

MODEL FOR PARADIGMATIC PROJECTION OF MILITARY FORCE

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The new security threats and particularly the conflict in Ukraine have announced a new phase of re-shaping of the global security scene. Questions that were unthinkable until recently are now urgent as they refer to possible escalation and transformation of the Ukrainian conflict into a major international clash. Up to now NATO assessment identified that the most vulnerable could be the Baltic member-states and Poland due to their incapacity to adequate response to any impending military threat from Russia. However, the new developments call for serious re-assessment and strengthening of their military component. In that context the basic model of the armed forces will have to go through a review process in order to be able to respond to the new security challenges and risks for the Euro-Atlantic region. Indirectly these developments have an impact on security of the sub-regions in the NATO vicinity, including the Republic of Macedonia. In this paper an attempt is made to identify the main factors that are likely to shape a new model for paradigmatic projection of military power in Europe, and to make a particular reference to the military model relevant for the Republic of Macedonia.

Keywords: *model, paradigm, armed conflict, interstate conflict, armed forces*

Introduction

The most respectable analysts of military organization have never had any doubt that there is no universal model of military organization which can be applied to all states in the world. The scholarly works by default point to the complexity of the issue of modeling military organization due to the fact that numerous determining factors may have different relevance and impact in any specific case. Furthermore, question of an adequate model of military organization gains more significance under specific circumstances when a respective state goes through deep political and socio-economic changes internally, while at

the same time the international environment is also going through systemic transformations. These circumstances usually require reforms in the national security system, particularly in the military domain.

The case in focus could be the Republic of Macedonia. The country has been exposed to such simultaneous challenges in the period immediately after the end of the Cold War and Yugoslavia's dissolution. Process of gaining state independence and sovereignty had been going simultaneously with the establishment of the military as a state institution. Ever since, the quest for a new model of military organization has dependent on the influence of various factors. For instance, the state leadership had to take into account scientific achievements in the military realm and comparative experiences of the other states, and all that necessarily through the lenses of the strategic interests and specific needs of the Republic of Macedonia. Integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures has given new impetus because there were reforms to be implemented in order to get full membership status. On one side they may be limited but on the other side they have determined the quality of the two (domestic and international) approaches. Seen through today's perspective one can draw more reliable conclusions, and it will be done in the first part of this paper.

The second part of the paper put emphasis on the changes that have been brought by the new millennium, especially in terms of warfare dynamics. Obviously a new conflict environment has been created - burdened by new threats, which are both irregular and diffuse. It has a very strong impact on the reform priorities in the sphere of security and defense. The paper further stresses the need for application of science achievements in the process of shaping optimal model of military organization of the Republic of Macedonia. Finally, attempt is made to support concluding insights and knowledge as well as research framework, once again going back to the beginning of the study in which the hypothesis set to confirm or will come to proving or to be redefined.

Design of the Model of Military Organization in Accordance to the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia as Independent and Sovereign State

According to the 1991 Constitution, the Republic of Macedonia is independent and sovereign state and that is the starting point of the process of building the armed forces. Prior to that, Macedonia was a federal unit of the Yugoslav federation, and as such she

participated in the recruitment of the Yugoslav People's Army as well as established units of Territorial Defense (TD) on its territory. During the process of disintegration of the SFR Yugoslavia and simultaneous formation of sovereign and independent Macedonia, at first the only organized element of the armed forces was the TD units. Originally, the TD represented an integral component of the Armed Forces of the SFRY, which was organized on a level of the federal units with an aim to cover the entire state territory. Thus each federal unit formed its own territorial defense, which in conjunction with the YPA was supposed to respond to the most difficult threats to the national security. Of course, the mission was defense from any external military threat. On the other hand, the issue of possible internal armed conflicts was a taboo because official Yugoslavia dismissed any such scenarios as irrelevant. It was assumed that the security of the Federation could face exclusively external threats, and that it could come to an internal armed conflict only for a short time; but also that this could escalate into larger armed conflict, in war, in which almost without exception would affect the whole territory of Yugoslavia. In such conditions the federal units would become operational forces in a form of TD.

As for the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, it is important to stress that in terms of the 1991 Constitution, the TD took over some functions specific to the army. At that early stage of independent state formation, in fact it represented a strategic component of the armed forces and also a solid base for the formation of the armed forces of the Macedonian state.

