

# MEĐUNARODNI PROBLEMI

# INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

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No. 4/2021.

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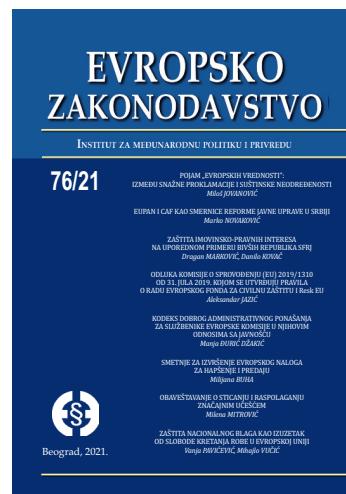
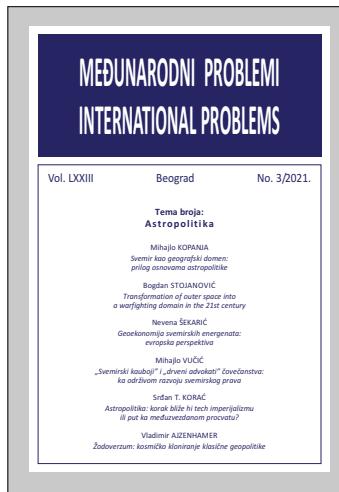
*Nesvrstani i nuklearno razoružanje u XXI veku*

Marko NOVAKOVIĆ

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Časopisi Instituta za međunarodnu politiku i privredu



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# MEĐUNARODNI PROBLEMI

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## SADRŽAJ

Dragan ĐUKANOVIĆ, Marko DAŠIĆ

*Modeliranje regionalne saradnje na Balkanu nakon 1999. godine:  
evropska iskustva i njihova primena*

617

Sanja FILIPOVIĆ, Jelena IGNJATOVIĆ

*International relations through the prism  
of the new technological division of power*

637

Marina T. KOSTIĆ

*Nesvrstani i nuklearno razoružanje u XXI veku*

667

Marko NOVAKOVIĆ

*Pokret nesvrstanih u XXI veku  
– struktura, teme i uloga*

689

Miloš PETROVIĆ, Zlatan JEREMIĆ

*Damaging effects of vaccine geopolitics  
and the EU's distorted soft power*

709

PRIKAZI

737



# INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

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POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

VOL. LXXIII

BELGRADE

No. 4/2021

## CONTENTS

Dragan ĐUKANOVIĆ, Marko DAŠIĆ

*Modeling regional cooperation in the Balkans after 1999:  
European experiences and their application*

617

Sanja FILIPOVIĆ, Jelena IGNJATOVIĆ

*International relations through the prism  
of the new technological division of power*

637

Marina T. KOSTIĆ

*Non-aligned movement and nuclear disarmament  
in the XXI century*

667

Marko NOVAKOVIĆ

*The non-aligned movement in the 21st century  
– structure, topics and role*

689

Miloš PETROVIĆ, Zlatan JEREMIĆ

*Damaging effects of vaccine geopolitics  
and the EU's distorted soft power*

709

BOOK REVIEWS

737



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## Modeliranje regionalne saradnje na Balkanu nakon 1999. godine: evropska iskustva i njihova primena

Dragan ĐUKANOVIĆ, Marko DAŠIĆ<sup>1</sup>

**Apstrakt:** U ovom radu autori komparativno analiziraju razvoj regionalne saradnje u Evropi nakon Drugog svetskog rata i na Zapadnom Balkanu od 1999. godine. U tom kontekstu oni ukazuju na sličnosti i razlike zapadnobalkanske regionalne saradnje (sa posebnim akcentom na period posle 2006. godine odnosno posle preoblikovanja Pakta za stabilnost u Jugoistočnoj Evropi u Regionalni savet za saradnju i nakon 2014. godine od pokretanja Berlinskog procesa), sa sličnim formama saradnje u Evropi poput Nordijskog saveta ministara, Višegradske grupe i Beneluksa. Stoga autori pristupaju uporednoj analizi sastava ovih regionalnih foruma i njihovim oblastima saradnje sa Savetom za regionalnu saradnju, Procesom saradnje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi i Berlinskim procesom. S tim u vezi autori konstatuju da postoje više nego očigledne sličnosti regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu pre svega sa Višegradskom grupom, a u značajnoj meri i sa Beneluksom. U nešto manjoj meri postoji sličnost regionalne saradnje na Balkanskom poluostrvu sa nordijskim vidovima, a pre svega zahvaljujući izostanku formiranja Parlamentarne skupštine Zapadnog Balkana previđene 2013. godine. Autori zaključuju da postoje brojne prepreke uspostavljanju intenzivnije i produbljenje regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu, a pre svega vezano za izostanak višestranog prihvaćenog regionalnog identiteta, različite interesne lidera država u regionu vezano za njenu „izvornost“, konfrontirane stavove dominantnih mnjenja i predominantne uticaje različitih zapadnih aktera.

