

THE CROATIAN PARLIAMENT

(HRVATSKI SABOR)

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According to Article 80 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Parliament declared the following during a session of parliament on March 19, 2002:

STRATEGY

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

INTRODUCTION

1. The document entitled “Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security” represents, in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, a conceptual document in which the Croatian Parliament, as the highest political and legislative institution, determines and accepts political views on fundamental national security issues. This document ensures a single base for creating and implementing systematic institutional solutions as well as guidelines and activities in terms of reacting to general security challenges and concrete forms of endangering the Republic of Croatia. The conceptual solutions presented in this document are primarily a result of four fundamental factors: (1) the Republic of Croatia’s present geo-political position is characterized by its determined effort to advance towards and enter Euro-Atlantic and European security organisations, (2) the state of the security challenges and risks area for the Republic of Croatia. (3) the state of the system and successfulness of national security operations and (4) available resources.

2. The following is included under national security of the Republic of Croatia: (1) a certain (achieved or planned) state of security, (2) a functional area of operations for various security institutions along with all social efforts in the field of achieving security goals and (3) the actual security institutions, linked together within an established relations system. The Republic of Croatia strives to develop a state of national security in which its freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity are ensured within the guidelines of internationally accepted structures as well as human liberties and the rights of its citizens, political and social stability of its society, stable economic development under free market conditions and entrepreneurship, a functional law-abiding state, internal order and personal safety of its citizens as well as healthy and stable ecological conditions. In this sense, national security can be defined as a condition in which the fundamental values of a society and the institutions founded on them are protected.

I. THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA’S SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND CHALLENGES

3. Today's world features quick and dynamic changes in international relations. Although the world's collective security structure has been preserved after the failure of a bipolar world order through the system of the *Organisations of the United Nations*, relations between leading players in international relations have thoroughly been changed. Most events in the fields of economy, defence, security, society and others are defined by two contradictory processes. On one hand we have globalization as a process of unifying various administrating systems and cultures, resulting in the unity of value systems, political order and technology, on the other hand there is a process underway which is strengthening all forms of individual identity – national, regional, cultural, religious and others. The Republic of Croatia is part of this new reality and wishes to actively participate in its shaping – in accordance to its capabilities and interests. Under these conditions the principle of non-shareable security is becoming more and more significant – there is no strengthening of one's own security at the expense of another's security. At the same time risks and threats cannot be efficiently handled without joint cooperation and assistance. New challenges seek new solutions.

4. The Republic of Croatia's security environment is defined by specific factors which have a determining effect on its current position. First of all, Croatia was in a transition towards a democratic society and market economy during its first stage which was marked with armed aggression with the goal of preventing Croatian independence. Most economical difficulties which we face today, as well as most security risks, are results, mostly directly, from the mentioned environment. Nonetheless, today's security environment is more favourable than it has been in the last ten years.

5. The instability of a part of its environment, which is only at the beginning of its social-economic transition, poses a security challenge for the Republic of Croatia. However, this instability no longer poses a direct threat to security.

6. Six years after the signing of the Dayton Accord, Bosnia and Herzegovina is still under the intense administrative supervision of the international community. The central state administration does not function at a level required for successfully governing a state. The position of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina is sensitive, among other things, because of their small number. The return of refugees and displaced persons (one of the main preconditions for normalizing life and society as a whole) is not being conducted proportionately. An obvious disproportion exists between national entities.

7. After parliamentary and presidential elections, held in October, 2000, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was the main cause of regional instability during the previous ten years, no longer poses an immediate threat to security but is now a potential partner. Bilateral relations have been normalized and their development is expected, with good reason, through various forms of bilateral and regional cooperation. A more active role is required from the Republic of Croatia in order for the entire region of Southeastern Europe to grow into a zone of partnership, stability and economic progress.

8. Croatia's environment also includes stable and consolidated democracies. Some have reached a degree of advanced transition and are at the verge of becoming European Union member states. Hungary has been a member of NATO since 1999 and this represents a significant contribution to regional stability. Others are involved in European integrations, i.e., Euro-Atlantic associations. All of these countries represent important markets for Croatian goods and services and are key partners in all aspects. During the last decade,

existing open issues have not represented obstacles for intense communication between Croatian and this area.

9. Expansion of the European Union and NATO represent the most significant international processes for Croatia. Entering both integrations is one of the most important national goals. Croatia fully shares and supports the values and goals upon which the EU and NATO were founded. Since they were formed these structures have been a guarantee for peace, stability, social development, human rights and economic growth. The connection between these two systems and the complementariness of their mechanisms and procedures within military-political cooperation and security has been expanding and strengthening. The joint European security-defence policy of the European Union is based on the direct cooperation of NATO without endangering the autonomy of either organisation. The significance and positive effect of this process can be seen in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. EU and NATO membership would offer Croatia a unique historical opportunity to preserve and strengthen democracy, protect its independence, as well as unlimited opportunities in economic progress.

10. Even with all the recent and current challenges and crises, conditions have never been more favourable for the further development and expansion of democracy and free markets. The existing cooperation and transparency of military relations increases the quality of relations and strengthens trust among countries. Along with the diminishment of military block rivalry, the risk of a massive military conflict has diminished.

