



# SUMMARIES\*

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\* Prijevod i lektura: Vesna Hajnić



Dario MATIKA  
Armano SRBLJINOVIĆ

## NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA IN THE EURO-ATLANTIC CONTEXT

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The entry of Croatia into NATO and the European Union will significantly transform the context of development, security and defence of the country. The act has symbolically denoted the completion of the process of transition, i.e. the end of the transitional period, during which Croatia has been transformed into a country of market economy and multiparty democracy. The challenges and processes facing Croatian national security and defence in the Euro-Atlantic context are great, but also encouraging, because they provide for a long-term stability and peace that are necessary for security, prosperity, and the rise in standard of living. Changes will also affect the immediate security environment. What set of scenarios should Croatia take into account when considering its national security and what approaches may contribute most to the fulfilment of citizens' needs? What new (and old) national interests best express the will and needs of citizens with regard to their safety, security, protection and democratic functioning of the state, and at the same time determine Croatia's position within the international community? What about new challenges, such as energy security, and about corresponding new capabilities that are required for the national security system, as well as for the Croatian Armed Forces? The aim of this paper is to reflect on some of these issues without aspiring to find complete answers and solutions, and to underline that Croatia will retain its full right of decision-making in the fields of security and defence, and regarding its policy in general, but now as part of a community of nations constituting the united Europe.

Sandro KNEZOVIC  
Iva KORNFEIN

## EU AS A FUTURE GLOBAL SECURITY FACTOR AND THE RELEVANCE OF SEE REGION STABILITY

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The idea of European integration derives from a need to enhance economic cooperation in post-war Europe and to ensure its sustainable development. However, owing to the changing dynamics of international relations, the process of European integration has shifted somewhat to political integration as well and, especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall, EU started developing its institutional and operational capacity in that sense, investing recognisable efforts into formulation of common foreign and security policy. EU foreign policy towards the region of South-east Europe (SEE) has changed significantly since the first attempts to deal with the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia. From non-coherent attempts to stabilize the region, regional approach to Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) EU has learned from its mistakes in dealing with the region. However, European Union foreign policy and its instruments have not yet proved that there is a comprehensive solution for all security and stability issues in the region. This particularly relates to Bosnia and Herzegovina and the issue of Kosovo. The paper analyses shortcomings of EU foreign policy towards the region from the security aspect and gives recommendations for improvement of policy instruments in dealing with relevant issues. EU's capability to deal with the problems of SEE region, gravely influences EU's role as a global security factor since the region is surrounded by the members of the enlarged EU.

Marinko LOZANČIĆ

## SECURITY CHALLENGES FACING THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA IN THE EURO-ATLANTIC GEOSTRATEGIC CONTEXT

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After the destruction of bipolar world, through power projection, NATO has spread geostrategic Euro-Atlantic influence deeply into the European East. At the same time, in the process of redistribution of global power, as an integral part of spatio-functional processes and relationships, a new generation of warfare begins, which requires prompt preventive response, but also development of new capabilities based on the networked integration of total national/allied powers. Since the conventional large-scale aggression against the Alliance is unlikely, the security

challenges require the use of military factors as constituent part of a networked integration of total national/allied capabilities against the asymmetrical action. Actors of non-traditional way of warfare try to avoid military advantages and tactical battlefield, they act on undefended key points, mostly in urban areas, and thus indirectly affect the sources of power, gravitational centres – the agents and creators of political decisions. Security challenges, in the context of Euro-Atlantic integration processes, require from the Republic of Croatia as a member of NATO and on its way of entering the EU, the development of overall national power, or the development of military capabilities interoperable to allied forces for the conduct of multinational operations in the modern global war as a process, characterized by the dynamism of a large number of new battlefields, and a large spectrum of various military operations with different operational goals. In that context, modernization and equipment are important components of military capabilities, but as an integral part of interactive relationships of numerous factors, which by their individual abilities and in terms of modern network warfare against the “invisible” enemy, do not represent an appropriate response to asymmetrical threats and dangers. Thus, although important, numeric size of the future force becomes less a measure of personal capabilities. In line with the transformation of goals much more important are force structure, new military technologies, the level of knowledge and skills of future officers, and new ways of thinking adapted to a completely new way of warfare.