**Ključne reči:** regionalna saradnja, modeli saradnje, Evropa, Zapadni Balkan, Beneluks, Višegradska grupa, nordijska saradnja, Berlinski proces, Savet za regionalnu saradnju.

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Rad je nastao u okviru Plana naučnoistraživačkog rada, kojeg uz podršku Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije realizuje Fakultet političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu tokom 2021. godine.

## Uvod

Teorije „novog regionalizma“ razvijale su se od početka 90-ih godina XX veka, odnosno nakon okončanja hladnoratovskog razdoblja. One su se suštinski nadovezivale na tzv. stari regionalizam, koji se na određeni način utemeljio nakon Drugog svetskog rata (Söderbaum and Shaw 2003, 211–225). U tom smislu ove teorije su pratile ekspanziju regionalnih inicijativa u svetu, a posebno u do tada duboko podeljenoj Evropi (Hettne 2005, 543–571). U svojoj osnovi pored teorijskih odrednica i postulata nastalih apstrahovanjem misija, ciljeva i zadataka novog regionalnih foruma i inicijativa, pojavio se i veliki broj uporednih i empirijskih istraživanja. Ona su na različitim nivoima analize (globalnom, kontinentalnom i (sub)regionalnom) detaljno ukazivala na načine formiranja i uspostave međudržavnih foruma za saradnju (Mittelman 1999, 25–53). Osnovna težnja ovih vidova saradnje bila je vezana za jačanje ekonomskih veza između državnih nivoa vlasti u pojedinim regionima, što je uglavnom neizostavno bilo praćeno i političkim, bezbednosnim i drugim segmentima saradnje. Sa izvesnim zakašnjenjem novi regionalizam obuhvatio je i postjugoslovensko i šire područje Jugoistočne Evrope, a usled ovdašnjih konflikata, koji su vođeni krajem XX veka i veoma kasnih vidova ekonomske i društvene tranzicije u poređenju sa Srednjom Evropom.

Treba istaći, međutim, da su se tokom hladnog rata pojavili prvi oblici regionalne saradnje, koji su obuhvatili i nekadašnju Jugoslaviju. Ponajpre je od polovine 70-ih godina XX veka deo lokalnih vlasti u Sloveniji i Hrvatskoj bio uključen u rad Radne zajednice Alpe-Adrija, a krajem 80-ih počinje i saradnja u okviru Konferencije o stabilnosti, bezbednosti i saradnji zemalja Jugoistočne Evrope (od 1988, a danas Proces saradnje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi), kao i Centralnoevropske inicijative (1989) (Đukanović 2020, 143–147). Paralelno sa ovim procesima odvijala se i disolucija Jugoslavije u kojoj nije postignuto političko rešenje koje bi podrazumevalo uređenje odnosa između novonastalih država. Svi pokušaji transformacije Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije u labavu i asimetričnu federaciju, konfederaciju i savez suverenih država nisu dali rezultate (RIA Documentation, 1990, 11–22). Naprotiv, zahvaljujući oružanim sukobima sve veze između većine njih su nekoliko godina bile u prekidu. Težnja da se proglaši i formira nacionalna država na postjugoslovenskom području podrazumevala je dakle jasno „razgraničenje“ sa drugima i svodenje na najmanju moguću meru međusobnih odnosa i određenih vidova saradnje.

