

Захищений від ударів квадрокоптер Elios задіяний для огляду мостів у Міннесоті, США. Безпілотник досліджував важкодоступні місця автомобільних мостів між ригелями та коробчастими балками. Elios використовувався для двох різних типів обстежень:

- політ під мостами для перевірки потенційних проблем, включаючи доступ до важкодоступних просторів між балками;
- політ в обмежених просторах коробчастих балок на великих мостах. Обидва завдання компанії заощадили значну кількість часу, грошей та ресурсів, одночасно сприяючи безпеці обстежень. Квадрокоптер зібрав достатньо фото та відео матеріалів для оцінки стану мостів.

Таким чином використання БПЛА підвищить якість та темпи виконання робіт в галузі обстеження будівель та споруд, зменшить витрати на використання людських ресурсів і гарантуватиме безпеку для спеціалістів у важкодоступних та небезпечних об'єктах. Також завдяки використанню цієї технології можна в досить стислі терміни оцінити пошкодження об'єктів.

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Maја Cvitan Grubišin

Polytechnic Nikola Tesla Gospić, Croatia

FACING THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR AND REFORMING THE STATE

Croatian experience in post war recovery and integration into the EU

Майя Цвітан Грубішин

ПРОТИДІЯННЯ КОНЦЕНТРАЦІЇ ВІЙНИ ТА РЕФОРМУВАННЯ ДЕРЖАВИ

Досвід післявоєнного відновлення та інтеграції до ЄС Хорватії

In my lecture I will talk about Croatian experience in post war recovery and integration into the EU, a path that Ukraine will face shortly.

Even though the circumstances of the war in Ukraine today and the war in Croatia in the 90's are for sure different, there are a lot of connecting points and there are many lessons that can be learned.

Introduction

It would not be wrong or incorrect to say that the Croatia had a bloody path to the EU membership just as it is for Ukraine. This is what marks our paths. War, sufferings, destruction and uncertainty about tomorrow. But, just like Croatians, Ukrainians have faith that peace will be restored and the country shall prosper.

As widely known, The Homeland war in Croatia 1991-1995 (Domovinski rat) destroyed the economy, houses, lives but at the same time it built a strong national identity and clear national will to become a part of a bigger family, the EU and the NATO. This enthusiasm resulted in Croatia becoming both NATO and EU member state, but only after a long reforming processes.

Was this ultimately a sweet or rather a bitter victory, it is yet to be seen.

The war in Croatia marked in many ways the path RoC undertakes after the mid 90s, just as the war in Ukraine will do for Ukraine. The beginnings of the EU path for Croatia started already during the war times, when a clear spirit of the nation was that „Croatia belongs in Europe“.

Ukraine belongs in Europe.

There was no doubt, the majority of the population was keen to open the doors to modern Europe and become a full member of the EU and NATO. Little did the people know that this path of hope would be full of apprehension and anxiety, dealing with trauma, having to face the war consequences, witnessing the poor after-war governance and later by long and exhausting negotiation process with the EU. We will explore these challenges and what have they caused.

I. Timeline of events

When we talk about the path of Croatia I must divide events in three different categories. First category are the events that took place in the period from the war up to 2005. (until official EU membership accession procedure started). Perhaps some would not agree of such cluster, where the war time and post-war time are seen as same „category of events“, but for the purposes of this lecture I am confident this is the best way to demonstrate Croatian experience.

The second category are the events from October 2005., when the negotiation for full membership in EU were officially opened and up until 2013. when RoC became full EU member state.

The third category are „contemporary“ events, the post-accession that is not part of this lecture.

1. First category of events: 1990-2005

Introduction to the First category of events (in bullets):

Late 80s:

- Rise of Slobodan Milošević
- Military reorganization of Yugoslavian National Army (less power/relevance to republics)
- Taking away armament of the territorial defence to weaken croatians to defend
- (*international events*) 1989 Berlin wall fall
- 1990 Croatian (Christmas) Constitution
- Log revolution; Serb rebellion; YNA involvement on Serbian side
- 1991 THE WAR

The war and the post-war period

The Homeland war started in 1991 and lasted until 1995. For the purposes of this lecture we can divide the war in two phases.