Stjepan DOMJANČIĆ

## STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENTAL VISION OF THE DEFENCE SYSTEM: CONCEPTUALISATION IN CROATIAN CONDITIONS

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Croatia today, actually, does not have roof strategic documents in the area of defence and national security. There are at least two reasons: first, all documents created after the National Security Strategy and the Defence Strategy, which had to operationalize them, were not consistently derived from strategic solutions defined by these strategies and have not supported the goals or followed principles contained in them. Second, secondary documents created after these two strategies, derogated their statements and took over the role of a surrogate strategic document. The Croatian Armed Forces Long-term Development Plan 2006–2015 became more than a plan; it was also a key criterion in the defence system perform-

ance evaluation against threats and risks. The area of defence and national security reflects the neglect of central government institutions. Croatian political establishment does not consider this area as part of its agenda. Solutions brought are not result of careful analyses, expertise, political discussions and the search for the optimal response modalities, but a manifestation of “instant inspiration” and political calculations. Croatian defence system in the post-war period, failed to build a clear, socially acceptable, internally and externally recognisable identity and cohesive models. We have witnessed the double reduction of defence. On the one hand, the area of defence has been reduced to the Ministry of Defence. The defence is not understood as a function of the state, but only as a matter of the Ministry of Defence. On the other hand, the defence has been reduced to the armed forces, that is, to the military component.

Josip ESTERAJHER

## GLOBAL THREATS AND CHANGES IN POWER RELATIONS

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Global economic crisis is directly affecting the changes in power relations that have already begun; in other words – the transition from unilateral into multipolar world (with the increasing role of regional organizations) calls for new patterns in security systems’ behaviour. Security systems of European states are faced with old threats (such as conflicts in the Middle East, terrorism, organized crime, etc.), but also with the emerging new threats (climate changes, piracy, threats to energy security, cyber security, etc.). Furthermore, there are an increasing number of interrelated actors who can jeopardize the stability of societies, countries and associations. Current security threats, which are not only external, but directly affecting the stability of European societies, have been recognized in European security documents, which direct the proceedings of security systems towards the above-mentioned challenges. The number of challenges and probably decreased capability of transatlantic allies to fulfil their military and humanitarian obligations calls for an increased necessity to harmonize the answers to global security threats. The Republic of Croatia, as full NATO member state, has taken a significant step in increasing the level of protection and security for its citizens and the society in whole, but has at the same time taken over a part of responsibility in achieving the goals of the Alliance.

TERRORISM AS AN (IN)EFFECTIVE STRATEGY:  
THE EXPERIENCE OF CROATIA AS A MEMBER  
OF THE UN ANTI-TERRORIST COALITION AND  
SC COUNTER-TERRORISM COMMITTEE

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The adoption of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1368 and 1373 was the introduction of Croatia's accession to the Anti-terrorist Coalition. At the beginning of 2008 Croatia accepted chairmanship over the UN SC Counter-Terrorism Committee that put Croatia into a position of some kind of a leader of international community in the fight against terrorism and imposed a significant role in defining and executing efficient counter-terrorist strategies. What can Croatia learn from the world experience? Terrorism, as an indication of political and social crisis, of dissatisfaction with the political, social, economic, religious and other trends, is one of the most dangerous political and security phenomenon of the modern era. Statistical reviews clearly prove this, providing information about the execution of 80,000 terrorist acts and the existence of 650 terrorist organizations in the age of modern terrorism (since 1968). A more convincing evidence was a brutal terrorist attack on the United States that is not only the most brutal single terrorist act in history, but also the act which has definitely changed the modern world. At the same time, contemporary world, both at national levels and at the level of international community, has not yet found an effective response against terrorism. Why? Terrorism is a phenomenon that raises a number of different dilemmas and controversy. One of distinct political, professional and academic dilemmas is the degree of terrorism efficiency as a political strategy. Effective opposition to terrorism and its elimination are conditioned, above all, by the profound knowledge of the phenomena of terrorism. Contrary to previously dominant policy researches which pointed to the ineffectiveness of terrorism, contemporary academic research provide different picture in terms of effectiveness of terrorism as a political strategy. According to these researches, in 53% of cases, in smaller or greater percentages, terrorism proved as an efficient means of achieving political goals.

