

PERSPECTIVES OF HOMELAND SECURITY SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

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Strategic Studies

by

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ABSTRACT

PERSPECTIVES OF HOMELAND SECURITY SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA, by CPT Dinko Matijasevic, 106 pages.

The Republic of Croatia is in the process of integrating efforts of its diplomatic, informational, security and economic instruments to enforce the *2017 National Security Strategy* through the new Homeland Security System. Implementation of the Homeland Security System requires significant efforts on a national level in the form of additional legal, doctrinal and organizational changes throughout the instruments of national power. Coordination, synergy and integration among different governmental organizations and agencies aim to improve the overall security situation and resilience and to mitigate contemporary security risks and threats to the Republic of Croatia.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the potential of the Republic of Croatia's instruments of national power integration and to provide a critical overview of the new Croatian Homeland Security System. It will inform readers about national security issues and efforts of the Republic of Croatia to counter contemporary threats and challenges in South East Europe.

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ACRONYMS

CSDP	European Union Common Security and Defense Policy
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DIME	Diplomacy, Information, Military, Economy
EDA	European Defense Agency
EES	Entry/Exit System
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna Separatist Group
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
EUROPOL	The European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation
FRONTEX	The European Border and Coast Guard Agency
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISF	Internal Security Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SEE	South East Europe
SIS	Schengen Information System
SOA	Security Intelligence Agency
U.S.	United States

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The one who adapts his policy to the times prospers, and likewise that the one whose policy clashes with the demands of the times does not.

—Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*

Introduction to Croatian Homeland Security System

In a world where the security paradigm is continuously changing, there is always a need for new forms of responses to contemporary security challenges. Threats and risks in the forms of terrorism, extremism, transnational organized crime, hybrid warfare through foreign intelligence and informational activities, cyber security, and energy security - often combined with the crisis situations such as mass illegal migrations or natural disasters like floods, fire and earthquakes – indicate that the security environment is getting more complex than ever.

In order to respond to events within the complex security environment, an integrated response of various governmental organizations and agencies responsible for public safety, health, protection and rescue of citizens and property, and protection of critical infrastructure is optimal. This approach enables efficient use of all available resources in a crisis situation. The Republic of Croatia recognized the importance of an integrated Homeland Security System by adopting the *Homeland Security Act*¹, which

¹ Republic of Croatia, *Homeland Security Act* (Official Gazette 108/17, 2017).

implements the conclusions of the new *National Security Strategy*² signed in July of 2017 and systematically manages risks to national security.

Although *security* is largely defined as the quality or state of being secure, it is also the process of finding the answer to managing security risks and achieving the desired state of security.³ The process of building and strengthening security cannot be managed spontaneously - it must be directed and controlled. What most affects the security managing process is the security environment. Security environment changes reflect security trends and serve as a reference point for building the security architecture.

The Republic of Croatia is the only of today's European Union (EU) member states whose national security, since the gaining of the independence in 1991, was exposed to one of the worst conventional forms of security threats - military aggression with the aim of occupying and subjugating most of its territory. The Croatian Homeland War, as the only possible answer to this threat, showed that despite the extremely unfavorable security environment, systematic and coordinated use of all available instruments of national power and resources results in substantial success.

Since the Homeland War, the security paradigm, security environment, and status of the Republic of Croatia changed considerably. The range of threats and risks faced by today's modern society and states has expanded rapidly. While societies were once faced with conventional military threats to sovereignty and territorial integrity, today they need to cope with threats such as terrorism, economic crisis, illegal immigration, climate

² Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy* (Official Gazette 73/17, 2017).

³ Merriam-Webster, "Security," accessed 15 November 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/security>.

change, and associated major accidents and disasters. Additionally, in the last years, cyber threats emerged as new challenges, which in conjunction with the conventional military threat, represent a new type of hybrid warfare.

The Republic of Croatia adopted its first *National Security Strategy*⁴ in 2002, and in the same year, a national security model was set up. Since that time, the Republic of Croatia implemented significant structural changes, which led to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership in 2009 and EU membership in 2013. Despite the change, Croatia did not transform its model of national security, did not recognize the generated risks, nor did it clearly define the responses to them.

The new *National Security Strategy* was adopted in 2017 and serves as an underlying, conceptual and strategic document that defines national interests and strategic goals in every area of national interest. More importantly, it adequately addresses current security environment conditions and identifies the establishment and development of the Homeland Security System as one of the strategic objectives. The strategy describes the Homeland Security System as a system that will: “comprise coordinated action, the use of capability and potential of all components of national security, beginning from public security, defense, civil protection system, security-intelligence system, diplomacy and economy, and other bodies and institutions in the Republic of Croatia.”⁵

In other words, the Homeland Security System integrates and coordinates the work and development of all the available state bodies and institutions involved in the

⁴ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy* (Official Gazette 32/02, 2002).

⁵ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*, (Official Gazette 73/17, 2017), 13.

security risk management process. Development of this system ensures a high level of integration of all relevant institutional and non-institutional assets and sharing of their capabilities and resources. The goal of such an approach is the use of all the existing resources of society and the state and the rational utilization of budgetary resources that will best contribute to the strengthening of national security. In particular, it aims to strengthen the crisis management function, regardless of whether crises are caused by natural and technological incidents or intentional human action. Lessons learned indicate shortcomings regarding the skills needed to prepare for, protect, respond to and recover from such hazards and their mitigation.

The development of the Homeland Security System must be focused on more than its mere existence. The added value of investing in this system must be the development and prosperity of the state and society in all aspects: economic, demographic, educational, cultural, and ecological - not just security. Safety of the Republic of Croatia is a prerequisite for economic development with regard to investment, tourism, and transport corridors. Security enhancement implies resource sharing, avoiding duplication of efforts of all state actors, efficient use of available resources, and targeted and justified investment in new resources, with emphasis on increasing the domestic industries capacities.

Research Questions

What is the result of efforts to improve the Croatian Homeland Security System by better integrating the instruments of national power?

Secondary Research Questions

1. What are the desired effects of the Homeland Security System?
2. What is the current effectiveness of the Homeland Security System?
3. What are the frictions among the instruments of national power integrated into the Croatian Homeland Security System?
4. What are the risks to the instruments of national power integrated into the Croatian Homeland Security System?

Scope and Limitations

The scope of this study includes issues of homeland security from the Croatian perspective. It applies a holistic approach to the Croatian Homeland Security System with the aim to answer the research questions. The purpose of this research is to analyze the potential of the Republic of Croatia's instruments of national power integration and to provide a critical overview of the new Croatian Homeland Security. It will inform readers about national security issues and efforts of the Republic of Croatia to counter contemporary threats and challenges in South East Europe (SEE). Additionally, it will offer recommendations for improvement.

There are several limitations to this study. First, there is minimal literature on the topic of Croatian Homeland Security System. It is a new concept adopted in 2017 and the literature review was mostly limited to governmental publications. Therefore, the conclusions may have been subject to unintentional bias or errors of omission through the selection of the sources utilized to conduct this study. Second, the study analyzes events from a relatively short period since the system was established, and there are a limited number of cases that can serve as a reference for system performance evaluation. Lastly,

development of Homeland Security System in the Republic of Croatia is a continuously changing process, and this may quickly render the conclusions and recommendations of this study no longer applicable.

Delimitations

The study focuses on the effectiveness of the Croatian Homeland Security System, but in order to better understand the complexity of the homeland security concept, it will also analyze the overall approach to security phenomenon, security studies, national security and finally homeland security. Also, it will survey different governmental approaches as reference points and comparisons to the Croatian Homeland Security System. The study will examine the potential positive and negative implications of the Croatian Homeland Security System based on official reports and events that influenced the security of the Republic of Croatia. The research includes information through April 1, 2019.

Relevance

The Republic of Croatia is in the process of integrating efforts of its diplomatic, informational, security and economic instruments to enforce the *2017 National Security Strategy* through the Homeland Security System. Implementation of the new Homeland Security System requires significant efforts on a national level in the form of additional legal, doctrinal and organizational changes throughout the instruments of national power. Coordination; synergy and integration among different governmental organizations and agencies responsible for public safety, health, protection and rescue of citizens and property; and protection of critical infrastructure aim to improve the overall security

situation and resilience and to mitigate contemporary security risks and threats to the Republic of Croatia.

The *Homeland Security Act* was adopted in November of 2017. There is currently minimal literature on the topic of Croatian homeland security. Conducting qualitative research in the form of case study, and by producing literature on the topic, will help create the foundation and incentive for further research and improvements in the study of homeland security in the Republic of Croatia.

Closing

The purpose of this study is to analyze the potential of efforts to improve the Croatian Homeland Security System by integrating the instruments of national power. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to Croatian Homeland Security System and the context for this study. It provides the primary research question and associated secondary research questions, as well as the scope, and limiting and delimiting factors. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the different strategies, policies, laws, articles, reports, and findings that are relevant to the exploration of the primary and secondary research questions. It is organized around the subtopics that help understand homeland security and include explaining homeland security as an emerging phenomenon, reasons for the establishment of Croatian Homeland Security System and the legal framework for the establishment of Croatian Homeland Security System. Chapter 3 introduces and describes the research methodology used to conduct the analysis in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In its first part, this literature review provides an introduction to contemporary security studies which will help readers better understand the concept of homeland security. In the second and third part, this literature review provides an analysis of the security environment of the Republic of Croatia and an overview of the legal framework that led to the establishment of the Homeland Security System in the Republic of Croatia and explains the structures that comprise the design of the Croatian Homeland Security System. Lastly, this review encompasses the analysis of literature that covers trends and experiences in homeland security development, comparing Croatian Homeland Security System to other systems in world with an emphasis on system effectiveness and outcomes.

Understanding Homeland Security

From the very beginning of the human race to present day, security is one asset that people everywhere in the world continuously seek. The need for security, based on physiological requirements, is essential for the survival of the organism and, according to the Maslow hierarchy of needs, falls into biotic needs, or “deficiency needs,” without which human survival is at stake.⁶ Prior to the development of modern security studies, security issues were almost synonymous with government action. Same as today,

⁶ Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

individual states were the primary carriers of security, but human and social security were aligned with military security. Citizens were mainly considered safe if there were no foreign threats from other states.

From today's perspective, traditional security discussions were too narrow and they did not capture a complete picture of the security phenomenon, which, according to current perception, is much broader and more complicated. Traditionally, the concept of security was based only on the observation of the military power of individual states. The traditional definitions that were located in the space between conflict and peace are based on three underlying assumptions: the belief that the state is responsible for security, that security policy is aimed to maintain the status quo, and that military threats require effective military defense, which was a primary interest.⁷

Followers of traditional security studies, mostly members of the realism school of thought of international relations, define security as freedom from an external military threat to state survival in an anarchic international system. Stephen Walt's definition of security studies expresses a traditionalistic view of the problem. He describes security studies as "studies of threats and use, or control of military power."⁸ This approach is essentially based on a clear realist paradigm with main focus on armed conflicts between states.

⁷ Sinisa Tatalovic and Mirko Bilandzic, *The Basics of National Security* (Zagreb: Ministry of Interior, 2005).

⁸ Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1991): 212.

The most significant difference between traditional security concepts and contemporary ones is that security is no longer identified only with states and military issues. A study that confirms this conclusion was conducted by the Canadian University of British Columbia in 2005 and aimed to establish a list of issues people in the world consider to be the greatest threats to national security. The survey covered 11 countries, and the results showed 27 percent of respondents fear most from violence related to criminal acts, 15 percent fear of terrorism, 13 percent fear of health and economic threats, 12 percent fear of disaster and natural disasters, 8 percent fear war, and 25 percent fears of various other endangering threats.⁹

Another survey that confirms shift in security paradigm was conducted by Pew Research Center in 2017. Survey covered 38 countries and named terrorism as a major threat, followed by climate change, global economy, cyberattacks, illegal migrations, and great powers influence (Russia, China, United States) respectively.¹⁰ Same survey was conducted in 2019 further confirming the same results, but with emphasis on cyberattacks as a rising concern.¹¹

⁹ Mirko Bilandzic, "Towards a European Union "National" Security Strategy," *Policija i sigurnost* 21 (2012): 49-69.

¹⁰ Jacob Poushter and Dorothy Manevich, "ISIS and Climate Change Seen as Top Threats Globally," Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, 1 August 2017, accessed 22 February 2019, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/08/01/globally-people-point-to-isis-and-climate-change-as-leading-security-threats/>.

¹¹ Jacob Poushter and Christine Huang, "Climate Change Still Seen as Top Global Threat, But Cyberattacks Rising Concern," Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, 10 February 2019, accessed 22 February 2019, http://www.pewglobal.org/2019/02/10/climate-change-still-seen-as-the-top-global-threat-but-cyberattacks-a-rising-concern/?utm_source=adaptivemailer&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=2-10-

New definitions of security have also been influenced by the new way of functioning and achievement of diplomatic relations in the international community that began at the end of the last century, and which is increasingly based on cooperation and not on conflicts between states. For example, the importance of security is also evident in the fact that one of the pillars of the EU is an EU Common Foreign and Security Policy presented in a *Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*. This framework enables the EU to speak and act uniquely when it comes to global issues. The joint action of the 28 EU member states has a much greater impact than separate pursuing of individual policies by each nation.¹²

By compounding the agenda of international relations and the emergence of new security challenges, risks, and threats, the emergence of new actors in international relations, the traditional view of the very concept of security, or its essence, has become too narrow. Critical security studies emerged in the late 20th century, and they draw their roots from the conference entitled *Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies*, held at York University in Canada in 1994.¹³ The most significant benefit of critical security studies is the broader understanding of security issues that were, at that time, mainly concerned with the conventional threats and the use of military force as a

19%20global%20threats&org=982&lvl=100&ite=3774&lea=873223&ctr=0&par=1&trk=.

¹² European Union, "A Global Strategy for The European Union's Foreign and Security Policy," June 2016, accessed 16 November 2019, https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf.

¹³ Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 4th ed. (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2016).

response to those threats. Critical security studies examine who or what needs to be protected and they review referent security objects. In the traditional sense, this was a state, and by criticizing this approach, critical security studies suggest turning to individuals, or to humanity in its entirety.