Shaping the optimal model of military organization in Macedonia has been influenced by a group of systemic and socio-political factors. There was certain influence of the old doctrinal practice and also the reform was implemented by the old guard officers educated in the Yugoslav military system. Obviously, during the build-up of the Macedonian military two approaches were taken into account: application of all available achievements of the social and military sciences gained through scientific methodology, and secondly - already gained experience from the previous system. The radical changes in the political and socio-economic system have further conditioned transformation of the military as an integral part of the defense system. In shaping the optimal model of military organization of the Republic primary role should have been given to scientific progress relevant for the army, but also it was acknowledged that the experiences and skills already embedded should not be neglected and automatically rejected as inappropriate. It meant that nothing should be ignored or rejected *a priori*. In due time, however, a realistic approach was established: the expectations from Macedonia's integration into the Euro-Atlantic and

European defense and security structures meant that the process of meeting the criteria got priority. In other words, the process assumes high respect for the basic tenets of the organization and structure characteristic of Western models of military. On the other hand, small professional armies with fully implemented civilian supremacy and democratic control on the depoliticized and de-ideologized armed forces may have advantages, even in terms of their capabilities and readiness to respond to the old and/or new security challenges and risks. Of course, each model of military organization has its own peculiarities, which are usually translated into experiences that may be shared between countries. Yet the foundations of each military institution should be identified in the societal and political system that it exists in order to defend. These national specifics should certainly be taken into account and incorporated to some degree in the reformed model of armed forces.

For example, for the Macedonian army it was necessary to set up a new basis for its full professionalization, but at the same time to reduce its size, and to modernize itself in order to respond to the old and/or new challenges and risks. Its de-ideologization and de-politicization have had very significant role as well. Just to remind that the YPA was highly politicized military based on the idea of a mass "socialist" army. It also meant bulky military organization and mass conscription. The first changes that took place after gaining independence referred precisely to the introduction of civilian supremacy. Furthermore, it needed a new way of thinking and acting of the top brass in order to overcome abovementioned traits that had been a product of a different system and regime. The Macedonian academic thought, using scientific methods and techniques in accordance with the strategic interests and national goals of the Republic of Macedonia, has assisted theoretically to the establishment of the optimal model of military organization (Daskalovski 1998). In this aspect, a very important emphasis has been given to its uniqueness, characteristics and interests specific to the respective state.

The today's model is an outcome of a careful combination of the distinctiveness of the Republic and its interests and strategic objectives to integrate into Euro-Atlantic security and defense structures. It has been shaped as a modern army under civilian control and with depoliticized structure with an optimal size and professional and trained staff. It is well-organized and movable, with maximum defense capabilities, and modern combat equipment to counter any potential aggressor and to protect territorial integrity and independence. Civilian control is a mechanism that prevents its political misuse or potential militarization of the society. In liberal societies with political pluralism, the military is expected to be apolitical. The Macedonian army still needs some time to adjust to the new

liberal requirements but also some time for maturation that will embed this postulate in the foundations the army.

The ARM is designed in such a way to be small and professional at the same time, i.e. to reflect country's needs and capacities. This trend is present in armies of NATO too, and most of them are fully professionalized, while in other countries professionalization of the army is underway. In terms of its size an attempt is made to meet NATO requirements for an optimal military force that is designed as a ratio between the size of the population and the size of the military personnel. The resulting equation of dependence on NATO member states applied to the Republic of Macedonia gives the size of the active part of the armed force i.e. 14,045 members (Daskalovski 1998, p. 171). If it cannot be applied to correlation and regression analysis, as in the case of determining the size of the reserve, other procedures and techniques are implemented. So the calculated average of the percentage relationship value reaches a size of 30 455 reserve members. (*ibid*, p. 282). Altogether, the active part and reserve would comprise about 45,000 members of the armed forces. Of course it is possible to reach different values that can be obtained by assessing the impact of certain factors or experiential as in the case of official Macedonia figures that will determine the 100 000 army members of which in peace time the Army's projected 22,592 members, and the Military Staff approximately 100,000 people (*White Paper on Defense of the Republic of Macedonia* 1998, p. 77), or by stops in (*Military balance 1999/2000*, p. 300), the active part accounted for 20,000 and 102,000 people reserve. Comparatively, it is a big difference in determining the quantum of members of the armed forces. Unfortunately, a sizeable layer option will be official, but not acceptable to NATO standards.