11. Although there is progress, numerous challenges still exist in Europe and the world. The dynamics of local and regional crises, which also frequently and suddenly arise, constantly threaten to spill over. The phenomenon of globalization entails new security challenges which were unknown under the bipolar world order. The expansion (proliferation) of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical or bacterial-biological), international organized crime, refugee crises and ethnic conflict are some of the most significant. Countries, international organisations and national integrations intensively develop capacities for facing such challenges. The progressive development of international law is closely linked to these occurrences, extends into new areas and is interpreted in a new manner.

12. Terrorism as a global threat is the most direct emphasis for the importance of the principle of non-shareable security. Although the danger of such was often and systematically expressed during the last decade, the real challenge of global terrorism arose after the attacks against the United States of America on September 11, 2001. Without the appropriate cooperation from the entire international community, terrorism as a global threat will not be weeded out. Although not directly endangered, Croatia completely supports the efforts and goals of the International Antiterrorism Coalition, led by the United States of America. Croatia offers the Coalition active support through coordinated efforts with the international community, in accordance with its capabilities. It is a matter of strategically opting for common values, goals and resources.

13. The Republic of Croatia's security position is defined by its latest history, the numerous regions it belongs to and its integration efforts and potential. Although its recent history represents a burdening factor for national security in a wide sense, integration potential offers a historical opportunity for strengthening it and for removing all the results of war and aggression. The signing of *The EU Stabilization and Association Agreement* and its entering into effect, which is expected, create a unique area for cooperation and security. There is a large likelihood that in the near future all, or most of the countries participating in the

Stabilization and Association Process will have the same institutional framework for cooperating with the EU.

14. Croatia's national security has gained an additional quality since it entered the NATO *Partnership for Peace* program and its instruments of security policy have gained new content. Since Croatia entered the *Partnership, bilateral and multilateral* cooperation programs, which were previously unattainable, have become a precious means of coordinating the Armed Forces and the entire security system with western standards. Finally, the fact that Croatia belongs to at least three European regions with recognizable identities: *Central Europe, Southeast Europe and the Mediterranean*, allows us a diverse and balanced approach towards defining national security policy; of which the Mediterranean component offers Croatia specific wealth and identity.

II. VALUES AND INTERESTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

15. The interests of the Republic of Croatia represent the most important and unquestionable needs of the Croatian state, i.e., the citizens of Croatia. National interests stem from the highest values of the Republic of Croatia which are defined by the Constitution and include freedom, equality, national equality as well as gender equality, pacifism, social rights, human rights, inviolable property, the preservation of nature and the environment, a government of justice and democracy.

16. The survival of a sovereign, independent and territorially integrated state with its national identity and fundamental values, as well as the protection of its citizens' lives and property, represent the Republic of Croatia's vital interests.

17. However, there are other interests which are important for the Republic of Croatia's security, i.e., for the well-being of the state, the Croatian people and all its citizens. Preserving and developing democracy and democratic institutions, a just government, economic prosperity and social justice represent important interests for the Republic of Croatia. Democratic values such as freedom, human and minority rights and equality represent integral parts of these interests.

18. The Republic of Croatia considers preserving its cultural and historical identity important national interests, as well as the well-being of the part of the Croatian nation that lives in other countries.

19. A peaceful, stable and secure environment represents an important interest to the Republic of Croatia as well. The Republic of Croatia considers that the development of democracy and democratic values and principles, both in its closer and wider regions, the expansion of the EU and NATO, as well as international cooperation, affect its national security both directly and indirectly.

20. The preservation and further development of international order based on the principles of justice, respecting international law, as well as political and economical equality, are important interests for the Republic of Croatia.

21. Preserving and protecting the environment and the health and well-being of all its citizens, also represents an important interest for the Republic of Croatia.

22. The Republic of Croatia is a responsible member of the international community and respects international laws and obligations and advocates peaceful solutions to conflicts. The Republic of Croatia is determined to use all its available capabilities and resources, including its armed forces if necessary, to protect its vital national interests.

III. THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA'S CHALLENGES, RISKS AND THREATS

23. Although the Republic of Croatia's immediate surroundings are in a stable situation at the present, potential crisis spots still exist which can have a negative influence on the security and stability of the Republic of Croatia. Although the Republic of Croatia is not faced with a direct threat at this moment, there are certain processes within its surroundings which pose security risks and may have the potential to grow into direct threats towards the security and stability of the Republic of Croatia.

24. The danger of a military threat in the region will be significantly decreased after a longer period but will not be entirely eliminated. The likelihood of an international military conflict has been brought to a minimum but there is still the possibility of conflicts of lower intensity within certain areas in the region.

25. Because of the Republic of Croatia's position, crises in its neighbouring areas as well as those within a larger area, especially those located in the Southern Mediterranean/Northern Africa, the Middle East and the Caucasus, can have a negative effect on its stability and security. The activity of transnational threats, as well as the intent to carry crises over to the European continent, are also increasingly pronounced within the mentioned areas destabilized by crises, conflicts, high population growth as well as a decrease of available resources (water, energy),

26. The Republic of Croatia is located within an area of intersections that link the area of Europe with new energy sources in the area of Asia (the Caucasus, Central Asia). They also link economically developed countries in Western Europe with industrially undeveloped countries in East Europe which are rich with resources. This area also contains traffic routes which connect Central Europe with the Mediterranean and Southeast Europe. The development of wider regional crises can result from possible conflicts of interest regarding control over transition routes, access to new resources or gaining influence within areas which are sources of such resources. This also includes conflicts of interest between countries which possess such resources and countries en route to their access. This creates a possible threat to the security and stability of the Republic of Croatia.

