



DEFENDOLOGY

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- **DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS**
- **STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT**
- **CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION**
- **ECONOMIC MIGRATIONS**
- **ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION**
- **THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**
- **BOOK REVIEW "Reconciliation by Stealth: How People Talk about War Crime."**



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INTRODUCTION

Globalization and the World Security Dilemma: Political, Economic, Cultural, Social, and Moral Aspects

Before you, and us, is issue 54 of the journal *Defendology*, in honor of the successful beginning of the 28th year of fruitful work and development of *Defendology* as a science of protection, defense, and security, based on the scientific discourse: protection + defense = security. From the above, it is clear that *Defendology*, as a scientific-research organization, firmly and confidently implements the Third Mission of the development of faculties and universities (the first being education, the second research), with the third being the engagement of academic workers in the community. The *Defendology* journal, in this 54th issue, has remained true to its programmatic orientation of a multidisciplinary character through topics such as: “A Review of Democracy and Ethnic Relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” “Strategic Management in the Organizational System,” “Globalization as a Policy of Hegemony,” “An Analysis of Economic Migrations and Their Sociological Consequences: The Case of Migrations Between EU Member States,” “Institutional Capacities in the Field of Environmental Protection in the Context of Sustainable Development of the Republic of Serbia,” and a book review titled “The Impact of Interethnic Contacts on the Potential for Overcoming Divisions in Post-Conflict Societies” by Denis Kostovicev. The authors of *Defendology* and all editions of *Defendology* have made the greatest contribution over the past 28 years in establishing, scientifically and educationally shaping *Defendology* as a science of protection, defense, and security. They have also promoted, through their vision and mission, the third mission of the development of faculties and universities, i.e., comprehensive engagement in the community. Security is one, indivisible, overly politicized, and unfortunately, for those reasons, it has not been constituted as a science. Therefore, this void has been filled by *Defendology*, as a new paradigm in science. The section “Perspectives/Reviews /Dialogues” on the *Defendology* website www.defendologija-banjaluca.com has experienced its heyday with a large number of authors and covered current topics and dilemmas of a multidisciplinary character. The works “A Review of Democracy and Ethnic Relations in

Bosnia and Herzegovina,” “Strategic Management in the Organizational System,” “An Analysis of Economic Migrations and Their Sociological Consequences: The Case of Migrations Between EU Member States,” “Institutional Capacities in the Field of Environmental Protection in the Context of Sustainable Development of the Republic of Serbia,” and “The Impact of Interethnic Conflicts on the Potential for Overcoming Divisions in Post-Conflict Societies” are interconnected through common thematic frameworks that include issues of democracy, ethnic relations, migrations, sustainable development, and governance in post-conflict societies. The paper titled “The Development of International Law After World War II” is of crucial importance for adequately reasoning the entire nomenclature of international law. The development of international law after World War II represents a key moment in the shaping of the modern global order. The horrors of war and widespread human rights violations inspired the creation of new norms that became the foundation for international cooperation and the protection of human rights. The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 provided a framework for the establishment and enforcement of these norms, particularly through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Furthermore, the war crimes committed during the war led to the formation of new mechanisms for the criminal prosecution of individuals, such as international tribunals. Finally, the post-war development of international law significantly advanced the principles of sovereignty and the inadmissibility of the use of force, laying the foundation for a more stable international order. When these works are considered together, a complex network of interactions between political structures, social dynamics, and economic factors that shape societies in transition can be observed, especially in the context of the Balkans and the broader European region. Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which faces challenges of ethnic divisions, exemplifies how political systems can influence social relations, while strategic management in an organizational sense emerges as a key mechanism for overcoming structural weaknesses in societies struggling with internal tensions. At the same time, migrations within the EU, often motivated by economic opportunities, lead to changes in the social structure of both host and home countries, which can be observed through the sociological consequences these migrations leave on both societies. Sustainable development in Serbia, viewed through the lens of institutional capacities in the field of environmental protection, emphasizes the importance of

efficient resource management and policies that address long-term challenges, which are often linked to previous conflict experiences and the need for building stable and just societies. Finally, interethnic conflicts and their impacts on post-conflict societies, as explored in the final text - the book review, shed light on the importance of understanding historical and contemporary tensions that can either hinder or facilitate the process of reconciliation and the construction of lasting peace. By connecting all these topics, we can understand how different aspects of governance, migrations, sustainable development, and interethnic relations collectively influence social transformations in the context of contemporary challenges, where each of these elements interweaves in a complex process of building stable and sustainable communities. This complex interdependence underscores the need for a comprehensive approach that considers political, economic, and social aspects to create coherent policies and practices that can respond to the challenges faced by post-conflict societies and states in transition, including those related to integration and migration, sustainable resource management, and the development of institutional capacities that can support democracy and reduce interethnic tensions. Each of these works provides a unique insight into a specific aspect of these issues, but their joint consideration allows for a deeper understanding of the complex challenges and opportunities that characterize processes of transition and development in the modern world. Dark times are coming, in which it is not difficult to hear the increasingly loud and noisy steps of populists lined up in columns of death as they slowly approach. **Will the awakening of the people come too late? Justice and virtue are the antithesis of force, and security demands the presence of justice, morality, and culture, in such a way that no power should be above the law, and ethics must be embedded in the foundations of politics as a public activity...**

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

REVIEW OF DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

REVIEW ARTICLE

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Predrag Obrenović¹

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to use the language of the profession and science to highlight the current relationships and possibilities for the development of democratic principles and institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina on one hand, and on the other hand, ethnicity as a concept and phenomenon, which, according to some contemporary experts on social conditions and issues, is a significant obstacle to the development of a modern multiethnic state. Perhaps this modern multiethnic state with democratic institutions currently seems like a political utopia from the time of Thomas Hobbes, but judging by the current relations, as well as the complexity of these relations within Bosnia and Herzegovina, the construction of a multiethnic state with democratic institutions will be “on hold” for some time, most likely until the reconfiguration of the world order into a multipolar world.

Keywords: *ethnicity, modern society, BiH, democracy, multi-ethnic state.*

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INTRODUCTION

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country considered complex in international relations, viewed within a constitutional-political context. The state has existed in its current form since 1995, i.e. since the Dayton Peace Agreement, which put an end to the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina that had ethnic, religious, territorial, and cultural elements.

Ethnicity and ethnic divisions serve as the main means of controlling the broader masses of citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina by domestic politicians. By spreading fear of each other among the different groups, these politicians hide their long-standing political passivity and other negative deviations, and ultimately their responsibility for the current unfavorable economic, security, and political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For democracy to function and institutions to operate smoothly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there needs to be a consensus among political representatives to enable policy-making and political decision-making.

In deeply divided societies and fragile states like Bosnia and Herzegovina, value consensus among the political elite is a crucial condition for the functioning and survival of the state. Representatives in power are tasked with the normative integration of society and fostering healthy competition within political structures. Political actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina are entirely responsible for the current state of society, including social, economic, security, and all other issues, and must therefore bear that responsibility. Ethnic conflicts and political interethnic conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina are unnecessary and extremely radical, something that the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina absolutely do not need and increasingly find uninteresting due to the economic situation.

Precisely for this reason, this paper aims to focus on the current state of the relationship between democracy on one side and ethnic relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other. This approach will allow future readers-users of these lines to question where we are heading as a people and as peoples. It will prompt them to consider why, instead of democratically established institutions where decisions should be made with respect for everyone and the culture of dialogue, decisions are made

by individuals who, hiding behind ethnic affiliation and “national interest,” make decisions solely for their own benefit and the benefit of their close circle of associates.

1. THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY IN THEORY

Of course, as with many other terms in contemporary theory, there is disagreement over the very

attempt to define certain concepts, and we encounter the same situation with the term ethnicity. However, summarizing all the offered definitions, we can briefly state that ethnicity refers to belonging to an ethnic community. The first part of the word, “ethnos,” signifies something related to people and nationality, something that is national. The term “ethnos” comes from the Greek word “ethnikos,” meaning people. Ethnicity is a term found in anthropological, sociological, and sociolinguistic literature. According to a general encyclopedia, more than half a century ago, ethnicity became a strategic concept within anthropological theories, partly in response to post-colonial geopolitical changes and a wave of ethnic revival worldwide. Ethnicity encompasses the entirety of content associated with ethnos, i.e. everything related to people and nationality. It is also referred to as ethnic affiliation. The importance of ethnic affiliation lies in the creation of individual and group identities. The interest in ethnicity shows that every community, in relation to another, is in a hierarchical relationship of power and thus feels the need to strengthen the foundations of its unity and establish boundaries with others (Šupek, 1998).

Observing the current relations among ethnic groups “around the globe,” we can say that it is almost a universally accepted practice for each ethnic group to highlight what differentiates it from others and to extol the characteristic of its people that makes it unique. Communities build their identities precisely on this differentiation. Bromley believes that one of the key characteristics distinguishing ethnic communities from other communities is that there is mutual confrontation between them (Grbić, 1993). For a better understanding of the very definition of the term ethnicity, I consider Kozlov’s definition as one of the most fre-

quently cited and referenced definitions in contemporary theory. Namely, Kozlov believes that an ethnic community can be defined as a type of social grouping that arises as a result of a special historical development based on a community of territories and language (Grbić, 1993). However, looking at the development of human civilization up to the present day, we can see that Bromley's opinion of the eternal mutual conflict between ethnicities becomes inevitable. As a confirmation of this view, we can note that the vast majority of wars and armed conflicts conducted across all meridians of the world have started and been fought due to intolerance of different cultures, religions, etc.

To move beyond the definition of the term ethnicity, in the following written lines, I will outline the characteristics of ethnicity and explore whether they can, in certain cases, be part of cohesive elements in a multiethnic society. Researching contemporary literature, we can often see that the fundamental features of ethnicity are:

- Togetherness
- Dynamism and flexibility
- Permanence

The elements of community can be said to stem from three groups of factors: the need for a sense of belonging to avoid the fear of loneliness and the need for communication with other people; the current social situations (e.g., resistance to potential unification, assimilation, acculturation); and finally, existential differences (striving for the most efficient and productive use of life/ecological resources). Unlike togetherness, dynamism and flexibility primarily arise from the need for change and the satisfaction of interest groups. Changeability encompasses everything subject to the necessity of structural adaptation, including general living conditions (e.g., cultural adaptation-clothing, agriculture, language) and specific living conditions, such as adaptation to an interethnic environment. Flexibility is reflected in what is termed "periods of heightened awareness of ethnic identity." In line with the current interests of their group, the bearers of its identity can manipulate it. For example, the identity can be concealed by changing one's name and surname to avoid discrimination, prejudice, and similar issues.

The permanence of ethnicity is linked to its dynamic and flexible nature, as well as its history. This includes the emergence of the original identity, with the fundamental assumption that every group has always had an identity, and the continuous experience of togetherness in terms of the collective history, assuming that every group has always had an identity (Grbić, 1993).

According to Anthony Smith, there are six main characteristics of an ethnic community, or ethnicities, as he also calls them:

- Collective name
- Myth of common ancestry
- Shared historical memories
- One or more differentiating elements of common culture
- Association with a “homeland”
- Sense of solidarity among significant portions of the population (Grbić, 1993).

Theories of ethnicity explain social and political changes, identities formation, social conflicts, nation-building and assimilation. Bosnia and Herzegovina is an ideal place for theorists studying ethnicity.

2. DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a typically segmented state and society. It is segmented by various characteristics: ethnic, religious, regional, cultural-historical. However, the structuring of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state does not recognize this factual plurality. Misinterpreted, the *raison d'état* prevents Bosnia and Herzegovina from politically (state-wise) constituting itself pluralistically. Since the state organization and political articulation do not acknowledge this factual plurality, it is difficult to speak of democracy, especially contemporary pluralistic one based on the political subjectivity of various segments (groups, organizations, collectives, regions, ethnic communities).

National states that emerged from the ruins of communist ideologies and orders (and Bosnia and Herzegovina is one such state) have a chance for democratic organization and modern political, economic, and social development only if they do not persist in the principles on which they were constituted: ethnocentrism and national exclusivity.

Emphasizing collective (national) entities and their identities and self-respect which is today a characteristic of all post-communist societies (including Bosnia and Herzegovina) neglects individual self-respect or even denounces it as an undesirable dissonance. In their protest against “socialist collectivism,” the current national collectivism is destroying even the little individualism that had begun to take root in the arid soil of socialist collectivism.

Due to the communist involution in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in most post-communist societies, and due to the lack of a democratic tradition, there is neither relevant political awareness nor real differentiation of autonomous spheres of social life. Under such conditions, there is no fundamental dichotomy between civil society and the political state. On the contrary, what is at work, in one way or another, is ideologically motivated political production of unity, formerly class-based and now national.

Facts show that communist and nationalist collectivism achieve an interesting symbiosis in almost all post-communist societies, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, this is not to the benefit but to the detriment of democracy. With greater or lesser differences, conditioned by ethno-cultural, socio-historical, and other specificities, all post-communist societies have established a synthesis between ideologically transformed communists and nationalists. Such composite governing structures will not be able to stabilize the political order or remain in a forced marriage for long.

The kind of compromise we find in such structures is not a compromise for democracy but the one in favour of power and against democracy.

The greatest obstacle to the democratic organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other post-communist states (in addition to the lack of a democratic tradition) is precisely national collectivism. This collectivism

has adopted the ready-made model of communist (class) collectivism, which deprived the individual of freedom and political subjectivity. Any system that does not allow the individual to freely pursue their interests and goals, instead imposing higher interests (class, national, etc.), is undemocratic. Without this basic liberal assumption, as we have tried to show, there is no democracy.

Advocacy for democracy does not imply idealizing people. The people are always a given and existing category. Democracy is necessary for the people precisely because they are as they are: submissive, wavering, irresponsible, susceptible to manipulation, fickle, brutal. Democracy is a way to transform such a populace (the crowd, the mass) into a politically aware demo. There is no democracy without people, but there are no people without democracy either. We should strive for the best possible society and the best possible state, which is a democratically organized state. This is a state which minimises pressure and coercion while maximising agreement and consensus in given socio-historical circumstances.

The relationship between ethnic groups and the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is multifaceted and dynamic. Ethnic identification can shape the state, but the state can and does shape ethnic identities and interethnic relations much more often than one might think. In other words, ethnicity is political in nature not only because it serves as a basis for mobilizing interest groups but also because it is a crucial factor in the creation, development, and maintenance of the most powerful political apparatus the state.

Nation-building is a particular issue for the elite when it initiates mobilization forces that support opposition to regimes. Many of these regimes strengthen the nation only if they believe they can successfully control people mobilizations from the top to solidify their central position. As it becomes clearer that nation-strengthening contains risks for central authority, such regime elites strive either to channel people mobilization into state-oriented directions or to demobilize ordinary citizens. In both cases, threatened regimes seek to strengthen state institutions and thus turn to state-building. Simultaneously, foreign interventions have also supported the emergence of state supremacy over the nation. Foreign interventions, through intergovernmental aid programs, multilateral loans,

and investments, have enhanced the role of the bureaucratic, military, and police institutions of the recipient state. It is precisely these institutions, rather than parties or governments, that are the main channels for receiving such foreign aid and investments. The political elite attempts to use such foreign interventions to replace the once-promising people activism.

States differ from other forms of political organization in that they have a monopoly on coercive power. States cannot be enduring and effective if their expansion and authority rest solely on coercion. Any elite that creates a state assumes it has the means of coercion at its disposal, which is indeed used far more often than it is usually acknowledged in the creation of most state systems.

Although it might be an additional effort for our analytical abilities, the most realistic approach to understanding the processes and ways of strengthening the state is to consider the relationships between various state bodies (bureaucracy, military, police, semi-state corporations) on the one hand and the relationship between the state and ethnic-class social stratification on the other. Ethnicity can be a very useful political tool for state regimes. The common saying is that ethnic affiliations are at best a nuisance and at worst a threat to modern governments. Ethnic identification of the population certainly presents a problem for the elite, but it has also proven to be a useful state tool that rulers skillfully use for party-building, population mobilization, suppressing opposition, and distributing rights and rewards.

The real purpose of development in Bosnian politics is the ability of existing political institutions and processes to anticipate and find relevant solutions to constantly changing public problems (Vejnović & Obrenović, 2019: 367).

Bosnia and Herzegovina is an ethnically fragmented community. Its constitution was preceded by ethnic conflict influenced by class, culture, institutional structures, and external factors. Ethnic hostilities grew from a combination of cultural distrust and power differences. They are also the product of the power abuse and, paradoxically, the lack of power. Abuse leads to the unfair distribution of state power and public services. The lack of power leads to the escalation of force without a real increase in the sense of security among ordinary citizens. Both abuse and lack of

power stem from the fact that the state elite is primarily devoted to maintaining the state order. Ignoring the role of force in shaping interethnic relations in the state means creating a wrong theory and unrealistic policy. Police and military and their interrelations are not only part of the reaction to ethnic polarization but are part of its cause

3. SOLVING THE INTERETHNIC CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

For any lasting resolution of ethnic conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a fundamental change in the distribution of political power and influence in society will be necessary. The resolution of interethnic conflict will not be permanent if the achieved security is only the security of the state, and not the security of every community within it.

Democracy is always, in all its aspects – conceptual, moral, and empirical – a compromise. All these aspects can be viewed in the compromise between the requirement that no person can be governed or imposed rules of behavior without their consent and the imperative of respecting general consensus. We do not need democracy as a decoration. We do not need it because we are equal, free, and virtuous, but precisely because we are unequal, unfree, and flawed. Democracy is neither harmony nor a guarantee of general concord, but it is certainly the most appropriate form of organizing relationships within a community, where the unequal will be less unequal, the unfree less unfree, and the powerless less powerless than in any other order.

One of the fundamental problems of democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is how to replace actual pluralism with political democratic pluralism. How to resolve objective diversity and conflicting interests according to agreed-upon rules of the game, rather than through violence and repression. This will not be easy, as we have been practicing the latter for decades, not the former. Unlike totalitarian regimes, democracy does not hide or eliminate differences, disagreements, and conflicts, especially not by force. Democracy is also the habit of “coexistence” with differences, disagreements, and conflicts. In the democratic process and dem-

ocratic order, conflicts are legitimate and completely natural. Democracy is recognized by how it relates to and manages conflicts. A permanent and perhaps most important problem of democracy is in the following: how to continuously develop and preserve all the virtues and advantages of representative democracy and the principle of majority decision-making, while simultaneously protecting against the “tyranny of the majority,” which, like any other tyranny, can jeopardize democracy itself and the values it protects and promotes.

The national principle of state and political constitution cannot ensure either a democratic order or the protection of ethnic minorities. The national principle of constituting the entire order inevitably leads to national totalitarianism, for, among other things, the individuality that is the foundation of democracy is subordinated to the collective, supra-individual entity, while all other ethnic minorities are desubjectivized and discriminated against. Respecting the human rights-based criteria is not a secondary goal but a “superior” national goal.

A certain degree of hatred among different ethnic communities is still present in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a consequence of the war. Hatred as an integrating factor of a nation proves to be a limiting factor for the development of democracy. Hatred towards other peoples can homogenize one nation, but at the same time, it doubly handicaps it for democratic processes.

As a state in transition, Bosnia and Herzegovina is experiencing difficult times. It needs a democracy that guarantees peace, tranquility and good decisions, the democracy that entitles citizens to judge (and change) the quality of those decisions, the democracy that implies the rule of the public that makes public judgements, the democracy in which “personalities” do not rule, but laws, the democracy in which voters should liberate themselves from the tyranny of party organization, and people from the burden of the money and monopoly power, the democracy that resembles the old kitchen composed of elements that have been in use for two and a half thousand years.

Democracy, among other things, primarily means the equality of citizens to speak freely (...there is no wisdom without freedom of thought, and there is no public freedom without freedom of speech: it is the right

of every person, as long as it does not violate or hinder the rights of others; this is the only constraint that may limit it, the only boundary it should know. This sacred privilege is so crucial for free governance that the security of property and freedom of speech always go hand in hand, and in those unfortunate countries where a person cannot call their own language their own, they can hardly call anything else their own) and equality before the law.

Unlike all other forms of governance, democracy includes procedures for making collective decisions in a way that ensures the fullest and highest quality participation of interested parties. The minimum requirements of democratic procedures are as follows: “equal and universal suffrage for adult citizens, majority rule, and guaranteed minority rights, which stipulate that collective decisions must receive the approval of a large number of those entitled to make them, the rule of law, and finally, constitutional guarantees for freedom of association and expression, as well as other freedoms that ensure that people expected to make decisions, or to choose those who decide, can choose between genuine alternatives (Keane, 1995: 234).” In Bosnia and Herzegovina, democracy is under attack from various undemocratic tendencies such as legislative bodies weakening and the expansion of secret agencies and organizations, as well as other forms of state censorship.

Unlike totalitarian regimes, democracy does not hide or eliminate differences, disagreements, and conflicts, especially not by force. Democracy is about getting used to “coexistence” with differences, disagreements, and conflicts. In the democratic process and democratic system, conflicts are legitimate and completely natural (Vejnović, 2014: 183). Democracy is recognized by its attitude towards conflicts and how it manages them. The concept of interests implies conflict, so in a society of free interplay of interests, conflict is an integral and legitimate part of that interplay. According to the concept of liberal democracy, interests are controlled through political governance by means of powers division, respect for human rights and freedoms, and the right to opposition. The prerequisite for all this is free elections.

In today’s transition period from political monism to political pluralism, liberal-democratic values are becoming the “political axis” around

which almost the entire planet revolves. These values are primarily:

- economy liberation from political tutelage,
- civil society creation,
- citizens constitution,
- Legal state and the rule of law,
- systematic control of political power holders,
- division of powers,
- parliamentarism and political pluralism,
- democratic type of electoral system,
- institutionalized public and freedom of information,
- participatory democratic type of political culture and civil society.

Social upheavals globally, as well as those in Bosnia and Herzegovina, increasingly demonstrate the “need for the state”; the dangers of new statism and totalitarianism are present and the demand for democracy and a democratic order is posed as an imperative (Vejnović & Obrenović, 2019:345).

4. DIALOGUE AND TOLERANCE CULTURE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Dialogue and tolerance are powerful barriers against the rule of unilateralism. Nowadays, dialogue and tolerance are demands of the time, as the world is divided in all possible ways (Šušnjić, 1990:155).

People, things, and ideas move in both horizontal and vertical directions, and it is no wonder they feel the need to know and understand each other. There is room in human reality for all differences and oppositions. The demand for tolerance indicates that the main contentious issue that needs to be addressed is, in fact, the issue of communication among people.

Speaking publicly about the need for dialogue means to acknowledge that not everything is right with the relationships between people in

society. One must understand the essence of dialogue and tolerance to see to what extent a given society has failed in everyday human relations. The degree of democratic development a society has reached can also be measured by its attitudes towards dialogue and tolerance. People are tolerant only when they are capable of listening, thinking, and adopting something from another person who agrees with them. Today, the scope of democracy, as well as culture, can be measured by the boundaries of tolerance and the manner of conducting conversations. There is no dialogue where social consciousness is tabooed, where apologetic thinking prevails and all imagination is banished. Such societies push dialogical subjects and their opinions to the margins of social life and the overall social communication is tied to a predetermined type of consensus. Some subjects of communication are presented as myths and thereby, it is communicated to everyone else in advance that they are not, nor can they be equal in communication with them. The absence of dialogue is most drastically manifested in those societies where only those who are predetermined to speak are heard.

Therefore, we must first strive for communication among equal social subjects, and then set an even higher goal—fostering social dialogue and dialogue within society.

