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The Serbian Armed Forces as the Postmodern Military

Abstract

One of views in contemporary research of civil–military relations is the postmodern view of the role of the military in the post–Cold War period. Charles H. Moskos et al suggest a typology that is suitable for cross-national research of civil-military relations. These typological trends, used as variables for assessment along the lines of the modern, late modern, and postmodern paradigm, are: perceived threat; force structure; major mission definitions; media relations, homosexuals in military; dominant military professionalism; public attitude toward the military; civilian employees; women’s role; spouse and military; conscientious objection. The subject of the Moskos study were developed Western countries considered to be “advanced democracies”. We address the question of whether the typology developed by Moskos can be applied to countries in the process of transition such as the Republic of Serbia and whether the Serbian Armed Forces belong to the group of postmodern armed forces. With regard to research in the field of civil- military relations in Serbia and available data in this paper we analyzed some of the variables, such as: perceived threat; force structure; major mission definitions; dominant military professionalism; public attitude toward the military; women’s role and conscientious objection. For the purposes of this study, we analyzed the literature on civil-military relations, legal documents, reports, survey data, the data provided to us by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the research and publications examining modern and late modern armed forces for the purposes of this study. The analysis of the mentioned documents and literature led us

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to conclude that the Serbian Armed Forces can be classified as postmodern armed forces based on a large number of indicators.

Keywords: Serbian Armed Forces, postmodern military, civil-military relations.

1. A Framework for Considering Civil-Military Relations and the Postmodern Armed Forces

No research into or analysis of civil-military relations is possible without referring to such seminal works as Huntington's and Janowitz's. According to Huntington, civil-military relations "is the principal institutional component of military security policy" (Huntington 1959: 1), and the main focus of civil-military relations is "the relations of the officer corps to the state" (Huntington 1959: 3). Huntington believes that the role of the military in society can be explained through the concept of civilian control, primarily subjective and objective control.³ Janowitz argued for less separation between the military and society and according to him, "military profession is more than occupation; it is a complete style of life" (Janowitz 1960: 175) while civilian control can only be achieved by integrating soldiers in society because an officer is "subject to civilian control not only because of the rule of law and tradition, but also because of self-imposed professional standards and meaningful integration with civilian values" (Janowitz 1960: 420). The work of Huntington and Janowitz has been continued in the form of a search for an ideal type of civil-military relations in developed democracies through the post-Cold War theories such as Douglas Bland's "Unified Theory of Civil-Military Relations" (Bland 1999), Peter Fever's "Agency Theory" (Fever 2003), Rebecca Schiff's "Theory of Concordance" (Schiff 1995), Michael Desch's "Structural Theory" (Desch 1999), etc.

Additional view in modern research of civil-military relations is also the postmodern view of the role of the military in the post-Cold War period. Charles H. Moskos et al. give an account of this approach in *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces after the Cold War* using

3 Subjective civilian control focuses on maximizing civilian power, which means the maximizing of power of a particular civilian group or groups. Objective civilian control focuses on maximizing military professionalism and Huntington believes that maximizing objective civilian control is the best way to achieve effective civil-military relations (Huntington 1959: 80).

the following variables in their research: the perceived threat, the force structure, major missions, dominant military professionalism, the public attitude toward the military, media relations, civilian employees, women's role, homosexuals in military, the spouses and the military, and conscientious objection. Moskos et al. concludes that the postmodern military is characterized by five significant organizational changes: the increasing interoperability of civilian and military spheres, both structurally and culturally; the diminution of differences within the armed services based on branch of service, rank and combat versus support roles; the change in military purpose from fighting wars, to missions that would not be considered military in the traditional sense; the increased use of military forces in international missions; the internationalization of the military forces themselves. In the military context postmodernism has been applied in order to describe the development of armed forces after the end of the Cold War and the postmodern armed forces are development construct based upon observation of the past. The core argument presented in this study is that the armed forces of Western developed democracies are moving from modern to postmodern forms of military organization.