The third part of the paradigm model projection of the Armed Forces of Macedonia refers to the minimum modern offensive combat assets in accordance to the defense needs of the country. It is a result of the influence of the national military doctrine that is strictly defensive and accounting economic opportunities which limit the impact of external factors imposed by abide and implementation of the CFE-CFE (Conventional Armed Forces in Europe) treaty that restricts five categories offensive combat vehicles (*Military Balance 1992-1993*). In fact, in the view of implementation of these five allowed categories of offensive combat vehicles, the Republic of Macedonia is limited to only four categories, since it does not possess combat aviation. This is mostly due to several objective factors, such as small airspace, high cost and maintenance of military aircraft, national military

doctrine, etc. On the other hand, this solution leaves enough possibilities for strengthening the other parts of the offensive combat equipment, such as fighter helicopters.

The fourth section, maximum defense, modern combat equipment to counter the aggressor and protection of territorial integrity and independence of the country, seems largely reflecting the uniqueness of the Republic and its relation to the primary threat, i.e. possible external aggression on the country. The commitment for a maximum of combat assets is viable and suits the country's needs, abilities and interests. It represents a good basis to counter any possible aggressor and to efficiently protect territorial integrity and independence. The end of the Cold War gave rise to hope that the peace dividend is going to create a new more relaxed global security situation. The world war seemed to have been unlikely. It was expected a new era in warfare to come, in which the supremacy in terms of conventional forces of the Western countries will gain currency. At the time, the US National Security Strategy planned maintenance of forces for "two wars", in fact, including the ability, in cooperation with regional allies to win two nearly simultaneous major armed conflicts. (*National security strategy of engagement and enlargement*, July 1994, pp. 5-7).

It was believed that internal armed conflicts would dominate over classical interstate armed conflicts (*SIPRI Yearbook* 2005). It imposed a new way of thinking directed towards growing need of elimination and mitigation of intra-state conflicts and peace-building and building stability in the crisis regions. The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted more than three years and the international security structures had not failed to stop it until NATO took over the main role in ceasing the ongoing bloodshed. The turning point was the two-week air campaign that eventually led to the Dayton Peace Agreement. However, this campaign has not put an end to the problem of occurrence of war; on the contrary, it created a new situation and opened a process that would require greater engagement and more complex actions than it was the case with conventional wars. The problem is systemic and requires full engagement. Peace keeping and building stability in a new post-conflict setting proves to be very demanding endeavor. NATO has faced a need for a different crises management system.

The Yugoslav case was an illustrative example of an intra-state conflict. Macedonia seemed to be an exception. It certainly had a significant share in creation of the official Macedonia's policies directed towards use of peaceful means and methods especially because of total withdrawal of all Yugoslav military capabilities and equipment had been stationed in Macedonia, leaving the state practically demilitarized. Seen from the external point of view, the major problems for independent Macedonia, apart from its economic,

political and military weaknesses, were created by Greece. Its southern neighbor even threatened with military threats, unless the Macedonian leadership meets the conditions imposed by Greece. This, together with the aspirations of other neighbors towards Macedonia, affected strongly the security position; the threat of war remained a major factor that determined its security, while the armed forces were expected to be the main instrument in a worst case scenario. The construction of a model of military organization got priority given that challenge. It greatly pushed to the background the other less grave forms of endangering the security of the country, particularly the threat of an internal armed conflict. But critical if it goes at a slower pace and an official approach that there is no danger of aggression or internal armed conflict and, then, in terms of the occurrence of such risks, the country can be found in a very difficult situation, and that later on really happen.

