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Dr. Rakić Mile

Institute for Political Studies (Belgrade, Serbia)

Dr. Beriša Hatidža

University of Defence, National Defence School (Belgrad, Serbia)

GLOBALIZATION – THE CHALLENGE OF SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Globalization is most often characterized as a trend that leaves negative consequences on the national state and its security understood in its widest conceptual definition. Many countries in their development are oriented towards Western values and seek to build their national security according to Western standards, which is also the case with the Republic Serbia. However, it is obvious that the advanced West, which has never been developed as much as nowadays, is in a state of decline and almost decay. Therefore, there is no doubt that the West slides into a crisis that can have a major impact on global security but also on the national security of other states and their future construction.

Also, the fact that the partly observed national security of weaker economically and securityally developed states is not able to respond to modern security challenges and threats can not to be ignored. Modern security threats and challenges, which are by their nature transnational and which are largely a product of the globalization, make the countries more vulnerable, which is why the need for their mutual security cooperation is imposed. Through this cooperation from the national state, as well as from the Republic of Serbia, security adjustments are required, which most often affects the economy and internal policies of the state. It is indisputable that states, as well as Serbia, are trying to contribute to the preservation of stable security on the all levels, and this can be achieved only in conditions of preservation of world peace. This is not possible without the willing joint elimination of inherited and newly emerging challenges, risks and threats through participation in security integration with other countries.

Key words: security, challenges, politics, Republic of Serbia.

INTRODUCTION

No matter how strange it may sound at this moment, but there is no doubt that when it comes to system of values, the West is slipping into a crisis. From our point of view, the biggest contribution to this can be found in a quick pluralization and secularization. This is, above all, because the Jewish and Christian roots, which actually made the West so great, are now ignored and overcast by militant and secularist circles (reasons). Also, the decline of the West, as the non western neighbors and non western civilization mostly perceive, is happening because everything in the West is focused on materialistic and capital race, unlike their understanding of the world and the value of that world.

Still, it does not look all so utopian when it comes to the values of the West objectively. The ups and downs of the West in certain segments can only be one of the features and at a certain time and it now seems impossible to accurately conclude that Western states (civilizations) go in a positive or negative development direction. Today, however, positive contributions on the global level are clearly noticed, which is achieved by efforts and actions, including from that same West. It is a completely different issue when it comes to the methodology and methods of implementing and establishing this security at the global level or in a region or state. Therefore, it is necessary to critically observe and analyze the security policy of the security makers at the global level and draw the benefit for national security.

In this sense, the Republic of Serbia should also develop its national security, since in modern conditions it is quite clear that national security can not be developed and provide stable security for the state without cooperation with other countries, and also with the West. There are also security risks and threats to national security that can not be eliminated without security cooperation and state coordination at all levels. However, cooperation in the sphere of security requires the implementation of certain activities, measures and adjustments which, uncommonly, can become a kind of imposing or subordination to the security interests of developed countries, which may have different repercussions for national security, or a kind of security colonization.

SERBIA AND GLOBAL SECURITY

The complexity of security cooperation is the supreme ability of the political authorities in the state to truly cooperate in the spirit of building a stable state security, without which there is no progress for its citizens, or, ultimately, the freedom of its citizens. Inter-state security cooperation concerns each citizen individually because he is the contracting authority and the ultimate beneficiary of national security, which is why it is necessary, directly or indirectly, to participate in the construction, functioning and realization of it.

As relations between states are established and carried out through state authorities and state institutions, it is necessary to fulfill several prerequisites, such as, for example, that citizens are represented by democratically elected political power, mutual understanding of citizens and authorities, but also many other less important conditions for the development and security of the state.

In interstate relations, the most current topics are politics and security. Security issues from the aspect of interstate and state relations are a spectrum of different interests and efforts to enable a stable development of the national state, region and security on a global level. Although the term security does not have the universal meaning acceptable to all countries, it is possible to determine its importance in terms of the need to maintain and build a stable state security at all levels and in all segments of the country's internal and external functioning.

