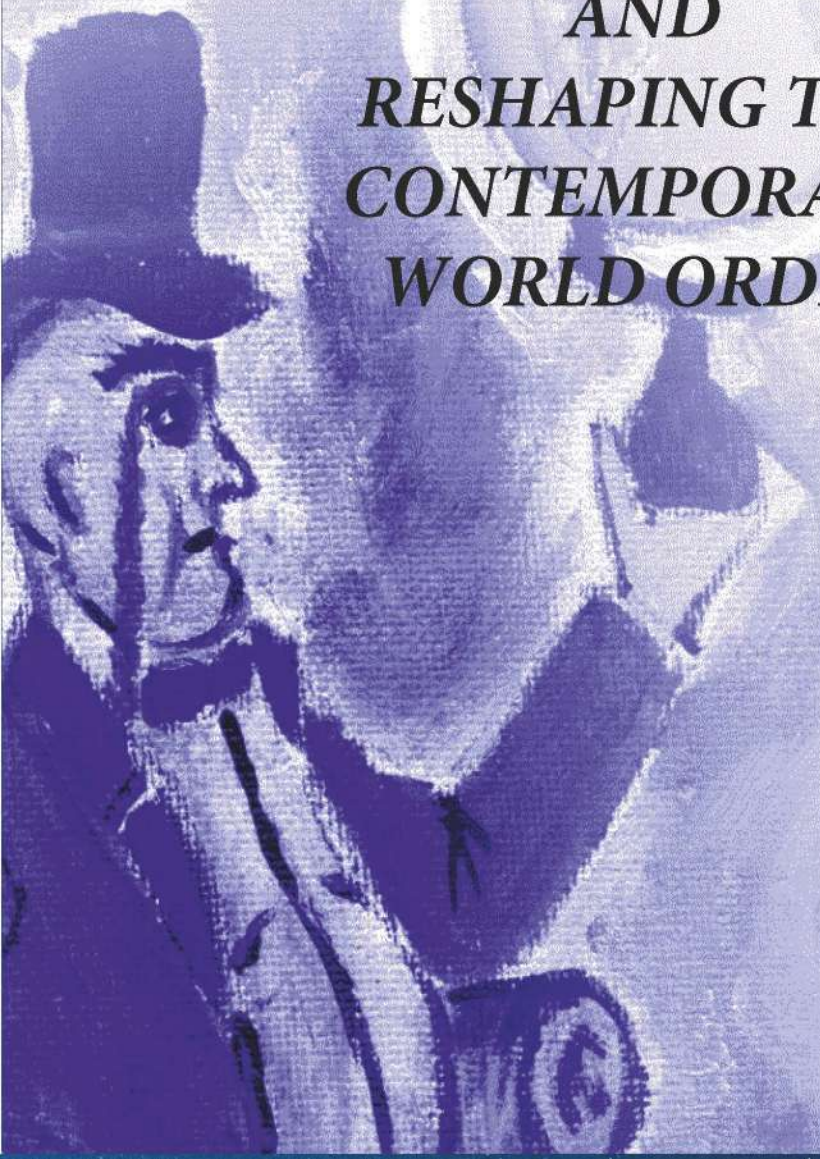# Miša Stojadinović

NEOLIBERAL MYTHS AND RESHAPING THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD ORDER

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AND
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*I dedicate the monograph to my beloved wife Martina,
to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude for her support
in life and work.*

CONTENTS

A FEW WORDS BEFORE...

Critically analyzing neoliberalism and its myths in the Balkans is a dangerous undertaking, because the author(s) will immediately find themselves on some kind of list formed by non-governmental organizations to deny them further scientific progress and access to the media. Of course, there are also Western embassies that support this activity of non-governmental organizations, and are often the main instigators. They indicate which specific researcher should be humiliated and presented as a "conspiracy theorist."

In the Balkans, non-governmental organizations have much money, access to the media, they have a network of agents of influence in ministries and state institutions. They also have an obedient and ready membership for all kinds of vile actions to not only belittle, but also permanently remove a specific researcher from the scientific and media scene. The reason is obvious: neoliberal myths, according to their logic, cannot be questioned. Because of all this, non-governmental organizations appear to the public more like para-intelligence structures than non-governmental organizations.

It is not surprising that critics of neoliberalism have called their colleagues, who recklessly defend an already failed paradigm, "watchdogs" of a failed ideology. And indeed, among the apologists of neoliberalism, one can observe fanaticism, militarism, hatred, intolerance and a sectarian attitude towards dissenters. Where they gain power in universities and institutes, critics of neoliberalism are quickly removed from their jobs. Due to their militaristic attitude, the apologists of neoliberalism do not understand they are turning the entire system into a dictatorship (only this way and no other way), and of course, there is always an alternative.

Neoliberalism is, therefore, so well protected from public criticism and it is not surprising that very few authors (we are talking about the Balkan area) dare to oppose neoliberal myths. However, some also brave researchers expose neoliberalism and neoliberal myths to critical reasoning. As far as the Balkans are concerned, the Doctor of Sociological Sciences, the scientific advisor of the

Belgrade (Republic of Serbia) Institute for Political Studies (also recently the director of this institution) Miša Stojadinović stands out.

Stojadinović, who otherwise defended his doctoral dissertation on the topic "Noam Chomsky and contemporary society", often quotes this author, so he accepted his catchphrase that "the responsibility of intellectuals lies in telling the truth and exposing lies." Therefore, the author sincerely testifies both in personal life and in scientific work.

Thus, among other things, Stojadinović states that neoliberalism leads to the alienation of man, i.e. the common man becomes insignificant and isolated. As Chomsky says, "money is above man." In this system, money is the measure of everything, not man. Of course, the neoliberal order does not defend the plundering of resources, the destruction of peoples and countries, if profits are in sight. Hence the numerous wars.

An important issue in Miša Stojadinović's monograph is the fate of the national state and national identity. It has been shown that if a person does not have a state or citizenship, he becomes stateless. Small countries are frequent victims of neoliberalism, i.e. of large transnational corporations that subjugate them. So in this part the established system looks more like neo-Trotskyism than a kind of democracy. By the way, the majority of Western politicians led by Blinken (the USA and the European Union declare themselves as Trotskyists, that is, neo-Trotskyists). The question of the fate of the state is followed by the fate of national and religious identity. Namely, in one of his speeches dedicated to the Balkans, Blinken recommended the Slavic citizens of North Macedonia to assimilate into Albanians! This kind of political insolence is also applied to other Orthodox Slavs (Serbs, Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians) whose right to existence in their own states is challenged.

What to say on the statements of Western politicians that Russia "must be destroyed" or the insistence on the genocidal nature of the Serbs, even though the truth is quite the opposite. Serbs were subjected to genocide and ethnic cleansing from centuries-old hearths, and in some cases also ethnocide (Romania, Albania, Greece...).

Hence, the fate of the nation state and national identity is of prime importance for the Balkan peoples and not only them. This is precisely what Miša Stojadinović shows in this monograph.

Much has been written about democracy. But it has, at least as far as the Balkans are concerned, turned into demonocracy in the literal sense. Of course, here we should recall the ancient Greek thought, for example the thought of Aristotle, who classified democracy as a bad form of government, because it brings an oligarchy to power. Today, when you look at who rules in certain countries, you will notice that oligarchs rule, as the money owners. Nothing new under the heavens, except that the system of its advertising has been perfected. Democratization is really a myth, because it does not lead to respect for the will of the people, but to unprecedented violence against people. Sometimes democratization shows its ugly side, because people think that by voting they can decide on everything, even on professional issues that cannot be voted on, which introduces injustice into the open (for example, on the selection of scientific professions).

A particularly interesting issue that Stojadinović draws attention to is "The Slavs and the New World Order." Namely, when the break-up of Yugoslavia began in 1991, the Slavs became the focus of interest. They also were, in a similar way before, during the liberation from the Ottomans (Turks), the Crimean War, the First and Second World Wars and now with the Special Military operation carried out by Russia in Ukraine.

The most numerous Eurasian nation is the target of constant attacks and hate speech. Serbophobia and Russophobia have become the default. According to the "Encyclopedia of Genocide", during the Second World War, the Nazis killed between 19.7 and 23.9 million Slavs, mainly inhabitants of the USSR, Poles, Serbs and others. Modern researches speak of much higher figures (40 million). What is the worst in the Western media and scientific circles, the policy of reducing the number of killed Slavs is implemented. Serbia is not exempt, especially when it comes to the Jasenovac camp, where at least 700,000 Serbs were killed.

Everything that has been said before, in fact, shows how important the monograph by Miša Stojadinović is, especially for

readers in the west of the planet, to get to know the real situation in this part of Europe.

In addition, the monograph on demythologizing neoliberalism, which is the dominant ideology of our time, will help to understand the policy of American President Reagan and British Prime Minister Thatcher (80s of the last century), as well as the current state of affairs. That is why, if it is not superfluous to say, I also recommend to the readers the monograph "Political Myths of Neoliberalism", authored by Miša Stojadinović.

Dr. Zoran Milošević
Principal Research Fellow

HOW MYTHS ARE IMPORTANT FOR SHAPING HUMAN HISTORY

Myth has always had an important place in human history. Myth represents one of the oldest cultural and symbolic forms, the origin of which is linked to the very beginnings and roots of the origin of human civilization. This leads to the fact that myth represents one of the most significant beginnings and sources of the entire cultural development of man.[1] The study of the mythical has always represented and still represents a very important area of research, but at the same time very demanding. In the search for the ontological meaning of the term "myth", one should certainly start from ancient Greece — μιτος — where this term means story, speech, telling. But at the same time it is opposed to logos — λογος — the rational reflection of reality.

But how to define a myth? Just defining a myth is a very difficult task. However, in addition to this, it is necessary to find a definition that reflects the very essence of the myth in the best possible way. Bearing this in mind, this paper will use Milan Matić's definition: "Myth is basically a story about the nature of the world and things. It is about the meaning of concepts and their origin and meaning, about the beginnings and directions of movement. It enables the transmission and further development of meaning. – perception of the world adapted to specific human needs and purposes."[2]

Although in the 18th century it seemed that the time of the mythological ended under the surge of the Enlightenment, this did not happen. In a way, the enlighteners also marked the end of traditional myths. They considered myths to be lies, but at the same time they also led to the creation of space for the creation of modern

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[1] Miša Stojadinović, Miodrag Gordić, "Politički mit kao oblik društvenog i političkog otuđenja", Srpska politička misao, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 4/2016.

[2] Milan Matić, Mit i politika rasprava o osnovama političke kulture, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2005, p. 16.

myths. The overall technological progress of human civilization, which continued in the 19th and especially in the 20th century, did not mark the end of myths at the same time. "During the 20th century, the world saw dizzying progress in numerous scientific fields. The Wright Brothers (Orville and Wilbur) made the first successful airplane flight on December 17, 1903, and thus began the 20th century. Then the discovery of atomic energy, great progress in the field of medicine, the invention of television, computers, the emergence of the Internet (...)"[3] This rightly and indisputably says that the greatest leap in civilizational development took place during the 7th century. So, on the one hand, a huge scientific and technological development has led to the fact that science, through its development, has become an indispensable factor in everyday life. However, on the other hand, the turbulent changes affecting global society not only cause fear. At the same time influence modern society to be seen more and more as a risk society. Analyzing the modern post-industrial society, Urlich Beck says that "risk, as a systematic way of dealing with the dangers and insecurities caused and created by modernization itself, has become its inner nature".[4] Modern society, according to Beck, represents the risk society he defines "as a society of science, communication and information tools, complex conglomerates of groups and power vis-à-vis nature and between people."[5] Table no. 1.

Table no. 1: Science and contemporary society

	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)
I completely disagree	2.3%	1.9%	12.2%	11.3%	17.8%	3.3% (The world

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[3] Miša Stojadinović, Violeta Rašković Talović, "Izazovi razvoja demokratije u savremenom društvu: političko nasilje i teorija (ne)pravednog rata", Srpska politička misao, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 1/2016, p. 49.
[4] Miša Stojadinović, "Značaj medija za razvoj kulture mira", Mediji i kultura mira na Balkanu (priredili: Branislav Stevanović, Aleksandra Kostić, Ljubiša Mitrović), Filozofski fakultet – univerzitet u Nišu, Centar za sociološka istraživanja, Niš, 2010, p. 372.
[5] Cit.: Ljubiša Mitrović, Tvorci novih paradigmi, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2008, p. 90.

						is worse)
2	1.3%	1.1%	5.3%	5.5%	8.9%	1.6%
3	2.1%	1.9%	6.9%	7.3%	10.3%	2.4%
4	3.2%	3%	7.2%	7.8%	8.1%	3.5%
5	9.4%	8.5%	16.1%	17.1%	14%	10.7%
6	8.5%	8.2%	10.7%	10.9%	8.7%	9.6%
7	12.3%	12%	10.3%	10%	8%	14.4%
8	18.4%	17.9%	10.3%	9.3%	8%	19.1%
9	13.1%	14.3%	5.8%	5%	4.4%	12.3%
I completely agree	26.3%	27.7%	10%	8.7%	7.9%	20.1% **(The world is better)**
No answer	0.8%	0.8%	1.1%	1.2%	1.1%	0.8%
Not knowledge on the subject	2.4%	2.7%	4.1%	5.9%	2.8%	2.2%
Total number of respondents	90.352	90.352	90.352	90.352	90.352	90.352

1) Science and technology make our life healthier, easier, and more comfortable; 2) Because of science and technology, there will be more opportunities for the next generations; 3) We rely too much on science and not enough on fate; 4) One of the bad effects of science is it has made it much more difficult to distinguish the idea of good and bad in society; 5) It is not important we know science in everyday life; 6) The world is better or worse because of science and technology.

Sample: Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, China, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Singapore, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Yemen, Zimbabwe.

Source: World Values Survey, available at: http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAnalizeQuestion.jsp, wave 2010-2014, accessed 06/23/2015.

"The life of a modern person depends on technical means of communication, from telephones, faxes, televisions and radios to the most modern ones like computers and various electronic networks."[6] Max Weber describes in a graphic way how the need for myth in modern society has not only not disappeared, but that it is still there stronger than ever: "The old peasant may die with a fulfilled life, completing the biological cycle. But a more civilized human being, who is thrown into an endless transcendent process that man can only partially understand, must feel a greater need for the meaning of life (...) While savages know how the tools they use in everyday life work, we are surrounded by numerous objects and meanings on which we depend, and whose mechanisms are completely unknown to us. Hence the possibility of increased distancing from the world that surrounds us grows, which further creates an increase in the need for meaning."[7]

In a way, myth represents a continuous process of constant change in accordance with changes in society. Names are of essential importance for a person's orientation in society, without which he would be lost. But it is therefore necessary to determine their often very different meanings from each other. And it may seem at first glance that overall social development in all fields has brought humanity to a time when myths and mythological discourse are redundant, this is certainly not the case. Somehow it seems that the greater the attempts to diminish the meaning of the myth throughout history, the stronger it always came back. Modern society not only has not diminished the importance of the mythological, but also greatly contributes to its existence.

"The crucial importance of political culture and value dimensions of politics for the life and development of a political community stems from the basic need of every human being for a sense of value and identity in the world and social environment to which he belongs. In the social and political world, people are guided not only by elementary needs, interests or coercive mechanisms of government, but also by values and the pursuit of

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[6] More about it see: Mihajlo Manić, Mediji u globalnom društvu, Beograd, 2015.
[7] Chiara Bottici, A Philosophy of Political Myth, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007, p. 132.

identity. These other needs gain enormous importance for a person who lives in a world filled with uncertainty, deepening antagonisms, and even open conflicts."[8]

Of course, it is necessary to make a distinction between traditional (classical) and contemporary myths. The myth continued existing with the development of human civilization, changing, and at the same time still continuing to play a significant role in society. "Since they belong to the domain of the profane, contemporary forms of myth must be unconfused or equated with classical myths. It is because the myths of the twentieth century, as some authors warn, are not the same as original or pure myths. Contemporary mythical thinking is not the same as the original, original mythical thinking."[9]

This difference between traditional and classical myths is often depicted as the difference between true and false myths, which Ljiljana Rajšić summarized in one of her works. She points out that "what makes modern myths fundamentally different from classical ones, which is why they are given the attribute false, is that the object of mythical faith is not transcendent, non-existent, ideal beings, but special aspects of social reality (...) The modern meaning of myth is often unlimited to the phenomenon of deification, but is expanded by using the term myth as a synonym for the term ideological illusion. So the attribute mythical is only ungiven to those ideas in which aspects of social life are deified, but also to other ideas that are inadequate reality and which, as a result, reality itself denies (eg the myth of democracy, the myth of sovereignty, etc.)."[10] This expansions of the modern meaning of myth are largely the result of the contradiction that arises in the relationship between the mythical and reality. This leads to the mythologizing of the reality that surrounds us, which further obscures its true meaning.

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[8] Milan Matić, Mit i politika rasprava o osnovama političke kulture, op.cit., p. 6.
[9] Ljiljana Rajšić, "Mitovi dvadesetog veka", Teme, 3-4/2000, p. 270.
[10] Ibid. 270.

THE STUDY OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

The study of the mythological in the political sphere occupies a significant place in contemporary theories dealing with myth research. The key characteristic of political myths is they shape human society by touching on the value system, social relations, the nature of government, authority, state, identity... This is the key characteristic of political myth that sets it apart from myths of theogony, cosmogonic and anthropological character. In his study Myth and Politics, Milan Matić talks about exactly this: "The most general theoretical definitions of political myths, which appear as far back as ancient philosophy, indicate a political myth is a type of mythical story that relates to the common conditions of people's lives, to the creation, maintaining and changing order in the human community and on its internal balance and moral cohesion. In contrast to theogonic, cosmogonic or anthropological myths, which talk about the origin of divinity, the world and man, political myths tend to be established as the basis of people's evaluations and beliefs about their social order and political relations in it, i.e. as valid ideas about the state, political authority, leadership, hierarchy, power and rule, respect for order, equality or inequality and the like, whether these are justified or disputed."[11]

This is something that Ljubiša Despotović also writes about in his effort to determine the essence of the political myth. "Political myths have a particularly important role in the creation of a political national political order, regardless of its size and character."[12] Here, the question arises, what is the role of political myths in contemporary society?

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[11] Milan Matić, Mit i politika rasprava o osnovama političke kulture, op.cit., p. 101.
[12] Ljubiša Despotović, Politički mitovi i ideologije, Kairos, Sremski Karlovci, 2010, p. 5.

1. "The role of myth in politics is such that, even though it is irrational in itself, it represents an autonomous force in all more developed political cultures, acting simultaneously and as a supporter of other, rational and well-thought-out political means and forms of influence."[13]

2. "Another important characteristic of political myths is that the course of dramatic events in their plot follows such a sequence and through the reconstruction of the past. It creates the impression of irresistibility, i.e. that the deadline by the nature of things leads to a predestined goal, which, in things, the kind of unfolding of events that corresponds to the current role of myth. That is, to the collective desires and hopes of mythical stories, mobilized and used for political purposes. The mythical story in itself becomes a document and a means to accept suggestions about the inevitable unfolding of current and future problems and events that are ongoing or expected through the reconstruction of past events."[14]

What can be concluded at first glance when studying this phenomenon is the juxtaposition of opinions that look at the political myth from different positions? Chiara Bottici highlights the significance of Georges Eugène Sorel and his analysis of the mythological, which points to a duality of the approach to political myth. The main difference between Sorel and Cassirer is in the concept of myth itself. Sorel created something before Cassirer and he looked at political myth as something positive, not as a form of political regression.[15] Of course, we should also mention many other theoreticians who shaped the reflection on political myth with their creations: Berdjaev, Spinoza, Hannah Arendt, Jürgen Habermas, et al. That is something we do not want to deal with in this paper and will leave it for another occasion.

Myths especially gain importance in turbulent times of social crisis and conflict. When it comes to the political sphere, this statement gains particular importance because, as Ernst Cassirer says, periods of balance in politics have never occurred: "The

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[13] Milan Matić, Mit i politika rasprava o osnovama političke kulture, op.cit., p. 101.
[14] Ibid. 110-111.
[15] Chiara Bottici, A Philosophy of Political Myth, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007, p. 246.

mythological organization of society is apparently suppressed by the rational organization of society." In peaceful times and periods of relative stability and security, this rational organization can be easily maintained. She seems to be safe against all attacks. But in politics this kind of balance has never been established (…) Myth is always lurking in the dark waiting for its opportunity. This hour comes at the moment when the other binding forces of social life, for whatever reason, begin to lose their strength, and when they are no longer able to fight against the demonic power of myth..."[16]

There are numerous studies dedicated to examining exactly when and how political myths are created, what social circumstances favor the creation of political myths, what is the main reason why political myths have such an impact on society. Analyzing this problem, Milan Matić points out that significant results show that "the birth of myths usually represents a hint of deeper changes in the social structure and existing relationships." Myths are not only a simple expression, but also a symptom of a crisis. Moreover, until they receive a more rational and articulated form, many ideologies go through the stage of their ideational incubation, that is, through the development of general and mythical interpretations of social problems."[17] As a rule, political myths are often associated with difficult times of social change. In a way, they represent support in difficult social times. "These are states in which a person has either not yet found himself, or has already lost himself. In political myths, humanity's ancient collective hopes and faith in a fair, stable and solidary human community are renewed. It is why millenarian myths, i.e. myths of a Thousand-Year Empire (from the Roman Empire to Hitler's Third Reich, etc.) appear at great historical turning points.[18] It is just one more in a series of reasons that give importance to the study of mythology in the sphere of politics.

It should be emphasized here that political myths, despite their positive functions, are often misused, thus becoming a powerful tool of manipulation. "Political myths are an instrument of stupefying, entrapment, seduction and alienation of consciousness,

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[16] Ibid. 153.
[17] Milan Matić, Mit i politika rasprava o osnovama političke kulture, op.cit., p. 132-133.
[18] Ibid. 132-133.

which enables effective political leadership of the masses. Since the attitude of conservative social forces towards myth is always the abuse of myth, political myths are used tendentially."[19] This indicates the power of political myth as well as the numerous possibilities of its abuse to mystify reality and justify certain actions. Of course, one should be careful in this conclusion.

"By means of the intentional character of political myths, the mechanism of awakening and activation of mythical consciousness cannot be fully understood. Because political myths will not achieve their purpose, indoctrination will be unsuccessful, if there were not already tendencies to mythologize the political sphere that grow out of certain social circumstances."[20] This leads to the fact that political myths must not be viewed outside the social context to penetrate into their essence. Such abuse of political myth leads to them becoming a powerful weapon of social and political alienation.

Myth often represents a desperate means to which, as Ernst Cassirer says, a person in desperate situations will always resort: "If the reason itself has disappointed us, there always remains the *ultima ratio*, the power of the miraculous and mysterious."[21]

This leads us to the practical basis of political myths, because their importance for solving current problems is precisely the source of their strength. "In political myths, there are appropriate evocations of the past – and projections of the future with the intention of providing arguments and justifying the current circumstances, to trigger the feelings and motivations of collective actions. The real subjects of political myths are actually human collectivities, groups whose mythical tradition political operators turn to, not individuals."[22] Thus, a political myth becomes a means of mass mobilization of citizens around an idea, which indicates numerous possibilities of their misuse. This is particularly important in countries characterized by a heterogeneous ethnic structure,

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[19] Ljiljana Rajšić, "Mitovi dvadesetog veka", op.cit. p. 276-277.
[20] Ibid. 276-277.
[21] William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny, "The Role of Myths in Critical Education", The Journal of Educational Sociology, American Sociological Association, 8/1948.
[22] Milan Matić, Mit i politika rasprava o osnovama političke kulture, op.cit., p. 104-105.

multi-confessionalism and multiculturalism. "In countries with an ethnically diverse population, the functionality of the state depends to a considerable extent on its ability to appropriately manage diversity, that is, to create conditions for the protection of the position and rights of minorities, but also for the loyalty of minorities to the state in which they live. Solving the issue of minorities is important not only from the aspect of democratization of the country, but also from the standpoint of normalizing relations with neighbors and integration into the international community."[23]

A political myth, in addition to being able to hide certain things (events), is much more dangerous because it can distort and mystify them, making them receptive to the public. The pragmatism of political myths is something that Ernst Cassirer also talked about. He pointed to "their pragmatic role of strengthening social solidarity, stabilizing a community, especially striving to restore its broken historical and state continuity (...) Cassirer, in his analysis of the technique of modern political myths, clearly points to the fact that political myths are not a figment of the imagination that they grow freely. They are artificial products created by very skilled and cunning artisans..."[24]

It should be emphasized that one must never fall into the trap of viewing myths as creations of the past that have ceased to exist with the development of modern society and thus consider the need for them has ceased. "Political myth is often associated with something unusual (extraordinary). Political myths, both when the Enlightenment rejected them as a regression to primitivism, and when they were praised as symptoms of great enthusiasm by their sympathizers, were always seen as a manifestation of something extraordinary. According to this understanding, political myths should have disappeared from modern politics before the rush of rationalization and bureaucratization. However, this is not the case. In the conditions of modern society, as Gertz says, the mythological

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[23] Nada Raduški, "Položaj i prava nacionalnih manjina u Srbiji u procesu evrointegracija – demografsko-politikološki aspekt", Nacionalni interes, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2/2014, p. 100.
[24] Ljubiša Despotović, Politički mitovi i ideologije, op.cit., 2010, p. 6.

has not yet left politics, but that's why many banal (every day) things have entered it."[25]

Postmodern discourse implies taking into account, not only what is said, but also what is left silent. In many cases of political myth can be much more significant than what is said.

Although there is a temptation when interpreting the key political events of our time to be guided by the good adage that meaning is always subjective while the facts speak for themselves, this is almost never possible to implement in practice. "In reality, meaning is hidden within many layers of interpretation of facts, in a similar way to distinguishing between a black-and-white film and a color film. The process of layering meaning in a narrative is very complex and slow. He mythologizes the story so that it has a shared meaning for the group. This is the process of working on a political myth, and it is continuous because the significance is never agreed upon forever and for all."[26]

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[25] Chiara Bottici, A Philosophy of Political Myth, op.cit., p. 246.
[26] Joanne Esch, „Legitimizing the „War on Terror": Political Myth in Official-Level Rhetoric", Political Psychology, International Society of Political Psychology, 3/2010, p. 357.

CAN THERE BE MORALITY BETWEEN POLITICIANS?

The morality of politics is an inevitable topic not only of theoretical consideration of numerous social sciences, but also of the so-called "ordinary" citizens. Politics is largely condemned for immorality, which even leads to the understanding that morality and politics do not go together at all. An additional difficulty in considering the relationship between politics and morality is created by the absence of a single morality on the basis of which we could determine the morality of politics. Politics and morality represent two very complex phenomena by themselves, by joining them together in the focus of our analysis we made an attempt to answer the following questions: Can politics and morality coexist? Should morality and politics co-exist? Is it possible to be a good politician and a moral person at the same time?

Before deciding on the answers to these questions, we will give a short analysis that will show not only the complexity of the relationship between politics and morality, but also that will bring us closer to the answers to the questions we are looking for. The influence of morality on politics is an interesting field of study in many social sciences. Radomir Lukić says people would like morality to influence politics perhaps more than the economy; and they probably condemn immorality in politics more than in the economy, since it is considered that politics is a realm in which man has more power and freedom. Therefore, he can also submit to moral norms to a much greater extent.[27]

The relationship between politics and morality especially comes to the fore in times of dramatic social change. The beginnings of the study of this problem of politics should be sought elsewhere than in ancient Greece.

Sophists were among the first to deal with this complex issue. These "teachers of knowledge" so called by their

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[27] Radomir Lukić, Sociologija morala, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beogradski izdavačko grafički zavod, Beograd, 1995, p. 550-551.

contemporaries, or bearers of "apparent wisdom" as Aristotle [Ἀριστοτέλης] designated them because of the payment for their services and their bad reputation, represent a thought movement rather than a philosophical school. Alcidamantus [Ἀλκιδάμας]'s understanding coincided in many ways with Plato's [Πλάτων] and Pythagoras [Πυθαγόρας] in regard to the fact that political power should be combined with wisdom. Lycophron [Λυκόφρων] believes the state has no moral obligations, but its main goal is to ensure the safety and freedom of its citizens. A law is a contract between two parties where both parties are bound to respect it, and the law does not have any moral functions.

Callicles [Καλλικλῆς] should certainly be mentioned here, who believed that morality and law were invented by the representatives of the government for their personal benefit. Saying that the suffering of injustice is worse even than the infliction of injustice, Callicles indicates the ethic of force is the hallmark of the master's morality, while law-abidingness and justice are the hallmarks of the slave's morality. Thrasymachus [Θρασύμαχος, Thrasýmakhos] also advocates the opinion according to which force, and not law, should be the basis of social relations, whereby in contrast to moral norms and positive law, he advocates the ethics of force.

In addition to the sophists, the great philosophers Socrates [Σωκράτης], Plato and Aristotle dealt with the relationship between morality and politics. Socrates, as Copleston [Frederick Charles Copleston] nicely puts it, "was uninterested in party politics as such, but in political life in an ethical form." (...) Knowledge is sought as a tool for moral action.[28] Whether he will be remembered for centuries were largely decided by a tragic event that put to the test, not only his teaching but also everything he stood for throughout his life.

Accused by Anitas and Meletus of some apparently harmless offenses, he found himself faced with the choice of renouncing all his spiritual and moral efforts to avoid the death penalty that was threatened against him. According to the indictment, Socrates is

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[28] Ljubinko Milosavljević, Antička misao o društvu, Filozofski fakultet u Nišu, Niš, 2008, p. 87.

guilty of corrupting the youth and introducing new demonic beings. The goal of his accusers was certainly not to kill this great philosopher and make him a martyr. Above all, they expected Socrates would show some repentance by confessing and beg for mercy, wanting to compromise him morally. Socrates, however, not only did not show any kind of remorse or admission of guilt, but also refused the offer of his friends to escape and thus save himself, because that would mean an indirect admission of guilt.

This great philosopher, who stood behind his social-ethical convictions, was among the first philosophers to deal with the issue of the relationship between morality and politics. In general, it can be said about the ancient Greeks that their interest in ethics and politics was largely inseparable. Socrates was not of aristocratic origin and did not have a favorable opinion of democracy. He believed the spiritual and moral elite should be involved in governance.[29]

Plato, student of the great Socrates, teacher of the great Aristotle, in his discussion of the relationship between politics and morality, is among the first to try to make a comprehensive analysis of this problem. A problem that for many remains open to this day, despite numerous attempts to solve it. What can be noticed about this great philosopher is that he defends his "ideal state" with totalitarian means.

Popper's [Karl Raimund Popper] "accusation" that Plato fought against the freedom of thought for which Socrates died speaks about this. Namely, Plato, assigning to the state the enormous responsibility of educating a new type of man, made a precise overview of what is allowed and what is not allowed to be said to the students. According to lying, Plato has a generally very bad opinion, but he justifies it when it is a matter of state interest and it is only allowed to the governing layer. Aristotle also dealt with consideration in his works the relationship between morality and politics. He believed that politics as a social science should determine what is good for man and what is not. For him, ethics are

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[29] This attitude of Socrates towards democracy was largely determined by the situation in Athens at the time, where the government was elected by lot. Socrates believed even the helm of a ship should not be handed over by dice, but only to someone who knows how to steer well, let alone the performance of state affairs.

a branch of political science that deals with individual morality, while politics deals with the morality of the whole society. He said a happy man can only be a moral man, determining among the first, if not the first, that free will is the basic precondition of moral behavior.

The Middle Ages brought with it great changes in philosophical thought. The rise of Christianity and the strengthening of the church will largely determine the attitude towards the world, both in terms of value and theory. Then there is the division of the church into Eastern and Western, which started not only the distance between Eastern and Western Christianity, but also Eastern and Western civilizations. For this monograph, first of all, it is necessary to mention the conflict between the popes and the emperors regarding the dominance in society. These conflicts have been very inspiring for the consideration of the nature of government and have been the subject of consideration by very important theorists.

Jeon of Salisbury is significant because he first introduced the idea of tyrannicide and saw morality as a criterion by which to determine the validity of a ruler's way of governing. Salisbury had a rather negative opinion of the society in which he lived. In the conflict between secular and spiritual authority, he gave priority to the church, although he had a very negative opinion of both. It is the Church that should have "moral jurisdiction over all kings and states on earth." But the church should not carry the sword, but should entrust it to the ruler who will use it."[30] He makes a distinction between a just and an unjust ruler – a tyrant, whom it is legal, justified and beneficial to kill.