Historical times, which we understand to be those marked by the spirit of change, typically set certain “categorical imperatives.” One such imperative nowadays in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in the entire world, is dialogue. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where multiple religions and nations are condemned to live in the same space, a foundation is either created for mutual tolerance or mutual extermination. If we cannot live with each other, we could at least coexist: mutual tolerance is a necessary condition in a society of religious and national diversity. But the key to all our troubles lies in the manner of communication: people in this country do not know how to have a conversation, but they know how to wage war! Dialogue is the only way to avoid all evils. It is also the way to prevent thought from being confined to a system and life from being imprisoned: every closed system tends to disintegrate, whether it concerns a person, society, or culture. Every disintegration of a community is nothing but a break in communication, a wasteland in human relations. When a community disintegrates, no one wins and everyone loses.

However, so much printer's ink has been wasted on "the need for dialogue" and "the necessity of dialogue" that it would be enough to print all the written thoughts across the world for at least two years, and words, as is known, become sluggish and helpless from overuse, so that even dialogue itself becomes problematic and questionable. One does not need to discuss what is necessary, but it is essential to discuss what is possible. A dialogue that does not mediate between the real and the possible is not current and has no fuller significance for the culture it pertains to. Those in power turn all questions of possibilities into questions of necessity. They impose as fate what we have experienced as choice, essentially abolishing the true possibility of conversation. Therefore, it is necessary to move from a culture of speech to a culture of conversation, i.e. from a culture of fate to a culture of choice. Concepts such as hierarchy, necessity, coercion, power, despotism, structure, dogma, fate... dominate in the culture of speech. Conversely, in the culture of conversation, concepts of freedom, equality, cooperation, discovery, pluralism, choice, imagination and play prevail. In a society where only speeches are given without conversations, we have relations of power, not those of cooperation. This is evident from the very words of the messages, which more closely resemble the spirit of penal law than the beauty of free choice (Vejnović, 2014:176). When invoking freedom, those in power worship necessity, because without the concept of necessity, they cannot begin anything. They do not know, cannot, and do not understand how to converse because conversation implies equal interlocutors not subjects. But when a society truly feels that conversation is replacing speech, it is a sign that society is moving from necessity towards freedom, from structure towards culture, from fate towards choice. The transition from one way of thinking to another is also associated with abandoning one way of living in favor of another. Therefore, conversation as a way of living, not just as a method of thinking. This is why Professor Dr. Dragan Koković rightfully says that ... the entire human life requires tolerance among people as a connective tissue, as the juice of life. The assumption of all communication should be genuine tolerance, the expansion of its boundaries, the building of cultural pluralism. If these forms of pluralism are perceived only as a temporary and transient state, which must eventually be endured

and tolerated, while on the other hand everything is done to remove them, then there are certainly no prerequisites for building dialogue and tolerance (Koković, 1996: 156).

When it is known that the culture of dialogue not only requires the culture of the interlocutors but also presupposes democratic consciousness, a developed environment, and the habit of verifying everything that is assumed or hinted at, it becomes clearer why dialogue in Bosnia and Herzegovina, achieved through various “principles” and means, often remained helpless because it had no other ambition than to monologize. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has long been forgotten that one interlocutor acknowledged the superiority of the other’s argument. This could undoubtedly have been done many times, as it is a prerequisite for creative cooperation and the essence of dialogue. As long as interlocutors use cynicism as the last weapon of the powerless, it is difficult to expect the dialogue to be fruitful. In an atmosphere where there is no healthy confrontation, where there is no dialogue as an active consciousness and deeper meaning, where there is no creative play and search for ways to achieve more comprehensive human understanding, there is no progress in social and cultural life.

Being ready to engage in conversation means rejecting any thought of violence. As long as people are conversing, they are beyond any violence, misfortune and evil. “In conversation, every violent relationship is reduced to the framework of a dispute or conflict that can be managed without severe consequences. The moment individuals and groups reject violence as a way of resolving disputes and conflicts, their imagination and spirit open up to finding new paths for they can no longer rely on the old path of achieving goals, the path of violence. The way out of prolonged and severe violence, even in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Vejnović, 2014: 197), can only be found in another method of resolving conflicts. That method is dialogue, understanding, and negotiation (Šušnjić, 1994: 168).

Conversation is an attempt to discuss and resolve social problems by crossing evidence, not swords. It has already been said that human relationships occur in two forms:

- As power relationships
- As relationships of cooperation.

Consequently, a dialogue can be conducted either from positions of power or from positions of equality in the conversation. As long as we communicate with each other from positions of power, there can be no true conversation. “It now becomes evident as never before that dialogue is not merely a technique of conducting a conversation, but the realization of a different way of life and a different understanding of human beings in their self-awareness” (Šušnjić, 1994: 168).

It is certainly reasonable to demand tolerance here in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to speak and write about it, to direct and warn people about all the evil that stems from narrow-mindedness, ambition, and willfulness. Tolerance is inseparable from freedom and autonomy, which can truly be realized only in dialogue with others. In multicultural and multinational societies, which are not homogeneous nationally, religiously, or culturally, the issue of tolerance is very important. Hence, the demand for tolerance arises in the entire social life, politics, ethics, social criticism, pedagogy etc. Considering this, tolerance begins to be understood as enduring and tolerating in a common human life related to a person or community, opposite beliefs, declarations, and actions of individuals and groups. These patterns are not suppressed or forbidden but tolerated. This applies to all areas of social life and different value orientations—religion, worldview, science, art, politics, customs etc. A community that does not instill and develop the need for conversation and the habit of tolerance towards others and the different, in its new generations has no prospect of a better future. However, such community could have a bright future if the upbringing and education of its young members are directed towards dialogical thinking, the advantages and values that arise from differences. What is the task of education today, in light of the urgent need for mutual understanding and cooperation among people? What should an individual learn to become a good citizen? New cultural diversity represents a much more direct challenge to traditional culture and education. Tolerance and dialogue are a new way of presenting the issues of pluralism and cultural diversity. New circumstances and transformations

require new knowledge and attitudes, paths, and relationships towards the environment (Šušnjić, 1994: 169)

Education for dialogue and tolerance must primarily consider the possibilities and the right of choice, from choosing a spouse to nationality, religion, and citizenship. Rejecting the habits of one's predecessors and introducing innovations should not be condemned. The task of education is to teach people to be prepared for changes. Tolerance and dialogue are the state of mind in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in modern society in general, allowing its smooth progress. It has long been recognized that intolerance is a product of the times, but more so a consequence of incorrect upbringing and education. There are increasing efforts to include the issues of tolerance in educational content. It is significant for all forms of knowledge, desires, sensitivity, sociality, and spirituality. Tolerance is an essential component of upbringing. In fact, an intolerant upbringing is the same as no upbringing at all.

Talking nowadays about the mutual interpenetration of cultures, about understanding and tolerance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, rejecting the intercultural dimension while openly promoting monoculturalism may sound utopian and seem Sisyphean. Knowing and understanding other cultures and establishing positive relationships of exchange and mutual enrichment among different cultural components within one community (whether it be a state, a community of multiple states, or the entire world) is the essence of tolerance. Enabling tolerance means promoting cultural diversity, embracing cultural pluralism as an opportunity to express our personality and human potential more comprehensively as well as fighting against all forms of exclusion and exclusivity.

Tolerance is a necessary condition for the possibility of coexistence with others. Since individuality cannot exist outside of community, individualities are directed toward mutual coexistence. It is impossible to be free without others. In this sense, freedom is nothing more than individuality affirmed in relation to others. Without others, our individuality is unrecognizable and faceless. Consequently, a struggle for the freedom of one's own identity also manifests as the struggle for the freedom of the identity of others. Tolerance is a non-antagonistic relationship, both group and individual, which allows the coexistence of differences within

the community. The condition for tolerance is the freedom of the individual, for only a free person can be tolerant and only a free person can be tolerated. In the absence of freedom, tolerance turns into forgiveness and mercy which leads to nothing. For tolerance to be likely to occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to achieve awareness of differences, the right to differences, openness to dialogue and readiness for cooperation. Only in this way will living alongside and with others not be a living hell.

CONCLUSION

As we have observed, all decision-makers in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) profess their commitment to democracy and respect for institutions which should be based on achieving political consensus to fully respect the ethnic diversity of BiH. We often hear or read professional and academic opinions suggesting the introduction of consociational democracy as a model for regulating ethnic relations in BiH and institutions functioning based on democratic principles, for precisely this model of democratic functioning of institutions is recommended for ethnically heterogeneous, post-conflict, divided societies. Of course, for this model of democracy to take root in BiH, it is primarily necessary to establish a culture of tolerance for others and their differences and nurture a culture of dialogue about diversity. Otherwise, the issue of ethnicity in Bosnia and Herzegovina will become even more visible in all parts of society.

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STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM

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Abstract: The system is widely used in the scientific sense, especially from the point of view of universality and abstraction. In this context, it serves as a broad basis for observing, interpreting and projecting the process. The search for a systemic approach goes deep into history, and written traces are visible from the period of antiquity. Due to its general application, the system is observed in various forms, and observation from a natural (biological) or artificial (technical) aspect is particularly important. The system also has its application in the social context. The understanding of the state and the state organization as a system is interesting. Considering the intention of optimal management of each system, including the state, the systemic approach gains importance. Management, especially strategic management, as required in complex systems, is a significant challenge. It is the understanding and application of basic knowledge about the system that optimizes the approach to the state as an organization and the management system with such an organization.

Keywords: system, organization, management, strategy, state, elements, environment, connections, dynamics, relations, optimization.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the historical context, the general determinacy of the system was expressed above all through the “general system theory”, whose determinacy, according to Deželjin (Deželjin, 1987, pp. 15-20), is

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based on “materialist philosophical orientation”. In this sense, the entire world is viewed in the context of the interaction and dynamics of its individual components, which ultimately make up “its efficiency”. Dynamism, as well as the interaction of elements “forms the basis of survival and development”. At the same time, in addition to this “materialist-philosophical” basis, the general system theory also contains a so-called “mechanical” basis. These are certain properties, primarily mathematical and logical relationships and models. The “dynamic” part also forms this basis. The mechanical basis, from the point of view of the classical understanding of the general theory, among others, was given by Descartes and Newton (Descartes R., j Newton J), but in contrast to this “static”, classical approach, Wiener (Wiener N.) imposed a “dynamic access”. According to him, the entire system becomes the “subject” of comprehensive observation. Not only the static structure is observed, but also the “interactivity” of its individual parts, segments, elements. In particular, Wiener places the focus of observation and analysis on the “processes” that take place, which lead the system into a state of instability. This state is cyclically balanced with the “feedback” instrument. Therefore, general system’s theory has its instrumentalization in “biological and social” systems. Likewise in processes, based on the knowledge “that necessity and chance are also in a mutual relationship”. The special theory of the system arises from the general and is a “purposeful adjustment” of the general theory in certain “scientific or practical areas” or simply as a means for practical “solving problems of a more complex nature”.

2. GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SYSTEM

Thinking about the system has its beginnings from generally accepted philosophical approaches that in the human, natural environment, different sets of things, phenomena and ideas can be distinguished, which are sometimes related to each other, interact and in which certain properties can be observed.

System (Gr.-systema), something that is composed, system, in whole, according to a certain point of view, the whole organized and assembled

from various things, a set of ordered parts, e.g., in mathematics, according to logical principles, a variety of mathematical creations are ordered, such as: equations, points, of curves, surface, form of government and state management, way of working, way of acting, building, plan, purposefully composed whole (eg. World system, Solar system, music system, etc.); no system, no connection, no plan, unscientific. The system obviously has its specificities too, its properties that significantly characterize it and are expressed in the current practice and scientific thought with numerous expressions and definitions in that context (Vujaklija, 1980: 849).

The concept of system has already been observed and even very recognizable “indicated” in old ancient philosophical works. The famous philosopher Anaximander created a “written mosaic” of ideas about the “origin of the world” through his works, expressed in prose, which according to him begins “from the Earth and the Sky”, and then “ends” with the phenomena of animal and especially “human life”. In this way, he also “defined” the approach to the “philosophy of cosmology” over a long, centuries-long period. Anaximander defined the term “apeiron” as the “original principle” of a thing, which translates as “boundless or indefinite”. By further analyzing his theory, the ancient philosophers came to the conclusion that two completely opposite but significant “properties of the world” can be described. Namely, in his prose works, his statements suggest a “common analogy in the production” of different worlds. In the sky of “The Sun and The Moon”, and on the Earth of “animal life”. What’s more, it is noted that it happens, it occurs essentially “with the same mechanism”. From such indications, the opinion was derived that Anaximander “sees the world as a systemic unity maintained by dynamic transformations, which are completely comprehensible to the human mind.” In the same way, Anaximander expressed himself poetically in relation to the stars, the Sun, circles of fire, and their relationships. In that way, “the search for a system is noticeable”, considering that he, through his concepts, “reduces the seemingly chaotic diversity” that is visible in the sky to the simplest scheme of geometric and arithmetical relationships, with the observation of “transformations” but also “functions of the circles of air and fire”. His explanations “connect” the interaction of “fire and air” with the earlier identified “process of separation, as the cause

of education and the apeiron, a ball of fire enveloped by air, which then separates itself, to be enclosed in air circles.” The world and the cosmos are “his system” and his interpretations are that there are “physical processes as a constant interaction”, and he expressed his attitude towards the cosmos with; “there is no ordered cosmos without a mind to order it”. About how the mind performs its “management role”, Anaximander could not give an answer and did not indulge in further interpretations. Aristotle further tried to find a “key” to decipher the “apeiron” while formulating the thesis of eternal motion” (Taylor, 2007: 74–77).

So, there is a “generally accepted” scientific knowledge and scientific acceptance of the “existence of the system”, and in our approach we would go in the direction of “rejecting” the cognitive-theoretical doubt about its existence. In this context, the “notion of system” means something that is actually the system and thus assumes the “responsibility” for confirming its expression and the consequences of its existence and functioning in reality (Luman, 2001: 49).

The humanist-philosophical understanding of the world as a “human creation” represents a significant step towards the general generation of the foundations of a scientific approach to the understanding of the systems and the systemic. In essence, the humanistic approach to understanding the world is opposed to those philosophical approaches that call into question its “real existence” or its “real structure” independent of man and human consciousness. Likewise, this theoretical approach denies all philosophical doctrines that consider the world as something abstract, separate, isolated or absolutely independent from man. That is, the world as something “given by itself”, inevitable, something to which man simply and necessarily has to adapt if he wants to survive and exist. This humanistic approach emphasizes the subjective and essential role of man, who is not a passive being, with the understanding that “he too is a product of long-term evolution” and that he has a series of interactions with the “material world”. This interaction, in a multiple and multidimensional way, is conditioned by the structural and qualitative determinants of the objective situation, respectively the ambience, the environment. However, it is indisputable that considering the understanding and acceptance of the “existence of the material world”, as well as the awareness of

“evolutionary and natural processes”, as well as interactions depending on or independent of human will, with the human being at the “center” of these processes and interactions, can speak about the “recognition and understanding” of the systemic approach in this general philosophical, humanistic understanding and generalization of the world. Furthermore, man essentially determines, and with his practice “creates a transformed environment”, which is adapted to his needs. Essentially, a “material object” that would not be understood from the point of view of man, that is, would be the object of “man’s understanding”, would represent a “thing in itself”, as defined by Kant. All “material objects”, which make up the “material world” as a system, even when it comes to natural objects, whose recognition is indisputable (earth, water, stars, stone, etc..) even before the creation of man, but also in general notions and their possible downfalls are exactly what “man recognizes” and what they are “in relation to man”. The characteristics and properties of material objects that we perceive, and that we can perceive, such as color, form, solidity, are conditioned by the “very structure” of the material object, but also by the limited human senses, capacity and form of thinking, as well as the degree of development and culture of thinking itself (Marković , 1994: 173–175).

3. UNDERSTANDING THE SYSTEM IN BIOLOGICAL AND MECHANICAL SENSE

According to Bertalanfy (Ludwig von Bertalanfy, 1901-1972), the founder of modern system theory and the creator of “general system theory”, the concept of system can be experienced in everyday reality, in frequent, ordinary daily use in a “wide field” of application, from industrial enterprises, up to “initiates” in matters of pure science. It is a strong trend in both theory and practice, presented in the form of “new utopians”, who, in contrast to the author, were proponents of technology and technocracy, system analysis, and system engineering. Technology has advanced the relationship between “man and machine” in such a sense and at such a level that a “system approach” has become necessary, bringing together teams of various specialists, in order to answer the questions of optimizing the organization, which on a global

level has evolved into something that can be called the “fourth industrial revolution”. To all these questions, not a single science, philosophy, physics, mathematics, biology, sociology, psychology, and others, could give an answer, and precisely, bearing in mind the continuity of efforts and evolution in attempts to answer, in a partial scientific, but continuous historical context. The concept of a scientific systemic approach to the “system” has its own long historical path, like every “new idea”, which was the originator of the corresponding science, although as a comprehensive concept, in the essential sense, the system is “historically rooted”, incorporated, in the famous philosophical in parts, and further, partially, in various areas already mentioned (Bertalanfi, 2009: 3–12).

The author himself, at the beginning of the 1920s, began serious research in the field of biological theory, trying to answer and suppress the dominant scientific approach of the “machanist” approach in the understanding of this science, but also in science in general, which “neglected or actively rejected”, exactly what he considered crucial in the “phenomenon” of human life. He advocated the organic conception in biology, which emphasizes the understanding of the organism as a whole or system. As the main goal of biology as a science, he saw the discovery of principles of organization at its various levels. The author’s first statement was made in 1925/26, while Whitehead’s philosophy of “organic mechanism” was published in 1925. Cannon’s work on homeostasis (maintenance of constant composition and properties of the internal environment, pa.a.) appeared in 1929 and 1932. Claude Bernard (Claude Bernard, pa.a.) was a great predecessor of the organic conception, but his work was barely known outside of France, even now it is awaiting evaluation (Bernal, 1957: 969). The simultaneous appearance of independent similar ideas on different continents was a symptomatic new trend, which, however, required time to be accepted (Bertalanfi, 2009: 12).

Similar to Robert Wiener, Boguslav was an advocate that “the purpose of human engineering”, that is, human management, is the “elimination” of the human factor as much as possible in the system and organization. According to him, “there was no need” for existence of concern or interest in the issue of “the nature of man and his psychological” needs and it is only necessary to “include” man in the system, on the basis of which he

will “adapt” to any demands that the system will make in front of him. This kind of technocratic, corporate-developmental-systemic movement was primarily in the function of the military-industrial complex and then in the function of the education of the administration. Also, Wiener himself claimed that “management techniques” can solve the issue of the human factor, that is, that by developing “engineering and management techniques” the human role in the system can be achieved and replaced, and the search for a “new dimension” of man in the organization and system (Devey, 2012: 297).

So, the cause, foundation and need to understand the system even more deeply and specifically as a separate and important entity, was the concept of “structural or identical-isomorphic properties”, characteristics and phenomena in different scientific fields. A clear coincidence was observed regarding the issue of “influence” on the behavior of different entities in the fields, which, in the essential sense, were very different and interpreted from fundamentally different scientific positions. Thus, for example, it was possible to “apply” the law of exponential growth of certain bacterial cells, the number of bacteria, animals and humans to “progress” in scientific research, which was measured in the general sense by the “number of publications”, such as say the field of genetics or science in general. In dealing with the “set of elements”, three different groups can be observed in terms of their number, subtypes and relationships among elements. Thus, in relation to this approach, the system could be understood as a “set” of elements in a state of mutual relations as well as multiple relations with its environment. Any possibility of progress, initiation in a purposeful sense is possible only by “transitioning” from the state of “immutable wholeness, totality” to the state of “variability and change” of the parts of the system itself (Bertalanfi, 2012).

4. SYSTEM FROM A BASIC PHILOSOPHICAL POINT OF VIEW

System, as well as other concepts such as definitions, proportions, logical reasoning, speech, explanation of sentences and others, i.e. a whole range of meanings can be connected with the ancient concept of “logos”. Therefore, this specific dimension, very complex, is added to

the system, meaning its complexity is continuously indicated from the very root of the concept of the system as a conceptual entity. Logos, according to many philosophers, including Aristotle, and especially Heraclitus, “suggests” that it is some kind of “coherence”, establishing the “principle at the base of our significant world” and which, according to Heraclitus, “we can hear”, thanks to “what we hear” even though logos is associated from Plato onwards as “Heraclitus’s interest in change”. Plato advocated the thesis that “everything flows and nothing remains at rest”. However, the relation of the logos to “systemic changes and the system” is also highlighted. According to these interpretations, “logos” represents “measure or proportion”, which is unchanging and regular in the processes of the nature of exchange. The mentioned measure is “independent of material continuity”. It cannot be understood as some kind of “continuous goods exchange”. According to Heraclitus, “logos” ensures that “the same value remains”, after the process of “discontinuity in changes”, which in the world “we perceive as a structured system of measured proportion”. In other words, after the change, “the same value of proportion remains”, that is, that the process is “measured according to the same logos”. According to Taylor, the assumption is that no material substance permanently marked a radical break with the older Ionic tradition, which aspired to find unity for the processes of change in the form of one basic substance, which remains in change, and which manifests itself in different forms, but in the final form it retains its identity. For Anaximenes, everything is a form of air, and differs only in density. For Heraclitus, it does not matter whether the air completely “dies” while fire is born from its ashes. We can still meaningfully say that the world has a permanent identity, like the identity of a river that made the new one by the continuous influx of new water. Logos “ensures” that “all points in radical change”, in which there is no obvious “material substance”, but “the world that changes” during that process, in the end, nevertheless “has coherence and unity” (Taylor, 2007: 114–117).

In the end, a system can be considered as a whole that consists of purposefully joined parts, which interact with each other, and as the whole, with its environment. Everything is in the function of achieving common interests, or in the most general case it is understood as a separate

functional unit consisting of a set of objects, their established properties (attributes) and a set of relations that connect those objects as well as the properties of those relations. What is not included in the system is its environment.

Already as it is presented in principle, and through the very original ancient notions of the system, certain peculiarities, characteristics, specific to the system can be categorized. It is indisputable that, in antiquity, the questions of the existence of the system, its substance, certain interactions and processes, were essential in the function of movement or change of state.

Greek philosophers “atomists” who were based on the works and theories of Leucippus and Democritus, as well as their followers, and, according to Aristotle, had “observable data about multitude, movement and change” and, together with Anaxagoras, tried to “reconcile” these theories with the Elean denial of the possibility of arising and disappearing”. For the atomists, contrary to Anaxagoras, “original things were not properties or substances, but physical individualities, and the original processes were not mixing and separation, but the formation and decomposition of those individualities.” Also, the specificity of the “atomists”, according to Anaxagoras, was that “basic singularities were imperceptible”. Accordingly, since “their properties were not observable”, they had to be theoretically clarified and interpreted. Thus, the “atomists” formulated “physically indivisible particles (atomon, literally: which cannot be cut)”, considering that they “had to be too small” and thus could not be known physically. Aristotle reports an (unreliable) atomistic argument - which is somewhat close to Zen’s arguments against the multitude - that if, as Anaxagoras claimed for example, it were theoretically possible to divide a material thing ad infinitum, that division would have to bring the thing down to nothing. This Zenian argument was supported by another argument, which led to the same conclusion that atoms are theoretically indivisible because they do not contain a void...The same principle explains that atoms resist other kinds of change, such as reshaping, compression, and expansion: all these changes require displacement of matter within atoms, which is impossible without voids to accommodate the displaced matter (Taylor, 2007: 225–226).