27. The transition problems of countries in the area of East and Southeast Europe: the political and economic transition processes for developing parliamentary democracy and market economies inevitably result in disturbances and trouble in the state system, a worsening of

social welfare, a drop in the population's standard of living, conflicts between centers of power and a rise in crime. With this in mind there is a possibility for internal destabilization within countries undergoing crises caused by the transition process. This also results in an increase in the possibility of international conflicts. Since the Republic of Croatia is surrounded, directly or in a wider sense, with a large number of countries in transition, their internal problems and troubles pose security risks for the entire region.

28. Problems which arise due to the negative effects of the transition process of the Republic of Croatia: troubles within the Republic of Croatia's economic system, corruption, a negative population growth, a decrease in the participation of the active working population and a high unemployment rate are only a few.

29. Problems with the functioning of the judicial system and the slowness of conducting legal procedures pose a serious problem which can significantly affect the Republic of Croatia's security. This condition undermines the trust citizens and economic operators have in the functionality of the state and in a just government.

30. A population decline has been present in the Republic of Croatia for a long period and was especially expressed in the last decade. These tendencies pose a danger for the Republic of Croatia's security and are becoming a limiting factor for economic and social development.

31. The issue of national minority protection and rights in countries within the region and one-sided solutions for these issues pose a potential source of conflict between countries, which can affect the Republic of Croatia's security directly.

32. Border issues which resulted in the fall of the former Yugoslavia are potential sources of instability. However, the Republic of Croatia considers them as not only security risks but challenges which solutions can significantly contribute to regional stability.

33. Intensifying international threats in the region and further - global terrorism, organized crime, refugee crises - indirectly or directly affect the Republic of Croatia's national security. These events, regardless whether their sources are in the immediate surroundings or not, are a realistic security risk for the Republic of Croatia. Global terrorism poses a threat to international peace and security, which also endangers the Republic of Croatia's interests. Organized criminal activities and their results (destabilization of state institutions, undermining of political order, corporate crime and corruption) pose a large security risk for the Republic of Croatia. Some of the most significant securities risks are the problems of arms and illegal drugs trafficking, illegal immigration and human trafficking, especially women and children. The Republic of Croatia is especially sensitive to this form of threat towards its security since it is located within an area of trafficking routes from Asia, Africa and East Europe towards Western Europe.

34. The mentioned security risks carry the threat of negatively affecting government bodies and institutions of all levels in the Republic of Croatia, as well as economic operators throughout the Republic of Croatia. The end result of such activities may lead to the criminalization of social relations and intensify forms of terrorism and organized crime (murder and other forms of violent crime) and may especially lead to the growth of all forms of economic crime. These mentioned negative events may threaten the fundamental political, legal and economic systems of the Republic of Croatia if steps are not taken to prevent them.

They are also a catalyst for creating and spreading racism, xenophobia and other negative social processes.

35. Possible results of natural and technical-technological disasters in the country or region pose a constant security threat for the Republic of Croatia, its inhabitants and material goods. Forest fires are a specific threat to the lives of citizens and their property and large amounts of human and material resources are employed to prevent and battle such fires every year.

36. Potential technological disasters pose a specific significant danger and their effects can entail not only the Republic of Croatia's territory but neighbouring states as well. This security risk will be present for a longer period because of out-dated and ecologically "dirty" industries within countries in the region and the severe ecological results of possible ecological disasters.

37. The dangers linked to the spread of infectious diseases and addiction pose a security risk which may grow in the future.

38. Along with the mentioned risks, the results of a five-year war are still present in the Republic of Croatia. A particular danger stems from leftover mines and explosive devices which endanger human life and economic development.

39. The possibility of endangering information systems of the Republic of Croatia: a constant increase of information technology usage within the public and private domain is followed by a constant increase in the risk of computer crime and information systems endangerment. The possibility of foreign endangerment of the Republic of Croatia's information systems is not the only risk in this area. The possible abuse of private information of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia by government bodies and institutions of the Republic of Croatia as well as private organisations also exist.

40. Negative results due to the process of globalization: The growing difference between the world's wealthy and impoverished states, along with the political effects of inequality, can negatively affect the economic interests and development of the Republic of Croatia. In this area it is possible to expect pressure on the Republic of Croatia to accept solutions which would not be in the interest of developing the Croatian economy or would endanger other Croatian interests and goals.

IV. THE SECURITY CONCEPT

41. The fundamental purpose of activities within the area of the Republic of Croatia's national interest is defined through a security concept. It determines the purpose and manner of realizing functions of national security as a part of society which aims at protecting, promoting and achieving national interests under the conditions of existing and anticipated security challenges, risks and threats and in accordance to its available resources.

42. The security concept is based on the strategic premise that national security is an area of activity which ensures the preservation and preconditions for the development of society in

relation to other international factors. Within the framework of the mentioned approach, national security as a strategic concept gives priority to those components which, in their nature, are directed towards the international community. Other components of social activities are entailed in measure with their specific aspects of indirectly participating in strengthening all security potentials and resistance to security risks and threats. In a methodical sense, the security concept is presented through defining the security goals of the Republic of Croatia as well as principles that are used as a framework for the measures and instruments of the security policy used to for striving towards national security.

