

The role and impact of the small states' diplomacy on regional and international security

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Abstract

History has proved that the safety for small countries has never been secure, however this has been more emphasized during the Cold War Period through the rivalry of the superpowers, ideological conflicts, as well as the clashes between their geopolitical and geostrategic interests. For the Superpowers it is very easy to manipulate with these countries' economic and military aspect. They can't handle a conflict with their strengths, while the only way is diplomatic war to avoid or decrease the danger of conflict. To avoid insecurity, which for the small countries in the international relationships is bigger than for the big countries, the only safety alternative is their association in the international institutions.

To face the regional and global challenges of safety, the Western Balkan countries have only one strategic solution, that is the integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures. The membership institutionalizes the relations between the small countries with those regional in the economic and safety field, as well as it sets the frames of the behavior with which the weak are protected from the eventual misuse from the most powerful ones. Small countries should concentrate in the creation of the professional and trained forces which can be easily mobilized in case of any crisis and they should also be affordable in the economic aspect.

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1. Introduction

Security continues to remain actual and wide study and discussion object for many researchers and analysts of this domain, since it's the essential premise of existence and human and social development, while its scientific meaning and study is concentrated in the state and the international policy system, as a system of states. It is always present, with sudden development and outbreaks even though the humans have paid and continue to pay a very high cost of life, military, monetary and material wise.

The national security is related with development of one nations citizens trust, that their territorial integrity, sovereignty, national fundamental values and interests shall not be attacked. This is important if we believe that sovereignty and security are considered to be primary for a stable country. Its concept has expanded and became multi-dimensional. Nowadays the talks are for economic security, identity, ecological, food, etc. Besides, the differences between the external and internal security are reduced, whereas the security geography has been regionalized and localized, differentiated as per various states and geopolitical regions. This entire thing makes it difficult to retain the indivisibility, by connecting the small states with the regional and global ones, which became necessary due to creation of globalization and interdependence.

Security is variable, because the rate of risks and threats can vary, as well as the report of protected values. Therefore, it doesn't deal only with values presumed earlier, but with results of expected values as well. State security is the national axis, while it is comprised by human security (individual + community). According to Vaclav Havel, the community's, region's, country's sovereignty, has a meaning only if it derives from the sole real sovereignty, meaning from "the human sovereignty" (Havel, 1994). In the trajectory of movements, changes, conflicts and implications that occur nowadays in various global points, among all, security is what is mostly impacted. It is known that the general security situation during the last decade has dramatically changed (Viano, 1999).

Old threats (Safety is variable, whereas it is defined in the different fields of state and social welfare, political, ecological, health etc, because the rate of the dangers and threats can vary as well as the value report to

protect them) faded away, whereas their place was taken by new and much more dangerous challenges, of some organized crime segments such as: terrorism, illegal trafficking, human beings exertion, senior officials' corruption. etc. These criminal acts have brought grave consequences not only for human lives, but also for the economic and political instability and security of states with fragile democracy. Therefore, the disturbed security is a product of a disturbed world. Except the changes on progress in some Western Balkans states and Eastern Europe after the changes occurred in the '90 there were difficult throwback and challenges such as: social tumult, anarchy, violence, constitutional violations and up to the endangerment of the country's and region's security and integrity. Based on the analysis performed on these developments we can ascertain that: security does change as a reflection of a changing world.

1.1 Small states security challenges

Security problems became long ago the area of responsibility for most important government institutions, as well as their experts. The world in any case wasn't safe for small or medium states. This was mostly highlighted during the Cold War, through the bipolar rivalry, conflict ideology, as well as confrontations between them for geo-political and geo-strategic interests. Practical development in international system, has witnessed that great powers have a very easy chance to manipulate small and weak states as from the economic but also military aspect. Small and medium states, chronicle and historical events have been conquest by great power states as in the period during Prussian dominance as well as in modern times in Sahara deserts. Examples even nowadays indicate that assimilation of small and medium states didn't always occur; there are even small or medium states that not only survived as independent and sovereign states but they also prospered side by side with powerful states. A clear and meaningful example in this case is Switzerland, which was followed by Costa Rica, Israel, Singapore and other small states from the Pacific and the Caribbean.

After the '90s, a main strategic problem for post-communist states was the realignment with the new context, in an essential meaning and not just formal, as candidates for membership into the European Union and NATO. Their dilemma objectively was less complicated in the first years of transition, due to reasons that at that time the cultural separation was still

served, for more the political aspect of “West” and “East”. Meanwhile, the concept of “West” incurred serious changes in its essence as a result of presenting new separation lines between Europe and America. In the first years of the new millennium such tendencies became clear that the political discourse which for many years was presented by small states “to return where they belong” became almost irrelevant after the 9/11 terrorist attack. The new real order minimizes the dangers on small states security, but the bipolar world, however, offered many more available options. Truth to be told, nowadays, for small states there is only one strategic solution, which is, Euro-Atlantic integration. In general, the joint security and protection project was the idea of large European states, but the purpose to be positioned in the international system was the main motive that obliged almost all the small states to join in (Molis, 2006). Except for Cyprus, Malta, Ireland and Denmark, all of the European Union small member countries expressed their interest to support the security plan and joint protection activities.

