S U M M A R I E S

Security of European Union

Radoslav Gaćinović

Aspirations to create a common security and defense policy have been pursued for several decades, but no specific ideas have been implemented yet (for example, the failed 1954 plan to create the European Defense Community). A legal framework was created by the Treaty of Maastricht, which introduced the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy, and included provisions on the responsibility of EU for all matters concerning its security, "with a view of establishing a common defense policy, which in time may lead to common defense" (Art. 1.4). At the Helsinki meeting of the European Council in December 1999, it was decided that until 2003 the member states must become capable of contributing a military force of 50,000 to 60,000 troops within 60 days, which would be capable of operating for a year ("*Rapid Reaction Force*"), with a view of deploying the military capabilities to accomplish the full spectrum of "Petersburg Tasks". The goal known as "*Helsinki Headline Goal*" had not been fully achieved until the set time limit, although ESDP was declared functional in 2003. Consequently the time limit for its fulfillment was extended up to 2010, including a new task, i.e. creation of fast-moving battle groups ("*EU Battle groups*") until 2007, and qualitative improvements in the existing defense capabilities. EU military and defense dimensions are of limited scope and do not include the territorial defense.

The probability of armed conflicts in which all EU member states (27 of them) would take part is minimum, even unlikely, since there is clearly no goal which all EU member states would agree to wage war for. On the contrary, some EU states have even different interests today, which are not in line with those of other member states. In point of fact, neither are the USA happy with EU having its own armed forces, unless they are an integral part of NATO, and this is why what is left only is WEU, which is supported by NATO and which can operate in the future, but only as NATO'a striking fist. Through signing the Treaty of Lisbon on 13 December 2007, EU acquired the contours of its political structure. The Treaty of Lisbon has not made EU a super-state, but EU has remained a great bureaucracy.

Key words: *European Union, NATO, security, co-operation, policy, treaties.*

Ten Years of European Security and Defense Policy and Changes Established by the Treaty of Lisbon

Svetlana Đurđević-Lukić

The paper examines the development of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) over the first ten-year period of its existence, as well as major changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty of European Union, within the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). In formulating the common foreign policy and in individual missions and operations of ESDP uneven success has been achieved. With institutional improvements brought about by the Treaty of Lisbon, EU will be able to pursue a more coherent policy in this

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area, although the main features of intergovernmental decision-making procedure have remained. The involvement of EU non-member states in CFSP and ESDP, as its important part, is significant not only as a contribution to the establishment of a "European strategic culture", but also for actual participation and insight in the functioning of EU. The support of neutral EU member states for the clauses of solidarity and mutual defense is a further reason for Serbia to take a more active approach to considering this policy.

Key words: *European Security and Defense Policy, Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Treaty of Lisbon, Petersburg Tasks, European Security Strategy, EU non-member states in CFSP*.

Diplomacy of Comprehensive Security and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Miroslav Glišić

The paper examines the diplomacy of comprehensive security under the auspices of the Conference on Security and Co-operation, and/or the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. The paper first examines the contents and specific aspects of the notion of the diplomacy of comprehensive security, and then presents its forms of occurrence in the international relations' practice. The diplomacy of comprehensive security within the region from Vancouver to Vladivostok is viewed through the entire development path of CSCE, and/or. OSCE. The analysis of adopted documents helps highlight the key topics, the dimension of comprehensive security and the role of civil society in resolving respective issues relating to these topics, keeping in mind that the basic characteristic of the diplomacy of comprehensive security is its societal nature. Many experts in international relations agree that the societal nature of the diplomacy of comprehensive security in CSCE process was exactly the driver of peaceful changes within the region from Vancouver to Vladivostok and as such led to the end of the Cold War without any global scale conflict.

Key words: *diplomacy, security, co-operation, civilian society, CSCE, OSCE.*

Military Strategy of President Obama's Administration

Todor Mirković

In its character (globalism), the military strategy of President Barrack Obama's Administration does not differ essentially from military strategies of the former US administrations, in particular those of the post-Cold War period, but in a sense, as regards the manner of furthering the national interests and strategic goals (less relying on the military force), it arises from the national policy and the national security strategy. Its goal and task are, with assets made available to it, to support the US foreign policy and contribute to the achievement of the national security strategy goals.

