S U M M A R I E S

The phenomenon and concept of strategic culture - the relationship between strategy and culture: why strategic culture?

Miloš Knežević

In this paper the author tries to explain the content of phenomena and concepts of culture and strategy in the strategic culture syntagm. Noting the ideological and political components of each strategy, there are several ways in which strategic culture can be understood. Strategy as practice and strategy as theory are treated as identity action and identity science. The broader disciplinary framework of consideration is geopolitical science, i.e. geopolitics. In relation to culture and in culture, strategy is conceptualized and implemented within the so-called soft power. In addition, strategic culture is articulated in the specific world of ideological and political processes. In the most intense dynamics of these processes, the strategic culture of conflict and war is at work. The author recalls the historical situations in which societies have been formed and organized on the basis of warrior principles. Strategic culture, therefore, has its own peaceful and military, i.e. war manifestations. Finally, the author emphasizes the importance of strategic legacy and the operation of strategies under conditions of cooperative and conflicting strategic pluralism. In doing so, one should have in mind the limitations and opportunities that condition, limit and release contemporary strategic thinking. In the author's opinion, it is only the implementation of theoretical strategic considerations based on concrete historical experience that enables more effective conclusions about the perspective of national and state future.

Key words: *coincidence, historical determinism, historical chronotope, forecast, culture, strategy, strategic culture*

The specificity of the relationship between strategic culture and strategy

Stanislav Stojanović

The paper considers the specific relationship between strategic culture and strategic thought, that is, the impact of strategic culture on the content and direction of strategic choices and the defensive orientation of a society. It is generally agreed that strategic culture, although not sufficiently theoretically shaped construct, exerts a strong influence on the character and direction of decisions taken by the elite of a collectivity in the protection of fundamental national values and interests. However, in an attempt to

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qualify this relationship more substantially, especially to quantify those relationships, there are methodological and other problems that are difficult to solve.

One of the main dilemmas that accompanies the relationship between strategic culture and strategy is their different philosophical, political, cultural and cognizant foundation, bearing in mind that strategic culture is equally based on rational and, even more, irrational determination, while strategy is a primarily rationally based activity. Specifically, strategic culture implies the totality of geographical, historical, religious, valuable and other determinants of a collectivity, while strategic thought implies clear methodological and rationally guided reflection on how to protect vital national interests. The fact that strategic culture is the product of not only rational, but also irrational forces, implies the difficulty of its relationship with strategy as an exclusively intellectual activity of the highest order. Is it realistic to expect that strategic culture, as a phenomenon that is not fully rationally grounded, has a clearly visible impact on strategy as rational judgement?

Not disputing the difficulties that accompany the relationship between strategic culture and strategy, the starting hypothesis of the paper is based on the view that strategic culture affects significant aspects of strategic thought, especially when it comes to how military power is perceived and its use in protecting the primary values and interests of a society.

Key words: *strategic culture, identity, strategy, military power*

Contribution to the determination of the political factors of strategic culture

Miloš R. Milenković

Strategic culture is a concept that attempts to explain the relation of the most important social actors, primarily political and military, to the force and the use of force. Therefore, strategic culture is often used both as a tool to help understand and explain the activities of social elites in the field of national security, and also as a tool for predicting the behaviour of states when it comes to the use of force. One of the main dilemmas in defining the very concept and its significance is, in fact, the relationship between the rational and irrational in the decision-making process. Although the concept of strategic culture is at a lower level of generality than the concepts of national and political culture, it is still a complex concept that defines several factors, which, according to some authors, can be grouped into physical, political and socio-cultural. The subject of this paper will be exactly the political factors, which may include: (1) historical experience, (2) political system, (3) elite opinions (beliefs), and (4) military organization. Each of the factors will be considered separately through the creation of a broader value context. Due to their overall impact on the creation of strategic culture of a nation and the ability to govern it, the political factors of strategic culture, in relation to all other factors, should be singled out and analyzed separately.