Marijan BARIĆ

## CHANGES IN THE EU COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AFTER THE 9/11 TERRORIST ATTACKS: UK, GERMANY AND FRANCE

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The events of September 11 terrorist attacks have triggered both institutional and policy changes in the EU Security and Defence Policy and also on the national level of the UK, Germany and France. These two processes seemed to be set on a two different tracks: national vs. the EU and hard to coordinate. The fight against terrorism being of such a complex nature involves vast variety of tools, measures and institutions and implies greater coordination on the supranational (EU) as well as on the national level. However, within the European Security and Defence Policy this coordination seems to be more on a declarative and voluntary basis. The problem is that national policies and measures of the UK, Germany and France differ from the proclaimed common goals on the EU level but between those countries as well, thus making the common EU anti-terrorism policy questionable and hard to implement. This paper will show the differences in the counter-terrorism measures on the EU level and on the national level of the UK, Germany and France.

Marko VUČAK

Anto ZELIĆ

## MODERN APPROACHES TO THE EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

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The paper examines modern approaches in the area of emergency management. Under current security circumstances, the developed parts of the world have shifted their focus from state preparedness in the event of war to preparedness for different kinds of emergencies that may afflict society. Two basic approaches have been developed – a comprehensive and an integrated approach. All possible threats are being considered and a coordinated response to those threats is demanded from all institutions involved, based on previously conducted preparedness activities. These approaches are founded on a risk management process which includes a permanent systematic analysis of possible threats, risk assessment and determination of necessary preventive measures in order to reduce the risk, to mitigate possible negative consequences and/or increase the level of society's resilience to those threats. It is obvious that modern crisis management approaches are based on prevention, and the state response to hazards that have



occurred is only a result of previously conducted preventive and preparedness actions. Among others, prevention and preparedness activities include: critical infrastructure protection, business continuity plans, development of capabilities catalogues and establishment of emergency operations centres.

Tomo RADIČEVIĆ

## CROATIA'S ENGAGEMENT IN NATO – STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT SECURITY ASPECTS

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NATO solutions and practices generated two types of strategically important influences on Croatia's security: on the condition and perspectives of its security, and on development of its defence capabilities. Collective defence, regardless of the long-term perspective to remain Alliance's core purpose, is not a uniquely identified and indisputable area of activity. Nevertheless, Croatia, due to its geo-political position, may fully rely upon its functionality in the event of a small-scale attack on its territory, but this cannot be absolutely guaranteed in the event of a large general military threat. In many situations, Croatian participation in a broader collective security missions in which NATO encounters a series of disagreements and difficulties, may increase Croatia's influence in resolving regional and global security issues, as well as guarantee successful and safe execution of difficult operations. At the same time, this type of engagement puts Croatia in a position where it faces additional security risks that call for proactive participation in the shaping of the Alliance's security policy. Considering the Alliance's decision-making system and distribution of power, the Croatian influence in the broad spectrum of activities will depend on its own approach, policy-making capability and engagement. With respect to its defence budget per active duty personnel, Croatia will encounter serious issues in the implementation of the NATO Force Goals, i.e. in achieving interoperability with countries which budget resources are significantly higher.