In addition to this fact, that they are too small and physically indivisible, Aristotle adds another “principle” characteristic. According to the basic “atomist” theory, “atoms are in a state of eternal motion in the basic space”. This movement is “not the product” of a plan, but is determined by “a series of previous interactions between atoms.” Here we come to Aristotle’s famous criticism of Democritus that he “removed the final cause” and made the “movement of atoms” completely “unnatural”, because if empty space is “posturally” determined as something “necessary for movement”, then the atomists violate the “Elean principle”, that, “what is not cannot be”. However, it is obvious that “emptiness is postulated” also in order to understand the “multiplicity” of things. This is based on the understanding that the atomists followed Parmenides in terms of the interpretation “that there could not be a multitude of things, unless there were a void to separate them”. Since atoms are “separated by empty space”, according to this theory, they could never come into contact, but over time theories were developed about their “collision”, interpretations of “intertwining”, but the inconsistency remained until the period of modern philosophical understandings on this matter. And while the views of atomists on these subjects can be largely reconstructed in general terms, much is unclear about the details. The universe of atomists is incomplete, mechanistic and deterministic, every event has a cause, and causes necessarily lead to their effects. In a broader sense, this process is mechanical, ultimately, everything in the world happens as a result of the interaction of atoms. The process of the action of atoms has neither a beginning nor an end, and each individual stage of that process is necessarily caused by the previous stage. But how atomists exactly understood the functioning of that process remains unclear. This ambiguity should mainly be attributed to the fragmentary nature of the evidence we have, but it is also possible that the presentation of the theory itself was not completely devoid of ambiguity (Taylor, 2007: 226–227).

5. AN ATTEMPT AT SYSTEMATIZATION INTO A GENERAL SYSTEM THEORY

In today's modern conditions, there is no consensus on the general theory of the system. General theory means more like a "summary label" for a wide range of approaches within the framework of research procedures in different areas and at the levels of their application. Today there are agreed attitudes, that there is a clear "differentiation" of the system and its "environment". That is, that there is a mutual "relationship" between the system and its environment. Systems are also oriented towards their environment with their "structure" and without it, "the environment", they could not exist. In this context, the "boundaries" of the system and their maintenance imply the necessity for the survival or existence of the system in general. The boundaries of the system themselves do not harm the "connections" and mutual "interaction", both within the system and the relationship, the interaction of the system with its environment. The relationship between a system and its environment is very complex, but it is important to make a distinction, to notice a special dimension in the "relationship between the environment of a system" and the system in the "environment" of this system. In other words, there must be a clear understanding of the difference and dimension of system-environment and system-system relations. By observing this dimension, the "separation, differentiation" of the system and the environment, we come to a conclusion about the consequence of differentiation. Namely, there is an "internal differentiation of the system, that is, within the system itself, there may be "further system-environment differentiations". This essentially means that within the system "parts of the system are differentiated" and the entire system then acquires the dimension of the "internal environment". This process can be further multiplied, and the entire system "multiplies" itself through numerous "system-environment differentiations". In this way, the system is broken down into "component parts" and there is an "interaction" of these parts within the environment of the "internal environment" of the system itself. Essentially, the "multiplication" of parts, namely further internal differentiation of the system-environment, is a process of "increasing the complexity", the complexity of the system. This brings us to the concept of a complex

system. On the other hand, we have another “constitutive differentiation”. It is the differentiation of the “elements” of the system and the “relations” between them. The elements of the system acquire their quality by “relations” bringing them into quantitative and qualitative relationship with each other. Quantitatively, the elements of the system in mutual relations can be expressed mathematically by the number of relations, but with the very “essence of the quality of the relation”, namely the “imaginable relation”, the dimension of the quality of the elements of the system, the system as a whole, is obtained. This “process” is possible only on the principle of “selection of elements and connections”, which further necessarily leads to the formation of complex systems. Classical “internal differentiation” based on the “system-environment” relationship leads to the state of “differentiation of the system itself” and not to its complexity (Luman, 2001: 49–60).

Through this approach, we also come to the understanding of the existence of “elements” in the system, as “units of the system”, which can no longer be decomposed. In this way, the exclusive determination, in essence, is not scientifically sustainable, taking into account at least one aspect in the approach. Namely, by further analysis, microscopically, each element represents a “multi-complex composition”. However, from the aspect of the attempt at necessary abstraction, in order to theoretically inclusion of the understanding of the system, we limit the approach to the conceptually accepted definition and understanding of the elements of the system. Respecting the principle that the “element” of the system cannot be further decomposed, we arrive at a new dimension of the system itself. Based on this understanding, the system is “constituted” and “changed” through the “relationship” of its elements. So it is important to note that the “relationship” of system elements is “constitutive” for the system. Therefore, in the approach to understanding and analyzing the system, this aspect is taken as primary in relation to the dimension of observing the system based on the “system-environment differentiation”. A key concept in systems’ theory is the concept of “regulation”. This term refers to mutual “relationships between system elements”. Likewise, it is implied that a “certain relation” is not a “case” but a cognitive-theoretical category. Relations take place in “conditions of possibility”, therefore,

in the dimension of knowledge about the existence of “conditions” in which relations are realized and “can be regulated”. In this context, it must be emphasized that the relationship exists “because another one also appeared”, namely, there is a cause-and-effect relationship between them. However, on the other hand, it should be pointed out that there can also be special “catalysts” elements, i.e. the creation of a “higher degree form” among relations, as Marx defines it through the “theory of form”. The basic point of view of the system theory, although it is difficult to defend theoretically and accurately founded, is that the “quantity of relations” between the elements of the system determines, first of all, the “basis of constitution”, the formation of the system, and that by developing “quantity, quantity of relations” the system acquires the characteristic of “regulating “. In this way, in essence, the correlation between the “number of relations” and the “complexity of the system” is expressed. Systems with “smaller amount of relations” are less complex. On the other hand, systems with the dimension of “increasing the amount of relations” take on the dimension of increasing the level of complexity (Luman, 2001: 60–63).

6. GIVING PROPERTIES TO THE SYSTEM

The characteristic of the system is that when it comes to performing a task, it must have a management function, through which these tasks can be accomplished. So, the system must also have appropriate means or ways, i.e. “executive organs” (people have arms and legs like that), and another characteristic, i.e. property is that they must have “en rapport” with the outside world. This is achieved through sense organs, in the case of mechanical systems, for example, through a photoelectric cell or a thermometer. The function of these executive bodies is to enable “execution” and “take care” of the execution, and not only to inform about the “existing circumstances” in the outside world, the environment. Therefore, there must be “central authorities” for “decision-making”. This applies for any form of behavior, system level, especially for more complex behavior, more complex systems. These central organs “determine” what the machine or the human organism will do based

on the “information” that the machine receives and remembers with a “memory similar to living organisms” and man with his own memory (Viner, 1964: 49–50).

Each system can be viewed comprehensively through elements, structure, parts, internal connections, properties, processes, boundaries, environment, functions and goals.

The concept of “elements” has been of interest to philosophical thought since ancient times, and the theory of elements itself emerged as one of the “most influential discoveries” in the history of science. This discovery was reached by Empedocles, who started from one basic principle, which is “understanding the nature” of the element itself. Namely, Empedocles reduced, generalized the nature of the element, all reductions of all forms of apparent emergence, change and decay, together with certain and changeable properties of what is perceived, through a limited number of entities “which have the characteristics of immutability and permanence”. In a certain way, Empedocles continued the work and conclusions of his predecessor Parmenides, who asserted “that absolute birth and death cannot exist at the same time”. This is based on the premise that “simultaneity” logically rejects “temporal non-existence”. A close interpretation of Parmenides’ approach, Anaxagoras’ fragment explains: “It is impossible to exist from something that doesn’t exist, neither has it happened nor heard that what exists is completely destroyed.” So, Parmenides denied “corresponding spatial non-existence”, and Empedocles “defined” it as “void, the empty or canon”. Also, for similar logical reasons, he refused to “accept that something” could share “the continuity and homogeneity of being”. On the basis of Parmenides’ “way of thought”, Empedocles “developed an understanding of the minimum number of elements, with constant and unchanging properties, which are capable of explaining the world of multitude and variety, through their proportion and arrangement in compounds”. At the very beginning, he avoided specifying the number of elements, but expressed it (in the number four, which corresponds to fire, air, earth and water) with excerpts from Anaxagoras’ philosophy. As a poet, he expressed himself with: “Four first hear, there are the roots of everything: radiant Zeus, life-giving Hera and Aidoneus, Nestis who with her tears for mortals water

the spring” (Taylor, 2007: 186–187). The depth of thinking, according to the interpretations, had deeper roots, and Empedocles’ expression - rhizomes (roots) - was remembered in science, with which he “united” his four basic elements, earth, air, fire and water.

Perhaps Empedocles had in mind the Homeric division of the world, which assigned the sky to Zeus, the sea to Poseidon, the underworld to Hades, and left the Earth common to all, in order to adapt that division to two pairs of male and female principles - one higher (Zeus as fire and Hera as air), and once lower (Aidoneus as earth and Nestis as water). Four was an economical, minimal number, the choice of which is supported by the importance that the contrasts hot/cold, dry/wet had for the older Milesians, as well as the fact that they are four different fundamental principles: air (Anaximenes), fire (Heraclitus), water (attributed to Thales) and the general tradition, according to which the Earth is the mother of all. The set of four - which is the first square number, which in Pythagoras is more strongly associated with justice - also allowed mutual activity within a balanced structure. In the end, Empedocles made a “far-reaching conclusion” and contrasted his theory with Anaxagoras’ theory “on the infinite divisibility of compounds”. He interprets his theory, the concept of elements identically to Aristotle’s expression as “divisible, but which will never be divided”. In this way, Empedocles defined that “all living and non-living forms should be understood as certain arrangements in different proportions of a small number of unchanging, qualitatively different elements”. This definition became the basis for further philosophical and other research in the ancient period, but also in the Middle Ages, as well as in the modern era. This is how the basic “hypotheses” of modern science were established (Taylor, 2007: 186–189).

The connections between the elements, as well as the structure in which the elements are bound, are also already recognized as concepts in ancient, famous ancient works, fragments of Empedocles and Aristotle. Aristotle, dealing with Empedocles, “praised his” insight that the “character of a thing” is not given so much by the elements from which it is made, but rather by “the logos or the proportion of their combination”. This would become the further basis for Aristotle’s teaching which

would become known as “formal cause”. The significance that Aristotle attributes to Empedocles is in the fact of “expressing the bond between the elements, but not as an additional ingredient, but as inherently contained in their attraction when combined in the correct formula.” Describing the world on the Earth, Empedocles observed “structures of trees, plants and fruits, up to the range of animal species”, as well as “armour”, which is “the structure of a sea turtle”. In this way, Empedocles somewhat expressed his awareness of biological “analogy and homology”, between “plant and animal structures”. He also noticed “processes”, which can be “connected” in a certain way. According to him, “it seems that the same changes, sepsis, take place in “liquids”, and that “water makes wine, milk makes yogurt...”. In essence, through his thinking about the world and forms of life, Empedocles taught “the common function of covering and protection”, which “intersects in forms of life and different elements, in order to unite people and plants on land, birds in the air and fish in the water”. Empedocles was also the forerunner of Aristotle’s “fifth element, quinta essential”, i.e. “the one that eternally surrounds the cosmos”. The one to whom “the human psyche is related” (Taylor, 2007: 195–197).

Parmenides dealt with the issues of “limits”, in relation to the dilemma of “reality or what is” and “from what” it arises, as well as other dilemmas. In his statements, Parmenides describes the “limit” as a “constraint of reality”, because his approach to the “need for completeness” represents a logical constraint. Dilemmas of “spatial and temporal” properties also arise, because “the word border” does not express the essence by itself, and a “clearer” definition of border and limitation was given by Philolaus and the “Pythagoreans”. Philolaus had his starting point in “gnosis”, which would mean “everyday cognitive insight into individual things”. This insight is based on “cognitive and experiential”, and in this way, individual things are “measurable and countable” and, consequently, must be “separated from everything else by a sharp, determined border”. Philolaus himself points out that the border can be temporal and spatial, and the object itself will have a “measurable size, volume or time duration” depending on what kind it is. Thus, a “cognitive set of objects” must have its own identification, “have a number” or “be recognizable” as one object and not “a multitude”. Part of “what it is must be an individual”, and Parmenides interprets the

same, that “it must have a limit”. So Philolaus with his thoughts leads to a “logical separation of the contents of the universe” into two categories. The first “the one which limits” and the second “the one which is limited”. Philolaus is guided by mathematics in the direction of Aristotle’s “form and matter, and according to such an interpretation any “substance” from which some “individual is made” is not “limited” in itself, but must “exist a limit” because in contrast “that individuality” could exist in any size. Philolaus could not give a more detailed explanation of what “further the assembly would include”, because he considered it to be beyond human knowledge. Likewise, regarding the cosmos, Philolaus points out that it is also “assembled” from a “structure” that is assembled with “contents that are limited and that are not limited.” His approach is “close” to Aristotle’s understanding of the “so-called Pythagoreans”, who claimed that some of them made “two columns of pairs, opposites, in which they found limited/unlimited, even/odd, one/many, right/left, male/female (Taylor, 2007: 151–171).

From the previously mentioned elaboration, as well as some of the theoretical comparisons mentioned, regarding the concept of system, it is obvious that a large number of authors, from different aspects, historical context and other peculiarities, not only conceptually determined the system, but also classified its essential features. Bearing in mind the historical notions and definitions of the system already presented, Deželjin defines it as “a set of mutually purposefully connected and mutually influencing elements, things, occurrences and relationships - in their movement and changeability in nature, technology and society and openness to their surroundings, a set that at the same time it is characterized by certain goals which connect it as a whole with feedback links by means of which it is governed and self-governed.” Also, according to him, there is no doubt that there is a single system-universe. However, if such a universal system is divided into its component parts and if it is viewed as absolutely or relatively open to its environment (surroundings), then those parts can also be considered as a system, because they are in objective interdependence and interactivity with the environment, and ultimately with the system universe. A certain openness cannot be absolutely denied even by technical systems (Deželjin, 1987: 68).

7. THE STATE AS AN ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM

The state and state organization were the subject of ancient Greek philosophy and learning, which then evolved into modern forms of state organization and state administration. Still, Piraeus, in accordance with “Aristotle’s Politics, imagined one state”. That state “would have ten thousand people”, it would be divided into three groups, the classes of “craftsmen, farmers and warriors”. Likewise, the land would be divided into three parts “divine, state and private”. Hippodamus further thought about the need to have “three types of laws, since disputes “before the courts” are mainly for “insult, damage or murder”, and he intended to introduce a “supreme court”, whose role would be to take over those cases “which are not well judged”. He expressed his “doubt” about the correctness of the decision-making process in the trial and its fairness. He also believed that it was necessary to enact a “special law” that would award “honor” awards to people who “discover” something that would be useful for the state, as well as to ensure the “maintenance” of the children of “citizens” who died in the war. According to him, the clerkship and clerks were under the jurisdiction of “the people” and should deal with “public affairs, and also about foreigners and widows.” This ideal model of the state was the “pattern” of the political philosophy of the ancient Greeks. Pericles, reflecting on the “Athenian democracy” that already existed, added an essential part, the need for “the possibility of unhindered development of personality and private initiative” and in a way gave “hints of liberalism” in the approach to state issues. Pericles’ views further, probably, influenced Hippodamus’ view on legislation. Namely, according to him, legislation in the “ideal state” should be limited to the protection of individual rights and interests. Likewise, he also has a “reformist approach”, primarily with the view of the need to establish an “appellate court”, as the highest judicial instance, composed of “experienced and older people”, which would have the role of eliminating unjust decisions made by the existing “people’s courts”. His critics, Aristotle on the one hand, challenged him in the sense that he “speaks only of the workers, craftsmen and warriors”, as the three classes of the state, but that he “forgot” the slaves whom he does not mention at

all. It is more miserable to inflict injustice on someone who is unfortunate, than someone who is happy. A nation can have value only where laws also have value. Injustice occurs when equals are treated unequally and when unequals are treated equally. A happy state is one in which all citizens have moderate and sufficient property (Aristotle, 2007: 5–10).

Here comes to the fore, "that time" prevailing philosophical opinion, that this class was not considered "an element of the state organization". Also, his criticism goes in the direction of Hippodamus' aspiration to invite the "whole nation" to "state power", as well as what the relationship would be between farmers and warriors. If the warriors were given land to cultivate, and cultivated it, then the farmers would disappear, and if the farmers did it for the warriors, in that way they would become their slaves. But since there are no written records of this famous "Miletian architect", there remains a certain "reserve" about the very "originality" of Plato's "political-philosophical ideas about the ideal state". The novelty introduced by Hippodamus is a "practice" to try to avoid the "mistakes" of the popular courts of that time, and Plato himself in "his second great political work Leg. VI 767", essentially harmonized his philosophical and political thought with the views of Hippodamus and "accepted" the need to establish an appellate court, which he incorporated into the "system of the branched judicial network of his second best state". There are indeed big differences between Hippodamus' and Plato's states - in Plato's case, only one class that is engaged in production is foreseen and this is completely excluded from political life, but in the sense mentioned above, the contours of Plato's teachings are marked, nevertheless, but at Hippodamus (Đurić, 2009, 72–81).

8. STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT AS THE BASIS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE SYSTEM-ORGANIZATION

Strategic management in the organization is aimed at establishing an optimal relationship in the functioning (existence) of the organization, but also in the interaction with the environment. The relationship with the environment is particularly significant from the aspect of constant and major changes, which are often unpredictable. For this reason, the basic

task of strategic management in the organization derives from ensuring its optimal response to all the previously mentioned challenges, both within the organization and in its immediate or wider environment.

An important segment of strategic management is the controlling of human resources, whose basic task is to permanently ensure the optimal functioning of the organization.

The times in which we live are characterized, among other things, by significant changes in the understanding of capital and value in general, as a product of the organization's functioning from the aspect of creating material goods and providing services of various contents. People become the most important capital, their ability to work, work values, and motivation, in the ultimate satisfaction in performing work, becomes the main attribute of the value and competitive ability of the organization. The world's most successful companies largely base their business success on a well-conceived and successfully implemented strategy for acquiring, developing and engaging human resources. For this reason, the strategic management of human resources becomes an integral part of the business and development strategy of the organization.

This is explained by the exceptional importance attached to people in achieving the goals of the organization, and in general the successful functioning of the organization in complex conditions.

Therefore, it can be concluded that issues of human resource management are of strategic importance for the organization and that the entire system of managing the work and development of employees in the organization is largely influenced by decisions of a strategic nature.

Turbulent changes in the business conditions of almost all organizations, which, in addition to economic factors, are greatly influenced by the development of technologies and the creation of new and innovative means of work, put the management of organizations in front of new challenges. They are expected not only to ensure the survival of the organization, but to create ways for its long-term development based on successful business operations. For this reason, the field of strategic management is constantly gaining importance. Since the key carriers of the organization's development are its human resources, it is necessary that their development is based on a well-conceived

strategy. Only devising a good strategy in this segment is not always a guarantee for achieving the desired effects. That is why it is necessary that, in addition to ensuring adequate work and creative potential of employees, the level of quality in performing a series of processes in the field of human resources management is constantly raised. Most of those processes are in the function of raising, preserving and using that potential. Achieving the stated goals, which are of strategic importance for the organization in terms of their content and scope, also implies the need to emphasize in the right plan the strategic component of human resources management, which is insufficiently embedded in the practice of domestic organizations.

9. CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

There is a clear definiteness in the understanding of the system and evolution in its observation. Based on the original thoughts about the system from the period of antiquity, a systematization in the approaches to this phenomenon is gradually coming. Important characteristics of the system, determinants, properties, but also the structure itself, as well as the dynamism in the functioning of the system, are taught. Due to the technological revolution and acceleration in this area, reduction and abstraction are necessarily imposed in the observation of such extensive and complex matter. It is this approach that gives “a new dimension”, universality both in the observation and study of the system, but even more so in its instrumentalization, in wide, and one might say, inexhaustible fields. Our thinking goes in the sense that its general dimension can be applied to any organization. So does the state, which we see as an organization. In this way, we can observe the state through a systemic approach and act towards such an organization in order to optimize its functioning. Manageability and optimization of the functioning of every organization is a basic property, the ultimate purpose in the application of system knowledge, that is, the instrumentalization of systems’ science. Management and the human factor, at this technological and civilizational moment in the development of mankind, has a key, administrative, and most importantly, control function in the functioning of the organization.

The state, as one of the most meaningful forms of human organization, should use all the benefits of such a scientific, systematic approach. In the future, there will certainly be a need for further optimization of the human and artificial factor in the management and optimization of the work of the state, but also of any organizational form - any system. Therefore, the “generality” and significance of our approach remain relevant in new challenging times for science and humanity.

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CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

GLOBALIZATION AS A POLICY OF HEGEMONY

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Abstract: *The concept of globalization often implies integrative and affirmative processes of networking and linking states with the aim of creating a larger international scope of production and trade, the exchange and flow of capital, goods, people, and services. However, alongside this, globalization can also represent a political platform for achieving particular interests of certain or a small number of states, peoples, nations, and multinational corporations, leading to unequal economic and political development among states, as well as to policies of hegemony and imperialism. This paper will discuss the values and ideas of globalization, its consequences, as well as forms of its manifestation.*

Keywords: *globalization, hegemony, democracy, USA, unipolarity, multipolarity, international relations, global interdependence.*

INTRODUCTION

Globalization mostly implies processes and changes leading to extensive connections between states, people, and economies in commercial, economic, political, and various other terms. Throughout history, there have been several developmental phases of globalization, while some theorists argue that globalization never truly ceased, and that its processes are permanently present among states striving to achieve their interests and goals, and that, in the very logic of capital and trade, the ideas of mundialization and international connectivity emerge. However, the

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process of globalization, while bringing numerous positive developments for humanity, can also be abused by certain states as a tool to pursue their own, often lucrative interests. Therefore, this paper will discuss how the most dominant state of the 21st century, the USA, has utilized, directed, and dominated the processes of globalization to achieve its national and global interests, leading to the development of American hegemony. The conditions for such actions were created with the end of the Cold War in 1991 and the end of the bipolar world, as well as the creation of a new global order with a unipolar system dominated by the USA. In such circumstances, the most powerful state in the world proclaimed globalization as the goal of its foreign policy. However, this type of globalization essentially represented the Americanization of the planet through the exercise of soft power and influence, opening the door to American hegemony and influence without competition. The possibilities of serious opposition to such aspirations and policies by other states were highly limited. Such a constellation of relations often provoked dissatisfaction and discontent among certain sovereigntist groups of countries, which faced serious consequences when opposing the processes of mundialization and the creation of a new world order.

Today, in the 21st century, the world is increasingly moving towards multipolarity, a concept that existed on the eve of the World War I. In such circumstances, the USA is attempting to maintain its international position and influence by imposing its ideas, values and policies, however, it is facing the rising power and influence of the BRICS countries. Having learned from the experience of the Peloponnesian War, we can expect an American struggle or preventive action in order for it to maintain the acquired influence in international relations. Therefore, globalization nowadays still contains the idea of further expansion of American influence and interests around the world.

THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION

There are various interpretations and definitions of this concept in contemporary science, as well as approaches to its explanation and definition. Globalization is now considered from political, international, economic, social, and many other aspects. Wittkopf et al.'s suggests that “glo-

balization is the rapid integration of national economies, not only in the realm of ideas, information, and technology but simultaneously a process with a powerful impact on political, social, and cultural relations worldwide” (Wittkopf et al., 2008: 546). Hence, its impact and manifestations are of a multifaceted nature and touch all spheres of life. For the modern form of globalization, it can be said that it resulted from the development of modern technologies, not only in the 20th and 21st centuries but was additionally accelerated based on geographical discoveries and industrial revolutions centuries before. Although the process is undoubtedly influenced by industrial and technological revolutions, it is also a process that has been ongoing since ancient times and continues to this day. In modern circumstances, the rapid development and interconnection of nations and states are further influenced by the emergence and development of social networks, the expansion of capital, as well as global conflicts that have enabled the military presence and cultural influence of certain states on other continents (such as the American occupation and military presence in bases in Japan - Okinawa, Germany - Ramstein, Italy - Naples, and the like). “No other country in the world has as many military bases that the occupied countries often refuse to accept” (Ganzer, 2021: 22). Such USA military presence in countries around the world has enabled the promotion of American culture, the adoption of American values, and the imposition of American foreign policy priorities and interests. Similarly, Čenić takes Wittkopf’s point when he says that globalization is a complex concept and that it has been present in economic science since the sixties of the twentieth century: “There is no universally accepted definition of this term. The reason lies in the complexity and multidimensionality of the globalization process, which encompasses a wide range. Therefore, in addition to economy, the process of globalization is present in society, culture, politics, and in almost all segments of social life. The important fact is that globalization is a general process of interdependent variables and that it is not possible to distinguish its elements according to the subjects that cause it, nor to separate the process of globalization in one domain from the general process. Accordingly, it is certain that globalization represents much more than the economic integration of states. Globalization is a process of overcoming historically established borders, i.e.

the erosion of state borders. For modern globalization, it can be accepted that it represents the end of geography because technological inventions eliminate spatial distances” (Čenić, 2010: 148).