There is no doubt that security involves conceiving and achieving priorities for defining the content of the achieved level, as well as the future development of each state alone or as a participant in higher level security organizations. In that sense, Barry Buzan's definition of "security aspiration to freedom from threats" [1] seems to be quite correct since freedom (free development) is undoubtedly one of the greatest conditions for the modern development of the state and its citizens.

Today, the Republic of Serbia strives for membership in the European Union for several reasons, through two parallel processes: the implementation of commitments undertaken by the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA), on the one hand, and membership negotiations, which should create the conditions for taking over all political, economic and legal obligations arising from membership in the Union.

By signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement, Serbia committed to gradually harmonize its legislation with the EU *acquis*, as well as law enforcement. This process started in 2004. In order to fulfill this obligation, in October 2008, the National Program for the Integration of the Republic of Serbia into the European Union (NPI) was adopted, where legislative activities were planned till the end of 2012. In February 2013, the first National Program for the Adoption of the EU *Acquis* (NPAA) for the period 2013-2016 was adopted. The ongoing revision of the NPAA is under way, which will be the plan the activities till the end of 2018 and full compliance with EU law and practice. From the aspect of security, it is important that the Program also defines the institutional and financial prerequisites necessary for their implementation. The principles were also confirmed at the Thessaloniki Summit, held in June 2003, and it was made clear that the future of the Western Balkans lies in the European Union. The European perspective of the Western Balkan countries was confirmed in the conclusions of the European Council in December 2005, December 2006 and June 2008 and forms the basis for lasting political and economic stability and development of the region, which is essential for building a stable state security.

From the aspect of the political, legal, strategic and operational framework of the foreign policy, the EU's security policy must take into account the recommendations and conclusions for Serbia's EU membership from which clear political and security problems can be observed. Chapter 31 is outlined in the negotiations, which implies that the EU accession country accepts all legal *acquis* of the EU no later than the date of receipt. Therefore, it is necessary for the Republic of Serbia to apply all the items of this chapter that are related to the issue of security and defense policy. For European Union is more than important what security perceptions each new member brings with him, that is, what Serbia will bring with its eventual EU membership. There will also be a question of refusing Serbia to impose sanctions on Russia, etc. which in the process of eventual membership of Serbia in the EU will be one of the long term problems.

Of particular importance to Serbia is the fact that, in essence, the EU tends to effectively use national states and their defense and defense capabilities, but without the transfer of competencies from member states to the organization itself¹.

ASPECTS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA AND NATO

In this context, the fact that, from the military and security aspect, the Republic of Serbia is neutral in military terms on the basis of the December 2007 Resolution of the Assembly of Serbia, is as well².

However, the current National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia does not recognize neutrality among the basic definitions, goals and principles of national security policy, and it is very noticeable that Serbia has deepened and institutionalized cooperation with NATO by joining the Partnership for Peace Program (2006) in the form of participation in the Program for Integration, the Planning and Review Process, the existence of the Serbia-NATO Reform Group for the defense system, the opening of a military mission in the Republic of Serbia's Mission to NATO (2010) and the establishment of a NATO Military Liaison Office in Belgrade.

With the adoption of the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) (2015) and with the decision of Assembly on the confirmation of the Agreement on cooperation in the field of logistics and regulation of the Status of NATO Forces in the territory of Serbia (2016), Serbia concluded the cooperation with NATO.

¹ The main objectives of EU integration in the field of security are: ensuring lasting peace among EU members; autonomous or in cooperation with other EU member states respond to common security challenges, risks and threats; the rationalization of resources and the transfer of military technology, weapons and military equipment, the enhancement of the political, military and economic power of each EU Member State individually, etc.