Model of the military organization in the new millennium

A long time has passed since the end of the 20th century, when the defense and security system of the Republic of Macedonia was put on a test by armed groups that infiltrated from territory of Kosovo with aspirations for greater Albania. In circumstances where the infiltrated groups established cooperation and support of segments of domicile Albanian population, it created conditions for armed confrontation with government forces, the police and the military. It did not take long for the Macedonian officials to respond with combat vehicles and systems of the military. They also asked for help from the international community, particularly NATO. It points out the whole complexity of the situation and the threats to the territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Otherwise, in conditions that made possible the infiltration of armed groups, irregular groups or terrorist groups, they should not have posed a larger problem for the police let alone military. But when terrorist groups got logistics from domicile Albanian population and when they put under control a part of the territory from where commanded with military operations, then terrorism transformed into an internal armed conflict. Thus, the territorial claims transformed into a struggle for greater rights. In such conditions the intervention of the military was necessary. The response should have been swift and decisive or the conflict could have intensified and grew into a larger armed conflict and even a war. In that case help from NATO would be necessary. In fact Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia were the first three cases of NATO operations after the Cold War. For the conflict in Macedonia, Lord Robertson, in his capacity as Secretary

General of NATO, speaking at the Conference before the NATO summit in Prague on "The transformation of Europe 1989" said that "NATO with the EU prevented a civil war."

The need for reform of the system and building the optimal model was strongly highlighted by this conflict, and further reforms involved issues of the chain of command, especially the relations and position of the Chief of General Staff, filling the units with troops and modern weapons, training and doctrine that will may enable the function of security forces-police and the army of the Republic of Macedonia. The model which objective was to create an armed force that would be one of the pillars of the defense, of the independence and the overall security of the state, compatible to the military system of NATO. Model with marked ability to timely identify threats, quickly bringing mobility to use and expressed ability to defend the hardest form of endangering the security of the Republic of Macedonia, from aggression.

All other forms of endangering safety, including terrorism, insurgency and internal armed conflicts, would represent a risk of secondary or tertiary importance. Basically, any of the forms, especially military and non-military forms of endangering safety have very little chance, I'd say the chances are minimal for achieving success, and so develop, if the opponent has a military organization that can afford realizes its function. Inability to perform its function on any ground, command, organization and morale etc., opens the space for escalation of the conflict and security implications with major consequences. The model will be based on science and scientific, prefer criteria concerning the organization and formation of the units of the armed forces at any time to fit into any system of the North Atlantic Alliance. About alternatives of the model, it emphasized the weaknesses of the creation of quantitative great armed force, this was especially present in an period of the constitution of the Army of Republic of Macedonia, which to some extent have already been mentioned above. Then, as analyzed as an alternative to armed force with strong offensive opportunities, demilitarization and inclination to any neighbor in terms of security, it would be not a favorable alternative. Finally in terms of cost, starting from economic point, it should always be measured by the expected result and efficiency. Specifically, an attempt is made to obtain a regressive equation correlation between gross domestic product and a military budget of NATO member states. Applied for the Republic of Macedonia received sized 148,000 US dollars military budget, which is significantly more than the official military budget of the country. It is evident that no connection is recognized between science and official structures, security, defense and others, which ultimately adversely affect the security and defense situation in Macedonia with the

emergence of conflict 2001, reflected also in the approach to integration with Euro-Atlantic security structures. On the other hand, while European security structures and especially NATO enriched their experience in terms of dealing with internal armed conflicts, the United States faced a terrorist attacks with great human losses.

It will open a new page and it seems now we start a new era in warfare, which Western powers expected in the period immediately after the end of the Cold War. As never before that attack in 2001, terrorism was elevated to the level of war. The United States will receive guarantees from Atlantic Council that its NATO allies are willing to lend the support that may be required of them under Article 5 of Washington Treaty. (IISS *The Military Balance 2002-2003*: Page27). It turned out that it needs urgent changes within the organization and especially the European armed forces to respond to the security challenges of the longer distances and for dealing with irregular forces. NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson, sent a call, exhorting European nations to increase funding for defense. It will strengthen the need for reform of the military organization in its center will be ability to respond to new threats and forces other than regular, and reducing differences over defense costs. It won't remember for a long time, and already the Prague NATO Summit 2002 will devote considerable attention to this need and security challenge. In fact, it would set the stage for the transformation of the North Atlantic alliance in a new quality, organization and structure with greater capabilities and a set percentage of defense spending. For this to be realized it will finally be brought to an end the division "who feared Europe 20th century." (*NATO after Prague*). And will open the need for reform and transition to a different model of military organization. Basically the model that was based on violence to be transformed into a model of military organization which will be based on ability. Model paradigm perception of military power globally will be the US and within Europe the UK. However, they are not universal and cannot be copied in every country. But they have parts that need to contain every model of military organization if they have ambitions to exist as a model. It does not prevent differences in the design of the main parts, which are specifically shaped model.