What can be concluded from these views is that globalization leads to overcoming historically established borders, thus undermining the fundamental principles of the Peace of Westphalia from 1648, which implied that every state had complete freedom, i.e. sovereignty to govern its affairs on its territory without consulting or being subjected to the dictates or policies of other states. In the context of international relations and foreign policy, globalization also means accelerated interconnection and cooperation among states through international institutions, which, among other things, involve the creation of the concept of international responsibility, i.e. a system of collective security. The contours of the existing collective security system emerged after World War I when the concept of the balance of power² was replaced by the concept of collective security. The newly established system involved the creation of international institutions, such as the League of Nations - an organization whose primary goal was to maintain international peace and order. After the World War II, this institution was replaced by the United Nations, which continues to exist and operate to this day.

Therefore, the concept and process discussed have a long history of evolution and action. Critics of globalization and other sovereigntists emphasize its negative characteristics and consequences. Andrew Heywood believes that globalization is the biggest threat to the nation-state and to states in general, “in general, globalization is a process in which events and decisions made in one part of the world affect people in another part. One of its manifestations is the emergence of a global economy in which it has become significantly more difficult, if not im-

2 David Hume described the balance of power as the "rule of wise politics" (Nye, 2006: 91), while Woodrow Wilson considered it the "principle of evil" (Nye, 2006: 91) because it encouraged European powers to treat other world states as "pieces of cheese to be arbitrarily taken and dealt out" (Nye, 2006: 91). Proponents of the balance of power argue that it represents and ensures political stability in Europe. On the other hand, its critics insist that this concept fueled rivalry and an arms race among European powers, ultimately leading to the outbreak of the World War I. "The balance of power has maintained short-term peace in Europe for 100 years, but it did not secure a long-lasting one, as this concept led to the Great War - the largest conflict in human history" (Nye, 2006: 91).

possible, for every country to control international capital movements. The consequences of this process for the state are dramatic” (Heywood, 2004: 194). This means that states have limited means to manage political and economic life and secure progress for themselves. “Political globalization is no less important, as it is reflected in the increasing role of international and supranational bodies, such as the United Nations, the European Union (EU), NATO, and the World Trade Organization. For example, it is clear that EU membership threatens the power of the state because an increasing number of decisions (on monetary, agricultural, fisheries policy, defense, and foreign affairs) are made by European institutions rather than member states” (Heywood, 2004: 194). Giddens is on the trail of these views when he says: “Western policy seems to be the source of poverty and underdevelopment. These beliefs are often based on facts. The critical conditions of some African countries, for example, reflect the long-term consequences of Western colonization and recent Western interventions during the Cold War. Such impacts are often equated with globalization itself. In developing countries, globalization is largely seen as the latest stage of Western exploitation of the Third World - a project by means of which wealthy countries earn at the expense of the poor” (Giddens, 2005: 13). These processes also tell us that the understanding and perception of sovereignty have been disrupted, i.e. the concept of state sovereignty that has existed until now and has been the way states function since the aforementioned Peace of Westphalia from 1648.

From a sociological perspective, Lape et al. (2005) consider that the process of globalization implies the acceptance of dominant patterns of behavior and actions of leading countries that are the drivers and protagonists of such processes and policies by less developed, less independent, and less influential states. Thus, this type of globalization is closely linked to soft power and the interests of the most powerful states in the world. The value system that is promoted and imposed disrupts traditional forms of behavior, primarily within the family and community, and leads to contentious processes that result in the erosion of the centuries-old authenticity of many nations and cultures.

POLICY OF GLOBALIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

In today's modern era, we are active participants and witnesses to the process of globalization and daily, increasingly intense connection of peoples and nations. The world and information are more accessible than ever. A glimpse into events in the farthest corners of our planet is shared within seconds, as long as it takes our personal smartphones to load a specific search. The available information is often subject to filtering and processing with the goal of indoctrination and ideological shaping of people, but one cannot dispute the speed of their flow, which is unprecedented in the history of mankind so far. The entire process of networking, connecting people, states, cultures, nations, as it is highlighted - is not new, nor did it emerge in the 21st or 20th century. The origins of globalization can be traced back to even Alexander the Great and his creation of Hellenistic culture based on a fusion of Greek and Near and Far Eastern cultures. Much time has passed since then and there have been several different phases of globalization, as well as several of its protagonists. Depending on the times, historical circumstances, and power relations, the protagonists of the world mundialization have shifted (Ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the Portuguese Empire, the Spanish Empire, the French Empire, the British Empire, the USA, etc.). All of these states were the most powerful and influential at certain points in history, or within what was known as the world at the time. It is evident that all these states benefited from spreading their culture, empire, power, and influence. Each expansion implied simultaneously mixing and merging, which is one of the fundamental characteristics and features of globalization. However, it is undeniable that very often these imperial powers imposed their values and culture on peoples, often by using an open physical force - particularly on those who were subjugated, in order to secure their presence in those regions. The presence of imperial powers in occupied territories led to resource exploitation and the impoverishment of many civilizations.

Therefore, based on what has been said, it is evident that various geographic and technological discoveries accelerate and contribute to the faster processes of globalization and connecting the world and its people.

Throughout history, globalization as a process has often occurred spontaneously due to the spread and merging of different peoples and cultures, but in the modern age, it has been exploited and projected as a continuation of imperialist policies by the most powerful nations. What we will particularly focus on is the fact that by the late 20th and early 21st century, the protagonists of this process became the United States of America. Globalization in the 21st century implies an ever-greater economic interconnectedness between states. This kind of globalization has enabled the creation of a massive global capitalist market, which, in these circumstances, secures domination and benefits mostly to the economically and commercially most powerful states. Heywood believes that in today's world we can talk about the existence of three types of globalization: "a) cultural globalization, which represents a process where information produced in one part of the world enters a global flow that tends to equalize cultural differences among nations, regions, and individuals. This process is sometimes described as the process of McDonaldization; b) political globalization, which is clearly reflected in the growing importance of international organizations. They are international because they have jurisdiction not only within one state but also in the international area composed of several states; c) economic globalization, which is expressed in the idea that no national economy is isolated or self-sufficient anymore, but they are all to some extent integrated into an interdependent global economy. Globalization is linked to homogenization since cultural, social, economic, and political diversity is destroyed in a world where we all watch the same TV programs, buy the same goods, eat the same food, cheer for the same sports stars, but globalization is often accompanied by regionalization and multiculturalism" (Heywood, 2004: 268–270). Kissinger concludes that, at the beginning of the 21st century, conditions were created for the first time for a unique global economic system, and markets on all continents are in constant interaction. In such a constellation of relations, Kissinger sees the USA as the protagonist of these developments: "The USA has been driving force behind the process of globalization, but it has also reaped the greatest benefits from the process. American capital has made an astonishing array of new technologies, their distribution and application throughout the world. The successes of

the American economy have been so good that it is hard to imagine they could have been better” (Kissinger, 2003: 176).

Based on what has been discussed, it can be concluded that the progress of developing countries largely depends on the availability of private capital and investments, and the continuity of investments greatly depends on legal security, return rates, and reasonable risk. Therefore, any country that wishes to become more competitive must engage in the processes of globalization, both politically and economically, otherwise, it risks falling behind the processes guided by the world’s most developed and powerful states³. What is clear is that the global market is facing two different trends. On one hand, it opens up opportunities for unprecedented financial and economic success for many companies and nations. However, at the same time, the global market creates sensitivity to political upheavals and the danger of creating a new divide, not so much between the rich and poor but between those who are part of the globalized world and those who are not. These trends have consequences for the “undeveloped world.” With this economic system and a capitalist way of doing business, where it is almost inevitable that the big dominate the small, American and European companies dominate those in developing countries. While this solves the problem of access to capital, it simultaneously creates political tensions which, especially in times of crisis, can result in attacks on the process of mundialization: “Globalization represents a game of winners and losers. Multinational companies and industrially developed states are undoubtedly considered winners, primarily the United States of America, on the contrary, losers are developing countries where earnings are low, regulations are weak or non-existent, and production is primarily oriented toward the global market, rather than domestic products” (Heywood, 2004: 274). Based on this Heywood’s statement, it can be noted that, as the USA and other developed countries progressed, the standard in other nations significantly declined. Such a constellation of relations undoubtedly led to new injustices, dissatisfaction, and feelings of a resurgence of colonialism and imperialism.

³ According to the view of liberal pluralism, the emergence of a global economy should be welcomed, since free trade allows each country to specialize in the production of those goods and services for which it is best prepared.

“Globalization is the reality of our time” (Bacevich, 2002: 38), as Bill Clinton once said, while Bacevich, at the beginning of the 21st century, emphasized that “globalization⁴ cannot be stopped, just as integration cannot. Simply put, the world is changing too rapidly, laptops, computers, CDs, satellites, the internet have greatly accelerated the world, made it more accessible, and sped up the flow of information more than ever before” (Bacevich, 2002: 38). Madeleine Albright mentioned: “A lot of energy in the State Department is spent on encouraging foreign governments to act in the interest of the common good. Although globalization was initially a political phenomenon, a phenomenon and process, it was not just that. It represented a social, cultural phenomenon and was connected to the concept of power. Globalization established the rules for nations and states that would dominate in the 21st century” (Bacevich, 2002: 52). When Bill Clinton, in the presence of Chinese President Jiang Zemin, in the White House in 1997, said that China was on the wrong side of history, he sent a message that America, along with its allies, was on the winning side of history and that America determined the processes in the world (Bacevich, 2002: 32). This sufficiently speaks about the American political and foreign policy self-confidence of that time, as well as the fact that Albright called the processes of globalization “the processes of common good-interest.” Therefore, all of the above meant that the USA is leading the processes of globalization, and that those who do not participate in them will be excluded from important international processes. It meant that globalization represented American state policy, a concept of development, and the orientation of American foreign policy embraced and accepted as an operational ideological platform to pursue its interests. Globalization aligned with the principles of soft power, and in the 1990s, the USA, as the sole remaining superpower after the dissolution of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, decided to adopt and promote it

4 "For me, one of the paradoxes of the globalization of the new world is that in the economic sense globalization represents a very efficient decision-making process due to the speed with which multinational/global companies from all parts of the world communicate. If you go to any company in the USA, you will see different groups of Chinese, Indians, Africans, Pakistanis and Americans, all working together, cooperating, overcoming differences in language and culture, while the company responds very effectively to the problems and challenges it faces. However, when we talk about governments, we find rigid structures, based on models from the 19th century and even earlier. A rigid system that does not allow many options for cooperation on different issues" (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 271).

to realize its aspirations and foreign policy orientations, proclaiming it as values to strive for. In this way, the USA claimed international hegemony and influence. The unipolar world created at the beginning of the 90s of the 20th century made it possible for them.

Madeleine Albright often emphasized that Americans should be “the authors of history” (Bacevich, 2002: 33). This is also supported by Clinton’s statement in which he says: “There is no point whatsoever in talking about domestic politics or domestic economy, capital has become global. Products are global, services are global. Most importantly, information is global and has become the king of the global economy” (Bacevich, 2002: 95).

GLOBALIZATION AS A POLICY OF HEGEMONY

The conclusions we have reached so far are clear, American entrepreneurship had to and was morally obliged to operate on a global level, or else it would stagnate and fail. The markets they needed for exporting their products were global in nature and volume. This was the logic behind the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe after the World War II. Through this plan, USA essentially financed the recovery and rise of markets to which they would later export their products. In Clinton’s opinion, the approach to an open global market became a characteristic of modern society and economy: “Open and competitive trade will enrich us as a nation and a society” (Bacevich, 2002: 96), he believed. It is clearly evident that the American economy still operates in a globalist manner. What is indicative in such circumstances is that the USA must continue with interventionism, both in foreign policy and in economic and financial flows, in order to maintain its position and influence in a globalized world. Interestingly, George H. W. Bush⁵ was never a strong

5 After coming to power, Bush did what every American president before him did - he used force to protect American interests. The first example was Panama, where President Manuel Noriega threatened to cancel obedience to the American government and thus reduce the influence of the USA in this extremely important country for America (Panama Canal). Bacevich talks about how Noriega involved the state in relations with drug lords and how such a policy resulted in a distance from the USA. Soon, in the morning hours of December 20, 1989, the USA launched a brief attack on the Panamanian Defense Forces involving 26,000 USA troops. The epilogue of the action was the appointment of Guljermeo Endar as president of Panama, the man who won the elections in May of that year, which Noriega cancelled (Bacevich, 2002: 69).

proponent of globalization, unlike Clinton. However, after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, his statements are well known, in which he stated that technology had overcome tyranny in many countries and that the information age could become an era of liberation (Bacevich, 2002: 73). Bush also spoke about the interconnectedness of world economies, emphasizing that a decrease in the growth and volume of trade slows down a country's economy on a local level as well. He often emphasized that America can only grow in the coming centuries if it can compete globally in every part of the world. Therefore, in his opinion, America must take advantage of the opportunity to open new markets.

However, there are those who believe that globalization and the insistence on it have made the USA vulnerable, that is, that in the course of the globalization process, the USA clashed with states that did not recognize or accept this kind of process and policies because they were concerned about preserving their own identity (Bacevich, 2002: 123). As such, the policy of globalization turned America, as Bacevich defines it, into an "American Empire" that emerged as the dominant state after the collapse of communism, the end of the Cold War, and what Fukuyama defined as the "End of History." Globalization served the USA for promoting its interests, which often clashed with the interests of other sovereign states, leading to the imposition of American ideas and visions. Such an approach results in a policy of hegemony. Nenad Kecmanović (2005)⁶ states that the USA, primarily in the Balkans in the 1990s, after the end of the Cold War when it remained the sole superpower in a unipolar world, implemented a policy of hegemony, which created a democratic empire from them. The USA interventions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, later in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, all speak to the idea that the policy of globalization, which in this case implies the expansion of American interests, way of life, political system, democracy, and goals, often presumed military confrontation with dissenting states, which is a condition for the emergence of hegemony. Naomi Klein, in her paper "The Shock Doctrine," (2008) talks about how

6 A parallel is created between that America and Rome during the transition from republic to empire, when the Roman Empire still nominally existed as a republic, but in all its aspects existed and functioned as an empire.

the IMF and the World Bank, which are under the greatest influence of the USA, insist that countries in transition (most often former communist countries) quickly privatize, liberalize markets, reduce public spending and more to make a faster transition to a capitalist way of functioning. This kind of policy and transition approach often led to the impoverishment of a large number of former communist countries. Such impoverishment further resulted in significant political and security crises and challenges. If we examine which country has the most capital in these institutions, it is clear how international organizations are controlled to serve the interests of individual countries. “It appears that it was not necessary to use weapons and the army to achieve massive exploitation - all that was needed were shrewd bankers, compliant and sometimes bribable local officials, and an international financial regime whose flagships were the IMF and the World Bank, acting like debt-collection agency for creditors” (Stiglitz, 2018: 403-404). Mander and Goldsmith also speak about how the USA used these institutions as instruments for implementing its interests and policies when they say: “If a Third World country managed to develop a modest economy, the World Bank and the IMF, in alliance with the U.S. government and multinational corporations, would set out to systematically destroy it” (Mander & Goldsmith, 2003: 266).

Therefore, American interventionism in foreign policy, as well as political and armed confrontations with dissenting states, speaks to how the policy of globalization has been replaced or equated with the policy of USA hegemony. Đurović also discusses the trend of American hegemony and its roots, as well as aspirations when he says: “The guiding idea of the first settlers in America about the right to conquer by divine will and grace has been replaced by the idea of assimilation, then Americanization, to transform this idea today into an idea of hegemony over the entire world” (Mićović, 2001: 46). So, in much of the world, sovereign states have equated the processes of globalization with the processes of American hegemony. The aforementioned USA interventions against other sovereign states support this thesis. The question remains how will the processes of globalization unfold in a world where American supremacy and hegemony are being questioned.

“The most significant political debate about globalization concerns

its impact on the economy. Proponents of globalization, including the USA itself, believe it is a key factor underlying the trend towards democratization and, in its most optimistic version, as Fukuyama discussed, will lead to the end of history. However, critics of globalization say it disrupts democratization in two ways. Firstly, it leads to the concentration of economic, and thus political power, in the hands of multinational corporations. These are economic organizations that produce in multiple countries and now dominate multiple markets. What gives them an advantage over national governments and allows them to evade democratic control is the ability to shift capital and production to another location in the world. Developing countries are particularly vulnerable to such occurrences” (Heywood, 2004: 276–277). However, the fact is that we no longer live in a unipolar world formed after the end of the bipolar world - the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR. The 21st century world is increasingly moving towards a multipolar world that existed before the World War I, in which there were several great powers competing for decisive international influence.

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE MULTIPOLAR WORLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY

“The quest for a wise foreign policy must begin with an understanding that globalization, in its essence, implies global interdependence” (Brzezinski, 2004: 8).

We have had the opportunity to observe and conclude so far that globalization represents a process of international connection between peoples and countries that occurs continuously based on various aspects, with varying intensity during different phases of history. We also discussed how globalization was proclaimed as a goal of American foreign policy to achieve American imperialistic interests. However, it is necessary to mention how and in what ways it has influenced the creation of a system of global interdependence. Although globalization was adopted by the USA after the end of the Cold War as state policy and a means of achieving American dominance in the world, marking the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, when American culture and soft

power were unparalleled, the processes of globalization, which led to an increasing economic interconnection between states, simultaneously created a system of international interdependence due to the rise of other countries, their economic, industrial, and military strengthening. Their economic rise led to the creation of a greater number of respectable powers, thus the disappearance of the unipolar world and the creation of a multipolar environment based on economic, financial, but also political global interdependence. However, Bacevich discusses five ideas that stood out in Bush's administration and were also present in the Clinton's administration: "The identification of interdependence as a dominant reality in international politics; dedication to global openness - globalization; commitment to free trade and investments; belief in the need for American hegemony in the world; rejection of isolationism in American foreign policy" (Bacevich, 2002: 72). Therefore, based on these ideas/goals, we see that the absolute imperative of American foreign policy is "continuous economic growth" (Bacevich, 2002: 79) and maintaining the status of a world hegemon without allowing the rise of a new challenger. The wealth and appeal of American soft power at the end of the 20th century may have been the greatest the world has ever seen, which, during the period of American triumphalism after the Cold War victory, made the USA the driver of the globalization process. American soft power and the process of mundialization were natural partners. In this way, globalization became equivalent to Americanization – as a stage and a political-ideological platform for the easier realization of American state interests and the interests of big capital: "It is considered that globalization, in principle, serves the interests of the USA and other Western countries and is more or less identical to Americanization" (Giddens, 2005: 14). Nevertheless, circumstances changed in just a few decades. What was once considered the "American peace" or a world that would be shaped according to the model and visions of centuries-old American influence began to lose its foundations faster than expected: "While some count aircraft carriers and so clearly put the USA in first place, it should be said that the USA was that, but that the unipolar, hegemonic world is the past, although many still do not understand it" (Elzner, 2021: 75).

The policy of globalization was a logical sequence of events for the USA, if we know its history. Emerging as a nation of freedom, a fusion of different nations, it had no problem spreading its multicultural identity and values to other nations and states. However, the problem laid in the fact that many states and societies were not ready to accept such processes and characteristics, while some categorically rejected such ideas with open contempt. Meanwhile, as a consequence of hegemony and mundialization, many extremist and radical movements emerged, resulting in the rise of terrorism.

One of the most significant debates regarding the impact of globalization concerns its effect on democracy. “Globalization can be said to undermine democracy in two influential ways. Firstly, it leads to the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of multinational corporations. Secondly, democracy is endangered by the fact that the speed of the economy significantly surpasses the speed of political globalization. While economic activity pays less and less attention to national borders, politics still largely operates within them, and international organizations are too weak to control global capitalism” (Giddens, 2005: 16). In this way, globalization, under the influence of big capital, erodes one of its most significant ideological exports - democracy, and puts it at the service and in favor of big capital.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that the globalization process intensified significantly after the end of the Cold War. The victory in the Cold War opened the opportunity for the USA to dominate over other states in a unipolar system. The USA imposed its values on the world, implementing and pursuing its own interests in the process. The American president during that period was George H. W. Bush, who wanted to work towards greater openness because he believed that this kind of policy was of paramount interest and importance for the USA: “I see a world of open borders, open and free trade, and, most importantly, a world of open minds” (Bacevich, 2002: 73). These views led to the creation of NAFTA - the North American Free Trade Agreement (USA, Canada, and Mexico). Moreover, Bush played a significant role in establishing the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. Bush believed that the benefits of free trade and globalization were not just economic but also political, as it implied con-

necting states and their collective action in solving many problems. However, the question arises whether it was really possible to create a common, large global market that would be of equal and equitable benefit to all and what its implications would be. Past experiences tell us that such an idea is still very challenging to achieve, and in some segments, almost impossible. Kissinger believes that the “greatest change in the nature of contemporary international relations is the consequence of the general acceptance of a concept that certain universal principles can be enforced, whether it is about the United Nations or in some extreme cases, such as Kosovo” (Kissinger, 2003: 195).

When we talk about global interdependence, it is primarily about the relations of interdependence and coexistence between the USA and China. Many believe that the biggest challenge in the 21st century will be finding a way to integrate China (which is economically, militarily, and politically rising) into the international community, stabilize it, and make it act proactively. Moreover, there is no doubt that China will become bigger, stronger, and more influential, and an increasingly dynamic actor in the international system, which could ultimately threaten the international position and dominance of the USA. Brzezinski says that the integration of China into the international system will be more challenging than the integration of other smaller states because it will require changes and a reevaluation of American dominance in it (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 113).⁷

However, „the fact is that global capital gravity and concentration are shifting to the Far East, and with that, the era of six centuries of Western dominance is coming to its end. Nonetheless, if we consider the ratio of intellect, economy, development, infrastructure, military resources, and technology, the North America and Europe together can still maintain global leadership, at least for a few more decades, if not more. Namely, China faces problems of an aging population, poverty, and resource scarcity, while India may face a large number of internal ethnic issues in the future, especially if there is a political awakening and self-awareness among its people (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 219).

⁷ At the same time emphasizing that the USA must not behave patronizingly towards China and its leadership, because it is about people and country with a rich and influential culture (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 120).

Nevertheless, constant economic growth and, thus, political and military strengthening of new powers point to the imminent demise of the previous dominance and hegemony of the USA, which was possible and achievable through the existence of a unipolar world. Such a scenario broadly opens the door to the creation of a new multipolar world with a large number of regional powers and areas of interest.

Ignatius offers a different perspective on understanding the relation between the USA and China, as well as Japan. Namely, he takes the point that, at this moment, the USA is spending more than it produces, and the continuation of the economic decline in the USA, alongside the simultaneous economic growth of China, could pose a serious problem for America's international position in the future, as well as the outlook of the world as we know it: "Chinese and Japanese cover the USA trade deficit and accumulate a significant portion of their debt. This makes the USA very vulnerable, especially if the Chinese, in some case, decide on a more serious and fundamental conflict with the USA" (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 147). However, being familiar with the interdependence between the USA and China, manifested through over a billion dollars of Chinese bonds in the USA, it is difficult to expect harmful actions by China against the USA, as it would simultaneously mean acting against its own interests. Essentially, this relation makes them partners, "they depend on each other" (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 148). It is important not to forget Brzezinski's views, where he emphasizes the following: "Today's allies of the USA are: Europe (which is also a competitor) and several Far Eastern countries (Japan, South Korea) and several smaller states" (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 150). Therefore, based on this claim, it is easy to conclude that, in his opinion, all other states are open competition to the USA.