The concept of small states right is to live independently, although the right was given to the citizens to be independent from the great power states, this right is becoming more and more evident. Freedom is and will remain the right of every large, medium or small state. This freedom is not a privilege anymore to be guaranteed by large states to a small or medium state, but their substantial right. The world was struck with trauma and world war terror before this idea was even put in play, meaning that a world war was needed to serve as a drum for the ears of small and medium states, for them to request with persistence like all other states to have peace for all. The United Nations have guaranteed the integrity for small states under the Chapter VII of the UN Carte but only after the approval of the Decision No 1514/XV on 1960, there was no doubt that small states would become United Nations members.

1.2 Concepts of security of small states in front of a changing world

The colonization period along with the United Nations foundation after the WWII created the possibility for small states to also benefit from the idea of freedom and independence for all the states. Many of these former colonized states gained their independence and the United Nations Organization became a witness to requests from small states such as Ghana, Côte-d'Ivoire, Cambodia, Guinea and Singapore. The independence

matter didn't close after the WWII ended, however the states are technically independent, they are members of UN and unfortunately, many of them are immersed in the swamp of internal rebellions and external interventions. Many states lost their independence, which they dreamt about for many decades in a row. Some other states came to be disappointed from the independence which for them wasn't anything else but a hopeless utopia. Self-determination for various states is still the new propensity of history and political stages, that makes an effort between the old stories and new tendency for self-determination in different states, where only few states make an effort nowadays to keep the independence safe, economic growth and increase of security, because integration is the time trend.

The difference between states which managed to survive and those that are lost, lies in the fact that few small states survived thanks to their commitment, which led them toward the wanted objective, military defence. *One who wants peace should prepare for war.* Development of a credible defence force remains one of the best means with which security can be guaranteed from the external dangers. Preventive military means of aggression amount the most difficult problem for security issues, for small and medium states' independence such as Israel, Switzerland, Singapore, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, etc., while the decision to use the force if necessary, is that much responsible and important as much as the aggressors' evasion. The defence force, use of this force when necessary is the factor that ensures peace. The quantity and quality of defence forces is determined essentially from the financial means amount invested as well as the external politics followed in international relations in cooperation with other states which keep the control in a certain state. Consequently, defence is a factor with much more value for the state security. Ensuring a credible defence force also provides the possibility for small and medium states to benefit from competitive interests and super-forces manoeuvres.

Small states need to be concentrated also in developing a professional trained force, which can be easily mobilized in case of a crisis, as well as resistible in the economic aspect. The best examples are Israel, Switzerland, Taiwan and Singapore which possess the best armed forces, financially supported, forces which are considered to be crucial for preventing a danger and discouraging an enemy (Gashi., Jusufi., 2012). The quality compensates for the small number of armed forces, where by quality is meant mobility, moral, best exercise and equipment. Modernization is also

good equipment and weaponry which is continuously followed and it's a necessity for small states. Ensuring sophisticated modern weaponry is realized by military industry of small states which can modify their weapons in case supply with weapons and fighting equipment cannot be secured from import. Taiwan and Israel which have limited relations with other states mainly depend on internal resources to equip their soldiers with fighting means. Switzerland modified the Oerlikon weaponry. Sweden produced the "Saab" and "Bofors", meanwhile Israel created the Israeli airplanes production industry (Devore.,2014)

Local population encouragement in small states to support their defence forces with the purpose for them to become more respectable is another objective that needs to be considered. Moral support for defence forces in a country is very important and it reduces their distance from legislative and executive organs that administer the state.

1.3 The role and impact of small states diplomacy in national security

In order to protect and to promote in best rational way their state vital interests, the essential issue for small states is what strategy needs to be enforced and to support the external politics plan. Practically, there is no dilemma to assert that the neutralism concept in international relations has changed distinctly and that according to analysis, its future in the globalized world is very insecure. Due to this, even the most typical examples of neutral states (Austria and Switzerland) indicate that in the last decade they manifest attitudes which are not aligned with the traditional definition of this term. The conclusion that isolation or neutralism in the world is logical, especially after 1989, they are not resistible options anymore, in particular for large states, capacities and impact forces that Western Balkans countries possess. But as it is known, diplomacy is the art of unity, a safe mean for a small state to confront the external threats. Therefore, while a small state is not able to stand against a conflict with its own forces, the only option is the diplomatic war to avoid or to decrease the danger of conflict.