As part of critical security studies, there are several different schools and affiliates for security issues, and one of the most productive is the so-called Copenhagen school of security studies. The Copenhagen School places particular emphasis on the non-military aspects of security, representing a shift away from traditional security studies.¹⁴

Representatives of Copenhagen school, Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, gave a remarkable contribution to a new understanding of security, and thus to the entire critical security studies: Buzan with his sectoral analysis of security and Weaver by introducing the concept of securitization.¹⁵ The concept of sectors concerns the different areas where we speak of security. The authors list the following sectors: military, political, societal, economic and environmental. As such, critical studies theory can be regarded as “widening” traditional security studies by observing security in these new sectors. The second theoretical contribution that emerged as the result of this school is the work of Ole Weaver about securitization who believes that a problem is a security problem because it is securitized - brought into the security area.¹⁶ Some other significant works on the same subject are *Understanding Global Security* by Peter Hough (Routledge, 2004), *People,*

¹⁴ Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*.

¹⁵ Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Pub., 1998).

¹⁶ Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*.

States and Fear by Barry Buzan (ECPR, 2007), and *The Empire of Security* by William Bain (Routledge, 2006).

One of the critical areas of security studies is national security focused on the security, well-being and survival of an individual country. This concept was introduced in the United States and has been in use since the 1940's. Since its inception, the concept of national security took a central place in security studies and international relations. However, many authors agree that national security exists since the first independent states were formed, which, due to their own survival, had to develop elaborate systems of national security.¹⁷

The author of the term of *national security* was an American journalist, Walter Lippmann, who considered “a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war.”¹⁸ The concept of national security over time became more obvious, implying the totality of political, military and economic efforts that the government had to meet in order to achieve their national interests.¹⁹ The concept of national security became an official guiding principle of foreign policy in the United States (U.S.) when the *National Security Act of 1947* was signed on July 26, 1947 by President Harry S. Truman.²⁰ As amended in

¹⁷ Tatalovic and Bilandzic, *The Basics of National Security*, 10.

¹⁸ Joseph J. Romm, *Defining National Security: The Nonmilitary Aspects* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993).

¹⁹ Sinisa Tatalovic, *National and International Security* (Zagreb: Politicka kultura, 2006), 144.

²⁰ Romm, *Defining National Security: The Nonmilitary Aspects*, 3.

1949, this Act created essential mechanisms of U.S. national security, such as the precursor to the Department of Defense (DoD), subordination of the military branches to the new cabinet-level position of Secretary of Defense, and establishment of the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency.²¹ Notably, the act did not define national security, which was conceivably advantageous, as its ambiguity made it a powerful phrase to invoke whenever issues threatened by other interests of the state, such as domestic concerns, came up for discussion and decision.²²

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States., the new concept of homeland security emerged. In July 2002, the inaugural *U.S. National Strategy for Homeland Security* was published as a response to terrorist attacks, and it called for the establishment of a system that enabled integration and collaboration on a national scale. It relied heavily on state and local governments and capabilities to respond to incidents, and it set the stage for significant legislation to be passed in the same year. On September 25, 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush signed the *Homeland Security Act of 2002* which established the Department for Homeland Security (DHS). The goal for DHS was to merge 22 different federal organizations to provide a unified structure for homeland security operations. DHS was responsible for protecting the homeland, borders, ports, and critical infrastructure; coordinating communication between federal,

²¹ Robert T. Davis, ed., *U.S. Foreign Policy and National Security: Chronology and Index for the 20th Century*, Illustrated ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2010), xiii–xiv.

²² Romm, *Defining National Security: The Nonmilitary Aspects*, 3-5.

state, and local governments; synthesizing intelligence critical to homeland security; and keeping the public informed.

The primary purpose of this new concept is to prevent, protect against, mitigate, respond to, and recover from natural, technological/accidental, and adversarial/human caused threats and hazards.²³ Homeland security as a new concept suggested a different approach to security, and it differs from national security or homeland defense. While experts disagree on the definitions, there are a couple of fundamental differences: national security is generally associated with foreign affairs and defense; homeland security is generally associated with preparing and protecting the nation against terrorism or other hazards like natural disasters and public health emergencies.²⁴ On the other hand, in case of the United States, homeland defense is principally a Department of Defense (DOD) activity and is defined as “the protection of US sovereignty, territory, domestic population, and critical defense infrastructure against external threats and aggression, or other threats as directed by the President.”²⁵ At the same time, homeland security also has some significant overlap with national security and homeland defense.

²³ Shawn Reese, *Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations*, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 8 January 2013), 1-3, accessed 18 December 2018, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homsec/R42462.pdf>.

²⁴ Burns Law Library, “What’s The Difference between National Security and Homeland Security? - Ask Us,” 14 August 2017, accessed 15 November 2018, <http://www.law.gwu.libanswers.com/faq/23494>.

²⁵ U.S. Department of Defense (DOD), Joint Publication (JP) 3-27, *Homeland Defense* (Washington, DC, July 2007), vii, accessed 18 December 2018, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=477262>.

Its counter-terrorism mission and its border security mission both resonate with a national security purpose.

The evolution of homeland security concepts in the United States has been communicated in several strategic documents. Today, strategic documents guide all included federal entities and include the *2017 National Security Strategy* and the *2018 National Strategy for Counterterrorism*. There are also strategic documents that provide specific guidance to DHS entities, including the periodical *Quadrennial Homeland Security Reviews* and the *Department of Homeland Security Strategic Plans*. Before the issuance of these documents, national and DHS homeland security strategic documents included the 2002 and 2007 *National Strategies for Homeland Security*. All of these documents contain varying definitions for homeland security and different missions derived from these definitions.²⁶ Today, the DHS mission is to prevent terrorism and enhance security, secure and manage borders, enforce and administer immigration laws, safeguard and secure cyberspace, and strengthen national preparedness and resilience.²⁷

Parallel with the governmental design, as in the case of the United States, the homeland security concept developed as a field of study. Different authors conclude that homeland security is an emerging discipline and growing numbers of academics are identifying homeland security as their primary field of study. Additionally, colleges are actively creating homeland security curriculums, which mostly contain the same core

²⁶ Reese, *Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations*, 5-14.

²⁷ Department of Homeland Security, "Our Mission," accessed 18 December 2018, <https://www.dhs.gov/our-mission>.

topics like all-hazards, collaboration, critical thinking, critical infrastructure, cybersecurity, emergency management, intelligence, preparedness, risk management, strategy, and terrorism.²⁸ What is common to all mentioned topics is the security environment, which in most cases shapes the development of those fields and determines adequate answers to new challenges.

The Security Environment of the Republic of Croatia

As a relatively small European country in area, population and economy, Croatia has a rich cultural tradition, with adequate natural and human potential. As such, in its security environment, Croatia strengthens its democratic order and stability, improves the mechanisms of functioning of the legal state, creates the preconditions for the full development of civil society, and accepts and implements reforms in the economic and social transformation of society. Guided by that policy, Croatia has become a firm part of the international community and an active subject in international relations and is considered to be one of the factors in building a new European security and defense identity.²⁹ However, despite certain improvements, the national security of Croatia is inextricably linked to the security of its immediate environment.

²⁸ John Comiskey, "Theory for homeland security," *Journal of Homeland Security Education* 7 (2018): 29-45, accessed 18 December 2018, <http://www.journalhse.org/v7-comiskey.html>.

²⁹ Dario Matika and Armano Srblijinovic, "National Security and Defense of the Republic of Croatia in the Euro - Atlantic Context," Institute of Social Science Ivo Pilar, 2016, 14, accessed 15 November 2018, https://www.pilar.hr/wp-content/images/stories/dokumenti/sigurnost_obrana/2.pdf.

According to some authors, the factors that shape Croatia's security environment and Croatian capacities to counter new challenges can be analyzed through different domains: Croatia's geopolitical position in terms of NATO and EU membership, as well as the Croatia's status in the region; the nature of security challenges and threats; the institutional ability of Croatian state and society to maintain its national security functions; and the use or availability of resources.³⁰ This approach has both positive and negative implications. For example, being a NATO and EU member is an exceptional strategic opportunity to protect national interests, but it also exposes Croatia to all threats and challenges that both NATO and the EU are facing. This is also the reason why any relevant analysis and discussion about Croatia's national or homeland security cannot be isolated from global trends.

The contemporary security environment of the Republic of Croatia is characterized by increased instability around Europe that continues to generate new security challenges. Regions like North Africa and the Middle East are a source of many security spillover challenges effecting Europe. These challenges include mass migrations, terrorism, extremism, a proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction and contribute to the rise of organized crime, human and weapon trafficking, hybrid warfare and radicalization through social media. The issues such as treatment of migrations, crisis hot

³⁰ Institute for Development and International Relations, "Croatia in Contemporary Security Environment - Threats, Challenges and Responses" (Conference Proceedings, Zagreb, June 2015), 7-8, accessed 15 November 2018, <https://www.irmo.hr/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/CONFERENCE-PROCEEDINGS.pdf>.

spots, energy security, economic matters, and cyber security have presented challenges to common European policymaking.³¹

In such a challenging security environment, even military and technological superiority cannot guarantee success, and consequently, military dominance alone is not enough to solve the emerging security challenges. What is needed is a new way of thinking and acting that includes organizational adaptability and flexibility, visible solidarity, cooperation, and synergy.³²

Based on the security environment and new threats that emerged from it, the Croatian government decided to strengthen the national security system. The fundamental goal was to redefine the concept of national security through the drafting of new strategic documents, that in accordance with recent, internal and external, geopolitical and economic changes and circumstances, safeguard vital national interests and promote the fundamental values of Croatian society, the integrity of the Croatian state territory and the security of all its citizens.³³

³¹ Republic of Croatia, Security Intelligence Agency (SOA), *SOA - Public Report 2017* (2018), accessed 18 December 2018, <https://www.soa.hr/files/file/Javno-izvjesce-2017.pdf>.

³² Institute for Development and International Relations, "Croatia in Contemporary Security Environment - Threats, Challenges and Responses," 7, 8.

³³ Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, "Redefining the Concept of National Security," 21 November 2016, accessed 18 December 2018, <https://www.morh.hr/hr/vijesti-najave-i-priopcenja/priopcenja/13726-redefiniranje-koncepta-nacionalne-sigurnosti.html>.

The Republic of Croatia - Legal Framework

National security is one of the most important issues of every nation and it is considered among the most complicated problems confronting contemporary states. Strengthening of national security must include clearly defined goals, vision, attitudes, and activities of each country that can be expressed through the strategic and doctrinal documents. The very existence of a system of strategic doctrinal documents does not guarantee national security and defense will be better or worse depending on other factors, including the willingness of the state and society to respect and implement their own established guidelines and aspirations expressed through strategic and doctrinal documents, resolutions, and ultimately through the Constitution and the laws.

After the acquisition of its statehood and independence in 1991, the Republic of Croatia started to build a national security system in the wake of the war. The Homeland War and the absence of established security institutions further hampered and delayed this process. However, in the first decade of state independence, the Republic of Croatia managed to build all the functional components of the national security system such as armed forces, a system of foreign-policy institutions, and an intelligence system. With the end of the war and changing the role of the Republic of Croatia in international relations, the degree of security of the Republic of Croatia increased, which automatically meant creating more favorable conditions for the further building of the national security system.³⁴

³⁴ Tatalovic and Bilandzic, *The Basics of National Security*.

The first *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia* was adopted on the basis of Article 80 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia in the Croatian Parliament at a session held on March 19, 2002. This strategy represented a conceptual document in which the Croatian Parliament, as the highest political and legislative institution, establishes and accepts political views on the fundamental issues of national security. The conceptual solutions set out in the document are projections of four fundamental factors: (1) geopolitical positions of the Republic of Croatia, marked by a determined effort to approach and join the Euro-Atlantic and European security organizations; (2) security challenges and risks for the Republic of Croatia; (3) system status and success of the functions of national security; and (4) available resources at a given time.

The *2002 National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia* defined Croatian national security as: (1) a particular (achieved or projected) state of security; (2) the functional area of the various security institutions, together with the overall social endeavors to achieve security objectives; and (3) security institutions themselves, connected into a regulated system. With this document, the Republic of Croatia tried to build a state of national security in which its freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity will be ensured within the framework of internationally accepted arrangements, human rights and the rights of its citizens, political and social stability of society, stable economic development under the conditions of freedom of the market and entrepreneurship, functioning of the rule of law, internal order and personal safety of citizens, and healthy and stable ecological conditions.

However, critics of the *2002 National Security Strategy* point out that national interests defined in the strategy are nothing else but a copy of the fundamental values listed in the Croatian Constitution. Since national interests should be a sublimation of fundamental values and imply at least the most comprehensive strategic modalities for their implementation and promotion, by mere rewriting of fundamental values and their proclamation of national interests, they cannot be a clear guideline for the operation of the entire national security system.³⁵ Such a security concept was based on the assumption that national security is an area of action that ensures the survival and prerequisites for the development of society concerning other international factors, thus prioritizing components that are naturally oriented towards the international environment. This means that the overall internal issues of the realization of national security have been systematically ignored; although, changes in the security environment over the past years have required strengthening and building of national capabilities.

Since many parts of the strategy have never been operationalized, this document was perceived as a fulfilling of external requirements, and not as an expression of the fact that it creates the basis for the development of the foreign and security policy. Despite the adoption of the strategy, the perception of security policy alignment with the defense policy and the focus on the development of the defense sector have been retained, primarily because of NATO membership, which practically neglected the other security policy components that were important for EU membership as well. An example is an

³⁵ Sustainable Development of Croatia - ORaH, "National Security Policy - Building the Sustainable Development of the Republic of Croatia," September 2014, accessed 15 November 2018, https://www.orah.hr/files/Politike-usvojene/Politika_nacionalne_sigurnosti-ORaH.pdf.

attempt to establish an integrated crisis management system in the Republic of Croatia. This issue has been constantly actualized for years, again under the pressure of external factors - the NATO and EU demands that the Republic of Croatia needs to adopt new concepts and to apply them in crisis management area.³⁶ Although the *2002 National Security Strategy* requested its establishment, it took 15 years to create such a system.