It is crucial to closely monitor and assess the position of India and its future relations with the USA. "India was of no help to the West during the Cold War, and they were of no help during the Afghanistan War either. Their sole goal is to limit the influence, power, and presence of Pakistan in the region (which often leads Pakistanis to some hasty actions that fur-

ther burden relations with India)” (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 144)⁸.

It is evident that new powers, especially China and Russia, are on the rise, threatening to diminish and restrict the power and influence of the USA in Asia and the international system, which could gradually create a new multipolar world.

For almost two decades after the end of the Cold War, the USA has had complete dominance in international relations, shaping the world to its own standards. In such a unipolar world, other states and nations accepted the values and goals of the USA as universal, while the process of globalization imposed trends and policies that corresponded to their interests. However, much faster than expected, due to various political and economic reasons, the position and influence of China, Russia, India, Brazil, and other possible challengers to American policy have grown. Although the USA influence has gotten weaker in certain matters (Libya, Syria), most American international relations theorists believe that the USA is still where it was decades ago: “We are not a declining power. We are still full of energy and optimism, but maintaining leadership is the key. In the 20th century, Europe represented a crisis area - a source of international instability, and that is what we had to focus on. Today, Asia represents a place of challenge, i.e. a place of further American competence or decline. However, our strength lies in our diversity. Our culture is a culture of diversity. We have influences from people of different cultures, different ethnic groups, and we have always managed to assimilate them. Differences and perceptions of them are less common among us than in Europe, but recently there has been a rise in xenophobia in the USA, especially towards immigrants and the Latino community, which should be foreign to the American people” (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 155–156). On the other hand, Elzner states: “The rise of China to the number one position in many respects poses a systemic challenge to the West, historically the second serious challenge after the USSR” (Elzner, 2021: 85).

8 Brzezinski believes that India has huge social differences, but they are still more successful in democratic standards compared to China, but also that they significantly lag behind China in developing the urban sector and the transport system. The second biggest problem of India is the illiteracy of the population, in which India is much worse than China, especially among women, where the percentage is around 50%. (Brzezinski & Scowcroft, 2008: 146)

CONCLUSION

This paper discussed globalization, its manifestations, and the consequences it brings. We have presented various forms of globalization, delved into its causes, and examined the processes involved. We have also had the opportunity to show how globalization, as a process, was politically exploited by the politically and economically most powerful countries at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century. It served as a means to implement American foreign policy. “Globalization restructures, profoundly, our ways of life. It is led by the West, bears a strong stamp of American political and economic power, and has very uneven consequences” (Giddens, 2005: 27).

The policy of globalization was used and promoted as an American value orientation and foreign policy dogma after the end of the Cold War in 1991, when the containment policy, directed against the USSR in a bipolar world, was replaced by the policy of globalization in a unipolar world. In reality, we have observed that the policy of globalization essentially represented the spread of American ideology and goals under the influence of both soft and, quite often, hard power. It was, in essence, the promotion of the American vision of the world under the guise of a unified vision. Such a policy, as well as the sanctioning of dissenting nations – other sovereign states, created from American globalization policy - a policy of hegemony that involved the spread of American interests, even at the cost of armed conflicts and interventions worldwide, which often eventually happened. Thus, the globalization, i.e. this kind of American policy and advocacy gained many and fierce opponents around the world, which, to a large extent, influenced the emergence and development of the global terrorist threat in the 21st century.

For that reason, it is necessary to emphasize that traditional issues and challenges of power and geopolitics continue to be present in the modern world. For the first time in history, the entire world is politically active, and this is the result of the French Revolution, whose ideas and values spread throughout Europe and Asia in the late 19th and throughout the 20th century. Ideas have become global. The greatest problems in human history have been wars and struggles for survival but also exter-

mination: the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, and many other examples. However, despite these past experiences, intolerances are nowadays being created at the global level as well, intolerance towards differences, and significant disparities and inequalities in the standard of living among people. These divisions create xenophobia, racism, migrations, climate change, and more. Therefore, the question arises in what way will this kind of segregation manifest itself, and in which direction could international order and relations move in the future. “Inequalities between rich and poor continue to grow, and the primary responsibility lies with globalization” (Giddens, 2005: 14). It is necessary to remember, as a warning and reminder, that a period of great divisions, inequality, and injustice preceded all major world conflicts and wars.

However, what is also a fact that we have discussed is the change in power relations in the 21st century compared to the end of the last century, when the USA was an unrivaled political, military, and economic power. That being the case, the question arises: how will globalization policy manifest itself in the future, and will we witness the creation of a new multipolar international system in which multiple powers will play a crucial role, or will international circumstances and history create a new superpower that will become a new protagonist in the processes of globalization?! “Globalization has been poorly managed. The negative outcomes were not inevitable; they resulted from policies. The rules governing globalization are partly to blame; they are unjust to developing countries and allowed capital flows that were destabilizing. But even with such rules in place, developed countries should have prevented what happened, rather than having so many developing countries, as well as developed ones, end up as losers from globalization. Globalization, if properly managed, could have been beneficial to all” (Giddens, 2005: 15).

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ECONOMIC MIGRATIONS

ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC MIGRATIONS AND THEIR SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES: A CASE STUDY OF MIGRATIONS AMONG EU MEMBER STATES

REVIEW ARTICLE

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Abstract: *This paper investigates the phenomenon of economic migration within the European Union (EU) and analyzes its economic and sociological implications. By employing methods of descriptive statistics, regression analysis, and qualitative analysis, the research examines trends in economic migration and the relationship between migration and macroeconomic indicators. The sociological consequences of economic migration vary, with studies highlighting challenges faced by migrants in securing employment, particularly low qualifications and working conditions.*

Despite existing challenges, economic migration within the EU also possesses positive aspects. Namely, these migrations contribute to increased economic productivity and competitiveness through the introduction of additional workforce, education, and high levels of work motivation. The integration of migrants into society displays variability, with social disparity necessitating analysis to recognize growth potential and support sustainable change.

This paper concludes that inter-country cooperation and the establishment of adequate policies are crucial to harnessing the advantages of economic migration while overcoming challenges related to integration and working conditions.

Keywords: *economic migration, EU, macroeconomic analysis, sociological consequences of migration, migrant integration*

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INTRODUCTION

Economic migrations are a long-standing phenomenon that has attracted significant attention in economic and sociological literature. Economic migrations are often viewed as a process in which individuals with low incomes from countries with lower living standards move to countries with higher living standards, in search of better economic conditions. Also, in the analysis of migrations, the concept of “migration capital” is often highlighted. This term encompasses the abilities and resources that migrants accumulate or acquire during their migratory movements, which then facilitate subsequent international moves. Previous experiences in migrations can reduce the perception of migration constraints and costs, leading to increased willingness to continue mobility (de Jong & de Valk, 2023).

For a more serious analysis of this phenomenon, descriptive statistical methods were used to investigate trends in economic migrations between EU member countries in recent years. Also, regression analysis was used to examine the relationship between economic migrations and macroeconomic indicators, such as GDP per capita, unemployment rate, and inflation rate. Finally, based on relevant research by other authors, qualitative analysis was used to consider the sociological consequences of economic migrations, such as the integration of migrants into society, cultural diversity, and political influence.

The number of economic migrants between EU member countries has been increasing in recent years. According to Eurostat data, the number of migrants in 2021 was 1.4 million who moved to a new EU country, representing an increase of 12.3% compared to 2020. The largest number of migrants in 2021 came from Poland (192,000), Romania (179,000), and Germany (174,000). Germany was the most popular destination for migrants in 2021 (it received 231,000 people), followed by Spain (161,000) and France (130,000). While Eurostat does not categorize migrations exclusively as economic, the data shows that employment is the most common reason for migration within the EU. In 2021, 46% of migrants cited employment as the main reason for moving (Eurostat, 2022).

It is important to emphasize that there is a significant relationship between economic migrations and macroeconomic indicators. Namely, a higher GDP per capita and a lower unemployment

rate are associated with a larger number of migrants, while a higher inflation rate has a negative impact on the number of migrants.

When it comes to the sociological consequences of economic migrations, there is a great variability in the integration of migrants into society. In this sense, the diversity of territories and different components of society, such as human, social, institutional, natural/physical, and economic elements, often lead to imbalances in social development.

This imbalance requires careful analysis to recognize growth potential and stimulate sustainable changes. It is particularly important to investigate new factors of inequality, which concern new socio-economic and spatial contexts that have emerged from the impacts of COVID-19 and/or climate change (Laine, Rauhut & Gruber, 2023). The sociological consequences of economic migration can also be felt on a political level. The political framework of economic migrations often plays a key role in shaping and directing migration flows, and migration policies reflect the specific economic and social interests of immigrant-receiving countries. This dynamic is often the result of a disagreement between the economic need for labor and the socio-political challenges that migrations can cause. One of the key factors is the fear of the potential negative impact of unskilled labor on the labor market, which can lead to an increase in income inequality and unemployment among the local population. This fear often serves as the basis for opposition to migrations (Ćosić, 2013).

In order to overcome challenges and realize the potential that economic migrations can have on the economy and society, cooperation between countries and the establishment of adequate policies that will enable the integration of migrants and prevent discrimination and prejudice are needed. In addition, it is important to emphasize that economic migrations between EU member countries have their advantages in increasing productivity and competitiveness of European economies. Macroeconomic analysis of economic migrations and their social consequences shows that economic migrations between EU member countries have their advantages and challenges. In order to realize the advantages and minimize the challenges, it is necessary to establish adequate policies and protective measures that will ensure integration and equal working conditions for all workers.

1. CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN ECONOMIC MIGRATIONS IN EU MEMBER COUNTRIES

Economic migrants are individuals who move from their home country to another country for better economic prospects. This type of migration is a significant category of migrations in the member countries of the European Union, especially in the last few years. According to Eurostat data, in 2019, there were about 21.6 million foreign nationals living in EU member countries, of which economic migrants made up a significant portion.² This type of migration can be temporary or permanent, and is caused by various factors such as economic inequalities, demographic changes, political unrest, etc. In other words, economic migrants are motivated by various factors, such as seeking better business opportunities, higher wages, better living conditions, or simply a desire for new experiences. In addition, factors influencing this type of migration include demographic changes, political unrest, labor market changes, and social changes.

Economic migrations are often a source of concern and controversy, given the challenges they can pose for the society and economy of the host country, as well as for the countries of origin. The introduction of free movement of workers between EU member countries at the end of the last century, as well as the expansion of the Union to the east, has led to a significant increase in economic migrations in member countries.

There are several reasons for economic migrations to EU member countries. One of the most important reasons is the labor market, i.e., the need for labor in certain sectors, such as healthcare, construction, or information technology. Another important reason is the better economic situation in some member countries compared to others, which means that people are moving in search of better business opportunities and higher incomes. Also, the political situation and wars in some countries can be a reason for economic migrations. Economic migrants in EU

2 It is also important to highlight the data on the employment of migrants in the EU. According to a Eurostat report, in the second quarter of 2020, the employment rate among migrant workers in the EU-27 was 73.8%, which is about 3.3 percentage points lower compared to the employment rate in the population born in the EU. However, the employment rate of migrants varies from country to country and depends on various factors, such as legal regulations, social integration, language proficiency, education, etc.

member countries most often come from other member countries, but there are also large groups of people who come from countries outside the EU. Romanians, Poles, and Italians were among the largest groups of migrants born outside the country they live in the EU in 2022 (includes migrants within the EU and outside the EU). When looking at migrants from third countries (a person born outside the EU), the largest groups come from Morocco, Turkey, and Ukraine (Eurostat, 2022).

When we talk about trends in economic migrations in EU member countries, it is important to note that the situation is constantly changing. Also, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on economic migrations in EU member countries is not yet fully known, but it is already clear that it will have a significant impact on this phenomenon. For example, some member countries have temporarily suspended the arrival of labor from other countries, which will affect the total number of economic migrants. On the other hand, when it comes to the consequences of economic migrations in EU countries, there is a potential negative impact on employment and wages of the local population. Although this issue can be controversial, there are studies that indicate a connection between the increase in the number of economic migrants and negative impacts on employment and wages of the local population. Some researchers have found that the presence of immigrants in the workplace can lead to a decrease in wages and the number of employees for domestic workers, especially in sectors with lower qualifications and a higher share of migrants (Card, 1990; Borjas, 2003). Other researchers suggest that economic migrations can lead to negative impacts on employment and wages only in the short term, while in the long term they can have positive effects on the economy and increase overall employment (Dustmann et al., 2010; Jaeger et al., 2018).

In addition, there is also the question of the impact of economic migrations on social cohesion in European Union countries. Some researchers argue that a high level of immigration can lead to the polarization of society and an increase in ethnic tensions (Putnam, 2007; Algan & Cahuc, 2010). However, economic migrations do not have to lead to negative effects on social cohesion, but depend on the context in which migrations occur, as well as on political and social factors. Taking these factors into account, European Union countries are heavily involved in the develop-

ment of policies that could balance the benefits of economic migrations and reduce potential negative effects. This includes policies concerning the integration of immigrants into society and the workforce, as well as policies concerning the control and regulation of immigration.

2. SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC MIGRATION: INTEGRATION, CULTURAL DIVERSITY, AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The sociological consequences of economic migration are a topic that has been attracting increasing attention from academic researchers over the past few decades. The reason for this is the growing number of people moving to other countries in search of a better life and greater economic opportunities. Such migration can have a profound sociological impact on the countries that accept migrants.

One of the most important consequences of economic migration is the integration of migrants into the host country's society. Integration refers to the process of migrants adapting to a new social environment and accepting new values, norms, and practices. Integration is a key factor for the success of migration, both for the migrants themselves and for society as a whole. However, the integration of migrants can be challenging in different social contexts and can face various obstacles. Economic integration can lead to increased segregation and discrimination in the labor market. Integration can also be slowed down due to cultural and language differences that exist between migrants and the native population (Münz, 2007; Solano & De Coninck, 2023; Dorn & Zweimüller, 2021).

Integration can take place at different levels, such as integration into the labor market, the education system, and social institutions. However, the process of integration is not always straightforward and often carries numerous challenges. Many researchers have studied this topic and have come to different conclusions. According to some research, the integration of immigrants into society can be difficult, especially if there are cultural differences between immigrants and the native population. This can lead to segregation and marginalization of immigrants (Castles & Miller, 2009). On the other hand, other research shows that the integration of

immigrants can be relatively successful if there are appropriate integration policies and if immigrants feel accepted in society (Esser, 2004). It is important to emphasize the significance of education as one of the most important factors for successful integration of immigrants. Immigrants with higher education integrate more easily into society and the labor market and are less prone to discrimination. However, immigrants with a lower level of education and weaker language skills find it harder to integrate, have fewer employment opportunities, and are often forced to work in low-skilled jobs with low incomes (Koopmans, 2010). Therefore, investing in the education and language education of immigrants can positively impact their integration and reduce social tensions.

When it comes to cultural diversity, migrants often bring cultural diversity to the countries they come to. This can be a challenge for societies facing problems with the integration of migrants, as cultural diversity can lead to increased tensions and conflicts. Cultural diversity refers to the different cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic backgrounds of people living in one country. Cultural diversity can be positive and negative, depending on how it is treated. Positive cultural diversity can lead to richness in society, creativity, and innovation (Vertovec, 2010). However, negative cultural diversity can lead to ethnic tensions, racism, and discrimination (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013). Immigrants often have different cultural patterns and values from the native population, which can lead to cultural conflicts and resistance in society. Accordingly, it is important to understand cultural diversity and adapt to it to facilitate the integration of immigrants. Also, immigrants should be aware of the cultural norms and values of the host country and respect the values of the society they are coming to, and the native population should be open and accepting of cultural diversity.

Recently, one of the significant topics related to economic migrations in Europe is the political influence of immigrants. Namely, immigrants have the right to vote in the countries where they live and work, and their influence on political events in the host countries can increase. This can affect political and social processes in the host countries, especially the processes of making political decisions and elections (Blinder, 2015). On the other hand, political rhetoric often used in public discourse about immigration can cause an increase in societal polarization

and the creation of negative stereotypes towards immigrants. Namely, political leaders can use the issue of immigration to gain votes and gain popularity among voters. Such politicization of immigration can lead to the creation of opposing views and political divisions in society.

To avoid the negative effects of economic migrations, EU member states must adopt appropriate policies and strategies. In this sense, it is crucial to enable successful integration of immigrants into the host society through policies that will encourage education, language learning, and cultural exchange.

3. PROCESSES OF ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION OF ECONOMIC MIGRANTS: EXAMPLES OF BEST PRACTICES IN EU MEMBER STATES

The introduction of immigrants into the society of host countries represents a complex process in which various factors play a role, such as cultural differences, economic conditions, and access to social resources. The adaptation process of immigrants can involve various degrees of adoption of the values and norms of the new society (integration) and adaptation to the dominant culture (assimilation), without necessarily losing individual or group cultural identity. Many immigrants go through a process of acculturation, adopting some elements of the new culture while retaining their original culture. This process is dynamic and can result in different outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014; Vertovec, 2007; Strang & Ager, 2010).

Best practices in the processes of integration and assimilation of economic migrants in EU member countries are closely linked to the policies applied in individual countries. For example, Sweden is recognized for its comprehensive and holistic approach to the integration of migrants. Sweden provides language learning, education, and employment support to help migrants integrate into society. Germany has implemented several programs aimed at facilitating the integration of migrants into the labor market. This includes recognition of foreign qualifications, vocational education, and employment services. France has a well-established system for integrating new populations,

which includes mandatory training on civil society and language classes, while Austria stands out for its efforts in providing language and integration courses, as well as measures for recognizing foreign qualifications (Integration by Social and Digital Learning, 2019). Italy has implemented several innovative practices for the integration of immigrants, including projects aimed at promoting social inclusion and preventing discrimination (Lāce, 2020).

Another example of successful practices is the policy implemented by Denmark, known as flexicurity, which combines flexible employment conditions with high worker security (Andersen, 2011; Jensen, 2011). This policy facilitates access to the labor market for economic migrants, reducing unemployment and the risk of social exclusion. However, it is important to emphasize that the success of the integration and assimilation processes of economic migrants largely depends on the context in which the policies are applied. For instance, although Sweden is known for successful immigrant integration, in recent years there has been a deterioration in relations between the native population and immigrants due to economic and social problems, leading to a series of attacks and incidents against migrants (Davis, 2022; Henley, 2022; The Independent, 2022). Therefore, when developing policies for the integration and assimilation of economic migrants, it is important to consider broader social, economic, and political contexts and establish tailored strategies that respond to the specific needs and challenges of a particular country.

For successful integration of economic migrants into society, it is important to recognize cultural differences between them and the native population. According to Castles and Miller (2009), integration can be difficult if there are significant differences in culture, religion, customs, and values between immigrants and the native population. However, Esser (2004) argues that, despite these differences, integration can be achieved if immigrants are motivated to adapt to the new social environment, and if there are integration policies that support these processes. He believes that a migrant gradually integrates individually through social subsystems, which relate to the adoption of certain cultural traits, placement on the primary labor market, interethnic marriages, and emotional identification.

According to research by Koopmans (2010), countries that combined multicultural policies with a strong welfare state, such as Sweden, Belgium, and the Netherlands, showed relatively poor integration results. These countries had low labor market participation rates, high segregation rates, and a strong overrepresentation of immigrants among those convicted of criminal behavior. Countries that had more restrictive or assimilationist integration policies (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France) or a relatively weak welfare state (United Kingdom) achieved better integration results.

In this regard, according to research conducted by Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka in 2013, there is a trend of withdrawal from the concept of multiculturalism in numerous countries, with a particular emphasis on European societies. This may be related to changes in the social context and political movements that have led to the redefinition of priorities in integration policies and cultural diversity. However, according to their analysis, many countries that adopted multicultural strategies at the end of the twentieth century have retained their programs in the early years of the new millennium, and some have even expanded their approaches. This indicates the complexity of the dynamics of multiculturalism and its ability to adapt to social changes.

In any case, the processes of integrating economic migrants into the society of EU member countries are of essential importance for successful migration management and for the formation of a society based on tolerance and respect for diversity. It is crucial to develop integration policies that support the adaptation of immigrants to social, economic, and cultural differences, while at the same time facilitating their inclusion in society.

CONCLUSION

Economic migrations represent a complex and multilayered phenomenon that requires a systematic and holistic approach. The processes of integration and assimilation of migrants into society are long-lasting and complex, but crucial for successful migration management. In this sense, examples of best practices in EU member countries offer very useful insights into how migrants can be successfully integrated and assimilated into society.

As emphasized in this paper, the integration and assimilation of migrants into society require appropriate policies, legislation, and an institutional framework. At the same time, it is necessary for society to accept and support the integration process, respecting the culture and diversity of migrants.

The relevant literature and research cited in this paper provide insight into best practices in migration management, as well as the challenges and obstacles present in this process. The sources show that it is important to establish international cooperation and coordination in migration management, as well as to ensure adequate protection and support for economic migrants.

Taking into account the importance of international cooperation and coordination in managing economic migrations, it is concluded that it is necessary for EU member countries to continue developing and implementing integrated policies and programs that will ensure efficient and fair migration management. Also, it is necessary to ensure the protection and rights of migrants, while simultaneously facilitating their integration into society. All of this will enable the creation of a more inclusive and fairer society, with better opportunities for everyone, including economic migrants, while a sociological approach to analyzing the processes of integration and assimilation of economic migrants into society is necessary in order to understand the complex field of interaction and dynamics among different social groups that arise from this process.

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ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES IN THE FIELD OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IN THE CONTEXT OF SUSTAINABLE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

REVIEW ARTICLE

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Žaklina Rakić¹

Summary: In 1996, the International Organization for Standardization came out with the ISO 14000 series of standards, as a response to environmental problems, as well as concern for environmental protection. This series of standards helps business systems to align their operations with the environment in mind. The current version of the ISO 14001 standard was published in 2015. The Institute has published a large number of specific standards in the field of environmental protection that promote the environment, i.e. its segments: land, water, sea and coastal area, air, nature, forests, and the Institute's Technical Committee ISME/TK 10: Environment and environmental protection management systems (founded in 2012), is responsible for standards related to these areas. This paper provides explanations for the basic, frequently used ecological and biological terms, as well as eco-terms, which directly relate to the issue of preserving the working and living environment in the postmodern environment using standards. The application of standards ensures better efficiency in the entire production, improves the quality of services and contributes to meeting the highest level of expectations of clients and consumers.

Key words: institutional capacities, natural resources, environment, legislation, standardization, quality system, sustainable development, EU

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INTRODUCTION

A standard is a document established by consensus and approved by a recognized body, providing rules, guidelines, or characteristics for activities or their results, aimed at achieving an optimal level of order in a given context.

Standards are widely accepted rules and provisions. They may encompass comprehensive technical specifications (characteristics and requirements for products), procedures for product development, testing, and conformity assessment methods.

The application of standards ensures better efficiency in overall production, improves service quality, and contributes to meeting the highest expectations of clients and consumers. To increase society's trust in standards, it is important to ensure broad participation of interested groups in the development and discussion of standards.

Standards are developed, revised, supplemented, modified, or withdrawn depending on innovations in the development of science and technology. Standards serve as a means of information and a basis for facilitating global trade and enabling communication among partners.

The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) introduced the series of standards ISO 14000 in 1996 in response to environmental issues and concerns about environmental protection. This series of standards helps business systems align their operations while considering the environment. The current version of the ISO 14001 standard is published in 2015 (Nešković, 2009).