Describing the changes in the organization of the military Moskos et al. argues that over the last 100 years, the “evolution” of military organization has gone through three distinctive eras starting with the modern (1900–1945) era, with its focus on enemy invasion, mass army conscription and defense of the homeland, the late modern (1945–1990) era, with the nuclear threat, the building of a large professional army and support of the NATO alliance, to a postmodern (since 1990) era where the threat is perceived to be subnational (e.g., ethnic violence and terrorism), our own force structure is a small professional army, and the military missions are seen as post-war conflicts (e.g., peacekeeping and humanitarian) (Table 1) (Moskos et al. 2000: 1-2).

Armed forces Variable	Early Modern (Pre – Cold War; 1900-1945)	Late Modern (Cold War; 1945 – 1990)	Postmodern (Post – Cold War; since 1990)
Perceived Threat	Enemy Invasion	Nuclear War	Subnational (e.g., ethnic violence, terrorism)

Force Structure	Mass army, conscription	Large professional military	Small professional military
Major Mission	Defense of homeland	Support of alliance	New missions, e.g. peacekeeping, humanitarian
Dominant Military Professional	Combat leader	Manager or technician	Soldier – statesmen, soldier – scholar
Public attitude toward military	Supportive	Ambivalent	Indifferent
Media Relations	Incorporated	Manipulated	Courted
Civilian Employees	Minor component	Medium component	Major component
Women’s Role	Separate corps or excluded	Partial integration	Full integration
Spouse and Military	Integral part	Partial involvement	Removed
Homosexuals in Military	Punished	Discharged	Accepted
Conscientious Objections	Limited or prohibited	Permitted on routine basis	Subsumed under civilian Service

Table 1: Armed Forces and Postmodern Society (Moskos et al. 2000: 15)

The subject of this study were developed Western countries considered to be “advanced democracies”. We address the question of whether the typology developed by Moskos can be applied to countries in the process of transition such as the Republic of Serbia and whether the Serbian Armed Forces belong to the group of postmodern armed forces.

In the modern era, Serbia was a monarchy (the Kingdom of Serbia, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia); in the late modern period, it was a socialist republic with

a single-party system, while postmodern Serbia has been characterized by an ongoing process of transition toward a democracy. Since the October changes in 2000 and especially since 2006, when it officially became the Serbian Armed Forces, the Serbian military has gone through numerous changes in terms of its organizational structure, the establishment of a system of democratic and civilian control, and the definition of new missions. The emphasis has been on transforming the military, first and foremost on reducing its numbers, abolishing conscription, allowing women access to military education and voluntary military service, introducing religious service into the military, adopting the Code of Honor, etc (Rokvic et al. 2013). These changes were made in conformity with relevant regulations and by legitimately elected government bodies. Research on civil-military relations in Serbia has shown that Serbia “cannot be considered a completely consolidated democracy” but that it “is on its way to completing the transition process from a complete lack of democratic control to civil-military relations such as exist in developed countries with consolidated democracies” (Rokvic et al. 2013: 689). On the other hand, Ejodus states that the “image of the democratic soldier put forth by the Serbian government largely conforms to the postmodern military model” (Ejodus 2012: 228). In this paper, we attempt to determine if Serbia, which has not fully established a democratic system of civil-military relations, has nevertheless developed the type of postmodern armed forces that exists in advanced democracies.

Since, as Moskos et al. points out, the typology is merely a “guide to systematize current research findings” (Moskos et al. 2000: 14) we analyzed the literature on civil-military relations, legal documents, reports, survey data, the data provided to us by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the research and publications examining modern and late modern armed forces for the purposes of this study.

With regard to research in the field of civil- military relations in Serbia and available data the following sections analyze some of the variables, such as: perceived threat; force structure; major mission definitions; dominant military professionalism; public attitude toward the military; women’s role and conscientious objection throughout the three periods (the modern period, the late modern period, and the postmodern period), with special emphasis on the postmodern era and the Serbian Armed Forces.

2. From Traditional to Asymmetric Security Threats (The Perceived Threat)

As was stated by Moskos et al. “the key difference between Modern and Postmodern societies lies in the character of the threats they face and the ways they perceive them” (Moskos et al. 2000: 16) In the modern period (pre-Cold War period) the major threat was enemy invasion which gave way to the fear of nuclear war in late modern period (Cold War period) and asymmetric threats (terrorism, ethnic violence...) in the post-Cold War period.