There are models of pure expeditionary warfare and combined models. For shortlist of the model significant influence exercised perceptions of the threats. It seems that they are different in Europe and it will be countries that have no direct military threat to the countries which still exist. Because of it models will be orientated towards the response of pure expeditionary wars and combined models for the defense of territory even primary in terms of engagement in multinational operations. For small and non-NATO members such

as our country, it seems more adequate to combine a model due to perceptions of threats to the territory and sovereignty and ambitions integration with Euro-Atlantic structures, which implies participation in operations outside the country. In any case, regardless of the different perceptions of the threats, as a joint European forces, there would be the need and ambition for increased participation in multinational operations outside its borders. (*ISS Strategic Dossier*, 2008, p. 32).

All this would determine the reform of European armed forces in the first decade of the 21st century in order to create smaller, more capable, more adequate and engaged and forces that would cost less. For the Republic of Macedonia as a small country aspiring to join the Euro-Atlantic structures, it seems more acceptable to have the combined model, resulting from the impact of the internal armed conflict in 2001; then, to rely upon assessment of relations with some neighbors who had preceded the conflict or overflow of a larger regional conflict and the ambitions of the country's Euro-Atlantic integration expressed by engagement in operations. For the country as imperative, differentiation between the need to balance the defense of territory and participation in multinational operations will be relevant.

This opens space for actualizing the issue of reforms, which happens on a regional and even global level, particularly within the NATO military structures. For European armed forces we have already mentioned the main goal of defense reforms: more engaged, more capable, more adequate and less cost. That is to say that most countries appreciate the fact that although there are threats to their territory, but their implementation of the new model will take time to allow them to prepare. Therefore, priority will be placed on creating engaged and capable professional armies. Indirectly it will mean the abolition of conscription and reduce size. And ones professionalization and other factors, like reducing the size of the armed forces assumed our model of military organization at the end of the last decade of the 20th century are still relevant. Specifically, in addition to monitoring and analysis of existing trends of changes in size, an attempt was made - step by step using specific scientific methods to arrive at optimal large- of the armed force of the Republic of Macedonia. In terms of professionalization, suppose it goes with the abolition of mass recruitment as an important assumption in the early phase of construction of the optimal model of military organization. Compared with the reforms of the European armies, most has stalled in the new millennium.

In terms of capabilities, for Republic of Macedonia it is important to prepare for the transition from national to multinational level planning capabilities. It will allow them to

exploit the benefits of integration with Euro-Atlantic security and advanced defense structures, and through the use of some of their facilities which otherwise should be also be provided nationwide. On the other hand, capacity can be discussed through the analysis of the characteristics of modern operations, which represent a variable category. This in turn opens a continuous process of adaptation of models, which must not be ignored or neglected. In fact, in that case, one cannot speak of capable armed forces, or that can be can only declarative. Commitment to adaptable forces stems from the need and impact of new multilateral and ambiguous conflict environment in which the armed forces have to cope with many regular and irregular opponents. Significantly, recognizing that one of them is a threat of a military nature, and part of them are not a threat in terms of military adversaries. That is to say that the new conflict environment cannot be treated as traditionally acted against regular military forces-the-opponent aggressor, but in a way that allows efficient countering irregular forces and transnational terrorism as the most prominent threat at the beginning of the new millennium. Because this threat is primarily land-based at complex physical terrain, most appropriate response can be given by ground forces, supported by other branches of the armed forces. It is for operations in which the soldier is required to possess skills, abilities characteristic of the special forces which are equipped with sophisticated weapons and trained to act in the most difficult conditions in small-group teams in conflict environment. Ambiguous conflict environment for special forces cannot exclude the need for performing conventional tasks required capabilities of conventional forces. Together, it will significantly affect the need for change, and through reforms in the defense sector and especially in the armed forces. The military organization of the Republic of Macedonia in accordance with the new conflict environment will require adaptation. In fact, in our case it is the adaptation of the land army already was a certain priority over other parts of the armed forces. Now there is a necessity of having a larger capabilities needed to effectively operate in ambiguous conflict environment.