Key words: *strategic culture, historical experience, political system, elite opinions (beliefs), military organization*

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Religion as a factor of strategic culture on the examples of Christianity and Islam

Milovan R. Subotić

It is difficult to imagine that an exciting adventure of a man during his existence in space and time can pass without the appearance of some fundamental social essentials that accompany him throughout his history. Such fundamental features of human civilization certainly include religion and war. They are inseparable parts of human destiny, so it is simply impossible to ignore them. Because, war and religion are obviously contradictory phenomena, and yet so often they have blended in and supported one another as if nothing essentially separates them. The disturbance has been additionally increased by the awareness that not all religious teachings view war equally. On the contrary, some religions are rather sympathetic to the ceremonial sacrifice of prisoners and symbolic justification of cruelty, while others completely condemn it and prohibit their believers from participating in them, and in the war itself, as well. Having in mind that strategic culture, as a relatively new term, is based on a specific set of beliefs, attitudes and practice related to the use of force within a group, the fact that religious texts and their interpretation have been recognized as one of the significant factors of strategic culture, emphasizes the importance of studying the phenomenon of religion in the context of strategic culture. Taking into account the values and norms that can be drawn from the religious context, it is clear that, as such, they can significantly influence the strategic culture of certain ethno-religious collectivities, ultimately the nation-states, by creating a line of demarcation between what is "allowed" and what is not in the use of force.

What is the difference, in connection with this problem, between archaic polytheistic societies and contemporary monotheism, i.e. when the functionalist approach prevails, and when the legitimation one to wars? What is the concept of so-called just war in religious vocation? What is the attitude of Christianity (on the example of its two denominations: Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy) and Islam towards the use of force? These are just some of the questions that this paper will try to answer by consulting contemporary literature in the various fields of social sciences.

Key words: *strategic culture, polytheism, monotheism, just war, Christianity, Islam*

Strategic culture - case study: Serbia

Veljko Blagojević

The paper deals with the strategic culture of Serbia in its historical context. This approach to the subject of research is somewhat imposed, given the essence of strategic culture, that is, its strong foothold in national culture, tradition and beliefs. We will strive through an analysis of the strategic culture of the Serbs, from the emergence of the idea of the necessity to liberate themselves by the power of arms from the Ottoman rule, through the period of establishment of a nation-state, the sacrifices in the Great War

that ultimately resulted in the "sinking" into the statehood of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, to understand the cause-and-effect relationships of key events and processes that influenced its formation. The period of socialist Yugoslavia had perhaps the greatest impact on the contemporary strategic culture of the Serbs, especially the wars of the 1990s and their consequences, which is the main hypothesis of the paper. The results of this analysis will be the starting point for determining the main characteristics of Serbian strategic culture, which are reflected in the society's attitude towards the following issues: the preparation of the entire society for defense, the status of the armed forces in the society, military neutrality and the tradition inherited by the Serbian Armed Forces.

Key words: *tradition, historical heritage, strategic culture of Serbia, Serbian Armed Forces, military neutrality*

The tradition of the legal regulation of the armed forces in Serbia

Ljupka Petrevski

Throughout their history, the Serbs have been exposed to frequent war efforts, which has, inter alia, influenced the importance of the legal regulation of the armed forces. The period of the First Serbian Uprising marks the beginning of the establishment of the Serbian armed formations. However, the beginning of the structuring of the military organization is related to the period of the reign of Miloš Obrenović and the constitution of military garrisons. It is also the beginning of the introduction of military service (1838) and its limitation to six years. In the history of the legal regulation of the armed forces, the Act on the Organization of the Military of 1883 with subsequent amendments has a special place. This law is of particular importance because it provided the legal basis for the establishment of a modern professional military organization. Significant experiences from the war with Bulgaria, which Serbia lost, had a positive impact on the further development of the professional military organization in Serbia. The new Act on the Organization of the Military was adopted on January 27, 1901, which, with subsequent amendments, would form the basis for the further development of the Serbian military organization in the coming period. In all the above-mentioned, as well as subsequent legal provisions, special attention has been paid to the obligation to do military service.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia, by its Decision of 2010, suspended the obligation to do military service. Thus, the long tradition of military service in Serbia stopped. Through an analysis of the history of the legal regulation of the armed forces, this paper focuses on the provisions regulating compulsory military service. The final part of the paper will emphasize the necessity to re-establish the military service obligation.