In the modern period, the main threats to Serbian security were that of an attack against it and of territorial conquest; apart from such an attack, in the late modern period there was also the threat of a possible confrontation between the Western and Eastern blocs as well as the threat created by the strained relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The West was perceived as the principal threat to security and a doctrinal document titled “General War Service” stated that “Victory over the enemy in contemporary warfare is achieved by means of decisive offensive operations successfully combined with defensive operations – depending on the circumstances, as one cannot attack anytime and anywhere. By combining offensive and defensive actions, as dictated by the situation, and performing skillful maneuvers and surprise attacks, it is possible to defeat larger and better-equipped enemy forces even in the most difficult circumstances” (Opšta ratna služba 1955: 10). A new document, “The Doctrine of Defensive War”, was adopted in 1958 and efforts to implement it continued until 1968. This doctrine determined the character, configuration, and purpose of a war that Yugoslavia could enter, defining it as “a defensive, just and historically progressive war aimed at liberation...” (Vučinić et al. 1989: 100) The Third Arab-Israeli War (1967) and the military intervention in Czechoslovakia (1968) brought about a change in the viewpoint that the danger of a foreign aggression against the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) came from the West alone and led to the realization that the East also represented a source of threats against the SFRY at that time, which had a significant impact on the adoption of the doctrine of “total national defense”.

The threat of an armed aggression against Serbia is considered to be significantly reduced in the postmodern period. Other threats to Serbian security include separatism, terrorism, armed conflict, organized

crime, corruption, national and religious extremism, uneven economic and demographic development, and the unresolved status of refugees and exiles (National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 9 - 14). The 2010 Doctrine of the Serbian Armed Forces emphasizes that an act of aggression against the Republic of Serbia is unlikely and that it could arise from a global or regional armed conflict provoked primarily by the conflicting interests of great powers or other countries in the region. The Doctrine underscores that an armed rebellion fuelled by separatist tendencies for the purpose of changing internationally recognized borders by force represents a particularly serious threat to security in the Republic of Serbia, while the most significant threat to Serbia's defense interests is posed by Kosovo and Metohija's unilateral declaration of independence, which could turn the crisis and the potential escalation of violence in this area into a source of long-term regional instability (Doktrina Vojske Srbije 2010). However, as Ejdus states, "the security dilemma created by the secession of Kosovo is no longer a military dilemma and the Serbian political elites do not regard the Kosovo issue as a problem that should be dealt with in military terms" (Ejdus 2012: 228). The raising of the negotiations between Belgrade and Priština to the highest political level, which resulted in the signing of the Brussels Agreement, simply confirms that the issues surrounding Kosovo and Metohija can be resolved by political and diplomatic means alone and serves as an indicator that "Serbia desires to promote peace and stability in the Balkans, and also that the military is under the control of the democratically elected authorities" (Rokvić et al 2013: 684).

Taking into account the above data, we can conclude that the perceived threats against Serbia have changed. An attack against Serbian territory is considered unlikely but separatism, terrorism, armed conflict, organized crime, corruption, national and religious extremism, and so forth, have been identified as the new sources of security threats. As the perceived threats changed, so do the major missions and force structure to deal with it.

3. The Major Military Mission

The major mission of the armed forces, in line with the perceived threats, was to defend the state's territory, sovereignty and independence in both the modern and the late modern period. In the postmodern

period new missions as an operation other than wars (OOTW) has been established. These missions “reflect a fundamental shift in the emphasis of armed forces from defence of homeland to multinational peacekeeping and humanitarian missions” (Moskos 2000: 17).

The main mission or task of the Yugoslav People’s Army (YPA) in the modern period was to “defend the Homeland and support the rule of law in the country” (Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije 1963: čl. 2). In the late modern period, the YPA was designated as the basic armed force of Yugoslav national defense that protected the independence, the constitutional order, and the inviolability and integrity of the territory of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije 1963: čl. 255). Territorial defense represented the main strategy of the YPA and of the Territorial Defense Force as its component. The military doctrine of Total National Defense from 1968 emphasized this approach and represented the basic concept for the structure and strategy of the YPA up until the 1990s. This doctrine „rests on the premise that small and medium-sized states must be self-reliant in defense if they are to maintain their sovereignty and can, with will and appropriate institutions involving the entire citizenry in national defense, successfully resist external attack“ (Johnson 1971: 3). In the late modern period, the YPA had an important role in peacekeeping operations as well – from 1956 until 1993, the members of the YPA served in five UN missions (UNEF I; UNYOM; UNIMOG; UNTAG UNAVEM I and II). In the UNEF I mission in the Sinai alone, 22 rotations of 14,265 YPA members took place.