Tommaso d'Aquino wrote his most famous work On Kingship during the great conflicts between the state and the church. He is also significant for the fact that he managed to systematic Catholic theology by relying on Aristotle, doing something unthinkable until then. It is the union between faith and reason. In the relationship between the state and the church, he gave priority to the church. According to him, man's purpose is supernatural, and accordingly only it can achieve this goal.

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[30] Ljubinko Milosavljević, Srednjevekovna misao o društvu, Filozofski fakultet u Nišu, 2002, p. 141.

"With him, learning about natural law is developed in a classic scholastic form. He breaks down the concept of law into divine "eternal law" (*lex aeterna*), "natural law" (*lex naturalis*) and "human law" (*lex humana*). The first comes from God's providence over the world "as a plan to manage things." All beings in some way have a share in that "eternal law" because it "impresses on them certain inclinations towards their actions and purposes." Natural law is the participation of the rational being in the eternal law, that is, the participation of the eternal law in the rational being. Human law is the rational finding of individual human provisions, which arise from the commandments of natural law (its general and unprovable principles). Natural law is a creation of reason, like soul power, but only if the eternal law is contained in it. Activity according to ethical virtue belongs to natural law, because it is guided by what man strives for by his nature... Human law stems from the need for a certain discipline, and its value comes from derivation from natural law. If it deviates from it, then it is a "perverted law." It takes away the moral value from an unjust law."[31] He divides the sciences into theoretical and practical. Theoretical ones deal with nature, while the focus of practical ones is its imitation, i.e. what man made. He classifies politics as a practical science, "since its goal is not knowledge of the truth (which is what theoretical sciences strive for), but only action. Just as the state occupies the highest place among the creations of human reason, politics occupies the same place among the practical sciences. It is a moral and not a production science."[32] Politics, as a science of the state, deals with moral principles and the way it functions.

Erasmus Roterodamus should definitely be mentioned here. He wrote in 1516 in his famous work On the Education of a Christian Ruler that "the good will (of rulers) in fulfilling their obligations must be such that even an ordinary promise must be more sacred than any oath given by other people."[33] With this, the

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[31] Marko Trajković, "O svetu prava koji počiva na moralnim vrednostima", Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, br. 2/2011, p. 233.

[32] Ljubinko Milosavljević, Srednjevekovna misao o društvu, op.cit. p. 148.

[33] Igor Primoratz (editor), "Introduction", Politics and Morality, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. XII

moral responsibility of people in ruling positions in society was put in the foreground.

There are conflicting opinions about how politicians should treat morality. It is altogether possible to divide them into two groups. On one hand, some thinkers believe politicians should adhere to morality much more than other citizens. Therefore, they should be the most morally responsible. As their decisions affect a more significant number of people than the decisions of ordinary citizens, this point of view can be considered more than justified.

On the other hand, some numerous understandings speak in favor of the fact that morality should be unapplied in the sphere of politics. This point of view, although very widespread today, both among a large number of theoreticians and among a large number of citizens, is nothing new.

Richard Bellamy, asking the question whether liberal ideals can still make "dirty politicians" and "dirty politics" "clean", says that he very much doubts it. Politicians, with some honorable exceptions, and even democratically oriented ones, do not enjoy a good opinion among philosophers and the wider public opinion.[34]

Bellamy says there is little evidence that the morality of the average moral politician is less than that of the average citizen. Politicians simply work under the scrutiny of public opinion, so we know more about them than the average citizen. Decisions made by politicians are very different from those of ordinary citizens. They affect many more people and much more is at stake.

The dilemma of "dirty hands" has caused numerous debates, which is why special attention should be paid to it. In general, theorists dealing with this problem can be divided into two groups: those who believe this dilemma exists and those who believe it essentially does not exist.

Michael Walzer devoted a large part of his work to the problem of dirty hands. Walzer says politicians are for the most part morally worse than us.[35] They are morally worse not only because of the scandals that occasionally break out, but also because of the

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[34] Richard Bellamy, "Dirty hands and clean gloves: Liberal ideals and real politics", European Journal of Political Theory, Sage, 9 (4) 2010, p. 412.
[35] Richard Bellamy, "Dirty hands and clean gloves: Liberal ideals and real politics", op.cit. p. 412.

compromises to form different coalitions and the difficult decisions they are forced to make.

According to Walzer, political decisions can be considered justified because they are morally justified, but they can be justified and morally wrong at the same time. Political decisions, therefore, can be justified even though they conflict with morality. Let's recall for a moment the examples that Walzer cites to support his theory:

An example of a politician who was forced to negotiate with corrupt party officials to be elected;

An example of a politician who "must" approve the torture of a terrorist to save lives.

We should also mention the answer that Walzer gives to the question that the communist leader Herderer asks in Sartre's [Jean-Paul Sartre] play Dirty Hands in No Exit and Three Other Plays about whether it is possible to rule innocently. Walzer says unequivocally he cannot. Before we start with further analysis, let's recall the exact dilemma posed by Herderer:

"How you keep your purity, young man! How afraid you are to get your hands dirty! Okay, stay clean! What good will it bring you? Why did you join us? Purity is an idea suitable for a priest. You intellectuals and bourgeois anarchists use it as an excuse to do nothing. To do nothing, to remain motionless, holding your hands by your body, wearing kid gloves. I have dirty hands. Up to the elbows. They are impure and bloody. But what did you expect? Do you think it is possible to rule innocently?"[36]

Walzer says we recognize a moral politician precisely by his dirty hands. "If he were a moral man and nothing else, his hands would not be dirty, if he were a politician and nothing else, he could claim to be clean."[37] A politician must feel dirty and guilty about his forced decisions. Only that politician who is capable of this can be considered a good politician. "Simultaneously with the awareness (feeling) of doing something bad (overcoming moral inhibitions), there is also the awareness that the act was inevitable (utilitarian)

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[36] Jean-Paul Sartre, "Dirty Hands", No Exit and Three Other Plays, Vintage Books, New York, 1955, p. 224.
[37] Majkl Volcer, Moral i prljave ruke – filozofija, politika i rat, Albatros plus, Beograd, 2010, p. 17.

given the given constellation (that it was not wrong)."[38] Three approaches to the problem of dirty hands should definitely be mentioned here.[39]

Niccolò Machiavelli was among the first, if not the first, to deal with the dilemma of dirty hands. According to him, in order for a good man to found or reform a republic, he must commit terrible deeds. Walzer criticizes Machiavelli for not talking about punishments for our mistakes, which calls into question his moral sensitivity. He is not talking about the state of characteristic consciousness of a man with dirty hands.

Niccolò Machiavelli certainly represents a personality that cannot be bypassed when considering the relationship between politics and morality. This great thinker, who started the renaissance of political science in Europe and the originator of political realism, believed that morality had nothing to look for in the sphere of politics. The social environment largely determined the direction of his theoretical consideration and led him to believe the value of state power should be unmeasured by moral criteria, but by the skill with which it is used to maintain it. Machiavelli's famous statement that all unarmed prophets failed, except for Jesus Christ, is in this sense.

Distinguishing between two types of struggle for power, legal and forceful, Machiavelli says that the former is a characteristic of man, while the latter is characteristic of animals. "The ruler, however, should behave both like an animal and like a man, to be a lion and a fox."[40] Considering it is impossible for the ruler to be loved and feared by his subjects at the same time, he prefers to adhere to the second option. With his way of thinking, this controversial theoretician caused numerous reactions that ranged from unconditional approval to fierce opposition. I can be mentioned as an example of this second stream. Isaiah Berlin who in his famous

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[38] Đorđe Stojanović, "Etičko opravdanje za pribegavanje sili: pravedni mir umesto pravednog rata", Srpska politička misao, Institut za političke studije, br. 1/2010, p. 329.
[39] Ibid. 22-27.
[40] Ljubinko Milosavljević, Pod/sticanje slobode, Filozofski fakultet u Nišu, Niš, 2008, p. 29.

work Against the Current says the author of The Ruler wrote a satire, because it is impossible he meant what he created."[41]

The best representative of the second approach is Max Weber and his essay "Politics as a Vocation", in which he talks about a tragic hero, a good man with dirty hands, whose tragedy is reflected in the fact that politics as a vocation is not in the grace of God, so that he cannot expect God to forgive him his deeds. Weber distinguishes between two types of ethics. In the first place, it is an ethics of belief (*Gesinnungsethik*), which assumes that only good can come from good, and that only bad can come from bad. It can be applied in the private sphere, but not in politics. In the sphere of politics, it is much better to apply ethics of responsibility (*Verantwortungsethik*), which is aware of the irrationality of the entire society, and at the same time the irrationality of politics. Power is inextricably linked to politics, associated with violence. Power and violence are "Satan's very difficult means" to keep under control. A person who decides to enter politics makes a pact with the devil and is forced to use means that are considered unmoral to achieve a certain goal. Walzer believes that, although Weber's point of view greatly hits the heart of the problem, it is not good for a politician to have no hope of his salvation.

As a representative of the third tradition, Walzer cites Camus [Albert Camus] who talks about terrorists, where the dilemma of dirty hands appears in a new form. Terrorists prepare to die by killing. Their death means they have no need to justify themselves. It also means the end of their guilt and pain.

Here, however, it is necessary to ask the question: does the dilemma of dirty hands really exist? Kai Nielsen says it does not exist, attacking its basic premises.[42] When dealing with situations in which the dirty hands dilemma arises, we are forced to choose not between good and bad, but between two evils, between bad and wrong. When we cannot avoid bad consequences, then we need to choose what we think is the least bad. It is true that anyone who is forced to make a decision in such a situation will feel bad and he

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[41] Ibid. 34.
[42] Kai Nielsen, "There is No Dilemma of Dirty Hands", Politics and Morality, (edited by Igor Primoratz), Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, p. 20.

will regret it. Otherwise, a person who does not feel this could hardly be called a moral person. But it is untrue such a person has done something that is morally wrong. She may feel guilty about it, but she has committed no moral crime. "A large number of people feel remorse without being guilty of anything, and again, a great number of people are guilty of some moral crime and do not feel remorse."[43]

Politics largely determines the boundaries within which moral norms apply, and in this sense, members of the same society are considered equal moral subjects while others are perceived as enemies, at best as strangers, but not as equal moral subjects. Rob Sparrow says the price of political community is the unfair exclusion of others. The morality of one community does not apply when it comes to members of other political communities. This leads to the fact that the tension between politics and morality is much deeper than can be represented by the problem of dirty hands.[44] And although R. Lukić does not directly deal with the dilemma of dirty hands, based on his point of view, it can be concluded that he can also be classified in the group of theorists who believe this dilemma does not exist.

Lukić says a morality in politics is in conflict with the morality within the community. A politician, even when he does not respect the moral norms that rule within the community, breaks his word, leads wars, performs only one moral duty of his community, and for that he should not feel any internal sanction. The politician who feels remorse for such actions has not sufficiently identified with his society.

Politicians in fact apply the collective morality of the group in relation to other groups, not personal morality, which makes their actions seem immoral. But it is far from the fact that morality has nothing to look for in politics. It is just an environment in which it manifests itself in a different way. There must be morality in politics. Although the line between morality and immorality is very thin.

Let's just remember the famous catchphrase that "the end justifies the means". This may seem justified in certain situations.

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[43] Ibid. 21.
[44] Rob Sparrow, "'Barbarians at the Gates': The Moral Costs of Political Community", Politics and Morality, (edited by Igor Primoratz), Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, p. 170.

But, no matter how moral the goal that one wants to achieve looks, the question is whether it automatically justifies the means by which it was achieved. Lukić points out the traps that can lurk here. Namely, the amount of evil can be much greater if we do not use immoral means to achieve a goal than if we avoid using immoral means and do not achieve that goal. Herbert Marcuse justifies the use of violence in revolutions in this way. However, there lies the danger that the use of immoral means to achieve moral goals dulls the moral consciousness of those who use them in such a way that they start using them for immoral goals as well.

Lukić says that "only when politics is fully socialized, when it becomes a matter for the whole society, and all humanity becomes a single society, only then will there be a general morality and the possibility that politics, like all life, they completely moralize."[45]

The relationship between morality and politics is a very complex topic. The complex nature of these two phenomena contributes to this in particular. The mutual influence of politics and morality is in the focus of the analysis of numerous social sciences. But it is also the subject of daily consideration of the so-called "ordinary" citizens. They especially condemn immorality in the sphere of politics, which especially comes to the fore in times of rapid social change. It is a fact that citizens all over the world have a very bad opinion about the morality of their representatives.

The challenges of the political profession further complicate the application of morality. It leads to the fact that it seems as if a different morality applies in politics, or judging by some theoreticians, to the point that it seems as if there is no morality in politics. Politicians faced with decisions often find themselves in situations where they have to make decisions that conflict with moral norms. Of course, it should be noted that in our work we are not talking about politicians who abuse their position for the sake of achieving their own interests. And it is certainly a topic worth considering, but about the challenges that the political sphere imposes on the way to the realization of morality. There are certainly many more theoreticians on the relationship between politics and morality than have been mentioned here. In this chapter, only the

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[45] Radomir Lukić, Sociologija morala, op.cit. p. 555.

most important ones from the aspect of the problem that this monograph deals with are mentioned.

What can be said with certainty is that there is no single point of view regarding this problem. It varies from the fact that morality has nothing to look for in politics, all the way to the fact that politics cannot exist without morality. Bearing in mind the split between these two currents, the questions posed at the very beginning of this part should be answered:

Morality and politics not only can exist together, but they should. Only a moral man can be a good politician, i.e. a politician in the true sense of the word.

HOW IS NEOLIBERALISM RESHAPING POLITICAL SPHERE OF SOCIETY?

Neoliberalism has established itself as the defining political-economic paradigm of our time.[46] From the point of view of neoliberalism, in order for capitalism to function best, state interventions must be reduced to a minimum. Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman can be called the founders of the neoliberal model. Hayek firmly believed in individualism and the market, and his famous work The Road to Serfdom was among the first to attack economic interventionism. In his work Capitalism and Freedom, Milton Friedman points out that capitalism develops best without any restrictions and state interventions and the free market is a necessary factor for the successful development of capitalism. Neoliberalism is most often defined as a free market policy that encourages private companies and improves consumer choice, destroying "an incompetent, bureaucratic and parasitic government that can never do anything good, regardless of its good intentions".[47]

Neoliberalism with its basic assumptions may sound seductive. But when we move from the domain of theory to the level of practice, we can see these basic assumptions are valid only to a certain extent. Namely, they are valid to the extent that

"Real people" benefit as long as they do not encounter an obstacle in their efforts. Otherwise, those cherished ideals such as democracy and the free market are suddenly pushed aside. In such cases, neoliberal theory assumes its non-imperial practice.

Noam Chomsky is one of the leading intellectuals who criticize the myth of the free market. That is the myth that says the economy is good only if it is competitive, rational and efficient. In this myth, the free market appears as a factor that should enable the realization of such ideals. However, "most economies are dominated

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[46] Read more about it: Miša Stojadinović, Noam Čomski i savremeno društvo, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2014.
[47] Noam Chomsky, Profit over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Seven Stories Press, New York, Toronto, London, 1999, p. 7.

by large corporations that have enormous market control, thereby opposing the free competition talked about so much in economic textbooks and political speeches."[48] What also speaks in favor of this it is also the fact that large banks in the USA, which according to all the rules of neoliberalism should fail, are maintained artificially with state interventions. Stiglitz [Joseph Eugene Stiglitz] also talks about this, saying that", the main American banks have become too big to fail. (…) Instead, the state stepped in, essentially providing insurance (without premium) to bondholders and shareholders, thus undermining market discipline."[49]

Terms like democracy, equality, power, revolution, progress and many others are used daily (especially in political speech). What constitutes the essence of these concepts is that they, by causing strong feelings, greatly obscure the understanding of the way in which they are used, i.e. the way in which they should or should be unused. In this sense, Confucianism still indicated the need for "correcting the name" as the first and most important task of every government. "If the names are not correct, the language will not be in accordance with the essence of the matter and this would eventually lead to the end of justice, and the beginning of anarchy and war." One could point out with a certain amount of truth that the government's attempts so far, aimed at interpretations of the meaning of words, may not have endangered the very progress of justice. However, the need to correct the name is great regardless. Most of us would rather have this kind of discussion in a free debate at universities, or in scientific journals and books."[50]

This need to correct names gains importance in the study of neoliberalism because the true meanings of terms are often mystified. This very powerful political myth about the liberal state led to the neoliberal model of democracy becoming universal and necessary for the realization of democracy. It is also filled with numerous internal contradictions that undermine the basic assumptions of liberalism.

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[48] Ibid. 7.
[49] Džozef Štiglic, Slobodan pad – Amerika, slobodna tržišta i slom svetske privrede, Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga 2013, p. 200.
[50] Henry Tudor, Political Myth, Macmillan Education, London, 1972, p. 9.

The essence of neoliberal alienation of man was perhaps best described by Noam Chomsky in the very title of one of his studies, *named Profit over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order*. Profit is something that dominates above all else. This leads to the fact that the fight for democracy, human rights, humanitarian interventions (etc.) are often misused for the sake of achieving certain political and economic interests.

PROFIT ABOVE ALL

The relationship between culture and neoliberalism is very complex and specific. Defining this relationship is further complicated by the fact that these two phenomena abound in numerous definitions and contradictions. So pointing out the characteristics of their interaction is a demanding job. First of all, here at the very beginning we will point out what we mean by the term culture.

When it comes to defining culture, it can be seen that the multitude of definitions of culture only makes it more difficult to define. Some put the rational factor in the foreground, some the irrational factor. All this speaks in favor of the fact that it is a multi-layered phenomenon. A good integral definition of culture must contain a large number of interwoven elements: "the historicity and dynamism of cultural processes, the unity of material and spiritual achievements, humanism as a basic principle and conscious work as an elementary assumption of cultural development, culture is further reflected in the – teas, habits, religion, art..."[51] However, we should bear in mind Dragan Koković's assertion that "just as a person is something more than a collection of different parts of the body, so culture is more than a collection of its arts, customs and religious beliefs."[52]

In the work, culture is understood as a "complex dynamic and socio-historically determined phenomenon. It represents the comprehensiveness of the relationship of human experience and consciousness towards matter, spirit and all historically created products of the spirit in the social history and practice of humanity." As a possibility (*potentia*), it is based on all conscious aspirations (*racio*), but also irrational and assumed possibilities of social groups

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[51] Miša Stojadinović, Katarina Milošević, "Komunikacijski koncept kulture i multikulturnog društva", Nauka, 2-3/2010, p. 131.
[52] Dragan Koković, Sociologija kulture, Akademija umetnosti, Novi Sad, 2004.

and individuals, aimed at building humane conditions for human existence and future."[53]

Neoliberalism brings with it a specific environment for cultural development, an environment in which market principles are enforced, whereby profit becomes the basic measure of development. This prevailing model of social, economic and political development has led to the degradation of the cultural sphere by forcing economic policy and destroying cultural policy by giving it a secondary place. This concept is often met with resistance from citizens. "Those who are thoroughly incorporated into the inexorable logic of the market and its demand realize that there is little time or space left in which to explore emancipatory potentials beyond what is exchanged on the market as creative adventure, leisure and spectacle. Citizens are forced to live as appendages of the market and capital accumulation instead of expressive beings, while the space of freedom recedes before the terrible logic and empty intensity of market vicissitudes. It is in this context that we can better understand the emergence of various oppositional cultures that, both with and without the market system, openly or covertly reject market ethics and practices imposed by neoliberalization."[54]

What emerges as the biggest problem is that neoliberalism has as its end product the creation of a consumer culture. "Effective democracy implies people feel a connection with their fellow citizens, a connection that would be manifested through non-market organizations and institutions. A living democracy implies communities, libraries, schools, organizing neighbors, public gathering places, voluntary organizations, unions..."[55] Neoliberal democracy, by relying on markets, has a disastrous effect on precisely these sectors, atomizing society into mutually disconnected and inactive consumer communities. This community does not have the strength to resist neoliberalism in the right way.

Dealing with neoliberalism and its impact on civilization, Braudel [Fernand Braudel] claims that civilizations are defined,

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[53] Nikola Božilović, Sociologija kulture, Niš, Prosveta, 1998, p. 29.

[54] Dejvid Harvi, Kratka istorija neoliberalizma, Mediteran, Novi Sad, 2012, p. 236.

[55] Dejvid Harvi, Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Seven Stories Press, New York, 1999, pp. 11.

first, by occupying space during a certain time; second, by borrowing from others in time and/or space, and third, by resistance to alternative formations. Let's see how this relates to neoliberal capitalism:

1. Through spatial expansion, capitalism entered the phase of comprehensive globalization, thus clashing with residual traditions everywhere (Islamic civilization) and destroying emerging forms of post-capitalism (Soviet communism). It also blocks, quite unintentionally, utopian aspirations for some other kind of civilization (true equality and proper respect for humanity's dependence on nature).

2. The basic characteristic of free-market capitalism was nominally taken over from the nineteenth century when it was still unsullied and little used. It was later corrupted, during the 20th century, when the characteristics of another system, socialism, were included in capitalism. This intermediate phase is called organized capitalism, a term coined by Rudolf Hifferding.

3. Neoliberal civilization is a robust and comprehensive formation. It is protected mercilessly from alternative and oppositional structures by acquiring an opposing hegemonic direction, both residual and emergent, although refreshed by the routine incorporation of alternative and opposing currents, a process that typically has a neutralizing effect.[56]

The simplistic picture of human nature advocated by neoliberalism is something that is rightly questioned.

"Most of us would not like thinking in the way that man is understood in the basis of prevailing economic models – as a calculated, rational, self-oriented individual. This understanding leaves no room for human empathy, public spirit and altruism. It is interesting that economic models better describe economists than others who are not, and the longer students study economics, the more they begin resembling models."[57]

However, despite this, economists pushed their model of rationality. "We learn what we like and what gives us pleasure,

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[56] Jim Mc Guigan, Neoliberal Culture, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. 2.
[57] Džozef Štiglic, Slobodan pad – Amerika, slobodna tržišta i slom svetske privrede, op.cit. p. 281.

through repeating experiences (...). But at the same time, economists tried to use the same model to explain long-term decisions, like, for example, saving for retirement. This should be obvious because there is no way to determine whether we should have saved more or less until it is too late and we can no longer learn from our own experience what to do (...). Traditionally, economists don't have much to say about the connections between what increases happiness or a sense of well-being, so they focus on a narrower question, the question of consistency."[58]

Where neoliberal theory fails in its intentions, non-imperial practice appears, and in this sense, the influence on the attitudes of citizens in terms of securing consent has become very important. "Our views on the world are influenced by the views of other people around us. The views of union members and the views of Wall Street magnates differ strikingly on many issues. Some of these attitudes stem from differences in interests: in general, we all have attitudes that lead to policies that will support our well-being. But worldviews differ also because we live in different communities, and the members of each of those communities share certain points of view. Most Americans were outraged that Wall Street took taxpayer money and paid out huge bonuses despite record losses. However, the common attitude on Wall Street was that it was insulting that President Obama criticized the bonuses. It was populist and incited the masses on Wall Street."[59]

Stiglitz points out that the neoliberal revolution, after 1979, had to be carried out by democratic methods. This required political consent in order for the citizens to accept it. "What Gramsci calls general opinion usually implies agreement? General opinion is constructed from long-repeated practices of cultural socialization, deeply rooted in regional or national traditions."[60] This kind of opinion are not good, because it must be the result of critical engagement of citizens. Citizens must be able, even trained, to ask the right questions and have the right to question authority on a daily basis. Otherwise, it can be very easily misled in a way that allows

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[58] Ibid. 282.
[59] Ibid. 284.
[60] Dejvid Harvi, Kratka istorija neoliberalizma, op.cit. p. 59-60.

the true reality to be concealed. "To mask other realities, issues of early cultural and traditional values can be raised (like belief in God and country or views on the position of women in society) or various forms of fear (fear of communists, immigrants, foreigners and others). Various political slogans can be invoked that mask specific strategies in a nebulous rhetorical machine. The word freedom is so synchronized with the common-sense understanding of ordinary Americans. It turns into a button that the elites can press to open the door for passage to the broadest masses (...). In the same way, Bush was able to justify the actions in Iraq earlier. Therefore, Gramsci concludes that political issues become intractable when they are disguised as cultural issues."[61] In this way, it is possible to really justify anything and thereby ensure the consent of public opinion.

But how is consent created? This was discussed by David Harvey who said that many ideological influences "circulation through corporations, media and numerous institutions that make up civil society – like universities, schools, churches and professional associations. The second march of neoliberal ideas through these institutions, which Hayek predicted back in 1947, the organization of think tanks (with the support and financing of large corporations), the conquest of certain segments of the media and the conversion of many intellectuals to a neoliberal way of thinking, created a climate of thought that supported neoliberalism as the exclusive guarantor of freedom. All these movements were later consolidated through the occupation of political parties, and finally to the top of the state. References to tradition and cultural values in all of this had many weight."[62] Consent is created by penetrating all the key pores of society and people's free time, the process of education, culture, information are not spared from this...

The war in Iraq is just one of many examples of this. When the reasons for a preventive war failed, the idea that the Iraqis needed to be freed suddenly appeared. As always, the reason for the war was found. And who else would argue that freedom should be fought for? "But what kind of freedom is envisioned in this case, bearing in mind that the cultural critic, Matthew Arnold, observed

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[61] Ibid. 59-60.
[62] Ibid.

many years ago: Freedom is a great horse to ride, but riding in a certain direction. Towards which destination, therefore, the Iraqi people are expected to ride the horse of freedom that was given to them by force of arms."[63]

What is particularly characteristic of the neoliberal model of contemporary society is slavery to innovation. Thomas Greco points out that "the politicization of money, banks and finance (which prevails today all over the world) enabled the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few". It is a situation that has extremely contributed to the collapse of society, culture, economy, democratic government and the environment."[64] This obsolescence of technologies that leads to innovations, but also changes in the field of fashion and the like have become deeply rooted in capitalist culture." The enormous work in the field of inventions and innovations led to the introduction of new technologies in all spheres, starting from production, through sales, state management, military power, supervision and administration. Technological innovation has become big business, not necessarily in the sense of a large corporation (although examples of that type now abound in areas like agribusiness, energy and pharmaceuticals), but big in the sense of multiple firms, many of them small start-ups or joint ventures. It explored innovation just for the sake of innovation."[65] Capitalist cultures have largely begun using innovation for profit. A good phone is only the latest phone model... And so this principle began to be applied everywhere.

Cultural policy was roughly pushed aside before the logic of the free market. "State subsidies for cultural activities have been cynically abolished, leaving financial support for all such activities only to rich self-serving philanthropists or equally selfish corporate patronage."[66] History, cultures, uniqueness and authenticity have become commodities.

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[63] Ibid. 20.

[64] David Harvey, Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism, Oxford University Press, p. 48.

[65] Ibid. 94-95.

[66] Ibid. 128.

THE FATE OF THE NATION STATE WITHIN THE NEOLIBERAL CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION

The relationship between the process of globalization and the nation-state is complex and extremely contradictory. Anthony Giddens, dealing with the nation state, says that it exists where "there is a political apparatus (...) that governs a given territory, and whose authority is supported by a legal system."[67]

Two extremes of globalization are important to mention from the aspect of the nation state.[68] Globalization, on the one hand, leads to the standardization of the way of life through information technology and mass media. The aforementioned factors of globalization can certainly be abused by the great powers, under the justification of "better economic efficiency" or "democratic development." It would have as the result forced equalization and abolition of all forms of diversity. The other extreme of globalization is the spread of cultural, political and social contrasts, but also cooperation between members of different nations. "The issue of ethnic conflicts, the building of a nation state and national identity in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural states are problems that both political theory and political practice have been facing for a very long time."[69]

What is obvious at first glance is that the main result of the globalization process is primarily an increase in the mobility of the population and capital. Globalization brought with it the question of

[67] Joseph Zajda, "Nation Building, Identity and Citezenship Education: Introduction", Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education Cross-cultural Perspectuves (eds. Joseph Zajda, Holter Daun, Lawrence J. Saha), Springer, 2009, p. 2.

[68] Miša Stojadinović, "Nacionalni identitet i nacionalna država u procesu evropskih integracija", Nacionalni identitet i međunarodne integracije (priredili: Zoran Milošević i Živojin Đurić), Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2015.

[69] Dragan Trailović, "Proces izgradnje nacionalne države u Kini i formiranje ujgurskog nacionalnog identiteta", (DEZ)INTEGRACIJA DRŽAVA I IDENTITET (Dez)integracija država i nacionalni identitet na početku 21. veka (priredili: Zoran Milošević Živojin Đurić), Institut za političke studije, 2014, p. 471.

breaking down national barriers and de-sovereignation of national states. The process of globalization itself is defined as the compression of time and space with the development of a global market in which existing borders lose their significance. But this should be untaken as the final definition of globalization. In this sense, Vladimir Vuletić believes that although it is impossible to give a generally accepted definition of globalization. It is a new concept in the social sciences, about which there are still lively intellectual disputes. Also, it is still possible to point out several important determinants that enable the use of this term in social sciences. Globalization, understood in that context, represents a series of "diverse economic, political and cultural processes that may or may be uncoordinated with each other. It transforms the spatial organization of social relations and create a new global network of economic activities, redistribute power between existing and new actors on the world political scene and creates a new fragile network of social and cultural interdependencies."[70] Globalization imply the expansion of various social activities, across "existing political borders and independently of them. These are contributed by the multiplication and acceleration of money flows, trade, investment, workforce, ideas and, above all, information, which presupposes the development of new transport and communication technology."[71]

There are different interpretations about the fate of the national state in modern society. David Held dealt with this problem with one of the most widely accepted frameworks that summarize the debates about the nation-state by dividing them into three currents:

1. Hyper-globalists – For them, globalization represents a historical inevitability that leads to the creation of a global market, economy, politics, civil society... They point out that the power of the nation state is declining and that it will eventually disappear.

2. Skeptics – They appear as a reaction to hyper-globalists. According to them, globalization is nothing more than a myth, it is beyond reality. In reality, the process of creating world regions is

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[70] Vladimir Vuletić, Globalizacija, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2009, p. 17.
[71] Ibid. 17.

expressed, which is in direct opposition to the process of globalization. They thereby represent the opposite view when it comes to the position of nation states in contemporary society in relation to the hyper-globalists. According to them, nation-states will not only not disappear, but their power will grow stronger over time.

3. Transformationists – They represent some kind of middle ground between the two points of view mentioned above. According to them, globalization is a real, complex and contradictory process. The state is undergoing certain changes, but it still remains one of the most important actors on the global stage.[72]

Although forced by the most powerful states of the West, globalization inevitably gives rise to numerous resistances. Those resistances are primarily related to the attempt to forcibly dismantle the national identity, as well as to the increased possibilities of the most powerful forces to influence the creation of political decisions in less developed countries. As pointed out by Held and Anthony McGrew, "globalization means the expansion and deepening of general, worldwide interconnection in all aspects of current social life, from cultural to criminal, from financial to the spiritual".[73] Ronald Robertson as a basic consequence of globalization points out "the narrowing of the world, while at the same time strengthening the awareness of the world as a whole."[74] The famous German sociologist and critic of globalization, Ulrich Beck, sees the primary consequence of globalization in the opening of closed societies and states. It is primarily reflected in the loss national sovereignty and the gradual transition into a new world society. Beck, as an advocate of the ideas and achievements of European social democracy, finds the greatest enemy of further progress in all aspects of social life in the neoliberal ideology. According to him, this ideology is both

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[72] Aleksandra Mirović, Petar Matić, Izazovi i paradoksi globalizacije, Beograd: Institut za političke studije, 2007, p. 13-20.
[73] David Held and Anthony McGrew, (Eds.), The global transformations reader: An introduction to the globalization debate, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press/Blackwell, 2000, p. 2.
[74] Ronald Robertson, „Globalizacija kao problem" Globalizacija, Osijek: Zagreb: Pan Liber, 1999.

offered and imposed by Western powers with fire and sword.[75] In most cases, especially in less developed countries, the term globalization is understood in the connotation of Americanization or Westernization. The aspiration of these highly developed industrialized countries is to make as many countries as possible receptive to the inflow of their capital. That is to fully open their markets to the penetration of the capital of transnational corporations. Unlike the once closed national markets, which were almost completely closed, the modern world market is characterized by the absence of a world government and control mechanisms over capital flows. These results in the spread of global disorganized capitalism, the main cause of which is the absence of a hegemonic power or an international regime, both economically and politically. This global "political deficit" is being tried to be replenished by equalizing and homogenizing the economic-political space, but also by imposing universal values of liberalism, as well as institutional solutions of the countries of the developed West. The crisis of the current world capitalist system is most impressively described by Immanuel Wallerstein, who talks about systemic instability. He marks this period of crisis as transitional, where oscillations, ups and downs are inevitably present without a clear indication of when these oscillations could end and when the transition to a new system of world reproduction would take place. Wallerstein's main thesis is that the existing system has led to the excessive accumulation of capital in the hands of a small number of individuals and groups, which has led to extreme inequality, and the question is also how long capital will be able to continue to accumulate.[76]

If we want to understand the context of the challenges faced by the state in modern society, it is necessary to look at what it is that citizens around the world see as the leading problem. These are also problems that every country, regardless of its level of development, has to worry about.