Key words: laws, *armed forces, conscription, military service, military organization*

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Intelligence component of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and strategic culture of Serbia

Branislav Milosavljević

In every country, intelligence services are the backbone of the national security system. Their primary task is to provide the highest state authorities with timely, relevant and accurate information, as well as to protect constitutional order and national interests by their activities. Throughout its history, since the First Serbian Uprising, Serbia has built its intelligence component in accordance with needs and capabilities. History also records the year 1889, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gained an intelligence component. In the later period, there were changes in the structure of the intelligence component as a reflection of changes in the region and internally. They were also a reflection of the changing strategic culture of society. Although intelligence service and strategic culture are terms of varying scope and content, when considered at the national level they cannot be viewed separately. Namely, intelligence is a reflection of the strategic culture of a particular country, and the strategic behaviour of a country is the basis of intelligence. The paper focuses on the intelligence component of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in terms of strategic culture and the need to re-establish within the mentioned Ministry the organizational units responsible for collecting intelligence data important for national security. In addition, the paper analyzes the current structure of the security-intelligence services of the Republic of Serbia, which is unfavourable and does not reflect the real needs of the state in changing international relations. The possible establishment of an external civilian intelligence service would allow the state authorities to assess more effectively the increasingly important challenges, risks and threats related to security and national interests. In this way, the capacity of the overall security system of the Republic of Serbia would be significantly increased.

Key words: *intelligence, foreign affairs, strategic culture, national interests*

Strategic culture and images of wars from the last decade of 20th century in Serbian prose

Slobodan V. Vladušić

The connection between strategic culture and literature is examined at the beginning of this paper. This link is based on the fact that the concept of strategic culture implies that not only rational judgements, but also cultures from which decision-makers come play a significant role in strategic decision-making. We can relate culture to the image of the world of a nation, which is expressed and changed through literature. In this way, the image of the world created by literature can be a factor in strategic decision-making. The second part of the paper refers to the examples in which the image of the war in Serbian literature has created a particular strategic culture that supported or questioned certain strategic decisions. The third part of the paper shows how the image of the

wars of the 1990s was created in Serbian prose, distinguishing two perspectives: a more dominant, background perspective, in which the war is labelled as absurd, thus playing the role of the enemy, and a less expressed, frontal perspective, in which the other political entity can be identified as the enemy. The end of the paper indicates that the dominance of background perception questions the possibility of a strategic culture of a nation, even of the national identity itself, since a nation boils down to individuals - deserters who would like to survive the war by abandoning it.

Key words: *strategic culture, literature, war, background war perspective, frontal war perspective*

Geopolitical foundations of Serbian strategic culture

Milomir Stepić

Although it used to be neglected for a long time due to prejudice, geopolitics is one of the key factors in strategic culture. Its importance grows when the transformation of the unipolar into the multipolar order begins in the early 21st century, competition for space becomes unscrupulous, and the struggle for control of nations and states takes on new, effective forms. Civilizational and national identities become increasingly important when forming geopolitical mental representations within national strategic cultures. This paper analyzes geopolitical factors as the basis of Serbian strategic culture. It starts with Serbian geopolitical (auto) perceptions and then explains in detail the individual constants and variables of Serbian strategic culture. The conclusion considers strategic culture in the context of Serbian military neutrality. In the current geopolitical circumstances, the author thinks that military neutrality is a rational state decision, but also that it should not be a long-term and constitutionally defined national orientation.

Key words: *military strategy, geopolitics, strategic culture, Serbian identity, national interest, great powers, Serbian neighbours, Balkans*

Geoeconomics and neutrality of the Republic of Serbia

Blagoje S. Babić

Theoretically, geoeconomics is a "cross-border political economy" based on an "unfair match". The rules of "fair competition" applicable in internal markets do not apply to geoeconomics. Empirically, geoeconomics becomes the replacement for the "declining role of geopolitics." Its task is to build a strategy for state action, so that it can provide its enterprises and "its" economy with competitive advantages over "foreign" enterprises and economies. Each country has to participate in a geoeconomic match. It cannot only defend itself, but also to perform. This is true for Serbia, as well.

Serbian resilience to geopolitical pressure is in proportion to its geoeconomic resilience. Neutrality policy is a shelter from the risk of making a choice between the East and West.

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Neutrality does not have a sufficiently reliable economic basis either internally or externally, so it depends more on the willingness of external forces to allow it than on Serbian economic power to defend it. To improve geoeconomic resilience, the following conditions are necessary: capable state administration, re-industrialization, protection of the domestic economy, encouraging the rise of domestic entrepreneurship. Only then Serbia can become a "land of hope" again. In any case, the proven experience should be present in mind: "Those who are reluctant to feed their own army shall feed a foreign army."