Territorial defense has remained the first and basic mission of the Serbian Armed Forces in the postmodern period. According to research conducted by Ejodus, one of the basic motives for pursuing a military career is patriotism (together with the social factor and professionalism) (Ejodus 2012: 239). Research on the attitudes of the Military Academy cadets carried out in 2012 showed that 90% of the cadets embraced the virtue proscribed by the Code of Honor⁴ of all the members of the Serbian Armed Forces, which states that loyalty to the Serbian homeland represents the military ideal of the members of the Serbian Armed Forces.⁵ The Serbian Armed Forces also have two new missions.

4 The core values defined by the Code are loyalty to one’s nation, professional dedication, devotion, courage, discipline, solidarity, humanity, dignity, sacrifice and respect.

5 In October 2012, within the “Military Culture” project, professors from the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Security Studies have researched the attitudes of Serbian Military Academy cadets (282 cadets) on significant aspects of military culture.

The second mission of the Serbian Armed Forces is to participate in the establishment and preservation of peace in the region and worldwide, while the third mission refers to the support provided to civilian authorities in countering security threats.

Given that an armed attack against the Republic of Serbia as a security threat is unlikely, the Serbian Armed Forces mostly fulfill their role through the other two missions. 336 members of the Serbian Armed Forces are currently serving in ten multinational operations (MONUSCO, MINUSCA, UNIMIL, UNOCI, UNFICYP, UNFIL, UNTSO, EUTM Somalia, EUTM Mali and Operation ATALANTA). However, the Serbian Armed Forces have not been internationalized as Serbia declared military neutrality with regard to existing military alliances in 2007.⁶

The Serbian Armed Forces actively participate in the realization of the third mission. Since 2007, the members of the Serbian Armed Forces have been engaged in multiple efforts to mitigate the damage from natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, wildfires, etc.), providing aid to vulnerable populations, road and bridge repairs, humanitarian blood donation campaigns, and providing medical assistance to the residents of rural areas (the “Military Physicians in the Countryside” campaign). During the winter of 2012 alone, more than 9,177 members of the Serbian Armed Forces were deployed from January 8 until March 7 due to heavy snowfall and low temperatures which had led to the declaration of a state of emergency. During the floods in May 2014 the SAF mobilized a large number of human and material resources. Between May 14 and 24 a total of 10,949 members of the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Armed Forces were deployed on a daily basis, 802 of which were cadets of the Military Academy. In other words, the daily average number of SAF members deployed was 912, making this the largest SAF deployment since 2006 (Vlada Republike Srbije 2014: 41).

Taking into account the above data, it is possible to conclude that the although territorial defense remains the main task and mission of

6 National Assembly Resolution on the Protection of Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity and Constitutional Order of the Republic of Serbia of December 26, 2007 contained a paragraph on military neutrality of Serbia. The said paragraph reads as follows: „Due to the overall role of NATO, from illegal bombing of Serbia in 1999, without a UN Security Council resolution, to Annex 11 of the rejected Ahtisaari Plan, which stipulates that NATO be the final body of government in an independent Kosovo, the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia hereby declares the military neutrality of the Republic of Serbia towards existing military alliances until a referendum is called in which the final decision on the issue will be brought“ (Narodna skupština Republike Srbije 2007: čl. 6).

the Serbian Armed Forces, their members actively participate in peace-keeping operations, as well as in providing assistance to the civilian population.

