphasised role, as it was indicated in the case of the Sector on policy, planning and international cooperation, compared to the structure of the rest of the six sectors. In this case, inappropriate expert formation and burdened ratio of civil-military experts influenced the efficiency of the sectors and its cooperation. For that reason, a definition of the sphere of activities and responsibilities is necessary.

Probably due to oversized activities in this sector in the past, in order to create the defence system closer to NATO standards, an impression has risen that its function is identical to that of the Ministry in general. Some

suggestions directed this sector towards an organisational, with no overlapping executive function in the domain of defence policy, planning and international cooperation. Besides the estimated importance and influence of this sector, it is concluded that the sector faces problems of consistency in operation and expertise. The managing of this sector, along with the sector on civil defence and crises management, is carried out by the State Advisor. In this case, it could also be indicated that the expert level of the appointed person would influence the efficiency of action. This refers to the state advisors who manage the rest of the five sectors.⁴⁷

The efficiency and functionality of the Ministry could be disturbed as a consequence of its incompleteness with sub-legal acts and regulations of internal character arising from the Law on Defence. The sphere of normative-legal aspects and its influence on the efficiency of the Ministry is already recognised. Even in this field there are informal expert proposals for Constitutional changes and amendments of the Law on Defence in favour of detailed and more appropriate regulations of civil-military relations. Expert formation that should support this process in accordance with previous experience exclusively comes from the domain of constitutional and legal experts. The inclusion of civil-military experts is not often practised in this procedure.

A further problem that encompasses previous ones is the lack of an appropriate planning process, programming and budgeting for all functioning domains of the Ministry, and consequently the lack of transparency in the Ministry's work.

It can be concluded that expert and sub-expert formation in different areas of the Ministry's scope of work are present, but not appropriately positioned and/or engaged in existing work processes. Expert formation is a good starting point but not sufficient to support necessary and long-term reforms due to previously mentioned problems and challenges.

⁴⁷ The organisational structure of the Ministry may be found on the official site of the Ministry of Defence: www.morm.gov.mk

The need for the continuation of expert profiling and education process was recognised by the independence of Macedonia itself. But this process of expert preparation contains different dynamics (time scheme) and qualities. The Ministry of Defence is responsible for the assessment of needs and the conducting of plans and programmes for education and training. It enacts the following regulations: expert qualification and advancement of the administration employed in the Ministry, regulations on education, professional qualification and improvement of Army personnel, and the organisation of scientific research studies for defence needs and scientific-technical cooperation with appropriate institutions. Since Macedonia became a PfP member, the country's educational and training needs are planned within the Annual National Programme. The Planning and Review Process and Individual Partnership Programme furthermore define in detail the requirements, priorities and methods of accomplishment. According to the understanding of the majority of interviewed experts, the process of anticipating and planning educational and training needs is the easiest part of the problem. In fact, the most difficult part is the implementation of programmes. Although an agreement has been made on specific bilateral or multilateral programmes, inappropriate education or preparedness narrows the selection of suitable candidates. In some cases, appropriate candidates could not be found. In other cases, potential candidates expressed some dissatisfaction regarding political or personal disturbances of the selection process.

Based on experience to date it could also be concluded that the international cooperation on education and training has not been set on a broad basis. There is an impression that military expert education prevails. It has not been accompanied by proportional civilian expert education.

Some of the interviewed experts estimate that the Ministry, due to a number of objective and subjective reasons, did not efficiently and entirely use the offered educational programmes. Security sector expert formation suffered significant oscillations because it did not rely on long-lasting planning and support in programme implementation.

In fact, this process has a major obstacle in the non-existence of assessment of the current expert situation and anticipated expert needs for support of the national security and defence strategy. Not only the Ministry of Defence, but also other security sector actors ignored the importance of assessment and failed to integrate and coordinate their specific needs into joint educational expert strategies. But it is improbable that such action appears due to rival and occasional competitive relations among security sector actors. Moreover, such a joint strategy should not be expected to arise from inappropriate treatment of the national security sphere from the legislative and executive branch. This is obvious from the examples of the non-existence of national-security strategy, inappropriately defined responsibilities of the security actors, insufficient institutional support and clear definition of the role of the security system in the complex security environment.