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[75] Ulrih Bek, „Neoliberalni globalizam, sličan je svom zakletom neprijatelju marksizmu. To je reinkarnacija marksizma u obliku ideje menadžmenta", „Zablude globalizma", Globalizacija, Osijek-Zagreb: Pan Liber, 1999.
[76] Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: An Introduction, Duke Univerity Press, Durkham and London, 2004, p. 77.

The neoliberal model of social development, in the context of the neo-imperial concept of globalization as a form of organization of society, proved to be a complete failure. Big economic powers, led by the United States of America, demonstrate its weaknesses every day. The process of globalization is currently in the so-called phase of financial global capitalism which is on shaky legs. The failure of this form of globalization is clearly demonstrated by the wave of the global economic crisis, from which even the most developed countries of the world are not immune. The neoliberal model of globalization must be replaced as soon as possible by the model of "globalization with a human face". It will have as its goal people and a humanistic approach, not profit. An aggravating circumstance for such reforms is the insufficient political involvement of citizens (see Tables no. 2 and 3).

Table no. 2:
Political Action (Global Research)

	Signing the petition	Participated in the protest	Participated in peaceful demonstrations	Participated in the strike	Some other form of protest
I did	18,2%	6,1%	12,5%	8%	4,9%
Maybe I would	26,7%	24,4%	30,8%	25,1%	24,1%
I would never do it	49,8%	64,4%	52,5%	62,2%	57,2%
Missing answer: Inappropriate answer	0%	0%	0%	0,1%	0%
No answer	2,3%	1,9%	1,6%	1,8%	8,2%
I do not know	3%	3,3%	2,5%	2,9%	5,5%
(N)	84,285	81,782	81,782	81,782	80,544

Sample: Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, China, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt,

Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hong, Kong, India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Singapore, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Yemen, Zimbabwe.

Source: World Values Survey, Internet address: http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAnalizeQuestion.jsp, wave 2010-2014, accessed 06/23/2016.

Table no. 3:
Recent Political Action (Global Survey)

	I almost signed the petition	I almost participated in the protest	I almost participated in a peaceful demonstration	I almost participated in the strike	Some other form of protest recently
Not once	25,6%	25,1%	23,8%	25,2%	19,2%
Once	34,9%	32,3%	32,1%	31,7%	29,7%
Twice	15,5%	9,5%	13,2%	10,9%	9,1%
Three times	5,5%	3,5%	5,7%	4,8%	4,6%
More than three times	8%	6,7%	10,9%	7,7%	5,7%
Missing answer, Inappropriate answer	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
No answer	9,9%	22,3%	13,7%	19,4%	31%
In do not know	0,5%	0,6%	0,5%	0,4%	0,8%
(N)	16,382	6,695	11,723	8,154	6,191

Sample: Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, China, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt,

Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hong, Kong, India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Singapore, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Yemen, Zimbabwe.

Source: World Values Survey, Internet address: http://www.wvsevsdb.com/ wvs/WVSAnalizeQuestion.jsp, wave 2010-2014, accessed 06/23/2016.

Such a low level of political engagement of citizens around the world and this attitude towards their political engagement is a devastating fact. They are the ones who must play a key role in the political transformation of modern society. Citizens simply must understand their influence on political decisions in society does not end with elections. On the contrary, they must continue with their influence. If necessary, exert pressure on their representatives to direct them in the direction in which they would like their country to be governed.

In modern society, the state is faced with numerous challenges. Globalization, transition, the whirlwind development of technology, social conflicts, and many other modern social processes daily affect the institutional organization of society, but also society in general. As a result of the influence of the globalization process, as we have already pointed out, there is an increased mobility of the population and capital. Globalization is one of the complex social processes that require a versatile approach to understanding. It has already been said that this process is very difficult to encompass with a single definition. The term globalization itself was very rarely used in the early 80s of the 20th century. Today its use has intensified so much that it has become unthinkable to bypass it during any serious analysis of contemporary society.

However, does globalization also mean the end of the national state? The neoliberal concept of globalization is certainly not in favor of the nation state. Let's remember that Milton Friedman, as one of the most important theorists of the originator of

the neoliberal model, believes that capitalism develops best without any restrictions and state interventions, with respect for the laws of the free market.[77] The myth of the free market in the neoliberal framework became the only law that must be obeyed, whereby the state is relegated to the background as a means of maintaining this order. Or rather, the function of "the night watchman" [Adam Smith] is returned to it.

David Harvey, analyzing this problem, indicates that neoliberalism values market exchange as an ethic capable of acting as a guide for human action, replacing all previously accepted ethical beliefs. "Neoliberalism advocates the opinion that social good should be increased by maximizing the range and frequency of market transactions. It is required that all human actions be brought under the domain of the market."[78]

Harvey has pointed out that since the 1970s we have seen a marked shift towards neoliberalism, both in political and economic activities and in opinion. "Deregulation, privatization and the withdrawal of the state from many areas of social support are largely a general feature. Almost all countries, from the informal ones created after the collapse of the Soviet Union to the old social democracies and welfare states, such as New Zealand and Sweden, have accepted, sometimes voluntarily and sometimes as a response to pressure and coercion, some version of neoliberalism. And in accordance with that version, adapted at least some of their policies or practices. (...) In addition, representatives of the neoliberal path now occupy influential positions in education (universities and numerous think tanks), in the media, at meetings of board members in corporations and financial institutions, in key state institutions (ministries of finance, central banks)..."[79]

In this sense, Chomsky's analysis of American foreign policy shows the true nature of the influence of "national interests." In fact it represents the interests of the so-called business elites, to international flows. "The process by which the elites ensure the consent or at least the absence of opposition constitutes an integral

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[77] Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom, University of Chicago Press, 1962.
[78] Dejvid Harvi, Kratka istorija neoliberalizma, Mediteran, Beograd, 2012, p. 15-16.
[79] Ibid. 15-16.

part of the national interest."[80] Alison Edgley believe that Noam Chomsky may be rightly objected to as dealing with neo-imperialism, which should be considered separately from nationalism. But that in his case the fusion of imperialism and nationalism is justified.[81] Chomsky clearly shows how the American government, to conduct a successful policy at the international level, is forced to secure national support or at least to ensure there is no opposition to it. This means that the American government uses nationalism to secure support, but also to suppress the opposition, both on its territory and on the international scene.

According to Vukašin Pavlović, the crisis and decline of the neoliberal concept of the state are more than obvious. "The developed capitalist industrial and democratic state has faced the most serious challenges since the great crisis of the 1930s. It shows the time of Protestant capitalism with savings, and diligence is long gone, and that the crisis is caused by greedy, selfish and corrupt capitalism, which the market alone can no longer successfully solve problems."[82]

John Ralston Saul [John Ralston Saul] indicates that at the end of the twentieth century, nationalism and the nation-state became stronger than when globalization began.

"Belief in global economic truths has weakened. There are more and more signs of international economic turmoil. Admiration towards the unnamed leaders of the globalist project has died down."[83]

The neoliberal model of globalization, as a form of organization of society at the global level, proved to be a complete failure. The process of globalization today can be said quite justifiably to be in the phase of financial global capitalism. The main characteristic is the concentration of its actors on the financial market, and that is why the American economy is increasingly a

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[80] Ibid. 126.

[81] Alison Edgley, The Social and Political Thought of Noam Chomsky, Routledge, London and New Yourk, 2000, p. 133.

[82] Vukašin Pavlović, "Savremena država", Savremena država (priredili: Vukašin Pavlović i Zoran Stojiljković), Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2008, p. 21.

[83] Džon Ralston Sol, Propast globalizma i preoblikovanje sveta, op.cit. p. 9-10.

"crisis economy." The biggest problem of American society is the mainstay of their economy are "money printing presses and weapons factories." Their economy is on glass legs and does not have a bright future. In American foreign policy, there is less and less diplomacy and more and more use of force. It speaks of the insecurities and contradictions that are eating away at this system from the inside.

Naomi Klein points out that Friedman and his followers adopted and perfected the following strategy: "waiting for a major crisis, then selling off parts of the state to private players while the citizens are still reeling from the shock, and then urgently announcing reforms for the permanent."[84]

The "shock doctrine" which, in combination with a monocentric form of globalism, led to the emergence of the so-called of "disaster capitalism." Simon Heffer talks about the way Germany is establishing dominance in Europe using the economic crisis in the best possible way in an article published by the Daily Mail entitled "Rise of the Fourth Reich", how Germany is using the financial crisis to conquer Europe. He states the specter of the crisis is increasingly spreading to the North, concluding that "where Hitler failed to conquer Europe with military means, modern Germans succeed through trade and financial discipline." Welcome to the Fourth Reich!"[85]

John Ralston Saul believes few predicted that nationalism would return because of the fatal mistake made in the earlier rejection of nationalism.

"Actually, we just assumed we got rid of him. West Germany, for obvious reasons, took the lead in this matter, declaring the state – its state – to be post-national. And Germany, after all, was the core of the European integration project. One of the leading politicians, Oscar Lafontaine, wrote in 1988 about transcending the nation-state. That was only a few years before the ethnic-nationalist conflict broke out in Yugoslavia, and Germany, along with other

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[84] Naomi Klajn, Doktrina šoka – procvat kapitalizma katastrofe, Samizdat B92, p. 12.
[85] Simon Heffer, "Rise of the Fourth Reich, how Germany is using the financial crisis to conquer Europe", Daily Mail, 17th August 2011, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2026840/European-debt-summit-Germany-using-financial-crisisconquer-Europe.html

theoretically post-national democracies, tried to intervene by supporting one ethnic group over others. How is it that modern post-national states reacted to an initially less significant European crisis by reaching into their treasure trove of memories of 1914? To be precise, each of them supported the same ethnic groups that they supported during the wars of the twentieth century."[86]

In this whole story, the national state was under attack. "With all this about nation-building, one more term from the retort of the new world order, of course there can be no talk of it. It is the exact opposite: nations are unbuilt, but dismantled, broken into individual parts or chopped up."[87] On this occasion, states that oppose the centers of power are simply declared nationalist. Nationalism is a phenomenon that significantly affects contemporary society and as such represents an important subject of study. Of course, nationalism should automatically be not seen as a pathological phenomenon, although it certainly can be. In addition to its bad sides, it also has good sides such as: protection of minority rights and minority cultures, protection and rescue of lost languages, history, art, solving the identity crisis, legitimizing community and social solidarity, the idea of national sovereignty and collective oppression, etc."[88]

Neoliberalism as a form of organization of society at the global level has proven to be a complete failure. At the very beginning of his study entitled "After the Empire," Emmanuel Todd emphasizes we were used to seeing the United States as a solution, while it is increasingly becoming a problem for the world:

"The guarantors of political freedom and economic order during the last half century are today increasingly a factor of international instability, maintaining, where they can, insecurity and conflict. They demand from the whole world to recognize that certain countries, of secondary importance, constitute the axis of evil, which must be defeated and destroyed."[89] American

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[86] Džon Ralston Sol, Propast globalizma i preoblikovanje sveta, op.cit. p. 299.
[87] Jirgen Elzeser, Nacionalna država i fenomen globalizacije – kako možemo da se spasimo iz svetske ekonomske krize, Jasen, Beograd, 2009, p. 11.
[88] Miša Đurković, "Nacionalni identitet i liberalna demokratija" u: Jael Tamir, Liberalni nacionalizam, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2002, p. 7.
[89] Emanuel Tod, Posle imperije – esej o raspadu američkog sistema, Paideia, Beograd, 2006, p. 5.

capitalisms can be justifiably said to represent "super capitalism" or even better, "turbo capitalism." This is the stage of financial global capitalism. The concentration of its actors is on the financial market, and that is why the American economy is increasingly a "crisis economy." The main support of their economy is "money printers and weapons factories."

The neoliberal and neo-imperial concept of globalization is certainly not the way to go. The major economic powers led by the United States of America demonstrate its weaknesses every day. The globalization process is currently in the so-called financial global capitalism, which is on glass legs. Those countries that find themselves in their way with great powers are declared a "virus" that should be eradicated as soon as possible. They are "incapable" of developing democracy on their own, so they need "help".[90] As a solution to the conflict between nationalism and liberalism, the concept of liberal nationalism, according to which every individual can be a member of an ethnic group, is imposed, but also of the wider national collectivity.

Analyzing the relationship between the national state and the neoliberal concept, it should be emphasized that the national state is not a burden that should be freed at all costs. But rather it is primarily a neoliberal concept of globalization. In this sense, John Ralston Saul is right when he says we are currently passing through one of those moments that separates unstable and stable eras. And it leads to a chaotic "vacuum" full of commotion and contradictory tendencies: "Leading personalities who once said that nation-states should be subjected to economic forces, today they say they should be re-empowered to face the global military turmoil. The prophets of globalization who said privatize, privatize, privatize, and today say they were wrong because the national rule of law is more important. Economists are sharply divided on the question of whether to relax or strengthen control over the capital markets. More and more powerful nation-states, like India and Brazil, challenge the generally accepted principle of the global economy."[91]

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[90] Miša Stojadinović, Potraga za identitetom, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2012.
[91] Džon Ralston Sol, Propast globalizma i preoblikovanje sveta, op.cit. p. 9-10.

A SERIES OF STRIKES AS A REBELLION AGAINST NEOLIBERALISM IN EUROPE

Across Europe, the number of dissatisfied citizens is growing, protests are increasing, and once powerful states are paralyzed by strikes. The second half of 2022 has led to the opening of numerous painful issues in Great Britain, for which it is very difficult to find a solution. Explanations for the reasons for this crisis are diverse. On the one hand, there is a large number of proponents of the thesis that the economic crisis in Great Britain is nothing more than a crisis that has affected the whole of Europe. On the other hand, there is a growing number of those who point out that the crisis is to a large extent also the cause of BREXIT, as and many other factors. If we look at the economic indicators of other developed European countries, it can be seen that they coped with the pandemic much better. Thus overcame the consequences of the economic crisis that arose as a result of the pandemic than Great Britain. At the moment of the pandemic, because of BREXIT, a bunch of companies suddenly found themselves facing numerous challenges due to the fact that they are no longer part of the European Union.

As the economic crisis deepened, it also became political because an increasing number of citizens, pushed to the edge of an existential crisis, began to raise their voices against the conditions in which they live. They wanted to secure their rights. If we factor in inflation and earnings, it can be seen that wages according to the Office for National Statistics in Great Britain have depreciated to the level of 2001, when the aforementioned record began to be kept. This situation has contributed to several individual strikes of important institutions and sectors being combined into one mass strike that will completely paralyze Great Britain at the end of 2022. Health, education, transport, post office, and many other services raised their voices together and made it clear about the seriousness of the situation facing the citizens of this country. Railway workers took to the streets to meet the Christmas holidays and blocked the traffic network.

Nurses also joined these demands, as did border control, which only further complicated the situation in this country. The sum of all individual strikes deepened the crisis that arose as a multidimensional problem of Great Britain's exit from the European Union. And it led automatically to the reduction of collective agreements that were current during membership, the pandemic, as well as the constant growth of inflation led to the fact that by the end of 2022 more than four hundred thousand working days have been lost due to strikes. It is the largest number of lost days in the last ten years. The strikes that are currently destabilizing Great Britain was the fiercest since the time of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s.

The beginning of 2023 continued in an even fiercer state, with the citizens going on strike even more decisively to realize their demands and increase their standard of living as much as possible. The New Year in Great Britain began with a week-long strike that directly affected the work of more than a million people. Postal workers, airport staff, nurses and paramedics are no less determined in this, further bringing chaos to the country.

According to official statements, the government is unready to meet the demands of the strikers. It is because the state is simply unable to raise wages in a way that would keep up with inflation. It makes the situation increasingly resemble what was once called the "winter of discontent", which referred to strikes in the 1970s. Bearing in mind that there are no economic possibilities to meet the demands, the narrative of the officials of Great Britain has also been changed, with the British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak standing out in his statements. The announced law for the implementation of "minimum levels of services" to suppress strikes, which will be announced by Sunak, represents a harsh measure of dealing with strikers in a way that will certainly not be liked by a large number of citizens of Great Britain. The tough law will cover six sectors, including health, rail, education, fire and border security, and will require some union members to continue working during strikes to keep so-called minimum level of services.

Essentially, this gives greater opportunities to employers, on the one hand. And on the other hand, prevents workers from having the full right to strike, because if something is interpreted as a deviation from the minimum level of services, it would be subject to

a lawsuit. This would allow employers to sue unions and fire workers. Certainly, this will allow important sectors of British society to function, at least at a minimum, thus eliminating the possibility of a comprehensive paralysis of the country. However, there is also a great possibility that such a rigorous law will cause even stronger reactions and rebellions that could very quickly turn violent. It is difficult to expect that this wave of industrial movements and strikes, which is paralyzing a huge number of sectors in the UK, will be violently suppressed by an ordinary law that would have the right to declare strikes illegal and the repression that would then follow. Any repressive solution, without the willingness to enter some more serious negotiations and to improve the situation as much as possible in terms of poverty into which a huge number of the population has been pushed, is doomed in advance, opening up the possibility of ever more radical measures to which the British people will be forced to resort.

On March 27, 2023, the disaffected citizens of Germany, through the two largest unions, went on the biggest strike in the past thirty years. Germany, like other countries affected by the protests, became completely paralyzed because all employees within the transport network made a twenty-four-hour work stoppage.

The main demand of the union represent an increase in wages in order for the workers to cope with the rise in prices. Within the Verdi union alone, there are over 2.5 million employees in the public sector, while EVG has 230,000 employees in the German national railway and operator Deutsche Bahn. This company points out that this mega strike will completely paralyze the entire country. As spokesman Acim Strauss stated: "This comprehensive and excessive strike has affected millions of commuters who depend on buses and trains. Not everyone can work from home."

Opinions about these strikes are divided. A large number of German employers also criticized the strikes. Karin Welge, a spokeswoman for VKA, a group that represents public sector employers, called it an "unprovoked escalation."

However, Germans as a whole largely support walkouts and strikes, citing living conditions affected by the economic crisis. Europe's largest economy is facing challenges. In a YouGov survey, which was published by CNN, about 55% of respondents believe

that the strikes announced by the two transport unions are fairly or completely justified. About 38% said that industrial action was partly or not at all justified, while 8% did not answer the question.

In addition to salary increases whose demands range from 10.5% to 12% depending on the trade union, the representative of the trade union Verdi points out that the level of the workload of workers throughout the country will increase by increasing the volume of work. Employers — mainly the state and public-sector companies — have so far rejected the demands, instead offering a 5% rise with two one-off payments of €1,000 (£880) and €1,500, this year and next. The president of EVG, Martin Burkert, told the regional newspaper that the employers had not yet made a viable offer for them. He has warned that there could be further strikes. As some unions managed to achieve their demands, like an 11.5% salary increase for postmen, it was not to be expected that the citizens of these two large unions would be reconciled until their demands were met. Let's remember that on the first day of the strike alone, it was announced that more than 380,000 passengers of different airlines were affected.

As time went on, the situation only escalated further. So, almost a month later, on April 20 and 21, 2023, the strike was repeated. The strike affected several airports, as well as railway traffic. The EVG union repeated the blockade of railway traffic in the period from 3 a.m. until 11 a.m., and in the intercity until 1 p.m., when the normalization of traffic is also guaranteed. It should be noted that the strike of certain private companies was sporadically joined by different companies. So it was not unique and did not affect all cities in the same way, but the whole country was paralyzed.

At the same time, the Verdi union announced a strike in air traffic control, passenger and goods control, as well as in other service areas that serve airports, which will directly affect the blockade of airport traffic. Dusseldorf, Hamburg and Cologne joined this strike, and Stuttgart was also invited to join this initiative. Frankfurt and Munich did remain fully operational, but they too will certainly be affected by the chain reaction of strikes at other airports. If the situation does not calm down and if the union's demands are not met, Verdi even threatens the so-called unlimited strikes that

would block the entire country.

The events of April 24, 2023, when all departures from Berlin's airport were canceled, which was joined by Berlin's Brandenburg airport, testify to the fact that the situation is heating up more and more in an unwanted direction. "Due to security staff warning strikes, no passenger flight departures will be possible on Monday, April 24," Brandenburg Airport said in a statement, adding that arrivals could also be affected. Such occasional strikes led to chaos in the whole of Germany because utility companies, kindergartens, swimming pools, city administration, as well as many other sectors were sporadically not working.

No matter how the strike in Germany ends, the specter of the crisis caused by the pandemic and current geopolitical events will lead all European countries to further reconsider their internal and external policies. This can also be seen on the basis of attempts to strengthen the relations of some European countries with China. The official visit of the President of the European Commission (EC) Ursula von der Leyen and the French President Emmanuel Macron from April 5 to 7 indicates the need to establish a turnaround in the foreign policy of European countries.

At the same time, a problem arose in France. Huge protests were launched by eight leading trade unions in response to Emmanuel Macron's announced measures on changes to the country's pension system. One of the key changes in the law that is in the Parliament is moving the retirement age from 62 to 64 years, with a tendency to 65, but also 43 years of service.

The strike began as an eternal saga of conflict between the sustainability of the economic system and workers' rights. And while on the one hand, the Government emphasizes the reform of the pension system is necessary, on the other hand, the trade unions are harsh in their condemnations because this reform threatens the rights of workers. The strike that began on January 19 continued to intensify, making France, in addition to Great Britain, another European country completely paralyzed. Among the sectors most affected by this strike are education, public transport, oil refineries, but also electricity supply.

As the protests intensified, Macron became increasingly determined to implement this reform, which should be completed by

gradually increasing the age limit in 2030. Although two-thirds of citizens oppose these changes and although the question arises as to how this law will pass in Parliament, there is a lack of them. At the same time, cooperation with the opposition forces will be needed because there is no agreement within the government. Thus, on February 7, tens of thousands of people went on strike, while a week before that there were over a million people. There is no agreement on the number of citizens at the protest that day, but bidding is being done, some believe that there were more, some less. The police came out with a statement that about 757,000 people demonstrated, while the trade unions believe that there were almost two million people.

Paris, Nice, Marseille, Toulouse, Nantes, these are the cities leading with the number of demonstrators. The very idea of reforming the pension system was born in 2019, but multiple protests delayed that decision. Let's remember that during the previous two decades, France was among the leading countries of the European Union in terms of the number of working days lost due to strikes.

The president and prime minister have taken turns defending the pension reform plans in media interviews, saying they are urgently needed to save the failing system. Macron has repeatedly stated: "If we don't implement these reforms, the current system is in danger." He even used his traditional New Year's address to say that measures must be taken to ensure the French pension system is financially sustainable for "decades to come."

A central part of the bill will be to raise the retirement age from 62 to as high as 65 or face a cut in monthly payments – a proposal that both the political opposition and unions consider particularly sensitive and has led to widespread protests and strikes.

Let's recall that large demonstrations brought much of Paris to a standstill in the winter of 2019-2020, before reform plans were temporarily shelved. When covid hit France in the spring, the reforms were completely stopped. On that occasion, one of the more moderate French trade unions CFDT stopped the strikes, but on this occasion it also joined the protests.

There are three ways to reform the pension system: raising the retirement age, reducing payments, or injecting new funds.

Macron has also ruled out reducing pension payments and

spending more money on the system, so the only thing left is to raise the retirement age.

Opposition politicians appear to have united with those against the reforms and tabled as many as 20,000 amendments to slow the debate with support from a section of the left-wing alliance which opposes any increase in the retirement age.

Protests are getting fiercer, and clashes with the police are becoming more frequent. A Harris Interactive poll conducted in February confirmed a stronger public stance in support of the protesters, with only 35 percent of citizens saying they supported the government's proposal, down nine percent from late December.

The demonstrations are undeniably a huge problem for the reforms. But the real risk lies in parliament as Prime Minister Elizabeth Bourne has yet to muster the majority needed to pass the draft law, despite the concessions. The difficulty of implementing the pension reforms is an indicator of the problems that have arisen since Marco's party lost parliamentary elections in June, leaving the president's centrist alliance with 250 MPs. In translation, this means it is necessary to win over opposition politicians to get 289 votes or to convince some to abstain to get a majority.

No matter how these protests end, the uncertainty of the implementation of pension reforms continues. Even if by some miracle unity happens in the Parliament, it will be difficult for the unions to deviate from their positions. At the same time, the question of the legitimacy of law enforcement is raised, which two-thirds of citizens oppose. It may also lead to question the views of the representatives in the Parliament and lead to this not being supported. If this law is adopted, even fiercer conflicts and protests can be expected. It will lead to huge economic losses, further paralysis of France, but also human casualties if an attempt is made to suppress these protests.

WHAT IS HAPPENING WITH STATE SOVEREIGNTY OF NATIONAL STATES?

In the context of the development of transnational forms, the process of globalization called into question the future of the nation-state. As a result, the sovereignty of the national state came under attack, especially considering the fact that the sovereignty of the state authority implies the state is not subject to any authority above it. This further leads to the need to consider the issue of the sovereignty of national states in the context of international integration.

Throughout history, the state has established itself as one of the most important elements of social and political life. Today, it is almost impossible to imagine the way in which society would function without the existence of the state.

A modern strong state would have to possess the following characteristics: "complete control over its own territory and the delivery of a full range and high quality of public goods to its own citizens; protection from political violence and crime; guaranteeing political and civil liberties; creation of a general environment suitable for economic prosperity; rule of law; independent judiciary; highly developed communication and physical infrastructure; the highest standards of education and health care; and an effective civil society."[92] In this sense, it is necessary to constantly work on developing the democratic and national capacities of political institutions so that the state can fully develop its capacities and respond to the challenges of modern society.

The state, as the highest level of the organization of society, occupies a key place in political discourse and political analysis. This is evidenced by a large number of theories that focus on the study of this very complex phenomenon. The end of the 20th century brought with it numerous and extremely serious challenges for the

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[92] Đorđe Stojanović, Živojin Đurić, Anatomija savremene države, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2012, p. 301.

national state. Thus, Vukašin Pavlović rightly points out that the modern physiognomy of the state at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century is significantly influenced by globalization processes: "Globalization that occurs in the sphere of economy, finance, traffic, tourism, information and media, human rights, ecology, disease and human health, significantly affects the character and nature of the modern state."[93]

Vukašin Pavlović further indicates that the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century is characterized by a great return of the state as a key topic on the theoretical agenda of political science. The return of the state as a key actor coincided with the following phenomena:

"First of all, the rise of ethno-nationalism, which accompanied the formation of new states on the soil of Europe, especially on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, as well as the search for post-national constellations of modern states; then the intensive processes of regionalization and regional transnational connection, on the one hand, and supranational integration, on the other hand, opened up in a new way many classic issues of the nation state; finally, the strong wave of globalization and cosmopolitanism, as if they enabled the emergence of the postmodern age of the post-state, and opened the question of whether the age of the state and state sovereignty is coming to an end."[94] The sovereign nation-state as we know it since the Peace of Westphalia (1684) is replaced by the idea of limited sovereignty. A modern national state implies the absolute independence of the state government in the creation of internal and external policy.

During its existence, the national state changed and adapted in step with its functions: "It was not only the guardian of territorial integrity and the legitimate holder of the right to use force, but also the basic form of social integration and the driving force of capitalist development. Through legislation and the education of a number of

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[93] Vukašin Pavlović, "Država i demokratija", Savremena država: struktura i socijalne funkcije (priredili: Vukašin Pavlović i Zoran Stojiljković), Fakultet političkih nauka i Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Beograd, 2010, p. 44-45.
[94] Vukašin Pavlović, "Država i demokratija", Savremena država – struktura i sociujalne funkcije op.cit. p. 10.

state apparatuses, the national state tried protecting the domestic market to strengthen the national economy and the well-being of its citizens. And by building a mechanism of social legislation, it tried to mitigate and eliminate the negative social effects of the unsparing logic of market competition."[95]

It is generally accepted that the state is characterized by: the existence of a territory around which there are clearly defined borders, the population living in that territory, as well as sovereign power in the classical Weberian understanding. The notion of sovereignty dates back to Aristotle, and later it was elaborated philosophically by Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes. Until the American and French revolutions, the idea of sovereignty rested exclusively on the power of the ruler. After that, with the initial introduction of democratic ideals and achievements, sovereignty was transferred to the people in the form of representative government.

In its classical understanding, sovereignty implies the independence of the state in international relations, which results from the internal sovereignty of that state. The classical understanding of sovereignty is completely questioned in the connotation of modern society. According to the opinion of a large number of theorists, like Thomas Pogge[96], it has become inadequate today, especially considering the fact that most states in modern society conclude various forms of international agreements and branch out into numerous forms of international cooperation. "Many countries, including our country, in many important aspects of their legal systems give priority to international law in relation to internal legislation and thereby reduce their sovereignty understood in the classical sense (...) Also, membership in the international military an organization such as NATO undermines sovereignty understood as a monopoly on the use of force outside the borders of the state, and certain articles of the UN charter and other international acts regarding the protection of human rights can be interpreted in such a way as to allow the interference of other states in the internal

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[95] Zoran Obrenović, "Nacionalna država i izazovi globalizacije", Filozofija i društvo XIX i XX veka, Beograd, 2002, p. 83.
[96] Thomas Pogge, „Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignity", Ethics 103/1992, p. 4875.

affairs of a sovereign state without its consent if it drastically and on a large scale violates human rights, thus calling into question the monopoly on the use of force within the sovereign state itself."[97] This leads to the fact that sovereignty cannot be understood in its absolute sense independently of international context. It should be emphasized that the sovereignty of the national state has its own internal and external aspect:

1. The internal aspect of the sovereignty of the nation-state is certainly its autonomy. "The nation as a nation is the author of the laws intended for it. Self-determination entails the responsibility of the nation for its decisions. The nation as a source of sovereignty is a means of legitimizing the government."[98] Of course, it cannot be the direct holder of legislative power, so it is delegated to representatives who should express the general interest. However, "entrusting politics to professional politicians solves the problem of the competence of the people for decisions in public affairs. But at the same time this opens the possibility for the 'political class' to confiscate real power for themselves, to interpret the will of the nation in accordance with their interests, forgetting in whose name it makes decisions and the responsibility it entails."[99] The bottom line are the national state must not depend on anyone, nor be subordinate either internally or externally.

2. The external aspect of the sovereignty of the nation-state is independence, manifested in the ability of the nation-state to defend its independence. "A national state is not sovereign if it is not recognized by other states, especially the most powerful ones. The nation is the creator of law and order within the borders of the national territory, but internal order is opposed by disorder on the international stage. Nation states exist side by side and fight for their own interests."[100]

In the modern era of globalization market flows largely cross the borders of countries and without the existence of adequate control mechanisms on the global level. The sovereignty of

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[97] Ibid. 59.
[98] Jovana Ćirić, "Suverenitet u savremeno doba", Filozofija i društvo, Beograd, 1/2008, p. 192-193.
[99] Ibid. 192-193.
[100] Ibid.

countries is violated by the aforementioned unrestrained and dominating market forces. At the same time, the idea of globalism, a directed and directed project, forced by the most powerful groups, shook the sovereignty of almost all nation states. In this context, the concept of the Westphalian state, which functioned for three and a half centuries, was replaced by the new role of the state in the globalization process. The tendency of this form of globalization is characterized by large world waves of change, among which we could mention here only some of the most significant ones. Above all, the emergence of an open and continuous world space, where the redistribution of power and influence takes place in favor of transnational and supranational actors, can be highlighted. In parallel, globalization also develops as a discovery and confrontation of worlds, accompanied by the occurrence of tension between the center and the periphery, while at the same time embracing the local with the global. Thus, globalization is accompanied by increased risks (technological, ecological, security and social), numerous and varied contradictions, as well as increased uncertainty in all areas of social life.