Key words: *geoeconomics, neutrality, re-industrialization, protection of domestic economy*

The demographic aspect of strategic culture - the Serbian experience from 1920 to 2020

Nebojša Vuković

The main thesis of the paper is that, in the case of the Serbian nation (its historical experience, present and future), the demographic dimension of strategic culture is one of the key and determining factors. According to the author's opinion, the current demographic indicators of the Serbian nation (markedly unfavourable), as well as the perception of great demographic losses from the wars in the 20th century, have a crucial impact on the formation of contemporary Serbian strategic culture, whose main features are expressed caution when it comes to the use of force in interstate and interethnic relations, that is, cultivating an aversion to war, without regard for the fact that war is sometimes the only means of gaining or maintaining freedom. The paper uses insights from a young scientific discipline - political demography - that studies the political implications of demographic changes. The author has presented the data on the Serbian demographic losses in the 20th century, using data of other researchers, and has given an explanation of how this fact has reflected on the Serbian strategic culture. Furthermore, the paper presents the thesis on the break of the so-called consensus on the armed struggle, during World War II in Serbia, and that a single, essentially marginal discourse on the purpose of the armed struggle during World War II, became dominant in the Serbian political leadership in the first decades of the 21st century.

Key words: *strategic culture, demographic losses, political demography, war, strategy*

Strategic culture as a factor in defining energy policy of the European Union and the Russian Federation

Mirjana Radovanović

The main objective of the paper is to analyze the impact of strategic culture (in terms of content, direction and duration) on energy policy strategies in the European Union and the Russian Federation. The study of strategic culture helps to under-

stand and interpret state policy in different fields, to understand certain political maneuvers in a broader historical context and, consequently, to help predict the behaviour of a particular state more properly. Energy security is one of the main assumptions that contributes to the growth, development, stability, sovereignty and development of a very important sense of security for citizens.

The Russian Federation plays a key role in the world energy policy. Therefore, its presence, behaviour and diplomatic moves are of the greatest importance when it comes to global energy security and the possibility of preventing or creating animosity, that is, fulfilling the preconditions for peace and stability. On the other hand, the European Union is highly dependent on energy import, which has led it to develop several strategies over time in an attempt to address the issue of energy security, without achieving the expected results, which has led to problems between the member states. The future energy security strategies are questionable. The European Union and the Russian Federation have very similar energy security strategies; both sides are essentially focused on the same goals when it comes to energy security, economic prosperity and maintaining some prestige on the geopolitical scene, but this is based on almost diametrically opposite visions, using different implementation methods and with different evaluation standards.

Key words: *European Union, Russian Federation, energy policy, energy security, strategic culture*

Constitution and neutrality as a foreign policy orientation of the state

Irena Pejić

The paper analyzes the possibilities of normative regulation of neutrality as a foreign policy orientation of the state by the highest general legal act in national law. The functional capacity of the constitutional authority to regulate the issue of military neutrality of the state as a *par excellence* issue of state sovereignty is firstly considered. To this end, the relation between the normative and political concept of the constitution in correlation with the legal and political concept of neutrality is considered. The second part of the paper presents an overview of constitutional solutions in comparable systems of military neutral states, which seeks to emphasize the specificity of national legal systems in an approach to neutrality as a legal and political phenomenon. Finally, the concluding remarks summarize the legal situation of the Republic of Serbia and the act declaring neutrality in the National Assembly Resolution (2007) as a programme document adopted primarily to determine the country's foreign policy orientation with respect to the Kosovo and Metohija issue. The conclusion of this analysis is that the constitutional authority cannot regulate *in toto* the issue of neutrality as a foreign policy orientation of a state without international recognition, but there is the possibility of incorporating it as a strategic orientation of the state (developed in the normative and programming documents of the state) into the constitutional provisions as programming principle.

Key words: *neutrality, state foreign policy, constitution, constitutional authority*

Constant neutrality in Western Europe and strategic culture

Igor Novaković

Notwithstanding European and Euro-Atlantic integration, five Western European countries continue to define permanent neutrality as one of the fundamental determinants of their foreign and security commitment. Although some of them have adopted other terms for this status for various reasons, such as non-alignment, military non-alignment or military neutrality, their current status is based on the Cold War tradition and does not go into the essence of constant neutrality in an age of peace, which means not joining the alliances with the obligation of joint defense and the absence of foreign military bases in its territory. However, the strategic cultures of these countries were also very different during the Cold War, and those differences are still evident to some extent today. They are conditioned both by their geopolitical position, historical heritage, opinion of citizens, as well as understanding of foreign and security challenges and possible ways in which they can be addressed. Thus, defense strategies haveranged from the doctrines of total defense to the approach that constant neutrality does not require strong defense capabilities and a comprehensive approach to defense. The key variables that have conditioned the transformation of the approach to these challenges are the processes of European and Euro-Atlantic integration, as well as the approaches of the Russian Federation and the challenges that its policy brings for some of these countries. Therefore, this paper analyzes the dynamic transformation of the strategic cultures of all five continually neutral states from the end of the Cold War to the present, taking into account the three variables mentioned above and the fundamental commitment of these states to preserve some form of constant neutral status.