4. The Downsizing of the Armed Forces (The Force Structure)

The force structure undergoes significant change as well: from mass conscript army in modern period to professional small military in the postmodern period. In the modern era, military service was universal and the available data shows that the Serbian army had 145,225 officers and soldiers at its disposal in 1918 and 190,000 officers and soldiers in early 1919 (Bjelajac 1988: 56). In the late modern period, or rather at the end of World War II, that number rose to 800,000 (Nikolić 1989: 19). After the demobilization of 1947, the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) had a standing army of 387,000 men, while in wartime this number exceeded one million people, making it the third largest regular force on the European continent (Vučinić et al. 1989: 106). The YPA mostly relied on draftees who would complete their compulsory military service and then enter the YPA reserve forces or become members of the Territorial Defense Force (TDF). By the end of 1968, the TDF had 1,200,000 personnel (540,000 in TDF units, 75,000 in the services, 360,000 in youth corps, the rest serving in police and civil protection units that constituted a part of the TDF in wartime) (Vučinić et al. 1989: 237).

In 1990 and 1991, the YPA had 180,000 soldiers, over 101,000 of whom were conscripts. Significant changes in the number of personnel took place after the dissolution of the SFRY and the number of YPA members dropped by 70,000 after 1992 (see Table 2).

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Active force	180.000	180.000	135.000	135.500	126.500
Reserve forces	101.400	101.400	44.500	60.000	60.000
Territorial Defense	510.000	510.000	400.00	400.000	400.000

Table 2: YPA Force structure 1992 – 1994 (Pietz 2005: 13).

From 1995 onward, the number of personnel was reduced (51,233 members) and this trend continued until the Serbian Armed Forces were fully professionalized. The number of personnel has remained virtually unchanged since 2010. According to the data from Military Balance 2013, the Serbian Armed Forces have the following number of personnel: 28,150 active and 50,150 reserves (The Military Balance 2013: 170).

However, there is great interest in voluntary military service and the Reserve Officers' Training Course; in March 2013, the number of candidates who applied (3042 candidates) exceeded the number of planned enrollments by six times. Such strong interest might be explained by the fact that the Serbian Armed Forces represent one of the most trusted institutions in Serbia.

We can conclude that significant changes have taken place in the force structure of the Serbian military, from mass armies with compulsory military service to small professional armed forces where military service is regulated on a voluntary basis.

5. The Dominant Military Professional

In the typology variable "Dominant Military Professional" Moskos et al. pointed out that "combat leader" in the Modern era gave way to "manager or technician" in the Late Modern period, and "soldier-statesman and soldier-scholar" in the Postmodern period (Moskos 2000: 19).

The tradition of military schools in Serbia has lasted for more than 160 years. In the modern and late modern periods, soldiers were schooled and trained for combat leaders, while the postmodern period can be separated into two stages. During the first phase, cadets were still being trained for commanding officers, as confirmed by the curricula of the Military Academy. Until 2006, the Military Academy implemented the curriculum from 1997. According to that program, the aim of the Military Academy of the Yugoslav Armed Forces was "to educate and prepare students for the vocation of the professional officer, to provide skills for initial duties within one's branch and to shape the character of future officers so that they possess the proper military expertise and moral and physical capabilities needed for the successful command over units in peacetime and in wartime in accordance with the defense doctrine and offensive strategy of the country" (Nastavni plan i program Vojne akademije Vojske Jugoslavije 1997: 11).

During the second stage – since 2008 – the Academy has been implementing new programs (Management in Defense, Military Mechanical Engineering, Military Electronic Engineering, Military Chemical Engineering, Military Aviation, and Defense Logistics). They have been designed to provide future officers not only with a sufficient level of competence and skills for the successful command over units and the effective employment and maintenance of military technology in the missions and tasks of the Serbian Armed Forces, but also with managerial skills for tasks in the defense system. After graduation and during their military career, officers are provided with opportunities for further academic and professional development in graduate education for the purpose of obtaining higher-level degrees, as well as with access to courses such as STANAG 6001 foreign language courses and computer courses (the ECDL certificate).

We can conclude that a dominant model of technicians and managers has emerged from the changes in the curricula for officer training in the postmodern period.