The armed forces, as the main factor of the military strategy, undergo a continuous process of technical modernization and quality improvement, made possible by, among other things, constant increase of military budget, as a dominant part of overall US military spending, which, according to the author, heavily burdens the US economy and contributes to the prolongation of the financial and economic crisis.

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In the process of the armed forces' reorganization and further combat performance improvement, a newly established system of operational command and leadership, as well as geostrategic deployment of US armed forces, are of special importance. The manner of their involvement in a war depends in many ways on technological innovations. Thus, new information and other technologies are increasingly introduced in warfare, changing the picture of war and considerably replacing the man. The war, as foreseen by the US military strategy, becomes ever more complex and increasingly involves, apart from the military force, other non-military entities as well.

Key words: *national security strategy, national military strategy, armed forces, military budget, defense spending, war, cyber warfare*.

National Security as One of Basic Factors in Geopolitical Positioning of the Russian Federation at the Beginning of the 21st Century

Srđan Perišić

The paper examines the development of the national security policy and defense policy of the Russian Federation from 1992 until today. The definition of these matters in Russia, in the period after the dissolution of the USSR, was subject to the state authorities' awareness of the geopolitical reality, i.e. the acceptance or non-acceptance of the geopolitical analyses. Since 2000, Russia has been taking a more inclusive approach to the matters of national security due exactly to enhanced approach to the geopolitical role played or to be acquired by the Russian state on the Euro-Asian continent. The development and the implementation of the national security policy during the first decade of the 21st century made it possible for Russia to be successful not only in discontinuing the collapse of its territorial integrity but also to develop its national interests in an improved manner in the areas of defense, economy, international relations, integrations within the Euro-Asian region, societal problems, information and environmental trends, and spiritual values. During 2009, the development of the Russian geopolitics led Russia into a new period of national security building through a new strategic document – the Russian National Security Strategy until 2020. The new strategy expands the national security areas, putting a special emphasis on the defense policy and building of the Russian Federation's armed forces.

Key words: *Russia, national security, geopolitics, defense, military doctrine.*

Constitutional and Legal Regulation of Defense System in the Federal Republic of Germany

Mladen R. Tišma

After tragic experiences in the disability of the law to effectively prevent the destruction of constitutional and legal order, and after the introduction of dictatorship and growth of statutory non-right, culminating in the atrocities of World War Two and the Holocaust, the framer of the German constitution decided, following this war

and in particular after the rebuilding of the (Western) German statehood in mid-1960s, to thoroughly and extensively regulate the defense system. Having decided to immediately regulate the matters of the national defense, the framer of the German constitution regulated in detail the matter of compulsory military service, command of the federal armed forces, normative activity during war, and the work of other federal bodies in the defense status conditions, thus attempting to provide protection for basic values of the constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Germany. Special consideration should be addressed to the resolve to keep the legislative power in hands of the Parliament during a defense situation, as well as to secure the position of the Federal Constitutional Court as the safeguard of the Basic Law. Clear and detailed constitutional provisions are efficient restraint and impediment for the abuse of state of emergency, at the same time providing a solid foundation for efficient defense system of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Key words: *defense system, constitution, civilian and democratic control, Basic Law, Federal Republic of Germany*.

The Myth of 'Frozen Conflicts'
Transcending Illusive Dilemmas

Filon Morar

The pernicious character of the term "frozen conflicts" is striking. Yet it is still largely employed even if manifestly inappropriate. Embracing the term frozen conflicts could amount to a *hypocritical approach* that claims the situation is frozen while the post-conflict effects are visible and evolving, an *ostrich approach* that pretends we cannot see the imminent danger, or a *cynical approach* that assumes that insofar as the conflict is not imminently re-erupting, this is someone else's problem.

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Key words: *frozen conflicts, crisis, Georgia, Moldavia, Russia, EU*.