Security goals of the Republic of Croatia

43. The general security goal of the Republic of Croatia is to develop the preconditions and conditions for free, just and stable, political, economic and social development of the Croatian society in cooperation and mutual agreement with other democratic states. It will be accomplished by achieving the following specific security goals:

- Establishing, developing and implementing corresponding policies, measures, activities and institutions within the area of security – necessary requirements for successfully overcoming the Republic of Croatia's contemporary and future security risks and threats.
- Developing a favourable international security environment at a regional and global level by entering international security integrations, as well as cooperation with other democratic states.
- Developing a stable and economically advanced society which will, in the long run, be able to build and maintain effective security mechanisms and resources and successfully face any security challenges, risks or threats.

Principles for achieving national security

44. The fundamental conceptual framework for the organisation of designated national security institutions and their activities is set within the principles of achieving the Republic of Croatia's national security. This also applies to all other social institutions and operators which directly or indirectly contribute to the development and achievement of national security through their activities. These principles stand as general criteria for coordinating and evaluating achievements in the area of national security. They are set long term but undergo periodical evaluation and review.

45. The principle of *a complex and multi-component national security* is based on the modern approach of considering national security as the result of efforts undertaken in various areas of social activity (political, economical, diplomatic, defence, scientific and technological-technical, internal security and ecological). The social efforts in the mentioned areas are conducted in accordance to their nature, goals and functioning logic and are joined together by their reasons for acting under the framework of national security – preservation and progress of national security, as well as common general goals. This involves differentiating between specific areas of operations, i.e., designated institutions of national security which are purposely organized in order to achieve the mentioned functions and other areas, subjects and operators to which fulfilling roles and tasks within national security is only one of many

activities. Some of the institutions formed purposely include the armed forces, intelligence and security agencies, the police and specific governing and political bodies. In the modern approach towards national security, they need to be capable of systematic and joint action and cease to be exclusive components of the national security system, but this does not decrease their crucial role in the system.

46. The principle of *the conceptual and legal structure of national security*. The Republic of Croatia views that national security in a modern democratic society must be a conceptual and legally structured area of social activity. The conceptual and legal solutions must be rationally created and correspond with the objective conditions and set security goals. They must also be just and established to function as support for the democratic development of society. In a formal sense, they must be in accordance with constitutional conditions, norms and international law as well as the international obligations in this area that were accepted by the Republic of Croatia. Jurisdiction and internal relations within institutions must be clearly structured and thoroughly implemented.

47. The principle of *integral management and supervision of national security functions* includes systematically organizing and coordinating implemented measures and activities in the area of national security as well as their active supervision by civil government bodies of the highest level. Political bodies of the highest level, the Parliament, the President of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Republic of Croatia, conduct the political function of supervising the implementation of national security, i.e., supervising all professional governing institutions, specific implementers of measures and activities as well as the entire functionality of the system's activities. This will allow for proper democratic supervision, correlation and coordination of the activities of available potentials with synergic effects, as well as rational distribution and use of available resources.

48. The principle of *active involvement and effective participation* in international efforts to develop a favourable security environment. The Republic of Croatia views national security as a variable which represents the internal strength and stability of a state as well as the stability and progress of the international community. Under modern conditions security is undividable – states and nations are mutually dependant on and directed towards each other. This fact calls for a joint cooperative approach towards other states, their mutual respect for each other, correlation and the mutually strengthening of various organisational mechanisms and participants, an orientation towards preventive action within the area of security, as well as determining long-term strategy for activity. A stable and secure international environment, an interest of the Republic of Croatia, does not evolve on its own and the Republic of Croatia does not wish to only be a passive user of the advantages of such an environment that would evolve from the efforts of other states. We consider ourselves responsible and obligated to actively participate in developing such conditions in accordance with our realistic capabilities and available resources and to actively participate in organisations with a form of structure and type of activity which would allow us to make a quality contribution.

49. *The principle of a healthy and equal partnership* represents the basis of our approach towards structuring relations with other states. A healthy partnership includes establishing cooperative relations and trust as well as the commitment of each participant towards mutually accepted methods and goals. Equality does not mean total parity in regards to participating in common bodies or even in regards to the contribution towards common

activities. Equality means organizing under equal and just conditions – according to available resources and in accordance to the contribution made towards achieving common goals.

50. *The regional aim of security activities* is derived from the fact that the Republic of Croatia is a relatively small state and that the security problems of the modern world are numerous and complex. This is why the Republic of Croatia emphasizes its involvement within the region it is located in while supporting, in principle, a global approach and involvement in international security activities. Security challenges and threats within the region in which we are located, regardless of scope, has a greater significance for the Republic of Croatia in terms of national security than threats in other parts of the world.

V. THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA'S SECURITY POLICY – AREAS AND INSTRUMENTS

NATO Integration

51. NATO integration is one of the main goals of Croatian foreign and security policies. Although NATO is still an organisation for collective defence, its role and mission are expanding. The strategic concept of NATO, passed during the Washington summit of 1999, represents a platform which Croatia accepts in its entirety and in which it wishes to participate in creating. NATO is not only valuable to Croatia for its guarantee of security in case of armed aggression but also for its system of values that Croatia belongs to and wishes to develop under. By entering the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), Croatia has been offered the opportunity to intensively develop its relations with NATO as an organisation and with its individual members as well.