The Institute for Standardization of Montenegro (ISME) has published a large number of specific standards in the field of environmental protection that promote the environment and its segments: land, water, seas and coastal areas, air, nature, forests, and the Technical Committee of the Institute ISME/TC 10: Environment and Environmental Protection Management Systems (established in 2012) is responsible for standards related to these areas.

It should be emphasized that standardization through standards supports all three dimensions of sustainable development - social, economic,

and environmental, and standards are the support for achieving UN goals.

The Institute ISME has invited all stakeholders to use the services of the ISME Web site to have access to the information they need on standards and related documents at any time.

Standards are developed and published in accordance with the principles and rules established by international and European standardization organizations. The development of European standards is guided by the principles of consensus, openness, transparency, national commitment, and technical coherence and follows several steps (Rakić, 2023).

1. INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES IN ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY SYSTEMS

Since 2002 and the first Environmental Performance Review (EPR), the institutional framework in the field of environmental protection has significantly changed in the Republic of Serbia. These changes indicate the efforts that the state invests in creating institutions capable of implementing obligations arising from international, national, and EU obligations. After the dissolution of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, the Republic of Serbia established an institutional structure covering all levels of public administration, including bodies for monitoring and research. However, the institutional framework in the field of environmental protection is still not complete, as can be seen in this work.

The National Council for Sustainable Development (NCSD) is established in 2003 to create a forum for discussion and consensus building between ministries and other stakeholders on issues related to environmental protection and sustainable development. The aim of this Council also includes ensuring horizontal coordination between the relevant Ministry of Environmental Protection and other government agencies and addressing potential conflicts in the formulation and implementation of program policies. The Council is also responsible for coordinating the preparation of the National Strategy on Sustainable Development (NSSD). The NCSD council does not have a permanent secretariat.

Since 2002, Serbia has made significant progress in drafting environmental legislation. As recommended by the first Environmental Performance Review, a new legal framework was created with the aim of protecting the environment. In 2004, the following laws were adopted: the Environmental Protection Act (EPA); the Environmental Impact Assessment Act (EIAA); the Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment Act (SEIAA); and the Integrated Prevention and Control of Pollution Act (IPCPA). All of these laws approximate the relevant EU directives and introduce the principles of these directives into national legislation. They also take into account the provisions of the ESPOO Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context, as well as its Protocol on Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment.

The environmental liability of polluters for damage to the environment is regulated by the Environmental Protection Act (EPA), and in a general sense, by the Law on Obligations. The principle of polluter pays and the liability of legal successors are also defined in the Environmental Protection Act. Any legal or natural person who causes harm to the environment by unlawful or improper actions is liable for such harm, including liquidation or bankruptcy for legal entities.

Standardization is the activity of establishing provisions for general and repeated use, in relation to real or potential problems, to achieve an optimal level of organization in a specific area.

A standard is a document established by consensus and adopted by a recognized body, which sets forth rules, guidelines, or characteristics for activities or their results to achieve an optimal level of organization in a specific area. A standard may also contain or exclusively relate to terminology, symbols, requirements related to packaging, labeling, or marking if applicable to a product, production method, or process.

An international standard is a standard adopted by international standardization organizations (international bodies) and is publicly available.

A European standard is a standard adopted by European standardization organizations and is publicly available. A Serbian standard is a standard adopted by the Institute for Standardization of Serbia and is pub-

licly available. A related document in the field of standardization (related document) is a document adopted by a standardization organization and is publicly available but does not meet the requirements to be adopted as a standard.

The adoption of a standard or related document is a set of coordinated activities that begin with the adoption of a proposal for the adoption of a standard or related document and end with the adoption of an act proclaiming it. A stakeholder is a business company, other legal entity, entrepreneur, and other natural person interested in standardization.

Serbia has established an institutional structure covering all levels of public administration, including bodies for monitoring and research. However, the institutional framework in the field of environmental protection is still not complete.

The Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection was established in 2003. Responsibilities in the field of water protection were divided between the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Management.

The institutional framework was amended in 2004, with key responsibilities divided between two ministries: the Ministry of Science and Environmental Protection and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Management.

In 2006, a new Constitution was adopted, proclaiming the right of every citizen to a healthy environment and the right to accurate and timely information on the state of the environment. Every citizen is responsible for environmental protection and is obliged to preserve and improve it, as well as protect natural rarities and scientific, cultural, and historical heritage and goods of public interest. A new government was appointed in 2007, based on the former Environmental Protection Administration of the Ministry of Science and Environmental Protection, and the Ministry of Environmental Protection was established.

Until May 2007, a whole range of responsibilities identified by the Law on Ministries was entrusted to the Environmental Protection Administration. The main tasks of the Environmental Protection Administration

include ensuring environmental protection systems and sustainable use of natural resources (air, land, minerals, fish, flora, and fauna), as well as preserving nature and identifying and implementing measures for the protection of nationally significant natural areas. The new Ministry of Environmental Protection inherited the same tasks.

The main tasks of the Ministry of Environmental Protection include ensuring environmental protection systems and sustainable use of natural resources (air, land, minerals, fish, flora, and fauna), as well as preserving nature and identifying and implementing measures for the protection of nationally significant natural areas. The Ministry of Environmental Protection has the following responsibilities:

- Preparation of strategic documents, plans, and programs;
- Assessment of groundwater reserves and preparation of standards for geological maps;
- Protection from ionizing and non-ionizing radiation, chemicals, waste, and hazardous substances in production, transportation, storage, and disposal;
- Cross-border air and water pollution;
- Control of cross-border movement of waste and protected plant and animal species;
- Climate change and ozone layer;
- Environmental protection measures in spatial planning and construction;
- Early warning system for accidents;
- International cooperation in environmental protection and nature conservation;
- Protection from noise and vibration;
- Preparation of geological research for sustainable use of natural resources and groundwater;
- Preparation of geological research for sustainable use of natural resources and groundwater;
- Nature conservation and identification of potential natural areas of conservation significance;

- Issuance of permits for import, export, and transit of waste and sensitive plant and animal species, substances damaging the ozone layer, chemicals, and radioactive materials;
- Inspection supervision in the field of environmental protection and sustainable development.

This Ministry also has some responsibilities in natural resource management. The following institutions are responsible for carrying out tasks in specific areas:

- Forestry Administration;
- Institute for Plant Protection and
- Water Directorate.

The Forestry Administration is responsible for program policies regarding the development and utilization of forests and wildlife, as well as for implementing measures for forest and wildlife protection, seed control, and afforestation.

There are two public forestry enterprises: "JP Srbijašume" and "JP Vojvodinašume". They are responsible for improving and utilizing state-owned forests (timber, recreation), maintaining forest assets, and preparing programs and projects for forest management. The Plant Protection Institute is responsible for controlling the production, import, trade, storage, and use of plant protection products.

This directorate is responsible for developing program policies for water management, rational use of water resources, drinking water supply (excluding distribution), flood protection, issuing permits for water abstraction and discharge, and collecting fees for water use and discharge into water bodies. The Directorate is also responsible for environmental protection and rational water use, monitoring and maintenance of national and transboundary watercourses, and other tasks defined by the Water Law. The public enterprise for water management "Srbijavode" was established to manage water resources in central Serbia, including water abstraction facilities and water supply facilities, while the public enterprise for water resource management "Vode Vojvodine" was established for the same tasks in the AP Vojvodina region.

These include:

- Ministry of Economy, including industry;
- Ministry of Health, including the enforcement of sanitary regulations related to environmental protection;
- Ministry of Capital Investments, including urban planning and construction and permits for road, air, rail, and water traffic; and
- Ministry of Energy and Mining, including energy efficiency, permits for mineral resource extraction (excluding groundwater), and renewable energy sources.

2. LEGISLATION IN THE LEGISLATION OF THE EU AND SERBIA IN THE ECO-AREA

The distribution of responsibilities in the field of environmental protection among these institutions has many shortcomings, overlaps, and gaps. Cooperation between ministries is defined only by certain provisions. The Ministry of Environmental Protection has limited influence on other national program policies. While its capacity for drafting laws is strong, its capacity for formulating and assessing program policies, economic assessment, and implementing strategic impact assessment and integrated pollution prevention and control is limited. These issues pose obstacles to a comprehensive response to environmental protection challenges in Serbia or to challenges in aligning with the EU *acquis* in the field of environmental protection.

This Council was established in 2003 to create a forum for discussion and consensus building among ministries and other stakeholders on environmental protection and sustainable development issues. In addition to these activities, the Council also includes ensuring horizontal coordination between the Ministry of Environmental Protection and other government agencies, as well as assisting in the formulation and implementation of program policies. The Council is also responsible for coordinating the preparation of the National Strategy for Sustainable Development (NSSD).

Main institutional weaknesses in the field of environmental protection:

- Lack of horizontal coordination between the Ministry of Capital Investments, National Agency for Spatial Planning, and Ministry of Science and Environmental Protection;
- Lack of consistent integration of environmental protection issues and requirements in the same area in the process of adopting spatial and urban plans and issuing building permits;
- Overlaps in responsibilities between the water directorate and the Ministry of Environmental Protection in the area of water quality and pollution;
- Potential conflicts of jurisdiction between the Forestry Administration, which carries out forestry activities as an economic activity, and the Environmental Protection Administration, which is responsible for protecting forest ecosystems;
- Unclear responsibilities for the protection of wildlife in the context of hunting;
- Inadequate and unclear division of responsibilities between the Ministry of Energy and Mining and the Environmental Protection Administration in the field of geological research;
- Insufficient institutional coordination and coverage of monitoring activities in the field of environmental protection;
- Inadequate and unskilled personnel at all levels of public administration, including the environmental protection inspection service, especially for strategic environmental impact assessment, integrated pollution prevention and control, monitoring, and inspection activities;
- Educational institutions are not adequately prepared to train a sufficient number of experts in the field of environmental protection.

According to existing laws, a certain number of environmental protection responsibilities have been decentralized to the provincial level or local self-government units.

In accordance with the Law on the Competences of AP Vojvodina from 2002, certain environmental protection competences have been

transferred to Vojvodina. The competences of the Provincial Secretariat for Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development include:

- Development of environmental protection and sustainable development programs for Vojvodina;
- Measures for their implementation;
- Monitoring and information systems;
- Approval of environmental impact assessments;
- Approval of environmental protection programs, including protection of agricultural land, flora and fauna, forests, and water;
- Approval of construction programs;
- Approval of plans related to national parks within its territory;
- Inspection supervision for all environmental media except for hazardous substances and biodiversity;
- All other issues of importance to the province, in accordance with the law;
- The Province is also responsible for strategic assessment of plans and programs and issuing integrated permits for facilities and activities within its territory.

Institutional competences in the field of environmental protection in AP Vojvodina are not always entirely clear. The government delegates to AP Vojvodina competences related to environmental impact assessment, inspection supervision, and monitoring. However, the extent to which other competences are delegated to AP Vojvodina is not clearly defined.

Municipalities have the following competencies:

- in the field of urban planning;
- in the field of environmental protection and improvement of the environment;
- well as in communal affairs.

At the local level, secretariats for environmental protection have competencies related to environmental protection, including air quality protection, noise protection, municipal waste management, urban planning, and issuing building permits for facilities not included at the na-

tional level. Strategic assessment of plans and programs, environmental impact assessment, and integrated permits are also among their statutory tasks.

The concept of alignment basically means the concept of the so-called "harmonization" of the national regulations of the member states with the *acquis communautaire*. Different terms are used in the Founding Agreement for this process, such as: English: harmonization, approximation, coordination, German: *angleichung*. These three variants in the English language were supposed to reflect the different degrees of intensity of the integration processes that they create between the member states. Thus, the provisions of the articles of the Treaty on the Establishment of the European Community provide for the harmonization of legal, sub-laws and administrative measures in which it is necessary for the establishment or functioning of the common market.

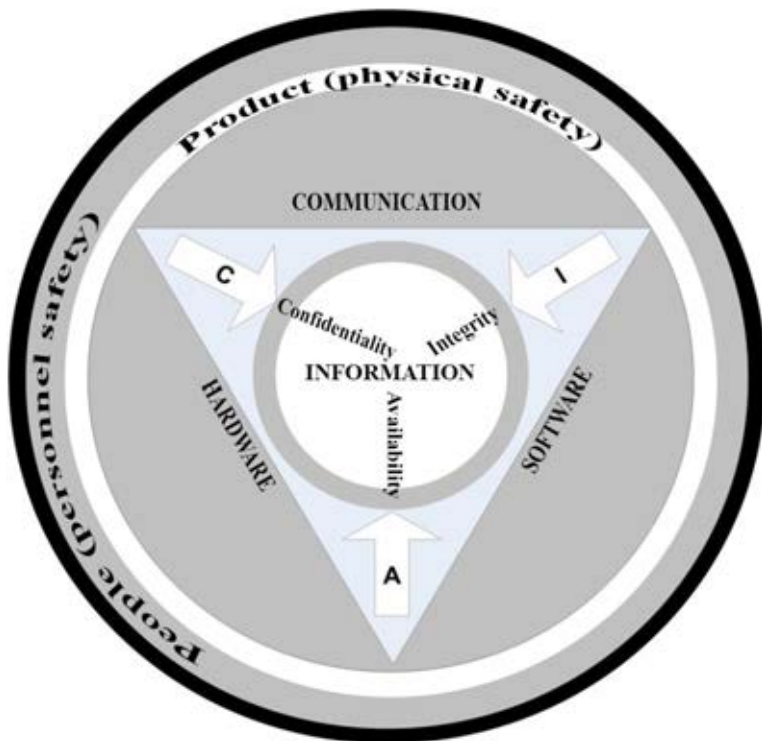


Figure 1. Security Provisions in Environmental Protection Standardization

The approximation of customs regulations was envisaged by the provisions of the former member of the Treaty establishing the European Community, as well as "harmonization or coordination" of sales taxes and state aids by the provisions of the Treaty establishing the EC members. Some regulations also envisage "harmonization and approximation", such as regulations on social systems (Article 136), while "coordination" of legislative, sub-legislative, and administrative provisions is provided for in the areas of settlement law and recognition of professional qualifications and monetary changes.

Harmonizing domestic legislation with EU law (*acquis communautaire*) is a strategic state goal that requires engagement of all social factors, including scientific institutions professionally involved in studying union law. By organizing this event, our aim was to provide the general public and all significant political stakeholders at home and abroad with insights into the Institute's rich multi-year scientific, research, and publishing activities. For over six decades, the Institute for International Politics and Economics has been engaged in scientifically studying processes and phenomena in the field of international politics and economics, as well as legal aspects of international relations relevant to the country's position and foreign policy.

Transposing European legislation in the field of the environment and climate change brings significant challenges. This will be addressed by the economy, local governments, public enterprises, as well as citizens themselves. Financial, economic, and social analyses are awaiting us regarding the necessary measures and investments in large wastewater treatment systems, collection and treatment of municipal and industrial waste, waste-to-energy systems, physico-chemical treatment of hazardous waste.

One of the most demanding directives in terms of investment is the Industrial Emissions Directive. A total of 227 plants are subject to it and they are obliged to obtain the so-called integrated permit *dozvolu* (Dimitrijević & Miljuš, 2010).

These are plants from the energy sector, metal processing, mineral industry, chemical industry, paper, and food industry - it is estimated that 30% of these plants will require transitional periods for the implemen-

tation of measures, and the total investments for these plants alone are estimated at 1.3 billion EUR. It is important to note that this is just one of dozens of EU directives from Chapter 27 that must be transposed and implemented in our legislation and business practice.

From the perspective of implementation, the greatest challenges await us in the water sector - wastewater, drinking water, municipal infrastructure. This is followed by industrial pollution (IPPC plants), waste, and air protection in energy-intensive industries.

Today, the world and Europe are moving towards minimizing coal consumption and transitioning to alternative energy sources, as well as maximizing energy efficiency, implementing measures to mitigate and adapt to climate change, applying the circular economy model, and "green" tools for sustainable business. Applying standards as a voluntary tool in business is one of the best ways for companies to address environmental protection and improvement challenges imposed by international rules, laws, markets, partners, and tenders (Todić, 2010).

Concern for the environment in the textile industry, not only to stop the detrimental effects of excessive waste but also could bring profit to companies. The Chamber of Commerce of Serbia (PKS) has formulated a Memorandum on the implementation of a new business model in the textile industry, which interested parties are signing these days (Tolmač et al., 2016).

The textile industry is a trillion-dollar business globally, and managing textile waste generates profits for companies, financial support for the civil sector and social enterprises, provides green local jobs - emphasizes Siniša Mitrović, Director of the Circular Economy Center. The process is inclusive, sustainable, and beneficial to the environment as it reduces the amount of discarded clothing and fabric in landfills. There is an evident increase in textile waste generation not only in textile production but also in the footwear and leather industry; 60% more is purchased than before, the fashion industry dictates trends, the lifespan of "worn" clothing in closets is reduced, the use of cheap clothing increases, all of which take on the contours of an environmental and social disaster. The circular economy offers solutions that allow the fashion industry to meet the environmental challenge through creativity, design, and user welfare (Prvulović et al., 2016).

Signatories accept a package of circular economy measures, with a high level of responsibility towards environmental protection and conservation of natural resources. They accept, approve, and assist in the implementation of measures to introduce a new business model for waste management from the textile, leather, footwear, and trade industries in Serbia. Signatories of the memorandum establish a National platform for waste management from the textile, leather, and footwear industries and trade.

A particular problem in Serbia is the recycling of construction materials. Waste from demolition and construction is one of the largest and most challenging waste streams.

Mostly, asbestos is found in the composition of demolition and construction waste, as a hazardous waste that was one of the most popular materials in the past century. Because of this legacy, asbestos poses a significant danger in Serbia, but due to a lack of education and the black market, there are no precise data on endangered areas and the scale of the problem.

The problem is that there is no market in Serbia for the reuse of aggregates obtained from demolition and construction waste, which can be used for road construction and other construction projects. There is an excessive number of permits issued at all levels, indicating the need for a revision of this system. A major problem for law enforcement is the lack of infrastructure and capacity for the disposal or storage of hazardous waste.

It is necessary to develop a National Plan for Construction and Demolition Waste, through which the procedures for handling waste containing asbestos from its generation to final disposal will be clearly defined. Establishing a National Registry where all locations in Serbia containing asbestos will be precisely determined is also needed. Revision of issued permits and tightening of criteria regarding technical and other conditions for obtaining a permit to manage this type of waste are necessary to ensure that only operators complying with all legal regulations and technical standards can enter the market. Before demolition begins, materials should be tested in one of the accredited laboratories. After receiving the test report, a company with a valid permit for managing this type of waste should be engaged.

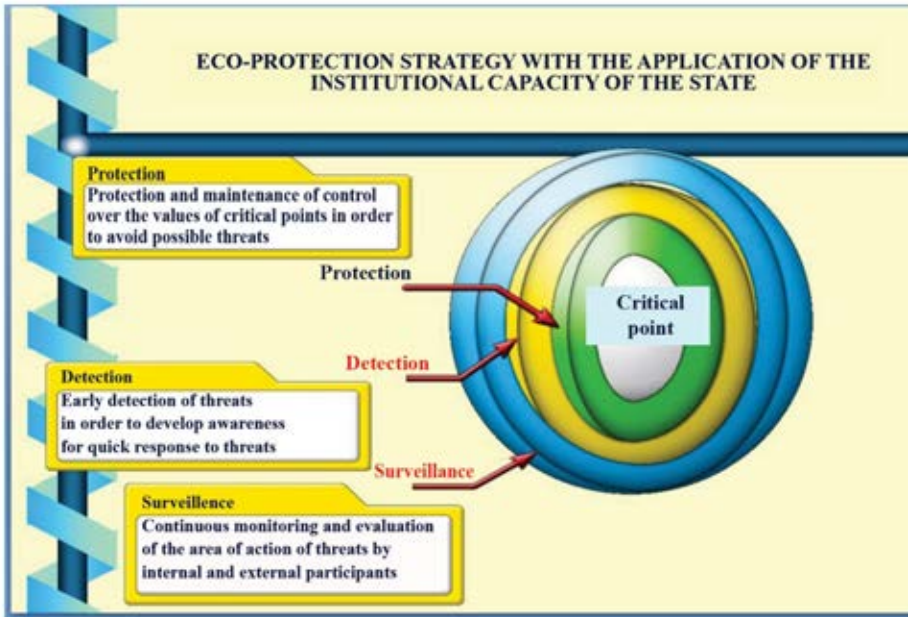


Figure 2. Organizational Content and Measures of Eco-Security

Serbia’s integration into the European Union is taking concrete forms. At the end of October 2010, the 27 foreign ministers of the EU gave the green light for the European Commission to provide an opinion on the conditions under which Serbia could join the EU. All this could serve as confirmation to the current Government in Belgrade to continue intensively with its efforts towards reform, especially since the President of the country submitted an official request for Serbia’s EU membership candidacy in December 2009. In light of the encouraging sign from the EU – regarding visa regime abolition – also in December 2009, there should be no significant obstacles to finalizing the ratification of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, signed back in 2008.

The overview of the state of the environment, along with the amendments proposed by the expert group, was then submitted on May 29, 2007 to the UNECE Commission for Program Policy in the Field of Environmental Protection, which conducted an independent expert review at its fourteenth session. Representatives of Serbia also participated in

the independent assessment process by experts. The Commission adopted the recommendations given in this review. With the support of the UNDP Country Office in Belgrade, the review will be translated into Serbian. The UNECE Commission on Environmental Policy thanks the Government of Serbia and its experts who worked with international experts and contributed their knowledge and assistance. UNECE expresses the hope that the Government of Serbia will continue to succeed in fulfilling its tasks, including meeting environmental protection goals, including the implementation of the conclusions and recommendations of this review.

In EU Constitutional Law and therefore in the Republic of Serbia, a distinction is made between direct applicability and direct effect. Direct applicability means recognizing Community regulations as integral parts of the internal law of Member States as they are, without any transformation or implementation. Direct effect refers to the ability or capacity of individual provisions of Community regulations to create subjective rights and obligations for Community subjects (material aspect), without any additional measures by national authorities to which national courts of Member States must provide immediate protection (processes aspect).

3. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND THE IMPORTANCE OF STANDARDIZATION

This distinction results in some sources of Community law being considered directly applicable but not being granted blanket direct effect. The Court of Justice decides on direct effect based on how the specific provision is formulated (as completely precise or perfect) and based on its content (whether it grants a subjective right or imposes an obligation). In this sense, direct effect precedes the recognition of direct applicability, but direct applicability is not sufficient, only a necessary (prior) characteristic of a provision suitable for direct effect.

Involvement in standardization largely involves participation in the work of Institute's expert bodies. The work of expert bodies is work on standards, which is the basis of standardization. To participate in the work of expert bodies (technical committees), it is necessary to fill out an Application for participation in the work of a technical committee, which is

signed and certified before being submitted to the Institute. Participation in the work of the Institute's expert bodies is voluntary.

Consensus is a general agreement on any significant issue reached by considering the views of all interested parties and reconciling all opposing views, with consensus not implying unanimity;

Compliance assessment with prescribed requirements is any activity that indirectly or directly determines whether certain requirements are met;

A mark of conformity is a sign or mark that is placed on a product in accordance with the rules and that any interested party can submit a proposal for new work that meets the needs of the market in a certain area.

When the appropriate Technical Committee accepts a project for the development of an EN standard, member states should suspend all national activities within the project. This means they do not initiate new projects or revise existing standards at the national level. This obligation is called "standstill" and allows efforts to be directed towards the development of EN standards (Roberts et al., 2015).

European standards are developed by appointed experts from specific technical bodies (technical committees) - working groups. When a draft EN is prepared, it is subject to public comment and voting, a process known as "public inquiry". During this phase, all interested parties (e.g., manufacturers, public authorities, consumers, etc.) can comment on the draft. These views are collected by members who then submit the national position for subsequent analysis by the CEN Technical Body. If the results of the public inquiry show approval for the EN standard, the technical body (committee) may decide to publish the standard (Adamo-vić, Josimović, & Josimović, 2019).