Within the framework of the educational system of the Republic of Macedonia, education and training of civilian and military experts is performed through two educational institutions. The Military Academy 'Gen. Mihajlo Apostolski' organises the military education for all branches of the military.⁴⁸ Cadets being educated in the Academy are better prepared to fulfil national or NATO standards and requirements in front of the military officer/expert.⁴⁹

One of the problems that presents an immediate concern to Academy officials is unsystematic and uncoordinated enrolment, which is carried out on an ad hoc basis. The recent decision to stop the enrolment of new cadets for three years, in accordance with the advice of some military experts, does not correspond with the systematic planning of the needs for the support of SSR as a long-term process.

This implies that military education suffered significant difficulties due to insufficient military education management, planning, budgeting, as

⁴⁸ The aspects of the development of the military education in Macedonia is presented in S. Deskovski: *Cvrsta osnova za odbrana (The Strong Defence Basis)* Odbrana, No. 74, 2002, pp. 6.

⁴⁹ The Programme of the Military Academy 'Gen. Mihajlo Apostolski' is presented on www.va.edu.mk

well as a lack of developmental and support policy within the Ministry of Defence. Some of them are exposed as follows:

Although the Academy is organised according to NATO standards, it is questionable how many of the educational programmes can be conducted in the appropriate manner. Political, financial, organisational, personal and other factors adversely affect the success of those programmes.

The academy staff comprises military and civilian professionals. However, insufficient financial and other stimulating posts lower the chances of experts from other branches being attracted to open positions.

There is insufficient professional development support for lecturers with programmes for exchange of military experts and their future professional development in similar international academic institutions.

The Academy developed significant research programmes but there is a need for broader engagement of experts and academics that will strengthen cooperation in civil-military research and education.

Furthermore, the Academy has no resources for additional officer education after the completion of military education. There is no educational transfer after the specialisation or training has been completed.

The need for civil experts in the area of national security or defence was anticipated and supported as having great importance in most of the academic circles. But the complex situation that followed the act of independence recognised in the first place the need for situating the Army as a basis of the country's sovereignty and even later the necessity of the Civilian Defence Minister. As mentioned earlier, civilian defence experts were not considered of great importance for the creation of the defence system. This attitude influenced the interest and planning of the needs for civilian experts in the security sector. As a result, civilian experts have been constantly educated and promoted within the civilian system of higher education, but their expertise has not been recognised as necessary for the successful transformation of the defence system.

With the intentions of marginalising the need for civil experts on defence and their relevance for improving civil-military relations and the process of democratisation, the Institute for Defence and Peace Studies as a single academic institution related to defence issues, has gone through several modifications and adjustments with respect to its programme and curricula.

According to the newly initiated programme, the Institute is committed to educating students to become civilian experts on defence and peace issues. The main objective of the programme lies in preparing beginner experts for different tasks related to civilian expertise on political, social, economic, humanitarian and other aspects of national security. The institute organises postgraduate specialist, MA and PhD studies in peace and the defence area. Specific topics to be covered within group subjects include: Democratic Control of Security Sector; The Law on Armed Conflict; Political System and Political Institutions; National Security System and National Security Policy; Conflict Management and Crisis Management; European Security; European Integration and Peace and Defence Issues etc.

The Institute is currently preparing a programme for assistance and training on civil-military issues for military officials and parliamentarians, as well as other experts interested in defence and security issues. The programme intends to develop cooperation and training for NGOs that are interested in civil-military and security sector reform issues.

1.5.6 Assessment of Expert Formation in the Ministry of Interior

During the period following the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, and especially during last year's crisis, the Ministry of Interior and Defence were objects of wider public analysis and criticism. In that context, to a large part, ambiguity and lack of confidence prevailed in the public opinion on this segment and the executive power as well. This assessment results from a lack of openness and communication in the functioning of segments of this sector. As a result, the wider public gains the chance to judge activities of the Ministry

through acts and activities of individuals holding leading positions. In certain cases, their work is identified with that of the Ministry. However, despite the numerous criticisms concerning the work of this Ministry, the impression is that the situation (as in other security sectors) changes slowly except for that part requiring urgent qualification and acting of police forces in a multi-ethnic environment.