Despite all the deficiencies, *2002 National Security Strategy*, supported by *2002 Defense Strategy*,³⁷ *2003 Military Strategy*,³⁸ *2002 Security Services Act*,³⁹ and *2006 Security and Intelligence System Act*.⁴⁰ established the national security system which remained in effect until 2017, when all of these strategies were largely outdated, especially as Croatia, meanwhile, became a member of NATO and the EU. Relationships and competencies between the existing national security system institutions regulated by these laws did not define the system in a way that would ensure optimal functioning of involved institutions and organizations. Instead, existing framework sometimes reflected the specific interests and power of the political entities and individuals involved in the preparation and adoption of the same framework. This is why the national security

³⁶ Sinisa Tatalovic, "The Impact of External Factors on Security Policy Development of the Republic of Croatia," *International Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010): 5-21.

³⁷ Republic of Croatia, *Defense Strategy* (Official Gazette 33/02, 2002).

³⁸ Republic of Croatia, *Military Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, quoted in Tihomirovic, ed., *Collection of regulations and policy documents on defense* (Zagreb: Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, 2003), 299-331.

³⁹ Republic of Croatia, *Security Services Act* (Official Gazette 32/02, 2002).

⁴⁰ Republic of Croatia, *The Security and Intelligence System Act* (Official Gazette 79/06, 2006).

system of the Republic of Croatia did not gain the status it deserves, and is not looked on as equal to the status of the same concepts and institutions in more developed countries. The established practice in those countries is to constantly change, supplement or improve the national security strategies and concepts and thus to meet the challenges the future brings.

Pursuant to Article 81 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Parliament, at its session on July 14, 2017, adopted a new *2017 National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*. The fundamental goal of the new strategy is to redefine the concept of national security, which will protect vital national interests and the state territory in accordance with existing external, internal and other changes and circumstances and promote the fundamental values of Croatian society and the security of all citizens. The *2017 National Security Strategy* develops a comprehensive national security concept that ensures better coordination, strategic planning, pooling of resources, and a consistent development of capabilities to develop security policies that will guarantee national security at a high level of security in cooperation with allies and partners. This strategy introduces a new security paradigm based on the model of human security, which implies security of every citizen.

As one of the starting points, the *2017 National Security Strategy* takes into account the current *Government Program for the mandate period 2016-2020*⁴¹ (which includes the development policies of the Republic of Croatia) and the assessment of the

⁴¹ Republic of Croatia, Government of the Republic of Croatia, “Government Program for the Mandate Period 2016-2020,” 2016, accessed 10 December 2018, https://vlada.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/ZPPI/Dokumenti%20Vlada/Program_Vlada_RH_2016_2020.pdf.

security and intelligence system. In addition, the strategy establishes that the development of the strategy is a lasting process in which the Government of the Republic of Croatia, in cooperation with the President of the Republic of Croatia, at the beginning of its mandate, updates the existing or drafts a new National Security Strategy, and annually reports to the Croatian Parliament on its implementation. With this mechanism in place, the aim is to avoid the strategy obsolescence as in the case of the *2002 National Security Strategy*.

The strategy envisions four national interests and nine strategic goals that support the realization of these national interests, in line with the conditions of the current security environment of the Republic of Croatia. The national interests defined by the Strategy are: (1) the security of the population and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia are essential preconditions for the existence of the state in all its functions; (2) well-being and prosperity of citizens are the most critical indicators of quality and successful state, democratic political system and a stable society; (3) national identity, international reputation, and influence enable the Republic of Croatia to participate in international processes and in shaping a favorable international environment; and (4) equal position, sovereignty, and existence of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the position of the legally recognized Croatian national minority in other countries and other Croatian diaspora enjoy special care and protection of the Republic of Croatia.

Strategic goals represent the concrete implementation of national security policy in the area of every national interest, and they are listed as follows: (1) achieving the highest level of security and protection of the population and critical infrastructures; (2)

establishment and development of the Homeland Security System; (3) development and maintenance strong and active defense; (4) ecological Croatia and the development of a strong and sustainable economy; (5) demographic renewal and revitalization of the Croatian society; (6) development of public administration and strategic communication; (7) protection, strengthening and promotion of the highest values of constitutional order and Croatian national identity; (8) strengthening the international reputation and influence of the Republic of Croatia; and (9) securing the existence, protection of identity and political subjectivity of the Croatian people as a constitutive people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, protecting and supporting Croatians in other countries and diaspora.

As stated in *National Security Strategy*, the establishment of a Homeland Security System, as a framework for a coordinated action of all state bodies in the promotion of the national interests of the Republic of Croatia, is the critical requirement for the Republic of Croatia's role as an active participant of international relations. With this new system Croatia aims to establish an effective mechanism to respond to unpredicted security challenges and natural disasters. This system provides the capability to prevent and manage crises. Thus, the *National Security Strategy* adoption was the most significant step in the establishment of such a system. As the fundamental national security document, which has been adopted by a political consensus, it was a starting point for implementing new policies and procedures directed on the promotion of the Croatian strategic objectives and interests.⁴²

⁴² Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

Pursuant to Article 89 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the President of the Republic of Croatia, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic, on November 3, 2017, issued a decision on the proclamation of the *Homeland Security Act*, which was previously adopted by the Croatian Parliament at its session of October 27, 2017. It should be emphasized that this Act does not change the competences of the authorities in the Homeland Security System arising from the laws established by these bodies, as well as the competencies arising from other laws and subordinate acts. Instead, the Act regulates the coordinated action of the Homeland Security System elements and the implementation of the activities and tasks deriving from the jurisdiction of the Homeland Security System elements arising from this Act, relating to the management of security risks and the functioning in case of crises.

The *Homeland Security Act* defines the Homeland Security System as a system consisting of interior, defense, security and intelligence systems, civil protection, fire brigades, foreign affairs and other bodies that organize and coordinate tasks of recognizing, assessing, reducing or removing security risks of importance for the national security of the Republic of Croatia.⁴³ In addition to previously mentioned institutions, the system also includes other central state administration bodies that have authority over critical infrastructure and which can participate in security risk management activities. In addition, the Act allows involvement and expansion of system with other legal entities of particular importance for defense, protection and rescue services, Homeland War Veterans associations, and other citizens' associations, which, due to their capabilities,

⁴³ Republic of Croatia, *Homeland Security Act*.

may be supportive to the Homeland Security System in the implementation of security risk management activities and tasks in emergency situations of national security importance. The decision on the engagement of such legal entities referred to in the paragraph is made by the Croatian Government, and the criteria and conditions of engagement will be defined by a special decree of the Croatian Government that is currently in production.

As stated in the act, its fundamental purpose is to: (1) ensure rational, efficient, and coordinated use of existing resources to reduce or eliminate security risks of national security importance; (2) strengthen the management of emergency and crisis situations that are a risk to national security, including the crisis situations managed at the level of the NATO or the EU; (3) enable a systematic, harmonized development of the Homeland Security system; (4) ensure development of strategic documents of importance to national security, oversight of their implementation and their periodic synchronization; (5) ensure a coherent methodology for monitoring risks and threats to national security and to set priorities in their treatment; (6) ensure coordinated implementation of regulations that define the security measures and procedures of importance for national security, and in particular the protection of critical infrastructures; and (7) provide the appropriate contribution of the public and private sector, and civil society to the protection and strengthening of national security at all levels of the state and society.

The central body of the Homeland Security System is the National Security Council whose composition is prescribed by the *Security and Intelligence System Act* and includes the President of the Republic of Croatia, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia, the President of the Croatian Parliament, the Ministers of Defense, Interior,

Foreign Affairs and Justice, the National Security Adviser to the President of the Republic of Croatia, Chief of the General Staff, and directors of Croatian intelligence agencies. The National Security Council considers and evaluates security threats and risks, matters within the scope of central government bodies and other state bodies related to national security; and provides guidelines, decisions and conclusions on the ways of protecting and achieving national security interests that relate to the Homeland Security System. Also, the National Security Council approves work and development plans of the Homeland Security System.

In order to ensure proper management on operational level, the Coordination for the Homeland Security System has been established as the inter-authority body responsible for organizing and coordinating the work of the Homeland Security System. Coordination for the Homeland Security System consists of: the Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia in charge of national security (who is also the chair of the Coordination for the Homeland Security System); National Security Advisor of the President of the Republic of Croatia; heads of central government bodies responsible for internal affairs, defense, foreign affairs, veterans, civil protection, environmental protection, finance, justice, health, sea, transport and infrastructure; Chief of the General Staff; Chief Police Officer; Chief firefighter commander, and directors of Croatian intelligence agencies. In addition, other leaders of central government bodies may also be involved in the composition of the Coordination for the Homeland Security System, and for the purpose of implementing certain decisions or tasks, the Homeland Security Coordination may organize working groups and designate a body from the Homeland Security System that will direct the work of the group.

The Coordination for the Homeland Security System performs the following tasks: (1) prepares an annual work and development plans of the Homeland Security, submits them to the approval of the National Security Council and take measures for their implementation; (2) coordinates the implementation of guidelines, decisions and conclusions of the National Security Council within its competence in the area of security risk and crisis management; (3) initiates and coordinates the development or updating of the National Security Strategy in accordance with changes in the security environment; (4) examines the reports on the state of security threats and risks created by the competent state bodies and coordinates the preparation of national security risk assessments; (5) examines the implementation of strategic and planning documents that have an impact on the Homeland Security System and makes recommendations to state bodies on issues of capacity development; (6) examines proposed documentation in defining, assessing and treating security risks and adjusts their implementation; (7) discusses and coordinates crisis response capabilities development plans of the Homeland Security System bodies; (8) organizes and participates in the implementation of crisis response exercises planned at the Government of the Republic of Croatia level; (9) provides recommendations to the relevant state bodies for the coordination of national procedures and regulations with NATO and EU crisis response procedures; (10) proposes to the National Security Council a discussion on security threats and national security risks assessment; (11) proposes to the Government of the Republic of Croatia to take decision on engaging additional persons in the activities and tasks of risk management; and (12) makes decisions on the development of standard operational procedures and

plans related to the management of registered security risks of importance for national security and crisis management.

The Act also defines way of responding to the crisis. It implies that the authorities from the Homeland Security System submit to the Coordination for the Homeland Security System information relevant to them as indicators of the occurrence, growth of a security threat or the emergence of a crisis that could be a threat to national security. In the event of a gradual or sudden crisis posing a risk to national security, the Coordination for the Homeland Security System proposes to the Government of the Republic of Croatia the proclamation of the crisis, the establishment of a crisis management unit and a response to the specific crisis. However, in the event of the need to engage the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia as a response to the crisis, in accordance with the provisions of this Act, the decision is made in the manner prescribed by the *Defense Act*.

The *Homeland Security Act* also makes a significant breakthrough in the financing of the Homeland Security System itself. Funds for the implementation of this Act are provided in the budget of the Republic of Croatia. In the event of a crisis, if the funds of the budget stock are insufficient, it is possible to reallocate resources in the state budget of the Republic of Croatia on budget items between budget users or between budget users and non-budgetary users. Reallocation of the funds may also be made in an amount higher than the amount prescribed by the law governing the budget. In that case, the Government of the Republic of Croatia, based on the proposal of the central state administration body responsible for finance, makes a decision on the redistribution of resources and the reallocation of funds. However, the Republic of Croatia belongs to a group of small states of both NATO and the EU, and it possesses limited material,

financial and human resources. That is why the Homeland Security System builds a comprehensive national concept of security, which implies better coordination, strategic planning, pooling of resources, balanced development of capabilities with the aim to create security policies that will guarantee citizens a high level of security on a national level.

Homeland Security System Development Trends

After the attacks on the United States in 2001, and subsequent 2004 and 2005 attacks in the United Kingdom and Spain, both the United States and the European countries decided to strengthen their efforts in combating terrorism and ensure homeland security. Although they have the same goal of strengthening security, the American and European approach to homeland security varies considerably. While the United States has embarked on an extensive reorganization of its domestic security and border protection institutions, European countries kept their existing institutional architectures to deal with security challenges and disasters, both natural and man-caused.

One of the reasons for keeping the existing system in many European countries was previous experience in dealing with terrorist groups, such as the IRA in the United Kingdom, the ETA in Spain, or the Red Army Faction in Germany. Even after the increased number of terrorist attacks in the last two decades, European countries have continued to view the terrorism problem predominantly as a task for law enforcement and intelligence authorities. Some critics imply that many European countries have been reluctant to bolster domestic protection efforts, reduce societal vulnerabilities, strengthen border controls security, and thus to enhance European defense as much as possible. Others argue that European governments wanted to integrate counterterrorism and

preparedness programs into existing emergency management efforts, thereby providing better flexibility in responding to a wide range of security challenges with often limited personnel and financial resources.⁴⁴

Still, lot of the European countries took significant efforts to improve security by strengthening police and judicial cooperation with other countries, bolstering external border controls, and synchronizing immigration and asylum policies. However, regarding to EU's largely open borders and proximity of unstable regions surrounding EU, some experts believe that the EU should take a more active role in ensuring European homeland security, arguing even more extensive EU efforts in coordinating homeland security affairs and encouraging common security and budgetary priorities among EU member states. However, other experts are skeptical that EU member states would be willing to abandon sovereignty in the area of domestic security, which is essential to national authority.⁴⁵

On the other hand, United States entered the new phase of national security policy after they introduced the most comprehensive reform of national security structure since 1947, establishing DHS as the new department created explicitly for national security reasons.⁴⁶ DHS has five homeland security missions: (1) prevent terrorism and enhancing

⁴⁴ Congressional Research Service (CRS), *European Approaches to Homeland Security and Counterterrorism*, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 24 July 2006), 1-2, accessed 16 January 2019, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homsec/RL33573.pdf>.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, *The National Security Enterprise*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017), 247.

security; (2) secure and manage borders; (3) enforce and administer immigration laws; (4) safeguard and secure cyberspace; and (4) ensure resilience to disasters.⁴⁷ Although this approach was questioned due to the department's overall purpose which often overlaps with other agencies' roles and responsibilities, DHS still remained a significant player in the United States national security enterprise responsible for ensuring the safety and security of the United States from terrorist attacks and other disasters.