## A VIEW TO THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA THROUGH NATO ON-LINE DOCUMENTS FROM 1991 TO 2008

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The aim of this paper is to present a general picture of the Republic of Croatia in NATO documents, or more precisely, in the on-line documents published on the NATO-related web pages ([www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)). The official documents of NATO or of its bodies were analysed, along with those of NATO member states or associated countries (e.g. statements, press releases, speeches), and press conferences and interviews that mention the word "Croatia" or "Croatian". The analysed period starts in 1991, the year when Croatia declared independence, and ends in 2008 when Croatia received an invitation to join the Alliance. The number of documents has fluctuated over time, which points to a certain chronology of relations between Croatia and the Alliance. Taking into account great historical and structural changes in NATO and Croatia, the chronology of their relationship can be divided into two periods: before and after 2000. Content of the documents was also changed over time, reflecting the dynamics and development of their relationship which is also demonstrated through actual achievements (e.g. MAP). However, special attention should be devoted to the way in which NATO explains the Croatia's main political events, what events it has paid attention to, or has not mentioned at all. It is important to bear in mind that the documents of NATO are primarily of a political nature and that they are intended to send political messages in order to manage reality.

## CROATIAN MILITARY DIPLOMACY IN THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

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Armed forces of the Republic of Croatia are among a few military organisations in the world that over a short period of only 18 years had passed its full development cycle from a literally forced formation in conditions of bloody aggression, through construction of a respectable factor of national security with the support of traditional recruitment and training, to a small, professional army tailored to the needs of collective security provided by NATO membership. Such accelerated transition of armed forces was followed by the corresponding transformations of the Croatian military diplomacy, which represents an increasingly important segment of the entire international

communication of the Republic of Croatia. The system of collective defence demands adjustment of national defence systems over a whole range of parameters, in order to be compatible with national defence systems of other allied countries involved in a mutual system of defence, and similar is expected also from military diplomacy as one of the key elements of the defence system. In this case, military diplomacy not only represents national forces but should be able to create preconditions for the work of joint multinational headquarters, units and institutions and of joint team work. In the forthcoming period, the Croatian military diplomacy will have to follow reform processes that are currently underway, to a greater or lesser extent, in almost all NATO member countries, which again opens the questions of the method of managing this system, the need of methodology amendments and the content of training the military-diplomatic representatives, as well as of the optimal areas of their accreditation, sub accreditation and residence. One of the greatest challenges in this process is the adjustment of military-diplomatic structures to the demands of modern military-diplomatic practice, but being aware of budget limits that can be very restrictive.

Dražen ŽIMĆ

## DEMOGRAPHIC RESOURCES AS A FACTOR OF NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

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On the basis of relevant statistical-demographic documentation, the fundamental dynamic and structural indicators of current and predictable/expected demographic trends in Croatia were analysed and presented. Total and natural depopulation, demographic ageing and population spatial polarization are basic contemporary and markedly negative demographic processes and trends in Croatia, which – along with other factors – have prevalingly destabilizing and limiting impact on the security and defence of the Republic of Croatia. Interconnectedness and interdependence of population and security are valued not only from the viewpoint of development of immediate human resources of defence forces but also from the viewpoint of preserving the social and economic stability and of balanced spatial-regional development as the essential prerequisites of building general political, economic and national security and defence capabilities of our country. Therefore, necessary demographic revitalisation should also be encouraged in order to eliminate one of the potentially more significant security threats to the Republic of Croatia.

Nenad POKOS

Roko MIŠETIĆ

## **BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS OF THE CROATIAN BORDER BELT**

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In the paper, the Croatian border belt is considered the area of all municipalities and cities in the mainland that bordered one of the neighbouring countries in 2001. At the time of the last census the border belt included 23% of the total number of cities and municipalities. Position at the border can negatively affect many functions and activities of a settlement and become a hindrance to demographic development. On the other hand, a village or a city can take advantage of its borderline position over other cities laid more centrally within the national territory, which may in turn result in and encourage the demographic development. Therefore, the paper deals with the changes in the number of the borderline area population across all intercensus periods between 1900 and 2001. In addition to changes in the population number, the paper analysed changes in age structure of the borderline population between 1981 and 2001. Due to different genesis and different times when the borders of Croatia were drawn, the analysed changes are illustrated at the level of six smaller units. These units were border belts towards Slovenia, Hungary and Serbia, while the border belt towards Bosnia and Herzegovina (as the longest) was divided into three smaller areas: the northern or Slavonian, central or Banovina-Kordun-Lika area and southern or Dalmatian area.