² Resolution of Serbia National Assembly on the protection of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the Constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia

Considering the role of this military organization in the secession of Kosovo and Metohia in Serbia, there has been a division among the most important political actors in the country, and some political parties, due to the attitude of the current political authorities towards NATO and Kosovo, are represented as patriotic parties versus others. Given that it is about the parliamentary parties, it is obvious that there is a latent threat to the internal security of Serbia, which is the result of the current relations between NATO and the Republic of Serbia. No less important is the fact that due to the inconsistent security policy of the Republic of Serbia, which is very widely defined as military neutrality, according to the interpreters, the decisions do not exclude co-operation with a broad spectrum of mutually opposed security actors on the international political and security scene, which allows the desires and hopes of the political parties of the right-wing ideological orientation today to be unfounded. Thus, political parties, who call themselves patriotic, an alternative to the current security policy and military neutrality, are seen in a political program aimed at foreign political partnership and military-security cooperation with the Russian Federation. Therefore, there is obvious polarization of attitudes regarding the foreign and general security policy of Serbia's parliamentary political parties precisely because of the current attitude towards the NATO alliance.

From the aspect of the political-security relationship on the international scene, and also on Serbia, it can be said that "the domination of the United States (through the UN Security Council) and the NATO Pact has diminished the possibility of independent and sovereign decision-making by national states. The national state power of decision-making on the complex issues of external affairs in internal policies is limited. And NATO's transnational command structure (whose supreme commander in Europe is always an American general appointed by the president of the United States) shows that in the war situation he always acts within the framework of the alliance's own strategy. This fact shows that the sovereignty of NATO's national member states is in a certain way limited by the influence of national military bureaucracies that actually constituted a powerful supra-national military block. All this in essence shows that the supranational Orwellian military and political power is projected in the form of the so-called "new world order" - totalitarian, or neototalitarian" [2].

ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA AND RUSSIA

It is precisely because of this, it could be said, inconsistent and controversial foreign security policies of the Republic of Serbia, a space was created where co-existence of the military-security cooperation between the Republic of Serbia and NATO and with Russia can be achieved, while the other political parties are determined depending on their own programs and policies. By signing the IPAP agreement with NATO, the intensification of military-technical cooperation with Russia has not been delayed, which was achieved by signing the Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of Serbia and Russian Federation in 2013, and then a 15-year cooperation agreement in the field of defense.

In this context, an example is cooperation between Serbia and Russia in the area of protection and rescue and the opening of the Serbian-Russian Humanitarian Center in Nis (2012), based on the adoption of a legal solution only for this purpose. This center is still subject to controversy both for domestic and foreign public, as well as a potential stumbling block in bilateral relations, both with Russia and with some EU members whose support for Serbia's membership in the EU is of great importance³. However, this center is also the subject of dispute with Russia, as it was reportedly sent to the Serbian state summit to give diplomatic status to the personnel of that center, thus equalizing them with NATO personnel in Serbia. To date, this request has not been approved by the authorities in Serbia⁴. Therefore, in the case of Serbia-Russia relations, the controversy regarding many bilateral issues as well as on the establishment of integrated protection, which is also one of the measures within the security system, is more than observed and extended. Today, regarding the status of the

Russian center in Niš, there are opposing opinions among parliamentary parties in Serbia, which can also have an impact on the security system of the Republic of Serbia⁵.

The fact is that Russia is a major historical state in the Balkans and that it is an inevitable factor of its security. Serbia always relied on Russia's help, and our existence became mutual reliance and reckoning on Russia. Russia is still the guardian of the status of Serbia and Kosovo and Metohia in the UN Security Council, a proven representative of those interests that Belgrade articulates in the highest body of the world organization. Today, "Serbia must admit that it is on the waterfront between Russia and the Western

³ This was best observed in statements by EU officials during the signing of the Agreement on Serbian Accession to the Civil Protection Mechanism with the EU, which openly questioned the compatibility of Serbia's participation in this Mechanism, along with the existence of the Center in Niš