However, one should not lose sight of the fact that this directed, and the one-way pattern of globalization reached its peak during, and especially at the end of the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR, when the USA, as the trophy of the globalization project, was at its peak. The claims of certain authors that history has seen its end[101] did come untrue, so today we can talk about a world of marked dynamic and structural changes. However, the accelerated development of new centers of power, primarily China, Russia, but also Brazil and India, along with the simultaneous decline in the power of Western countries, inevitably led to the slowing down of the globalization achievements that were characteristic of the 1990s. In fact, in recent years there has been a trend of strengthening states, but only those that have sufficient power to resist the dictates of the USA and its Western allies. On the other hand, the countries of the world's semi-periphery and periphery are still exposed to pressures

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[101] This refers to Fukuyama's euphoric view of globalization. According to it, after the Cold War lasting several decades, the time has come when the prevailing form of liberal capitalism will engulf the entire world. See: Frensis Fukujama, „Kraj istorije i poslednji čovek", Podgorica: CID, 2002.

conditioned by the policies of the key international institutions of the World Bank and the IMF.

Such circumstances force the mentioned countries to open up more and more and implement the standards imposed on them by these institutions. They are fully controlled by their main creditors, the USA and other developed countries of the West. Therefore, the current feature of globalization is the existence of several world centers of power, but also the prevailing influence of the West on the world's periphery and semi-periphery. This directly leads to imitative and dependent forms of transition in developing countries. They often condition the implementation of standards that do not correspond to the social and political pattern in the mentioned political systems. Thus, the classical, Weberian concept of the state is replaced by new forms of governance on a global scale.

It is obvious that the picture of the modern world is marked by diametrically opposite and contradictory processes, the de-sovereignation of smaller national states and the growth of multiple centers of power in different[102] world regions with the strengthening of their statehood. In the modern world, states face a new geography of power, in terms of reduced regulatory capacities and deregulation of the market, economic sector, national borders and privatization of public enterprises.[103]

The current epoch of globalization is marked. On the one hand, it is by the strengthening of the statehood and sovereignty of the leading world powers, while, on the other hand, smaller states suffer from their pressure. This tightening of state barriers is connected with the role of the most powerful transnational corporations. Namely, the West's expectations that their role in the new world economy would lead to an additional increase in the power of their home states did come untrue. Transnational corporations, due to their specific interests, tend to independently accumulate capital. Therefore, they have relocated entire production facilities in fewer developed countries, which resulted in a reduction

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[102] Ljubiša Despotović, Živojin Đurić, Srpska politička misao, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, br. 2/2012.

[103] Saskia Sassen, „Theoretical and Empirical Elements in the Study of Globalization", u Rossi, Ino, (Ed.) Frontiers of Globalization Research: Theoretical an Methodological Approaches, Springer Link, 2007, p. 297.

in the number of jobs in their home countries. Also, the cheap labor force and numerous benefits found in the markets of China, Brazil and India led to the relocation of entire production plants and even their headquarters to these countries. This is the key reason for the revitalization and restoration of the state's role in the financial and economic sphere.

However, weaker and less developed states are not in a position to preserve their statehood under the dictates of world creditors and creditors. They are actually forced to adapt the entire range of public policies to certain standards that Western countries have abandoned. This leads to opposing and contradictory processes of sovereignty and desovereignization in the current era of globalization. Liberalization is evident in fewer developed countries, while in more powerful countries there is a return to certain achievements of Keynesianism and the strengthening of the state's position, primarily in the social sphere.

One of the basic changes of the accelerated flow of time in the era of globalization is certainly the shift from rule to management, whereby numerous other actors are involved in the process of state management, like various regulatory bodies, whose primary task is to control and assist in the functioning of governments. "Although the nation-state model is today the main target of globalization processes, it is stronger among the core countries than ever before in history. Without its developed institutional mechanisms and especially significant budgetary capacities, the emergence of transcorporation echelons towards the rest of the world would not be nearly as effective as it is today. The policy and rhetoric of globalists, about the need to abolish the nation-state, is correct only when it refers to the rest of the world, to that part of it that remained outside the privileged club of powerful nation-states."

Another in a series of examples related to the weakening of states in the process of globalization is certainly the growing number of regional organizations. Certainly, the most striking example is the EU, where a large number of public policies have been moved to the supranational level. It unequivocally shows the member states have transferred a large part of their sovereignty to the supranational

level. This phenomenon, specific to the EU, is what Wolfgang Streeck calls "fragmented sovereignty."[104]

The state in the classical sense has experienced numerous changes and challenges that must be emphasized during any serious theoretical analysis: "The classical idea of sovereignty is not only seriously limited, but also changed in some way in the era of globalization." The second major challenge for the modern state comes from the ecological field, from the field of the relationship between man and society towards nature (...). The third group of challenges for the modern state comes from the cultural field. The preservation and development of national cultures and ethnic identities are a counterbalance to the processes of globalization and standardization. (...) Finally, as the current situation shows in a dramatic way, modern states are faced with great challenges that arise in times of great economic and financial crises and upheavals. It produces armies of the unemployed, widens the fields of poverty and raises the level of conflict within modern states and societies."[105]

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[104] Wolfganf Streeck, Citizenship UnderRegime Competition:The Case of the European Union Councils, European Integration Online Papers, vol. 1, no. 5, 1997, p. 3.

[105] Vukašin Pavlović, "Država i demokratija", Savremena država: struktura i socijalne funkcije op.cit. p. 44-45.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VIOLENCE OF NEOLIBERAL WORLD

Globalization represents a complex process full of contradictions, which daily changes the structure and dynamics of modern society. The ever-closer connection of today's countries is the result of: the technological and IT revolution that led to the compression of space and time; creating a global market; the increasing impact of events in one location on the lives of individuals and communities on the other side of the planet; formation of awareness of increased interdependence; the rise of increasingly powerful transnational and supranational economic forces and political institutions that shape the image of the world; the spread of identical forms (industrialism, post-industrialism and information revolution, market economy, multi-party system...) in almost all social areas.[106] Bearing this in mind, it is necessary to show how all this affects the position of the state in modern society and how this process manifests itself in the field of international relations.

One of the most important theorists dealing with this problem is certainly Noam Chomsky, whose life and work marked most of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. This great fighter for peace and democracy is a good example that the pen is the most powerful weapon of all. In his works, he fiercely fights against war and the neo-imperial concept of globalization, criticizing to the greatest extent the implementation of the foreign policy of the United States of America, and he does not let up even today. This angry opponent of "robbery capitalism" believes that it is not an appropriate system for modern society, because it cannot enable the satisfaction of people's need for self-fulfillment. Chomsky points out that the deep "anti-democratic tearing of

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[106] Miroslav Pečujlić, Globalizacija – dva lika sveta, Gutenbergova galaksija, Beograd, 2002, p. 17-18.

American policy on Third World countries"[107] is quite understandable. This "demolition" of the United States of America, during which they very often used terror, was hailed as the establishment of democracy and respect for human rights. The free market is highly valued, especially by those who expect to win the competition, with the readiness to bypass its principles if personal interests dictate its dominant position in international relations. "By the mid-1940s, American dominance had reached an incredible level, due to which the virtues of economic liberalism were terribly elevated to great heights in a tandem that called for the expansion of huge state subsidies for domestic investments."[108] The attitude of the United States also speak of this. The state towards the countries from which they want to extract the maximum profit. Members of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations believed that Latin American countries should have a service function and that they should not be subjected to "excessive industrial development" that could threaten the interests of the United States.[109] This attitudes are also present towards other countries towards which the United States of America has the same pretensions.

Democracy and development are connected in many ways, the biggest of which is certainly that they have a common enemy – the loss of sovereignty.[110] In modern society, the loss of sovereignty of capitalist nation-states can lead to the decline of democracy, as well as the loss of the ability to implement social and economic policy; but also preventing a country from integrating into the international market on its own terms. History shows quite consistently that the loss of sovereignty (which has already been discussed a lot in the third chapter) leads to imposed liberalization. It is in the interest of those who have the power to impose this social and economic regime, a regime imposed and which in more recently, he calls it "neoliberalism."[111] Neoliberalism, according to Chomsky,

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[107] Noam Čomski, Godina 501 – konkvista se nastavlja, Svetovi, Novi Sad, 1998, p. 44.

[108] Ibid. 44.

[109] Ibid. 44.

[110] Noam Chomsky, Hopes and Prospects, Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, 2010, p. 27.

[111] Ibid. 27.

represents the biggest enemy in the realization of democracy and development, who notes that this is not as obvious when it comes to development as it is the case with democracy: "The very basis of neoliberal principles is a direct blow to democracy (...) That neoliberalism is the enemy of development is debatable for a simple reason: the economy — especially the international economy — is very poorly explained and includes a large number of variables where even when we find a strong correlation, we cannot say with certainty whether it is a cause-and-effect relationship or its direction."[112]

The eminent historian Paul Bairoch concludes it is difficult to find a better example where the facts are as contradictory to the dominant theory as when it comes to the doctrine that emphasizes the free market is the main engine of economic growth."[113] United States of America are faced with a large number of social and economic problems. Such circumstances lead to the need to divert the public's attention from the real problems, and this is done with a continuous "enemy parade."[114] Russia, Grenada, Panama, Iraq, Afghanistan, and the list just go on. Our country was unspared from this when NATO forces, led by the USA, launched an attack on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999.

The possibility that Europe and Asia would represent a "problem" for the American authorities has been one of the burning issues since the Second World War. "Concern grew along with the process in which the tripolar order — Europe, North America and Asia — developed and took concrete shape."[115] As things stand today, it can be said that regional integration in Asia and Latin America is becoming all the tighter.

China should certainly be mentioned here, which with its development has reached a situation where it can resist even the strongest world powers. Chomsky points out that, unlike Europe,

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[112] Ibid.

[113] Noam Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects – Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order*, Pluto Press, United Kingdom, London, 1996, p. 148.

[114] Noam Čomski, *Kontrola medija – spektakularna dostignuća propagande*, Rubikon, Novi Sad, 2008, p. 37.

[115] Noam Čomski, *Intervencije*, Rubikon, Novi Sad, Beoknjiga, Beograd, 2009, p. 169.

"China does not respond to the intimidation of Washington, which is the main reason for the fear felt by Washington planners, because there is the following important problem: moves in the direction of confrontation are prevented by the fact that American corporate structures rely on China as an export platform and growing market, as well as on Chinese financial reserves that are said to be approaching Japan's in size."[116] China surpassed Japan in terms of GDP in August 2010 and continued its development that brought it in a position where he is now far ahead.

When it comes to the Middle East, Chomsky says a milieu has been created according to which the most important thing is for the energy system to be in the hands of the United States and be managed according to the instructions of the British. Thereby "local management would be delegated to the Arab facade, with the absorption of colonies under the veil of constitutional fiction as a protectorate, sphere of interest, buffer state, etc."[117] Chomsky emphasize the United States of America has blocked diplomatic solutions in the Middle East for years. It differs in many ways from the picture presented by ideological systems.[118] Those ideological systems make great efforts to show how the USA faces numerous problems of extremist fanaticism in the Middle East. Following this logic, US interventions are seen as interventions aimed at promoting the peace process.

Selwyn Lloyd, the British Secretary of State, summarized that the main British and Western interests in general in the Persian Gulf are to: "ensure free passage for Britain and other Western countries to the oil bordering the Gulf and processed in the United States of America; to ensure the constant obtaining of that oil under favorable conditions, according to the sterling standard; and to maintain appropriate arrangements for investing surplus income in Kuwait; to prevent the spread of communism and pseudo-communism in that area, and later also beyond; and as a precondition for this is to defend the area from any kind of Arab nationalism,

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[116] Ibid. 169.
[117] Noam Čomski, Godina 501 – konkvista se nastavlja, op.cit. p. 45-46
[118] Noam Čomski, Kontrolisana demokratija, CID, Podgorica, 1999, p. 530.

under the guise that the Soviet government now wants to expand as much as possible."[119]

Chomsky points out that the Middle East is still organized along the lines drawn by late British imperialism. The insignificant differences are primarily the result of the fact that the advocates of imperialism saw it was necessary to develop new mechanisms of control, which would enable the great powers to continue to exercise their dominance in these areas. Let's recall Lord Curzon's statement before the Eastern Commission in 1917-1918: "Even during the First World War, the strategists of that imperialism realized that direct colonial domination was still unfeasible. Local self-government had to acquire the Arab facade of weak and submissive rulers, cloaked in a constitutive function as a protectorate, or a sphere of influence, i.e. a buffer state."[120]

Zbigniew Brzezinski believes the American role in the security of this region "brings America an indirect but politically decisive advantage over the European and Asian economies that depend to a large extent on the export of energy from the same region".[121] Therefore, Noam Chomsky says the key problem for the great powers is the possibility that Europe and Asia "move in an independent direction", whereby control over the Persian Gulf and over Central Asia appears as an important factor in securing world domination. "Meanwhile, in the comments in the West, it was almost relatively taken for granted that the goal of the invasion was the realization of the president's vision of establishing democracy in Iraq."[122]

The basic principles of relations with Asia were first given their definitive form in 1949, and in the meantime they were not implemented much. According to Bruce Cummings, these principles are represented in the draft of the National Security Council, where

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[119] Ibid. 239.
[120] Noam Čomski, Svetski poredak, stari i novi, Studentski kulturni centar, Beograd, 1996, p. 290.
[121] Noam Čomski, Intervencije, Rubikon, Novi Sad, Beoknjiga, Beograd, 2009, p. 89-90.
[122] Ibid. 90.

the basic principle was based on reciprocal exchange and mutual benefit.[123]

"None of the Asian countries alone has adequate natural resources that would be a base for general industrialization. India, China and Japan could almost come close to that state, but nothing more than that."[124] Cummings believes the US must find ways to exert economic pressure on countries that do not want to accept the role of suppliers, which is the essence of economic policy warfare.

The study of political violence implies a critical approach to contemporary society, where this also represents one of the main obligations (ie. responsibility) of intellectuals. Understanding political violence is the first step in the fight against it, especially considering that it is often hidden today. It is crucially important that modern political theories distance themselves from politics that compromises the scientific basis of politics and drowns it in the gray of violence, intolerance and intimidation. "In the last decade of the twentieth century, a number of works appeared in the field of various types of political violence, many of which were politically motivated. Thus, these works obscured the problem of political violence even more and significantly slowed down the scientific approach to the problem of violence in politics, to investigate the deep dimensions of this dangerous phenomenon for world civilization and slow down its brazen occurrence."[125]

To understand the position of political violence in contemporary democratic society, it is necessary to say a few words about the phenomenon of democracy itself. Democracy, as one of the possible arrangements of state power, has attracted great attention of theoreticians since ancient Greece until today. One of the main reasons is certainly it has enormous legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. However, when studying democracy, it should be taken into account that, although it is formally accepted all over the world, it is also a historically very rare phenomenon and whose realization

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[123] Noam Čomski, Godina 501 – konkvista se nastavlja, Svetovi, Novi Sad, 1998, p. 45.

[124] Ibid. 45.

[125] Radoslav Gaćinović, "Nasilje Austrougarske nad Srbima početkom HH veka", NBP – Žurnal za kriminalistiku i pravo, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, br. 1/2013, p. 99-112.

in the essential sense is very difficult. The end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 7th century was marked by an intense "struggle for democracy and human rights" that destroyed the very foundations of democracy. Since the open use of force is impossible in modern society, numerous mechanisms are being developed by means of which the use of force is not only justified, but also shown to be democratic. Bearing this in mind, we focus on the relationship between democracy and political violence in the context of modern society, wanting to point out the danger of abuse of democracy to justify various forms of political violence.

During the 6th century, the greatest leap in civilizational development took place.[126] This century, however, also brought large-scale violence that left behind a huge number of human victims, but also enormous material and cultural destruction (first of all, having seen the First and Second World War). After the Second World War, the world entered the Cold War very quickly. The end of the Second World War was marked by events that, in addition to joy at its end, also brought great fear for the future of all countries. In August 1945, a terrible weapon was used for the first time, the first atomic bomb was dropped, followed shortly by the second. With the end of the Second World War, the expected era of peace did not come. On the contrary, there is a tightening of relations at the global level between the great powers, the basis of which was the conflicting interests of the US and the Soviet Union, and the beginning of the Cold War. The collapse of the USSR in 1991 and the decline of Yeltsin's Russia marked the end of the Cold War, making the USA the most powerful world power.

Although the collapse of the USSR in 1991 marked the de facto end of the Cold War, today the mentioned conflicts are actualized. Neo-liberal theory and its neo-imperial practice in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century bring numerous challenges to the development of democracy.[127] The

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[126] Živojin Đurić, Miša Stojadinović, "Političko i ekonomsko nasilje neoimperijalizma", Rizici i bezbjednosne prijetnje (priredio: Braco Kovačević), p. 23-30, Univerzitet nastavnika i saradnika, Univerzitet u Banja Luci, 2015.

[127] Miša Stojadinović, "Političko nasilje i demokratija u kontekstu neoimperijalnih ambicija velikih sila", Srpska politička misao, vol. 48, br. 2, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2015.

relations between the great powers are such that many theoreticians, especially after Syria and Ukraine, are increasingly talking about the beginning of a new or the continuation of the old Cold War.

The novelty that modern society brings with it is that in parallel with the development of a democratic society, the development of means by which violence is justified also took place. Namely, it has become impossible to use bare force anymore because such a thing would lead to the condemnation of public opinion. That is why it is necessary to justify it. One of the key reasons for this is certainly the omnipresence of the mass media, which play one of the key roles in modern society. Radio, television, newspapers, the Internet, become key sources of information with which we interpret the world around us. It should be noted that the mass media are not only present in the sphere of information. They are present in all segments of life. This is also the main strength of the mass media, with which they can significantly influence the shaping of citizens' awareness of important events in society. "The media have a great influence on the direction of modern social processes, so they can serve the development of democratic consciousness. But at the same time incite racial, religious and national hatred with their one-sided reporting on important events in society, under the influence of certain interest groups."[128]

The end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century was significantly marked by political violence on a global level. In this sense, it is extremely important to encourage and initiate all those actions in the field of science that aim to oppose this dangerous and violent action of powerful and large states. The final result would be development based on equality, which implies an equal and principled relationship between small and large states (to gradually and spontaneously melt the gap between developed and underdeveloped), but also on the sovereignty of states, of course with respect for basic human rights and freedoms that are based on democratic principles.[129]

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[128] Miša Stojadinović, Noam Čomski i savremeno društvo, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, p. 135.

[129] Radoslav Gaćinović, Političko nasilje i globalizacija, Biblioteka "Na tragu", Beograd, 2009.

With the development of modern society, unfortunately, as already mentioned, political violence has not been eradicated. On the contrary, it seems to be more present than ever. It is indicated by the report of the World Health Organization, according to which "political violence is the leading cause of death of people from 15 to 44 years of age. Of that number, 14% of deaths are men and women 7%. On average, 1,424 people are killed worldwide every day, which is one person almost every minute, while armed conflicts kill around 35 people every hour. Only in the 20th century, 191 million people lost their lives in wars."[130] And perhaps today it is no longer used openly, it is much more terrible that it is often justified by the fight for democracy and human rights. In this sense, Noam Chomsky is right when he says the world is a very complicated place, because "everything you observe (...) you can look at in several ways and you will get different answers, depending on which way of observation do you choose."[131] This is a common problem that arises in science, where when it comes to society and social relations, the problems are even more complicated. Because they are much more complex, and therefore more unclear. Faced with this problem, you have to find an appropriate perspective from which to look at things and hope that, in the best case, you will capture at least one significant aspect of that complex reality. But even then you can only hope that it is about some important aspect."[132]

What big and powerful states call the fight for democracy, and human rights is often characterized as political violence when someone else does it. Chomsky illustrates this in his book "Pirates and Emperors, Old and New."

International Terrorism in the Real World", which begins with Augustine's famous story and the response of a captured pirate captured by Alexander the Great:

Alexander the Great: How dare you disturb the sea?

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[130] Marija Đorić, Ekstremna desnica, Udruženje "Nauka i društvo Srbije", Beograd, 2014, p. 122.
[131] Dejvid Barsamian, Noam Čomski, Propaganda i javno mnjenje – razgovori s Noamom Čomskim, Rubikon, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 34.
[132] Ibid. 34.

Pirate: How dare you disturb the whole world? Because I do it with a small ship, I am called a thief, while you who do it with a large navy are called a ruler."[133]

Rapid changes at the global level cause concern and lead to modern society being viewed as Beck's risk society. It's as if Carl von Clausewitz's saying that war has become just a continuation of politics by other means is coming true. Various forms of political violence are at work: "threat of force, coercion, pressure, psychophysical abuse, political murder, assassination, violent protests, riots, riots, riots, terrorism, repression, terror, uprising, civil war and war of aggression."[134] The neoliberal model of social development takes on its neo-imperial practice by which big capital respects the rules of the game and international law only to the extent that it suits them." Representatives of the neoliberal school emphasize that globalization, which affects all spheres of life, affects the formation of a different approach to security. The role of the state is increasingly assumed by transnational institutions, international organizations and military alliances, like NATO, because transnational risks and threats to security are imposed – the need to find new security patterns that can be used to preserve and improve security."[135]

If the fight against terrorism was a priority, Chomsky would point out that the US missed a unique opportunity to eradicate the use of chemical weapons in the Middle East. The Convention on Chemical Weapons, which entered into force in 1997, does not only refer to its use. On the contrary, it prohibits the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and obliges everyone to destroy them. After the incident with chemical weapons

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[133] Noam Chomsky, Pirates and Emperors, Old and New – International Terrorism in the Real World, Claremont Research & Publications, New York, 1986, p. 3.

[134] Radoslav Gaćinović, "Pojmovno određenje – definisanje nasilja", Srpska politička misao, p. 147-164, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 4/2008, p. 160-161.

[135] Biljana Stojković, Bezbednost kao preduslov razvoja, Zadužbina Andrejević, 2014, p. 21.

in Damascus in August 2013,[136] a norm was to be imposed to completely destroy chemical weapons in the Middle East. Israel, however, possesses chemical weapons and has refused to ratify the mentioned convention. "The correct answer would be to impose the Convention on the Middle East, which would mean that any country that violates it (regardless of whether it accepts the Convention or not) must be forced to eliminate all stocks of chemical weapons (...) Of course, this would mean that Israel, as an ally of the USA, destroys its entire chemical weapons and enables international inspection."[137] Something like this can hardly be expected.

Modern society has also brought a very important novelty, reflected in the change in the strategies of the Western countries that participate in the interventions. That strategy, in addition to creating smart weapons of mass destruction in a neoliberal spirit, also created the need for private organizations that can be involved in various interventions. Masoud Kamali is perhaps the best speaker of the danger posed by such corporations to a democratic society: "These private military groups can compensate for the shortcomings of the engagement of regular military troops in ground operations." US military forces in Iraq and Afghanistan often used private military groups and organizations to help them in the war. Such a development is presented by Peter Clerks as the ultimate representation of neoliberalism. It enabled private corporations to actively participate in overthrowing and establishing governments, which will later take into account the interests of these corporations. Thus, instead of citizens, foreign shareholders will become the real basis of state sovereignty. This represents a danger that brings back the exploitation of neo-colonialism and leads to the decline of state capacities in non-Western countries."[138] In this way, corporations get a significant benefit not only from war, but also from the fear of war, which they abuse for the sake of realizing private interests. . At the

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[136] Let's recall that in August 2013, a chemical weapons attack was carried out in the suburbs of Damascus, in which 1,429 people died – 426 of whom were children.
[137] Noam Chomsky, Foreword in Inside Syria – The Backstory of Their Civil War and What the World Can Expect op.cit. 2014.
[138] Masoud Kamali, War, Violence and Social Justice – Theories for Social Work, ASHGATE, 2015, p. 54.

same time, they can directly influence political events in certain countries to secure their profits.

Such a complex picture of the world is very difficult to fathom and requires a huge critical effort. Noam Chomsky points out that large corporations have given an almost sacred aura to the basic values of neoliberalism, which is why they rarely encounter resistance in their efforts. He rightly believes that democracy, human rights and economic doctrines are instruments of power used for the sake of exploitation. These ideals are good as long as they guarantee the "real people" will benefit from them, otherwise the rules of the game change, with the US striving to form the so-called a democracy from above that puts the traditional sources of power – mainly corporations and their associates – under effective control.

Getting to the root of the problem is a thankless and difficult job. Something like this becomes more difficult. As Chomsky states, the world is a complicated place, because you can look at everything you observe in several ways, and you will always get different answers depending on which approach you choose.[139] That is why it is necessary to choose – a critical approach to the study of contemporary society with constant re-examination of ready-made answers.

The main problem of the development of democracy in modern society is represented by the neo-imperial practice that enters the scene when the realization of the neoliberal theory encounters an obstacle. The New World Order is at work, dominated by the globalist ideology and imperial aspirations of the "democratic" West.[140] "Just war" becomes one of the main challenges in the development of democracy.

The UN Charter clearly defines what a just war is and what an unjust war is. It prohibits any threat and use of force, except in the case of self-defense, and only if a country is attacked does it have the right to defend itself, while in all other cases force is prohibited,

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[139] Dejvid Barsamian, Noam Čomski, *Propaganda i javno mnjenje – razgovori s Noamom Čomskim*, Rubikon, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 34.
[140] Violeta Rašković Talović, "Budućnost naše mudrosti", *Srbija između Istoka i Zapada* (urednik: Željko Simić), Beopres: Beograd, 2014.

unless the Security Council expressly approves it.[141] Triumph the theory of just war, which Walzer talks about, essentially led to the sudden return of democracy. It resulted in huge human casualties, but we will talk more about this problem in one of the following chapters.

As already mentioned, the 20th century saw the greatest civilizational progress in human history, but it was also marked by political violence on a global scale. This tendency continues in the 21st century. Dialogue and tolerance have been neglected while international law has become a place for demonstrations of power. The very relationship between war and peace in modern society must be viewed from the point of view that peace is not only the absence of war, but that it implies much more than that.

In this sense, the state of peace should not be a simple negation of war, but a state in which development includes respect for universal human rights and freedoms, inter-ethnic and inter-religious tolerance, respect for cultural diversity, resolving disputes by peaceful means with mutual dialogue and tolerance... This, however, is not at all easy to achieve and implies a strong state that will be able to respond to contemporary social processes by developing its democratic and national capacities.

The relationship between politics and violence is very complex. One of the most general definitions of violence would be it is the use of force to impose certain desired behavior on people against their will. Of course, it should be noted that violence in politics is not manifested solely and exclusively as bare coercion.[142] It is an integral part of politics and the understanding of the state.[143] Violence in politics can be defined as "the direct or indirect application of force in the political and political sphere is the direct or indirect application of force over the consciousness, body, life,

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[141] See for more: Miša Stojadinović, "Političko nasilje i demokratija u kontekstu neoimperijalnih ambicija velikih sila", Srpska politička misao, vol. 48, br. 2, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2015.

[142] Miša Stojadinović, "Političko nasilje i globalizacija – izazovi razvoja demokratije", Bezbednost, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srbije, Beograd, br. 2, 2015.

[143] Radoslav Gaćinović, Političko nasilje i globalizacija, Biblioteka "Na tragu", Beograd, 2009, p. 49.

will or material goods of a real or potential or presumed political opponent."[144]

Political violence is another in a series of complex phenomena. Its study is further complicated by the fact that political violence is often covered up and justified by higher interests, like the fight for democracy or human rights. The vocabulary used in politics today leads us to think that all words have at least two meanings. Let's see how some of the common words used in politics change their meaning in reality:

Democracy. A society is democratic to the extent that the people can participate in the performance of social functions. That would be the meaning of democracy as it should be in the ideal sense. On the other hand, the doctrinal meaning of democracy is much different. According to him, "democracy is a system in which decisions are made by business sectors and the elites associated with them", while "the people are only observers of events and not participants in them." This meaning leads to the fact that any organization for the sake of increasing participation in social events is seen as a "crisis of democracy."

Free entrepreneurship. In practice, this term refers to "social financing of private profit, with large state interventions in the sense of preserving the welfare state of the richest classes." In this way, phrases that contain the word "freedom" generally acquire the exact opposite meaning. .

Defense against aggression. This term often means the exact opposite of what one thinks at first glance — ie. it means aggression.

The peace process. "A naïve person would think it represents an effort to achieve peace." In the case of the United States of America, the term peace process "refers only to what the American government does", which can be reduced to everything except the realization of peace process.[145]

There are indeed many causes of political violence. This paper will use the classification of Dragan Simeunović, who, dealing with the causes of political violence, points out the following: "The

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[144] Dragan Simeunović, Političko nasilje, Radnička štampa, Beograd, 1989, p. 27.
[145] Noam Čomski, Šta to (u stvari) hoće Amerika, Čigoja, Beograd, 1999, p. 85-88.

main and most common causes of political violence are mainly the manifestations and consequences of political and economic crises and are reflected in the following basic causes – sharp opposition, insufficient achievement or impossibility of real expression of the interests of large social groups, insufficient ability to affirmatively organize and exercise power; insufficient organization of the economic system; pronounced social differences; prevalence and semi-legality of socially negative phenomena, like corruption, connections, etc.; non-suppression, impunity and toleration of these phenomena (it necessarily encourages the manipulation of one and reduces faith in the system among others); possibilities of public and permanent action of anti-systemic forces; the existence of strong anti-Semitic organizations or institutions; constant and strong political, material or military support from abroad to opponents of the system, located in the country; diverse, economic, political and military undermining of the system from outside from multiple directions; conflicts between the political elite and interest groups at the top of a country's political apparatus and uncontrolled, insufficiently reliable or insufficiently attached to the political top military forces and security structures."[146]

"Humanitarian interventions", "just war", "struggle for democracy", "preventive war", "protection of human rights",

"The fight against terrorism", these and many other terms are increasingly used as a means of securing consent used by the great powers to justify various forms of political violence. In addition to progress in all fields, modern society has also brought with it progress that has enabled the development of means of political violence. The peoples of the Balkans are well aware of this.[147] The dizzying development of technology, in addition to its many good sides, also have its dangers. It is sufficient to mention that research in the field of modern technology is carried out to a significant extent for the sake of military needs, as well as that almost all technological discoveries are applied and misused for war purposes. Thus their

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[146] Dragan Simeunović, Političko nasilje, op.cit. p. 27.; Hatidža Beriša, "Osnovna obeležja političkog nasilja", Vojno delo, br. 2/2013, p. 61-62.

[147] Radoslav Gaćinović, "Nasilje Austrougarske nad Srbima početkom HH veka", NBP – Žurnal za kriminalistiku i pravo, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, br. 1/2013, p. 99-112

original purpose is put on the back burner. Noam Chomsky believes the greatest threat to humanity is nuclear war. "Many times we have come very close to nuclear war, and it is a miracle that it did not happen."[148] However, this threat is constantly growing, as evidenced by the development of military technology in space. Today, nuclear weapons do not represent one of the greatest dangers.

The development of other weapons capable of mass destruction, like biological weapons, contributed to this. "If a rational person from Mars were to observe our species, they would be amazed at how we survived for so long and would not give us much of a chance in the future."[149] Chomsky emphasize that centers of concentrated power will always try to "expand their power and defenses." the existing one", that is the true nature hidden behind the neo-imperial concept of globalization, nature that needs to be overcome.[150]

The issue of war in modern society is a very complex problem. Regarding war, the UN Charter is very clear, at least formally. It prohibits any threat and use of force, except in the case of self-defense, and only if a country is attacked does it have the right to defend itself. In all other cases force is prohibited, unless the Security Council expressly approves it.