7. The Public Attitude Toward the Serbian Armed Forces

Despite significant fluctuations in the postmodern period, the public has always had a great deal of trust in the Serbian military. From 1992 until 2000, public trust in the military varied from 43% in 1997 to 83% in 2000. The first deviation occurred in 1992 when the rather large number of those who trusted the military (46%) was equal to the number of those who distrusted it. In the following two years, the trust in the armed forces grew, first to 55% and then to 62%, only to drop to 51% in 1996; in 1997, the percentage of those who distrusted the military (46%) exceeded the number of those who trusted it (43%) for the first and final time (Hadžić and Timotić 2006: 167). The period of the decline in trust (1996–1998) coincided with the implementation of the Dayton Accords, the consequences of war, the slow process of the depoliticization and professionalization of the armed forces and the financial difficulties of the Yugoslav Armed Forces. According to research carried out by the Centre for the Study of Alternatives in 1999, public trust in the military rose after the NATO aggression, when only 5% of those interviewed stated that they had “no trust” in the Yugoslav Armed Forces (Milošević, 2000).

From 2003 to 2005, the Centre for Civil-Military Relations conducted research on the public attitude toward the military, which showed that trust, or distrust, in the armed forces is susceptible to situational

changes. For example, after the death of two guardsmen in the Topčider barracks (December 2004), public trust in the military dropped. Nevertheless, the armed forces remained among the institutions with the highest level of public trust.

In November 2010, the Ministry of Defense unveiled the results of a poll conducted by the European Fund for the Balkans and the Gallup agency. It found that 73% of Serbian citizens have the most faith in the army, out of all institutions. That means the military has surpassed the Serbian Orthodox Church -- for years the most trusted institution in Serbia -- in terms of public confidence (Balkan Monitor 2010: 26). And in a survey conducted by the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy in 2012, citizens designated the Serbian Armed Forces as the state institution that they trusted most (BCPB 2012).

Based on the data presented here, we can conclude that the public has always had confidence in the armed forces, with certain fluctuations that were obviously influenced by social and political circumstances, and that the Serbian Armed Forces are currently the most trusted institution in Serbia.

8. Gender Equality in the Serbian Armed Forces (Women's Role)

The women's role in the armed forces undergoes significant change: from no role at all (excluded from the military) in the modern period to full integration in the postmodern period.

In the modern period, women had no role in the Serbian armed forces, although they actively participated in both world wars. During World War II alone, around 100,000 women served in the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments. After the end of the war and the adoption of two laws on demobilization which contained special provisions on the demobilization of women, however, only 10,230 women remained in the military in 1945 (Nikolić 1989: 19). The implementation of these laws saw all the women who did not serve as officers, sergeant majors, senior political staff, in the medical corps, and so forth demobilized. At the end of 1947, total demobilization was carried out and the number of women was reduced even further: according to available data, there were a total of 1,406 women (officers and employees in military services) actively serving in the YPA in 1952. From 1953 to 1969, no records were kept of the number of women in the status of active personnel. During the 1980s, a pilot project for the voluntary training of women for service in the YPA was launched. Al-

though 5,290 women applied at the beginning of the project in 1983, the number significantly dropped the following year when the number of applicants was 1,053. In 1985, the final year of the project, there were only 372 candidates. At the end of 1985, there were only 479 women on active duty (Loncović and Živković 1989: 168). It was only in 2007 that women obtained, for the first time, the right to military education when they were accepted to the Military Academy; after the first round of applications for admission into professional service in 2008, 220 women were enrolled in 2009.

In 2012, 172 female cadets were enrolled at the Military Academy, which is 21.66% of overall number of cadets and as from 2014 for the first time in history girls can enrol into Military High School. According to data from the Military Duties Department of the Human Resources Sector (Serbian MoD) from June 2012, after adoption of Decision on Dismissal of Conscription, from March 2011 to March 2012, 1,684 recruits engaged into voluntary military service, out of whom 230 women (13.6%). From 230 women engaged into military service, 25 were sent to the Reserve Officers School, which is 10.8% (Ministry of Defence 2012). In second yearly report on implementation of the National Action Plan for UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia, it is stated that in relation to overall number of women employed (see Table 3) in the MoD and SAF, women are underrepresented on the following duties: (1) in the officer category – commanding duties at the high level, pilot,

Staff Category	September 2010	September 2011	July 2012
	Women (%)	Women (%)	Women (%)
Officer	0,1	0,2	0,2
Non-Commissioned Officer	0,1	0,1	0,1
Civilian Officer	17,3	16	16
Professional Soldier	2,0	2,8	2,9
Total	19,5	19,1	19,1

Table 3: Share of women in total number of MO and VS staff, by staff category (Odanović and Bjeloš 2012: 19)

etc.; (2) in the non-commissioned officer category – commanding duties, driver, etc.; (3) in the civilian category – management duties at the higher level, mechanic, operator, etc. (Ministry of Defence 2012).