If the results of the public inquiry indicate that the draft EN standard requires technical refinement, the technical body (committee) may decide to update the draft and submit it for a second vote, called formal voting. After approval, the EN standard is published. The published EN standard must be given national standard status in all member countries, which are also obliged to withdraw all national standards that are inconsistent with it. This ensures that manufacturers have easier access to the markets of all member countries when applying European standards.

To ensure that the EN standard remains current, it will be reviewed within five years of publication. This review results in confirmation, amendments, revision, or withdrawal of the EN. By registering to work in the Technical Committee, an organization accepts all rights and obligations arising from the participation of its representatives in the work of the Technical Committee. The rights and obligations of the interested party/member of the committee are defined in the Institute's Internal Rules.

Companies that are involved in the standardization process are in direct contact with experts from other fields on the one hand and potential competitors on the other. By applying standards, the private sector is allowed to use existing solutions, recognized safety and quality requirements, to enter the market with products and services that meet current requirements (Tolmač et al., 2012).. The significance of standardization for consumers lies in the fact that products and services become cheaper, products become safer and have acceptable levels of quality (standards form the basis for product quality and safety markings), giving consumers a choice in terms of cost. Standards ensure that products are environmentally friendly and fit for purpose, ultimately benefiting consumers.

By using standards, inspections enable more efficient control of product safety achieved and easier identification of non-compliance with products. Standards are widely used in occupational safety, environmental protection, and other areas. Standards also provide legal certainty, especially in cases where hazardous products or non-compliant products need to be identified after being placed on the market (Josimović & Adamović, 2017).

This chapter presents an analysis of current issues that serve as a kind of obstacle to Western Balkan countries on the path to obtaining full EU membership. The issue of constitutional reforms and institutional capacities is certainly one of the most important issues on this path. Our country, if it wants to obtain candidate status, needs a new, European constitutional and legal identity, as well as more functional institutions with larger administrative, technical, and infrastructural capacities necessary, primarily for the complex process of harmonization with the legal acquis. By emphasizing the basic premises, this work aims to provoke an objective approach to solving these issues, based primarily on scientific criteria and free from narrow partisan or ethnonational perspectives.



Figure 3. Geographic Overview of Serbia's Territory with Major Cities and Settlements

In this context, based on a comparative study of constitutional solutions and institutional capacities of certain EU member states, this work

provides a new structure for future constitutional reforms along two elementary directions. One direction relates to creating constitutional prerequisites for Serbia to function as a future EU member state, hopefully. The other direction relies more on the current process of Euro-integration and the conditions that the state of Serbia must fulfill to continue the ongoing process of Euro-accession.



Figure 4. Critical Thinking and Compromise in Achieving Eco-Standard Goals

In conclusion, we can state that, regardless of the general inconsistency and the rather scarce institutional capacities that the Republic of Serbia possesses in the process of Euro-integration, success on the path towards the EU depends not only on its institutional capacities and readiness at the organizational or expert level but, above all, on overcoming the deep contradictions arising from unresolved internal political issues. Therefore, it would be entirely superficial to identify the cause of this situation purely in the legal sphere, as the cause is deeper and

should primarily be sought in political contradictions. The deep division among political elites in the country and the neighborhood generates a core problem that later reflects on the strategic European orientation. The fundamental precondition for the successful continuation of the initiated process of Euro-integration is political will, namely complete consensus on the most important goals and developmental priorities of our country.

By using standards, inspections enable more efficient control of achieved product safety, as well as easier identification of non-compliance with products. Standards are widely used in occupational safety, environmental protection, and other areas. Standards also provide legal certainty, especially in cases where it is necessary to identify dangerous or non-compliant products after they have been placed on the market (Josić & Adamović, 2017).

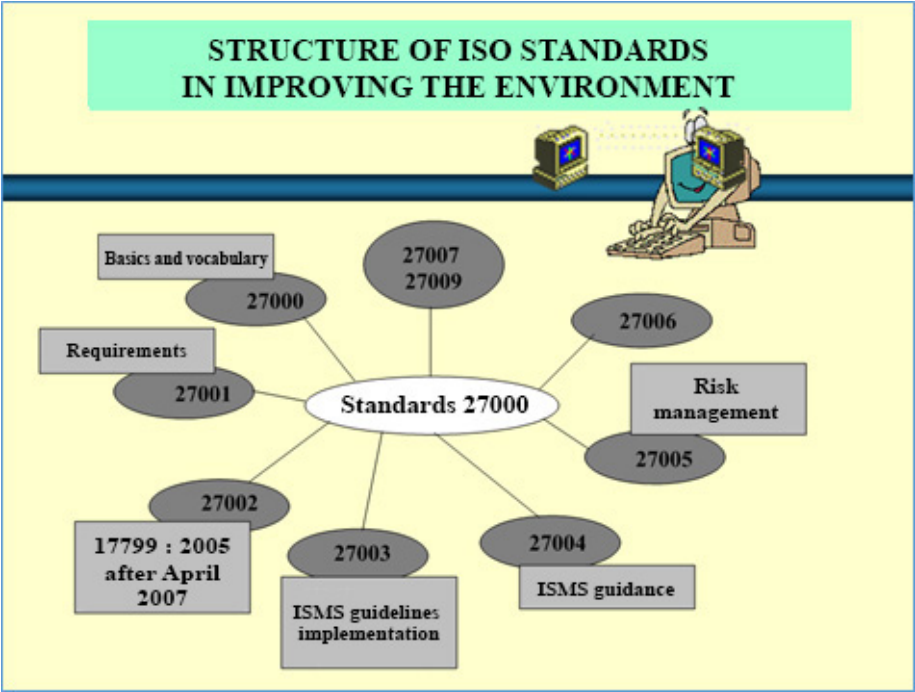


Figure 5. ISO 27000 Standards Providing Guidelines on Eco-Risk Conditions

The Assembly has declared environmental education a priority for the country. Education about environmental is mentioned in the NES (National Environmental Strategy), adopted by the Government in 2006. Also, the UNECE Strategy for Education for Sustainable Development has been translated into Serbian, and the national action plan for implementing the strategy is in preparation. Both the NES and the action plan have been developed through cooperation between the Ministry of Environmental Protection and the Ministry of Culture (responsible for education). The process of establishing an inter-ministerial Working Group to oversee the implementation of the strategy is underway.

CONCLUSION

Standardization is a functional instrument of self-regulation. Standardization through standards provides a basis for the development of technical regulations; a significant number of technical regulations refer to standards. Standardization is a crucial factor in strengthening a range of government policy activities, including overcoming trade barriers, fair trade, and protection of consumer interests, environmental protection and social interests, occupational safety, promotion of competitiveness, innovation, etc.

The official education system is currently undergoing reform. Elements of education for sustainable development are incorporated into various subjects in primary and secondary schools ("*World Around Us*" and "*Nature Guardians*" in all grades of primary school; "*Civic Education*" in primary and secondary schools). Education for sustainable development is also included to some extent in other subjects, such as biology and ecology, chemistry, geography, and physics, as well as philosophy, sociology, and human rights. A "*Handbook for Training Teaching Staff on Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development*" has been developed for primary and secondary schools. Special tools and materials have been developed for advanced environmental education, including topics from education for sustainable development, at the university level, at five universities (University of Belgrade, University of Niš, University of Novi Sad, University of Kragujevac, University of Novi Pazar) (Adamović, 2015).

To enhance their knowledge, teachers can choose from 190 accredited training programs, including 21 on ecology and 19 on biology. Regarding non-formal education and campaigns on environmental protection, the Nature Conservation Institute and the Recycling Agency are particularly effective, although the Ministry of Environmental Protection and the Environmental Protection Agency are increasing their activities in this field. However, awareness of environmental protection among the general population in Serbia is low. Research conducted in 2003 showed that educated people are more willing to pay for the benefit of the environment. Raising awareness through special activities and campaigns has been successful in some cases among students, journalists, industry, and local authorities.

The conditions that candidate countries for EU membership must meet to become full members were clearly defined in 1993 within the "Criteria from Copenhagen". Three criteria are of importance: On the one hand, candidate countries must achieve stability of institutions ensuring democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and minority rights (political criterion). On the other hand, they must have a functioning market economy and sufficient competitiveness (economic criterion). Finally, a candidate must be able to adopt the so-called "Aquis Communautaire" of the European Union (EU), i.e., to adopt the common legal principles. This document contains all the obligations and rights applicable to EU member states. It includes all EU agreements, treaties, conventions, legal acts, and judgments of the European Court of Justice. This paper makes a modest contribution to the successful realization of the set tasks, with the help of literature and sources from the Internet.

This paper analyzes the constitutional-legal aspects of the process of harmonizing domestic regulations and the possible effects of harmonization not only in terms of achieving so-called external harmonization but also internal harmonization, i.e. from the perspective of preserving the unity of the internal legal order. The analysis showed that the blanket acknowledgment of the direct application of all ratified international agreements in the process of implementing prescribed measures, especially those provisions of the Agreement that refer to the direct application of Community law and interpretation instruments adopted by the bodies of

the European Community, raises the question of the constitutionality of those provisions.

By ratifying the Stabilization and Association Agreement, rather than bringing it into force, as is customary practice with international treaties, pursuant to Article 72, paragraph 2 of the Agreement, Serbia has committed to "endeavor to gradually align its existing laws and future legislation with the legal acquis of the Community" in the areas specified in the Agreement. This is a complex obligation in whose fulfillment, in addition to legislative bodies, the organs of the other two branches of government will participate, so it can be said not only to legislative but also to judicial harmonization of internal regulations.

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THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AFTER WORLD WAR II

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Abstract: The era following World War II marked a significant turning point in international relations and law, laying the groundwork for a new legal and political paradigm. This paper deals with the study of the evolution of international law in the post-war period, focusing on the innovations, challenges, and changes that shaped the global legal order. Our analysis begins by considering the establishment of the United Nations and their role in promoting international peace, security, and justice, as well as the impact of their normative frameworks on international law. Considering that „authors either completely avoid the problem of defining international law; or avoiding definition, they only analyze the nature and role of international law; that is, the social function of international law, its relationship with justice, morality, general social interest, etc.,“ (Kri-vokapic, 2017:28) we will try to give a correct definition of international law as international law is a set of rules and norms that regulate relations between states and other subjects of international law, such as international organizations and, to a certain extent, individuals. This law encompasses a wide range of issues, including diplomatic relations, trade, war and peace, human rights, environment, maritime law, and much more, and in the continuation, we will cover the development of all these branches of law immediately after World War II.

Key words: international law, peace operations, sovereignty, decolonization, United Nations, International Law Commission, diplomatic and consular law, corruption.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The development of international law in the second half of the twentieth century is characterized by a series of significant changes that reflect the political, economic, and social dynamics of that period. After the horrors of World War II, in 1945, the United Nations was founded with the aim of preserving peace and security, paving the way for the strengthening of international norms and institutions. The Charter of the United Nations became the foundation of modern international law, affirming the principles of sovereign equality of states, the prohibition of the use of force, and the obligation to peacefully settle disputes.³ The war crimes committed during World War II led to the formation of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals, where the Axis powers' leaders were convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity. These processes not only punished the criminals but also set a precedent for future international judicial proceedings, establishing the jurisdiction of international law over individuals, not just states.

2. THE CREATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION AND THE FIRST PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

The United Nations was founded on October 24, 1945, with the aim of preserving world peace and security, upholding human rights, and promoting social and economic development. The founding charter of the United Nations was signed by 51 member states at the conference in San Francisco, held after the end of World War II. The organization inherited the mission and goals of the League of Nations, the previous international organization established after World War I, which failed to prevent the second global conflict. The main organs of the United Nations include the

3 (UK)NA/FO371/118874/JE1074/24/J/No.1296, 20 Nov. 1956, From New York (UK mission) to Foreign Office; cf. regarding the Egyptian opposition to a significant Canadian participation: LAC/RG25 [External Affairs], Vol.6100, file 50366-40, 24 Nov. 1956, UNEF – Canadian Contribution; LAC/RG2, Privy Council Office, Series A-5-a, Vol.5775/Reel T-12185; United Nations Emergency International Force; Cabinet Meeting Datum: 28 Nov. 1956.

General Assembly, where each member state has one vote, and the Security Council, which has five permanent members with veto power (the United States, Russia, China, France, and the United Kingdom) and ten rotating (non-permanent) members. The purpose of the United Nations can be best seen from the following sentence by Harry Truman: „If we do not want to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace.“ (Truman, 1945) Yugoslavia played a significant role in the creation and operation of the United Nations. The country joined the UN as a founding member on October 24, 1945.

The first United Nations peacekeeping operations began in 1948. The first mission was the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), established to oversee the ceasefire agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors. In the early years, the goals of peacekeeping were mostly limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing the situation on the ground so that the political level could address conflict resolution through peaceful means. The creation of the First United Nations Emergency Force for Peacekeeping (UNEF I) in response to the Suez Crisis in 1956 marks a key moment in the constitutional development of UN peacekeeping operations.⁴ This was the first time the organization sent larger peacekeeping units to a conflict zone, with the aim of securing a ceasefire and establishing conditions for a political solution.⁵ The legal nature of peacekeeping operations and their constitutional basis, however, remained unclear, which made it difficult to carry out the UN's second major operation in Congo in 1960, especially after the „mandate of ONUC was transformed.“ (Dorn, 1995:11)

Legal debates crystallized in the controversy over the distribution of peacekeeping operation costs among UN member states, leading to an

4 After Egypt decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, major conflicts erupted between Egypt on one side and France, Great Britain, and Israel on the other. These events forced the Security Council to establish the UNEF mission, which consisted of lightly armed forces from member states that did not participate in the conflict. Its task was to ensure and monitor the withdrawal of French, Israeli, and British forces from Egyptian territory and to serve as a buffer zone between Egyptian and Israeli forces. UNEF I was established by United Nations General Assembly Resolution UN Doc. A/RES/1001 (ES-I) (1956).

5 See: LAC/RG2/, Privy Council Office, Series A-5-a, Vol.5775/Reel T-12185; International situation; contribution to United Nations Emergency International Force; Cabinet Meeting Date: 16 Nov. 1956.

advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the case „Certain Expenses of the United Nations“ in 1962. In this context, it is crucial to recall that: „The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 20 July 1962 regarding the ‘Certain Expenses of the United Nations’ confirmed that the expenditures approved by the General Assembly for the UN operations in Congo and the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East were indeed ‘expenses of the Organization’ within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2, of the UN Charter. (International Court of Justice, 1962) The Court concluded that these expenses were made to achieve the goals of the Organization. Nevertheless, a pattern was established that lasted until the new types of conflicts in the 1990s and the new political constellation in the UN, which made traditional peacekeeping operations obsolete. Theorists like Brian Urkhart, who was a key figure in the development of UN peacekeeping operations, emphasize the importance of adaptability and innovation in responding to new challenges. In light of the changing nature of international conflicts, peacekeeping operations had to evolve to remain relevant and effective in maintaining peace and security. Today’s peacekeeping operations often involve a wide range of activities, including military presence, ceasefire monitoring, civilian protection, state-building support, and promotion of human rights. This evolution reflects the continuous need for adapting international law and peacekeeping practices to respond to the complex challenges of contemporary conflicts.

3. INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW

After the horrors of World War II, the international community recognized the need to strengthen international criminal law to prevent future crimes and ensure justice for victims. The development of international criminal law since then has been focused on establishing clear rules and institutions for prosecuting individuals responsible for grave crimes against international law. The first significant step in the development of international criminal law after World War II were the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, where war criminals from Germany and Japan were prosecuted for crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. These trials set

a precedent that individuals, including state leaders, can be held accountable under international law. After the war, the Geneva Conventions were revised to improve the protection of victims of armed conflicts, including prisoners of war, wounded and sick soldiers, and civilians. The four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, form the foundation of international humanitarian law. A year earlier, in 1948, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted. During the Cold War, progress in the development of international criminal law was limited due to geopolitical tensions between the East and the West. However, despite these challenges, the normative framework continued to be built through various international treaties. At the end of the 20th century, ad hoc international criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and Rwanda (ICTR) were established to prosecute individuals responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. These tribunals further developed the jurisprudence of international criminal law.

The establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002 represents a milestone in the development of international criminal law. The ICC is the first permanent international court with jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the most serious crimes of international concern, including genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression. Although significant progress has been made, the development of international criminal law faces challenges, including issues of sovereignty, the political will of states to cooperate, and sometimes accusations of bias and selective justice. Despite these challenges, efforts continue to strengthen international criminal law as a means to promote justice, accountability, and prevent future crimes.

4. THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

Sovereignty represents one of the fundamental principles of international law and refers to the complete and exclusive authority of a state over its territory and population, as well as the right of the state to make decisions independently without external interference. International law recognizes state sovereignty as a key element of the international system and

guarantees their territorial integrity and political independence. The concept of sovereignty has evolved through history and became particularly important after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which marked the beginning of the modern system of sovereign states. International law, through various treaties, conventions, and customs, seeks to protect the sovereignty of states and promote peace and stability in international relations.

Legal scholars between the two world wars were critical of what they considered an excessive emphasis on the right to state sovereignty. Although criticism of sovereignty was still present in most Western writings, legal scholars no longer sought immediate ways to exit from that concept, even in the West. On the contrary, the appeal of politically oriented realism suggested a serious understanding of sovereignty and its use to produce diplomatically credible reports on the functioning of law or conditions for legal reform (McDougal, Stone). Neither Soviet nor third-world lawyers shared the Western discomfort with sovereignty. On the contrary, for them, sovereignty was the foundation from which they could oppose what they saw as a constant tendency towards Western domination. Statehood firmly stood as the formal center of law. That this center was deeply political was manifested in the final victory of the declarative doctrine on the effect of state recognition. It was considered that the emergence of states should be viewed as a political, historical, and sociological process - a process of de facto consolidation of power in an entity, rather than as a reflection of what existing states - in practice, the most powerful states - were willing to accept as such (e.g., Chen).

Efforts to „mitigate the relative arbitrariness of this by positing a duty of recognition once an entity reaches the necessary conditions of statehood“ (Lauterpacht, 1947:48) were not successful. In accordance with the political realism of the era, recognition was to be viewed as a political act of approval that does not create a state, even legally, but only puts a final seal of approval (by an individual state or by the community) on the statehood of the entity.⁶ These ideas reflect the complex

6 James Crawford expressed his opinion on state recognition in his work *The Creation of States in International Law*, published in 2006. In this book, Crawford thoroughly examines the processes of state formation in international law, including the role of recognition. He emphasizes that recognition is a political act that does not create a state but confirms its existing statehood.

relationship between law and politics in international relations, especially in the context of sovereignty and state recognition. Legal realists such as McDougal and Stone advocated an approach that respects political reality and aims for pragmatic solutions in international law, while theorists like Lauterpacht and Crawford emphasized the importance of legal standards and norms in the process of state recognition. These different perspectives continue to shape the development and interpretation of international law in the contemporary world.

In the famous 1928 arbitral award in the *Island of Palmas* case between the Netherlands and the United States, arbitrator Max Huber stated: „Sovereignty in relations between states signifies independence. Independence in relation to a portion of the globe is the right to exercise therein, to the exclusion of any other state, the functions of a state. The development of the internal organization of states during the last few centuries and, as a consequence thereof, the development of international law, have established this principle of the exclusive jurisdiction of the state within its own territory, in such a way that it has become the starting point for the solution of most questions concerning international relations...“ (Reports of International Arbitral Awards, 1928:828)

Regarding the relationship between state sovereignty and globalization, which is a particularly relevant topic in the 21st century, according to the skeptical or traditionalist school, „globalization is not something opposed to nation-states, but states have a key role in the process of globalization“, (Tucak, 2008:154) then, another school of thought sees globalization as „an inevitable development that nation-states cannot influence or stop“, (Tucak, 2008:155) and a third school of thought argues that „nation-states will not disappear, but the way governments perform their tasks will significantly change.“ (Tucak, 2008:155)

This book is considered a key reference work in the field of international law on the formation and recognition of states.

5. DECOLONIZATION AND THE COLD WAR

Decolonization as a legal process involves a series of international legal principles and procedures that enable the transition from colonial status to independence and sovereignty. This process is closely linked to the right of peoples to self-determination, which is a key principle of international law established in the Charter of the United Nations and other international documents. Decolonization also played a key role in the development of international law during this period, as many newly established states gained membership in the United Nations. This changed the global geopolitical structure and increased legal pluralism, as many of these states brought new perspectives and demands to international law, especially regarding the right to self-determination. By the 1960s, decolonization was widely accepted as a principle of international law, significantly confirmed by the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on Decolonization in 1960.⁷ The Declaration promoted the following principles: 1. The right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, 2. The obligation of colonial powers to transfer power to colonial peoples quickly and unconditionally,⁸ 3. The need to end all forms of colonial rule in all its forms and manifestations, 4. The right of peoples to fight against colonial domination and external domination, 5. The condemnation of colonialism as an injustice and an obstacle to economic and social development.

The UN Declaration on Decolonization had a significant impact on the decolonization process worldwide, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, when many African and Asian countries gained independence. This document obliged states to recognize and respect the right of peoples to self-determination and encouraged the independence of most Eu-

7 The United Nations Declaration on Decolonization is known as Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, adopted on December 14, 1960. The official title of this document is „Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.“ This declaration is a key document in the decolonization process and is the basis of international law supporting the right of peoples to self-determination.

8 The declaration was one of the first major contributions of the United Nations to the decolonization process. The United Nations later established the Committee on Decolonization (also known as the Committee of 24) to oversee the implementation of the Declaration and provide support to countries and peoples in their efforts for independence.

ropean colonies within a few years. The decolonization process was not just a political but also a legal phenomenon that involved the transfer of sovereignty from colonial powers to newly formed states. In this regard, there was an understanding that sovereignty over natural resources was not just a matter of state control, but also legal regulation that protects the rights and interests of people in developing countries. The UN General Assembly Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources in 1962 played a key role in this process, providing a legal framework that allows states to independently manage and exploit their resources, often in opposition to previously concluded private contracts with foreign corporations. Legal debates on nationalization and compensation for the expropriation of foreign property intensified during this period, especially regarding natural resources in the Middle East and Africa.

The debate did not stop at sovereignty in public law but also extended to the regulation of private transnational activities. Third World states, through platforms such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) established in 1964, sought to transform international economic relations to achieve greater distributive justice. The movement for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the late sixties and early seventies resulted in the adoption of numerous legal instruments, treaties, and resolutions that envisaged changes in international economic relations, especially in terms of international investments. The establishment of the UN Center for Transnational Corporations in 1973 was aimed at strengthening the negotiating capacities of developing countries and regulating the activities of private enterprises.⁹ However, processes such as the adoption of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States in 1974, despite widespread support, faced resistance from developed countries that were exporters of capital. The legal principles adopted during this period shaped contemporary international law, adding layers of complexity through is-

9 The United Nations Center for Transnational Corporations (UNCTC) was a specialized agency of the United Nations established in 1974. Its primary objective was to provide support and advice to developing countries regarding issues related to transnational corporations (TNCs), especially in the context of their impact on development and international economic relations.

sues such as nationalization, fair compensation, and the right of peoples to development. These developments showed how international law can serve as a tool to redefine global economic relations and support processes of decolonization and self-determination.

The Cold War established a bipolar world, but it also spurred the development of international law in areas such as disarmament and arms control, with agreements like the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1968. These initiatives were aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and reducing the risk of nuclear conflict. Treaties on disarmament and arms limitation were an important part of international relations in the 20th century, especially during the Cold War. One of the key moments was the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), which began in 1969 between the United States and the Soviet Union. SALT I resulted in the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, which were signed in 1972. These agreements recognized the sovereignty of each side and agreed on the principle of non-imposition, aiming to promote economic, scientific, and cultural ties that are mutually beneficial. SALT II, signed in 1979, represented the first nuclear arms treaty that assumed an actual reduction of strategic forces to 2,250 categories of weapon carriers on both sides.