The neutralism diplomacy has been followed by other small states almost in the same amount such as Finland, Singapore and many other micro-states in the Pacific and Caribbean. It has its flaws, because the wish for understanding and good neighbouring from different states is considered as a weakness. This principle has values as for small states as

well as for large states. But, only the states with powerful army can confront the world politics challenges, although regardless the defence potential, Taiwan relies on United States of America to protect its national security. The greatest preoccupation to ensure neutrality in some states led to increase of their respect from powerful states. Their politics has evaded every attack toward their country by guaranteeing the national security. The neutralism policy should not degenerate in pacifist theories. Diplomacy should be supported by a credible armed force. This embodies the Rustveld theory on using diplomacy in complicated situations. Combining the diplomacy with defence capacity is more than a reason for small states to ensure peace with other states.

The only way to avoid insecurity, which for small states in international relations is greater than for large states, is their association with international institutions. This way they "exercise" two functions: first, "they deter" the rigid attitude from large states through joint rules and valuable principles for all, while this decreases the risk of misunderstanding increase between the states and the chance to transform them into an armed confrontation, as well as it effects directly in the small states security. Secondly, these institutions provide a chance for small states to express their opinion even in the last instance, to use their veto for important issues which are in national interest. Even there where the votes weight is asymmetrical (such as for example in UN) where only the permanent members of the Security Council have the right to use the veto, small states can still exercise their greatest impact even if these institutions wouldn't exist at all (Wivel, 2005).

For the regulation of the relationships between EU and other places, the EU's Common Foreign and Safety Policy (CFSP) was incorporated in the Maastricht Treaty before its implementation in 1.11.1993, while the European Safety and Defence Policy (ESDP) was implemented in 1999. It became integral part of the Common Foreign and Safety Policy (CFSP), which produced the intensification of the police cooperation because of the big foreign and internal safety connectivity, it also enabled the Europol's cooperation with its missions. After the implementation of the Lisbon's Treaty at the end of 2009, the policy was applied in the European Safety and Defence Policy (ESDP). From the formal aspect, the common safety and defence policy is a competence of the EU's Council, where the heads of the member countries meet. Facing the challenges of the safety is supported with the European Safety Strategy (Solana 2003), while this predicted that

except the confrontation with the threats, this needs to focus in the expansion of the safety zone in the European region as well as in the amplification of the international order. The development of this strategy resulted with the approval of the EU's Internal Safety Strategy for the 2010-2014 period. Basically the EU's strategies are midterm and compatible with the changes, the dynamic as well as with the diversity of the Europe's safety threats. Through the common policies, EU established a political platform, which helps the small countries that are members to impact from inside as well as from outside their region, that can be done easier than if they would have tried to impact individually. So, the EU is a "organizational context", more important for the extreme activities of the small countries whom have been enabled to get in the international scene. According to Wivel, the small countries traditionally have a privileged position in the EU. He explains this with the fact that because of the institutional arrangements in the EU's key organisms (Council, Commission and the Parliament) the small countries impact proportionally against their potentials. Otherwise, Magnette and Kalypso think that from all the possible divisions in the EU the placement of the border between the small countries and the big ones, although potentially serious, however, it is one of the least anticipated and elaborated possible divisions. That is to say, it is possible to ascertain that the small states attitude in international relations is expressed through the tendency for collective confrontation with problems, in particular for their internationalization (Talavs, 1996). For small states that are expanded in Europe, the European Union during the last ten years constituted the extreme most important context to develop the external politics. The attraction of this integrative model, especially for small states, after the end of WWII, remained in the fact that the European Union (then as European Union for Coal and Steel) was the only organization that dealt with all the necessary aspects to strengthen their political and economic stability. The non-military character of this union distinctly decentralized, that "soft" force, and created possibilities for small states to avoid marginalization in international relations and in the same time protect their national identity.

Membership in regional organizations institutionalizes relations between small states with the regional ones in the field of economy and security as well as it sets the conducts framework with which the weak is protected from the eventual misuse of the strong one. Through joint policies, European Union instates a political platform, which assists the

small member states to exercise their influence in the inside as well as outside of their region, well much easier than in case they would act individually (Wivel, 2005). Therefore, the European Union is the most important “organizational context” for small states’ external activities, which are enabled to uniquely enter into the international stage. According to Wivel, the small states traditionally have a privileged position in European Union. He explains this with the fact that, due to institutional arrangements in European Union’s key organs (the Council, the Commission and the Parliament), the small states exercise their influence which is proportionally opposite to their potentials. Otherwise, Magnette and Calypso think that from all the possible rafts in European Union, setting up a border between small and large states, although potentially serious, however it is one of the less anticipated and elaborated divisions (Magnetre and Nicholaidis, 2003).