New Strategic Concept of NATO and Russian Initiative for Change in European Security Architecture

Zoran Jeftić*, Miroslav* Mladenović and *Goran* Mandić

New NATO strategic concept was adopted by the end of 2010. Before that, the Russian initiative for creating a new European security architecture was released. Whether the views of the East and the West in these activities concerning one of the most important issues of the present day – personal and collective security – are closer than before, and whether the world is more secure and regulated following these initiatives – time will tell.

This paper does not aspire to provide final answers to these and other questions. This is only an attempt to perceive basic aspects of the existing differences between Russia and the West in comprehending the security issue, and to extend to the readers,

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against that background, a unique intellectual challenge and invitation to analyze on their own, through the prism of the metamorphosis of two traditionally confronted parties' relations, the contemporaneousness in the area of security.

The main assumption of the problem analysis is based on the fact that the differences between NATO, USA and Europe, on one side, and Russia, on the other side, in their approaches to general problems, in particular in the area of security, are still substantial and represent a large, often unbridgeable obstacle for initiating a proper dialog. The more so because the latest initiatives, included in the new NATO strategic concept and in the Russian motion for redefining the European security architecture, unambiguously comprise an initiative and a wish for a dialog. Unfortunately, in the former practice, such efforts for the most part have not produced expected results!

The Russian idea was initiated on the basis of the new Concept of the Russian Foreign Policy and coincides in time also with the process of redefining the new NATO concept, which even more points to the necessity of actual reconsideration of the existing solutions and introduction of essential novelties in this, very important area.

Key words: *NATO, Russia, security, strategic concept*.

NATO and Partnership for Peace

Dalibor Kekić and *Dane* Subašić

The paper discusses the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; its political and defense identity since its creation in 1949 until today; the process of building its interior structure; generation of procedures during confrontations with the Soviet Union and its proxies, as well as the current political and security challenges. For this, NATO has created a multitude of security arrangements, and eventually the Partnership for Peace too, which continue even today.

Key words: *NATO, Partnership for Peace, North Atlantic Council, North Atlantic Co-operation Council*.

Praetorian Problem in Modern Politicology

Srđan Starčević

The ability of the military to become socially independent and be an important, even decisive, actor in political events, is very well known. The problem of social independence and revolt of the military has been also called a Praetorian problem, after the Praetorian Guard, although it had been also known before the Roman Empire. Causes of military regimes' occurrences are various, and the most relevant are a country's economic underdevelopment, civilian authorities losing legitimacy, confrontation of the military with the government, and favorable international situation. It may be said that military regimes occur in the countries affected by crisis, when other political forces are not able to (efficiently enough) resolve the accrued problems. It is then that military authorities justify their existence by the reasons of social progress or security of the country.

The Praetorian problem cannot be resolved by putting an end to the military or cutting the military down to the level where it is no longer capable to perform its social role. In order to prevent or at least reduce the possibility of misusing the military for political purposes, it is

necessary to establish and keep improving the instruments of democratic civilian control of armed forces, which is at the same time indivisibly connected with democratic order.

The military's becoming independent or outcast, as well as the military power abuse, lead to political unrest, violent dismissal of governments, and rule by force. In modern democracies, it is inadmissible to use the military as a tool for acquiring power and exerting the political influence.

Key words: *social independence of the military, military regime, democracy, polyarchy, political resources, legitimacy, control of armed forces.*

From the Principle of Legality to the Principle of Legalness in Criminal Law

Zoran S. Pavlović

The principle of legality is one of the topics that attention has been always addressed to in the criminal law. This results from the understanding of the state's obligation to provide legal protection of fundamental freedoms and rights of defendants, but also of the victims, who have become ones due to crimes committed against humanity and international law. A question is raised of adequate level and manner of exercising the protection in our criminal law. Should it be transferred from the constitutional framework to the criminal code? Or, are we satisfied with the current arrangement? The international community requires that, except if under the International Criminal Court's jurisdiction, all criminal acts are prosecuted before a national court. Does this modify the traditional principle of *there is neither act nor punishment without legality* into the principle of *there is neither act nor punishment without legalness*. These are *lex*, *ius* and *iure*.