Let's remember the basic goal of the UN according to the Charter is "maintenance" of international peace and security and for that purpose: taking effective collective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace and suppressing acts of aggression or other violations of the peace, as well as achieving by peaceful means, and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, settlement or resolution of international disputes or situations that could lead to a violation of the peace; developing friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples and taking other appropriate measures to strengthen general peace; achieving international cooperation by solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or

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[148] David J. Brown, Conversation on the Edge of Apocalypse, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p. 38.
[149] Ibid. 38.
[150] Noam Čomski, "Srbija treba da uči od Latinske Amerike i da se okrene svojoj istoriji", Pečat, Beograd, 28. januar 2011.

humanitarian nature, and promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all regardless of race, gender, language or religion; and to become a center for harmonizing actions taken to achieve these common goals."[151] In this connection, the basic principles should be mentioned: "The organization rests on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members; to ensure to each of them the rights and privileges arising from membership, all members conscientiously fulfill the obligations they have assumed in accordance with this Charter; all members resolve their international disputes by peaceful means, so that international peace and security as well as justice is unviolated; all members refrain in their international relations from the threat of force or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other way inconsistent with the goals of the United Nations; all members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action taken by it in accordance with this Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations takes preventive or coercive action; The organization ensures that states that are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles to the extent necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security; nothing in this Charter authorizes the United Nations to interfere in matters that are essentially within the internal jurisdiction of each state or requires members to submit such matters for resolution on the basis of this Charter."[152]

Despite the clearly defined rules of the game regarding war, this does not mean the problem is solved in practice. Because it leads to the use of many other terms instead of the term war. It only obscures the true state of affairs and at the same time circumvents the game rules. War is present in modern society and represents an important instrument for achieving the domination of the great powers, regardless of what they call it. Let's take a brief look at the example of the attack by the United States of America on Libya, cited by Chomsky, which he says is a "direct slap to the UN and the

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[151] Povelja Ujedinjenih nacija, datum pristupa: 28. 08. 2014, internet izvor: http://www.tuzilastvorz.org.rs/html_trz/PROPISI/povelja_un_cir.pdf
[152] Ibid.

whole world, which was given the message that the US will do what it wants."[153] Explaining this Act Chomsky states that when the United States bombed Libya in 1986, the official justification of Reagan and the State Department was that it was a so-called defense against a future attack.[154] Therefore, it is a question of defense against something that has not yet happened. This is something that cannot and must not exist, because in that case every country would find itself an easy target of attack. It is enough for someone to "suspect" so that the "drums of war start their music", regardless of whether it is really so. Hedley Bull warns that any state (or group of states) that declares itself to be the supreme judge without taking into account the views of others represents a real threat to the international order.[155] Here are just some of the examples of violations or circumvention of international law that they essentially represent political violence in its worst form.[156]

To illustrate the complexity of political violence in the best possible way, we will use Radoslav Gaćinović's exhaustive typology of political violence. Gaćinović points out that political violence can be divided into external and internal.

External political violence can be divided into arming and unarmed. When it comes to armed political violence, it manifests itself through the following forms: armed aggression (in a local, regional or world conflict); military intervention (under the auspices of the UN) and military pressure. Unarmed forms of political violence are realized through political and economic pressures and subversions.[157]

On the other hand, internal forms of threats to security are divided into: armed (armed rebellion, terrorism, guerrillas, uprising) and unarmed (intelligence-reconnaissance activity, sabotage, civil

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[153] Dejvid Barsamian, Noam Čomski, Propaganda i javno mnjenje – razgovori s Noamom Čomskim, Rubikon, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 44.

[154] Ibid. 44.

[155] Noam Čomski, Novi militaristički humanizam – lekcije Kosova, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2000, p. 182.

[156] Miša Stojadinović, Noam Čomski i savremeno društvo, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2014.

[157] Radoslav Gaćinović, Političko nasilje i globalizacija, Biblioteka "Na tragu", Beograd, 2009, p. 111.

disturbances, destruction, psychological-propaganda activity, criminality, extremism), jeopardizing traffic safety, fires, endangering the environment, etc.).[158]

In addition to its obvious destructiveness, violence "sometimes can have a positive role, especially when it comes to a defensive war or the fight against terrorism."[159] What appears as a problem is that very often these reasons are used to justify of political violence. In practice, however, double criteria are in force today, all depending on to whom certain rules are applied, because not all states have the power to impose the norm. John Keen points out that, from the point of view of democracy. Violence is always a bad choice. But in cases where it is expedient, i.e. when it enables the building of a stable civil society, then it is acceptable, and its use is justified. What can be observed in modern democracies is that there is also a democratization of violence."[160]

On that occasion, John Keane points out ten rules for the democratization of violence.[161] The first rule is: always try understanding the motives and context of violence. It is impossible to define in advance the best possible methods for regulating the problem of violence without adapting them to the given situation. This is very important because the same/similar acts of violence can be done for different reasons and in different contexts.

The second rule says that wherever possible one should always exercise caution and cultivate suspicion when it comes to the plans and schemes of those who speak of necessity and call for the strictest possible means (harsh repressive measures, zero tolerance and war). It is against those whose violence is often dismissed as evil and pathological. We must always be suspicious when those who apply violence start talking about the necessity of certain measures, the defense of sovereignty, state secrets, national security, the fight for democracy and human rights, humanitarian interventions... The best example of this is certainly the fight against

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[158] Ibid. 112.
[159] Đorić Marija, Ekstremna desnica, Udruženje "Nauka i društvo Srbije", Beograd, 2014, p. 120.
[160] Đorić Marija, Ekstremna desnica, op.cit. p. 120.
[161] John Keane, Violence and Democracy, Cambridge, University Press, 2004, p. 165-209.

terrorism. It shows how violence and the fight against violence produce severe sudden repressive measures that collapse the very foundations of democracy. As an example, Keen cites arrests without charges and trials, violations of data protection laws, the presence of armed soldiers in public places, daily military exercises, constant mention of security breaches, torture, the creation of new laws to defend the existing state of affairs, as well as the spread of – no war mentality. The extreme that needs to be taken into account is that in the end, violence becomes the only means of combating violence, especially bearing in mind the bad results of neglected rehabilitation programs – with the catchphrase, "only more prisons are needed." The legitimization of violence as the only and main response to violence, while neglecting non-violent methods, undermines the very foundations of civil society. What is forgotten is that when violence is used by democratic countries, whether it is against their own citizens or another state, it can very easily trigger a chain reaction.

The third rule points out that one should resist the authoritarian strategies of "law and order". This can be done by constantly reminding politicians, judges, the police and the military that government efforts to reduce violence cannot lead to success unless civil rights and liberties are built at the level of civil society. Civil rights and liberties are very often targeted in situations where all means are allowed, as is often the case in the case of e.g. fight against terrorism. The bottom line is the rules of the game must always be the same and cannot be changed from case to case. This can lead to the fact that it is enough to declare an act as terrorist or just to suspect it, so that all democratic principles cease to apply. "Civil society does not lightly take the loss of sleep and nerves caused by daily strip searches; or heavily armed helicopters cutting the air overhead scaring the civilian population; or by tightening visa regulations and security at the airport or by waving the flag and constantly talking about the need for a permanent war against evil."[162] The daily rattling of weapons by the great powers, which is justified by the fight for democracy, is a situation that must be

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[162] Ibid. 175.

brought to light daily by constant critical democratic pressures and questioning.

The fourth rule states that wherever and whenever possible, efforts should be made to abolish or prevent the privatization of the means of violence. Privatization of violence has always led to further strengthening of violence. "Private solutions are always private, and they have very little or no socialization effect. They force certain people to face cruel encounters and bloody deaths; while the few lucky survivors are free to live in luxury fortified behind walls, surrounded by armed security, army, dogs, alarms and barbed wire, with loaded pistols under their beds."[163]

The fifth rule points out that in the search for peace between citizens and their governments, one should constantly watch out for impractical proposals and ineffective solutions imposed by a discrepancy between the means and the goal.

The sixth rule recommends that public awareness of political dilemmas should be fostered, especially bearing in mind the most fundamental dilemma of all: democratic countries or potentially democratic countries, faced with a violent threat, must be prepared to use violence if all nonviolent strategies fail or if non-violent strategies seem inappropriate, even though the use of violence is contradictory to the spirit and essence of democracy itself. No matter how ideal the democratic solution to the problem sounds, in situations where we are faced with the threat of war or destruction, and when all other non-violent methods have failed, violence remains the only possible solution. This drastic example shows how even the most developed democratic countries have to use violence in exceptional cases.

This also led to the emergence of rule number seven: one should always use all available means of communication to publicize acts of violence, so that their causes and consequences become the subject of public discussion and strengthen the possibility of public condemnation. The role of the media in this sense is huge. And it may seem at first glance that based on the news we receive every day, we live in the most violent society ever, but that has its good sides. In addition to keeping citizens informed, the

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[163] Ibid. 179.

media can also significantly contribute to the democratization of violence itself. Citizens can see for themselves how violent and non-violent means shape the world around them, and thus make certain decisions, among other things, whether a certain act of violence is justified.

The eighth rule emphasizes that ethical processes should always be carefully examined when symbolically representing violence. This implies constant questioning of the common-sense view that existing democracies turn violence into pure entertainment. This rule concerns one of the most frequent analyzed problems when it comes to the relationship between the media and violence. On the one hand, we have the assumption that the daily exposure of the public to violence through the media leads to negative consequences. "The audience is misled, captured and held hostage by such images; Images of violence fill them with a kind of primal pleasure, an anthropological joy in images, a kind of raw fascination unencumbered by aesthetic, moral, social or political decisions."[164] Keene criticize this point of view, pointing out that, among other things. It assumes the audience is always on the same the act reacts to the contents that are offered to it, without any critical examination. He points out that if this point of view is accepted, it would mean banning any reporting of violence in the media. Of course, the truth is always in the middle of two extremes. Certainly excessive exposure to violence can have its negative sides, however, on the other hand, it can also lead to positive effects, all depending on the context in which it is carried out.

Rule number nine says that in the name of democracy, one should always agitate everywhere for the sake of developing civic virtues, among which humility is the greatest. And finally, the tenth rule reads: democrats should refrain from guilt and instead must be prepared to publicly experience the shame of violence committed in the past. In the same time, in the present, they fight to defend or abolish democracy.

Throughout history, people have too often taken up arms claiming to be doing so for righteous reasons, while committing the worst crimes. The theory of just war represents another in a series of

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[164] Jean Baudrillard, The Evil Demon of Images, Sydney 1998.

attempts to present war as justified, inevitable and even humane.[165] Zoran Milošević points out that war is not the preferred tool of politics in world public opinion, and that aggressors are forced to rename war or to disguise it and show in a different light.[166] This is also the reason why the basic principles of the just war theory should be reexamined here, focusing primarily on the way it is applied in practice.

The doctrine of just war has a long prehistory that reaches far into the past. It can be justified to say that St. Aurelius Augustinus is one of the founders of the just war theory. He is among the first to distinguish between just and unjust peace (which he understood as God's), but also between just and unjust war. Augustine sees a just war as a war against injustice and infidels. "Peace is the highest good, the ideal of every community." It is an essentially good and universally accepted aspiration; no one does not want peace, just as no one does not want joy. The ultimate vocation of humanity is none other than the peace of God's state (...). The goal of wars is peace. Solid peace is unattainable, and all historical communities, as bandit states, are at war with each other. Peace can also be unjust; that's why some even brutal wars have to be justified. The desire for peace is the same as the desire for life. Complete unity and eternal peace reign only in an ideal, perfect society, the society of saints and angels."[167]

A key role in reviving the tradition of just war in modern society is attributed to Michael Walzer. His work Just and Unjust Wars, published in 1977, significantly determined the understanding of the theory of just war, as well as the definition of just and unjust war. When it comes to the basics of the just war theory, we will quote Richard Falk, who defined four principles of the just war theory:

● Discrimination: any use of force should distinguish between military and civilian targets and unconditionally avoid

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[165] Miša Stojadinović, Violeta Rašković Talović, "Izazovi razvoja demokratije u savremenom društvu: političko nasilje i teorija (ne)pravednog rata", Srpska politička misao, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 1/2016.
[166] Zoran Milošević, "NATO i mediji", Politička revija, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2/2008, p. 544.
[167] Ljubinko Milosavljević, Srednjevekovna misao o društvu, Filozofski fakultet, Niš, 2002, p. 60-61.

targeting the latter, regardless of military necessity; on that occasion, civilian innocence should be respected without exception during the conduct of war.

● Proportionality: any use of force must have some reasonable relationship between the responsibility, resistance and capabilities of the targeted state, as well as the level and intensity and objectives of the response of the state acting in self-defense.

● Necessity: any use of force should be essential to achieve legitimate military objectives; in doing so, any excessive use of force should be avoided.

● Humanity: any use of force should be in accordance with international humanitarian law and avoid human suffering that is reasonably unrelated to the necessity and reasonableness of military objectives.[168]

Guided by these principles, in reality it would not be possible to wage a war because it would last endlessly and the question of the winner would never be resolved. Dealing with the problem of the emergence of the need for a just war theory in modern society, Walzer emphasizes that in the Vietnam War the concept of ius in bello gained its practical value for the first time.

"In a war for 'hearts and minds'" rather than land and resources, justice has become the key to victory. With this, the theory of just war once again became a world doctrine, as it deserves. And here is the most important reason for the theory's success: now there are reasons for the state to fight justly."[169] According to Walzer, the war in Vietnam was lost when "their hearts and minds" were lost. Continuing, Walzer says the Gulf War may not represent a war that is fully in line with the just war theory, but that it certainly represents a conflict where its influence has already begun to be seen more strongly. "The American strategy during the Gulf War was the result of a compromise between what justice demands and wanton bombings in previous wars; overall, the targeting was far more limited and selective than was the case in, for example, Korea or

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[168] Richard Falk, The Great Terror War, New York: Olive Branch Press, 2003, p. 125.
[169] Michael Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)" Social Research, International Justice, War Crimes, and Terrorism: TheU.S. Record, No. 4/ 2002, 930-931.

Vietnam."[170] This has led to wars in modern society increasingly being fought for just reasons. But is it really so?

Let's remember that Walzer viewed the NATO aggression against the then FRY as a just war. However, Michael Parenti [Michael Parenti], on the other hand, calls the bombing of Serbia "a true example of the privatization of bombing that is ideologically driven with the aim of making the world safe for free-market capitalism."[171] The "Merciful Angel" left behind a great the number of dead, wounded, refugees, destroyed infrastructure, schools, churches, media houses, and in which illegal means were used (cluster bombs, depleted uranium ammunition...).[172] During the bombing of Serbia, it is estimated that 1015 tons of depleted uranium, which has a great impact on the life and health of the population even today.[173]

Another very common reason used to justify war in modern society is certainly the fight against terrorism. The fight against terrorism becomes a strong reason that justifies the use of all means, often bringing collateral victims that are justified by higher goals. The beginning of the 21st century was marked by an event that greatly changed events at the global level. On September 11, 2001, the USA was attacked by a series of terrorist attacks in which four American planes were hijacked. Two of them crashed into the World Trade Center, one of which targeted the Pentagon, while the last plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania. This terrible event triggered an avalanche that reverberated on a global level. Maria Tymockzo points out that the problem of political violence, and globalization became particularly relevant after the events of September 11, 2001, in the USA, the bombings in Great Britain and Spain, suicide attacks throughout the Middle East, the presence of the USA in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as Israel's fierce response to what appeared to be a minor outbreak of political violence by the Palestinian civilian population. She adds here the violence associated with drug

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[170] Ibid. 932.
[171] Michael Parenti, The Face of Imperialism, Paradigm Publishers, 2011.
[172] Miša Stojadinović, Noam Čomski i savremeno društvo, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2014.
[173] Slobodan Petković, Zločin u ratu, genocid u miru, Službeni glasnik i Društva Srbije za borbu protiv raka, 2012.

trafficking, prisons, ethnic murders and genocides, the cruelty of regimes that use violence for the sake of manifesting their power over the civilian population, etc.[174]

After the terrorist attack on September 11, it can be justified to say that a new discourse of political realism was born. Namely, this event served not only to justify military interventions, but at the same time led to the legalization of restrictions on the basic rights and freedoms of citizens in the name of national security. Should this and other terrorist attacks be severely condemned and sanctioned? The answer is without a doubt in the affirmative. However, the fight against terrorism often becomes misused in itself, and thus gains a significant place in the theory of just war. This is also discussed by David Ray Griffin, who points out the following: "The attack that happened on September 11 was used as a justification for the War in Afghanistan and Iraq, which resulted in the death of not only thousands of soldiers, but also many more innocent civilians than was the case that day. Also, this attack is used as a justification for dozens of other operations around the world, most of which are unknown to the American people. It is used to justify the Patriot Act, which significantly limits the civil liberties of Americans. And it is used to justify countless arrests at Guantanamo and elsewhere."[175]

In all of this, the importance of the question: "Why do they (US) hate us (the countries where interventions are carried out)?" Drucilla Cornell points out that the George Bush administration's answer to this question brings with it additional problems – "they hate us because we are free." This very common question asked after September 11, 2001, is problematic in itself because of the qualifier "they." The definition of which "they" are is very vague. "Do they refer to the highly educated Saudis who crashed their planes into the World Trade Center?" Does it refer to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda? Does it refer to Iraqis? Does the question presuppose the existence of something that can be called the Arab world, which

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[174] Maria Tymockzo, "Translate Ethics and Ideology in a Violent Globalizing World", Globalization, Political Violence and Translation (eds. Esperanza Bielsa, Cristopher W. Huges), London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 171.
[175] David Ray Griffin. The New Pearl Harbor – Disturbing Questions about the Bush Administration and 9/11, Olive Branch Press, Massachusetts, 2004, p. 7.

unites many different peoples, languages and traditions that hate us? Or, in fact, the question itself is: why do members of a conservative and militant branch of Islam — Wahhabism — hate us? (...) But were the hijackers Wahhabists at all? (...) When we ask ourselves why they hate us, we have to be careful who we talk about in the first place, so that we can at least start a discussion about whether some of this anger and bitterness is justified, and if so, what are we (as US citizens) invited to do about it."[176]

In his study Terrorism and Global Disorder – Political Violence in the Contemporary World, Adrian Guelke seeks an answer to the question of whether the world changed significantly after September 11, 2001. Gelk points out that the leading Western politicians almost unanimously accepted that this event led to fundamental changes at the global level in almost the same way as it happened during the Cold War. "This in itself raises the question of whether it is justified to claim the world has fundamentally changed twice in a little more than a decade."[177] This event becomes even more significant because a large number of countries are beginning using it to justify extreme security measures that violate the basic rights and freedoms of citizens. "Indeed, one could justifiably say the attack on September 11, 2001, represents a turning point in international politics, but not as an attack in itself, but rather the use of that event, which started a new phase of Western foreign policy led by the USA and Great Britain. Furthermore, it could also be said that the reactions of these countries to the events of September 11, including here the intervention in Iraq, further created a conflict with Muslims, which is what the perpetrators of the attack on America sought."[178]

Tony Addison points out that the events of September 11, together with the later response of the USA, "cast conflict and security — subject concepts to many interpretations — as key parts of the controversies surrounding globalization, adding new dimensions to the already energetic discussions about the concept of

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[176] Drucilla Cornell, Defending Ideals – War, Democracy and Political Struggles, Routledge, New York, 2004.
[177] Adrian Guelke, Terrorism and Global Disorder – Political Violence in the Contemporary World, London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd., 2006, p. 1.
[178] Ibid. 2.

new wars."[179] In this sense Jürgen Habermas indicates on September 11:

● shows the empirical weaknesses of the hegemonic liberalism of the Bush Administration;

● achieves its success thanks to the US military response that caused divisions in the West;

● reveals only an answer with good normative reasons would solve the root of the problem; justice between nations cannot be ensured by imposing a certain form of life, it must be established by a cosmopolitan law that respects the decisions and the process of forming the will of different cultures;

● favors the cosmopolitan proposal in terms of efficiency because classic war is not a useful tool in the fight against violence; worldwide safety nets are necessary; it is necessary to establish a level of organization that will enable the existence of self-criticism of understanding;

● In a globalized society with globalized terrorism, it imposes the need for governance that is above the state.[180]

In this connection, Naomi Klein should also be mentioned. She believes that September 11 came in handy for the Bush Administration to finally implement the ideology of Friedman and his followers, who methodically exploited moments of shock in other countries, at home in full force under the banner of the "war on terrorism" and the fear that arose at that time, which left many extremely sensitive and essential functions of the government to private companies.[181] At the end of September 2001, Gallup conducted a public opinion survey on how were the attitudes of the world population at the moment when the bombing of Afghanistan was announced. The main question to which the respondents had to answer was the following: "After the identity of the terrorists is

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[179] Tony Addison, "Post-conflict recovery – New wars and global economy", The Globalization of Political Violence – Globalization's shadow (eds. Richard Devetak and Cristopher Hughes), London, Routledge, 2008, p. 166.

[180] Antonio Aguilera, "Ethics and Violence", The Globalization of Political Violence – Globalization's shadow (eds. Richard Devetak and Cristopher Hughes), London, Routledge, 2008, p. 77.

[181] Drucilla Cornell, Defending Ideals – War, Democracy and Political Struggles, Routledge, New York, 2004.

known, should the US government militarily attack the country or countries where the terrorists have their bases, or should it seek their extradition and bring them to court."[182] Based on the obtained results, it can be concluded that the world public at that time was largely on the side of the diplomatic way of solving the problem in relation to military action. As for Europe, support for military action ranged from 8% in Greece to 29% in France. Latin America showed the least support for American military interventions. The range in these areas ranged from 2% in Mexico to 11% in Colombia and Venezuela. It can be said that the only exception was Panama, where 80% of the population favored peaceful means, while 16% were in favor of military interventions.[183] Not to mention that there is increasing questioning about who was really responsible for the terrorist attack on 9/11. Noam Chomsky points out that support for the military intervention was largely based on one key assumption, namely that the identity of those responsible for the September 11 attack had been established. Based on the testimony of Robert Mueller, director of the FBI, it can be seen that even eight months after President Bush's order regarding the bombing of this country, there is still only speculation about the indirect connection of Afghanistan.[184]

According to Walzer, the theory of just war in modern society experiences a real triumph at the transition from the 20th century to the 21st century. "The triumph of the just war theory is obvious; it's amazing how easily military spokespeople during the wars in Afghanistan and Kosovo used her categories, telling a causal story that justifies the war and providing battle reports that highlight the limitations they face."[185]

Thus, for Walzer, justice has become in all Western countries a test that every military strategy must pass – even if it is not the most important test. It certainly gives the theory of just war an important place that it never had before.

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[182] Noam Čomski, Hegemonija ili opstanak, Rubikon, Novi Sad, 2008, p. 246-247.
[183] Ibid. 247.
[184] Ibid. 248.
[185] Michael Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dagers of Success)" Social Research, International Justice, War Crimes, and Terrorism: The U.S. Record, No. 4/ 2002, p. 932.

NEW PLAYERS AND RESHAPING OF MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER

Modern society brings with it new players on the world stage. The time of the unipolar world is over. The United States of America may have become the most powerful power after the end of the Cold War, but today this is no longer the case. First of all, in addition to the USA and Russia, today other countries possess nuclear weapons. Then, when it comes to the economic strength of the countries, it is enough to mention the BRICS countries as proof that the USA is far from having an economic primacy. They are certainly still at the top, but new players are appearing who can compete with them. The time of a unipolar world was in the past, and the great powers must see such a situation as soon as possible. Today, there is a large number of powerful countries on the global scene, which brings with it a new dimension of unpredictability. It is impossible to predict which way world society will go, but it is necessary to point out that the possible consequences are worrying. Noam Chomsky emphasizes The "New World Order" arose on the ruins of the Second World War with very frequent adherence to Churchill's directives. The basic maxim of this new world order is rich people should rule it. The creation of a new world order is a process that naturally leads to the globalization of the economy and advocates for the interests of transnational corporations and financial institutions, which will manage the international economy.[186]

This New World Order is very similar to the old one and represents only new clothes.[187] One of the most significant changes is the internationalization of the economy, but as for some of the basic rules of the game, they remain the same: "The basic rules of the world order remain as they were – the rules of law for the weak and rules on strength for the strong. Principles of economic rationality for the weak, state powers and interventions for the

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[186] Noam Čomski, Svetski poredak, stari i novi, op.cit. p. 277.
[187] Ibid. p. 404.

strong. As in the past, privilege and power do not willingly submit to social control, laws, and discipline, but seek ways to undermine purposeful democracy and adapt market principles to their specific needs. Within a culture of appreciation, the traditional tasks remain the same: to reshape past and ongoing history in the interests of power and authority, and to elevate the high principles to which our leaders and we are committed; that the record of history records the shortcomings as delusions of the well-intentioned, and attributes the use of cruelty to the threat of some terribly evil enemy."[188]

At the beginning of the 21st century, Eurasianism established itself as an alternative to American thalassocratic unipolarity.[189] The importance of Eurasia on the contemporary geopolitical scene is shown by the fact that not only the most populous. Also very powerful countries — China and India — are located in this area. Russia, which occupies a huge territory and which at the same time, has enormous natural resources.[190] The importance of Eurasia throughout history can best be seen based on the definition of Zbigniew Brzezinski: "Ever since the time when the continents began interacting politically, some five hundred years ago, Eurasia is the center of the world power. At different times and in different ways, the peoples who inhabited Eurasia — although mostly those from the Western European region — penetrated various other parts of the world and dominated them. Thereby individual countries of Eurasia gained a special status and took advantage of privileges that stemming from the position of the leading world powers (…) However, the area of Eurasia retains its geopolitical importance. Not only in its western part — Europe — still the location of a significant part of the world's political and economic power, but also in its eastern areas — Asia — which have recently become a vital center of economic growth and political influence. Precisely for this

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[188] Ibid.

[189] Miša Stojadinović, "Sloveni, Rusija i Novi svetski poredak", Gde ti je država Kaine? – Budućnost Slovenskih država, (priredio: Zoran Milošević), Centar akademske reči, Šabac, 2015.

[190] Dejana Vukasović, Miša Stojadinović, Srbija između evropskih i evroazijskih integracija", Srbija i evroazijski savez, pretnje (priredio: Zoran Milošević), p. 252-264, Centar akademske reči Šabac i Srpsko odeljenje međunarodne slovenske akademije Beograd, 2016.

reason, the question of how globally active America deals with the complex power relations within Eurasia and whether it specifically prevents the emergence of a dominant, antagonistic Eurasian power – remains a central question for its ability to act as the first global power."[191]

The roots of Eurasianism should be sought in the period after the October Revolution. Important founders should be mentioned Prince Nikolay Sergeevich Trubetsky, Georgi Vasilevich Florovsky, Petar Petrovich Suvchinsky and Petar Nikolayevich Savitsky. Aleksandar Dugin points out that Eurasianism is first and foremost a philosophy, and like all true philosophies, it implicitly contains a political perspective, an approach to history with the possibility of being transformed into an ideology. "Eurasianism is a philosophy based on structural analysis, and it is no coincidence that the founder of Eurasianism, Count Nikolai Trubetsky, was a leading figure in structural linguistics. Eurasianism is a type of structuralism with an emphasis on the diversity and synchronization of structures. The structure is seen as a whole that is something more than the sum of its parts. This is the rule of Eurasia. It is a holism that deals with organic, structural entities."[192]

The revival of Eurasianism is taking place in the form of neo-Eurasianism after the collapse of the USSR. This is what Milomir Stepić is talking about, who points out that, "First cautiously, and then completely openly, the contemporary Russian dilemma is resolved on the basis of the former emigrant idea transformed into a modern version of Eurasianism – neo-Eurasianism." It is receiving ever wider explicit support and a growing number of followers, both within the framework of official politics and in wide and diverse cultural and scientific circles (President Putin, director Nikita Mikhalkov, historian Lav Gumilyov – Savitsky's most outstanding student, distinguished scientists from different fields Ochirov, Orlov, Panarin, Pashchenko, Sobolev, Stepanov…). From the comprehensiveness and multidimensionality of neo-Eurasianism, the special importance of its geopolitics is emphasized by the most

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[191] Zbignjev Bžežinski, Velika šahovska tabla, Romanov, 2001, p. 1.
[192] Alexander Dugin, Eurasian Mission: An Introduction to Neo-Eurasianism, Arktos, 2014, p. 7.

exposed personality and undisputed leader of contemporary Russian Eurasians, Aleksandar Gelevich Dugin.[193] Observing the development of Neo-Eurasianism, it can be seen that it established itself as an independent movement with its own political program only in the second half of the 90s of the 20th century, and that it only received the support of political circles at the beginning of the 20th century. In this sense, it is also understandable that, although the idea of forming a community of states was proposed as early as 1994 by the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, this concept gained momentum only with Vladimir Putin.

According to Dugin, neo-Eurasianism, like early Eurasianism, was conceived from the very beginning as a Russian form of Third Way ideology that belongs to the same philosophy as the German conservative revolution. "We accepted it as a special Russian paradigm of anti-modernist philosophy and political tendencies, similar to traditionalism or the Third Way. Left Eurasianism is represented by National Bolshevism. An important confirmation of the importance of Eurasianism for politics can be found in the way geopolitical thinking is conceived in dualistic terms, like thalassocracy versus tellurocracy, and Atlanticism versus Eurasianism."[194]

When it comes to the Eurasian integrations themselves, it can be pointed out that they started on the territories of the former USSR countries and represent one concept that simultaneously took place in parallel on several levels, starting with the Eurasian Economic Union. Then the Single Economic Space, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Customs Agreement and finally, until the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union on January 1, 2015. "The basic logic of the Eurasian initiative is based on international economic association, as a phenomenon that derives its legality from the aspiration of countries to join regional trade integrations against the background of the globalization process. That is by thriving to protect their trade and economic interests on the world market. It rests on management ideas, among which, in terms of importance,

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[193] Milomir Stepić, "Gepolitička orijentacija Srbije: evroatlantizam i/ili evroazijstvo", Megatrend revija, br. 2/2005, p. 16-17.
[194] Alexander Dugin, Eurasian Mission: An Introduction to Neo-Eurasianism, op.cit. p. 9.

stand out: a) integration, first of all, on the basis of economic pragmatism; b) voluntary integration; c) the principle of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of state borders."[195]

A military alliance called the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) whose members are Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan should also be mentioned here. This alliance is organized in such a way that any member country can withdraw at any time, and in 2013, Serbia received observer status.China quite convincingly demonstrates a soft power strategy on a global level and wants to increase its influence in the area of EU countries, as evidenced by numerous bilateral agreements. The establishment of the Asian Bank for Infrastructure Investments at the global level leads to a new redistribution of power. The signing of the agreement on co-financing of projects between the Asian Infrastructure Bank and the World Bank in April 2016 speaks of the importance of this institution, which was quite justifiably claimed to be a rivalry.

China is oriented in two directions in its geopolitics, which is summarized by Sanja Arežina: "The first is tellurocratic (western, Eurasian), which aims to act along two interrelated vectors — towards the western provinces of Xinjiang and Tibet — which is motivated by the need a stronger influx into the central part of Eurasia. It is very rich in resources necessary for the further development of the Chinese economy. The "Silk Road Economic Belt" was envisioned as a "new Eurasian land bridge" and would start in Xi'an in central China and go west to Lanzhou (Gansu Province), Urumqi and Horgosh near the border with Kazakhstan. It would then continue south-west through Central Asia to northern Iran before heading towards Iraq, Syria and Turkey. From Istanbul, the overland Silk Road would pass through the Bosphorus Strait to the northwest and Europe, including Bulgaria, Romania, the Czech Republic and Germany. Arriving in Duisburg in Germany, the road would continue to Rotterdam in the Netherlands. From there it would go south to Venice in Italy, where it would meet the maritime

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[195] Aleksandar Ćirić, "Evroazijska ekonomska zajednica", Zaštita ljudskih i manjinskih prava u evropskom pravnom prostoru, LXII, 2012, p. 1.

part of the Silk Road.[196] His redirection of the route along the Moravian-Vardar Valley is towards Belgrade and Budapest. "The second course of action is thalassocratic (toward the Pacific and the Indian Ocean), caused by the growing need for a strategic presence in the Eurasian Rimland and the provision of vital maritime communications through which China imports a large part of the raw materials necessary for its economy and the export of goods to foreign markets."[197] Statement Hua Chunjiga, spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows that: "China supports the model of Eurasian integration proposed by Russian President Vladimir Putin and which includes Beijing's initiative, the Silk Road Economic Belt… As for the integration of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Economic Belt of the Road silk according to the proposal of the President of Russia, the leaders of that country and China reached a consensus… This is an important strategic step for the economic cooperation of the countries of the region, as well as for achieving joint profit and progress for the countries and people of the region. China is ready to cooperate with all parties, including Russia, on the development of regional cooperation based on equality, common benefits and consultations within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization."[198]

On the other hand, in its foreign policy, Russia advocates cooperation and economic partnership with member countries of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Africa has long been unjustifiably neglected in theoretical considerations dealing with international relations. One of the most dominant perceptions that has spread is that the African continent is seen as a whole, forgetting it consists of more than fifty countries with all their specificities. It greatly contributed to the advocates of imperialism and the marginalization of the importance of African countries. On the other hand, African countries were involved in

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[196] Sanja Arežina, "Kineski Novi put svile` i Balkan", Kultura polisa, posebno izdanje 2015, p. 169-170.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Kina podržala Putinov model evroazijske integracije, Novosti, 04. decembar 2015, http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/planeta.299.html:579732-Kina-podrzalaPutinov-model-evroazijske-integracije

global trends primarily bilaterally, and based on assessments of their own national interests, while ignoring the fact that they would achieve much more with a unique approach to the rest of the world, like the countries of Latin America, for example.