1991-1992

Agressors taking over Croatian territory and proclaiming autonomy. Active aggressive war was underway. Many different cities in this period are under vicious attacks from land and air. We remember especially the Šibenik war, the Battle for Vukovar, attack on Dubrovnik and many other cities and regions. During this period there are many displaced people, there is a major humanitarian crisis and major devastation of homes, cultural goods, industry, infrastructure etc. This is the period when major bloodshed happened.

1993-1995

This period is considered less active-aggressive but it was indeed extremely exhausting for entire community. The second phase of the war was also marked by the presence of the UN forces, major diplomatic activities but also the atrocious happenings in Bosnia and Hercegovina, especially in Srebrenica. The war ended after military operation Storm (and others) whose only purpose was to finally liberate the Croatian territory and establish full sovereignty on entire Croatian territory. Also, we must mention the Dayton agreement that then ended the war in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Second important path of events in this category was one related to post war happenings concerning privatization of companies but also preconditions for opening official negotiations for full membership in the EU. RoC submitted the request for membership early in 2003. while the official status of the candidate RoC was given mid 2004.

Official negotiations did not start before end 2005. since the one important precondition was still pending, that Croatia fully cooperates with authorities of *The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)*

This tribunal was established to investigate and prosecute war crimes that happened on the territory of Croatia and BiH.

2. War damage

In terms of the damage that was caused by the war, it is difficult to say what was the total overall damage. There is the material damage, which is easy to calculate, and there is the „other“ damage that is almost beyond possibility to calculate. The war destructions covered 54% of the national territory, where 36% of the Croatian population lived. More than 25% of the territory was under occupation. Considering the fact that the population is around 4 million, the 14.000 killed and missing persons was a big loss of lives for the community. Over 36.000 people were wounded and more than 600.000 citizens were displaced.

According to the data of the State Audit for the Inventory and Assessment of the War Damage, direct war damage in Croatia amounts to over 31.000.000.000 Euro.

After the end of war, and to some extent during the times of war, the main concern was to construct and implement a plan for restructuring and privatizing public-owned companies (from the former socialist regime). The war was influencing this task in different ways. Much of the industry was largely affected by the war happenings and the „healthy body“, if existing, was a target for controversial activity and corruption. Up until today there are unresolved corruption cases from the times of restructuring and privatization in the 90s. Some indictments have been made, but seems by looking at those times from today's perspective, justice has not been made. Later we will be able to connect the lack of trust in judiciary and politics with these *grey times* of Croatian political and economic history.

3. Second category of events 2005 - 2013

The last condition to open negotiations, the full cooperation with the *The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)*, was fulfilled when prosecutor Carla del Ponte issued a confirmation of fulfilment of this condition in 2005. The negotiations officially started in October 2005. This condition was the connecting link between two categories and an important traumatic circumstance. This was at the same time facing with national trauma as well as a material condition for accessing the „so much wished Europe“. There was indignation, for sure. It is still present from time to time.

Facing with this double-bladed trauma was over just around the time of the official accession to EU, or little later after the accession, when last ongoing trails were finalized.

We must not forget, peace is not absence of war but presence of justice! There are still unresolved and controversial matters when it comes to prosecuting war crimes. The time to discuss them might or might not come. There are open war-crime cases. The matter of finding Croatian missing man and woman is not closed. Justice is not done to the full extent, and the

final conclusion of the trauma shall happen when the last known crime is processed, guilty punished and last missing person is buried in the family tomb, with family customs. Will this ever be achieved? Will war trauma ever be over.

NO. It never does, and this is the curse of war.

Croatian referendum for EU membership in 2012

66% of voters said Yes to EU. Is this unexpectedly low percentage? Perhaps, but the after-war happenings as well as the long and exhausting negotiation process caused citizens to be sceptic and have doubts about the membership, but still the alternatives were none.

II. The negotiations

The candidate countries are required to adapt their administrative and institutional infrastructures and to bring their national legislation into line with EU legislation in these areas. The structure of negotiations relates mostly to different chapters. In-fact there are 35 Chapters that correspond to the different areas of the *acquis communautaire*. Chapters are set of reforms in different areas that are needed in order to meet the accession conditions. Croatia faced 400 benchmarks or more, for opening and closing almost every chapter. In this process Croatian authorities translated and implemented over 160 000 pages of the *acquis*.

