

THE CONTRIBUTION FOR THE AUDIT OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

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Abstract: *By the reputation of the developed countries of the world, when the security sector was in question, the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia in 2009 adopted the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia. The strategy was adopted in conditions that characterized the closer and wider environment, but also the opportunities in the Republic of Serbia. In the changed conditions of the environment and situation in the country, the work on the revision of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia has begun. This paper is an attempt to attach from the theoretical point of view the process of revision of the basic strategic document in the domain of security in our country. In addition to the theoretical basis, the practical experience of the most developed countries in the world and the countries from our environment related to the determination of the security system was also used.*

Keywords: *Security, Strategy, Conceptual Basis of Security System.*

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the modern state, its security has become one of the key issues, first of all, its foreign policy and relations with other countries. The basic form of mutual endangering of states was the application of military force. The war, primarily observed through the conflict of the armed forces (army), has long existed as a legal means of resolving disputes between states. The effects of the First World War radically changed the attitude towards the war and prompted the key world powers to look for a mechanism for its prevention or suppression. Thus, the League of People comes to circle. However, several decades after the First, the Second World War began, according to many, as a continuation of the previous one.

The Second World War is a milestone in the history of the development of the human

race, both in the practice of international relations and in their theoretical formulation. In practical terms, there are two controversial directions: (1) the formation of the United Nations and (2) the polarization of two antagonistic political-military blocs (NATO and the Warsaw Treaty). On a theoretical basis, security studies are developing strongly, as a self-made scientific discipline, seen by many as a subdiscipline of the theory of international relations.

2 CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE EXISTING NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY IS ADOPTED

The conditions of a phenomenon are all other phenomena which, by their work, or as a whole, have contributed to the production of a related phenomenon [Marković, M., 1984]. Unlike natural sciences, the conditions of social phenomena have their own specification, and, most often, they are observed in relation to the initial and boundary conditions. In doing so, the conditions that were valid at the moment of observing a certain social phenomenon are the starting points. The boundary conditions are those for which we can assume with high probability that they will validate in due course. In accordance with the above, the relation between the initial and the border conditions at the time of the adoption of the existing National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia is shown in Figure 1.

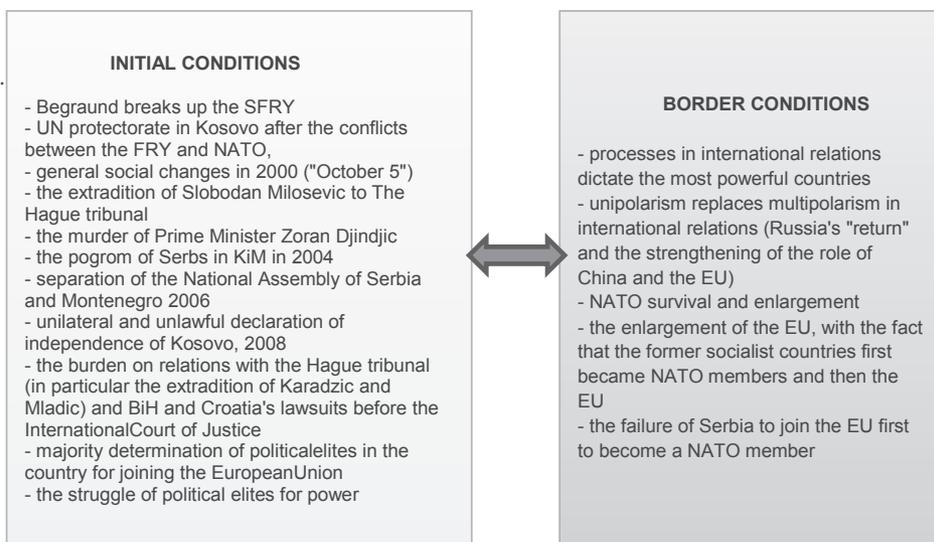


Figure 1. Initial and border conditions during the adoption of the National Security Strategy (Forca, B., 2016)

The conditions in which he made the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (hereinafter: the Strategy), primarily observers with their security aspects, as well as the tangent sectors, such as politics, economy and armed forces.

The final year of the twentieth century was characterized by the great influence of the West on the processes in the FR of Yugoslavia, after the breakup of the former SFR Yugoslavia. Evident antagonism on the relations between the leading countries of the West (primarily the United States and Germany) and the FRY resulted in NATO aggression in 1999. Under the pretext of preventing the so-called. Humanitarian catastrophes in Kosovo and Metohia, NATO has undertaken the most extensive military operations in an independent and independent state, through Article 5 of its own formation agreement and without the mandate of the UN Security Council. It was the most innocent armed conflict in the history of warfare, which symbolically occurred in the year of celebrating the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Alliance (Table 1). The outcome of the armed conflict is known, and its *de iure*, the consequence is the establishment of a UN protectorate over the Serbian southern province, and *de facto*, a continuation of the “crushing” of the territory of the former SFR Yugoslavia.