Summary

There are numerous definitions of security, and consequently to national and homeland security. And while the notion of national security has its specific existence in the last 70 years, the notion of homeland security has been extensively seen only in the last 15 years. Given the ever-present use of the concepts of national and homeland security in the academic, public and political spheres, there is a need for additional clarification of terms. National security is a narrower concept than homeland security and implies the content and activities the state undertakes with the aim of ensuring sovereignty, territorial integrity, protection of citizens and material goods from various types of mainly external threats. Homeland security implies the comprehensiveness of the efforts that the state and society undertake to strengthen the individual, state and societal resilience; respond to all the challenges faced at the national and international levels; preserve the value and identity of the community; and maintain normal functioning under all conditions.

⁴⁷ Department of Homeland Security, "Our Mission."

Sovereign states developed the concept of national security, which aimed to ensure the preservation of sovereignty and territorial integrity, and they relied on military strategies of total war, which implied the acquisition of military and defense skills of the majority of the population. The main creator and provider of the security affairs was solely the state that used the power to provide an appropriate system that should meet the interests of preserving sovereignty and integrity. Today, in the changed strategic and global circumstances, in which the opportunities to threaten sovereignty and territorial integrity by military means are significantly reduced, and where the new threats emerged, there is a need to develop strategic responses that will meet new security requirements.

In the case of the Republic of Croatia, in order to be able to move in this direction, it was necessary to develop a new security concept that would take into account all the principles of the EU's internal strategy, as well as other NATO and UN documents, the responsibility for security allocated to state bodies, citizens, the private sector, and all those who can contribute to reducing the vulnerability of the state and society and strengthening its ability to face new risks and dangers. In this concept the state, which still remains the most responsible for security issues, develops an inclusive partnership with all actors that can contribute to the development of resilience and flexibility of response to various risks, while respecting all the principles of national and human security.

The concept of homeland security helps shape the optimal policies and instruments that a country and society need to develop in order to ensure security and development. The concept requires openness to the community in order to inform anyone who could be endangered, and make them aware of all such risks. This implies the

existence of public documents describing the risks, threats and dangers, but also the tools that could be used to reduce impact on the individuals and the community. The state organizes the system by moving responsibility from the local to the national level and has the authority to monitor and warn the development of new risks.

By developing a comprehensive concept of homeland security, the Republic of Croatia developed an innovative approach based on UN, NATO and EU security concepts, that fulfills all the security needs of a community such as the Republic of Croatia. To conclude, the concept of homeland security is not aimed at gaining additional state power in the area of national security. Rather, it develops partnerships and trusts among all stakeholders that can help strengthen the capacity to ensure the necessary level of security and development.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the specific research techniques and methods applied to the research problem. It provides the reader with general a understanding of the selected research approach used and of the specific way of adapting the selected approach for this research. The first section explains the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen research methodology. The second section explains the research process in answering the research questions. Finally, the third section summarizes the applied concept of research and thesis development.

Characteristics of Qualitative Research

This research uses a qualitative research methodology. According to Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell's *Qualitative Research*, basic qualitative research focuses on meaning, understanding the process, a purposeful sample, data collection, inductive and comparative data analysis and results in richly descriptive data presented as themes or categories.⁴⁸ This thesis also possesses general characteristics of qualitative research such as specific selection of instruments, gathering of multiple forms of data, complex reasoning, emergent design, and “reflexivity” and “holistic account.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Sharan B. Merriam, and Elizabeth J. Tisdell, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementations* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2015), 42.

⁴⁹ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2013), 44-47.

Examination of topical literature was the primary method of gathering and interpreting the evidence, and the researcher was, like in the most qualitative studies, in the position of the main researcher.

The case study method was used for this thesis. According to Creswell, this methodological design approach is often used in social and political science and he defines case study as “a qualitative research approach in which the investigator explores a real life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information...and reports a case description and case themes.”⁵⁰ The “case” in this research is how the Republic of Croatia integrates instruments of national power through the Homeland Security System in order to promote national interest as defined in National Security Strategy. This case study intends to determine the efficiency of this integrated approach regarding national security.

Qualitative research puts some requirements in front of the researcher. These requirements, according to their effect on writing, reflect the strength and weaknesses of this kind of approach. There are two major strengths of the qualitative and descriptive oriented methodology. First, it allows performing without firm guidelines. This tolerates adaptation and changing of procedures if required.⁵¹ Second, it permits writing of long paragraphs that are more suitable for the author’s reflection on the evidence, and possible

⁵⁰ Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, 97.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

reduction of extensive data to reasonable categories.⁵² Opposing these freedoms, a few weaknesses stand out, such as committing extensive time for gathering information and engaging in the time-consuming process of data analysis.⁵³ Lastly, this research presents just one person’s “encounter” with a relatively complex problem.⁵⁴

Research Design

The *2017 National Security Strategy* is the current strategic document that outlines national interests and strategic goals in achieving national security policy. Because this strategy document applies across the spectrum of government and encompasses all instruments of national power, it provides a useful analytical tool to scale qualitative achievements and effectiveness of the Homeland Security System and its principal purpose to operationalize new strategy. The four national interests detailed in the *2017 National Security Strategy*⁵⁵ are used as criteria and were analyzed through instruments of national power that served as an analytical tool (see Figure 1).

Instruments of national power, which serve as analytic tool for this study, include diplomatic, informational, military, and economic power which are collectively identified by the acronym DIME. Diplomacy at the international level is a form of soft power, defined as the way nations persuade other nations to do what they want them to do in

⁵² Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, 49.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 237.

⁵⁵ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

support of their national interests.⁵⁶ Information as an element of national power refers to the way a nation uses information to shape the global environment on a long-term basis in support of national interests. Information, often associated with intelligence, is a means used by nations to understand the complex nature of international and domestic relations.⁵⁷ The military element of national power represents the military might of a nation and is usually referred as a “hard power” due to its kinetic nature.⁵⁸ For purpose of this study, military power will also include other law enforcement agencies efforts beside pure military elements. The economic instrument of national power deals not only with a nation’s economic resiliency, but also how it tries to use its economic influence on other nations.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Jeff Farlin, “Instruments of National Power: How America Earned Independence” (strategy research project, United States Army War College, 2014), 2, accessed 3 February 2019, <https://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/87.pdf>.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

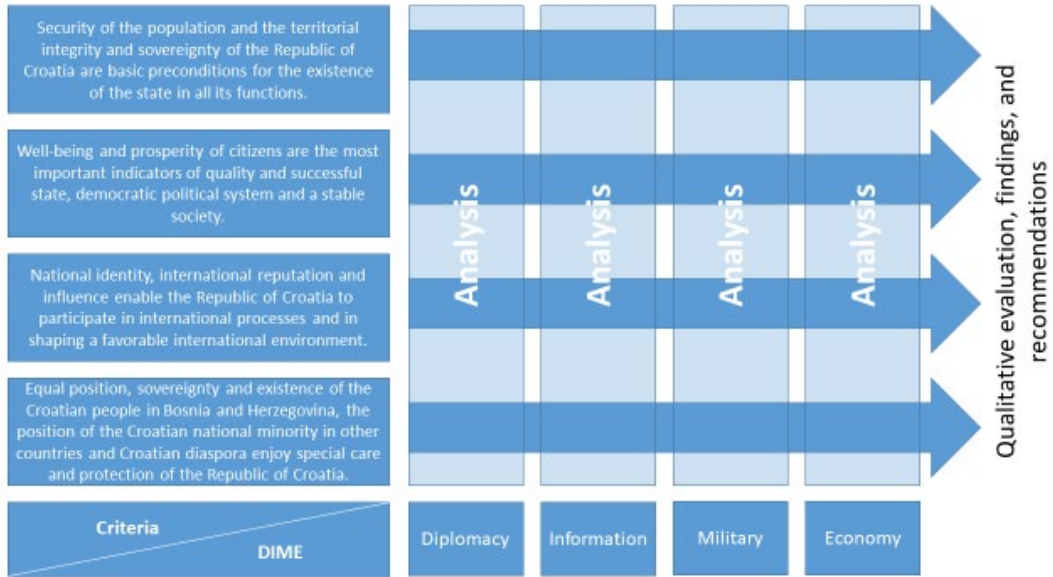


Figure 1. Research Methodology

Source: Created by the author.

In order to answer the research questions and to determine the potential of the Croatian Homeland Security System, it was necessary to analyze the desired effects and evaluate the current effectiveness of the system. The researcher analyzed specific examples of efforts to integrate instruments of national power that aimed to meet national interests described in the *National Security Strategy*. Additionally, the researcher analyzed frictions and risks recognized during the process of instruments of national power integration because they have a direct influence on the future development of the Homeland Security System (see Figure 2).

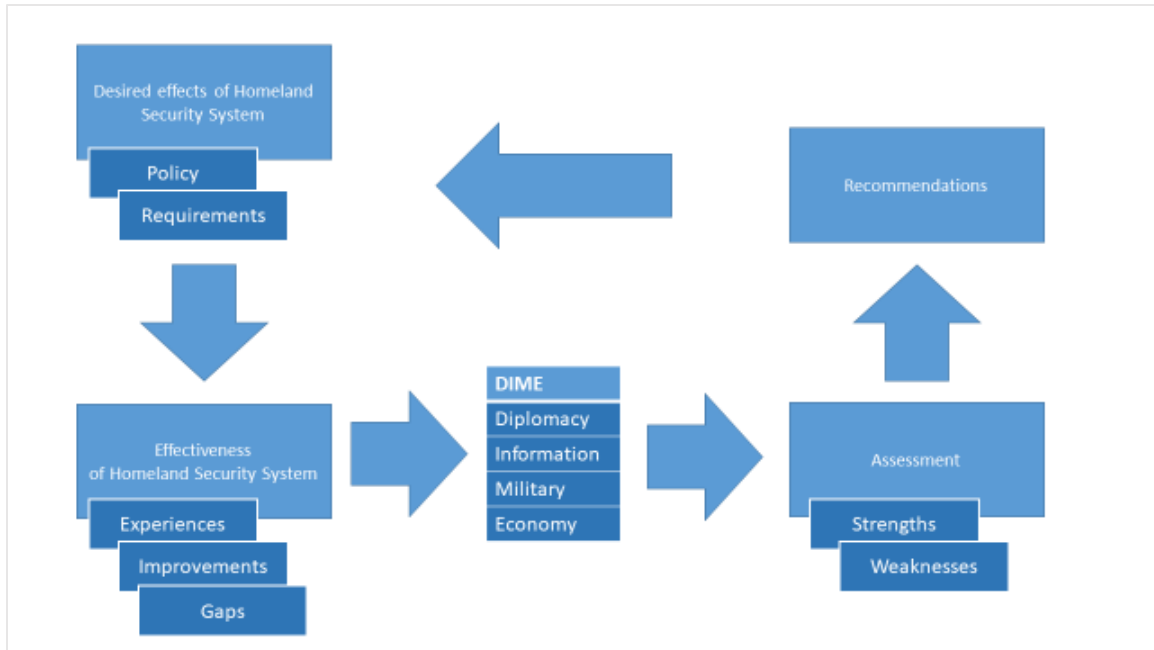


Figure 2. Analysis Process

Source: Created by the author.

Summary

Chapter 3 presented the methodology followed to answer the primary research question and secondary research questions. This study utilized a qualitative research methodology. Using the national interests defined in *National Security Strategy* and examples of their application as criteria, and analyzing them through DIME domains as an analytical tool, enabled evaluation of the Homeland Security System efforts in implementing the new strategy.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

Chapter 4 provides the analysis necessary to answer the research questions and to determine the potential of the Homeland Security System in the Republic of Croatia. This chapter utilizes the methodology introduced and described in Chapter 3 and uses four different criteria through the four instruments of national power. Each criteria represents a national interest detailed in the *2017 National Security Strategy*.

A Homeland Security System implies synchronized work of all government constituents across the DIME instruments of national power. The evaluation of potential is done through assessment of the realization of *2017 National Security Strategy* national interests. The first point of view considers the implementation of the tasks and activities of individual Homeland Security System components in the function of security risk management while the second point of view considers organization and functioning of the Homeland Security System as a whole. Most of the Homeland Security System components tasks function to achieve the first national interest (*Security, Integrity and Sovereignty*) or the third national interest (*National Identity, International Reputation and Influence*). Still, the tasks and activities of the Homeland Security System directly and indirectly also affect the promotion of the second national interest (*Prosperity as a Foundation of Social Stability*), and the fourth national interest (*Croatian national minority in other countries*), and the realization of the relevant strategic goals.

Criterion I: Security, Integrity and Sovereignty

Introduction

The achievement of all national interests starts with securing the freedom, rights and security of every citizen. At the same time, the realization of an adequate quality of life and favorable conditions for work and the creation of a sustainable development of the entire society is the primary function of public safety. Public safety and security of citizens are the foundation of the development of individuals, social groups and society as a whole. In other words, for a safe society it is necessary to protect people, goods and critical infrastructure.

The first national interest described in the *2017 National Security Strategy* and also the first criterion for assessing the potential of the Homeland Security System is “the security of the population and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia are the preconditions for the state’s survival in all its functions.”⁶⁰ The strategy envisions the promotion of this national interest through the fulfillment of three distinct strategic goals: (1) achieving the highest level of security and protection of the population and critical infrastructure, (2) establishing and developing the Homeland Security System, and (3) developing and maintaining a strong and active defense.

Although the security situation in the Republic of Croatia is stable and there is no visible potential for significant disruption, there are certain challenges that require a common effort of all the national power instruments. The increased terrorist threat in Europe, the unstable region, illegal migration, foreign intelligence and hybrid actions, as

⁶⁰ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

well as crisis situations in the European environment, are the source of most of the security challenges for the Republic of Croatia. Although each of these threats requires a different answer, the synergy of the Homeland Security System is necessary for all solutions.