Boris MLAČIĆ

Roko MIŠETIĆ

## **CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE CROATIAN PRESS RELATED TO THE CROATIAN ARMY 1991–2006: DESCRIPTIVE AND EVALUATIVE ASPECTS**

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The paper describes an extensive study on the representation of the Croatian Army by means of a content analysis of the Croatian press over a sixteen-year period. Content analysis included a systematic sample of 10% of the Croatian daily and weekly newspapers in the period 1991–1996 and their contributions depicting crucial and socially the most relevant events related to the Croatian Army. On the sample of 14,589 selected contributions, the trained evaluators applied the analytical matrix which,

along with other information included those on the dominant topics and actors of the contributions, but also on the writers' attitude towards them. This paper covers two aspects of the content analysis: descriptive and evaluative. Descriptive aspect of the analysis refers to the representation of the Croatian Army in the Croatian press, to the contributions' dominant topics, content categories and actors related to the Croatian Army. Evaluative aspect of the analysis refers to the writers' attitudes towards the dominant topics, areas and actors in the contributions related to the Croatian Army. Both aspects were also analysed with respect to two time periods: the period of war (1991–1996) and post-war period (1997–2006), as well as by individual years of analysis. Finally, the similarities and specifics of the daily compared to the weekly press, and characteristics of individual newspapers were discussed.

Darko MARINAC  
ARMED FORCES AND MEDIA

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Ever since the time of Napoleon and the development of printing technology to the CNN broadcast effect, media have been significantly present in wars. Today, relationship between media and security-defence sector is characterized by globalisation of media and threat fragmentation. After the Cold War, army-related writings were prevalingly sceptical but it was treated as any other institution depending on the value of news information. Media were greatly covering Desert Storm operation, and reporting from Iraqi Freedom operation has introduced the term “embedded” journalism. In Croatia, during the Homeland War media had regularly reported and Croatian public followed reports from the battlefields. After the war the interest has declined and critical relationship increased but also sensationalism and circulation exploitation of the Croatian Armed Forces. Military and media have a potential of disrupting national interest. Communication capabilities of defence sectors are concentrated in main headquarters and defence ministries. Cooperation with media as a part of public relations of defence sector it is necessary to know media and to plan communication with them. In defence system knowledge on public policies, communication and media training are necessary. Until 2007, Croatian public was poorly informed on NATO and Croatian participation in peacekeeping missions which reflected in weak support to full membership into the Alliance. By entering NATO, Republic of Croatia is adopting public standards of NATO Alliance.

Ivana FERIĆ  
Tomislav SMERIĆ

## **PRIDE IN ARMED FORCES AS A CONFIGURATIVE ELEMENT OF NATIONAL PRIDE**

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National pride is a core societal value which unites the citizens of a country and characterizes a society as a whole. The structure of national pride, based on the valuation of specific national achievements, reflects the public perception of a social situation, and is highly determined by the public awareness of particular aspects of social life and the importance attributed to specific areas of social action. The analysis of data collected through large-scale public opinion surveys, conducted in 1998, 2002 and 2008, on representative probabilistic samples of adult population of Croatia, reveals that a majority of Croatian citizens express strong and positive national sentiments; pride in armed forces being one of the major constitutive elements of Croatian national pride together with achievements in sports, national history and the achievements in arts and sciences. Results indicate the degree of expressed pride in armed forces to be lower in members of the younger generation, the better educated, and the higher SES urban residents. Importance of “pride in armed forces” as a component of Croatian national pride was additionally illustrated by comparing the results obtained in 34 world countries, showing that citizens of Croatia rank high above the average for their pride in armed forces.