⁴ In that context, the Ministry of Defense has announced that the Serbian Armed Forces is cooperating with "more than 60 countries of the world" with which it has signed bilateral military cooperation agreements, which do not have a political connotation. and especially separates bilateral military cooperation with the USA separates and, according to the statements of the former Minister of Defense, is most significant in relation to other partnerships. Gašić: Military co-operation with the United States is dominant in relation to other countries, <http://www.blic.rs/vesti/politika/gasic-vojna-saradnjasa-sad-dominantna-u-odnosu-na-drugezemlje/668cvd2>

⁵ More about this agreement in the Law on Confirmation of the Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Serbia on Cooperation in the field of humanitarian response in emergencies, prevention of natural disasters and technological disasters and removal of their consequences.

world. Someone might also see it in an impossible mission of the bridge between Moscow and Brussels. Serbia is far from Yugoslavia and does not have power for that. The special relations of Serbia and Russia are constantly in the process between Serbia and the West, between Russia and the West.

Hence, it is clear what Serbia is waiting on the way to the EU and in the EU, all the way to KiM and Russia" [3]. "Since the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, as major geopolitical realities, a significant historical time has passed, almost a quarter of a century, in which the world has changed, and the question of where Serbia's relations with Russia are going, still remain open? If the SFRY knew what it wanted, and even better what it did not want with Moscow, and if these goals were successfully achieved - from those big political ones through the more important such as economic, cultural, and those on the military and military-industrial plan, that question, after the disappearance of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the USSR, sufficiently harshly sets it, and discusses it without final conclusion, in Serbia before the European road, and in this Serbia, the official candidate for membership in the European Union. It should be added that the golden Yugoslav-Soviet period was also golden for Serbian relations with the USSR, that is, with the RSFSR, with which special contractual cooperation was developed (as well as between other republics) [4].

THE SERBIA'S SECURITY IN NEW SECURITY SETTINGS

It is believed that the syntagm "new world order" came as a result of the talks between former US President George W. Bush and General Skoukroft on the fast boat "Fidelity" during fishing and before the operation known as the "Desert Storm". Thus, this syntagm will represent the so-called "working title" of American globalist, neocolonial politics. Under the imprecise and, above all, the journalistic term "new world order", the (geo)policy of establishing the dominant power of the members of the UN Security Council and, above all, the United States, as well as the group of highly developed Western countries over other countries in the world, should be assumed. This supremacy includes not only the economic, but also political, military, media and cultural superiority of these countries, which is achieved through various international organizations whose activities are strictly controlled.

And in the conditions of globalization and the existence of the bipolar world, the Republic of Serbia led a neutral military policy that was reflected, among other things, in making various decisions, but also in avoiding giving clear answers and offering a consistent idea of Serbia's security policy.

Thus, the security policy was determined by the elite in power as required, resulting from deepened and institutionalized cooperation with NATO to the military cooperation with Russia. There is still no consensus on what Serbia's security policy is and what is the content of military neutrality. This is not defined in the 2009 National Security Strategy neither. The current process of drafting a new Strategy, which the public knows little about, should result in a document from which we will clearly find out what are the values that Serbia protects, by which means and who are its partners.

This is necessary to be transparent for all domestic national security creators, but also a clear message to other countries. In that sense, it is necessary that Serbia implement a security transition that "represents a package of measures, which must be implemented parallel in two mutually interdependent areas: a) theoretical-doctrinal, which will result in a new security philosophy, and b) institutional-organizational, from which a new security architecture will be created. What is important for the implementation of this concept is to urgently determine the order of priorities, and their stage timing, with the strict personal duties of new security personnel" [5]. Therefore, it is necessary that Serbia clearly defines in which the security discourse it belongs to - a traditional or to the approach of an extended list of challenges, risks, and threats. It is clearly noted that the National Security Strategy does not recognize neutrality among the basic definitions, goals and principles of national security policy.