Cilj novih elita dakle je bio vezan za formiranje novih država na njenom tlu, bez težnji da se one značajnije međusobno povežu. Naprotiv, procesi koji su na ovom području usledili, nakon nestanka Jugoslavije, samo su dodatno oslabili težnje za multilateralnim umrežavanjem. Nove suverene zemlje težile su ka približavanju

Srednjoj Evropi (Slovenija i Hrvatska), članstvu u NATO (Slovenija, Hrvatska i tadašnja Makedonija), a kasnije i u Evropskoj uniji s kraja 90-ih godina, što postaje temeljni prioritet svih država nastalih na postjugoslovenskom prostoru (Đukanović 2020, 130–131). Sa druge strane, pojedine političke elite su za svoje zemlje odabrale ulogu evropske periferije ne percipirajući značaj povezivanja sa državama u vlastitom okruženju i sa Evropom. Veoma slično se reflektuje i danas, kada je u pitanju Zapadni Balkan, odnosno kada se ovdašnje političke elite ponovno kolebaju između još uvek neizgledne i nejasne evropske perspektive i oživljavanja „starih“ megalomanskih nacionalnih planova (N1 2021).

Od polovine 90-ih godina ponovo dolazi do uspostavljanja formi multilateralnog povezivanja na Balkanu (Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 51–57). Iako su one u početku bile izrazito fražilne, postupno su poprimile značajno čvršću formu i obličja pojedinih foruma koji već postoje u savremenoj Evropi. U tom smislu tokom protekle dve decenije se veoma dugo rekonceptualizovao pristup bilateralnim oblicima saradnje, ponajpre 2006. godine prilikom preoblikovanja Pakta za stabilnost u Jugoistočnoj Evropi u Savet za regionalnu saradnju, kao i 2013. godine kada je Hrvatska ušla u Evropsku uniju i zapravo „napustila“ Zapadni Balkan.

## **Evropske forme multilateralnog povezivanja posle Drugog svetskog rata**

Multilateralna saradnja u Evropi posle Drugog svetskog rata razvijala se kroz formiranje brojnih međudržavnih foruma za saradnju (Dimitrijević 2007, 11–50). Ponajpre još s kraja Drugog svetskog rata otpočinje formiranje Ekonomске unije Beneluks (1944), na načelima na kojima danas funkcioniše i Evropska unija, a nešto kasnije i Nordijskog saveta (1952) (Lakićević 2007, 53–67). Ovi oblici saradnje razvijali su se, dakle, uporedo sa Savetom Europe i Evropskom ekonomskom zajednicom i uvek su bili komplementarni sa njihovim radom. Takođe, navedeni oblici saradnje bili su veoma spojivi sa evroatlantizmom imajući u vidu da je većina ovih država bila/postala i članica NATO.

Oba navedena oblika regionalne saradnje u Evropi podrazumevala su intenzivnu međudržavnu saradnju po brojnim pitanjima – od ekonomije, slobode kretanja ljudi do transporta i komunikacija (TRTEBEU 1958, Articles 1–4). Postupno su institucionalni oblici saradnje snažili i to nakon što su u okviru Beneluksa formirani Meduparlamentarni konsultativni savet (1955) i Sud pravde (1965), kao i Nordijski savet ministara od 1971. godine (TRTEBEU 1958, Chapter IV–V; TCBDFINS 1962, Articles 1–38). I nordijski i beneluški oblici saradnje postali su tako paradigma

uspešne regionalne saradnje koja prepoznaće specifičnosti određenih evropskih regionalnih celina i više strane bliskosti određenih društava i država.

Evropska iskustva multilateralnog povezivanja su obogaćena i nakon kraja Hladnog rata, kada su formirani brojni novi forumi uglavnom među državama nekadašnje Istočne Evrope i Ruske Federacije. Tu se pre svega izdvaja Višegradska grupa (1992), Baltička skupština (1990), Savet baltičkih zemalja (1992) i Crnomorska ekonomski saradnja (1992) (Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 140–152). Za razliku od Zapadne i Severne Evrope u kojoj su u periodu nakon 1945. godine postupno formirani i započeli sa radom oblici regionalne saradnje, na ovom području današnje Srednje Evrope, a posebno pribaltičke regije došlo je do velikog porasta/multiplikovanja regionalnih inicijativa.<sup>2</sup> Ipak, srž ove regionalne saradnje od početka 90-ih godina XX veka svakako predstavljaju Baltički savet i Baltički savet ministara između Litvanije, Letonije i Estonije, koji su aktivni i nakon ulaska ove grupe država u Evropsku uniju (Novičić 2007, 96–115).

Kada je današnja Srednja Evropa u pitanju svakako se kao predominantan oblik regionalne saradnje od 1991. godine pojavljuje Višegradska grupa, koja okuplja Poljsku, Slovačku, Mađarsku i Češku (Gyarfášová and Mesežníkov 2016, 7–14). Ova saradnja se dugoročno razvijala i danas, pored toga što su sve ove države članice Evropske unije i NATO, više nego uspešno sprovodi i potvrđuje koliko je bitna saradnja između država smeštenih između Baltičkog mora i srednjeg toka Dunava.