The problem of illegal migrations will be used to determine effectiveness of the Homeland Security System regarding Criterion I. The issue of internal security of some countries became closely related to migrants, and with their uncontrolled inflow and possible influence on the security, economic and political situation in the destination countries.⁶¹ Over the last five years, the European Union has faced the greatest uncontrollable influx of migrants and refugees in their history. The causes that led to the explosion of the migrant crisis in 2015 are substantially different: escape from war, search for a better life, departure from dysfunctional states, and escape from various forms of extremism and terrorism. The main migration flows were towards highly developed countries or the easiest achievable destination. Other target countries, primarily the United States, Canada and Australia, are unattainable for many migrants due to long distances and increased control on their borders. Thus, border control and security, as a most common solution to illegal migration problem, became the focal point of protecting national interests for certain countries.

Like the European Union, the Republic of Croatia faced the massive arrival of refugees in its territory in 2016. In just a few days the entire national system was

⁶¹ Jure Tadic, Filip Dragovic, and Tonci Tadic, "Migrant and Refugee Crisis – Security risks for EU," *Police and Security* 25, no. 1 (2016): 14-42, accessed 24 January 2019, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/160609?lang=en>.

overwhelmed. Specifically, the legal system did not properly deal with the situation. The effective implementation of the *Border Control Act*⁶², the *Asylum Act*⁶³ and the *Aliens Act*⁶⁴, as well to the overall capacity of institutions to deal with crisis situations proved inefficient. Although the laws of the Republic of Croatia were fully aligned with the European laws during the negotiations with the EU, they proved to be inadequate and the whole border control system collapsed in a few days. From mid-September 2015 to mid-March 2016 more than 700,000 illegal migrants entered Croatia and migrated to third countries, mostly without seeking refugee status or asylum in Croatia.⁶⁵

Additionally, an aggravating circumstance for the Republic of Croatia was the fact that there was enough time to prepare for the impending crisis. When Hungary announced the closure of its borders, the Republic of Croatia should have tried to synchronize its actions with other European Union countries, primarily with Slovenia, Austria and Hungary. That was not the case. Consequently, hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants entered the EU territory without being identified nor adequately registered. The opening of the corridor for the uncontrolled influx of migrants undermined the legal and security order of the EU. The refugees had to be aided in

⁶² Republic of Croatia, *Border Control Act* (Official Gazette 27/16, 2016).

⁶³ Republic of Croatia, *Asylum Act* (Official Gazette 143/13, 2013).

⁶⁴ Republic of Croatia, *Aliens Act* (Official Gazette 46/18, 2018).

⁶⁵ Senada S. Sabic and Sonja Boric, “At the Gate of Europe. A report on Refugees on the Western Balkan Route,” IRMO, 4 May 2016, accessed 6 February 2019, <https://www.irmo.hr/en/publications/the-study-at-the-gate-of-europe-a-report-on-refugees-on-the-western-balkan-route/>.

accordance with international and European law, but the EU as institution had completely failed and left the countries to face this problem individually.

Maintaining borders is absolutely necessary to a state sovereignty. Therefore, it follows that the first measures that can be taken with the intent to protect national or internal security must take place at the border. Border security requires both internal and external measures. Internally, law enforcement agencies are responsible for the overall security situation. Externally, it is necessary to monitor political and economic processes not only in the immediate vicinity of Croatia, but also in the entire Mediterranean. Instability in the Mediterranean countries affects the EU and vice versa.⁶⁶ The impact of migration and refugee crises on the overall security situation was exemplified during the 2015 Paris terrorist attack when members of a terrorist group took advantage of this crisis to move freely from the Middle East to Europe.⁶⁷ Given that the problem of illegal migration is still unresolved, similar threats continue to exist.

Desired Effects of the Homeland Security System

The desired effects of the Homeland Security system in support of the first national interest *Security, Integrity and Sovereignty* coincide with the fulfillment of the respective strategic goals. Also, it represents the answer to the security threats among which the is problem of illegal migration. With the influx of illegal migrants coming from war conflict areas, and from the countries with internal conflicts from North Africa

⁶⁶ Tadic, Dragovic, and Tadic, “Migrant and Refugee Crisis – Security risks for EU,” 25.

⁶⁷ “Paris attacks: Who were the attackers,” *BBC News*, 27 April 2016, accessed 9 February 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512>.

and Middle East, there is increased possibility of infiltration of persons associated with criminal and other illicit activities, especially terrorism and extremism, that make illegal migrations a rather complex problem.

The *2017 National Security Strategy* states that countering these challenges will be implemented through an integrated approach and inter-agency cooperation by implementing measures of prevention, suppression, protection, prosecution and strengthening of international cooperation. Regarding the problem of illegal migration, the strategy states that the Republic of Croatia will continue to develop the capabilities of integrated state border management as an external border of the European Union, meeting the requirements for joining the Schengen area.⁶⁸ Also, it highlights the determination of the Republic of Croatia to actively participate and initiate legislative and operational measures at EU level in order to strengthen the overall capacity and readiness to respond on migration challenges and control the external border, consequently increasing the overall security of the Republic of Croatia and the European Union. All of these can be considered as the desired effect of the Homeland Security system in promoting the national interest of *Security, Integrity and Sovereignty*, but with a focus on cooperation, coordination and efficient use of resources.

⁶⁸ Schengen Area signifies a zone where 26 European countries have abolished their internal borders, for the free and unrestricted movement of people, with common rules for controlling external borders and fighting criminality by strengthening the common judicial system and police cooperation.

Effectiveness of the Homeland Security System

In combating illegal migration, the Republic of Croatia invests all its efforts and resources in the consistent implementation of identified activities on a very active Western Balkan migrant route through Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, which is crucial for overseeing security and creating preconditions for returning to normal functioning of the Schengen area. The entry of the Republic of Croatia into the Schengen area is a national priority. During 2018, almost all the technical preconditions for achieving this goal have been met.

(1) Diplomacy. An important element of efforts to combat illegal migration in the Western Balkans is intensive cooperation and communication with the countries of Southeast Europe. This is conducted at two levels. Collaboration at the political level is realized mainly through the border protection capacity building and the adoption of status agreements. Operational level cooperation is seen through the fight against migrant smugglers and the daily coordination of border police, including mixed patrols.⁶⁹

In line with strategic interests, the Republic of Croatia created the preconditions for more effective cooperation with the EU member states and other states in the context of information exchange in the area of combating illegal migration and effective external border control. By intensifying the international cooperation of all law enforcement agencies, with the aim of timely exchange of operational information crucial to the joint struggle against transnational security threats, the Republic of Croatia signed several

⁶⁹ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia* (Zagreb, January 2019), 8, accessed 12 March 2019, https://sabor.hr/sites/default/files/uploads/sabor/2019-01-18/081623/IZVJESCE_STRATEGIJA_NACIONALNE_SIGURNOSTI.pdf.

important agreements on security cooperation. Croatia continuously conducts international cooperation with partner bodies and law enforcement agencies at bilateral level and at European Union level. In order to improve external border management, prevention of illegal entry and simplification of migration flows management, the Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the Establishment of Entry/Exit System (EES) was adopted.⁷⁰ For the purpose of system implementation in the Republic of Croatia, the EU allocated 6.4 million EUR to the Ministry of the Interior.⁷¹

In addition to the already existing legal framework for deploying police liaison officers through EUROPOL to the Republic of Austria, the State of Israel, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Serbia, a legal framework was extended to the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Republic, the United States and the Greece. Also, Croatia signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the European Border and Coast Guard on the acceptance of the FRONTEX⁷² liaison officer responsible for Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary and Romania.⁷³ In addition, the following agreements came into force: Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the

⁷⁰ European Union, *Regulation (EU) 2017/2226 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 30 November 2017 establishing an Entry/Exit System* (Official Journal of the European Union L 327, 9 December 2017), accessed 9 March 2019, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2017/2226/corrigendum/2018-10-15/oj?locale=en>.

⁷¹ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 8.

⁷² The European Border and Coast Guard Agency, also known as FRONTEX, is a EU agency tasked with border control of the European Schengen Area, in coordination with the border and coast guards of Schengen Area member states.

⁷³ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 8.

Government of the Italian Republic on Cross-Border Police Cooperation, Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania on Police Cooperation, Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia and the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Albania on strengthening cooperation in the field of border security, Implementation Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Implementation of the Agreement between the European Community and the Russian Federation on Reaffirmation, and Protocol on Cooperation between the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia and the Ministry of Interior of the Russian Federation for the period from 2018 to 2020. Also, the process of Croatia's accession to the Convention on Police Cooperation in Southeast Europe was initiated.⁷⁴

Following the successful cooperation between the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia and the enforcement authorities of the United States in 2018, an Implementation Agreement between the Ministry of the Interior and the DHS was signed. Also, a Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Croatia and the United States Terrorist Surveillance Center on the exchange of information on the surveillance of identified or suspected terrorists has been signed, thus making a significant step forward in the quality of the global fight against terrorism and serious international organized crime.⁷⁵ These agreements also contribute to better

⁷⁴ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 9.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

protection of borders because they improve positive identification of possible terrorists among migrant populations.

(2) Information. In addition to the trend of increasing international meetings and activities at all levels of government, there was an increase in exchanged information in international cooperation through a developed network of partnerships. Collaboration and development of capabilities in cooperation with partners enables the exchange of data of interest to the national security of the Republic of Croatia. In the area of state border protection, it is important to include a technical component in the form of linking the Croatian National Schengen Information System (SIS) with the Central SIS. Also, significant changes have been made to the Croatian Border Information System, which now allows query to the SIS system for all persons, vehicles and objects, license plates, weapons, containers and ships arriving at the borders and the verification of the identity of the visa holders by fingerprinting and linking with the Ministry of Finance. The success of the execution of preparatory activities was confirmed by an evaluation report that found implementation of the SIS system in the Republic of Croatia was very satisfactory and readily available to the police in the field.⁷⁶

(3) Military. Because of the increased migration pressure, the Republic of Croatia had to strengthen the protection of the EU's external border. Thus, Croatia sent additional police officers to the EU's external border. The Republic of Croatia currently has one of the most capable border police forces in Europe. With 6500 border police officers, the

⁷⁶ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 8.

Republic of Croatia has more border police than Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro together.⁷⁷

For the technical equipping and the strengthening of border police capacity in 2018, projects of a total value of 34.5 million EUR were contracted using the EU's Internal Security Fund (ISF). The following equipment was procured: 60 off-road vehicles for the purpose of border control, a stationary border control system with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, stationary day-night cameras, and seven unmanned aerial vehicles. The ISF subsequently allocated to the Ministry of the Interior an additional amount of 10.4 million EUR in order to enable the supply of additional equipment, thus ensuring better protection of the EU's external border. Given the change in the global security paradigm and the new security challenges, the Republic of Croatia continuously invests in the technical equipment, training and strengthening of capacities of the criminal police. During 2018, 15.4 million EUR was contracted out of the ISF for the strengthening of these capacities.⁷⁸

In addition to the border police capacity, the Republic of Croatia is also relying on other elements of the Homeland Security system to protect the state border. An example of inter-agency cooperation on illegal migration is the role of the Security Intelligence Agency (SOA) in solving international protection requests. The SOA develops the capabilities for proactive action and early identification of threats, risks, challenges and

⁷⁷ "Unscrupulous smugglers - Police ready for Schengen," *HRT News*, 20 January 2019, accessed 15 March 2019, <https://vijesti.hrt.hr/484041/beskrupuloznost-krijumcarapolicija-spremna-za-schengen>.

⁷⁸ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 8.

trends based on the collection and analysis of data important for national security and for achieving strategic goals. After the migration crisis, there has been an increase in the number of foreigners applying for international protection in the Republic of Croatia (asylum and subsidiary protection). During the 2016, SOA conducted 73,511 security checks in the process of solving the foreigners' status issues (issuing visas to foreigners for entry into Croatia or transit through the Republic of Croatia, residence permits, requests for international protection, and requirements for international protection).⁷⁹

After the 2015 migration crisis, changes to the *Border Control Act* in 2016 provided the possibility of engaging Croatian Armed Forces in border protection when there is a security or humanitarian necessity for it. With 16,000 members and related equipment, the Croatian Armed Forces are more than capable of enforcing border security. This legal solution enables the rapid multiplication of power and contributes to reaction speed in the event of a crisis.

(4) Economic. The migrant crisis revealed in a short time all the weaknesses of the state, society and international community. In the case of the Republic of Croatia, there was no significant impact on economic resilience. Nevertheless, the *Homeland Security Act* envisaged measures that contribute to the nation's economic resilience in the event of a crisis. These measures are primarily related to a mechanism that allows the redistribution of funds within the national budget.

The *Homeland Security Act* provides that in the event of a crisis, if the funds are insufficient, it is possible to reallocate funds between budgetary users or between

⁷⁹ SOA, *SOA - Public Report 2017*.

budgetary users and non-budgetary users. Also, it allows the redistribution of funds in amounts greater than prescribed by the budget, as well as on the budgetary items of the subsequently established activities and projects. In order to ensure the full transparency, the Government of the Republic of Croatia reports eventual redistribution of funds to the Croatian Parliament in the semi-annual and annual report on the execution of the national budget.⁸⁰

Through the mechanism of redistribution of funds within the national budget provided for by the *Homeland Security Act*, the Republic of Croatia significantly strengthens the nation's economic resilience in the face of the crisis and ensures the country's adaptability to changed security conditions.

Assessment

The connection between illegal migration crisis and security risks for both the EU and the Republic of Croatia is evident. The inflow of immigrants in 2015 and 2016 was part of the general inflow of immigrants into the European countries that started with the arrival of the first wave in the Republic of Croatia on September 15, 2015 and was officially completed by closing the so-called "Balkan Migration Route" on March 9, 2016. During this period more than 700,000 migrants passed through the Republic of Croatia. Although the migration crisis ended in 2016, illegal migration has not been completely stopped. In 2018 Croatian Border Police prevented more than 5,000 migrants⁸¹ from illegal border crossing, mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina where is

⁸⁰ Republic of Croatia, *Homeland Security Act*.