The existing military neutrality of Serbia apparently did not receive materialization in the form of consequent reforms of the security sector and enabled it to be an empty label in which political actors have since 2007 introduced content for their own needs. Therefore, it was possible for Serbia to deepen and institutionalize its cooperation with NATO through joining the Partnership for Peace program in 2006 in the form of participation in the Integration Program, Planning and Review Process, the existence of the Serbia-NATO Reform Group for the Defense System, opening the military representation in the Mission of the Republic of Serbia to the NATO in 2010 and the establishment of the NATO Military Liaison Office in Belgrade. Serbia, concluding with the adoption of the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) in 2015 and the Assembly Decision of the confirmation of the Agreement on cooperation in the field of logistics and regulation of the Status NATO forces on the territory of Serbia in 2016 rounded up the current cooperation with NATO⁶.

And in the conditions of the existence of a polarized world, the sovereignty of the state and, therefore, of national security, is being increasingly neglected. States which recognized the UN and supranational security did not give up the right to conduct the war and the right to form military alliances. On the other hand, there is still the use of a policy of force that has not changed much as it has been through the history as a process. Regardless of the form of expression, the "right to conduct the war" is widely used by NATO, and it can be used by the The Collective Security Treaty Organization as a military alliance, and other organizations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, even though it is not formally a military alliance.

The fact is that one of the main features of the globalized world is the knowledge that there has been an increase in the degree of interdependence between states and nations in the fields of economic and trade relations, technology, culture, information science,

⁶ About the mechanisms of cooperation within the Partnership for Peace that Serbia uses see more on: http://www.mod.gov.rs/sadrzaj.php?id_sadrzaja=4358 (seen 23.04.2016.).

communications ... of international security and politics. "As a significant consequence of these processes, there is a great deal of crisis in the readiness of the state to continue to deal with this kind of problem. Institutionally crippled, functionally blocked, politically delegitimized, identity transcended, legally deregulated, militarily decimated, economically impoverished, the state is increasingly inclined to admit its full capitulation" [6]. This should be added to the fact that stability in our region was, above all, the issue of the political will of great powers and their geopolitical interests, which this region never expelled from its focus of interest, and less depends on the policies of the states of this region.

In essence, "the wealth of the state is the basic factor of national security, because the state provides to its citizens an optimal standard of living, and on the other hand, greater development and wealth allows investment in those instruments of national security that realize or prevent the threat to security ... also, national security is extremely important for the development of the economy, and on the other hand economic stability is a prerequisite for the security of the state as it is the basis for economic growth and development and allows the state to project its national values" [7].

Until recently, the Republic of Serbia represented one of the poorest countries in Europe and this situation certainly had consequences for its national security. Serbia is still economically dependent on foreign economies and imports, which makes it subject to pressures and the influences of international political factors, which from the aspect of achieving stable security has a significant impact. Serbia needs economic cooperation with countries that are members of NATO and with the member states of the Collective Security Treaty Organization, which is why it has to adapt the development of national security. This means that in the forthcoming period, Serbia must lead a nationally responsible policy based on realistic assessments of the needs and interests of the country's security from all threats, and most of its own sovereignty.

In this context of building a stable security of Serbia, events are taking place in terms of the order of international power - the creation of a multipolar world that reduces the influence of the United States, and Russia and the European Union come to expression. This enables Serbia to harmonize its overall economic development and development of security capacity in line with new opportunities in the international political and military-security scene, which as a result should have an improvement, ie, stable economic and security development. This would mean that in the future Serbia could build its own modern security system and rationally increase its capacity, which means that there should be less impact on building national security against security actors at the global level.

In this way, we could really talk about Serbia's military neutrality because it would have more maneuvering space for solving external and internal security issues without imposing a "side-by-side" solution⁷.

When it comes to neutrality, in literature we face several modalities of the neutral state status: permanent neutrality, neutralism and non-alignment [8]. "The essence of neutral status is the intention of a state to avoid instant or potential conflicts. To this end, the state defines a set of laws, rules and norms for the conduct of foreign policy in the future, which should contribute to the legitimization and recognition of such status by the international community" [9].