Sve navedene inicijative za regionalnu saradnju podrazumevale su različitu unutrašnju dinamiku i oblike saradnje, ali svakako se temelje na promovisanju novog regionalizma (Gubová 2020, 107–130). On je kao načelo potvrdio osnovanost težnji zemalja sličnog geografskog određenja da je saradnja važna pre svega u oblasti ekonomije, bezbednosti i drugih pitanja od zajedničkog interesa. Tokom protekle decenije i unutar Evropske unije otpočelo je dodatno međudržavno povezivanje, od kojih su najznačajnije – EU MED 7 grupa (od 2013. godine sedam mediteranskih država članica EU) (Montalbano and Nenci 2014, 730–740), Hansa grupa (sedam država severne Evrope od 2018) i Krajova grupa/Kvadrilaterala od 2015. godine (u koju je pored tri države članice EU uključena i Srbija) (Bălăceanu 2014, 57–62). Navedeni forumi predominantno okupljaju zemlje članice Evropske

<sup>2</sup> Tokom protekle tri decenije u Baltičkoj regiji su osnovane mnoge inicijative koje podržavaju više stranu saradnju zemalja sa obe strane Baltičkog mora. To su Komisija za Baltičko more (*Baltic Sea Commision*), Forum mladih Baltika (*Baltic Sea Youth Forum*), Forum Baltika (*Baltic Sea Forum*), Baltička subregionalna saradnja (*Baltic Sea States Sub-Regional Cooperation*), Mreža sindikata Baltika (*Baltic Sea Trade Union Network*), Nordijsko-baltička osmorka (*Nordic-Baltic Eight*), Baltički razvojni forum (*Baltic Development Forum*), itd. (Studzieniecki 2016, 235–241).

unije, ali i pojedine druge susedne zemlje. Ipak, reč je o svega nekoliko ključnih oblasti međusobne saradnje, bez težnji da se one suštinski produbljuju ili proširuju.

Dakle, članstvo država u Evropskoj uniji nikako ne predstavlja prepreku za različite forme međusobnog povezivanja njenih država članica. Naprotiv, pokazalo se da su Beneluks i nordijske forme saradnje i te kako komplementarne sa članstvom u Evropskoj uniji. Isto potvrđuje i slučaj Višegradske četvorke, a Evropska unija je tako proteklih decenija motivisala često države da se regionalno povezuju i uspostave što jače oblike multilateralne saradnje.<sup>3</sup> Pregled nekoliko vremenski različitih „talasa“ regionalizma nakon okončanja Drugog svetskog rata takođe pokazuje da će i u narednom razdoblju on i dalje intenzivno razvijati. Ovo potvrđuje i činjenica da je nakon 2010. godine formirano nekoliko novih foruma za saradnju unutar Evropske unije i Evrope uopšte.

## Balkanski modeli regionalne saradnje: geneza nastojanja ka čvršćem povezivanju

Prvi pokušaji obnovljene regionalne saradnje na Balkanskom poluostrvu, od 1995. do 1999. godine, nisu imali značajnijeg efekta. Ona je i tada, kao u ostalom i u međuratnom periodu na Balkanskom poluostrvu (1918–1941), bila vezana za predominantno spoljne podsticaje, ali nije imala gotovo nikakve vidljivije rezultate.<sup>4</sup> Formiranje brojnih inicijativa od 1991. godine za Balkan – Roajomonoski proces, SECI, itd., uključivali su samo neke segmente saradnje i to prilično nepotpuno (Damjan Lakićević 1999, 401–413).

Međunarodna zajednica, pre svega Sjedinjene Američke Države i Evropska unija su inicirale formiranje Pakta za stabilnost u Jugoistočnoj Evropi u Sarajevu početkom avgusta 1999. godine (Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 76–77). Cilj je bila prvobitna konsolidacija postkonfliktnih prilika u ratom zahvaćenoj regiji, a potom i naglašavanje evropske agenda država ovog dela Evrope i njihove evoatlantske perspektive (Busek and Kühne 2010, 473–628). Prvobitni unutrašnji okvir Pakta za stabilnost u Jugoistočnoj Evropi podrazumevao je postojanje tri radna stola, koji su tematski pokrivala demokratiju i ljudska prava, ekonomiju, razvoj i saradnju i bezbednosna

<sup>3</sup> Videti o razvoju Severne dimenzije Evropske unije (*Northern Dimension*) – [https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/northern-dimension/347/northern-dimension\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/northern-dimension/347/northern-dimension_en).