In that sense, the general qualification of certain analysts concerning expert formation of this part of the security sector does not seem surprising, i.e. that the Ministry of Interior has appropriate experts for realising competencies. Still, it seems that this issue is not raised as a primary problem. Greater importance is directed towards the problem of appropriate deployment of experts within particular areas, that is, their engagement and utilisation. Two elements can be recognised, which could refer to possible directions for analysis of the problem of expert assignment at the Ministry. On the one hand, it can be underlined that the estimation for expert preparedness is not recognised as a priority activity. On the other hand, it is assumed that the personnel educated according to the curricula of the Secondary Police School and the Faculty of Security Affairs are acceptable and ready to adjust to new requirements and challenges. However, not enough attention is paid to the type of personnel that would be appropriate for new requirements except, as mentioned above, acting in multi-ethnic surroundings. Therefore, the issue of expert assignment and preparedness, especially in the field of SSR and other segments of the security sector, is extremely important and is also a very complex matter.

Three aspects epitomize this complex issue: Professionalism, education and training; the ethnic representation and acting in a multi-ethnic environment; and the organisational and efficient restructuring of the Ministry of Interior. These different but not separated aspects happen through parallel processes with a continuous pursuit of both domestic public, and international community problems.

Besides those processes, most attention is paid to the proportional engagement of members of Albanian origin in various segments of this sector: education, training and the inclusion in professional multi-ethnic police patrols. The most frequent impression is that for part of the

communities the precondition for efficient police will be achieved through meeting the criteria for proportional engagement of the ethnic communities in the composition of police forces. As a result, the level of confidence could be raised.

However, according to some observations, a serious problem affecting the formation of an efficient and professional police is related to the selection process of persons for this profession. It is mainly carried out on unprofessional grounds through a highly politicised process, similar to other security sectors. As a result, serious consequences arise at a later stage of the education and training of cadets.

This problem is also partially caused by distinct changes in the process of education and preparation of regular and leading personnel for the needs of the Ministry. Three years ago, after a number of serious critical analyses, government officials closed the secondary school for police officer education regarding basic needs of the police. This only completed the elimination of the process of traditional education and promotion of police personnel, which started by terminating the Faculty of Security Studies in 1995 that educated personnel for leading positions at the Ministry. This Faculty still educates the remaining 65 students. The suspended expert education procedure process of the Ministry of Interior is not considered to have recovered on time, nor is it perceived that the transformation of the education system has been carried out without any distress and consequences. The problems that arose in the segments of professionalisation and organisational restructuring of the sector for internal affairs has made the situation more complex and set up other priorities.

As a result of accumulated and recognised problems in the functioning of the sector in June 2001, a working group was established composed of representatives of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Justice to deal with police reforms. This process has been supported by relevant commissions of the EU Agency for Reconstruction. The joint working group should assess both judicial and policing aspects so as to assess the situation and to determine the needs of the police. One of the problems

noted is the organisational restructuring of the Ministry of Interior.⁵⁰ According to its characteristics, it presents a huge and inefficient organisation, which needs to be decentralised in order to establish a cheaper and more efficient service.⁵¹

One of the international organisations that is deeply involved in the process of education and training is OSCE. Police officials appreciate the cooperation with OSCE instructors and consider it most successful. Cooperation is necessary in the selection process of potential police officer candidates. Usually, problems arise in this area. One of the problems is the deliberate disturbance of the professional selection of candidates, which is later reflected through unsatisfactory results in the education and training process. There are candidates that fail the final examination even though they completed the three-month training course and the three-month field training. This educational process produces basic police personnel, but according to some experts proves to be insufficient, disregarding the intensive lectures and training. The framework for education courses provides for various topics, but the accent is on human rights education, policing in a democracy, political and administrative system, constitutional framework, policing in a multi-ethnic society and other academic and tactical courses. Experts involved in the realisation of the course contents emphasise the extraordinary cooperation and professional engagement of OSCE experts and certain countries contributing to this process. On the other hand, a special problem is the preparation of curricula for the maintenance of those courses at different levels of education. This problem clearly demands cooperation with domestic and international academic institutions that can offer qualitative police education.