9. Conscientious Objection

As previous typology variables conscientious objection has also changed, from prohibition in the modern period to subsume under civilian services in the postmodern period.

In the Serbian modern period, conscientious objection was not permitted. Or rather, the first constitution that addressed this issue was the constitution of 1901 which stated that “the freedom of conscience is unlimited” but that “Serbian citizens cannot shirk their civic and military duties on account of what their religion prescribes” (Ustav Kraljvine Srbije 1901: čl. 33), while in the modern period this category did not even exist.

In the late modern period, the constitution of 1992 introduced conscientious objection as a legal category for the first time, stating that “a citizen who, on account of religious or other reasons of conscience, does not wish to fulfill his military duty under arms shall be given an opportunity to perform military service in the Yugoslav Armed Forces unarmed or in alternative civilian service” (Ustav Savezne Republike Jugoslavije 1992: čl. 137). Conscientious objection, as defined in this article of the constitution, was regulated in more detail in the provisions of Articles 296 through 300 of the Law on the Yugoslav Armed Forces (Zakon o Vojsci Jugoslavije 1994). These provisions were, however, not

Period	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
March	0	1197	3599	3601	3991	4568	3711	1881	22548
Jun	0	1297	2258	3065	3064	3438	3303	1490	17915
September	0	2276	3247	5150	5260	5158	4724	1773	27588
December	484	2175	2242	4090	5001	3808	3275	897	21972
Total	484	6945	11346	15906	17316	16972	15013	6041	90023

Table 4: Number of draftees on Civilian Service from 2003 to 2010 (Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia).

implemented in practice. It was only after the establishment of the state union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003) that draftees were allowed to exercise the right to conscientious objection and to perform military service in civilian institutions; the Law on Civilian Service which regulated this right in detail was adopted in 2009. From 2003 to 2010, 90,023 persons performed alternative civilian service (Table 4).

Conclusion

This paper focuses on the changes in the Serbian military that have taken place since the beginning of the twentieth century. By applying the typology developed by Charles Moskos and analyzing indicators (such as: perceived threat; force structure; major mission definitions; dominant military professionalism; public attitude toward the military; women's role and conscientious objection) throughout three periods in the development of the armed forces, we attempt to evaluate whether the Serbian Armed Forces can be categorized as postmodern armed forces such as those that exist in advanced democracies.

While the basic threat to security in Serbia in the modern period and the late modern period was an attack against its territory, new threats to Serbian security have been defined in the postmodern period. The force structure has also undergone changes, having transitioned from a model of mass conscription with compulsory military service to a smaller, professional army with a voluntary draft system in the postmodern period. The mission of the armed forces has also shifted from traditional combat missions to non-traditional missions. The main mission of the modern and late modern armed forces was the defense of the country; in the postmodern period, two new missions have emerged: peacekeeping missions and civil-military cooperation in the country's territory. In the first two periods, soldiers were schooled and trained to be military leaders, whereas the dominant model in the postmodern period has been the model of the soldier-technician and soldier-manager. As far as the attitude of the public is concerned, we can conclude that the armed forces have always had a great deal of public trust, with certain fluctuations brought about by social and political events; in the postmodern period, the Serbian Armed Forces are the most trusted Serbian institution. As regards women in the Serbian military, we can conclude that they constituted a large component of the military in the late modern period and that they constitute a much

smaller component in the postmodern era. Women had no role in the modern military and their partial integration into the system began in the late modern period. In the postmodern period, it cannot yet be said that the integration of women is complete, but we feel that it will soon be achieved. Finally, conscientious objection was not allowed in the modern period. In the late modern period, it became legal but it was not being implemented in practice. The right to conscientious objection has finally been realized in the postmodern period.

Given that, as Moskoss et al. says, “the term Postmodern as applied to the armed forces must imply some significant departure from Modern forms of military organization” (Moskoss et al. 2000: 1), we can conclude, based on the data that we have presented, that the Serbian Armed Forces belong to the postmodern armed forces.

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