<sup>4</sup> O nastanku i razvoju Male Antante i Balkanskog saveza u međuratnom periodu na Balkanskom poluostrvu videti više u: Jovanović (1939, 36–188).

pitanja (uključujući unutrašnje poslove, pravosuđe i odbranu) (Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 83–93). Istovremeno pokušaj da se spreči formiranje velikog broja novih inicijativa, koje bi na taj način izgubile vlastiti fokus bez strateške usmerenosti ka procesu stabilizacije i evroatlantskih aspiracija država u regionu, nije dao značajnije rezultate. Naime, u periodu s početka 2000-tih došlo je do značajnog povećanja broja ovih inicijativa, koje nisu imale značajnije efekte i domete. Tako je tokom 2006. godine njihov broj je narastao na preko dvadeset (SRGSPSEE 2006, 8).

Ovako iznenadno i naglo povećanje broja regionalnih inicijativa na Zapadnom Balkanu, njihovo često podudaranje i odsustvo međusobne koordinacije ukazivalo je na nužnost rekonceptualizacije saradnje sa predominantnim ciljem njene bolje efikasnosti i usklađenosti. Dometi regionalne saradnje su, međutim, bili veoma slabi i skromni uporedno sa „eksplozijom“ velikog broja regionalnih inicijativa. Stoga je u „Izveštaj Više grupe za reviziju Pakta za stabilnost Jugoistočne Evrope“, koju su činili eksperti iz regionalne i Evropske unije, iz marta 2006. godine ukazano na nužnost prelaska u novu fazu regionalne saradnje (često se naglašavalo od etape stabilizacije ka evointegracijama), ali i nužnost realnog prihvatanja ovih vidova saradnje od strana država u regionu (*regional ownership*) (SRGSPSEE 2006, 7). Ideje koje su iznete u navedenom dokumentu podrazumevale su formiranje Saveta za regionalnu saradnju (*Regional Cooperation Council – RCC*), povećanje od njegove strane koordiniranih oblasti saradnje i suštinski značajno povezivanje sa Procesom saradnje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi.

U navedenom dokumentu konstatovano je i mnoštvo postojećih inicijativa koje je nužno usaglasiti i staviti pod svojevrsni „kišobran“, odnosno pod prevashodnu koordinaciju Saveta za regionalnu saradnju. No, po prvi put u ovom izveštaju je naveden i konkretan evropski model regionalne saradnje, koji će se uzeti kao „uzor“ prilikom preoblikovanja Pakta za stabilnost u Jugoistočnoj Evropi – Savet baltičkih zemalja – SBZ (*Council of the Baltic Sea States – CBSS*) (SRGSPSEE 2006, 9). Ova inicijativa od 1992. godine okuplja pribaltičke republike, zemlje Nordijske regije i Rusku Federaciju.<sup>5</sup> Imajući u vidu da je koncept regionalne saradnje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi uključivao različite zemlje (od Slovenije do Turske), koje pripadaju različitim organizacijama, ovaj se model saradnje u kojem su bile i države članice Evropske unije i Severnoatlantskog saveza, kao i Rusija uzet kao podoban za primenu u Jugoistočnoj Evropi. Tako je i regionalna saradnja u okviru Saveta za regionalnu saradnju (SRS) podrazumevala usaglašavanje rada postojećih inicijativa kroz stvaranje ekspertskega pulova u pojedinim oblastima (ekonomija, infrastruktura, pravosuđe i unutrašnji poslovi, bezbednost, ljudski resursi i parlamentarna saradnja)

<sup>5</sup> Videti više o Savetu baltičkih zemalja na [www.cbss.org](http://www.cbss.org).

(Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 99–105). Dakle, pre deceniju i po nisu uzimani u obzir intenzivniji modeli regionalne saradnje koji postoje u Evropi, kao što je učinjeno kasnije. Takođe, u ovoj etapi razvoja regionalne saradnje na Balkanu nisu bila primenjena uspešna iskustva „posthladnoratovskih“ formi regionalne saradnje, poput Višegradske četvorke i/ili Baltičkog saveta i Baltičke skupštine, što je na određeni način učinjeno kasnije. Struktura Saveta baltičkih zemalja koja je podrazumevala postojanje ekspertske grupa za pojedine oblasti preslikana je dakle i na Savet za regionalnu saradnju, sa izuzetkom što je Komitet viših službenika SBZ zamenjen intenzivnjom saradnjom SRS sa Procesom saradnje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi.<sup>6</sup>

Treba napomenuti kada je preuzimanje iskustava država Srednje Evrope u kontekstu evropskih integracija i regionalne saradnje da je Evropska unija još 2006. godine insistirala da se oformi Zapadnobalkanska zona slobodne trgovine (*Western Balkans Free Trade Area – WBFTA*), a po ugledu na aranžman CEFTA (*Central European Free Trade Area*) iz 1992. godine (RSE 2006). Međutim, nakon što je Republika Hrvatska, koja je tada bila u krugu zapadnobalkanskih zemalja, ovo odbila, preslikan je model i naziv CEFTA, sa povremenim dodavanjem 2006. kako bi se diferencirala u odnosu na prvobitni aranžman za zemlje Srednje Evrope (Legović 2006). Dakle, na svaki način je insistirano da se iz naziva ove inicijative u potpunosti izbaci odrednica Zapadni Balkan. Ovde su, međutim, nedvosmisleno preuzeta iskustva zemalja nekadašnjeg Istočnog bloka, odnosno inicijalno Poljske, Češke, Slovačke i Mađarske, da se oformi regionalna zona slobodne trgovine (Đukanović i Antevski 2008, 43–61). Tokom 2021. godine kosovski premijer Aljin Kurti (Albin Kurti) predložio je da se zaključi novi aranžman, tj. SEEFTA – *South East European Free Trade Area*, koji bi bio u posebnim odnosima sa Evropskim ekonomskim prostorom (EEA) (Danas 2021). Iza ovoga se zapravo krije pokušaj da Kosovo više ne bude predstavljeno preko UNMIK administracije, kako je to bilo potpisano u decembru 2006. godine kada je CEFTA „ponovo“ uspostavljena *via facti* za Zapadni Balkan i Republiku Moldaviju.

Produbljivanje formi i sadržaja regionalne saradnje nije imalo realne mogućnosti sve dok Hrvatska nije imala izglednu perspektivu ulaska u Evropsku uniju i konačnog „napuštanja“ Zapadnog Balkana (Đukanović 2020, 151). Uporedo sa ovim, fokus regionalne saradnje postpuno je prenesen sa nivoa Jugoistočne Evrope na Zapadni Balkan. Takvo usredsređivanje na Zapadnobalkansku šestorku značilo je i da su stvoreni uslovi za suštinsko remodeliranje regionalne saradnje sa posebnim akcentom na njenu bolju delotovnost. Početkom protekle decenije pojavila su se i nova promišljanja šta i kako ubuduće sa regionalnom saradnjom,

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<sup>6</sup> Videti detaljnije o strukturi Saveta baltičkih zemalja na već navedenom sajtu.

odnosno kakvi njeni obrisi da se razvijaju dalje. Tako je u aprilu 2013. godine bio je predstavljen *Non paper* o unapređenju regionale saradnje (NPNCJPWB 2013). Ovaj „paket“ je podrazumevao formiranje Zapadnobalkanske šestorke, koja bi imala veoma čvrste oblike regionalne saradnje u svim oblastima, pa i onim koje do tada nisu bile jasnije obuhvaćene poput međupolijske (BALPOL) ili parlamentarne (Parlamentarna skupština Zapadnog Balkana) (NPNCJPWB 2013, 3–4).

Temeljno produbljena saradnja, međutim, nije prvo bitno naišla na odobravanje elita u regiji Zapadnog Balkana, te se sve na određeni način odložilo. Kasnije je od strane Savezne Republike Nemačke kroz Berlinski proces od 2014. godine pokušano nadomestiti evidentni deficit uspešnosti regionalne saradnje (Đukanović i Krstić 2016, 169–185). Upravo je ova inicijativa kao svoje najznačajnije dostignuće promovisala uspostavljanje Regionalnog ekonomskog područja (*Regional Economic Area – REA*) od 2017., odnosno Zajedničkog regionalnog tržišta Zapadnog Balkana (*Common Regional Market – CRM*) od 2020. godine, kao oblika regionalne ekonomskih integracija koji nadopunjuje ranije forme ekonomskog saradnje (Đukanović i Đorđević 2020, 595–618). U ovaj oblasti čini se da su u velikoj meri korišćena iskustva kako Evropskog ekonomskog prostora (*European Economic Area – EEA*), tako i Unije Beneluksa, koja je od svog osnivanja 1958. godine imala sličan aranžman.