Table 1.Relation between of NATO and FRY forces in the 1999 war(Forca, 2003)

ENTITY	Surface area (000 km ²)	People numbers (milions)	GDP (bilion \$)	GDPper capita (\$)	Defence budget (bilion \$)
NATO	22.327,24	743,83	11.371,15	13.532	3.311,94
FRY	102	11,5	21,94	1.980	3,85
Relation	228,7:1	67,3:1	518,3:1	6,83:1	860,3:1
Allies of NATO	579,1	53,92	245,86	4.181,3	55,30
FRY	102	11,5	21,94	1.980	3,85
Relation	5,7:1	4,88:1	11,21:1	2,11:1	14,37:1
NATO+allies	23.907,05	797,75	11.617,01	10.761,5	3.367,24
FRY	102	11,5	21,94	1.980	3,85
Relation	234,4:1	72,2:1	529,5:1	5,44:1	874,61:1

The UN Protectorate over Kosovo and Metohija, established by the Security Council Resolution No. 1244, apparently did not satisfy the “appetites” of the West and the Albanian political elites in the Serbian southern province. The evident intention to get Kosovo and Metohija out of Serbia began with the failure to fulfill some of the provisions of the UN Security Council resolution, primarily in blocking the return of hundreds (not thousands) of Serbian security forces to Kosovo and Metohija. On the other hand, the deployed military forces of NATO (KFOR) in Kosovo and Metohija did not oppose the radical efforts of the Albanian majority to ethnically “purify” Kosovo and Metohija from the Serbian people. The pogrom of Serbs with KiM in 2004 is the best illustration given.

During the conflict with NATO, two types of social conflicts flashed in the FRY: (1) conflicts of political elites (parties) within Serbia, and (2) the efforts of the Montenegrin political elites to, apart from other republics of the former SFRY, separate from Serbia and form their own, independent and independent state.

Conflicts within Serbia culminated in 2000, when there was a change in power and a

fall in the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. These conflicts had a drastic epilogue, according to the model "people took place" on October 5, 2000. The newly established power, under the pressure of the West, former FRY President Slobodan Milosevic, was extradited to The Hague tribunal. Another drastic consequence of the change in power in Serbia is the assassination of Prime Minister Dr Zoran Djindjic. Whoever launches the revolution ends up in jail or executes it, confirmed on Serbia's example.

Using the preoccupation of Serbia with its own problems, the Montenegrin political elite in every way tries to isolate themselves from the FRY. The first step was the renaming of the name of the FRY state in the State Statistical Office of Serbia and Montenegro in 2003. It was clear to everyone that the final disengagement of the SC of SCG would quickly come to an end, which happened in 2006.

The separation of Montenegro from Serbia, the Albanian political elite in Kosovo, is seen as its chance to create another Albanian state on the soil of Europe. Consciously supported by the most powerful countries in the West, the Albanian elites in Kosovo and Metohija unlawfully and unilaterally proclaim the independence of Kosovo in 2008. This independence was perceived after the fall of the so-called Ahtisaari Plan for Kosovo and Metohija in 2007.

The conditions, which are briefly outlined for the processes in Serbia, should be viewed within the wider milieu, that is, the events that took place in the territory of Europe and among the great powers.

Two very important processes in Europe defined the position and processes in and around Serbia. The first is the survival and expansion of NATO, and the second is the enlargement of the EU. Under conditions in which Russia deals with its own problems after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the USSR, the United States, as a Cold War winner, establishes various mechanisms to strengthen the strongest political-military alliance - NATO and "convince" the international community of the need for its survival after the dissolution of the VU. By 2009, NATO has grown to 28 member states. In the Serbian environment, until 2009, only B&H, Macedonia and Montenegro did not become NATO members (Montenegro became a member of the Alliance in 2017, and Macedonia is "a permanent candidate" because Greece opposes Macedonia).