The conquest of Africa between the 18th and 19th centuries stopped the previous development of African states, bringing real chaos in the institutional and economic sense. The failure of the European colonial powers in the institutional arrangement of African states had a major impact on their post-colonial position. African countries began their journey to independence on weak foundations built primarily to facilitate their exploitation and enslavement. "This means that most African countries were plagued by a weak political and economic system, with crisis, poverty and underdevelopment becoming almost constant narratives on the continent. Perhaps one of the greatest mistakes of African post-colonial leaders was their failure to effectively dismantle colonial institutions that were based on exploitation and treated Africans as subjects instead of citizens."[199] Although Africa is the second largest continent with more than a billion inhabitants and more than fifty countries, it is often seen as a single entity that shares a common fate of its colonial history. The rediscovery of Africa by the West meant finding new reasons to justify its exploitation.

Africa was included in the global flows through the transatlantic slave trade, which largely determined the way the globalization flows took place in these areas in the decades that followed. The way Africa interacted with the rest of the world had a unique characteristic: "From the era of the Atlantic slave trade, when Africans were forcibly taken as slaves to serve slave owners in Europe and America, to the era when Europe forcibly divided the continent in ways that served the interests of colonial masters, the interaction of Africa and its subsequent 'incorporation' into the

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[199] Kenneth Kalu and Toyin Falola, "Introduction: Africa in a Globalized World", *Africa and Globalization – Challenges of Governance and Creativity*, eds. Kenneth Kalu and Toyin Falola, 1-18, Palgrave Macmillan: Switzerland, 2018, p. 1.

global community is defined by the cruelest forms of exploitation."[200]

And perhaps at first glance it can be said that African countries would gain much more if they were to isolate themselves from the globalization process, but this is not the case in practice. Kalu and Falola talk about this in particular, giving an overview of the most important literature on this topic, among which the studies of Martin Wolff and Peter Lewis stand out. In his study *Why Globalization Works*, Martin Wolf showed that although some countries benefit more from globalization than others. Any nation that chooses to exclude itself from the global economy can only suffer great harm.[201] It is precisely for this reason that the question arises as to why some underdeveloped countries, like Asian ones for example, managed to float on the waves of globalization and use most of its benefits to rise economically. Peter Lewis, dealing precisely with the phenomenon of different consequences of the globalization process on countries that otherwise act in a similar initial position, points to all possible challenges that prevent African countries from participating equally in global flows. He shows it on the example of Indonesia and Nigeria. "Although Indonesia and Nigeria have almost equally distorted political systems, with comprehensive military dictatorships from the 1960s to the 1990s, and although corruption and profit-at-any-cost have been the main features of both political cultures, the elections that produced "disputed, divided elites of Nigeria," weak institutions and a predatory political culture produced significantly different results than Indonesia's "well-organized corruption and stable macroeconomic conditions."[202]

The term dark is used to convey the idea of Africa as an isolated continent from the rest of the world. However if this point

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[200] Mesut Yilmaz and Chigozie Enwere, "Postcolonial Africa's Development Trajectories", *Africa and Globalization – Challenges of Governance and Creativity*, eds. Kenneth Kalu and Toyin Falola, 49-70, Palgrave Macmillan: Switzerland, 2018, p. 21.

[201] Martin Wolf, *Why Globalization Works*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

[202] Peter Lewis, *Growing Apart: Oil, Politics, and Economic Change in Indonesia and Nigeria*, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2007.

of view is accepted then at the same time it can be argued with significant evidence that in the Middle Ages Europe was even more isolated than Africa. "To facilitate the exploitation of African resources, the Western world had to create reasons that would justify and try to legitimize it. European explorers had to "discover" a dark continent inhabited by natives whose living conditions were not so different from savages. These labels often led to the treatment of Africa and its people in the most degrading way possible."[203] This forgets the fact that Africans, Arabs and Indians established a rich trade across the Indian Ocean.[204] Even certain products from Africa found their way to Europe like Moroccan leather for example. Some of the most common myths related to Africa are presented in the following table, where you can also see their comparison with the real situation.

Table no. 4: Myths and realities of African "underdevelopment"

Myths	Realities
African poverty is an inevitable characteristic of African countries themselves. In this view, poverty and crisis are permanent African features.	This view was espoused mainly by Africans based in North American universities and was readily accepted by the World Bank as it developed its political-economic analysis of African policy-making. This view takes as its point of departure the assertion that post-colonial African states are by their very nature and definition at the center of the economic and governance crises permeating the continent. These states, deprived of the most basic measures and balance of the (late) colonial period, failed in their development mission.
Any debt to the West has been paid	In fact, African poverty is rooted in the global relations of post-colonial states

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[203] Mesut Yilmaz and Chigozie Enwere, "Postcolonial Africa's Development Trajectories", op.cit., 2018, p. 21.
[204] Rajen Harshé, *AFRICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS – Politics of Imperialism, the Cold War and Globalisation*, New York: Routledge, 2019.

in full and must be left behind.	burdened by the legacy of colonialism and neoliberal policies, policies that are now accepted by the world's ruling classes, including African ones.
Africa is "cursed" with natural resources.	Resource wealth (as a source of comparative advantage) turns out to be a "curse" whether emphasizing poor economic performance, state failure (oil breeds corruption), or [the idea that] resource rents make democracy unsound. These historical explanations overlook the structural roots of the distorting impact of extractive industries and capitalist global relations more broadly.
African nations are ungovernable, dominated by failed states trapped in an inexorable penchant for war and violence.	The same media that minimize the specifics of every African war are often interested in covering the war itself, constantly misrepresenting the African continent. Regardless of the context, the war is presented as the camera sees it, as a contest between beasts. It is no wonder that those who rely on the media for their knowledge of Africa find Africans are particularly committed to fighting over any major issue.
Ordinary Africans are merely passive victims of authoritarian African rulers or are fueled by the conflicts of "age-old" ethnic divisions	Such myths about African rulers and citizens rooted in primordial violence create a dangerous justification in an imperial context. As a result, supposedly only "international" (i.e. Western) intervention — of the "guardian", "humanitarian" or direct military kind — can "save" the continent from the inevitable bloodshed.

Mass unemployment and crisis make resistance in Africa futile.	Whether due to widespread poverty and the explosion of urban slums, the weight of dictatorship, the neoliberal assault on workers, or the presence of foreign labor and capital-intensive industry, these factors have made political organization and sustained resistance nearly impossible.

Source: Табела је урађена према студији Wengraf Lee. *Extracting Profit Imperialism, Neoliberalism, and the New Scramble for Africa*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2018.

There is another myth commonly perpetuated in the West that portrays Africans as barbaric savages who neither knew how to speak nor were they aware of the use of fire. This myth was further strengthened in "the process of consolidation and strengthening of European empires on the continent."[205] It was widely used to nurture the psychological superiority of other peoples over Africans to enslave them. At the same time, it is forgotten that Africa is the cradle of many civilizations that have forever left their mark on human history, like Egypt, for example. Hegel in his book *Geographical Basis of World History* (1820) says: "The distinction of Africa lies in the characteristic of the whole continent as such... It has no historical interest of its own, for we find its inhabitants living in barbarism and savagery in a land which has not given them a single integral part of the culture. From the earliest historical times, Africa remained cut off from all contact with the rest of the world."[206]

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[205] Ibid, p. 11.
[206] Mesut Yilmaz and Chigozie Enwere, "Postcolonial Africa's Development Trajectories", op.cit., 2018, p. 24.

continent as such... It has no historical interest of its own, for we find its inhabitants living in barbarism and savagery in a land which has not given them a single integral part of the culture. From the earliest historical times, Africa remained cut off from all contact with the rest of the world."[207] Bearing this in mind, the division of trust of the African population, when it comes to these international organizations, is justified. Namely, less than 40% of Africans believe in the benevolence of these organizations.

Table no. 5: Confidence in the IMF and the World Bank

	Confidence in the IMF					
	Total	Ethiopia	Kenia	Nigeria	Tunisia	Egypt
Very much so	11,1	7,3	27,7	17,7	1,6	0,2
Pretty much	18,5	22,9	30,2	28,8	6,4	3,1
Not much	20,4	15,3	23,1	24,6	27	11,8
Not at all	20,8	10,9	7,2	11,3	46,7	29,2
I do not know	27,8	42,9	10,5	17,2	13,8	55,4
No answer	0,4	0,3	0,7	0,2	0,6	0,2
Not sufficient	1	0,3	0,6	0,2	4	0
Total	**100% (6141)**	**100% (1230)**	**100% (1266)**	**100% (1237)**	**100% (1208)**	**100% (1200)**
	Confidence in the World Bank					

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[207] Ibid, p. 50.

	Total	Ethiopia	Kenia	Nigeria	Tunisia	Egypt
Very much so	19,3	18,9	39,2	34,4	2,5	0,3
Pretty much	20,8	30,3	30,3	29,8	7,9	4,7
Not much	17,4	10,2	17,8	19,3	29,6	10,2
Not at all	17,2	7,8	5,7	7,8	42,2	23,5
I do not know	24	32,2	6,4	8,5	13,2	61,1
No answer	0,4	0,2	0,6	0,1	0,7	0,2
Not sufficient	0,8	0,3	0,1	0	3,7	0
Total	**100% (6141)**	**100% (1230)**	**100% (1266)**	**100% (1237)**	**100% (1208)**	**100% (1200)**

Source: World Values Survey Wave 7: 2017-2020, March, 30, 2020, https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

At the same time, these loans from these organizations brought with them a huge number of conditions that the borrowing countries had to fulfill. Among the most significant is certainly privatization, deregulation, and perhaps the most important removal of any restrictions on foreign investments. These "benevolent" loans have led to massive poverty and a decline in living standards across Africa. And although these "investments" were most visible in the 80s, their presence could be seen much earlier, even in the colonial era. For example, the IMF mission arrived in Nigeria as far back as 1959 to promote development programs. "Militarization, neoliberal structural adjustment and the boom in investment and extraction – accompanied by increases in productivity and exploitation – have

met with resistance across the continent. From the explosive strikes and protests against the debt crisis created by the IMF and the World Bank in the 1980s to the pro-democracy struggles and mobilization against cuts to social services in urban areas and land grabbing in rural areas, the organizing of workers and ordinary people across the continent has indicated that new Africa's boom will not happen without challenges from below."[208] The colonial liberation of Africa only led to another form of slavery in the jaws of neocolonialism.

In most African countries, the construction of political institutions took place under the influence of European colonialism. This is precisely the reason why the regimes very often encountered the problem of legitimacy, which resulted in numerous conflicts in these areas. As Patrick Chabal once noted, "When nationalists gained independence and took over the country, they faced the difficult prospect of building on foundations that were rarely as solid as they would like them to be. Few African countries were "natural" nation-states, that is, geographically, ecologically, ethnically, culturally, economically, socially or politically homogeneous, cohesive or even coherent. Most of them are amalgams created on the basis of patchwork with predictable consequences for nation builders. Some countries were barely credible candidates for statehood. In almost all cases, therefore, the task of building an African nation-state was difficult, much more difficult (though in different ways) than it was in Europe, Asia or Latin America."[209] The fate of building sovereignty in these areas largely determined their enviable position in the geopolitical sense. It is because African states have never really completely freed themselves from the influence of former colonial powers. Bearing this in mind, the African "political elite" has never won the trust of its people.

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[208] Wengraf Lee, *Extracting Profit Imperialism, Neoliberalism, and the New Scramble for Africa*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2018, p. 16.
[209] Peter Pham, "Differing African Geopolitical Realities – A Measured US Strategy for the New Africa", *Atlantic Council* (1): 7-14, 2016, p. 7.

Table no. 6: Trust in the government

	Total	Ethiopis	Kenia	Nigeria	Tunisia	Egypt
Very much so	16,4	28,6	18,2	14,3	4,2	16,4
Pretty much	24,3	36,8	26,5	25,9	7,6	24,3
Not much	29,4	18,9	32,8	35,3	30,5	29,4
Not at all	28,6	14,4	20,7	24,2	55,7	28,6
I do not know	0,8	1,1	1,3	0,2	0,9	0,8
No answer	0,3	0,1	0,5	0,2	0,2	0,3
Not sufficient	0,2	0,1	0	0	0,8	0,2
Total	**100% (6141)**	**100% (1230)**	**100% (1266)**	**100% (1237)**	**100% (1208)**	**100% (1200)**

Source: World Values Survey Wave 7: 2017-2020, March, 30, 2020, https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

Table no. 7: Trust in political parties

	Total	Ethiopia	Kenia	Nigeria	Tunisia	Egypt
Very much so	5,6	7,4	7,3	9,8	1,7	1,4
Pretty much	13,2	20,8	15,5	22,8	5,3	0,9
Not much	28,5	27,1	37,4	34,6	27,2	15,8
Not at all	44,4	34,6	36,9	32,3	63,9	55

I do not know	7,9	9,8	2,1	0,5	0,9	26,5
No answer	0,3	0,1	0,6	0	0,2	0,4
Not sufficient	0,2	0,2	0,2	0	0,7	0
Total	**100% (6141)**	**100% (1230)**	**100% (1266)**	**100% (1237)**	**100% (1208)**	**100% (1200)**

Source: World Values Survey Wave 7: 2017-2020, March, 30, 2020, https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp

One of the greatest weaknesses of African countries is that they remain dependent on primary production. The expected era of industrialization was never carried out to the end in these regions, and this led to the fact that they never really economically emerged from colonialism. In practice, this produced a huge dependence on the purchase of natural resources, which left their markets vulnerable to shocks and external influences. Instead of the African countries processing the products they export and thereby getting additional profit, they leave it to other countries. This state of affairs has resulted in the majority of the African population being affected by poverty.

Table no. 8: The main products that form the basis of imports and exports of African countries

Export	Import
Palm oil	Machinery and equipment
Gold and diamonds	Chemicals
Oil	Petroleum products
Cocoa	Scientific instruments
Wood	Groceries
Precious metals	
Exporting oil has been the main goal of many economies. Nigeria has one of the world's	Imports of machinery and equipment have become regular as the region tries to raise its

largest oil reserves and the largest oil producer in Africa. With its resources, Nigeria can produce 3.2 million barrels per day. However, it produces an average of only 2.21 million barrels per day. In the last two decades, countries like Sudan, Angola and Equatorial Guinea have also benefited from their oil exports.

productivity and tap into its vast resources. However, imports are limited to nations that have a decent level of consumption. By the way, Africa has regions like the sub-Saharan region where people still live on less than 70 cents a day.

Source: Africa Trade, Exports and Imports, 18, May 2021, https://www.economywatch.com/2010/03/30/115frica-trade-exports-and-imports

The withdrawal of colonialism during the Cold War allowed African states to be in a position to derive significant political and economic benefits from the USSR and the USA. However, this did not significantly affect their development because corrupt and repressive regimes, often supported by former colonial rulers, remained in power. Also, global conflicts in the 21st century have produced a new nonimperial phase of economic and political instability. Increased competition, which implies the involvement of an increasing number of actors in events in Africa, like Russia and China, forced the United States of America to take drastic steps and use military power, aggressive economic and trade policies, and to preserve its dominant position on these areas.

The *Structural Adjustment Programs* (SAP) were launched in the early years of the Reagan Administration and brought with them a great deal of controversy. When it comes to Africa, these programs are no exception, and they largely enabled the dominance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in these areas. It brought many African countries into debt slavery:

- First, the SAPs would appear to be designed to implement American foreign policy at the behest of Wall Street and Corporate America, through the Political

Action Committee and the United States Treasury Department.

- Second, the goal was to transfer stable capital flows to Western US companies through debt repayment and debt servicing, at all costs, even in light of the 70% decline in African economic growth between 1980 and 2000. This meant in effect the transfer of assets especially through privatization schemes.

- Third, the SAPs aimed to socialize the debt through the removal of subsidies, so that the burden of repayment fell on the entire African population, especially women, children and the most vulnerable.

- Fourth, some of the overzealous neoconservatives now seem to have sought "borderless nation-states" and sought to create a pan-global elite of financiers and investors accountable to no one.

- Fifth, one of the goals of neoconservative activism seems to have been the integration of African economies into the global economy, to enable high rates of profit, in exchange for cheap wages and cheap resources, with minimal rates of remuneration and compensation.

- Sixth, SAPs can be seen to be directly related to US deficit financing.[210]

After the end of the Second World War, the USA initially presented itself as an anti-colonial power, encouraging decolonization in Africa, however, with the beginning of the Cold War, Washington changed its official rhetoric to anti-communism and curbing the power of the USSR. It is important to note that Africa enjoys the lowest priority in the implementation of US foreign policy around the world. "The American president is rarely directly involved in the creation of African policy, often delegated

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[210] Emeagwali Gloria. "The Neo-Liberal Agenda and the Imf/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs With Reference to Africa", *Critical Perspectives on Neoliberal Globalization, Development and Education in Africa and Asia*, ed. Dip Kapoor, 3-14, ROTTERDAM / BOSTON: SENSE PUBLISHERS, 2011, pp. 5-6.

to the level of the assistant secretary of state... American policy towards the African continent has largely continued the history of "malicious neglect" from the Cold War era. Development and democracy have often been undermined by the securitization of politics and support for autocratic regimes, while empty rhetoric and symbolism have often triumphed over meaningful engagement and substance."[211]

The Horn of Africa is an exceptional example of the geostrategic importance that this continent possesses. This area is extremely important due to its economic importance in connecting Europe and Asia and has always been unstable and subject to conflict. It is enough to mention Ethiopia and Somalia to see these are countries characterized by enormous internal instability. And while during colonialism France and Great Britain had the main role in this region, in the period that followed after that things started to change. It was because other actors started to get more actively involved in this region. China certainly represents a very important international player that has been very actively involved in the events on this peninsula. Today, China has established diplomatic relations with almost all African countries, which speaks volumes for the mutual interest in cooperation between African and Asian countries. The reasons for this involvement of China are multiple. Certainly, the position in connecting Europe and Asia is one of them, but not the only one. China's growth implies a constant search for resources and new markets, and Africa represents exactly one such extremely important area from this aspect. One example of cooperation is the export of industry for the sake of cheap labor and the development of the textile industry in Ethiopia. It should be noted that this practice is a rare example of successful cooperation that benefits all involved parties. Mostly, cooperation with Africa is reduced to taking its resources without trying to process them at the place of their exploitation and thereby help the industrialization of poor African countries. At the same time, China interferes to a great extent in political events in Africa. For example, Africa's exports to

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[211] Adekeye Adebajo" Africa and the United States: A History of Malign Neglect", *Africa and the World Bilateral and Multilateral International Diplomacy*, eds. Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa, 27-50, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 28.

Asia increased from 20.6% in 2000 to 35.8% in 2016, while European exports declined from 48% in 2000 to 37% in 2016.[212]

The headquarters of the African Union in Addis Ababa was built with Chinese funds as a gift from China to Africa. At the same time, China is starting to be more active and militarily present in these areas to protect its interests. "Although China has long denounced foreign military bases as neo-colonies and has no tradition of projecting its military power far from its homeland, its position changed significantly in the last decade. In 2008, China first participated in anti-piracy missions in the Gulf of Aden. Until 2013 China discussed the possibility of establishing a permanent Chinese military base in Djibouti (...) The logistics facility is China's first overseas military base and is expected to be used for several various operations, including suppressing pirates, gathering intelligence, conducting evacuation operations (China has already evacuated citizens twice – from Libya in 2011 and Yemen in 2015) and participating in peacekeeping missions (most Chinese peacekeepers are in nearby Sudan and South Sudan)."[213] The facility, which was officially opened in Djibouti, also aims to protect the regional sea trade routes through which Chinese exports travel.

The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation from 2013. It defines the official foreign policy position of Russia towards African countries in the fields of security and economy, whereby Africa is mentioned in five articles, among which article 94 should be singled out. It states the following: "Russia will promote multiple interactions with African countries on a bilateral and multilateral basis with a focus on improving political dialogue and promoting mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation and contribute to the resolution and prevention of regional conflicts and crises in Africa. Developing partnership with the African Union and other regional organizations is an important element of this policy

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[212] Chris Alden" Emerging Powers and Africa:: From Development to Geopolitics", *Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)* (1): 2-15. 2019, p. 3
[213] Anca-Elena Ursu and van den Berg Willem."China and the EU in the Horn of Africa:: competition and cooperation?", *Clingendael Institute* (1), 2018, p. 21.

(*Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, 2013*)."[214]
The real return of Russia's influence in Africa was marked by the
first visit of Vladimir Putin in 2006. It resulted in the Russian
Federation writing off 20 billion in debt to African countries that
arose during the Cold War. Although Russia's policy towards
African countries can be viewed through different dimensions, its
basis is defined by Lavrov in three pillars during his visits to Angola,
Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. Those three pillars
are: reviving or increasing military and security cooperation;
opening of African countries for Russian investments; and restarting
culturally and university exchanges.[215]

    The Bandush Conference, which was held in 1955, largely
laid the foundations for a better positioning of African countries in
international relations. And while a large number of theorists see it
as the beginning of the establishment of the Non-Aligned
Movement, what is certain is that it ensured that the voice of African
and Asian countries was better heard, especially in the United
Nations. "At that time, there was concern, especially from Western
powers, that the Bandung conference would inaugurate a new era of
Afro-Asian unity that would rival the United Nations. This is
because the founders of the UN were uncommitted to a world order
based on the universal spread of ideas of national self-determination,
but to a world in which European empires would ideally continue to
play a key role in securing international order."[216] The *new Asian-
African strategic partnership* that was established fifty years after
the *Bandush Conference* confirmed the main ideas of this conference
and opened the door to further expansion of cooperation between
African and Asian countries. The new holding of the conference in
Indonesia in 2015 continued this tradition. However, on that
occasion, the lack of an institutional framework for achieving this
cooperation was demonstrated. During a whole series of decades,

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[214] *Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation*, Approved by
President of the Russian Federation V. Putin on 12 February 2013, The Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2013, p. 12.
[215] Elizabeth Sidiropoulos and Chris Alden, "Russia in Africa — post-Soviet re-
engagement", *Summitry, Geopolitics and Resources* (1): 7-27, 2019, p. 8.
[216] Kenny Dlamini, "Building Asia-Africa Cooperation: Analysing the relevance
of the New Asia-Africa", *Institute for Global Dialogue* (1): 1-7, 2019, pp. 1-2.

cooperation between Asian and African countries has been reduced to a bilateral level with very little hope of building multilateral cooperation that would give this alliance even more strength.

Africa, as the second largest continent, is rich in numerous resources, from which everyone seems to benefit, except for its inhabitants themselves. The economic power of African countries can largely be represented through the two extremes that make up the Republic of South Africa, as the richest and most influential country with a rich foreign trade exchange, and Burundi, as one of the poorest countries. However, most African countries are closer to the latter extreme, being among countries that are underdeveloped and heavily dependent on foreign aid to survive. Botswana and South Africa are among the largest producers of diamonds and gold. This has largely led to institutional and infrastructural development in the Republic of South Africa that many other African countries do not possess.

In order for African countries to gain their independence, they must rediscover themselves and free themselves from internal and external challenges on the way to their equal inclusion in global flows. The world capitalist system is largely dependent on African raw materials for and this is a fact that they must insist on. "In the absence of African resources, the industries of the developed West and the newly industrialized nations of the East would compete more and in turn pay more for scarce raw materials. In a way, Africa has become the bride of international capitalism and the backbone of its industrial expansion and hegemony, yet the continent itself has not benefited much in terms of development from its abundance of natural resources."[217]

Unfortunately, numerous attempts to establish legitimate government in African countries have ended unsuccessfully, because the entire systems are based on corruption. The most extreme example is certainly Somalia, where there have been more than fifteen attempts to reconstruct the government. While the last attempt barely manages to make ends meet and maintain control over the capital and the rest of the territory. Here we should also

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[217] Mesut Yilmaz and Chigozie Enwere, "Postcolonial Africa's Development Trajectories", op.cit., 2018, p. 49.

mention South Sudan, which, as Africa's "newest" country, experienced ruin at the very beginning, with a fifth of the total twelve million inhabitants forcibly displaced, and the rest of the population drawn into yet another in a series of conflicts with huge human casualties.

For every positive example of prosperity, there are many others who, according to Pierre Engleber, suppress any progress: "Most of them have not contributed to or facilitated economic or human development for their population since independence." They often caused much havoc, misery, uncertainty and fear to their people. With some exceptions, African states were, mildly or acutely, enemies of Africans. Parasitic or predatory, they siphon resources from their societies. At the same time, weak and dysfunctional states are unable or unwilling to sustainably ensure the rule of law, security and basic property rights that, since Hobbes, have justified the very existence of states in the modern world."[218]

And while the export of precious metals, oil, wood and palm oil constitutes the basic export products, on the one hand, the basic products that are imported are used to compensate for the lack of food and medicines that many African countries are struggling with. Natural resources make up the bulk of Africa's exports, so the pursuit of export diversification remains critical to Africa's development. If African countries do not do something about the development of industrialization, their subjugated position will continue, which is largely dependent on the movements of the global market. This makes their economies more vulnerable to crises than others, which is largely misused for neo-colonial purposes.

The situation with China is intensifying little by little. The visit of Nancy Pelosi to Taiwan in 2022, the speaker of the US House of Representatives, in early August made relations in the region tenser than ever. While China sees Taiwan as part of its territory, the US does not officially recognize this country. But this does not prevent it from selling them its modern weapons, sending its prominent statesmen on visits that can be characterized as official. Shortly after Nancy Pelosi's visit, China launched extensive naval

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[218] Peter Pham, "Differing African Geopolitical Realities – A Measured US Strategy for the New Africa", op. cit., p. 10.

and air military exercises to make it clear that such behavior would not be tolerated in the region. And with that, the war machine started to move again.

Let's remember that Taiwan is located on an island on the southeast coast of China, with an area of about 36 thousand square kilometers, with about 23 million inhabitants. In the first half, Taiwan was under the patronage of Japan, and after the end of World War II, it became part of China. Until 1971, Taiwan was part of the Security Council, after which China became the only official legitimate representative. In international communication, member states of the United Nations refer to Taiwan as Taipei after the name of the capital. Maybe Taiwan possesses certain characteristics of statehood: territory, political system, currency (Taiwanese dollar), and even certain sovereignty according to the constitution – but this does not constitute sufficient attributes for this part of the territory to be considered a separate state. One of the main missing levers is the legitimacy of the international community. Although economically very developed, let's remember that Taiwan is recognized by only 15 countries that have no relations with China as a result, namely: Belize, Guatemala, Haiti, Vatican City, Honduras, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Paraguay, Saint Lucia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Swaziland and Tuvalu. The list of countries that have recognized this country shows how much political power Taiwan has and the influence it has in international relations. These are mostly small states without any significant international influence. However, political strength should not be equated with the geopolitical importance that Taiwan has for the rest of the world.

And while everyone is trying to mitigate the importance of the visit of the American representative to Taiwan, and in order to minimize the provocation, the indirect conflict between China and the USA in these areas continues. The biggest problem that afflicts the region is certainly the so-called Taiwan's (in)formal cooperation with the United States of America. Before all these events in August and Pelosi's visit, we should remember the fiery speeches that only pointed to the depth of the conflict between China and the US. In addition to the economic sphere, it has a huge tendency to turn into a more serious conflict where, with the involvement of other parties,

an armed conflict could also begin an indirect conflict between these two forces. The fact that the United States of America has pledged in some of its statements to help Taiwan in the event of an attack by China has directly caused a reaction from Chinese officials. In an interview broadcast by the BBC in July 2021, Xi Jinping stated at a gathering marking the centenary of the founding of the Communist Party that any country that attacks China will hit a great steel wall and that China remains committed to the policy of reunification with Taiwan because no one should underestimate the will of the Chinese people to defend their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. In a later interview with the BBC, Joseph Biden stated that the US would defend Taiwan if China attacked. There are, of course, other tensions that arise due to a lack of communication that can produce serious conflicts, such as the shooting down of a Chinese balloon in 2023.

China strongly condemned the downing of its balloon over the Atlantic, saying it was an overreaction and a violation of international law. This gives China the right to take further actions and reciprocal measures, while supporting the interests of the companies that had ownership of the balloon. As the New York Times reports statements from Chinese officials, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned Saturday's balloon shooting, expressing Beijing's "strong displeasure and protests against the use of force by the United States to attack an unmanned civilian airship." In the same statement, the position of the USA was criticized for an obvious overreaction and a serious violation of international law.

And if it was thought that the planned visit of the Secretary of State Anthony Blinken would relax US-China relations to a certain extent, the appearance of the balloon in US airspace, as well as its subsequent downing over the Atlantic near South Carolina, greatly complicated things. Namely, after learning that the balloon appeared in the airspace of the United States of America, Blinken canceled his visit to China.

The missile fired by the F-22 aircraft not only brought down the balloon, but also dashed hopes that any improvement in relations between China and the US would be possible in the distant future. If we look at the broader picture, it can be seen that China is additionally targeted because of its cooperation with Russia.

Sanctions on the import of high-tech components aimed at Russia have not proved successful, as Russia has successfully dealt with them by shifting to China and Hong Kong. According to the American think tank Silverado, these sanctions have completely failed, which is why it is concluded that additional resources must be directed to monitoring so that Russia does not acquire resources in another way. One of the solutions is the formation of an interagency working group of the Department of Commerce, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Homeland Security, which should also include the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Since Russia and China are presented as assertive countries in all official documents, it is not surprising that the aggressive foreign policy of the USA wants to be increasingly harsh towards China. Bloc divisions into East and West in view of the events in Ukraine have revived again.

The very problem of the balloon entering the airspace of the United States of America could have been solved differently. The diplomatic way would certainly be much more effective. And while the Chinese side claimed it was a stray weather balloon, the American side viewed it as a hostile act. From the Chinese side, there were requests to resolve the situation in a calm, professional and restrained manner, while the United States wanted to demonstrate force.

As soon as the balloon appeared in the airspace of the USA, the reaction of Joseph Biden followed, who ordered the shooting down of the "suspected spy balloon," which was followed by a whole media campaign in the American media to justify this action. Biden gave a statement to reporters in Hagerstown, Maryland, in which he stated that the balloon must be shot down as soon as the situation allows, and on that occasion he praised the pilots: "They successfully took it down, and I want to commend our pilots who did it, and we will have more on that to report a little later." Numerous analysts explained why the so-called spy was not a weather balloon, without any concrete evidence to support those claims.

In a statement hours later, China's foreign ministry said: "The Chinese side has repeatedly informed the US side after

verification that the balloon is for civilian use and entered the US due to force majeure – it was a complete accident."

It took seven days from the time the balloon first entered US airspace before an F-22 jet crashed it into the Atlantic Ocean. Something like this raises many questions. America's week-long balloon journey, from the remote Aleutian Islands to the Carolina coast, proved a number of things. Above all, it is an indicator of broken diplomacy, furious reprisals by Biden's political rivals, and hints at a new era of escalation between the world's two largest economies. At the same time, questions are being asked about why it was not shot down earlier, as soon as the balloon entered the airspace. If it really is a spy balloon, it could have collected a huge amount of information during that time, so the shooting itself came too late. Biden officials said the balloon was first detected over Alaska on January 28. However, this balloon saga ends. One thing is certain: the world has become a global place for the demonstration of force in every possible way. Diplomacy has largely lost its importance. The doctrine of either you are with us or against us is slowly prevailing in the foreign policy of the great powers, with the old divisions during the Cold War slowly beginning to gain importance again.