Petra RODIK  
Renata FRANČIĆ  
Ines SUČIĆ

## **THE WARRIOR AND THE PEACEKEEPER ROLES AS THE ASPECTS OF CAF OFFICERS' IDENTITY**

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Pursuing the common organizational goals, members of armed forces share some common values, such as patriotism and honour, while at the same time their attitudes in some regards vary. When it comes to CAF, intensified participation in international missions has introduced new dynamics into the sphere of organizational goals and roles. The peacekeeper role thus becomes more prominent. This role draws its legitimacy from supranational normative and institutional order, while the traditional warrior role is legitimized by the national defense goals. This study aims to find out if the CAF officers uphold specific value orientations (patriotism, warriorism, support for peacekeep-

ing, support for global institutions), to determine whether some sociodemographic or professional attributes may serve as good predictors for differences in their attitudes, and to see whether warriorism and support for peacekeeping are mutually compatible or mutually exclusive value orientations. The analysis is based on a survey (N=596 officers) conducted within the project Croatian Military – Croatian Society. The results indicate that CAF officers show relatively highest support for patriotism, relatively low support for the global institutions, and generally, do not see the role of the warrior and that of the peacekeeper as mutually exclusive. The most consistent predictors for attitudinal differences regarding the four value orientations are gender, military rank and previous participation in international mission(s).

Željko HEIMER

TYPISATION OF UNIT  
WAR FLAGS AS A BASIS FOR STUDYING  
IDENTITY OF THE CROATIAN ARMED FORCES

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For the purpose of research of the Croatian Armed Forces identity based on symbols indicated on unit flags, a preliminary research was conducted in order to collect data on the existence of flags, their appearance and other essential elements, and to create a kind of the flag catalogue that would serve as a basis for the analysis of their content and identity indications. The data on almost 300 unit flags from the period 1991–2006 have been collected by now. They are kept in three major collections – in the Military Museum (40), in the General Staff collection (80) and in the collection of symbolic war flags made in 2006 (150). There is also a smaller number of individual flag examples collected from other sources, and for some of them the data were only collected based on photographs documenting their use. Preliminary analysis of the collected data showed that 6 types of flags could be distinguished according to their fundamental design. The groups are well differentiated by their chronology, and despite some overlapping, they clearly show on the one hand a tendency towards the development of unit individual identity and on the other a tendency of building common identity of Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia as a unique organization.

## PPBS AS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES

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Two basic goals of the NATO programme *Partnership for Peace* in implementing defence reform of the member states, referred to the establishment of democratic control over armed forces and introduction of transparency in defence planning and budgeting. At the same time, NATO recommended introduction of *Planning, Programming and Budgeting System (PPBS)* or development of own (national) versions of such a system based on the principles of PPBS as a tool for the rational management of defence resources. Policy transfer of this approach to budget planning has enabled the establishment of democratic control of armed forces in transition states, building as a result civil-military relations appropriate for liberal democracy, and the creation of preconditions for transparency in defence planning and budgeting. Creation of the Croatian version of PPBS in comparison to the corresponding model of the Republic of Slovenia will be considered from the aspect of new institutionalism.

## PRIVATE MILITARY COMPANIES – MILITARY ENTREPRENEURSHIP AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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The resurgence and rise of private military companies (PMC) represents an important aspect of the post-Cold War international security environment. As legally chartered companies PMCs employ and manage civilian personnel, they have modern corporate business form, and provide a wide range of military services (combat, advisory, support roles) to a variety of state and non-state clients. This paper presents data from two surveys, conducted in 2008, dealing with the attitudes on issues related to potential PMCs activities in Croatia – the first among a representative random sample of the Croatian public (N=3420) and the second among a representative sample of CAF officers (N=596). Also, this paper examines PMCs characteristics, typologies and factors that have created demand for the establishment of the privatised military industry, as well as variety of dilemmas and consequences that stem from the PMCs activities: a) regarding the traditional role of nation-states as exclusive providers of military security and their ability to monopolize the means of violence (sover-



eighty erosion hypothesis); b) issues of legality, legitimacy and accountability (normative regulation and self-regulation under international law; ethics, morality and business/economic aspect of PMCs activities); c) the impact of PMCs activities on civil-military relations in various socio-political contexts.