52. Croatia considers the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) to be a very important political-advisory mechanism and the most inclusive and substantial trans-Atlantic security-political forum and in the future Croatia will continue to actively and constructively participate in it. An important element of cooperation within the framework of the *Partnership for Peace* is the *Planning and Review Process* (PARP) in which framework Croatia and NATO define and achieve partner goals. These goals represent an inventory of capacities that Croatia, as a partner, will develop and make available to NATO for common needs as well as a core from which other capacities will subsequently develop. This will continue until all compatibility for receiving *Pact* membership status is achieved. In accordance to this, Croatia considers participating in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions under NATO leadership a priority. Croatia gained relevant experience in this area during its support of the six-year missions of IFOR/SFOR in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina.

53. The Republic of Croatia's accession into NATO is a strategic medium-term goal which will objectively have all available resources at its disposal. Preparations and adjustments needed for full membership must be completed systematically and coordinated at the entire state level. An Inter-Resource Working Group of the Government of the Republic of Croatia was founded for this purpose. Its task is to prepare annual preparation plans for the Republic of Croatia's NATO membership. After Croatia enters the *NATO Membership Action Plan* (MAP), the drafting of annual preparation plans will become a formal form of communication with NATO.

54. The Alliance will offer an invitation for accession for new members in accordance to its open-door policy. NATO expansion will also result in an expansion of the area where their common values govern - democracy, human rights and just government. Croatia awaits a remarkably intensive process of alignment with NATO, with the goal of advancing towards Alliance standards. These standards are both political and technical. In order to receive anticipated NATO membership both must be fulfilled.

Integration with the European Union and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)

55. The most significant and most complex task facing the Croatian state and society is integration with the European Union. This is a process which will have long-reaching effects for the Croatian society as a whole. It will affect its economy and national security. A specific aspect of integration is the *European Security and Defence Policy* (ESDP) as an integral part of the *EU Common Foreign and Security Policy* (CSFP). By signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU, and its entering into effect, Croatia formally began political dialogue and cooperation with the Union regarding all themes that both sides determined are of mutual interest, including security-defence issues.

56. Croatia will adjust its foreign and security policies to the views and activities of the EU, regarding all significant issues of a global, European and regional character. Croatia expressed its readiness and interest in participating in EU peacekeeping and humanitarian missions; the so-called EU Petersberg tasks, defined in the Amsterdam agreement in 1997. Croatia considers international peacekeeping and humanitarian missions a priority in regards to participating in NATO or EU led missions. With this aim Croatia offers the European Union all of the capacities which are at the disposal of NATO, keeping in mind the compatibility of the ESDP and the *European Security and Defence Identity* concept, developed within the NATO framework.

57. Along with political dialogue and military-defence cooperation, Croatia considers cooperation and correlation of policies and action important in the fight for preventing so-called asymmetrical security challenges, risks and threats: terrorism, organized crime, illegal immigration and human trafficking, especially women and children. The initiators and organizers of these dangers use Croatia foremost as a corridor, i.e., a transit area en route to the EU, which is the most frequent destination of such activities. National border supervision will have a particular significance, as will other forms of judicial cooperation, including internal affairs cooperation. Cooperation in the fight to prevent these risks is a common interest and is one of Croatia's priorities since the mentioned risks have a large destabilizing potential for Croatia itself.

Relations with Neighbouring States and Regional Cooperation

58. Developed relations and cooperation with neighbouring states are the foundation, as well as the precondition for complete Croatian integration into the European hub. The Republic of Croatia cannot achieve an optimal degree of national security without peace and security within our immediate surroundings. The states in Croatia's surroundings can be generally placed into the following three categories: 1.) highly- developed liberal democracies, members of the European integration hub, members of the EU; 2.) states undergoing advanced transition, those at the verge of joining the European Union or NATO; 3) states at the beginning of the transition process, burdened by security and economic-social problems

and under intense supervision by the international community. No state in its surroundings poses a direct security threat to the Republic of Croatia.

59. Relations with *Bosnia and Herzegovina* had a direct effect on Croatian national security during the last decade. Croatia, due to its geographical position and the fact that Croatians are one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's three constitutive ethnic groups, has a significant interest for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be a stable and democratic state, capable of independent sustainable development and, in the near future, for it to be completely integrated into the European hub. With this aim, Croatia will continue to undergo its policy of actively affirming the central federal government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to maintain a constant dialogue with the representatives of executive and legislative branches of government in its neighbouring states. A particular focus will be on the International Council for Cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Care for Croatians in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be conducted transparently and on a program basis. Special care is guaranteed for war victims: widows, orphans of war and disabled war veterans. *The return of displaced persons and refugees* is a fundamental prerequisite for normalizing relations between states. Regardless of its progress, this process is still being conducted slowly and unevenly, with a noticeable imbalance among entities. There is a restrictive practice in the Republic of Srpska regarding the return of Croatians and Bosniaks. Croatia, aware of its responsibility for regional stability and security, will continue its own policy regarding returnees, return of property and the prevention of discrimination on any basis. However, the returnee issue is a two-way process and without the cooperation of all participants it will not be successful. An important element of the Republic of Croatia's security policy regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina, is cooperation in the area of border control as well as general cooperation in the area of internal affairs. Croatia will encourage cooperation amongst the two countries' governing bodies with the goal of preventing and disabling so-called asymmetrical challenges and threats: terrorism, organized crime and illegal immigration. In the coming years, this cooperation should be the largest joint pledge for regional and European security and stability.