While it is true that there are no official diplomatic ties between the US and Taiwan, if we ignore visits such as Nancy Pelosi's visit, under the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States sells arms to Taiwan. It should be emphasized that this 1979 Act does not impose any direct obligation on the United States of America to defend Taiwan, but only to provide resources to defend itself. Therefore, Biden's statements, and later Pelosi's during the visit to Taiwan, have no legal basis in domestic or international law. That Act clearly states: "It is declared the policy of the United States of America to preserve and promote extensive, close and friendly commercial, cultural and other relations between the people of the United States of America and the people of Taiwan, as well as the people of the Chinese mainland and all other people from the western Pacific area." It is declared that peace and stability in this area are in the political, security and economic interests of the United States of America and are of international importance. It states that the decision of the United States of America to establish

diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests on the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means. Also, any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including boycott or embargo, will be considered a threat to peace and security in the Western Pacific area and of great concern to the United States of America. It states that the United States will provide Taiwan with defensive weapons and will maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any use of force or other forms of coercion that would threaten the security, or the social or economic system, of the Taiwanese people." Weng Wenbin, spokesman for the Chinese of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed strong displeasure shortly after Biden's announcement that he would directly intervene in Taiwan, reiterating President Xi Jinping's official position that China will resolutely defend its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Later, a White House spokesman tried to tone down Biden's statement by saying that it did not mean a change in American foreign policy at the same time. Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin repeated the same at a briefing in the Pentagon, indicating that the one-China policy has not changed. Such unmeasured statements, made in order to win domestic public opinion and with the aim of concealing numerous internal problems, can cause enormous consequences. Therefore, American officials must be more careful and measured in their addresses to the public.

The alliance between the United States of America and Turkey that was established during the Cold War has faced many challenges in the decades that have followed this major global conflict. It is particularly interesting to observe this alliance from the perspective of the United States of America, a neo-imperial hegemony whose strength is in decline, and Turkey, whose strengthening and expansion of influence are seen as the birth of neo-Ottomanism. While this alliance was relatively reliable during the Cold War, this situation later changed significantly. From a relationship in which both parties knew what to expect from each other, it turned into a relationship in which hidden animosity began to grow.

The history of relations between the United States of America and Turkey is full of ups and downs and challenges. And

while 1867 and 1901 are often considered to be the beginning of the establishment of relations, some more intensive diplomatic activities can only be spoken of after the end of the Second World War. Between World War I and World War II, things in international relations took a completely different direction. Tensions between the Soviet Union and Turkey began to decrease, which began serious steps to establish good relations between these two countries, which were soon shaken again. The end of World War II and increasing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, however, led to the beginning of the Cold War, which challenged many alliances. Although the US looked at Turkey as a possible ally before, it was only the Cold War that made it possible to create the conditions for this alliance to be formed. Former Ambassador Wilson, who had pointed to this alliance before, particularly reinforced this perception in the wake of the Soviet threat on March 23, 1946, announcing that "the independence of Turkey [has] become a vital interest of the United States."[219]

Analyzing the development of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United States of America in 2012, the *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (hereinafter CSIS) and the *Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey* (hereinafter SAM) look at this relationship through two periods. The first period refers to the review of mutual relations during the duration of the Cold War. The second part is dedicated to the period from its end until 2012. On that occasion, the connection between the deterioration of relations between the Soviet Union and the USA, which directly influenced the strengthening of the American alliance with Turkey, is particularly highlighted: „For its part, the United States of America slowly came to the conclusion that its former ally against Nazi Germany had become its main challenger in the new global order. Consequently, as the US-Soviet confrontation escalated, Washington and Ankara gradually began to recognize the need for strategic cooperation. This process culminated in the establishment of the institutions that would form

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[219] Aliriza Bulent and Aras Bulent, *U.S.-Turkish Relations: A Review at the Beginning of the Third Decade of the Post-Cold War Era*, Center for Strategic and International Studies and The Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, 2012, p. 1.

the basis of the relationship for four decades: a close bilateral alliance in the multilateral context of the main Western collective defense organization, NATO. While progress toward a mutually beneficial alliance might seem entirely logical, if not inevitable, for both sides, it was not actually predetermined. US views on Turkey's national security and its role in the defense of the Western world evolved as the confrontation with the Soviet Union escalated."[220]

It should be noted that the foreign policy of the United States of America has never fully had a clearly defined role that Turkey should have in international relations, except as an extremely important factor in the competition with the Soviet Union. The complexity of mutual relations throughout history can also be seen on the basis of the fact that the United States of America never planned for Turkey to become a member of NATO in the first place. Tensions with the Soviet Union led to a significant change in the American official paradigm. This dramatic change is particularly shown by two totally different memoranda of the American General Staff created in a relatively short period, i.e. from September 1950 and April 1951: "The first claimed that the inclusion of Turkey and Greece in NATO could negatively affect the progress made in strengthening collective defense organizations." Conversely, another memorandum announced that US security interests required Turkey and Greece to be admitted as full members of NATO. From a military point of view, the General Staff of the United Nations would not consider bilateral security arrangements between the United States and Turkey, nor Greece, to be an adequate solution. Strong arguments in favor of Turkey's inclusion in NATO and its importance in defending the West against Soviet domination of Europe, the Middle East and Asia led the United States to convince its hitherto reluctant NATO allies to accept Turkey's admission in 1952.[221] Thus, in a relatively short period of time, Turkey went from an unwanted partner to an important ally within NATO. This largely shows the lack of discipline and inconsistency of American foreign policy, which is ready to do anything for the sake of achieving its

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[220] Ibid. p. 1.
[221] Ibid, p. 2.

own interests. It primarily concerns the strengthening of American neo-imperialism.

Regardless, the alliance between the US and Turkey within NATO was anything but mutual. This is supported by numerous decisions in which the United States of America did not consult with Turkey, although Turkey was directly involved in them and they concerned Turkish national interests. The Cuban Missile Crisis provided a graphic example of this tendency: "The United States deployed Jupiter nuclear-tipped missiles in Turkey in 1959–1960 to strengthen NATO's defense against the Soviet Union. The decision was also seen as a strong indication of US support and commitment to Turkey. However, the revelation during the crisis that the Soviets had installed nuclear weapons in Cuba dramatically changed US security calculations. As part of the secret deal that ended the crisis, President John F. Kennedy quietly agreed to withdraw the Jupiter from Turkey after the Soviets withdrew their missiles from Cuba. Washington decided to remove the missiles from Turkey without consulting Ankara. The absence of the need for Turkish input in a decision that significantly affected Ankara clearly demonstrated the inequality in the relationship."[222] Although the decision to deploy and later remove nuclear missiles had a direct impact on Turkey's security, the United States made this decision independently.

Regardless of all these challenges, CSIS and SAM logically conclude that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War did not mark the end of this artificial alliance created as a result of current geopolitical relations. It is interesting to note that relations between the US and Turkey after the Cold War were in a much better state than other alliances made during that period. Both parties found it beneficial to continue and improve this alliance. "Washington and Ankara sought and found a new set of reasons for an alliance that they both wanted to maintain. All in all, it is actually an ad hoc adjustment, the implications of which have not been fully considered by either Washington or Ankara."[223]

The first serious test for relations between the US and Turkey occurred during the presidency of George W. Bush. The global

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[222] Ibid, p. 3
[223] Ibid, p. 5.

paradigm "with us or against us" that followed the attacks of September 11, 2001, within the framework of the fight against terrorism, has once again sharpened the division between friends and enemies that was also current during the Cold War. "Turkey's Grand National Assembly did not approve Bush's request in March 2003 that US troops operate from Turkish bases and ports, preparing to attack Iraq."[224] After this short but serious cooling-off between these two countries, relations improved. It was certainly contributed to by the joint military interventions in Afghanistan. This fluctuating relationship between these two countries has shown that the line between friendship and enmity is very slippery and depends on current national interests, not on sincere friendship between the two peoples. The alliance between the US and Turkey has always been based on mutual benefit for achieving a dominant position in this region.

Barack Obama had an idea to improve relations between Turkey and the USA to a higher level. "By deciding to visit Turkey in April 2009, just three months after moving into the White House, Obama signaled in an extremely symbolic way the priority he will assign to American-Turkish relations in his foreign policy (...) Compared to the long-standing "strategic partnership" between the two countries, the model partnership concept sought to advance the United States-Turkey relationship further, emphasizing closer cooperation between a global power and an assertive regional power."[225]

This attempt by Obama still implied the inviolability of American unipolarity to which all allies must bow, and therefore it was still an unfavorable alliance for Turkey. Discussing the essence of mutual relations within the unipolar world order, Stephen Walt says they imply the reliability and credibility of alliances, largely undermined because the fulfillment of alliance obligations implies unquestioning respect for unipolarity (Walt, 2009, 86). Such a concept implies a constant confrontation of relations, which for weaker allies means constant compliance with obligations with the simultaneous fear that they can be left to their own devices if it suits

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[224] Ibid, p. 7.
[225] Ibid, p. 7.

the leading world power. Such a situation simultaneously leads to a situation where weaker allies find themselves dragged into unwanted conflicts, putting them in an unenviable situation. Bursa Sari Karademir sees US-Turkish relations in the context of the Syrian conflict as a true example of Walt's theory. To this end, Karademir underlines the changing nature of alliances under the umbrella of unipolarity for regional actors. He claims the US, as a declining power, pushed the Obama administration to follow the so-called downsizing strategy to reallocate its resources from peripheral to core US security interests and obligations. At the same time, he emphasizes that Obama's reduction strategy defined the contours of the American strategy towards the Middle East and Syria, while for the Trump Administration he claims it continued to follow the reduction strategy even further to "put America first." Particularly interesting is Karademir's statement that the regional power vacuum created by the absence of the Turkish-American alliance enabled the involvement of other actors like Russia and Iran with their competing interests in the conflict. Karademir concludes, "that the obligations of the unipolar strategic alliance are no longer reliable for regional allies to take on risky roles in regional restructuring because they face the risk of leaving the alliance."[226]

It is especially important to mention the changing relations between Turkey and Russia, which have always worried the United States of America. "The cooperation that shaped Turkish-Russian relations throughout the 2000s suffered a significant setback on November 24, 2015, when Turkey shot down a Russian warplane on the Syrian border – becoming the first NATO member state to do so since the Korean War. For eight months, from November 2015 to July 2016, the two countries experienced extremely strained political and economic relations – one of their worst crises in bilateral relations since the 1950s. However, just a year later, a rapid and unexpected normalization took place, gaining momentum after the failed coup attempt in Turkey on July 15, 2016. Russia and Turkey have once again declared themselves to be key partners in

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[226] Karademir Burcu Sarı. "Dance of Entanglement: The US-Turkish Relations in the Context of the Syrian Conflict". Uluslararasi Iliskiler 62 (16): 27-43. doi: 10.33458/uidergisi.588897, 2019, p. 28.

both foreign policy and economic relations."[227] Since then, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan have significantly de-escalated their relationship after several rounds of negotiations, finding common ground on the issue of events in Syria and including a large number of actors in the negotiations, including Iran. As a result of its alliance with the United States, Turkey found itself too entangled in regional conflicts in Syria, where it no longer received full support as an equal strategic partner of the United States and a member of NATO. "Turkey's foreign policy goals based on regime change and the establishment of a new regional order led to its self-denial in the Syrian quagmire. The more Turkey became involved in the Syrian conflict with the expectation that the US would intervene, the more it became preoccupied with problems like the flow of refugees and the creation of a Kurdish canton with the support of the US and Russia. As Ozcan says, the Syrian conflict has become "what Turkey makes of it" and it is ironic that Turkey ended up siding with Russia and Iran. The mutual abandonment of former strategic partners strengthened Russia's regional and global role."[228]

At the same time, the United States of America is moving away from NATO, largely encouraged by the foreign policy of the Donald Trump Administration. Let's recall that in his election campaign, Trump largely questioned the role of NATO in meeting modern defense needs, which he continued to do during his term of office. For Turkey, NATO was a significant factor in establishing good relations with the West. Such a situation, however, has changed drastically in the context of not only foreign political events, but also internal problems that Erdogan has encountered. "The failed coup has already institutionally distanced Turkey from the alliance (due to Turkish suspicions of prior knowledge of the coup based on the fact that Turkish NATO officers were among the supporters of the coup), and the ambivalence of the Trump Administration especially

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[227] Evren Balta, "From Geopolitical Competition to Strategic Partnership: Turkey and Russia after the Cold War". Uluslararası İlişkiler 63 (16): 69-86. doi: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26771801, 2019, p. 70.
[228] Burcu Sarı Karademir. "Dance of Entanglement: The US-Turkish Relations in the Context of the Syrian Conflict", op. cit., p. 42.

contributes to this."[229] Erdogan's harsh confrontation with his opponents after the failed coup led to the re-creation of a gap in the relationship between the US and Turkey. This gap particularly concerns the violation of basic democratic rights and freedoms of citizens that followed the coup attempt. In this sense, such moves by Erdogan met with huge condemnation from all American officials. "Erdogan has been heavily censored by the US and the EU for his heavy-handed response to the coup and his subsequent attempt to increase control over Turkey by purging government agencies, including the armed forces, the media and other groups and institutions. Turkey's allies saw this as a move away from democracy, with the US seeing it as a possible reason to reconsider Turkey's NATO membership, and the EU treating it as a major obstacle to EU membership."[230] There is a heated debate in the United States about whether Turkey should continue representing an equal ally within NATO. In this sense, Stephen Cook claimed the basic assumption that should guide Washington in its approach to Ankara is that, "although Turkey formally remains an NATO ally, it is not a partner of the United States of America." Two states bound together by the Cold War, "with few common interests three decades after the end of that conflict, has resulted in a bilateral relationship marked by ambivalence and mistrust."[231]

Turkey has long ceased to be perceived as a periphery of the West. "She leads an economic and security policy in several directions: she does not forget the USA or Europe, but she also turned to the Arab world. Relations with Russia are at the highest level, and Turkish businessmen have spread throughout Africa, moreover, they have also reached Latin America."[232] In this regard,

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[229] Asli Aydıntaşbaş and Kemal Kirişci, "The United States and Turkey: Friends, Enemies, or Only Interests?", *Turkey Project Policy Paper* (12): 1-27., 2017, p. 21.
[230] Siemon Wezeman and Alexandra Kuimova, *TURKEY AND BLACK SEA SECURITY*. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2018, p. 6.
[231] Soli Özel, "At the End of the Day, Where Will Turkey Stand?", *Istituto Affari Internazionali* (4): 1-17. doi: http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep19657, 2019., p. 6.
[232] Dževad Galijašević, "Neoosmanizam: Turska između juče i sutra". *Politeia* (2): 123-138, 2011, p. 135.

the issue of finding a common language with Turkey has become the leading priority of its foreign policy for the United States of America, even at the cost of making certain compromises regarding some of the disputed moments in this very problematic bilateral relationship. The current ignoring of Turkish expansion by the West has three different dimensions: "First, the EU cannot put pressure on Turkey, even if it wanted to, due to several factors. On one side is Germany, Turkey's old partner in the EU, which will veto any attempt by EU countries to sanction this country (...) At the same time, the EU is still guided by the refugee agreement from 2016, by which Turkey agreed to prevent migrants from entering to Greece in exchange for financial assistance and concessions on visa-free travel for Turkish citizens to the EU. Second, the West never thoroughly pressured Turkey, as it was too important an ally to be marginalized. Not even three military coups from 1960 to 1980 changed the status of Turkey. Whatever regime ruled Turkey, it never seemed to bother the West, as long as the geostrategic alliances were intact. Third, the strategic partnership with the US has become much more personal ahead of Donald Trump's presidency. On top of the geopolitical dependencies mentioned above, Trump's presidency has brought to Ankara the factor of his own private business relations (Jasim 2021, 3)."[233] The American willingness to ignore basic democratic principles where necessary for the sake of achieving their interests was also demonstrated by numerous statements by Donald Trump. For example, when asked about the repression after the coup in Turkey in an interview with the New York Times, Trump said, "as far as civil liberties are concerned, our country has many problems, and I think it's very difficult for us to interfere in other countries when we don't know what we work in our country. ... I don't know if we have the right to lecture on that matter."[234] This position was largely welcomed in Ankara as a sign of the possibility of further strengthening of relations without American interference in Turkish internal affairs.

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[233] Jasim Dastan. "Biden's Challenge: Kurdish Autonomy and Turkish Expansionism". German Institute for Global and Area Studies (1): 1-12. doi: https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep28521, 2021, p. 3.

[234] Aydintaşbaş Asli and Kirişci Kemal. "The United States and Turkey: Friends, Enemies, or Only Interests?". Turkey Project Policy Paper (12): 1-27., 2017, p. 7.

Given the extremely sensitive issues in US-Turkey relations, the Brookings Institution's *Center for the United States and Europe* launched the Turkey Project in 2004 to encourage informed public deliberation, high-level private debate, and policy recommendations focused on developments in Turkey. In this context, Brookings collaborated with the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD) to establish the US-Turkey Forum at Brookings. Considering the geopolitical, historical and cultural importance of Turkey and the high stakes represented by foreign policy and internal affairs, it is not surprising that an institute like Brookings in the USA has focused on following events in this region with great attention. One of the reports details the challenges from the perspective of the US when it comes to cooperation with Turkey, which cooled down especially during the Obama administration regarding the already mentioned relationship with the Syrian Kurds. The areas of disagreement are by now well known: "Turkey's discomfort with Obama's failure to enforce his "red line" with the Assad regime; the more recent growing US alliance with the Syrian Kurds; American frustration with what the White House once described as growing authoritarianism in Turkey; Ankara's request for the extradition of US-based cleric Fethullah Gulen, whom Ankara has labeled as the mastermind of the failed coup attempt in July 2016; and suspicions of prior US knowledge of the coup."[235] The intensity of the conflict grew on both sides, with the key narrative of Turkey as a significant ally and member of NATO being called into question.

A 2020 study published by the United States *Army War College* warns that the US-Turkey strategic partnership established at the end of World War II peaked in the late 1980s and is currently at a dangerous crossroads. In addition to highlighting the aforementioned problematic alliance between the Syrian Kurds and the US, the acquisition of the S-400 air defense system and the issue of Gulen's extradition, this study emphasizes that despite all these challenges. NATO and the United States have no alternative for Turkey.

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[235] Ibid, p. 2.

At the same time, in a way, it is a mitigating circumstance for the USA that despite the achievement of unexpected exceptional Russian-Turkish cooperation, this relationship cannot be said to be sustainable in the long run either. The acquisition of the S-400 system further complicated the situation by exposing Turkey to the threat of double sanctions. "Ironically, to avoid US sanctions, Erdogan must keep the S-400 system open – which would expose Turkey to possible Russian sanctions. Russian economic sanctions cost Turkey billions of dollars within just a few months in early 2016, following Turkey's downing of a Russian SU-24 fighter jet in Syrian airspace in November 2015. To minimize the diplomatic damage, Erdogan launched a public diplomacy campaign to make himself as good as possible for the whole world. Turkey has sent medical kits to 57 countries to show solidarity in the fight against the corona virus, including two shipments of supplies to the US."[236] A report prepared for the US Congress in November 2020 concludes the following; "Traditionally, Turkey has relied closely on the United States and NATO for defense cooperation, European countries for trade and investment, and Russia and Iran for energy imports. A series of complicated situations in Turkey's environment – particularly those involving Syria, Libya, Nagorno-Karabakh (a region disputed by Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Eastern Mediterranean energy exploration – affect its relations with the United States and other key actors. Also, the fact that Turkey is looking for a more independent role. President Erdogan's concern about maintaining a parliamentary coalition with Turkish nationalists may partly explain his actions in some of the situations mentioned above. Turkish-Russian cooperation has increased in some areas. However, Turkey's efforts to counter Russia in several conflicts at relatively low cost — using domestically produced drones (reportedly with some American components) and Syrian mercenaries — suggest that Turkish-Russian cooperation is more situational than comprehensive."[237]

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[236] Burak Bekdil, "Turkey: Post-Coronavirus Challenges Are Likely to Hurt". *The COVID-19 Crisis*, ed. Efraim Karsh, 250-253, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2020, p. 252.

[237] Zanotti Jim and Thomas Clayton. *Turkey: Background and U.S. Relations In Brief*, USA: Congressional Research Service, 2020, p. 2.

To understand the relationship between the United States of America and Turkey, it is extremely important to view this relationship as a relationship between a neo-imperial hegemon whose strength is in decline (the USA) and one of the legates of imperialism whose strengthening and expansion of influence is viewed with fear of the birth of neo-Ottomanism (Turkey). In this context, Turkey is becoming a significant factor in transatlantic security in the future. "It is wrong to blame Turkey for not being a faithful ally, as many American experts and authors often do at a time when the American president (Trump) is discussing with his aides about leaving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It is also wrong to blame Ankara alone for the deterioration of relations between Turkey and its allies on both sides of the Atlantic. American foreign policy and a strong unilateral streak in making and implementing decisions have strained Washington's relations with all allies before – especially during the ill-advised and ill-fated Iraq war."[238]

Bearing in mind the change in the position of the president of the United States of America, the question arises as to what the new administration of Joseph Biden can and wants to do at the beginning of 2021 regarding the turbulent relations with Turkey compared to the previous administrations. From the moment Ankara refused to allow US troops to cross the Turkish-Iraqi border in 2003, to the sharp bilateral disagreements over Syria policy under Obama. With the latest acquisition of a Russian air defense system, these are just some of the segments of a complex history. American-Turkish bilateral relations, which are on a downward trajectory, which continued during the time of Donald Trump.

Based on the election campaign of Joseph Biden, it was impossible to conclude in advance what the foreign policy of his administration will be towards certain specific regions. This is also the reason why it was difficult to predict his moves when it comes to relations between the USA and Turkey. However, despite these doubts, two key factors will largely determine this alliance. In the first place, there is the open intolerance of Biden and Erdogan, and in the second place, there are definitely stronger ties between Russia

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[238] Soli Özel, "At the End of the Day, Where Will Turkey Stand?", op. cit. 3.

and Turkey. In an interview with the New York Times in December 2019, Biden openly called Turkish President Recep Erdogan an autocrat and what is unusual, he threatened to work on his removal, quickly adding he did not mean a military coup, but support for the political opposition (...) adding that Erdogan must pay the price (Makovsky, 2020, 1)." In Turkey, the public was only introduced to this interview in mid-August ahead of the Democratic Party's nominating convention, and it caused a huge uproar that directly challenged the position of Recep Erdogan. "Presidential spokesman Ibrahim Kalin accused Biden of pure ignorance, arrogance and hypocrisy, adding: The days of ordering Turkey are over. But if you still think you can try, feel free to do so, but you will pay a price."[239]

One of the biggest challenges that the Biden administration will face is that the United States of America and the European Union have allowed Turkey to expand into Kurdish areas outside its borders without any consequences. is in his power to improve relations with Turkey for the sake of American interests and return them to the level they had during the Cold War.

Latin America continues being the subject of provocations and a source of possible conflict hotspots. The history of the Falkland Islands shows numerous conflicts. This archipelago of 200 islands has been the frequent cause of numerous interstate disputes. As history progressed, so did the structure of the population. Thus, throughout history, people from Argentina, Spain, France and Great Britain lived in this area. The first major war that almost took place was the war between Great Britain and Spain at the end of the 18th century, during the period when Argentina was under the Spanish crown. However, the conflict did not occur, but the situation only got more complicated. The very name of the Falkland Islands is hotly contested within Argentina, instead they are called the Malvinas Islands.

Let's remember the Falklands War took place in 1982. It lasted from April to June and on that occasion almost a thousand people died, and Argentina suffered a severe defeat. The conflict began on April 2, when Argentina invaded and occupied the

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[239] Makovsky Alan, "Problematic Prospects for US-Turkish Ties in the Biden Era". *Stiftung Wisseshaft und Politik* (60): 1-8, 2020, p. 1.

Falkland Islands. On April 5, the British government sent a naval task force to engage the Argentine navy and air force before launching an amphibious assault on the islands. The conflict lasted 74 days and ended with the Argentine surrender on June 14. The truce that followed this conflict did not lead to a solution to the problem, on the contrary, relations between the British and Argentines remained very strained. When residents in this part of the world voted on their status in 2013, they decided they still wanted to remain part of Great Britain. On that occasion, it seemed that the situation would somehow stabilize, however, the discovery of oil and gas deposits brought up the old conflicts anew.

Argentinians say they have a right to the islands, which they call the Malvinas, because they inherited them from the Spanish crown in the early 1800s. They also base their claims on the proximity of these islands to the South American mainland, which therefore makes them a natural part of their territory.

On the other hand, the British rely on their long-term administration of the Falkland Islands and the principle of self-determination for the islanders, who are almost all of British descent. The almost treeless territory consists of two main islands, East Falkland and West Falkland, as well as hundreds of smaller islands and islets.

In the middle of last year, Argentine President Alberto Fernandez said in an interview with the BBC: "In the 21st century, the English must be ashamed of having a colony" (...) "It's disgusting to think that, disgusting. It is stolen land. These are usurped countries and oppressed people." (...) "I don't see the decline of Great Britain's colonial power – isn't the Rock of Gibraltar ashamed?" (...) "It's on the Spanish coast and a few meters away is a huge rock and you think it's England? It's embarrassing to say that. I don't think Great Britain has lost her colonial desire and you should feel just as embarrassed to say that some islands 15,000 miles from English soil belong to England."[240]

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[240] Četrdeset godina od Folklandskog rata: „Velika Britanija i dalje uzurpira našu teritoriju", BBC, 5 april 2022, available at: https://www.bbc.com/serbian/cyr/svet-60956101

The dispute between Argentina and Great Britain was again actualized at the beginning of March, which resulted in the withdrawal of Argentina from the Foradori-Duncan Pact. This was immediately followed by a statement from Great Britain officials about how the Falkland Islands are British. After the G-20 meeting at the beginning of March, the foreign minister of Argentina announced that the issue of sovereignty of the Falkland Islands must be reconsidered within the United Nations.

The Foradori-Duncan Pact as a joint agreement from 2016 that regulates gas and oil exploration, as well as shipping and fishing has today become unsustainable from the point of view of the Argentine authorities. Bearing in mind the enormous potential when it comes to natural resources and the importance they are gaining today when the whole world is asking how to get to them, the position of the Argentines who believe this agreement should be reconsidered because it favors the British too much is understandable. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Santiago Cafiero, formulated a proposal to restart negotiations on the Falkland issue. The decision effectively ends the Foradori-Duncan Pact of 2016, a non-binding declaration to agree to a disagreement over island sovereignty in favor of improved trade and security relations.

For Argentinians, there is no question at all about whose Falkland Islands they belong to. For them, they have a huge national value and will not give them up at any cost. It is officially a British overseas territory, but the Argentines claim that the islands should be theirs. When traveling through Argentina, there are constant reminders of state policy regarding this territory. This refers in particular to signs that highlight "Las Malvinas son Argentinas", using the Spanish name for the Falkland Islands and confirming Argentine ownership.

The murals also show the shape of the islands, often painted in the sky blue of the Argentine flag and with the words "We'll be back" next to them. It is a reference to Argentina's history that they once had their own settlements on these islands. In many cities in Argentina, there are even road signs indicating the distance to the Falkland Islands. And while relations in the world are increasingly strained and all eyes are on the relations between the great powers, and especially on the events in Ukraine, it is forgotten that all over

the world there are hotspots that can mark a new conflict at any moment. It can very easily turn into a war, with far more dire consequences than it seems at first glance. The biggest problem that arises regarding the status of the Falkland Islands is that, to all possible latest insistences that this status be re-examined by diplomatic means within the United Nations, Great Britain does not care at all and shows no desire to sit at the diplomatic table. For Great Britain, the issue of the status of the Falkland Islands has been resolved.

The scenarios for events in this region are numerous, it is unlikely that China will launch a violent offensive to annex Taiwan, rather other means will be used, like public diplomacy and economics. At the same time, it should be emphasized that an armed conflict in these areas does not suit anyone, especially not China. At the same time, American provocations can only further complicate the situation and push the region into deeper tensions. If the American policy of war against all and the artificial creation of bloc divisions continues, a terrible scenario may follow. Thus, Taiwan becomes just another place that, like a litmus test, shows global geopolitical tensions.

The mutual cooperation of the Slavic countries in modern society is particularly important, bearing in mind the complex situation within the New World Order. In this regard, Valery Rastorguyev points out that Russophobia and Slavophobia are twins united by a well-founded fear. "The Slavic world, if it does not preserve its liberating spirit and connect various foreign influences into a harmonious whole, will only be ethnic material for a foreign – Western civilization (...) If the Slavic peoples, in the cultural and political sense, are closely connected with Russia and its vast expanses and resources, the overall potential of such a unity will immediately and forever change all dispositions on the political map of the world. Therefore, the cause of fear in this case is not so much a negative attitude towards individual peoples, but rather a fear of the ineffable power of Slavic unity."[241] Zoran Milošević emphasizes

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[241] Valerij Rastorgujev, "Rusofobija i slavenofobija su blizanci: njih spaja u potpunosti osnovan strah", Pečat, 4. oktobar 2013. godina, dostupno na

this kind of pressure from the West on the Slavic peoples "is growing day by day, so they have multiplied social organizations that see salvation in the cooperation of Slavs, to preserve their identity and pass it on to posterity."[242]

Strengthening the cooperation of the Slavic peoples will enable them to free themselves from the neoliberal pressures of the West. Thus lead to their greater economic and political independence. Of course, this does not mean they must be exclusively focused on each other, but on the contrary, that they build their place in the process of international integration through joint efforts.

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http://www.pecat.co.rs/2013/10/valerij-rastorgujev-politikolog-rusofobija-islavenofobija-su-blizanci-njih-spaja-u-potpunosti-osnovan-strah/
[242] Zoran Milošević, "Slovenski etnocid", Pečat, 28. jul 2013. godine, dostupno na: http://www.pecat.co.rs/2013/07/slovenski-etnocid/

CHALLENGES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

The Republic of Serbia is often associated with the concept of the so-called "young democracies", while forgetting democracy in these areas has its foundation in the distant past, developed as much as the more developed European countries. If we ignore the distant past, the history of Serbian statehood should be looked for in the 19th century.

Democracy is undoubtedly something to strive for. However, democracy is the result of many favorable circumstances that must be achieved to enable its existence. Milan Matić and Milan Podunavac state the following necessary conditions in their analysis:[243]

- Pluralism of property and property relations with appropriate public and legal guarantees is a necessary condition not only for a competitive economy and economic development, but also for democracy.
- *The creation of an autonomous civil society is also a significant and unavoidable factor of democracy in the political sphere. Societies that suppress the individual autonomy and sovereignty of citizens are societies in which there is no democracy. In such societies, the famous three-phase unfolding of democratic processes, conflict — consensus — democracy, is impossible.*
- This leads to the fact that "democratic politics can only be organized in a society in which the basic collective identities and values are assumed and tolerated as a social reality. The main basis of the political process is taken by social interests created only after these social realities emerged through natural-historical development." If we base politics and political processes on undeniable collective identities and

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[243] Milan Matić, Milan Podunavac, *Politički sistem,* Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 1995, str. 285–289.

values, then we prevent the realization of democracy by creating impassable barriers. "Therefore, countries with a predominance of religion, nationalism, class sectarianism and other collective and traditional exclusivities are, as a rule, countries of political fundamentalism, i.e. environments with limited capabilities for pluralism and democratic negotiation, limited social tolerance."

- As the fourth condition of democracy, the existence of the rule of law and the rule of law is imposed as a guarantor of the equal position and participation of all political subjects in the democratic process, which should prevent political voluntarism and monopolism, as well as guarantee equal opportunities for all and "respect for the democratic rules of the game.

- The democratization of information is also an important factor that should be ensured, especially considering the media is one of the most influential political forces.
  Radovan Radonjić should definitely be mentioned here, who in his study Democracy says the most important and necessary factors for the development of democracy are the following:[244]

- *Creation of civil society* – political processes that take place under the comprehensive control of one of the bearers of comprehensive power, or are based on undeniable collective identities and values, are not conducive to the development of democracy. Political processes within civil society, as an authentic form of association and organization of independent citizens and their free action towards the public authority, and in general enable people to prefer their realistic life goals and thus assume their own vision of social interest to various organicists and holistic projections of the common good.

- *Legal regulation and institutional protection of human rights and freedoms* – without legal regulation and institutional

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[244] Radovan Radonjić, *Demokratija,* Centar za građansko obrazovanje, Podgorica, 2004*,* str. 25–29.

protection, the conditions for the development of democracy cannot be ensured.