In connection with the determination and purpose that European armed forces less cost, almost without exception it will be adopted and implemented by all countries in the region. For European NATO members it is the fact that it was already agreed at the NATO summit in Prague in 2002: the cost the military budget cannot be less than 2% of gross domestic product, and that will continuously decline. This seems most of the countries in which perceptions of threats excluded direct military threats, threats of aggression. That is not the case for example with Turkey or Greece where there are still unresolved territorial issues, and countries that aspire to join the NATO. For Macedonia, it is certainly acceptable

that the armed forces cost less. This is particularly evident in situation of crisis as the country will find the beginning of the constitution as an independent and sovereign state. The security situation requires a different attitude towards this issue because it can easily be affected by the conflict and when faced with threats to its independence and sovereignty. In these circumstances and in shaping the optimal model of the military organization, a calculated regressive equation of dependence of the military budget and gross domestic product of the NATO member states is most relevant.

It is estimated that military budget of the Republic reaches 148 million US dollars. It will be much more than it will be officially determined, for example in 1995 116 million, 117 million in 1996, 130 million in 2011, in 2012 132 million US dollars, and this represents a value that today in 2015, represents a respectable determination the military budget of the country. It is a good orientation to respect and practice the recommendations of the NATO summit in Prague in 2002, and in connection with the levying of taxes on the military budget of gross domestic product amounting to 2% which is the case with the projection of the structure of the budget of the Ministry of Defense until 2019. (*White Paper on Defence of the Republic of Macedonia* 2012, p. 65) This is a very significant factor for better implementation of the reform process and in meeting our consistency and seriousness within the integration process. The US several times warned European NATO nations that reduction of the military budget below 2% would have negative implications; these are particularly evident in crisis situations and when to intervene with troops beyond area. Ultimately, the budgets are national and depend on governments' estimations, however, already it is high time that scientific knowledge and insights to feed the strategic decision needs and interests. More than necessary is to continuously monitor and analyze processes that may significantly change security environment.

The conflict in Ukraine 2014 opened dilemmas about direct military threats and especially the danger of a world war that was regarded as unlikely but very influential. The conflict has already become a direct military threat to NATO and especially its European section. (*NATO Wales Summit Declaration* (2014), p. 1-5). It is not over yet, but it affects the attempts of most analysts, to deal with this phenomenon which will emphasize the need for changes to existing models of military organization, and formation of European armed forces. This will open the question to increase defense spending even increased need for reinforcements to the combat potential and preparation through exercises preventively act on the prevention of possible aggression, and under cooked for possible direct attack. All this will say that the process of reform of the armed forces is constantly active, even

though the planned implementation for most European countries to be completed by 2015. If reforms are undertaken to meet the challenge of modern operations, indirectly it will mean and adaptation and changes in patterns of military organization. It seems that is simpler if that element is embedded in the existing model.

Concluding observations

On the ground of the previous argumentation, one could come forward with the following conclusions and findings:

The construction of the optimal model of military organization of the Republic of Macedonia will be realistic only if it relies on a corpus of socio-political and systemic factors that determine its construction and organization. It turned out that the closeness and lack of respect to the impact the factors that determining influence on the shaping of the model of military organization has unfavorable connotations in exercising its function and closer to Euro-Atlantic integration processes.

As an important factor, it is confirmed by the findings that there is no universal model of military force which may be reflected in any country, though the model paradigm projection of military power are the experiences globally, those of the United States and in Europe - the UK. However, as common to them all the basic parts - the purpose of the model, alternatives, criteria and costs, which should be incorporated into the design of each model. For Macedonia, the basic factor is a modeling military organization with a minimum continuous professional and trained forces within the armed force, most modern organized and flexible, with civilian control and depoliticized composition, with a minimum up to the minute offensive combat assets within the defense needs of the Republic and the maximum defensive modern combat equipment to counter the aggressor and protection of territorial integrity and independence of the Republic; in addition, to adapt to which in the late 20th century was based on aggression to the change of environment adapts conflict over reform model that will be based on skills . It turned out that the model is sustainable in the new conditions; even in some segments it was relevant long before the time. It stands as a significant recognition that it takes finding a balance between very influential and little probable and probable and less influential in the construction of the optimal model of military organization of the Republic of Macedonia.

Also, we came to the conclusion that, in ten years within the conflict environment, new threats are emerging, seriously challenging the primacy of bigger security threats.

The conflict in Ukraine once again confirms that search for optimal model of military organization should continue in order to respond to the new military threats.

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