These negotiations were a continuation of earlier disarmament efforts organized by the League of Nations, such as the Geneva Conference in 1932. This conference aimed to implement Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which required the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security and international obligations. During the Cold War, these negotiations were key in limiting nuclear armaments, and the term „arms control“ was often used to denote any disarmament or arms limitation agreement. Although the SALT talks represented significant progress in arms control, challenges and criticisms remained. Some issues included the presence of a Soviet brigade in Cuba and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which led to the withdrawal of the SALT II treaty from consideration in the US Senate in 1980, although both sides adhered to the treaty's terms until 1986. Throughout the 20th century, there were several such disarmament attempts, and the SALT talks were

later surpassed by the START I treaty in 1991. Other significant treaties include the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

6. INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The Charter of the United Nations tasked the UN General Assembly with “encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification”¹⁰ (Article 13(1)(a) of the UN Charter). However, the idea was that the UN would not develop into a world legislative body or a center of international administration, but rather function as a forum for multilateral diplomacy through which international conventions would be adopted and disputes peacefully resolved. To carry out the first task, the International Law Commission (ILC) was established in 1947 as a body of independent experts charged with preparing drafts for the codification and progressive development of international law. At its first session in 1949, the Commission adopted its first work program consisting of fourteen topics: the law of international treaties, state responsibility (state responsibility for private actors), immunities and jurisdictions, regulations on the high seas and territorial waters, diplomatic and consular relations, extradition, the right to asylum (territorial and extraterritorial, and individual and collective), recognition of states, and arbitral procedure. Regarding the Commission’s objectives, it is important to note that it was established: „with a mandate to promote the progressive development of international law and its codification. Over the years, the Commission has played a key role in the development of contemporary international law, contributing to the formulation of numerous key conventions and treaties.“ (Pellet, 1998:44)

The achievements of the ILC in the period 1945–1960 were not impressive. Work was completed on five topics, with two draft conventions (on the territorial sea and the high seas), the UN General Assembly refused to take action on one proposal (arbitral procedure), and two topics were in progress

10 The International Law Commission was created by United Nations General Assembly Resolution A-RES-174(II) on November 21, 1947.

(diplomatic relations and statelessness). The ILC's activity was characterized as „the slowness of progress and disappointment with the results achieved.“ Although work on arbitral procedure, reduction of statelessness, and the field of international criminal law did not go beyond drafts, significant preparatory work was, however, done for the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (1963), the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), and the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969).

The efforts of the ILC to codify and develop international law, despite slow progress, contributed to the establishment of important legal instruments that today form the basis of the international legal system. These conventions set standards for diplomatic and consular relations, as well as for the law of treaties, which enabled greater predictability and stability in international relations. Although challenges remained, the work of the ILC was crucial in shaping contemporary international law.

7. SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UN

Following the establishment of the United Nations, many other specialized agencies were founded to address specific issues, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The specialized agencies of the United Nations (UN) are international organizations that are associated with the UN through cooperation agreements. They are autonomous and have their own members, budgets, and administrative structures. Specialized agencies were established to deal with specific issues on a global level, such as health, education, food, agriculture, civil aviation, and telecommunications. Their establishment allows for more efficient and focused action in certain areas. These organizations have contributed to the creation and implementation of international law in areas of public health and nuclear safety. The Cold War also brought a new dimension to international law, with the adoption of numerous arms control and disarmament agreements. International disarmament conferences contributed to the limitation of the spread of weapons and the establishment of verification and monitoring systems.¹¹

¹¹ The specialized agencies of the UN include: International Labour Organization (ILO), Food

8. HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Human rights are defined as „a set of fundamental rights of the human person, i.e., rights that one does not have to specifically acquire, but should possess based on one’s very existence and regardless of the country of citizenship or residence, as well as regardless of whether one may be stateless or a refugee.“ (Ibler, 1987:236) Human rights are actually „common rights“ (Griffin, 2007:256) inherent to the entire human collective. They are understood as „a set of principles and standards common to all people.“ (Sahadzic, 2011:246)

In the field of human rights, international law began to apply to situations within states, often in contrast to traditional principles of sovereignty. This resulted in pressure on states to respect the human rights of their citizens and allowed the international community to intervene in cases of severe violations, as was the case in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Additionally, the right to national self-determination, which became a key feature of the post-war era, enabled many peoples to gain independence and become recognized states within the international community. This contributed to a significant increase in United Nations members and further development of international law regulating relations between states.

Human rights became a significant part of international law with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which laid the foundations for the development of international human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both adopted in 1966. These documents defined a wide range of human

and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), Universal Postal Union (UPU), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), International Maritime Organization (IMO), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

rights and the obligations of states to respect them. In the same spirit, the fight against discrimination led to the adoption of several conventions, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, which strengthened women's rights and promoted gender equality.

Legal regulation concerning environmental protection and sustainable development became another key segment of international law. Events such as the Chernobyl disaster in 1986 highlighted the need for international cooperation in preventing and responding to environmental disasters. The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) is crucial, representing an international treaty aimed at banning all nuclear explosions in all environments, including the atmosphere, space, underwater, and underground. The treaty was opened for signature in 1996, but it has not yet entered into force because not all key states possessing nuclear weapons have ratified the treaty. The CTBT represents a step in efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and promote nuclear disarmament. The implementation of the Treaty is monitored through the CTBT International Monitoring System, which uses technology to detect nuclear explosions.

Other significant sources in international law related to environmental protection include: The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) focused on conserving biological diversity, sustainable use of its components, and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the use of genetic resources, The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) aims to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that prevents dangerous anthropogenic (human-induced) interference in the climate system, The Kyoto Protocol, an addition to the UNFCCC, sets binding targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions for industrialized countries, The Paris Agreement, adopted under the UNFCCC, aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by keeping the global temperature increase below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and striving to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C, The Convention on the Ozone Layer, officially known as the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, is an international convention adopted in 1985 aimed at protecting the ozone layer

from damage caused by human activities, particularly emissions of certain chemicals that degrade it, such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and halons, The Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean (Barcelona Convention) aims to reduce pollution and protect the marine and coastal environment of the Mediterranean, while The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) regulates international trade in endangered species of wild animals and plants.

9. INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS LAW

The end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 opened the way for a new wave of globalization and cooperation, resulting in the strengthening of international institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the expansion of the European Union. This led to new rules and norms in international economic law and the enhancement of regional integration. At the same time, international humanitarian law was advanced through the adoption of the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions in 1977, which expanded the protection of civilians in armed conflicts and set stricter rules for conducting wars. These changes were a response to changing forms of warfare and the need for better protection of human rights. Environmental protection became an international legal issue after world leaders met at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972, leading to the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and later, the adoption of numerous multilateral agreements aimed at protecting natural resources.

The law of the sea was also revised during this era, culminating in the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1982, which set comprehensive rules for the use of the oceans and their resources, affirming concepts such as exclusive economic zones. In the field of trade law, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and later the World Trade Organization (WTO), advanced rules and norms for international trade, promoting the reduction of trade barriers and fair practices. Given all these changes, the second half of the

twentieth century was a time of significant expansion and consolidation of international law, laying the groundwork for global governance in the new millennium. International law became not just a system of rules for states but also a platform for individuals, international organizations, and civil society to seek justice and advance global standards in various areas of human activity.

The development of international law during the second half of the twentieth century was a dynamic process that was strongly influenced by global political changes and growing awareness of human rights, environmental protection, and the rights of minority groups. During this period, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was established and set standards for workers' rights, health conditions, and fair working conditions, thereby extending international law to the social sphere.

The concept of justice and international accountability gained new momentum through the establishment of the permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002, as a result of the 1998 agreement. The ICC was designed to prosecute individuals accused of the gravest crimes such as genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

In refugee law, the adoption of the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol were key moments in international law, establishing a legal framework for the protection of the rights and status of persons forced to flee their homes due to persecution or conflict. The right to development also became a focus of the international community, recognizing that all peoples have the right to economic, social, and cultural development, as well as the right to participate in and enjoy economic growth.

10. DIPLOMATIC-CONSULAR LAW

The realm of diplomatic law was not immune to changes, as the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963 enhanced the rules governing diplomatic and consular interactions among states. In addition, it is necessary to mention the Vienna Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (1946), the Vienna Convention on the Privileges

and Immunities of Specialized Agencies of the United Nations (1946), and the Vienna Convention on the Status of Special Missions (1969).

11. AIR, SPACE, AND OTHER LAWS

In the field of air and space law, various conventions and agreements, such as the Convention on International Civil Aviation (also known as the Chicago Convention) and the Outer Space Treaty, established the foundations for regulating the use of airspace and space activities. International maritime law also saw significant initiatives, such as efforts to combat piracy, illegal fishing, and protect marine biodiversity, all of which are included in the broader commitment to preserving and sustainably using oceans and seas. The concept of sustainable development became a central theme in international law following the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, where key documents such as Agenda 21, the Convention on Biological Diversity, and the Framework Convention on Climate Change were adopted.

During these years, it was evident that international law was developing through a series of agreements focusing on specific challenges, such as the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological Weapons, which represented a step forward in global efforts for peace and security. These and many other changes defined the post-World War II period as an era in which international law became a key tool in shaping international relations and global governance. The development of law reflected the need for collective solutions to global problems and the increasing interdependence of states in the international community. In this period, it is also important to mention the progress in recognizing and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, resulting in the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. This document recognizes their rights to land, language, culture, education, and self-determination. In response to increased globalization and international economic integration, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have been adjusting their policies to tackle economic crises and promote development in developing countries.

12. CORRUPTION AND OTHER GLOBAL CHALLENGES

The fight against corruption also gained an international dimension, making the United Nations Convention against Corruption in 2003 the first global legal instrument aimed at preventing and combating corruption at all levels. State responsibility exists in relation to „the actions of its officials as well as for other entities acting on its behalf or under state management or control, is a fundamental principle of international relations, and thus of international law, including the law governing foreign investments. The approach to the responsibility of investors for the actions of their employees or agents is generally the same“ (Miljenic, 2018:188) which directly concerns corruption itself, as state apparatus officials represent the most corrupt part of society.

International law and corruption are two areas that often intersect, especially when it comes to fighting corruption on a global level. International law encompasses various agreements, conventions, and protocols aimed at preventing and combating corruption in international relations and within states. One of the key instruments in the fight against corruption is the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), which is the most comprehensive international legal instrument for combating corruption. UNCAC promotes measures for the prevention of corruption, criminal prosecution and punishment of corrupt acts, international cooperation, and the return of assets obtained through corruption. In addition to UNCAC, there are other international initiatives such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions and the Council of Europe Convention on Fighting Corruption. International law and international organizations play a key role in establishing standards and norms for fighting corruption, but the effectiveness of these instruments depends on the willingness and ability of individual states to implement and enforce them at the national level.

Finally, challenges such as international terrorism, human trafficking, and other forms of transnational crime have resulted in numerous conventions and protocols that have strengthened international legal and police cooperation to combat these threats. With all these developments,

the end of the twentieth century presented challenges in the form of conflicts in the Balkans, genocide in Rwanda, and other regional conflicts that tested the ability of the international community to apply the principles of international law and intervene to protect human rights and preserve peace. International law has thus become a complex and comprehensive legal system that constantly adapts to respond to changing global challenges, providing a legal basis for maintaining peace, promoting justice, and protecting human rights around the world.

With the emergence of new technologies, especially in the field of communications and information, international law has faced the challenge of addressing issues such as cybersecurity, digital privacy, and intellectual property rights at a global level.

13. CONCLUSION

After World War II, the development of international law experienced significant changes aimed at promoting peace, security, and justice on a global level. The establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 represented a key moment in the development of international law, as it established an international organization with a mandate to preserve international peace and security, promote human rights, and encourage social and economic development. International human rights law underwent significant expansion after World War II. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948, setting fundamental human rights standards at a global level. Subsequently, numerous international treaties addressing specific aspects of human rights were adopted, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. International business law also experienced significant development in the post-war period. The globalization of trade and investment spurred the need for establishing common rules and standards to facilitate international business transactions. This led to the establishment of numerous international agreements and organizations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), which promote the harmonization of trade rules and dispute resolution. Overall, the

development of international law after World War II is characterized by efforts to establish a fairer and more stable international order through the promotion of peace, protection of human rights, and facilitation of international trade and investment.

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BOOK REVIEW

THE IMPACT OF INTERETHNIC CONTACTS ON THE POTENTIAL FOR OVERCOMING DIVISIONS IN POSTCONFLICT SOCIETIES

(Kostovicova, Denisa (2023). *Reconciliation by Stealth: How People Talk about War Crimes*, Cornell University Press)

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Denisa Kostovicova, a professor at the Institute of European Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science, is the author of the book “Reconciliation by Stealth: How People Talk about War Crimes.” The book is dedicated to “Those seeking justice after atrocities and those assisting in that search.” In this work, Kostovicova was interested in communication among members of different ethnic groups, going beyond just the violence in the former Yugoslavia. Specifically, the violence of the 1990s and the violence at the beginning of the 21st century in the former Yugoslavia inherited a narrative conflict, a verbal conflict of visions. Verbal confrontation is particularly evident when it comes to war crimes or suffering in the relatively recent past. Dominant ethnocentric public discourses have hindered and continue to hinder reconciliation. “Reconciliation by Stealth” is precisely the result of the author’s efforts to examine and verify the negative impact of public discourses on the process of interethnic reconciliation.

Denisa Kostovicova primarily analyzed transcripts of discussions organized by RECOM (Regional Commission for Establishing the Facts about War Crimes and Other Serious Violations of Human Rights Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia from January 1, 1991, to December 31, 2001). RECOM represents a multi-ethnic civil society

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initiative aimed at creating conditions for interethnic reconciliation and trust. The RECOM initiative is the result of collaboration among three non-governmental organizations from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia. These organizations contacted people from different ethnic groups regarding issues related to endured mass atrocities. Ethnic groups in the Balkans generally highlight and exaggerate crimes committed by others while justifying their own misdeeds. Empathy towards fellow countrymen who suffered does not extend to members of other ethnicities; their suffering and victims, if acknowledged, are considered lesser. The mission of RECOM, as emphasized by the author, arose from the need to acknowledge the suffering of all victims in the region, opening a perspective for confronting the atrocities of the 1990s.

The mission of RECOM entailed a regional process of public consultations from 2006 to 2011. The goal of these consultations, held at various locations across the former Yugoslavia, encompassing regional, national, and local levels, was to identify an appropriate mechanism for addressing the violent past. Victims of violence from different ethnic groups participated in the consultations, totaling around 6,000 individuals from ethnic groups involved in the wars during the breakup of Yugoslavia. Throughout the RECOM discussions, the entire correspondence was documented. The author conducted a quantitative analysis of the content of transcripts from these discussions, combining it with her own fieldwork in the Balkans. This fieldwork included semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observation of RECOM meetings, and other workshops. In all parts of the book, the author combines a qualitative and quantitative methodological approach. Unlike most scholars focusing on society, Kostovicova believes that ethnic identity, or its manifestations, holds positive potential for creating solidarity that transcends ethnic boundaries. “These discursive identity practices offset divisive identity politics and make way for reconciliation during deliberation about war crimes” (p. 5). In other words, Kostovicova analyzes the outcomes of the RECOM discussions, implicitly highlighting the essential importance of close contact or ongoing relationships among members of different ethnic groups.

Scientists, as highlighted by Kostovicova, often overlook an im-

portant, possibly crucial, element in the reconstruction of interethnic relations, and that is interethnic dialogue – direct and open contact among members of different ethnic groups. Interethnic relations are thus rebuilt “covertly” or “invisibly,” i.e., secretly, as suggested by the title of the book. The heightened significance of ethnic identity resulting from conflicts does not necessarily signify the elimination of correspondence with members of another ethnicity. On the contrary, interethnic interactions reveal the phenomenological dimension of suffering, the individual pain of victims wherein the perspective of achieving universal, human solidarity is unveiled. Confronted directly with the suffering of others, people understand the need for comfort, compensation, a form of retribution for what has been endured, lost, and experienced.

As the assumed framework for achieving reconciliation, Kostovicova introduces what she calls “transitional justice.” Transitional justice entails that “societies must explicitly address their legacy of violence” (Paige, A., 2009: 334; according to Kostovicova, 2023: 5-6). Kostovicova highlights this definition as a crucial and exclusive enduring link between postauthoritarian, postcommunist (political transitions), and postconflict transitions, i.e., transitions from a state of war to peacetime. Kostovicova, in fact, notes the negative impact of the quest for transitional justice. The pursuit of justice in postconflict societies often influences the further development of antagonisms among different ethnic groups, hindering reconciliation and an objective, respectful approach to the victims. Understanding the phenomenon of reconciliation itself requires acquainting ourselves with how people talk about war crimes in their efforts to seek justice. Kostovicova emphasizes that deliberately oriented discussions among members of conflicting ethnic groups about war crimes and their consequences are a prerequisite for achieving reconciliation. People in divided societies, while discussing the strategy of transitional justice, can come closer, even when their opinions differ.

In the first chapter of “Reconciliation by Stealth,” titled “War Crimes and Justice in the Balkans,” the author informs us about the fundamental ideas of RECOM, its advocates, as well as opponents of this project. The transitional justice process advocated by RECOM directly threatened the ethno-chauvinistic discourse that ensured the isolationism

of ethnicity and the nominal exclusivity of a group, thereby securing the practical dominance of national elites. RECOM questioned phenomena such as autovictimization, which are constant features of the ethnonationalistic narrative in the former Yugoslav republics. The basic idea of RECOM is the acknowledgment of all victims. Unambiguously, RECOM directly undermined the ethnonationalistic discourse that monopolized the interpretation of wartime history.

“Ethnic nationalism fueled the violence. This kind of nationalism refuses to tolerate ethnic Others within the national state. The ethnic mobilization that preceded the violence constructed the ethnic Other as an enemy. Consequently, ethnicity became ‘a matter of life or death.’ Nonetheless, the ethnic logic of violence does not mean that ethnicity was a cause of conflicts” (p. 19).

The traumatic legacy of interethnic conflicts has been instrumentalized to foster nationalist sentiments and strengthen the authority of national elites. Simultaneously, all attempts by political and civil organizations to create democratic alternatives to nationalist solutions, programs, policies, and visions have been devalued, sidelined, marginalized, and delegitimized. Among other things, the author acquaints us with specific efforts of non-governmental organizations to make strides in interethnic reconciliation, along with the negative reactions, challenges, and subversion by ethnonationalist elites. These elites deliberately interpreted efforts to achieve transitional justice as attempts to downplay, delegitimize, and dispute their own victims by the “Other.”

The second chapter, “Bringing identities into Postconflict Deliberation,” elucidates the concept of deliberation and explicates the nature of the relationship between deliberation and transitional justice. Kostovicova considers deliberation a suitable, efficient tool for eliminating bias against the ethnic Other. “Other regarding orientation of deliberation embodies the principles of reflexivity and reciprocity; deliberators reflect on their positions, weighing them in the light of counterarguments” (p. 36). Deliberation is also oriented towards the common good, thus surpassing primarily discriminatory ethnocentric logic. In this chapter, the author touches upon various perspectives of different authors related to deliberation in divided societies and informs us about relevant examples

of deliberative experiments. Through these examples, one can assess the character, significance, and necessity of deliberation in a postconflict environment. “When people die or suffer in war because of their ethnic identity, wartime injury becomes a symbol of that identity” (p. 41). In postconflict societies, intragroup (ethnic) solidarity, solidified by war suffering, is contrasted with forms of solidarity that transcend it.

The title of the third chapter is “Quantifying Discourse in Transitional Justice.” In this chapter, the tools of quantification, or the measurement methods used to determine the deliberativeness of discourse in postconflict societies, are discussed. The Discourse Quality Index (DQI) was employed to study reconciliation and transitional justice. This index is commonly used to assess the effectiveness, clarity, and relevance of communication within a specific context. Content analysis reveals formal ways in which people interact with members of other groups (other discourses) during deliberation. In the fourth chapter, titled “Words of Reason and Talk of Pain,” Kostovicova seeks to draw conclusions about the quality of deliberation on war crimes. It has been shown that actors are significantly more inclined to express empathy towards the Other if the suffering of the other is conveyed as personal, individual suffering. Similarly, concerning gender, it is demonstrated that women have a greater capacity for deliberation, as they are, among other things, significantly more empathetic compared to men.

“The title of the fifth chapter is ‘Who Agrees and Who Disagrees.’ In this chapter, the author introduces us to the concept of interactivity. ‘Interactivity reflects both the behavioral and content dimensions of discourse’ (p. 90). Rebuilding ethnic relations through deliberation in divided, postconflict societies necessarily relies on decency in communication exchange. Respecting the interlocutor in communication is equivalent to respecting their name, origin, position, opinion, and identity. Based on the coding of speech acts in RECOM, higher interactivity across ethnic boundaries was observed compared to within the confines of one’s own group. From the data obtained, the author concluded that people have a willingness to interact with members of other ethnic communities on the topic of addressing issues related to war crimes and the legacy of a troubled past. Research confirms that people choose politically simi-

lar partners for discussion. Regarding the nature of interactivity, even in cases of complete disagreement or opposing views, members of different ethnic groups are involved in the interactive process. The existence of normative assumptions enabling such involvement constitutes a necessary foundation for improving interethnic relations.”

“The title of the sixth chapter of the book ‘Reconciliation by Stealth’ is ‘Discursive Solidarity Against Identity Politics.’ In this chapter, the author sheds light on the effect of people expressing their ethnic identities on the goals of deliberation. Deliberation involves expressing ethnic identity in a respectful, honorable manner that accepts the Other. Postconflict societies in the Balkans have materialized as predominantly ethnically homogeneous spaces. Cases of efforts to intensify or deepen interethnic contact by states have dwindled. Similar actions are mostly the result of non-governmental organizations and civil initiatives. “Both organizers and participants in the RECOM consultations were aware of the perils of politicized ethnic identity. The process was thought to be ‘contaminated’ by an ‘identitarian nightmare’ characteristic of the politics of Balkan states which participants came” (p. 111). All those who, according to Kostovicova, are part of ethnic discourse were aware of the danger of becoming outcasts due to maintaining and establishing solidarity with members of another ethnic group or other groups.”

“Marginalization of victims by their coethnics was another important axis for affective alignment with victims from other ethnic groups, who were also recognized as being denigrated in their own communities. As one participant put it: ‘It is crucial that I can see here that there is no principle of ethnic belonging. There are two categories: one is a category of a perpetrator, and the other of equality of all victims who need to be helped’ (p. 120).

“Reconciliation by Stealth” is a work that does not delve into the causes of ethnic divisions; however, it provides a solid portrayal of civil initiative and its implications. It represents a significant step in creating favorable conditions for confronting the legacy of war crimes. Through the RECOM project, a crucial component of interethnic reconciliation is examined, often overlooked by scholars dealing with interethnic relations, especially in terms of establishing conditions for mutual trust.

Denisa Kostovicova, by delving into the content of RECOM consultations, investigates the effects, consequences, and results of the analyzed discussions to arrive at an objective assessment of the relevance and significance of the impact of interethnic correspondence on interethnic appreciation, respect, and, ultimately, unbiased confrontation with the legacy of war crimes in the former Yugoslav state. Deliberation also plays a crucial role in achieving interethnic reconciliation. The conclusion is that deliberation can be part of the conflict resolution. People from different ethnic groups engaging in discussions can foster solidarity that transcends ethnicity. When addressing the issue of war crimes and war trauma for successful realization, it is essential to consider within discussions beyond identity issues. The goal is to condemn the criminal act. This book reveals a serious potential for interethnic reconciliation. At the same time, Denisa Kostovicova, through this work, provides a testimony of the endeavor undertaken for the sake of building peace in the Balkans.”