After the collapse of bipolarism in international relations, the European Union sees its chance for a stronger position in the international community. The unobtrusively economically strong EU strengthens and strengthens its position in several directions. First, is the enlargement of the Union, which had several aspects. Immediately after the end of the Cold War, three countries that are otherwise close to the standards of Western civilization, Austria, Finland and Sweden, became members of the EU in 1995. Then there is a stalemate, because the Union is specifically determined by the former socialist states and their request for EU membership. The fact is that these countries, before joining the EU, are becoming NATO members first. The "boom" of the enlargement of the Union occurred in 2004, when ten new states, including Slovenia, as the former republic of SFR Yugoslavia were received. Some time later, (2007), more than political ones, but for real reasons and fulfillment of conditions for EU membership, Bulgaria and Romania become members of the Union. The ring around Serbia was facing the former rebels of the SFRY (except Slovenia) and Albania, which also gets a special geopolitical name - the Western Balkans. All the countries of the region, declaratively and substantially, are for EU membership, and except for Serbia and B&H,

they also declared themselves for NATO membership. The second advocacy of the Union in international relations is a kind of federalization of the Union and an effort to strengthen its own defense and defense power. The Union has prepared the Constitution, which did not pass in 2005. Therefore, the EU's Summit in Lisbon (Portugal) is rapidly preparing and maintaining in 2007, resulting in the Treaty, which came into force in 2009. What is significant, from a security point of view, is the Lisbon Treaty's clearer definition of the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy within the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. A special aspect of these policies is the attitude towards the defense of the Union. Thus, with regard to the EU defense, three directions have been identified: (1) a strong support for NATO, (2) the military neutrality of individual states (Austria, Ireland, Finland and Sweden), and (3) failure to act on its own defense of the Union, when For these conditions.

Relations between the major powers are also conditions that have affected the adoption of the National Security Strategy. The United States, as the Cold War winner, sought to strengthen its own position as a world leader, or unitarianism (a substitute for bipolarism), which is evident in the years to the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. However, the fact is that the EU, Russia and China, declaratively and substantially, have sought to strengthen their position globally. In addition, two are particularly important aspects. First, is the strong return of Russia, which took place in 2008 during the global financial crisis. By the war in Georgia (2008), Russia is "returning" to the world scene as a powerful military, but also forces in other spheres. On the other hand, above all, by economic influence, China has unequivocally grown into one of the leading powers of the world.

3 CONCEPTUAL BASES FOR THE REVISION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Security is the function of every modern state. Regardless of their reliance on regional and global security, all countries in the world pay special attention to national security. In this sense, the establishment of a national security system is one of the central issues of survival and development of states.

The establishment of the national security system, both theoretically and practically, has its own conceptual bases, among which are the theoretical, political, constitutional and legal and international basis [Keković, 2011]. Although these bases have a cumulative impact on the development of the security system, they can be analyzed individually. The following is a unique analysis of the conceptual bases, in the case of the national security strategy, as one of the key elements of the security system.

3.1 Theoretical basis

Social processes move in the constant unity of theory and practice. The development of these processes is unthinkable without science and scientific theory. The relation between theory and practice is different. Typically, the theory shrinks the way of practice and offers it the norms of practical activity (doctrine). On the other hand, practice brings new forms and norms of relationships that theory accepts or rejects and builds a new theory for some future practice. Numerous reasons influence that there is no complete unity of theory and practice in social processes.

The security theory is as old as the letter. However, many authors argue that the scientific theory of security can only be discussed after the Second World War, or the development of the Security Studies [Pol D.V., 2012]. On the other hand, the security theory is extremely reprehensible because its subject matter is such. In other words, security is not only a matter of security science, it falls into the domain of politics, economics, law, international relations, sociology and other scientific disciplines.

However, as we approached the security theory, however, we have to start from the fact that this theory has reached a certain level of development that needs to be respected, and even continually upgraded. Numerous authors argue that our security theory has not been developed to the extent necessary, and in that sense, it is necessary to rely on foreign experiences. Some authors even believe that, when it comes to strategy, our theory and practice mainly dealt with the rewriting of foreign solutions [Očić, 2014]. Focusing on the National Security Strategy, several issues of theoretical character deserve particular attention, namely: (1) the conceptual-categorical apparatus, (2) the system's strategy and (3) the structure of the document itself.

3.2. Political basis

According to some theoreticians, the political function is the basic function of the state. This is for the reason that politics is not everything, but everything is. State policy is unique, and formally, it is divided into internal and foreign policy. In terms of security, Ivancevic says that the role of politics is to explain what happened and point out what should be done in order to avoid danger in the future [Kekovic, 2011].

When the National Security Strategy is concerned, it can be said that, as a matter of principle, all the issues are in the domain of politics, because the strategy is a political, not a legal document. However, the key political issues are: (1) determining the vision, mission and goals, (2) revising attitudes towards challenges, risks and threats to security, (3) explicitly expressed the attitude towards the military neutrality of the Republic of Serbia, and (4) the change of the titular in drawing up the draft Document National Security Strategy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, instead of the Ministry of Defense).