⁸¹ Croatian News Agency (HINA), "Number of illegal migrants in comparison to last year increased by 31 percent," *Tportal.com*, 11 October 2018, accessed 15 March

currently located around 4000 migrants.⁸² Additionally, there are approximately 70,000 migrants in Greece seeking their way towards the Western Europe and there is a possibility that most of them will choose the route through the Western Balkans.⁸³

The Republic of Croatia, as an integral part of the EU's external border, implemented a series of border protection measures. Over the past few years, the capacity of border protection has been strengthened in terms of personnel, technical equipment, infrastructure building, various activities with FRONTEX and through enhanced cooperation with neighboring countries. In addition, legislation has been adapted to enable the engagement of other national capacities in addition to those envisaged by the *Border Control Act*.

Based on the measures taken, the Republic of Croatia is significantly more prepared to cope migration crises and protect the state border today than it was in 2015. The greatest gain is the establishment of a legal framework and coordination mechanism between all elements of the Homeland Security System, and, in essence, between different instruments of national power. The lack of coordination during 2015 was

2019, <https://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/clanak/broj-ilegalnih-migranata-u-odnosu-na-proslu-godinu-vec-porastao-za-31-posto-foto-20181011>.

⁸² HINA, "Almost 4000 migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina, authorities say they are holding the situation under control," *NI News*, 18 March 2019, accessed 20 March 2019, <http://hr.n1info.com/Regija/a378456/U-BiH-gotovo-4000-migranata-vlasti-kazuda-drze-situaciju-pod-kontrolom.html>.

⁸³ "Mekic: Bosnia and Herzegovina is threatened by the influx of a large number of migrants from Greece," *Al Jazeera Balkans*, 19 February 2019, accessed 20 March 2019, <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/mekic-bosni-i-hercegovini-prijeti-prijetiv-velikog-broja-migranata-iz-grcke>.

identified as one of the greatest shortcomings. Also, the 2015 system was characterized by reactive action, while the value of today is in proactive and preventive action.

However, in order to fully reduce the risk of illegal migration and other related security risks such as terrorist threats and criminal activities, it is necessary to take additional measures, particularly in the field of diplomacy. It is necessary to strengthen the fight against human trafficking jointly by European agencies, EU nations and third countries on the migration route. Also, it is necessary to foster cooperation between the law enforcement and intelligence agencies of the EU countries and third countries in order to gather high quality information about possible members of organized crime groups or terrorist organizations who use refugee crises to enter the EU. Finally, it is necessary to intensify the debate in the EU. All members must act collectively and have a common position on illegal migrations. Current disunity leads to unilateral moves on national level and creates risk for individual countries.

Criterion II: Prosperity as a Foundation of Social Stability

Introduction

A strong, competitive and flexible economy is a prerequisite for protecting national interests and achieving the strategic goals. A stable financial system and economic growth, with intense international trade will strengthen internal stability, improve cooperation with other neighboring countries and the world, and improve the international position of the Republic of Croatia. Growth in the economy increases financial capacity for achieving strategic goals and prevents the emergence of negative phenomena and trends in society. Overall, national security creates the preconditions for

a sustainable and growing economy and, in general, for the stable functioning of the national economy.

The second national interest states “the welfare and prosperity of citizens is the most important indicator of the quality and success of the state, a democratic political system and a stable society.”⁸⁴ The fulfillment of this national interest is envisaged through the following strategic goals: (1) ecological Croatia and the development of a strong and sustainable economy, (2) demographic renewal and revitalization of the Croatian society, and (3) development of public administration and strategic communication. Although the Homeland Security System does not have direct tasks in support of the stated strategic goals, its support function indirectly contributes to the promotion of this national interest.

Better resource management and exploitation of opportunities for growth and development in Croatian society are important at all levels, both in the private and in the state sectors. Continuous and systematic analysis should identify value-added creators in all areas of the national economy, but also recognize and eliminate factors with a negative impact.

The importance of security in tourism was used to determine effectiveness of Homeland Security System regarding Criterion II. Tourism in the Republic of Croatia is one of the most important economic branches. During the tourist season, this sector employs most of the working-age population, which ultimately affects the living standard of population. By attracting direct investment, tourism contributes to economic growth in

⁸⁴ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

the long run, and in the short run through balancing international exchange of goods and services, and encouraging additional employment in sectors closely related to tourism. In 2018, 19.4 million tourists visited Croatia, and total tourism revenues are estimated at 12 billion EUR, the largest amount of tourist income in Croatian history. In relation to GDP, the share of tourism in 2018 amounted to 19.8 percent. On the international tourism market, Croatia has been recognized as a safe country, which is, in today's conditions, one of the most important criteria for making decisions about travel and choice of destination.⁸⁵

As in other sectors, enhancing security in tourism implies adaptation to new security challenges. Globalization set new demands for a tourism management and safety planning system that implies greater international cooperation and preventive action based on crisis management ranging from tourism workers, local government, and law enforcement agencies to state administrations.⁸⁶ This type of synergy is one of the main objectives of the Croatian Homeland Security System.

⁸⁵ Government of the Republic of Croatia, "Tourism revenues in 2018 estimated at 12 billion euros, highest ever," *Vlada.gov.hr*, 25 January 2019, accessed 20 March 2019, <https://vlada.gov.hr/vijesti/prihodi-u-turizmu-u-2018-godini-procijenjeni-na-12-milijardi-eura-sto-je-najvise-ikad/25185>.

⁸⁶ Marija Boban, "Tourism and security - planning security in tourism as a significant economic factor for Croatia's success as a desirable tourist destination," *Terracon Business News*, 4 February 2016, accessed 20 March 2019, <http://terraconbusinessnews.com/turizam-i-sigurnost-planiranje-sigurnosti-u-turizmu-kao-znacajan-ekonomski-faktor-uspjesnosti-hrvatske-kao-pozeljne-turisticke-destinacije/>.

Desired Effects of the Homeland Security System

The Republic of Croatia is particularly sensitive to global economic and security trends. Security challenges endangering the tourist sector include natural and human caused disasters and catastrophes that can affect the population, natural and material goods and critical infrastructure of the Republic of Croatia and neighboring countries.

Of natural disasters, the Republic of Croatia is particularly vulnerable to earthquakes, floods and open space fires. Human caused disasters include accidents at industrial facilities in the Republic of Croatia or neighboring countries that can cause serious environmental and safety consequences. Also, the danger of terrorism must not be neglected. Although the probability of a terrorist attack in the Republic of Croatia is low, the potential consequences are high, especially in the tourism sector.⁸⁷ An adequate level of security is essential to prevent crisis situations.

Effectiveness of the Homeland Security System

(1) Diplomacy: Given a large number of foreign tourists, strengthening Croatian security in the tourism sector and increasing international cooperation with the countries from which these same tourists come is vital. An example of such a cooperation is a project called “*Safe Tourist Season*” organized by the Ministry of the Interior for 13 years in row. As part of the project, a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation during the tourist season with the Ministry of Public Security of the People’s Republic of China was signed. For the first time, such cooperation was agreed with a country outside of Europe. Chinese police officers stayed in the Republic of Croatia during the tourist

⁸⁷ SOA, *SOA - Public Report 2017*, 8.

season in 2018 and participated in joint patrols with Croatian police officers. The United States also expressed interest in joining project “*Safe Tourism Season.*”⁸⁸

(2) Information: As confirmed by the *2017 National Security Strategy*, economic security is an important part of national security as it affects sovereignty, the protection of national resources and strategic sectors, the quality of life of the population and political and social stability. Particularly important are strategic economic sectors and companies. The Republic of Croatia monitors their status in order to protect economic interests. Croatia monitors security, economic and financial processes that affect the positioning of economic entities abroad as well as processes and activities that could endanger the security of business entities in the country.⁸⁹

(3) Military: One of the goals of the Homeland Security System is to evaluate the functioning of crisis management systems. As a part of this goal, exercises “Cyber Shield 18” and “Security 18” were conducted during 2018.

“Cyber Shield 18” was a simulation exercise with a cyber-attack scenario in which the key decision makers at the national level gathered in Coordination for Homeland Security System. The aim of exercise was to develop participants’ awareness of the severity of cyber threats in relation to critical infrastructure, and to identify possible disadvantages and areas for improvements in current regulations related to work process elements and infrastructures exposed to cyber threats.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 9.

⁸⁹ SOA, *SOA - Public Report 2017*, 14.

⁹⁰ Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, “Cyber Shield Exercise held at Ministry of Defence,” *Morh.hr*, 15 March 2018, accessed 24 March 2019,

Regarding the fire-fighting season, numerous preventive measures have been undertaken, including the “Security 18” exercise and the establishment of the Operational Firefighting Command. Exercise “Security 18” was held in May 2018 in two parts: a strategic level exercise in the Croatian Army Simulation Center as a Computer Assisted Exercise - CAX, and as a Live Exercise – LIVEX. The overall goal of the interagency exercise “Security 18” was to test the ability of the Homeland Security System in responding to the crisis, focusing on preparations for the firefighting season and evaluating the operability of the newly established Operational Firefighting Command.⁹¹

One of the most significant measures was the establishment of the Operational Firefighting Command. This situation center is equipped to accept and display data from all available platforms (forest observation stations, firefighting observation stations, unmanned aerial vehicles, reconnaissance aircraft, helicopters) and sensors (video cameras, thermo-vision cameras) as well as other data needed to create a real-time picture of firefighting situation. It also supports optimal decision making concerning activities and resources. In addition to firefighters, representatives of the Armed Forces (Air and Land forces), Police Department and Mountain Rescue Service are involved.⁹²

<https://www.morh.hr/hr/vijesti-najave-i-priopcenja/priopcenja/16501-u-ministarstvu-obrane-odrzana-vjezba-kiberneticki-stit-2018.html>.

⁹¹ Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, “We have pooled all the capabilities and seen the state power in action,” *Morh.hr*, 16 May 2018, accessed 24 March 2019, <https://www.morh.hr/hr/vijesti-najave-i-priopcenja/priopcenja/16986-vje%C5%BEbom-sigurnost-18-pokazana-spremnost-za-nadolaze%C4%87u-protupo%C5%BEarnu-sezonu.html>.

⁹² Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, “New Operational Firefighting Command presented,” *Morh.hr*, 16 May 2018, accessed 24 March 2019,

These measures contributed to the overall decision-making process and shortened the response time in comparison to the earlier firefighting seasons. Although climate conditions in 2018 favored a reduction in the number and consequences of wildfires, an improved management system and a faster and more responsive decision-making system on the use of air and land assets reduced wildfires by 68 percent compared to 2017.⁹³ The transfer of authority for the use of air firefighting assets to the Operational Firefighting Command certainly contributed. This enabled quicker decisions about the use of air assets and allowed them to act immediately upon a fire hazard warning.

(4) Economy: As in Criterion I, the redistribution of funds mechanism provided by the *Homeland Security Act*, significantly strengthened economic resilience in the face of the crisis and ensured the country's adaptability to changed security conditions. Therefore, the same argument from Criterion I can be used for Criterion II.

Assessment

Tourism in the Republic of Croatia drives the development of other economic branches such as agriculture, construction, and small and medium entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, the strength of the tourism sector is constrained. It is subject to a large number of external influences, such as weather, security and geopolitical conditions, which the Republic of Croatia cannot influence. By establishing a Homeland Security

<https://www.morh.hr/hr/vijesti-najave-i-priopcenja/priopcenja/16991-predstavljeno-novo-operativno-vatrogasno-zapovjedni%C5%A1tvo-u-divuljama.html>.

⁹³ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 12.

System and carrying out exercises such as “Cyber Shield 18” and “Security 18,” Croatia is taking measures to counter the changing security environment.

The purpose of such exercises is to verify the competence of the authorities in the Homeland Security System; to verify the crisis management system, communication and coordination within the system; and to review the standard operating procedures as well as to train crisis communication and information dissemination. Additionally, exercises enable the verification of communication-information systems, capabilities, and determine the response to the crisis - the force generation for the Homeland Security System.

The Republic of Croatia is perceived as a safe country. In order to increase its competitiveness on the international economic market, the management and security planning system needs to be modernized by integrating public, business and corporate security, including greater international cooperation and preventive action by business, local government, law enforcement agencies, and the national administration. Based on its action, the Homeland Security system significantly increased security, which is a foundation for Croatia’s development as a desirable tourist destination.

Criterion III: National Identity, International Reputation and Influence

Introduction

The third national interest listed in the *National Security Strategy* is the national identity, international reputation and influence of the Republic of Croatia. The promotion of this national interest enables the Republic of Croatia to participate in international processes and help shape a favorable international environment. In accordance with the strategy, the promotion of this interest is envisaged through the achievement of two

separate strategic goals: (1) protection, strengthening and promotion of the highest values of the constitutional order and Croatian national identity, and (2) strengthening the international reputation and influence of the Republic of Croatia. Because Croatian national identity is the foundation of the Croatian state and society, the same society and its segments contribute to protecting and strengthening it. On the other hand, the Republic of Croatia strengthens its influence by participating in international organizations and integrations. By participating in the EU, NATO, the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and regional organizations, as well as through engagement in missions and operations on a regional and global level, Croatia actively contributes to the achievement of the given strategic goal.

As a responsible factor in the international community, the Republic of Croatia recognized the importance of participation in missions and operations as an active contribution to strengthening international security. Consequently, participation in missions and operations is an important instrument of foreign and security policy and ensures the fulfillment of national interests and foreign policy objectives of the Republic of Croatia. Although the commitment of all segments of the society is necessary for the achievement of these goals, the example of the Croatian Armed Forces has been used to determine the Homeland Security System efficiency in the promotion of the third national interest.

The Croatian Armed Forces are an integral part of the national identity and Croatian history that safeguard the tradition of Homeland War and Croatian veterans. Also, by fulfilling their duties, they promote fellowship with citizens, which is confirmed by the surveys that rank the Croatian Armed Forces on top of the list of most reliable

institutions in the Republic of Croatia.⁹⁴ The role of the Croatian Army is determined by the *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia* and includes the implementation of three fundamental missions: (1) the defense of territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia; (2) defense of allies and contribution to international security; and (3) support for civilian institutions and the population.⁹⁵

The security and stability of the immediate environment are of crucial importance for the national security of the Republic of Croatia. The Republic of Croatia uses membership in NATO and the European Union to strengthen its international position and increase its influence on regional and global security, particularly when it comes to its southeastern neighborhood. Also, within the framework of population and civilian institutions support, the main security concern is life and material asset protection through the assistance, prevention and elimination of natural disasters and by conducting urgent medical transportation, and search and rescue activities on land, sea and islands.