In the context of overcoming the problems that rose through the process of expert education for the needs of the Ministry, a proposal was made

⁵⁰ According to the annual growth, the Ministry of Interior in 1992 had about 6700 employees, in 1998 about 8000, and in 2002 about 10,000 employees.

⁵¹ Pursuant to the Framework Agreement, further consideration needs to be taken regarding the representation of the Ethnic-Albanians in the police and out of the current 6.6%, about 1000 new employees of Albanian ethnic origin need to be employed in 2003. The expert service in the sector for legal and personnel affairs should make an estimate of the additional number. With this tendency, the number of employees will gradually increase, but the number of persons who retire will be smaller.

for the establishment of a Police Academy that would prepare basic police personnel. The Government should estimate the extent of the needs and then come to a decision. According to the proposal, the education (instead of the current three-month's course) should last for two semesters (nine months) followed by six months of traineeship and a state exam. The cadets should be recruited at the Education Centre two weeks before the state exam. According to certain considerations and statements, the number of instructors to realise this programme is sufficient.

The Law at the Police Academy, apart from the basic police course, provides for special courses for principal personnel in the police. The potential experts will be educated through higher education courses organised with a duration of two years, the highest postings lasting four years, specialisation in certain spheres and postgraduate studies. One of the envisaged courses is a management course for principal personnel. This part requires the cooperation of various academic institutions and centres for education of police personnel from different aspects. The priority would be cooperation in designing the curriculum, elaboration of methodology of education, exchange and training of teaching and expert personnel. The broadening of the cooperation with other relevant institutions is also necessary for obtaining comparative experience, best practice, coordination and cooperation. One of the possible forms proposes the further qualification and education of instructors and lectures through exchange and interaction with international centres. For example, the meaning of cooperation and coordination with the judiciary has been mentioned and in that sense the functioning and role of the investigating magistrate. Certain experts in security matters underline the fact that the educational programmes at the Police Academy should provide for completion of the education of these cadres.

The reforms in the organisation, education programmes and supplying of the police structures should be completed by 2006. This process should also result in the professionalisation of the police, which will further imply responsibilities that have not yet been included in the sphere of this sector. This concerns the competencies of border police, which means that the process of expert profiling should certainly be understood as complex and serious.

1.5.7 Civil Society and SSR

Civil society in most post-communist or transition countries looks as if it has entered into a stage of renaissance. While the impression exists that civil society is exposed to constant change and development, some parts of society that have a completely contrary notion. Estimations of direct participants within this process are that civil society in post-communist or transition countries reflect on circumstances in other spheres of society. According to involved practitioners, this transition could not be evaluated with higher marks, and some analyses are even more positive.

Development of civil society in Macedonia follows the Humpty Dumpty walk evident in other parts of society. The turbulence that characterised the period after independence significantly marked the political process in Macedonia. Last year's crises additionally contributed to a deeper ethnic and political fragmentation. Civil society couldn't escape being influenced and therefore suffered the same consequences. It could be said that civil society in Macedonia is divided and influenced due to its dependence on the donor community and ignorant attitude of the Government. In both cases the relationship is inappropriate. While the donor community constantly maintains a relationship of financial dependence, relations between civil society and the Government are still unsteady. This situation could be averted if the new Government follows the Programme adopted at the very beginning of the mandate, which includes initiating cooperation with the civil sector.

While we are waiting for the initiative, relations among the NGO community and international donors will attract more attention. In contrast to previous relations, the NGO community in Macedonia has increased as a result of generous international programmes. Some perceived the Macedonian society as a good market for advertising different humanitarian and training programmes, of which a number of them had been previously implemented in other countries. As a result, over 3300 NGOs were registered. Over 200 NGOs presented their programmes on the Second NGOs Market, held in November 2002.⁵²

⁵² The official programme and various thematic issues presented at NGOs Market in Macedonia is available on www.graganskisvet.org

The number of NGOs that participated in the Market deserves recognition. It is a good indicator for cursory analysis but it does not improve the reality of civil society. Only one realistic overview of the NGOs Market will be enough to confirm previously critical analysis. Namely, for a large part of the visitors and the public, it remained unclear what was to be sold on the informal/marketing part. The smaller number of visitors with interest in authentic programmes based on the specific requirements of Macedonian society did not find anything innovative. The formal part of the NGO Market was consequently ignored by the public but not by the media. Local NGOs failed to promote the interests of the civil society, which were overshadowed by the search for donations. Failure to define and address the specific interests and needs of Macedonian society has caused the emergence of NGOs of a primarily humanitarian nature. This could result in an almost complete centralisation of the NGOs. Compared to their basic function or with dispersion of international NGOs settled in Macedonia, this presents an unexpected dynamic.