Today, there is no clear foreign policy strategy of the Republic of Serbia, and the consequent contradictory catch-all foreign policy of Serbia is caused by the unclear and unpredictable security policy of Serbia. The main ambiguities are whether Serbia, in understanding its elite and decision-makers, belongs and to which security community and which are the key threats to security in Serbia. In that sense "when it comes to relations with the most important world powers and organizations, it is evident that in order to continue the struggle for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the country, Serbia recognizes Russia as significant political backing.

In declarative terms, none of the other superpowers have nothing against the military neutrality of Serbia. Undoubtedly, the geopolitical position, and thus the political and security situation in Serbia's nearer and wider environment, decisively determined the decision to declare its military neutrality. This decision is, according to one adequate response to the unlawful attack on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, while for others it represents a significant obstacle and slowing down on a well-regulated European path"[10].

It is clear that in this way the proclaimed and vaguely conceptualized military neutrality was introduced, first of all, due to the state policy towards Kosovo, which dominates all other political decisions of the state of Serbia and limits them [11].

Therefore, the competence of the new security strategy and the new security concept will be measured by the quality of achieving an essential precondition - the transition of security and the power of protection of vital national interests, which is contrary to the efforts of the planners and implementers of the reduction of the sovereignty of the state. It is necessary to take into account that the "destabilization of security at any level" creates a situation in international relations in which global peace is increasingly questioning, new globalist challenges arise, which threaten to lead to global conflicts" [12].

Also, within the framework of new international political-security relations, military alliances have a special significance, which act in such a way as to diminish the authority and integrity of the national security of the states, and thus of the republics of Serbia, in questioning its security and sovereignty over part of its territory. "US domination (through the UN Security Council) and the NATO Pact has diminished the possibility of independent and sovereign decision-making by national states. The national state power of decision-making on the complex issues of external affairs in internal policies is limited. And NATO's transnational command structure (whose supreme commander in Europe is always an American general appointed by the president of the United

⁷ Before the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo (February 2008), the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia adopted on 26th December 2007 a Resolution known as the Declaration of Military Neutrality.

States) shows that in the war situation he always acts within the framework of the alliance's own strategy. This fact shows that the sovereignty of NATO's national member states in a certain way limited by the influence of national military bureaucracies that actually constituted a powerful supra-national military block. All this in essence shows that the supranational Orlovian military and political power is projected in the form of the so-called "new world order" – totalitarian and neototalitarian" [13].

CONCLUSION

In the Resolution of the National Assembly of 26th December 2007 on the protection of sovereignty, territorial integrity and constitutional order, the Republic of Serbia introduced a passage on the military neutrality of Serbia. This decision of Serbia was not preceded by public and expert debate, in accordance with democratic practice, and such an important decision was made in one sentence, in a document which in principle relates to something else.

Neutrality is not mentioned in other laws, so the entire foreign policy and security orientation of the state is defined only with one extended sentence. From the aspect of security and relations with the most important world powers, it is evident that Serbia, in order to continue the struggle to preserve the territorial integrity of the country, recognizes a significant political backing in Russian Federation. Declaratively, neither other superpowers have nothing against the military neutrality of Serbia.

Serbia's military neutrality is a response to an unlawful attack on its territorial integrity, while for others it represents a significant obstacle on the way to EU membership. Therefore, Serbia, at least declaratively, found itself in a group of European neutral countries, although its neutrality has diametrically different characteristics from other neutral states. It can be concluded that while the Resolution of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia has been adopted, it is the same and binding, and Serbia is a military neutral state, and accordingly it needs to develop and organize its national security. To that end, it is necessary that Serbia clearly defines what security discourse belongs to - traditional or those with an expanded list of challenges, risks, and threats.

It is clearly noted that the National Security Strategy does not recognize neutrality among the basic definitions, goals and principles of national security policy. The current process of drafting a new Strategy, which the public knows little about, should result in a document from which we will clearly find out what are the values that Serbia protects, by which means and who are its partners. There is still no consensus on what Serbia's security policy is and what is the content of military neutrality.

Also, Serbia is economically dependent on foreign economies, as it becomes vulnerable to pressures and blackouts of major international political and security factors, which reflects on all levels of security in the country.

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