Key words: *legality, legitimacy, legalness/equity, general legal principles recognized by civilized nations, public order, crimes against humanity, human rights.*

Security Integrations and Options of the Republic of Serbia

Dejan Vuletić

The paper discusses the meaning of the terms 'security' and 'integration' so as to arrive to the explanation of the phrase 'security integration', insufficiently dealt with by the literature. It is also pointed out how the membership of Euro-Atlantic security integrations affects the relations and the stability in the region. Additionally, specific aspects of possible security options of the Republic of Serbia are discussed.

Key words: *security, security integrations, security options, Republic of Serbia.*

Defense Measures in Our and Foreign Defense Regulations

Zoran Vučinić

Defense measures are functional element of a defense system, and are manifested in respective actions of competent bodies, aimed to bring the defense forces into the state of readiness so as to be able to accomplish their defense tasks. With regard to their strategic importance, defense measures are regulated by the constitution and

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elaborated by the law. There are a number of such measures, which are declared or ordered, subject to the source and type of threat posed to the country's security. In constitutional solutions, the competence of legislative body is dominant in this matter, but there are differences in the regulation of subsidiary competence.

Key words: *state of war and state of emergency, emergency situation, mobilization, preparedness, competence.*

Improvement of Financial Management and Control in Defense System

Milan M. Milunović

The control of public expenditures is exercised by establishing a system of financial management and control, through adapting our country's regulations to the regulations of developed countries, in particular with an aim to fulfill the European Union admission requirements. Accordingly, the process of continuous adjusting and applying the legal regulations is practiced by all public institutions, and the defense system as well. The system of financial management and control in the public sector and in the defense system need to be fully established and guided so that the emphasis of the control execution is not on legality and regularity, but on economy, efficiency, and effectiveness of the public expenditure spending. This will reduce the business risks and help the management make better decisions.

Key words: *financial management, control, inspection, audit, improvement*.

Professional Military Ethos and Military Profession

Borislav D. Grozdić

This paper offers an answer to the question why the morale (ethos) is of crucial importance for any profession, in particular the military profession. It points to the fact that a profession is essentially different from trade, occupation, job, and other activities, and that military professionals represent a professional group which is separated from the rest of the society to an extent greater than other professions. It is our intention to emphasize that high standards of professionalism require from the military profession not only excellent proficiency but also at least equally the morality.

Key words: *profession, military profession, professional ethics, professional military ethics, morale (ethos), military morale (military ethos).*

International Crises

Milanko Zorić

The paper provides a scientific explanation of the notion and the nature of international crisis, causes and types of international crises and their essential characteristics, as well as problems of crisis management.

An international crisis is a complex combination of various destructive world processes and accelerated changes, conflicting relations of mutual hostilities and harsh mixed conflicts between states, military alliances and other antagonist sides of the crisis

subjects, threat to peace and stability, and menace to world peace and security, and it results from causal actions and political will and activity of the crisis instigators and arbitrators aimed to gaining the economic profit, geopolitical supremacy and other interests and objectives. Causes of international crises may be of economic, political/geopolitical, military, environmental, or other nature, and their action may be individual and cumulative. International crises (economic, political, military, global crisis of contemporary world system) cause radical changes and new problems within the world system and the most severe consequences in the crisis-affected state or group of states, including their dissolution and disintegration and disappearance from the history stage. They may be resolved peacefully and by force, or by a combination of the two.

Key words: *international crises, international relations, world system and world order, power politics, hegemony and domination, globalization, unipolarity, multipolarity, crisis management*.

Knowledge of Napoleon's Project Management by Jerry Manas of Relevance for Security Management

Zoran M. Krsmanović, *Miroslav* M. Talijan and *Nenko* S. Brkljač

It is a fact that the theory of security management and management in defense is only at its beginning. The authors of this paper find in the work of Jerry Manas, in particular within the scope of his study and his thoughts presented in the book *Napoleon on Project Management: Timeless Lessons in Planning, Execution and Leadership*, a true origin of management principles, which may be implemented even today within the existing systems of command, control and leadership of the military and the police. To effectively and lawfully implement the security management and the management in defense, it is critical to keep in mind respective principles to proceed from and to observe when leading the military and/or police force in the new contemporary society. The new/old postulates, i.e. Napoleon's lectures and principles of victory, as well as critical warning signs of defeat (decline), as described by Jerry Manas in his study of Napoleon's career, may serve as a contribution to just initiated practice of founding a theory of new scientific disciplines and paradigms of management, still under development, within the security management and management in defense of the Republic of Serbia. Accordingly, they may serve as an impetus for the development of the theory and for practical exercise of both security management and management in defense, and the project management itself, and consequently for the advancement of the overall scientific theory of management and the science in general.