Due to an inappropriate organisational basis and inauthentic programme development, the effectiveness of the NGOs is undermined. According to some observations, most efforts are directed towards advertisement of programmes and sponsor donors, rather than to education and training. Favourite subjects among selected topics include human rights and conflict resolution.

Other remarks in this regard note that the same or similar topics and training programmes are prevalent in most NGOs. Transplanted programmes were sometimes introduced in other cases of post-conflict reconstruction three years before. Because some aspects of human rights protection and conflict resolution dominate the activity of NGOs, they obviously are more concerned with consequences than with reasons for problems they are dealing with. It can be concluded then that the civil sector in Macedonia is not on the right path, nor is its monitoring or preventive function in good proportion to its reactive one.

If we compare the specifics of this situation to the role of the international NGOs in Macedonia the picture will become clearer .

International NGOs in Macedonia are deeply involved in the process of donation provider-recipient and have a patron attitude towards local NGOs. However, they do not provide a monitoring or reactive role within their programmes.

The relationship between local and international NGOs, besides the donor-recipient relationship, is burdened with mutual distrust. If one party considers themselves as local experts with appropriate understanding of local specifics, the other considers them as having sufficient international experience to overcome or solve the problem.

During last year's crisis, a problematic phenomenon emerged representing a retreat from the norms of civil society. Suddenly, NGOs with programmes for conflict resolution were transferred into humanitarian assistance programmes and later into reconstruction programmes.

Analysis on the civilian sector in Macedonia and its programme's interest could be guided from different points. Nevertheless, regarding the role of the civil sector on security and defence issues it would be inappropriate to expect exhaustive analysis. The issue of civil military relations or security sector reform have not been successfully integrated into the programmes of various NGOs in Macedonia. Last year's crisis, apart from a humanitarian point of view, opened up other challenges for civil society concerning security issues. Therefore, some of the NGOs have been provoked to exchange public dialogue and protest over the process of disarmament and amnesty. Media reports have covered civil society dissatisfaction from symbolic disarmament of the armed paramilitary groups and dissatisfaction with the lack of transparency in the process of amnesty law. Later, other issues related to individual security in the crisis region, the position of internally displaced people, and dissolution of paramilitary forces occupied the attention of civil society. Most NGOs dealt with the humanitarian aspect of the problems. Questions related to the role of civil society actors on security and defence affairs remained relatively silent.

Bearing in mind the characteristics and level of maturity of the civil society in Macedonia, it is doubtful whether original programmes

targeting defence and security affairs will be promoted. Due to the dependence of civil society actors on donation support, it can be expected that such an issue, if it appeared as a priority in international institution agendas, would be supported by local NGOs. In this case, international assistance is to play a key promoting role in the establishment and capacity building of civil society groups to influence defence and security affairs. It is important that the objects of support are grass roots NGOs and not conference managers. Even more important is supporting local partners in the promotion of the topic, as well as stressing that awareness of such a topic will enlarge the influence of civil society groups over a broader spectrum of society.

1.5.8 Conclusion

Based on this introductory analysis on expert formation, it could be anticipated that enhancing democratic civil-military relations and the success of the process of SSR in Macedonia will depend on a number of factors, among them the availability and capacity of expert formation to support and propel the process. Alongside this is the expressed political will for modification of the security sector according to international and professional standards and principles. It should be noted that within the process genuine needs for reforms should be identified. Experiences of best practice can readily facilitate the process of detecting possible solutions and avoiding the most common traps. But a universal recipe for successful reforms cannot be expected.