Desired Effects of the Homeland Security System

The countries of Southeast Europe (SEE) have different strategic goals and aspirations. Most of them see the European Union and NATO as their own strategic goal and are at different stages of the process of accession to Euro-Atlantic integrations. Nevertheless, although the Euro-Atlantic influence continues to dominate over SEE

⁹⁴ Josip Baloban, Gordan Crpic and Josip Jezovita, *Values in Croatia from 1999 to 2018 according to the European Values Study* (Zagreb: Denona, January 2019), accessed 25 March 2019, <https://issuu.com/kshr/docs/wvrednote-u-hrvatskoj-prema-evs-1999-2018-pdf>.

⁹⁵ Republic of Croatia, *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia* (Official Gazette 56/90, 135/97, 08/98, 113/00, 124/00, 28/01, 41/01, 55/01, 76/10, 85/10, 05/14, 1990).

region, other global and regional actors have geopolitical tendencies and various destabilizing external influences that shape the security environment of the Republic of Croatia. Due to its geopolitical position and membership in the EU and NATO, the Republic of Croatia is also affected by geopolitical confrontations. This destabilizing influence is manifested through the political and intelligence actions of states and non-state factors that perceive the EU and NATO as security threats. Therefore, internal political, economic, security and defense may be subject to the hybrid action of states and other factors whose interests, activities and attitudes do not coincide with Croatian ones.⁹⁶

In order to implement the goals of the *National Security Strategy* regarding Criterion III, desired Homeland Security System effects would include a contribution to the efforts of international organizations aimed at strengthening international security and stability by participating in international missions, operations and crisis response activities. The Republic of Croatia actively contributes to the missions and operations within the *European Union Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP)* and participates in the projects of the European Defense Agency (EDA). Still, this participation needs to be complementary to the efforts of the defense capabilities development within NATO. Moreover, another desired effect is to make better use of EU and NATO structural and investment funds for capacity building, especially for dual civil-military use that can provide support for emergency and crisis management at

⁹⁶ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

national, EU and NATO levels.⁹⁷ These effects are consistent with the objectives of the Homeland Security system named in the *Homeland Security Act*, and they include: (1) reduction or elimination of national security importance security risks; (2) strengthening of the emergency and crisis management situations that are a risk to national security, including the crisis situations managed at the level of the NATO or the EU; (3) systematic and coordinated development of the Homeland Security system; and (4) the contribution of the public and private sector and civil society to the protection and strengthening of national security at all levels of the state and society.⁹⁸

Effectiveness of the Homeland Security System

(1) Diplomacy: Over the past two years, the continual bilateral defense cooperation of the Republic of Croatia has been focused heavily on strategically important partners, other NATO and EU countries, and on countries of particular importance from the foreign affairs and security point of view. Therefore, a series of ministerial-level meetings were held with defense and security partners such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany, the State of Israel, the Republic of Poland, the Italian Republic, the Kingdom of Sweden, Hungary, the Republic of Slovenia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Republic of Croatia, *Homeland Security Act*.

⁹⁹ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 15.

Within the framework of defense diplomacy, through the activities of international military cooperation, especially with strategic partners, projects have been launched in the areas of equipping and developing national and allied military capabilities. One such example is the involvement of the Republic of Croatia in EU Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) projects.¹⁰⁰ With the aim of developing its own and contributing to the common capabilities of the European Union, Croatia initiated cooperation in five concrete projects: military mobility, deployable military aid in the event of a disaster, a network of logistics hubs in Europe and support to operations, maritime surveillance, and Cyber Security.¹⁰¹ Of particular importance to Croatia is the fact that this program opens up opportunities for the economy in terms of the development of the national defense industry, cooperation with small and medium-sized enterprises, the scientific research community, and international cooperation.¹⁰²

(2) Information: Croatian Armed Forces operational engagement requires a safe, complete, unobstructed and efficient use of information-communication systems and resilient infrastructure. Also, it requires exchange and dissemination of information,

¹⁰⁰ The Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) is the part of the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) in which 25 of the 28 national armed forces pursue structural integration. It enables strengthening of defense-security cooperation through joint development of defense capabilities, investment in joint projects, and strengthening of operational readiness.

¹⁰¹ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 14.

¹⁰² HINA, "PESCO strengthens defense cooperation, but also the industrial dimension of defense," *Vecernji List*, 14 March 2018, accessed 23 March 2019, <https://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/damir-krsticevic-morh-pesco-jaca-obrambenu-suradnju-ali-i-industrijsku-dimenziju-obrane-1232576>.

experiences and assessments of threats and risks between national stakeholders, other states and international organizations. To meet these requirements Croatia relies on existing security and intelligence system which includes various agencies and state bodies. An example of this synergy is a joint participation of both civilian and military intelligence agencies in NATO and EU working groups and bodies competent in the security and intelligence functional areas.¹⁰³

(3) Military: By acting through international missions and operations, the Republic of Croatia shows its commitment to NATO and EU goals, and, at the same time, shows the determinants of foreign policy tendencies. On October 31, 2018, the Croatian Parliament adopted the *Decision on the participation of members of the Croatian Armed Forces in NATO, EU and UN missions and operations during 2019 and 2020*.¹⁰⁴ Based on this decision, Croatia participates in NATO missions in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Poland and Iraq; EU missions in Mediterranean and Somalia; and UN missions in Lebanon, India, and Western Sahara. It is important to highlight that Croatia maintained a high level of presence in Afghanistan and Poland, increased the number of participants in Kosovo, and started participating in the mission in Iraq. With this approach, Croatia supports efforts to strengthen collective defense through NATO and the EU and gains additional value in international relations.

¹⁰³ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁴ Republic of Croatia, *Decisions on the participation of members of the Croatian Armed Forces in NATO, EU and UN missions and operations during 2019 and 2020* (Official Gazette 98/2018, 2018).

(4) Economy: Between 2008 and 2017, the defense budget of the Republic of Croatia has been reduced by more than 25 percent. This huge loss reflected on the overall defense system, but mostly on the equipment modernization and the material rights of soldiers. After years of continuous decline in budgets, in 2017 the financial resources allocated to the defense increased by 10 percent. The growth of defense allocations continued in 2018 by an increase of 8 percent, and in 2019 by 5.4 percent.¹⁰⁵ Overall, according to NATO calculation methodology, in 2018 Croatia has allocated 1.71 percent of GDP to the defense budget.¹⁰⁶ This gives Croatia a realistic chance of reaching the commitments made at the 2014 NATO Summit in Wales about spending 2 percent of GDP on defense, thus allowing further development of national defense capabilities.

To avoid defense budget being just a cost, and at the same time to strengthen national resilience, the Ministry of Defense and the Croatian Armed Forces are an important partner of the Croatian defense industry as generators of development and the promoters of Croatian products. Besides its strategic importance, the Croatian defense industry is a growing economic branch that has recorded annual export growth of about 20 percent over the past years. The Ministry of Defense of Croatia is an inseparable segment of the defense industry and has many years of successful cooperation with

¹⁰⁵ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 14-15.

¹⁰⁶ Government of the Republic of Croatia, "Croatia has realized its interests in NATO," *Vlada.gov.hr.*, 4 April 2019, accessed 6 April 2019, <https://vlada.gov.hr/vijesti/pejcinovic-buric-hrvatska-je-ostvarila-svoje-interese-u-nato-u/25678?big=1>.

domestic companies.¹⁰⁷ This cooperation is particularly visible through the equipping of the Croatian Armed Forces, which are participating in peace support operations fully equipped with Croatian products and armaments since 2017.¹⁰⁸

Assessment

The environment of the Republic of Croatia is a source of potential challenges, but also an opportunity to promote and protect national interests. Political instability, underdeveloped state institutions of neighboring countries, corruption, high unemployment rates, and social and ethnic tensions make the security situation in SEE fragile. Therefore, the active presence of the EU and NATO in this region is still an important contributor to stability. The Republic of Croatia remains committed to the Euro-Atlantic perspective and the future of the SEE countries and strongly supports the enlargement process of the EU and NATO.

The Republic of Croatia is developing and maintaining defense capabilities at an appropriate level of readiness for timely response to changing circumstances and challenges. In this process, Croatian Armed Forces are the primary bearer of the defense function is the defense of territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia, defense of the allies, contribution to international security and support to civilian institutions and the population. By participating in international

¹⁰⁷ Domagoj Vlahovic, "Croatian defense industry as an export brand," *Croatian Soldier*, 8 September 2017, accessed 10 April 2019, <https://hrvatski-vojnici.hr/hrvatska-obrambena-industrija-kao-izvozni-brend/>.

¹⁰⁸ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 15.

missions and operations abroad, the Croatian Armed Forces are promoting the reputation and influence of the country and actively contributing to international peace and order. Additionally, by supporting the domestic defense industry, Croatia is strengthening national resilience in case of crises.

Criterion IV: Croatian National Minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Other Countries

Introduction

The fourth national interest listed in the *National Security Strategy* is the equal position, sovereignty and survival of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the position of the Croatian national minority in other countries, and the Croats in emigration that enjoy special care and protection of the Republic of Croatia. According to strategy, the promotion of this interest is envisioned through the achievement of strategic goals which includes securing the existence, identity and political subjectivity of the Croatian people as a constitutive people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and protecting and supporting Croats in other countries and diaspora.

The case that will be used to determine the effectiveness of Homeland Security System regarding Criterion IV is the position of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Throughout history, parts of the Croatian people have lived and still live in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe as a national minority, while Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina have always been equal and part of native population. However, their position in these countries has been changed over the centuries, depending on political and social circumstances. The status of Croats as a constituent and constitutional peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina was confirmed after the peace settlement and the signing of

the *General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (also called the *Dayton Peace Agreement*) in 1995, establishing the constitutional framework of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, in the period after 1995, and especially after 2000, there were gradual changes in the electoral legislation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which led to the violation of the constitutionality, sovereignty and equality of the Croat people.¹¹⁰

In order to fulfill its constitutional obligation on special care for the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the obligations arising from international agreements such as *Dayton agreement*, the Republic of Croatia has diplomatic, economic, educational, communication and other mechanisms available.¹¹¹ The achievement of the constitutionally guaranteed equality of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the same time contributes to the functionality and stability of the country itself, and thus to the security and stability of the Republic of Croatia as its immediate neighbor.

Desired Effects of the Homeland Security System

The Euro-Atlantic route of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the key foreign policy objectives and strategic priority of the Republic of Croatia.¹¹² To achieve this goal, Croatia strongly supports the implementation of reforms that would bring Bosnia

¹⁰⁹ *The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 14 December 1995, accessed 10 April 2019, <https://www.osce.org/bih/126173?download=true>.

¹¹⁰ Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

¹¹¹ Republic of Croatia, *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia*.

¹¹² Republic of Croatia, *National Security Strategy*.

and Herzegovina closer to Euro-Atlantic integration. Work on reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina would lead to the acceptance of European standards and values that contribute to the regulation of relations between the three constituent nations and thus enhance the actual position of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, by improving relations between constituent nations, the ethnic tensions and extremism that escalated during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s would be reduced. Therefore, with the adoption of European standards and by building the efficiency of state institutions, the security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and therefore the security of the Republic of Croatia, would be increased. In accordance with these assumptions, the desired effect of the Homeland Security System regarding Criterion IV would be a rational, efficient, and coordinated use of existing resources to reduce or eliminate security risks of national security importance.

Effectiveness of the Homeland Security System?

(1) Diplomacy: As a full member of NATO and EU, Croatia's diplomacy is an important tool for promoting national interests and achieving strategic goals. During the work in NATO and EU bodies and institutions, the Republic of Croatia has been actively representing the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Bosnia and Herzegovina. An evident example of such efforts was Croatia's advocacy within NATO to activate the *Membership Action Plan* (MAP) for Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹³ In this regard, in

¹¹³ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 41-42.

December 2018, NATO foreign ministers have confirmed the decision to invite Bosnia and Herzegovina to submit the first *Annual National Program*.¹¹⁴

Although the activation of the MAP does not necessarily mean NATO membership, it represents a positive integration step for Bosnia and Herzegovina. MAP represents the main step in the formalization of the process for inviting new members and serves as a stage for the current members to regularly review the formal applications of aspiring members.¹¹⁵

In addition to advocating Bosnia-Herzegovina's membership in NATO, the Republic of Croatia has made certain efforts to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's membership in the EU. The joint session of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina was held on July 7, 2017, and the *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the European Partnership* was signed on that occasion.¹¹⁶ This agreement provides an institutional framework for supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina in tackling the challenges of the EU integration process. Additionally, with the aim of establishing continuous activities to promote and affirm European values

¹¹⁴ Ministry of Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, "NATO activated the MAP for Bosnia and Herzegovina - a major responsibility in the further reform process," *Mod.gov.ba*, 5 December 2018, accessed 12 April 2019, <http://mod.gov.ba/aktuelnosti/vijesti/?id=68317>.

¹¹⁵ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), *Membership Action Plan (MAP)*, NATO Press Release, 24 April 1999, accessed 13 April 2019, <https://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-066e.html>.

¹¹⁶ Republic of Croatia, *Law on ratification of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the European Partnership* (Official Gazette 4/2018, 2018).

in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia has established cooperation with the Center for European Integration of the University of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹⁷

(2) Information: Bearing in mind that the Republic of Croatia shares the longest land border with Bosnia and Herzegovina and that any instability in the region can have serious negative implications for the Republic of Croatia, the exchange of information between Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian intelligence structures is imperative for the security of the Republic of Croatia. However, according to high ranking officials of the Republic of Croatia, the good cooperation of the intelligence structures is confined to political divisions within Bosnia and Herzegovina itself.¹¹⁸

(3) Military: In respect to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, use of military power in a conventional way cannot be applicable for protecting the Croatian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rather, the use of military power includes military cooperation between Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian Armed Forces. This cooperation is achieved through joint participation in the mission in Afghanistan, where the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Armed Forces have been participating as part of the Croatian contingent for years. Also, as Bosnia and Herzegovina do not have a military academy, they are forced to educate future officers at

¹¹⁷ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 42.