- *Cultural-spiritual and ethical characteristics of citizens* – the quality of life in a democracy is evaluated according to the freedom of the individual, not according to the freedom of groups and organizations. Democracy presupposes an environment in which an individual will be able to express himself as an individual. It is necessary that a person as a democratic being possesses certain civic virtues (self-discipline, tolerance, willingness to dialogue with respect for other and different views...).

- *Optimism, courage and faith in oneself and others* – without this, a society overwhelmed by hopelessness and fear, gripped by panic, can seek salvation in tyranny.

- *Adequate level of economic development* – this does not mean that societies with a high level of economic development automatically also have a democratic system. This means that only at a certain level of economic development can one have the necessary level of education and political culture necessary for the development of democracy.

- *Internationalization of politics and the international environment* – in today's conditions, no social process can remain completely outside the influence of processes occurring at the global level. At the international level, certain requirements must be met in order for society to be considered democratic (and to be able to be part of those supranational creations): the rule of law; protection of private property and competition of everyone and everything; the election of representative bodies and the public in the work of state bodies; political, religious and other freedoms; the right to differ and disagree; mutual trust, solidarity, respect, material and social security.

Bearing in mind these contemporary determinants, the importance of the 1835 Sretenje Constitution should be seen from the aspect of the democratization of our country. Namely, the 19th century is of exceptional importance from the aspect of the establishment of the modern Serbian state, conceived by the First

Serbian Uprising in 1804. Keeping in mind the topic of today's gathering, we will ignore everything that happened before and start with this particular timeline.

The significant geopolitical and geostrategic position of our country is extremely, one might say, very favorable or unfavorable at the same time. Whenever an army goes somewhere, it seems that it has to pass through our country. The fact that we built a house in the middle of the road led to the fact that we have always been attractive to great powers, but also to the fact that the Balkans represent one of the neuralgic points that unite different civilizations. One proverb perhaps most vividly depicts the position of Serbia, but also of many other countries that share a similar fate over the centuries, and that is: "When elephants fight, the grass suffers." This ancient proverb of the Kikuyu people, a tribal group in Kenya, Africa, is as true today as it was when the words were first uttered thousands of years ago. Its essence is simplicity – when the big clash, the small suffer the most.

Unfortunately, our country is very rich in history. There is more history in just a few years of our history than in some countries during an entire decade or century. Freedom is a very expensive thing in Serbia. Throughout our entire history, freedom has been paid for with the most expensive, our blood.

From the beginning of the 19th century, counting only the more significant historical events on the path of the libertarian spirit, there were the First (1804–1813) and Second (1815–1817) Serbian uprisings, the First (1876–1877) and the Second (1877–1878) Serbian-Turkish war (Peace of San Stefano and Berlin Congress/Peace), First (1912–1913) and Second Balkan War (1913), First World War in Serbia (1914–1918), Second World War (1939–1945), events of the nineties and the end of the 20th century – NATO aggression. The beginning of the XXI century continued in the spirit of constant challenges from the aspect of territorial integrity and sovereignty of Serbia.

The Sretenje Constitution can be said to be our first constitution, although the history of constitutionalism should perhaps be sought a little earlier, and in support of Western criticism that Serbia is a country of the so-called young democracies. As far back as the 13th century, Saint Sava appeared with his Code of Law,

Krmcija, or popularly known as the Nomocanon of Saint Sava. Although heavily reliant on Byzantine law, the Code was a completely new compilation of secular and ecclesiastical norms. Saint Sava completely adapted Byzantine rights to our needs and spaces. This document is very significant because it represents the first Serbian legal act written in the vernacular. It is particularly significant that even at that time, social justice was proclaimed, the equality of all people regardless of their financial status and position in society, does not allow oppression and strives for well-being: there is nothing more than the other: "neither the rich than the poor, nor the master than the servant, nor the prince than the one over whom he rules, nor the king than the soldier, nor the wise man than the unlearned, because he gave one grace to all."[245] This regulation proclaims principles that contradict the principles of the slave society of the time.

Then there is the Code of Dušan (in old copies it is called the Law of the Pious Emperor Stefan), the most important law of medieval Serbia (1349). The law was adopted with the aim of regulating the Serbian state with regulations that will be valid for the entire empire and equally for all subjects.

Before the Sretenje Constitution, the Peace of Bucharest should be mentioned as the starting point of the birth of Serbian autonomy. Concluded in 1812, at the end of the Russo-Turkish War, this peace had a great influence on the position of insurgent Serbia.

In the eighth point of that contract, the Port committed itself to granting amnesty to the Serbs, while the future autonomy of Serbia was vaguely expressed. As a framework for future self-government, the privileges enjoyed by "subjects in the islands of the Archipelago and in other areas", a moderate tax that the Serbs will pay directly and about which the Port will negotiate "directly" with the Serbian people are listed. On the other hand, the insurgents had the obligation to demolish the fortresses built during the uprising and to allow the Turkish army to return to the fortified cities where it was stationed before the outbreak of the uprising.[246]

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[245] Miodrag Petrović, *Krmčija Svetog Save*, prvo izdanje, Dragomir Antonić, Beograd, 1990. p. 7.

[246] Radomir Popović, „Bukureški mir, knez Miloš i autonomija Srbije", u: *Srpska revolucija i obnova državnosti Srbije – dvesta godina od Drugog srpskog ustanka*,

If viewed from a modern perspective, that peace has similarities with a very important document for the Republic of Serbia today. Here we are referring, first of all, *to UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999). Of course, if all the specifics of the adoption, the signatories and other differences are ignored, the essence is still there.*

This resolution[247] *confirms the commitment of all member states to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the FR Yugoslavia and other states of the region, as stated in the Helsinki Document and Annex 2, but at the same time reaffirms the appeal from previous resolutions for broad autonomy and essential self-government for Kosovo.*

It is confirmed that after the withdrawal an agreed number of Yugoslav and Serbian military and police personnel will be allowed to return to Kosovo to perform their duties, in accordance with Annex 2. It emphasizes the people of Kosovo will be able to enjoy substantial autonomy within the FR Yugoslavia and that they will provide a transitional administration, with the establishment and monitoring of the development of temporary democratic institutions of self-government to ensure the conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all residents of Kosovo.

At a time of historical revisionism and rewriting of history, when its content is dictated by complex geopolitical processes, Serbian history should be updated again and again so that it is never forgotten and the contribution and sufferings of the Serbian people are seen through the prism of contemporary social processes. In this sense, it is important to emphasize again and again how difficult it was for our country to fight for freedom in the constant challenge of pressure from powerful states.

The first Serbian uprising marked the end of an era of rule, and on the foundations of such events, a revolutionary spirit was born in Serbia that has not subsided to this day.

On this occasion, Stojan Novaković stated: "As soon as power begins to be exercised in any area of the country and among

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zbornik radova, 31, Istorijski institut, Međuopštinski istorijski arhiv Čačak, Beograd, 2016, p. 111–127.

[247] *Rezolucija SB UN 1244 (1999), Vlada Republike Srbije, dostupno na: https://www.srbija.gov.rs/kosovo-metohija/19944, datum pristupa 10. 2. 2024*

any number of people, the need for any rules or laws, whether they are written or remembered, whether they are memorized or taken from custom, is immediately felt or copy from somewhere else or start over."[248]

The first attempt to solve the constitutional issue in Serbia was certainly the Draft Decree on the Governing Soviet, and the speech that followed it, all of which were prepared by Boža Grujović. Although it was unadopted at the assembly in Bork, numerous excerpts from it testify to how advanced the document was at that time, like the following: "The law is the will of the vilayet." The first master and judge in the vilayet is the law." This ode to the law, sung only a decade and a half after the French Revolution, indicates the importance of the existence of an equal law for all and that everyone is equal before it, and that the law is in fact a reflection of sovereignty.[249]

The Meeting of the Lord is an important holiday in the Serbian Orthodox Church and the people in general. On Sretenje in 1804, the Assembly was held in Orašac, which started the First Serbian Uprising. On this holiday, in 1835, the Sretenje Constitution was adopted. That is why this date is celebrated as Statehood Day and Constitution Day. Although unfairly short-lived, that constitution left a deep mark on the constitution of Serbian statehood.

Its creator is considered to be Dimitrije Davidović, although it can be debated whether the ideas of other well-known Serbs, including Miloš Obrenović himself, were woven into it. As Sima Avramović states, revising the conditions of creation of the Sretenje Constitution, Miloš could hardly have had any article imposed on him without his consent.[250]

At the same time, the Sretenje Constitution was created to a large extent under the influence of the French Constitution from 1791 and the Constitutional Charter from 1814. Some historical

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[248] Stojan Novaković, *Ustavno pitanje i zakoni Karađorđeva vremena, studija o postojanju i razviću vrhovne i središnje vlasti u Srbiji 1805–1811*, Beograd, 1907.
[249] Više o tome: Ratko Marković, *Ustavno pravo i političke institucije*, Pravni fakultet, Beograd, 2008.
[250] Sima Avramović, „Sretenjski ustav – 175. godina posle", *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, godina LVIII, br. 1/2010.

data show Prince Miloš was aware of the need to create a constitution even before that, even though it would limit his power, and that he gave the order to do it long before the Mileta's Rebellion, which only accelerated the revolutionary trends in our country.

The Sretenje Constitution was extremely advanced during that time, which contributed to its short duration. None of the great powers were satisfied with the existence of small Serbia, which implements revolutionary ideas of freedom in feudal conditions.

In the first article of the Sretenje Constitution, it was written that Serbia is a unique and independent principality recognized by Sultan Mahmud II and Emperor Nicholas I, and already in that first article the intention of the constitution maker was clear. Accidentally or intentionally, sizeren (Turkey) and protector (Russia) are placed in the same rank. Later, this article will be one of the reasons for his suspension.[251]

One of the most significant achievements of the division of laws. Let's remember that the idea of the division of power originates as a modern creation in many works, the most significant of which is certainly "On the spirit of the law" (De l'Esprit des Lois) from 1748. According to Montesquieu: "Government should be such that a citizen cannot fear another citizen... When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or in a legal body, there is no freedom, because there is a fear that that monarch or senate will pass tyrannical laws to execute them in a tyrannical manner. In law, no one can be limited by his own will, but by someone else's."[252]

Legislative power is exercised by the prince and the council, which in this constitution is called the State Council. Therefore, in addition to prescribing in the first chapter that the Principality of Serbia is independent and placing the sizeren and protector in the same position, the Constitution calls the Soviet State, which emphasizes this attribute of the still independent principality. The State Council is composed of six custodianships: justice, internal affairs, finance, external affairs, the army and the high priesthood,

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[251] „Sretenjski" Ustav Knjažestva Serbije, Ustav Knjažestva Serbije, Izdan i zakletvom potvrđen O sretenskoj skupštini 1835 god. u Kragujevcu.
[252] Šarl Monteskje, *O duhu zakona*, Vulkan, Beograd, 2011.

and from an unspecified number of the members of the State Council, the president and the secretary. As it can be noticed, vassal Serbia also had the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Army, which are also attributes of the independence of a state.

The judiciary is three-tiered. It consists of district courts, the Grand Court as an appellate court and the State Council, whose special department judges in the third and last instance.

The Prince issues laws and regulations and executes them through the competent ministries. Also, the prince appoints all officials and in general all state officials. Analogous to the right of an individual patron to propose laws, the prince also has that right, and can also give his opinion on the mentioned issues. Apart from these powers, the prince has the right of pardon and amnesty. It also has the right to award awards and prizes.

The worthy chapter of admiration, on the one hand, and which was the reason for the repeal of the Sretenje Constitution, on the other hand, is called "General rights of Serbs." The magnificence of this constitution, apart from other democratic provisions and principles found in it, completes a unique catalog of human rights and freedoms. Human rights and freedoms are placed in the Sretenje Constitution after the provisions on state power. Nowadays, it is customary to regulate this matter at the beginning, immediately after the introduction of the constitution, to show the state exists for the sake of the people and not the people for the sake of the state. However, if it is borne in mind that many constitutions did not even regulate this matter, then the Sretenje Constitution cannot be criticized for this kind of constitutional system.

The abolition of feudalism from a revolutionary little Serbia, as well as numerous points without which today's democracy cannot even be imagined, did not suit the great powers at all. Austria, Russia and Turkey had a decisive say when it came to the fate of this constitution. The constitution was abolished, but the idea of freedom continued to live, which can be seen from the later events and struggles that were yet to come for the Serbian people. One thing is certain, Serbs have always fought for their freedom, and there is no such freedom without a state.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Serbia found itself faced with numerous challenges on the way to its development. It took place under the slogan of "no alternative European integration". The perception of European integration as an alternative project puts Serbia in the position of having to comply with an endless list of demands that it must fulfill. And in addition to the many demands that it has already fulfilled, new ones are imposed every day. The problem of Kosovo and Metohija certainly represents a burning issue today. Pressures on Serbia regarding the status of Kosovo and Metohija are still present and represent a key issue that, according to EU officials, Serbia must resolve on its path to European integration. The crucial quality of Kosovo and Metohija is its position within the central territory of the Balkans, whose geopolitical attributes are crucially important for anyone who has ambitions to bring this part of Europe under their control.[253]

Bearing this in mind, Serbia must be aware on its path of international integration that European integration. No matter how significant, is not without alternatives and that it must be open to an alternative path of development. To be admitted to the exclusive club of European Union countries, it must constantly meet new requirements. At the same time, it is forgotten that the control exercised over countries that want to become EU members is artificial and inconsistent. Double standards are particularly visible during EU integrations in Southeastern Europe, like, for example, almost unconditional entry of Romania and Bulgaria. Let's just recall the case of Bulgaria, which on its way to integration adopted an artificial, huge number of laws, without any reference to the socio-historical milieu and the possibility of their application. Some of them were adopted in English. Striving for the EU does not mean improvement for socio-economic development.

The very position of the Balkans caused it to attract the attention of all great powers throughout its history. The Balkans lie at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa. In this context, this

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[253] Milomir Stepić, Kosovo i Metohija – postmoderni geopolitički eksperiment, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2012, p. 66.

region is an important place of connection of many civilizations. And perhaps Cvijić's[254] famous statement that we built a road in the middle of the road, although very simplified, best describes the challenges that the Balkan states have faced throughout their history, but also the geopolitical and geostrategic aspirations of the great powers towards this region. That is why Milomir Stepić emphasizes the Balkans represent one of the arenas where the strength of global rivals is indirectly tested. In fact, by refusing to surrender without a fight, the US bases its retention and destructive action in Eurasia on maintaining an unstable, conflictual state within the Middle East — Central Asia — Southeastern Europe geographic space, i.e. in the dreaded geopolitical triangle "Arabian Great Rift" (McKinder) – "Eurasian Balkans" (Brzezinski) – "Balkan control of Eurasia, which is (only) a matter of time and price."[255] In the Balkans, the great powers often imposed their role as protectors, but not because of altruistic motives, but above all to establish their geopolitical and geostrategic position in the region. As economist Nicholas V. Gianaris vividly described: "Great powers have found fertile ground for their influence and conflict, but as the old saying goes, when elephants fight the grass gets destroyed."[256] On that occasion, the term balkanization takes on a negative connotation used to denote conflicts and fragmentation around the world, while the Balkans is often associated with the powder keg coin of Europe. This region very often, instead of a bridge between east and west, becomes the scene of conflict between tellurocracy (land power) and thalassocracy (sea power). This is also the reason why it was very difficult for the Balkan peoples to make decisions in accordance with their own national interests, but above all they had to adapt their interests to the interests of the great powers. "In the modern era, the

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[254] Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje*, Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Beograd, 1922.

[255] Milomir Stepić, "Deatlantizacijom do stabilizacije Balkana: srpski nacionalni interes", *Srpska politička misao*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, br. 1/2017, p. 9.

[256] Nicholas V. Gianaris, *Geopolitical and Economic Changes in the Balkan Countries*, PREAGER, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1996, p. xi

Balkan peoples have gone through a period of transition from the East to integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. When it comes to the economy, the pseudo-elites uncritically follow the neoliberal model of dependent modernization, while in the political sphere they strive for a liberal democratic multi-party parliamentary representative system. In the sphere of culture, they follow the spirit of Anglo-Saxon modernization and dependent culture."[257] It should be noted that the Republic of Serbia entered the 21st century by being exposed to untold violence at the end of the 20th century. On March 24, 1999, NATO forces, led by the USA, launched an attack on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [William Jefferson Bill] Clinton justified this attack with the need to stop ethnic cleansing and bring stability to Eastern Europe: "We cannot respond to such tragedies everywhere. But when ethnic conflict turns into ethnic cleansing, what can we distinguish, then we have to try, which is clearly the case with Kosovo."[258]

These interventions ended after 78 days on June 10, 1999, with the conclusion of a military-technical agreement and the withdrawal of Yugoslav military and security forces from the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. The "Merciful Angel" left behind a large number of dead, wounded, refugees, destroyed infrastructure, schools, churches, media houses, and illegal means were used (cluster bombs, depleted uranium...). During the bombing of Serbia, it is estimated that 10-15 tons of depleted uranium were delivered. It still has an impact on the life and health of the population today.

If we want to understand the challenges that the Republic of Serbia is facing in the 21st century, it is necessary to divide them into several spheres. When it comes to internal problems, we highlight political, economic and demographic ones, while the most challenging external factors are the geopolitical and geostrategic influences of major powers in these areas.

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[257] Ljubiša R. Mitrović, "The Geopolitics of the Balkans in the 19th and 20th Centuries – Between National Emancipation Movements and Geostrategic Games of the Great Powers", *Facta Universitatis*, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, 2/2011, p. 101.

[258] Noam Čomski, Novi militaristički humanizam – lekcije Kosova, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, p. 9.

When it comes to political and economic challenges, the Republic of Serbia must constantly work on improving its democratic capacities of political institutions. "Serbia represents a weak and unfinished state which, at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, was exposed to numerous challenges, the neo-imperial ambitions of the great powers, regional instabilities, the neoliberal model of a belated, delayed and blocked transition that essentially started only after 2000, as well as constant crossing borders."[259] And although a significant step has been taken in this direction, there is still many work to be done, especially bearing in mind that the majority of Serbian citizens believe that foreign countries and individuals have a significant influence on the functioning of the political institutions of the Republic of Serbia. "Democracy in such a created framework faces numerous obstacles: the institutions of democracy become a facade; political decisions come from uncontrolled centers, private actors and anonymous markets; money and lobbies are invested in parties and election campaigns in disguise; there is medialization and manipulation of politics and the scale of political patronage and clientelism. As a result, we have: indifference to electoral processes and limited participation of citizens in political life, irresponsibility of parties to the demands of voters, violation of human rights, concentration of power in elitist groups, centralization of ownership, control of mass media and corruption."[260] As far as economic problems are concerned, one of the burning issues is the problem of poverty and unemployment along with uneven regional development. And although much work is being done on this as well, bearing in mind that these are problems that the Republic of Serbia has been facing for many years, it is still necessary to make stronger efforts with a long-term strategy that would reduce the negative trends that this state of affairs can contribute to. To make this possible, it should be

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[259] Živojin Đurić, Miša Stojadinović, , "Država i neoliberalni modeli urušavanja nacionalnih političkih institucija", *Srpska politička misao*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 4/2018, str. 41

[260] Zoran Stojiljković, "Post(liberalna) demokratija, kapitalizam i kriza države*", Urušavanje ili slom demokratije?* (urednici Ilija Vujačić i Bojan Vranić), Udruženje za političke nauke i Srbiji i Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2016, str. 18.

noted that poverty selectively affects different social groups and that in this regard it is necessary to harmonize economic policy to deal with this problem in the most effective way. "Mostly, these are persons with a low level of education, unemployed and dependent persons, the elderly (over 65 years old), children, as well as those groups that are traditionally among the vulnerable, like Roma, refugees and displaced persons, persons with disabilities, women. It should be noted that young people are also among the vulnerable categories of the poor, and also that poverty in Serbia is also a rural phenomenon, that is, it selectively affects rural areas, primarily elderly households. When it comes to a regional overview of the problem of poverty, it should be emphasized that the most affected are the southeast of Serbia and the rural areas of Western Serbia."[261]

When it comes to the geopolitical challenge, the Republic of Serbia finds itself torn between two completely opposed geopolitical concepts: Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian. The Republic of Serbia is located on the border between Southeast and Central Europe. It borders Bulgaria, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Romania and Albania. The central position in the Balkans has also caused a turbulent history filled with the pretensions of great powers in this region filled with constant disintegrative processes.[262] Even if we were to focus only on the period of the beginning of the 21th century, one can see a constant redrawing of borders that can perhaps best be described by the picturesque term Miloš Knežević's[263] breaking-disintegration, which he used to describe the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Disintegration continues in the new millennium. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ceased to exist in 2003 and the new state of Serbia and Montenegro was born. This creation was also short-lived because just three years later it ceased to exist as Montenegro formally declared its independence on June 3, 2006. This, however,

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[261] Marija Kolin, Jasna Kronja, Jelena Milovanović, Zoran Stojiljković, *Socijalni dijalog i socijalna politika u Srbiji u procesu evropske integracije*, Evropski pokret Srbija i Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Beograd, decembar 2006, p. 27.

[262] O tome opširnije videti: Miša Stojadinović, "Srbija pred izazovima", *Srpska politička misao*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 3/2009.

[263] Miloš Knežević, "Tranzicija i geopolitika u novom ključu", *Godišnjak za sociologiju*, Filozofski fakultet, Niš, 10-11/2012, p. 173.

does not end the disintegration process in these areas because the southern province of Kosovo and Metohija self-proclaimed independence on February 17, 2008, and a new place of frozen conflict was opened. This latest Pandora's Box that was created in our area led to far-reaching consequences that even its creators led by the USA did not count on. The double standards of international law in our region have led to the fact that it has become a means of demonstrating power. This can be seen on the basis of the negotiations taking place on the Belgrade-Pristina route, where the other side is maximally favored and when the so-called "The Republic of Kosovo" does something, contrary to what was agreed (introduction of sanctions on products from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, invasion of ROSU in the north of Kosovo, creation of generally unbearable conditions for the life of Serbs in the north of Kosovo...), nothing more than mild condemnation it is done to return the dangerous situation to a normal track.

In the 21st century, Serbia is trying finding its position in international relations following the principles of neutrality on its course towards European integration. Here, however, there are numerous problems arising from the geopolitical complexity of the situation. One of them is certainly Serbia is surrounded by NATO members, which creates additional pressure on the sustainability of the policy of neutrality, and the second is the question of how European integration would be implemented in practice? We are witnessing numerous conditionings on this road with no end in sight. The first and basic problem is there are many pressures to complete European integration by recognizing the so-called independence. "Republic of Kosovo." Another big problem that arises is it would greatly worsen relations with Russia. Serbia would most likely be forced to join the economic sanctions against Russia. Admittedly, even the EU member states are not unique in this matter because they also lose a lot from these sanctions that the US had to impose under duress, not only economically, but also energetically. The ungrateful position that leads the Republic of Serbia directly into conflict between two different geopolitical concepts imposes an at first glance unimaginable solution, which is the merging of the incompatible. "By accepting only one of the geopolitical concepts (Euro-Atlantic or Eurasian), the Republic of Serbia would have a lot

to lose, so the only solution is for it to maintain its policy of neutrality in an attempt to represent some kind of bridge between these two irreconcilable concepts. (…) And maybe it is a more difficult path to follow, but you should always keep in mind that there are successful examples that in their own way managed to win their place within the European Union as neutral states (Switzerland, Sweden, Finland and Austria)."[264] The construction of a bridge between East and West, best demonstrated, on the one hand, in the Belt and Road initiative, and on the other hand, in the construction of the Turkish Stream. It can demonstrate the common interest of two irreconcilable factors, which can result from the joint economic and energy cooperation.

One of the biggest challenges that the Republic of Serbia needs to overcome on the way to achieving regional cooperation is the lack of a tradition of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans with an excessive number of long-term unresolved disagreements and conflicts. The fact that this region is characterized by multinationality, multiconfessionalism and multiculturalism further complicates matters in terms of overcoming differences to establish mutual cooperation. In this context, it should be emphasized that the culture of peace in the Balkans has never succeeded in establishing itself. Mutual differences were often abused as a source of numerous social, political and interstate conflicts in different historical periods, which additionally caused the weakening of the capacity of regional cooperation in the Balkans. Insisting on a culture of dialogue and tolerance, using all the so-called *soft power*[265] [Joseph Nye] and *soft balancing*[266] [T.V. Paul], and especially public diplomacy, should be the only path of the Republic of Serbia. This is particularly important because while the need for dialogue and tolerance among the Balkan countries has increased, practice has shown their implementation has decreased more and more. "Balkan nationalisms were crucial for the processes of nation-state building in the region. But they were

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[264] Miša Stojadinović, "Evropa i multipolarni svet", *Politika nacionalne bezbednosti*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 1/2018, str. 169.
[265] Joseph Nye, *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, Basic Books; Reprint edition, 1991.
[266] T.V. Paul, *Restraining Great Powers Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era*, Yale University Press, London, 2018, p. 22.

also seen as sources of serious difficulties in the Balkans that create obstacles for the development and well-being of the region. The events after the Cold War only further justified that perception, and due to the discordant Balkan nationalisms, this region was once again labeled as the powder keg of Europe. A particularly strong contribution to that image was provided by the explosive disintegration of Yugoslavia, when Balkan nationalisms were again constituted as the main culprits."[267] According to Ljubiša Mitrović, "The culture of peace, together with the social democratic strategy of sustainable and humane development, can contribute to the globalization of understanding and solidarity among peoples." It could restore the faith of the Balkan peoples in themselves, in their neighbors and the democratic future of the Balkans. Also, the principles of equality of all citizens and peoples, "respect for the dialogue of different cultures and partnership of civilizations would be confirmed, all of which is a common strategic interest of all Balkan peoples..."[268]

The only way for the Republic of Serbia to persist on this path is to constantly strengthen the democratic and national capacities of its political institutions. This requires a fundamental change in the value system through a radical cut that will mark the improvement of border cooperation with all neighboring countries. Something like this, however, requires a similar direction of the foreign policy of other neighboring countries on the way to building a pluralistic identity that will enable the creation of a favorable climate for mutual dialogue and cooperation. Strengthening regional cooperation is the only way to overcome subordination to the interests of the great powers in the eternal conflict between East and West. However, regional cooperation is constantly faced with numerous internal difficulties arising from the nature of relations between the Balkan countries, which Duško Lopandić and Jasminka Kronja summarize in their work, namely: "lack of a tradition of

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[267] Johan Galtung, "Peace and Conflict Studies as Political Activity", *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies* (eds. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi and Sean Byrne), LEXINGTON BOOKS, 2011.
[268] Ljubiša R. Mitrović, "The Geopolitics of the Balkans in the 19th and 20th Centuries – Between National Emancipation Movements and Geostrategic Games of the Great Powers", op.cit. p. 101.

multilateral cooperation; underdeveloped economies and limited resources for cooperation (financial and human); the peripheral position of the region compared to European centers for integration, together with the main tendency of most states in the region for political and economic cooperation and integration with developed Western states; protracted and unresolved regional disputes and conflicts including disputes over borders or national minorities; political and economic disconnection; and differences in national, political and economic interests."[269] If this situation does not change, achieving regional cooperation will be very difficult, especially considering that the perception of differences in the national, political and economic interests of the Balkan countries is completely wrong. As long as there is this view of the Balkan countries, the broader picture of economic and political benefits that mutual cooperation can bring will never be the backbone of strengthening the quality of their mutual relations. "The foreign world and foreign politicians usually have no, or only weak, knowledge and experience of the Balkans. And if they have it as such, for special political reasons they always portray the Balkans as a broken ship, which is still rocked by a storm of discord and intolerance and which inevitably has to be held by someone from the outside, so that it does not sink."[270] This is all the more reason for the Balkan people to take their fate into their own hands so that this shipwrecked ship, as Isidora Sekulić portrays it in the eyes of others, is returned to the right course, and the Republic of Serbia, with its central position, can play a significant role in establishing a regional bridge cooperation of all Balkan countries.

"Serbia, unable to recognize Europe within itself, yearns futilely for Europe outside itself."[271] Zbigniew Brzezinski clearly indicates that the tendency to view the EU as one of the most important American bridgeheads on the Eurasian continent will diminish over time. But that it will never be completely lost, because without transatlantic ties, the American primacy in this region will

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[269] Duško Lopandić, Jasminka Kronja, Regional Initiatives and Multilateral Cooperation in the Balkans, European Movement, Serbia, Belgrade, 2011, p. 25.

[270] Isidora Sekulić, *Analitički trenuci i teme*, op.cit. p. 17.

[271] Miloš Knežević, Neizvesni prelazak – demokratija i tranzicija, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2012, p. 43.

be lost.[272] In this context, the project to dismantle Serbia, which would eventually be accepted as a satellite state in the EU, is understandable. In this regard, it should be pointed out that Milomir Stepić is right when he points out that although until recently it looked like a first-rate pseudoscientific heresy, numerous geopolitical indicators point to the conclusion that the future Serbian position could confirm the stereotype of the thalassocratic West about the Russian exponent in Southeast Europe. "In the first phase, the Serbian agent would have the ungrateful role of a foot in the Balkan door that has not yet closed the gap in American domination of Europe, then his still delicate function would be transformed into a part of the strategic pro-Russian Trans-Balkan wedge for breaking the American ring around Russia and dismantling the American transatlantic bridgehead in Europe..."[273] European integrations can contribute to development, but this does not have to be the case. All depending on how this process is viewed. In this sense, one should first of all take into account the national interest, and then formulate the international integration strategy in accordance with it. These integrations must not mean mutual exclusivity, i.e. that by joining the flow of European integration, we have to give up Eurasia. Serbia should find its place precisely in connecting East and West.

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[272] Zbignjev Bžežinski, Velika šahovska tabla, CID, Podgorica, 2001, p. 57-59.
[273] Milomir Stepić, "Geopolitičnost širenja Evropske unije i položaj Srbije", Srpska politička misao, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, br. 1/2010, p. 40.

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„Sretenjski" ustav Knjažestva Serbije, Ustav Knjažestva Serbije, Izdan i zakletvom potvrđen o sretenskoj skupštini 1835 god. u Kragujevcu.

Short biography

DR MIŠA STOJADINOVIĆ, PRINCIPAL RESEARCH FELLOW

Dr. Miša Stojadinović has been employed at the Institute for Political Studies since 2009. He received his doctorate from the sociology study program in 2012 at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš. He received the title of Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for Political Studies in Belgrade in 2023 and became the director of the Institute in the same year. He is the editor-in-chief of the journal Serbian Political Thought at the Institute for Political Studies in Belgrade. He is a lecturer at the Faculty of International Politics and Security at the Union Nikola Tesla University in Belgrade, where he is also the vice dean for science. So far, he has published one hundred bibliographic units, six of which are scientific monographs. He was a participant and manager of a large number of projects.

He has been a long-time reviewer of numerous magazines and a member of editorial boards in the country and abroad. In 2019, Dr. Miša Stojadinović completed his postdoctoral specialization at the Institute for Postgraduate Studies at the University of National and World Economy in Sofia – Bulgaria.

It should also be noted that Dr. Stojadinović is engaged in creating public policies and strengthening local self-governments. Dr. Miša Stojadinović was hired as an expert by the Permanent Conference of Cities and Municipalities of the Republic of Serbia, and based on this engagement, the project (RE)CREATION OF HEALTHY LOCAL COMMUNITIES was realized.

As a result of this, he participated in the meeting "Sports Network: Local communities in the field of sports – perspectives and challenges in financing and strategic planning" in April 2019, where he presented the results of the research that were later used to improve the work of local governments in this area.

Also, the project "Comparative analysis of normative and strategic bases and good practices for improving the economic position of women within the EU and the Western Balkans" within the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veterans and Social Affairs was carried out at the time of making crucial decisions related to adoption of the Law on Gender Equality.

Dr. Miša Stojadinović was also engaged by the Republic Center for Research on War, Early Crimes and Search for Missing Persons Banja Luka – Independent International Commission for Research on the Suffering of Serbs in Sarajevo in the period 1991-1995.

It should be noted that the famous professor Alain Badiou wrote the foreword for two of his scientific monographs: Political Myths of Neoliberalism and Anatomy of the Neoliberal World Order.

STOJADINOVIĆ MIŠA