The main objective of this introductory analysis was to bring to the attention of the relevant political and academic institutions and the broader public in Macedonia, an issue of democratic and civilian control of the security sector and the need for appropriate expert formation. The analysis provides an outline of the general situation with expert fulfilment in the segments of executive and legislative branches dealing with security sector and an overview of the role and possibilities of civil society to influence the processes relevant to civil-military relations and SSR, in particular the role of NGOs.

In general, it can be concluded that a limited number of experts are capable of professional engagement in specific segments of security sector and that a limited number of experts are incompletely and inaccurately engaged.

The main criticism concerns the assessment of needs from specific expert formation in support of national security strategy and policy, excellence of academic and non-academic educational and training programmes, continuous education and training of civilian and military experts on defence and security issues, and expert profiles.

An initial analysis of the activities of Parliament and its commissions and sectors concerning issues related to defence and security shows that they are treated in an insufficient and inappropriate manner. Parliament and its bodies, due to inappropriate and insufficient expert formation, failed to accomplish most of its functions with reference to defence and security issues (i.e. monitoring, legislative and representative function). The evaluation of expert formation and expert preparedness for their assignments indicates an alarming situation in the structures of Parliament. Actually, there is not a single civilian expert on defence and security issues among parliamentary staff.

Based on this recognition, a deeper, systematic and unified analysis on expert formation and expert requirement is necessary. Furthermore, a survey on the new composition of the Parliament and its agencies would be necessary to identify the needs of additional education or training through formal or informal methods. Although different levels of requirements could be identified, this process should include members of Parliament, members of parliamentary delegations, members of commissions and parliamentary staff.

It should be emphasised that short studies and working visits in relevant institutions, or conference and/or seminar participation are the most appropriate forms to attract the interest of parliamentarians. Concerning parliamentary staff, specialisation and training is an appropriate model alongside the possibility for postgraduate studies. The Institute for Defence and Peace Studies in Skopje offers such models.

The need for civil experts in the area of national security or defence was anticipated and supported as having great importance in most academic circles. But the complex situation that followed the act of independence has recognised in the first instance the need to situate the Army as the basis for the country's sovereignty. The civilian defence experts were not considered of greater importance for creating the defence system in Macedonia. This attitude influenced the interest and planning of the needs for civilian experts in the security sector in general and the Ministry of Defence in particular. As a result, civilian experts on defence issues were constantly educated and promoted within the civilian system for higher education, but have had serious employment problems.

The problem of experts' assignment at the Ministry of Interior can be recognised by the following two elements which highlight possible directions for analysis. On the one hand, it was noted that the estimation for expert preparedness is not recognised as a priority activity. On the other hand, it can be concluded that not enough attention is paid to the profile of the type of personnel that would be appropriate for new requirements, except acting in multi-ethnic surroundings. Therefore, the issue of expert's assignment and preparedness within the Ministry of Interior is considered extremely important and at the same time a complex matter.

One aspect of this complex matter is professionalism, education and training. Another aspect concerns ethnic representation and acting in a multi-ethnic environment, and thirdly the organisational and efficient restructuring and decentralisation of the Ministry of Interior.

The organisational reforms, education programmes and completion of police structures should be reached by 2006. This process should also enhance the professionalism of the police, which will also include responsibilities that have yet to be completely in the sphere of this sector until now. This concerns the competencies of border police, which reveals expert profiling to be a complex and serious process.

The analysis of the civilian sector in Macedonia and its programme's interest could be guided from different angles. But from the perspective of the role of the civil sector on security and defence issues it would be

inappropriate to expect abundant analysis. It is clear that the issue of civil military relations or security sector reform has not successfully infiltrated into programmes of various NGOs in Macedonia.

Bearing in mind the nature and maturity of civil society in Macedonia, it is doubtful that some original and well-driven programmes, initiating the issue of impact on defence and security affairs, will be promoted. Because of the high or complete dependence of civil society actors on donation support, it is expected that such an issue of priority among some international institution agendas would be supported by local NGOs. In this case, international assistance must play a key promoting role in the establishment and capacity building of civil society groups influencing defence and security affairs. It is important to reinforce that the objects of support should be grass roots and not conference management NGOs. Even more important is the support of local partners in promoting the topic as well as to acknowledge the awareness that such a topic will enlarge and strengthen the influence of civil society groups over a broader spectrum of society.