¹¹⁸ N1 Croatia, "I do not understand what happened there, we had cooperation with OSA," *N1 News*, 21 March 2019, accessed 28 March 2019, <http://hr.n1info.com/Vijesti/a379227/Daniel-Markic-Nije-mi-jasno-sto-se-dogodilo-tamo-imali-smo-suradnju-s-OSA-om.html>.

military academies abroad. Therefore, twelve cadets from Bosnia and Herzegovina started their schooling in the Republic of Croatia in 2018.¹¹⁹

(4) Economy: In addition to support of Euro-Atlantic integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina at all levels of the political authorities of the Republic of Croatia, as a prerequisite for strengthening the position of the Croatian people and the realization of the conditions for its survival in Bosnia and Herzegovina, significant economic support is needed. The support of the Republic of Croatia is focused on economic growth and encouraging development through financing and co-financing of major strategic projects which aim at job creation, strengthening of small and medium entrepreneurship, encouragement of self-employment and investment in all forms of infrastructure. In that regard, one of the largest programs of Central State Office for Croats Abroad aimed at strategic investment in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the Program for financing educational, cultural, scientific and health programs and projects that are of interest to the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹²⁰ To support these efforts, the Republic of Croatia signs a contract with the Croatian Chamber of Commerce that foresees the establishment of the Office of the Croatian Chamber of Economy in diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Republic of Croatia. Consequently, in April 2018, the offices

¹¹⁹ Ministry of Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, “Cadets from Bosnia and Herzegovina signed the Agreement on education in the Republic of Croatia,” *Mod.gov.ba*, 16 August 2018, accessed 12 April 2019, <http://www.mod.gov.ba/aktuelnosti/vijesti/?id=65253>.

¹²⁰ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 43.

of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce were opened in Sarajevo and Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹²¹

Assessment

As part of the commitment to peace, stability and prosperity in South East Europe, the Republic of Croatia, as a signatory to the *Dayton Peace Agreement*, and a full member of the EU and NATO, has an interest, responsibility and obligation to care for regional security and stability. One aspect of promoting security and stability is the support of neighboring states on their Euro-Atlantic integration process. Respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia is actively supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina's EU and NATO membership efforts.

As Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina make about 20 percent of the population, the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina develop good neighborly relations based on mutual respect and open and constructive dialogue. However, for the successful functioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina at all levels, it is essential that all its constituent nations and citizens are equal and have full confidence in state institutions. Only the full implementation of the constitution, which defines Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state of three equally constituent nations, with full mechanisms for protecting the legitimate interests of all citizens and protecting collective and individual rights across the whole

¹²¹ Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Report on the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia*, 42.

country, will allow the equality of constituent nations according to the highest European standards.

Therefore, Croatia needs to continue its activities to advocate the equality of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with the constitutional principle of equality and legitimate representation at all administrative and political levels. The mechanism and the legal basis for such efforts are provided by the *Declaration on the Position of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina*,¹²² adopted by the Croatian Parliament, which serves as the highest legislative body of the Republic of Croatia. According to the declaration, the Croatian Parliament expects from the executive authorities of the Republic of Croatia, as signatories of the *Washington Agreement*¹²³ and *Dayton Agreement*, and as a member of the Peace Implementation Council in Bosnia and Herzegovina (PIC), to continue to report to the UN Security Council and members of the PIC Steering Board on all actions and decisions that harm Croatian people, simultaneously affecting the stability and functionality of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹²² Republic of Croatia, *Declaration on the Position of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Official Gazette 118/2018, 2018).

¹²³ The *Washington Agreement* was a ceasefire agreement between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, signed on 18 March 1994 in Washington, D.C., United States and Vienna, Austria. It was signed by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and President of Herzeg-Bosnia Kresimir Zubak. Under the agreement, the combined territory held by the Croat and Bosnian government forces was divided into ten autonomous cantons, establishing the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Summary

The analysis of national interests' realization throughout instruments of national power, enabled the evaluation of efforts to improve Homeland Security System in the Republic of Croatia and provided the basis for the recommendations and conclusion presented in Chapter 5.

Criterion I. provided the insight into border control issues caused by illegal migrations. Desired effects of the Homeland Security System in this case study included achieving of the highest level of security of the population, protection of critical infrastructure, integrated interagency approach, and international cooperation as available measures in countering this challenge. Effectiveness of the system was evaluated based on increased international cooperation, information exchange, interagency involvement and economic resilience. This evaluation led to the conclusion that Croatia is significantly more prepared for migration crises and border protection than it was in 2015.

Criterion II. examined the role of the Homeland Security System in strengthening security in tourism. The desired effect of a system in this case study included the prevention of crises from affecting the tourist sector. Effectiveness of the system was evaluated based on increased international cooperation, surveillance of economic and financial processes, economic resilience, and successfully completed firefighting season in 2018. This evaluation led to the conclusion that the establishment of the Homeland Security System significantly increased security as a foundation for Croatia's development as a desirable and safe tourist destination.

Criterion III. described the role of Croatian Armed Forces in promoting national identity, reputation and influence. Desired effects of the system in this case study was a contribution to international security and stability, development of defense capabilities and better resource management. Effectiveness was evaluated through increased bilateral and multilateral cooperation, exchange of intelligence, increased participation in military operations around the world, and increased military budget that aimed to strengthen defense capabilities and resilience. Therefore, by participating in international missions and operations, the Croatian Armed Forces are promoting the reputation and influence of the country, and actively contributing to international peace and stability.

Finally, Criterion IV. examined the role of Homeland Security System in protecting the Croatian minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Respecting other nation's sovereignty, desired effects of the system in this case study included support to the implementation of reforms that would bring Bosnia and Herzegovina closer to Euro-Atlantic integration. Effectiveness evaluation led to conclusion that Croatia is actively supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina's potential EU and NATO membership. However, internal ethnical divisions are hindering that process.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of Chapter 5 is to provide a conclusion and restate the findings that derive from the analysis conducted in Chapter 4. Also, it confirms answers to primary and secondary research questions, and explains the significance of conclusions for future research on Croatian Homeland Security System. Recommendations exist in two directions. The first group of recommendations applies to possible improvements of Homeland Security System. The second group of recommendations gives direction for possible future research of the topic.

Conclusion - Research Questions Answered

Current security assessments show that the likelihood of conventional military threats that would jeopardize the national security of the Republic of Croatia is low. Nevertheless, risks to the national security of the Republic of Croatia are recognized in new challenges such as terrorism, hybrid warfare, organized crime, illegal migration, violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms, and natural and man-made disasters. At the same time, new challenges for the Republic of Croatia provide opportunities for the realization and protection of national interests and fulfillment of strategic goals, enabling a balanced and sustainable development of the state and society.

The *2017 National Security Strategy* defines the development of a modern, comprehensive, rational and efficient Homeland Security System, in line with the tradition and needs of the Republic of Croatia. After the Homeland Security System was

nominally established by the *2017 Homeland Security Act*, the legal framework for its further development was created. With the development of the system, the Republic of Croatia wishes to ensure the synchronized preparation and implementation of regulations that will determine the security measures and procedures of national security importance.

The main research question of this thesis was to determine the potential of efforts to improve the Croatian Homeland Security System by better integrating the instruments of national power. Answering the main research question implied answering secondary questions which enabled the overall assessment of the system potential. To support answering secondary questions, four different case studies were utilized. Given that the Homeland Security System implies a coordinated work of all its constituents, the system analysis was carried out from the perspective of the implementation of the tasks and activities of each of the components of the system and from the standpoint of organization and functioning of the system as a whole. The analysis of specific cases provided the insight on desired effects, current efficiency, and potential risks and frictions among the instruments of national power integrated into the Croatian Homeland Security System. The relevance of each case was verified through the linkage of the case with the national interests mentioned in the *National Security Strategy*.

Although each case study represented a separate problem, the desired effects of the Homeland Security System were almost identical for every case. The desired effects included the removal of security risks, strengthening the security and resilience of the society, all through the rational and coordinated use of available resources. Another conclusion common to each case study is that the strengthening of security in the

Republic of Croatia aims not just in strengthening the national security, but also the regional security, and thus the European security in general. This highly supports Croatian efforts to actively participate in shaping international stability and peace as members of the UN, EU, NATO and other international and regional organizations.

An assessment of the efficiency of the Homeland Security system was conducted based on the utilization of DIME instruments of national power for every specific case study. The reason to utilize DIME as an analytical tool was to assess comprehensive and inclusive approach in use of all instruments of national power available, because this approach enables the coordinated development of Homeland Security System, as well as the involvement of citizens and the whole society in shaping and implementing security policies. Taking into account the differences between case studies that involved a broad spectrum of security threats and challenges, it can be concluded that the Republic of Croatia is using all available instruments of national power, thus confirming effective implementation of *Homeland Security Act* and utilization of the Homeland Security System.

Although the efficiency of the system was mainly evaluated on the basis of the results of the individual elements of the system itself, actual efficiency is particularly noticeable in cases when the system acted as a whole. An example of such joint action was achieved during the live exercises “Cyber Shield 18” and “Security 18,” both organized by the Coordination for the Homeland Security System. The same synergic effect was also achieved in the real situation during 2018 firefighting season. The most significant measure in support of firefighting season was the establishment of the

Operational Firefighting Command, which contributed to the overall decision-making process and consequentially shortened the response time to counter fires in comparison to the earlier firefighting seasons.

Answer to the third and fourth secondary questions involved recognition of potential frictions and risks generated during integrating instruments of national power into a unified system. Although frictions and risks were not explicitly recognized, it is to be assumed that they exist just as in any other similar system. An obvious example of generated frictions was the establishment of DHS in the United States. Although such a system was needed, its overall purpose often overlapped with other agencies' roles and responsibilities. In Croatian case, one of the measures that seek to reduce such fiction is an Article 2 of the *Homeland Security Act*, which states that there will be no change to roles and authorities of existing bodies that comprise Homeland Security System. However, the question is how such approach affects the efficiency of the system, especially considering that the system showed the best results when it operated under a unique command structure, as explained in the example of a firefighting season.

Even though the establishment of a system that does not include change of roles and authority aims at reducing frictions, it generates certain risks to the instruments of national power integrated into the Croatian Homeland Security System. This approach implies very precise legislation, particularly in the area of management and relationship between individual constituents. Therefore, it is the obligation of each constituent involved in the Homeland Security System to adopt strategic and other documents that will determine, within their competences, the specific goals, measures, procedures, and

capabilities required to support new legislation that establishes the new system. This may potentially imply an uneven development of capabilities between individual system components and thus prevent the use of all available resources in certain crisis situations.

After answering all secondary questions, it can be concluded that the Republic of Croatia developed a modern, comprehensive, rational and effective Homeland Security System. The results have proven the effective use of all available instruments of national power, which could not be achieved just by the exclusive action of institutions responsible for national security. On the contrary, it includes understanding, support and action of the whole country and society. After the Homeland Security System was established in 2017, it clearly demonstrated its effectiveness, enabling promotion and protection of national interests. However, taking into account the rapid changes in the security environment, the system needs to be constantly upgraded through strengthening security partnerships by involving an increasing number of constituents, investing in the prevention and development of operational forces. This comprehensive and inclusive approach in developing security system is a prerequisite for sustainable socio-economic development and strengthening of national resilience under any security conditions. Thus, by establishing a Homeland Security System that enables partnership for security among all instruments of national power, the Republic of Croatia actively contributes to the promotion and protection of national interests and guarantees the protection of national security.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Action

The *Homeland Security Act* is expected to coordinate the work and development of all system components. Given that the system efficiency is estimated through prisms of individual components and systems as a whole, it is difficult to determine the exact contributions of each approach. However, in the case when this system was evaluated as a whole, significant results have been achieved, especially visible on the example of the 2018 firefighting seasons. One of the most important elements of a successful firefighting season was the establishment of the Operational Firefighting Command – an operational level body that coordinated the work of individual system components. Using the same analogy in relation to other case studies, it can be assumed that the existence of the operating level body would further contribute to the operability and development of the system in each specific case, and, consequently, to better Homeland Security System efficiency.

According to *Homeland Security Act*, the central body of the Homeland Security System is the National Security Council, while the Coordination for the Homeland Security System is an inter-state body responsible for coordinating the work of the Homeland Security System. Taking into account the composition of both bodies, it can be noted that they are manned with key strategic decision-makers. This leads to the conclusion that there is no body at the operational level that would have the power to decide on the actions and development of the elements of the system as a whole, but those decisions are still made at the individual level of each component.

Potential recommendations include forming of a standing headquarters in the form of a national operational center that would monitor the security environment and manage the system constantly. Benefits of this solution would be better integration and capabilities development, while weaknesses would include higher costs for maintaining that organization. Also, it would require legislation changes in terms of adjusting authorities. Another solution is the establishment of an operational center depending on the crisis. This approach was utilized in the case of firefighting season resulting in significant security improvement. This solution is based on modularity, providing reduced cost of maintaining the system. However, this approach is focusing only on certain type of threat, ignoring the wide spectrum of potential challenges that could jeopardize security.

Recommendations for Future Research

As the Homeland Security System was established recently in 2017, there is a limited number of case studies that can serve as a reference to determine the efficiency and potential of the system. Possible future research of the topic should provide an analysis of other recent case studies to support findings found in this thesis. Also, based on a recommendation for action, future research can consider comparative analysis with other similar systems, thus determining if the Croatian Homeland Security System is adequate or not to cope with contemporary security challenges.

Summary

This thesis provides the reader with basic knowledge on the topic, conclusions and recommendations for further research. Based on provided evidence, it can be

concluded that the Republic of Croatia significantly improved national security by establishing Homeland Security System, as an integrator of all instruments of national power.

The establishment of the Homeland Security System enabled the optimal integration of the functions, activities and tasks of all system components that, in accordance with their competences, participate in the crisis management process. However, it is necessary to ensure the continuity of the development of the Homeland Security System. The dynamics of changing security environment and related threats and risks, as well as the emergence of new security challenges, define the need for further system development.

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