Key words: *security management, management in defense, project management, principles of victory.*

Influence of Media Reporting on Terrorism on the Public and Political Decision Makers

Ksenija Đurić-Atanasievski

Playing their extensive roles in the modern society, the mass media can contribute significantly to the prevention and suppression of terrorism and terrorist acts. This paper examines the specific relationship between the media and the terrorism. Also, it

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reviews the characteristics of media reporting on terrorist acts. Reporting on terrorism is unique since one of the aims of terrorism is to indirectly, through the media, convey its message and influence the public and the political decision makers.

In addition, the paper examines the way in which the media coverage of terrorist acts can be an efficient means of communication that shapes the forms and contents of responses to the terrorist activity. Also, the study hypothesizes that the quality and quantity of media coverage on terrorism plays an important role in shaping the public perspective.

Key words: *terrorism, media, media reporting.*

Genesis of Islamist Extremism

Milovan Subotić

In analyzing the situation in countries and regions where more than three quarters of Islamic population are concentrated (Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Arab countries), one can easily perceive specific forms of their development, as well as non-completion and deviation of many social and cultural processes. This environment allows extensive reproduction of marginal layers of population, which become massive base of potential extremists. In this part of the world, processes of nation state consolidation have not been completed either, which only deepens the problem even more.

"Departmental industrialization" (oil industry in Arab countries and in Indonesia, production of narcotics in Afghanistan and Pakistan) to a great extent lead to marginalization of the culture. In these regions the employment entails changes only in some external cultural features of everyday life, but it does not drive complex changes in cultural habits, value orientations, social connections. In the areas of such "industrialization", highly strange social and cultural features are created, suitable for the development of extreme political orientations.

Thus, in an environment of continuing tensions in mutual relations of central authorities and local communities, i.e. ethnic minorities, the main role in the "consolidation" of population is taken over by *Islam*. In this connection, the religion's political role is significantly augmented: mosques and madrassas often become centers of Islamist extremist propaganda, and the militarization of religious-political organizations, such as Taliban, Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qaida, and others, becomes also intensified. In Islamic world, to an extent greater than, say, in the Christianity, the religion becomes a foundation of intergovernmental and international alliances, which in itself creates circumstances for generation of global conflict ideas.

All the above circumstances considered, one becomes aware of the high complexity of the problem, and that this phenomenon cannot be defined just by partial perception of individual factors facilitating the growing Islamist extremism in so-called Muslim countries. Therefore, the author believes that in the light of these specific circumstances the following terms have to be clarified: *shariat, fundamentalism, growing animosity towards Western democracies, jihad*, as well as *functional dependence between strengthening of Islamist extremism and massive terrorist acts worldwide*. Finally, a global security component is discussed in the light of the rising wave of extremist ideas and terrorist acts of militant Islamic extremists.

Key words: *Islamist extremism, shariat, secularization, fundamentalist groups and movements, wahhabism, jihad, assassins, threats, global security.*

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Phenomenon of Hunger Strike as Self-Destructive Protest Behavior in Politics

Nenad Benović

Partial and full work stoppages and hunger strikes are the most massive and the most wide-spread forms of strike occurrences. Due to their bizarre nature and a certain dosage of exhibitionism that any hunger strikes involve, this deserves particular attention. Once the last possibility of legal action, i.e. legal exercise of a particular human right, is exhausted, an individual or a group decides to go for a hunger strike.

Politically motivated hunger strikes, if organized on a nationality basis, may destabilize the country to a great extent. It is exactly why it is necessary, because of such possible forms of demonstrations, to get to know these problems in great details, so that one and all, from individuals to state institutions, including the military, know how to properly respond at any moment.

Key words: *strike, protest behavior, politics.*