60. A turning point regarding the relations between the Republic of Croatia and the *Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)* occurred after parliamentary and presidential elections were held in the FRY in October, 2000. These events created the prerequisite for the complete normalization of relations and then the establishment of good-neighbour relations. The second important step in the process of normalization was opening the Hague Tribunal processes for those most responsible for crimes committed during the aggression against the Republic of Croatia. Processing the remainder of those charged for war crimes will remove one of the largest obstacles for establishing truly good-neighbor relations and full trust between states. Confirming the fate of the Republic of Croatia's citizens, missing or imprisoned during the armed aggression, is an issue of significant importance and an absolute priority. Other important issues for establishing good-neighbour relations includes the return of displaced persons and finally determining state borders, as well as solving the security issue of the Croatian Prevlaka (peninsula). Croatia will try to solve this last security issue in good faith and with mutual long-term benefit. Only by solving the existing open issues in good faith can prerequisites be achieved for long-lasting good-neighbor relations and utilization of all national resources on both sides- foremost economic resources, then security, cultural and others. With this aim, it is extremely important to timely structure all areas of cooperation where there is mutual interest, through bilateral national agreements.

61. In its relations with *Slovenia*, which have been good-neighbourly and partner based since the independence of both states, Croatia will constructively and in good faith strive to solve issues which remain open. They include, foremost, the border issue in the Piran Bay and the issue of savings from Croatian citizens in the Ljubljana Bank. However, not one of these issues have affected, nor should have affected, the high level of relations and partnerships between Croatia and Slovenia.

62. *Italy*, which shares a long maritime border with Croatia, is an important and large member of the EU and NATO, and is an important promoter of Croatia's accession into these integrations. The Rome and Osimo agreements create an ineradicable component of relations with Italy.

63. *Hungary*, a recent member of NATO, is a stable neighbour and partner with which Croatia has had impeccable relations within all areas. Hungary's integration experience is valuable for the Republic of Croatia.

64. *Regional cooperation*, in its multilateral segments, is an important component of the Croatian security policy. During the last decade it was institutionalized in the form of numerous initiatives. The diversity of these initiatives additionally emphasizes the multi-regional identity of Croatia – the *Southeast Europe Initiative (SEI)*, the *Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI)*, the *Alpe-Adria Working Community*, the *Working Community of the Podunavlje Regions*, the *Adriatic-Ionian Initiative*, *Quadrilaterale*, and the *Southeast Europe Defence Ministerial (SEDM)* are the main examples of regional forum cooperation. The *Stability Pact for Southeast Europe (PS)* was created upon the initiative of the EU, and promotes and allows for a synergy of existing initiatives, at the same time including new qualities and content. An example of the Stability Pact's success is the founding of the *Regional Arms Control Verification and Implementation Assistance Centre (RACVIAC)*, which was founded with the cooperation of Germany and Croatia. Croatia is interested in deepening all forms of cooperation. In the field of military-defence cooperation it is interested in participating in joint military formations intended for peacekeeping missions in Central Europe- multinational brigades within the *Quadrilaterale* framework as well as within the framework of the *Central European Nations Cooperation on Peacekeeping (CENOP)*. This form of cooperation is a crucial building block for security and trust in all the regions which Croatia belongs to, especially the region of Southeast Europe.

Co-operation with international organisations

65. With the aim of securing as broad an understanding and support possible for its security and foreign policy, Croatia – in addition to bilateral and regional cooperation – is dedicating particular attention to active participation in the work of the following international organisations – the United Nations (UN), the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe (CE), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and others.

66. Croatia sees the UN as an international umbrella organisation with the ability to enforce collective security, implement preventative diplomacy, peacekeeping operations and other measures designed to build peace and security on a global scale.

67. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) represents a framework for the establishment of European cooperative security. Its field missions and monitoring activities represent a specific contribution to security and to the spread of the highest international democratic standards. Croatia will continue its active transfer of the positive experiences acquired in direct cooperation with the OSCE mission by strengthening its involvement in all forms of activity by the organisation.

68. International recognition saw Croatia become a member of the UN and the OSCE. Both organisations have played an important role in the process of the country's affirmation. The most significant event, without a doubt, was the successful reintegration of the Croatian Danube region into the mainstream constitutional and legal order, under interim administration by the UN. However, in the early days of membership, Croatia was more often the object and, to a lesser degree, an active subject in activities carried out by the mentioned organisations.

69. In the years ahead we will endeavour to additionally affirm our position by making appropriate contributions in all areas of activity – political, economic, and military, as well as in the protection of human rights and democratic freedoms. Croatia will contribute to the development and creation of widely accepted rules and practice in the areas of conflict prevention and crisis management in both organisations.

Arms control and Confidence and Security Building Measures

70. Since gaining independence Croatia has been an active participant, and party, in all global international legal instruments in the areas of arms control and disarmament – the *Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT)*, the *Comprehensive Nuclear-test Ban Treaty (CTBT)*, the *Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)*, the *Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)* and the *Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW)* with all accompanying protocol. Croatia is a party in, and signatory, of the *Landmine Ban Convention* signed in Ottawa.