3.3 Constitutional and legal basis

In most countries, the constitution is the highest legal act. The provisions of the Constitution are more closely regulated by laws and bylaws, thus providing a constitutional and legal framework for the organization and functioning of the state.

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia does not refer to the document of the National Security Strategy, but only to the Defense Strategy. Therefore, it was necessary to establish a national security strategy with a legal act in order to proceed with its drafting and adoption. This was done by the Defense Law in 2007.

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (2006), as one of the key areas regulated and secured by the Republic of Serbia, established the defense and security [RS Constitution, Art. 97, p.4]. This provision of the Constitution, when the Defense System is concerned, is regulated by laws, strategies, doctrines and other documents. However, when the Security System is in question, Serbia does not have a general law on security, but laws on specific functions (defense, emergency situations) or subsystems (Army, Police, BIA). Thus, the Na-

tional Security Strategy is an umbrella and political, and legal, in some way a document. That's not fair.

In addition, it is evident that Serbia does not have clearly defined national interests in its Constitution. These interests, but in the sphere of security, have been determined by the existing National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia.

The fact is that in 2007 the National Assembly proclaimed the military neutrality of the Republic of Serbia, which implies that none of the military federations should be inadmissible. Also, the fact is that Serbia's military neutrality is not mentioned in any legal document of our country. Therefore, there is a need to identify in these documents exemplary military neutrality instrument, although it is a political rather than a legal issue.

In accordance with the above, it is evident that the constitutional and legal factor (basis) of the revision of the national security strategy is affecting the need to change the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and to adopt certain legal documents.

3.4 International basis

States were also the other main subject of international relations. Hence, any state function, especially defense and security, depends directly on the state and processes in international relations.

Nationwide security strategies in many countries analyze international relations and identify challenges, risks and threats to security. This is the case in the existing document in the Republic of Serbia. This is also true of the national security strategy, first of all, in the field of foreign policy.

The national basis for the revision of the National Security Strategy is as follows: (1) a different attitude to the challenges, risks and threats to security, (2) linking to EU regulation, and (3) an explicit relationship with the military neutrality of the Republic of Serbia.

Challenges, risks and security threats in the existing National Security Strategy have been used as a syntagm, and not concepts of a different character and level of generality, on one and the other, are an expression of the time in which this strategy was written. Starting from what is the security, challenges, risks and threats to security should be focused on two aspects. First, identify threats to what the state does, which is the territory, population and constitutional order, because the territory is being pushed, and the attitude and constitutional order are protected. Second, the security challenges need to be clearly separated from the threat, they have not only a negative connotation, that is, a neutral term, which can have a positive attitude towards the security of the state. For example, the challenge for Serbia is EU membership.

The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia aims to have a clasp with the Common Security and Defense Policy, as part of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, on the one hand, and the Global Strategy of the Union (2016), on the other. This is the main reason that Serbia's membership in the EU is our strategic interest and goal.

The military neutrality of the Republic of Serbia was proclaimed by the National Assembly in 2007. It is a little surprising that this neutrality is not mentioned in any normative-legal document of our country after 2007, although most of these documents were made later. Therefore, the issue of military neutrality, as a par excelans political issue, must be explicitly established in an umbrella strategic document such as the National Security Strategy.

We assume that the National Security Strategy respects all generally accepted documents of the international community that are related to security, as it is also established in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia [Constitution, 2006: Article 16].

4 CONCLUSION

Security is a prerequisite for the survival and development of the human race and its communities. Therefore, safety should also be a consequence of this development. No matter how the world looks unconcerned today, it is necessary to strive for the ideal model, because only life makes sense.

The Republic of Serbia, since the break-up of the former SFR Yugoslavia (1991-1995), the war of the FRY and NATO (1999), and the separation with Montenegro (2006) passes the difficult path of an independent and independent state. On this path, Serbia seeks to establish all state functions, according to the reputation of the modern world. Among these functions are security and defense.

The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (2009) was adopted in the conditions that characterized the time of our position in international relations. The fact is that international relations are a variable category, which changes dynamically in time and space. Also, the fact is that the position of Serbia, where and where, is better today than in the time when the existing strategy is adopted.

Key strategic doctrinal documents change in line with the change of factors that determine them. The change in the existing National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia has the greatest influence on theoretical, political, constitutional, legal and international factors, as the basis for its revision for implementation in the foreseeable future.

For the effective revision of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, we need the skill of the strategists and the wisdom of politicians.

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