1.4 The multifunctional commitment of the small countries to fulfill the strategic objectives

Small countries should use another way that is their versatile commitment in the safety issues to ensure peace. To fulfill this objective the diplomacy must define their goals, considering their real power and potential, to evaluate the aims of the other countries, as well as to compare and harmonize their interests with the other countries' interests.

Actually, the international safety challenges define the correlation of the country's safety specifics with the regional and international general challenges, while the specifics result from importance of the geopolitical, geographical position, the intensive cooperation opportunities in the safety sector as well as from the strategic definitions of the country that are linked with the integration processes. The general safety challenges show as a result of the exaggerated differences in the rate of the economic and social development; the development of the international terror, the illegal trafficking of the conventional and mass destruction weapons, the massive economic, politic and asylum migrations and the increasing number of the (serious and organized) transnational crimes which promote permanent social and political country instability. The EU's and other powerful countries' position in the last two decades allows them to create the orientations of the international safety scene. EU first started to create politics for confronting with the European challenges its territory, then

continued with its neighbours and in the end it developed instruments for intervention and international promotion.

The method of guaranteeing the national security, in the last century was used by the South-Eastern Asian countries to free from the colonization. Singapore by this method ensured the support from the east and from the west, to become an independent state in order for east and west to be able to protect their interests in this state. One of the basic doctrines of Singapore's surviving policies is to balance the state power structures which continuously influence the state security. Such a thing depends in the conformity that needs to be created by super-powers that Singapore can be protected without the needs of one of the super-powers to dominate this country. Every force's interest can be retained by especially preventing the domination from any super-power in Singapore. Singapore worked also in becoming one of the neutral trade centres, financial communications, capable to absorb assistance from powerful states in this country. Singapore encourages the competition from all the states without providing the dominant role to any of them. This made available for Singapore's external politics to protect the national security and the country from South-Eastern Asian countries, by avoiding their economic dominance in this state.

Without having to consider the objections from small states, in the current European Union history, however, the presence of non-formal groups from large states is noticed. The contact group for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then later for Kosovo, is the public example of such action, but great influence grouping, according to some assessments, even so is the half-transparent alignment called the Quint, consisted by France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany and a state which is not a member of European Union, the United States of America (Gegout, 2002). In order to treat this in a more balanced way and to get a clear view of this functional form of action of the European Union, it is necessary to highlight a series of examples when small states are also grouped on similar basis. For example, Nordic states undertook the initiative for the so called European Union Northern Dimension (NDI- Northern Dimension Initiative), Baltic region states, as a group, are active in the domain of peaceful operations, states of the so called Visegrad Four (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary) had determined institutional forms of cooperation in economy and trade and finally, the Benelux states with their customs union from 1944, *de facto* were the predecessors of the European Economic Union. In special terms,

alliance of states into small groups can be a precession, not a handicap for the European Union, because these groups are more dynamic and operational in the external politics domain and security. But, for small groups not to be accused for breaking the internal EU cohesion, in principle they are not established as per free choice by states, but their members must also need to be the emissaries of the High Representative for External Politics and Security, of the European Commission, next chairmanship, as well as states that have historical relations or joint borders.

2. Conclusion

State security as a concept is very complex, while in general terms it can be determined as "identity protection", whereas in special terms, security is seen as a multi-dimensional structure. In the new security environment the traditional concepts cannot recommend solutions to present problems. Security contemporary studies have advanced its concept, by discovering and determining the entire dimension that is involved in the national security. It is an absolute value, where all other resources are subject to, as well as it goes parallel with one country's progress.

After the '90s in the trajectory of movements, changes, conflicts and implications that occur today in different places of the globe, what is mostly affected above all is security. It is known that the overall security situation during the last decade has changed dramatically (Viano, 1999). While old threats have faded away, their place was taken by new and very frightening challenges. Some organized crime segments, such as: terrorism, illegal trafficking, human beings misuse, high seniors' corruption, etc., have brought grave consequences not only in human lives, but in the economic and political instability and security of countries with fragile democracy. Apart the progresses in the Western Balkans there were regressions and difficult challenges such as: social shock, anarchy, violence, constitutional violations and even countries' and region's security and integrity endangerment. Therefore, the troubled security is a product of a troubled world.

The small states in order to ensure peace they must use strategies for power balancing, which is essential and requires for all the large states from the east and the west to economically influence on the small and medium states. While the diplomacy as an art of amicability is the safest mean for a small state to confront the external threats. Until a small state is

not able to stand against a conflict with its own forces, the only way to avoid or reduce the risk of conflict is the diplomatic war.

The only way to avoid the insecurity which for small states in international relations is much greater than for large states is their association into international organizations, because in this way they "exercise" two functions: first, to "control" the rigid stand of large states through joint rules and valuable principles for all. The second, these institutions provide a chance for small states to express their opinion in the last instance also, to use the veto for important issues which are of a national interest.

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