71. Croatia is neither in possession of, nor in the process of developing, weapons of mass destruction. Croatia's contribution to the prevention of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction will involve thorough implementation of existing international mechanisms and the development of an effective national system for export controls – particularly pertaining to more sensitive dual-use technologies and substances that may be used in the production of such weapons, as well as to the transport of weapons of mass destruction (projectile technology). The success of these efforts will be guaranteed by the coordinated activity of state administration authorities and the adoption of modern legislative solutions, and will depend, particularly, on the ongoing expansion of international cooperation in the area of information exchange.

72. With this goal, Croatia expresses a readiness and interest in joining international arrangements in the field of technology export controls – the *Wassenaar Arrangement*, the *Australia Group* and the *Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)*. Of particular significance to Croatia is entry into membership of the Wassenaar Arrangement which governs the export, import and transfer of dual-use technologies and goods. With the possibility of information exchange, this will enable the improvement of Croatian manufacturers' chances for placement of goods on the global market. Croatia will align its regime in the area of arms and military equipment export with the *EU Code of Conduct on*

Arms Export, so as to achieve optimal harmonisation of regulations and activity in this sensitive area.

73. Croatia actively, and in good faith, participates in the implementation of the *Subregional Arms Control Agreement*, concluded according to Article IV of Annex Ib of the Dayton Peace Agreement (*the so-called Florence Agreement*) – the successful implementation of which has made a marked contribution to the development of confidence between the involved parties (The Republic of Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska). Croatia, nonetheless, maintains that accession to the *The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe* (or CFE Treaty) and the reduction of the Florence Agreement, within the CFA framework, represents the next logical and legitimate step, beneficial for both regional and European security. Croatia is actively involved in the implementation of the Vienna Document 1999 and all other measures designed to build confidence and security adopted under the OESS.

74. The issue of the proliferation of *Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)* demands coordinated international effort if it is to be eradicated. Croatia, having felt the repercussions of uncontrolled trade and trafficking of small arms and light weapons, is ready for active involvement in all international and regional efforts necessary to place small arms and light weapons under the appropriate system of control. The success of the program of collection and destruction of small arms and light weapons carried out by the population of the Republic of Croatia – particularly in the Danube region – and the involvement of Croatian experts in international forums is indicative of Croatia's capabilities. Alongside existing UN global mechanisms and the regional OESS, of particular significance are efforts undertaken under the Stability Pact.

Contributions to international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations

75. Croatia's past involvement in international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations was limited by the fact that all resources had, for years, been engaged in the country's defence against aggression. An increasingly active approach to this segment of international cooperation will represent, in line with the country's possibilities, a significant element of Croatia's security policy. Peacekeeping is one of the fundamental principals of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

76. The following will be taken into account when deciding on involvement in international peacekeeping missions: the valid international legal basis for the mandate, the integration goals of the Republic of Croatia, as well as the location of the crisis area. In line with this, Croatia recognises the UN as the umbrella organisation responsible for the preservation of peace and security in the world, under which peacekeeping missions have full legitimacy. In terms of implementation, Croatia gives priority to UN and NATO missions. Of additional significance to Croatia are peacekeeping missions in *crisis areas directly affecting national security*. Taking into account limited resources and capabilities, Croatia will promote involvement in peacekeeping missions by way of partnership with other democratic states and regionally established multinational peacekeeping forces such as the MLF and CENCOOP.

Defence capability development

77. The primary task of the defence system is securing capabilities for self defence. In addition, a new security reality demands its development towards the acquisition of

capabilities for a broader spectrum of tasks. Within the framework of the defence system, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia are the principal defenders, and are constitutionally responsible for the protection, of sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Armed Forces may be deployed for the purpose of self-defence, as well as for the protection of vital interests of the Republic of Croatia when diplomatic and political mechanisms are inadequate in deterring potential aggression or threat.

78. The defence system must develop towards providing direct support to the security and foreign policy of the Republic of Croatia – the result of which is a new role of and tasks for the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces must develop capabilities for active contribution to the creation of a favourable environment with the development and strengthening of international cooperation, confidence, partnership and alliance, and with its involvement in international peacekeeping operations, crisis management, humanitarian operations and collective military exercises.

79. The Armed Forces will also develop capabilities for tasks supporting civil institutions under immediate threat and in other crisis situations, such as elementary crises and other disasters, when the scale of, and conditions in, these situations exceed the capabilities and available resources of those institutions responsible for the protection and rescue of people and material goods. The Armed Forces must also be capable of providing assistance to civil institutions by way of executing “non-traditional tasks”, such as the war against terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking and the like.

80. Within the framework of developing a defence system, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia must become a modern and well-equipped military force that will, in its character, size, structure, system of management and command, training and education be capable of responding to the demands of national defence and new challenges and threats of a military and non-military nature. In addition, the Armed Forces must be capable of responding to demands arising from the integration goals and international responsibilities of the Republic of Croatia. Consequently, one of the most important principals in the development of the Armed Forces must be the establishment of interoperability with forces of member states of NATO.

81. Within this framework, Croatia must recognise which elements of its military industry to retain and develop further, and which to develop in collaboration with its partners.

82. Croatia’s defence system is based on principles of the democratic control of Armed forces and the transparency of defence capabilities, plans, programs and resources.

Internal Security and the Republic of Croatia

83. The final goal of the Republic of Croatia pertaining to internal security is the realisation of individual security for all of its citizens. Without the realisation of the abovementioned goal it is not possible to achieve overall security for the Republic of Croatia, protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, or the realisation of conditions for further development of its political and economic systems.