Key words: *strategic culture, constant neutrality, military neutrality, military non-alignment, total defense, European Union, NATO, Partnership for Peace, Russian Federation*

Relation between Serbian social character and military neutrality

Srđan Starčević and *Srđan* Blagojević

Man is the only being that has two natures - the biological one given to him at birth and the artificial one he acquires as a social, cultural being. He is also a privileged being who, living in the natural world, or at least using the resources of such world, creates a culture as a second nature, which enables him to pass on his knowledge to other people and subsequent generations, improve the tools, procedures and organization of his work, shape his existence and activities, direct his community towards a goal and manifest and develop his creativity. Therefore, in a culture, which has an indispensable role in the formation of personality and life of man and society, it

is necessary to have those factors that help to explain and understand complex social phenomena and processes.

The attempt to answer the question - whether the social character of the Serbs and the dominant cultural pattern in Serbia supports military neutrality as a rational choice - forms the main idea of this paper. In order to provide an answer to this question, the paper presents key views on the social character of our nation and its characteristics, with particular reference to such features that make up segments of the domestic strategic culture. The paper analyzes the attitude of our society towards freedom and independence, alliances and the use of the Serbian Armed Forces, and then this relationship is considered from the perspective of the values on which the concept of military neutrality is based, in order to emphasize the intersection points of military neutrality and social cohesion at value level.

Key words: *social character, cultural pattern, strategic culture, policy, neutrality*

Bloomfield's model of subcultures and possible implementation in understanding Serbian strategic culture

Milan J. Igrutinović

The paper first explains Alan Bloomfield's multidisciplinary model, which treats strategic culture through the recognition of several coexisting subcultures. They represent different interpretations of the international, social and cultural context of the state, understanding of risks and threats in the surroundings, understanding of power, geography and economy. They offer the public their descriptions of the broader international context of such perception of threats against which they make decisions and define the behaviour of the state, and in an attempt to formally define strategic culture. Subcultures may base their interrelationships on subordination / superiority or latency. They may also share similar or identical views, while remaining different enough to be recognized as such. In the second part of the paper, the author identifies two subcultures relevant to understanding Serbian strategic culture, which he tentatively designates as a national liberation subculture and a national liberal subculture. In the last three decades, they have operated from different formal positions, evolved over time, and to this day have acquired certain common characteristics. The author concludes that the national liberation subculture has to a greater extent defined the already ambivalent Serbian strategic culture, that it also has crucially defined the policy of military neutrality, which has become in part the position of other subculture and the constituent element of strategic culture as a whole.

Key words: *Serbia, strategic culture, subculture, Alan Bloomfield, military neutrality, national liberation subculture, national liberal subculture*

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Serbian strategic culture and the concept of total defense

Milinko Vračar, *Goran* Stanojević

The consequences of jeopardizing the vital national interests that the Republic of Serbia deals with today are the result mainly of the arbitrary strategic thinking of its political elite at the end of the last century. Therefore, in the time to come, rational strategic thought becomes an indispensable element in finding the most optimal ways of fulfilling and protecting Serbian national interests. Strategic thinking on Serbian still unfavourable international environment indicates that military neutrality is, at present, the most optimal model of its foreign policy and defense organization and operation. All European countries committed to military neutrality base their defense policy on the strategic concept of total defense. In view of this fact, and due to the same commitment of Serbia, the development and implementation of the strategic concept of total defense gain importance for the implementation of such foreign and defense policy. However, from the moment of Serbian commitment to military neutrality policy, little has been done regarding the further development of the defense system in accordance with this conceptual model. Noting this problem, the question arises as to whether the current strategic culture of Serbian society supports the development and implementation of the concept of total defense? The starting point of the paper is the view that some factors of Serbian strategic culture are not in accordance with the requirements of the development of the concept of total defense and the need for their harmonization is indicated in order to create the necessary conditions for the full implementation of the mentioned concept.

Key words: *Republic of Serbia, strategic thinking, strategic culture, military neutrality, concept of total defense*