During the negotiation procedure a total of 6 Progress reports were delivered and 3 Monitoring reports. Last and the most difficult chapter of negotiations was the Chapter 23. Croatia undertook many reforms in Judiciary and had to amend the Constitution for these purposes. The subtitles of the Chapter were related to accountability, professionalism, independence, efficiency of Judiciary as well as the war crimes cases.

After Croatia fulfilled all preconditions and implemented all measures from different chapters European Union decided to introduce a new instrument „the monitoring“ that lasted in the period between closing negotiations and full membership. The reason for introducing this mechanism was to ensure that Croatia will continue addressing all those matters that were not fully implemented and most of these related to Judiciary and Chapter 23.

The 35 Chapters of negotiation⁵

Chapter 1: Free movement of goods	Chapter 18: Statistics
Chapter 2: Freedom of movement for workers	Chapter 19: Social policy and employment
Chapter 3: Right of establishment and freedom to provide services	Chapter 20: Enterprise and industrial policy
Chapter 4: Free movement of capital	Chapter 21: Trans-European networks
Chapter 5: Public procurement	Chapter 22: Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments
Chapter 6: Company law	Chapter 23: Judiciary and fundamental rights
Chapter 7: Intellectual property law	Chapter 24: Justice, freedom and security
Chapter 8: Competition policy	Chapter 25: Science and research
Chapter 9: Financial services	Chapter 26: Education and culture
Chapter 10: Information society and media	Chapter 27: Environment
Chapter 11: Agriculture and rural development	Chapter 28: Consumer and health protection
Chapter 12: Food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy	Chapter 29: Customs union
Chapter 13: Fisheries	Chapter 30: External relations
Chapter 14: Transport policy	Chapter 31: Foreign, security and defence policy
Chapter 15: Energy	Chapter 32: Financial control
Chapter 16: Taxation	Chapter 33: Financial and budgetary provisions

⁵ More details on Chapters: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/enlargement-policy/conditions-membership/chapters-acquis_en

Administrating the negotiation process

The main body during the negotiations, appointed by Croatian Government, was the State Delegation. Also, the role of the Main negotiator⁶ was extremely important and relevant. For each chapter there was a negotiation group (working group) that then cooperated with respective ministries and other state bodies and institutions. Croatia had different help from the EU in terms of financial, administrative and technical assistance during the process and these helped very much to achieve all the goals.

Instead of the conclusion

TRAUMA 1 / CONDITION 1

Facing the consequences of the war and the war crimes through the full cooperation with the The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

TRAUMA 2 / CONDITION 2

Negotiation process and the reforms.

What happened to our TRAUMA?

The houses and buildings were renewed. People went back to their homes. Industry and the economy stabilized, after becoming a full EU member state we introduced the Euro, entered the Schengen and became members of NATO. We managed to achieve our goals but memories and wounds remain. There are still 1. 400 missing people. Even after almost 30 years after the war we still do not know where are these man and woman buried and when will the families get final closure. Also, many war crime cases still remain unprocessed, there is PTSD crisis among veterans and the corruption is still a challenge that is being faces on everyday basis. Reforms did not end and Croatia is still putting efforts to rise the efficiency of state institutions and local governments.

What message can Croatia send to Ukraine?

Ukraine should face trauma at all levels and consider repairing not only the buildings and the infrastructure, but also souls of its citizens.

The houses will be built but memories will not fade away or stop traumatizing until all is settled. Until peace is restored. When you look at the destroyed cities do not see the broken walls, walls of the playgrounds, see the human suffering, take care of them!

True peace is not the absence of conflict.... but the presence of justice

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Л. Борисова, канд.юрид. наук; К. Акімова

Національний університет цивільного захисту України, Україна

АНАЛІЗ ВПЛИВУ СУЧАСНОГО ВОЄННОГО СТАНУ НА ЕКОЛОГІЧНУ СКЛАДОВУ УКРАЇНИ У РІЗНИХ ЇЇ РЕГІОНАХ

L. Borysova, Ph.D., Assoc. Prof.; Akimova K.

ANALYSIS OF MODERN MILITARY CONDITION INFLUENCE ON ECOLOGICAL FORMATION OF UKRAINE IN ITS DIFFERENT REGIONS

The issue of state regulation of Russian Federation aggression, which causes a massive negative influence on the ecological component of the territory of Ukraine, is considered in the article. The preliminary scientific studies about the negative impact of military conflicts on the ecological component have been analyzed. The number of ecological crimes by

⁶ Vladimir Drobnjak