84. The notion of individual security is founded on the protection of consitutional order, the ongoing development of democracy, the guarantee of security for all citizens of the Republic of Croatia and the guarantee of protection and respect for all basic human and fundamental

civil rights. The realisation of this goal demands not only ongoing development of elements of the national security system, but also continued development and strengthening of all democratic institutions, the judicial system and the economy of the Republic of Croatia which work together to create a framework for the realisation – as well as the prevention of abuse – of the abovementioned rights by developing appropriate legislative solutions and control mechanisms. By securing individual security – the protection and security of every citizen of the Republic of Croatia – we also establish conditions for the protection of all state institutions.

85. In the ongoing advancement and development of the judicial system of the Republic of Croatia, priority lies in the improvement of its activity so as to strengthen the framework for strengthening internal political stability, civilian protection, and continued economic development of the Republic of Croatia. Without an effective judicial system it is impossible to realise the interests and goals of the Republic of Croatia in the area of national security.

86. Of particular importance for the realisation of long-term stability for the Republic of Croatia – in addition to the strengthening and continued development of a democratic state – is the continued development of the economy; its complete transformation towards a market economy and the creation of conditions for reducing unemployment. The ability of the economic system to meet the needs of its citizens is essential for the creation of conditions for achieving social peace and political stability in the Republic of Croatia.

87. In order to realise this goal, the Republic of Croatia must continue with the necessary economic reforms aimed at liberalising trade, reforming the financial sector, encouragement of foreign investment and reduction of foreign debt. Creation of a long-term economic strategy for the Republic of Croatia is necessary for the realisation of the aforementioned goals. All measures of economic reform must encourage the creation of a competitive economic system in the Republic of Croatia which will gradually integrate with the economic system of the European Union.

88. Taking into account the protection of national interests in the privatisation of the economy is of strategic significance – particularly in areas of the economy vital to national security for the Republic of Croatia.

89. One of the key conditions for the establishment of national security in the Republic of Croatia is the successful transformation of the education and science systems. Development across all areas and the subsequent integration of the Republic of Croatia into international economic, political and security integration processes depends on the quality of the aforementioned systems.

90. A significant area in the realisation of stability and security in the Republic of Croatia is the issue of realising full ecological protection for the citizens and territories of the Republic of Croatia. The activities undertaken in this area should be aimed at protecting and preserving resources that may come under direct threat by uncontrolled economic development forces. It is important to take into account European and global ecological standards towards the achievement of this goal.

91. Threats to the information technology systems of the Republic of Croatia demand the creation and implementation of development strategies for this system – with the aim of preventing external threat and the potential for abuse of data on the citizens of the Republic of

Croatia by state institutions and private organisations. All decisions must protect privacy of information and every citizen of the Republic of Croatia. This includes the right of each citizen of the Republic of Croatia to decide on the access and use of this information

92. In the battle against security risks such as terrorism and organised crime, it is necessary to undertake a series of specific measures towards neutralising the abovementioned dangers. These measures encompass the establishment of an effective system of border control in the Republic of Croatia, the expansion of police and intelligence cooperation with neighbouring states in the matters of surveillance and prevention of terrorist group and organised crime, strict legal regulation of the status of immigrants and asylum seekers, harmonisation of procedures pertaining to the extradition of persons suspected of the aforementioned activities with procedures of other European states (in particular, with EU procedures), the linking of relevant national databases with those in other states – EU states in particular.

93. The implementation of all activities aimed at strengthening internal security in the Republic of Croatia represents the primary task of the forces and services of the Ministry of the Interior, the judicial system of the Republic of Croatia, inspection services, and the system of civilian protection of the Republic of Croatia. With regard to jurisdiction and tasks, the Ministry of the Interior plays a key role in this area. The use of Armed Forces in these activities may occur on an exceptional basis and must be precisely and legally regulated.

94. The system of civil protection of the Republic of Croatia is the main organisational framework for the prevention and sanatisation of consequences of natural and technological disasters. Given that the Republic of Croatia is faced with continued security risks in these areas, ongoing development of the system of civil defence should move towards the organisation of a unique system of protection and rescue. This will be realised by consolidating various segments of the system - currently distributed throughout a number of ministries– into a modern system of civil-military crisis planning and crisis situation management.

95. The battle against internal threats to security is based on an integral approach founded on the organisational coordination of all relevant components of the system of national security with the aim of realising the necessary integration in the action against security risks. The system of internal security of the Republic of Croatia needs to strive towards greater cooperation and correlation with equivalents in other states, united by joint security challenges.

VI. CONCLUSION

96. The Republic of Croatia defines its national interests and security goals according to the nature and values of its democratic social order and objective domestic and international situations; taking into consideration the interests and goals of other states and nations. Consequently, its concept of realisation of national security is marked by two fundamental orientations – complexity in relation to area coverage and content of activity as well as cooperation and partnership in relation to the international environment.

97. The national values, interests, goals and fundamental conceptual postulates defined in this document represent long-term solutions. The conceptual solutions, in particular, the postulates of the security policy defined in this document are subject to ongoing evaluation and review and will be amended in the event of changes to the fundamental factors and situations

pertaining to security weapons or significant changes in the area of internal development and available resources. Conceptual solutions in the areas of specific individual function of national security will be developed and elaborated on on the basis of the attitudes and solutions defined in this document.

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PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Speaker
Parliament of the Republic of Croatia

Zlatko Tomčić, v. r.