Berlinski proces dodatno je promovisao agendu povezivanja, Zapadnobalkanske „zelene koridore“, digitalnu transformaciju, saradnju u suzbijanju pandemije virusa COVID-19, a ujedno se i fokusirao se na pitanja migracija, statusa mlađih i integracije Roma (CCBP 2021, 1–9). Pored navedenog tu su i vidni pokušaji da se regionalna saradnja fokusira na oblasti obrazovanja, istraživanja i inovacija, pomirenje u regiji i zajednički pokušaj utvrđivanja sADBINE nestalih lica u oružanim sukobima 90-ih godina. Na samitu Berlinskog procesa pod nemačkim predsedavanjem, održanom 5. jula 2021. godine, ponovo je aktuelizovano i da ova inicijativa treba da se usredsredi i na kompleks velikog broja nerešenih bilateralnih pitanja između zapadnobalkanskih država (CCBP 2021, 6–7). No, ovako uistinu ambiciozno postavljene zadatke Berlinskog procesa može ugroziti njegova neizvesna budućnost, imajući u vidu skorašnje promene na vrhu vlasti u Berlinu i prioritete novih lidera u odnosu na Zapadni Balkan.

Sa druge strane, „Mali Šengen“ pokušaj tri zemlje iz 2019. godine (Albanija, Srbija i Severna Makedonija) nije bio inkluzivan za čitav Zapadni Balkan i transformisao se u inicijativu pod nazivom „Otvoreni Balkan“ (*Open Balkan*) u Skoplju krajem jula 2021. godine (Kuzmanovski 2021). Fokus ove inicijative se preusmerio na kretanje radne snage između tri zemlje, slobode kretanja roba, kao i saradnju u oblasti vanrednih situacija i ublažavanje posledica katastrofa (*Open Balkan* 2021). U realizaciju ove inicijative uključile su se privredne komore Albanije, Severne Makedonije i Srbije, a pre svega vezano za buduće regulisanje davanja

radnih dozvola građanima u ovim zemljama. Istovremeno, predviđeno je i da se cargo saobraćaj između ovih zemalja odvija neprestano (24 časa sedam dana u nedelji), a naglašena je i značajnija saradnja u oblasti turizma kroz podsticanje međusobnih poseta građana Srbije, Albanije i Severne Makedonije. Dogovoren je istovremeno i da se ustanovi Balkanska filmska komisija (*Balkan Film Commision*), kao i da se započne sa zajedničkim organizovanjem Balkanskog festivala vina. Kada je u pitanju saradnja mladih predviđeno je da se organizuju sportska takmičenja između timova iz sve tri zapadnobalkanske zemlje. Ujedno „Otvoreni Balkan“ pruža snažnu podršku svim aktivnostima Berlinskog procesa, a pre svega vezano za formiranje Zajedničkog regionalnog tržišta, navodi se u Zajedničkoj izjavi. Takođe, podvlači se i da evropska perspektiva ostaje „glavni katalizator regionalne saradnje“, te se u tom smislu pozivaju i druge zapadnobalkanske države i akteri da se pridruže „Otvorenom Balkanu“ (Open Balkan 2021).

Međutim, ideja o implementaciji četiri temeljne slobode EU na Zapadnom Balkanu nastala u aranžmanu „Mali Šengen“ krajem 2019. godine, tako je zapravo, gotovo u potpunosti preuzeta od strane Berlinskog procesa i u okviru njega implementirana od kraja 2020. godine kroz oblikovanje Zajedničkog regionalnog tržišta (WBLDCRM 2020, 1–2). I budućnost ove inicijative je veoma neizvesna imajući u vidu da Savezna Republika Nemačka, sa jedne strane, ne krije svoju skepsu prema njoj, dok Sjedinjene Američke Države, sa druge, insistiraju da se svi zapadnobalkanski akteri uključe u rad „Otvorenog Balkana“ (Slobodna Bosna 2021; RSE 2021).

U okviru *Non paper-a* o rekonceptualizovanju regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu iz 2013. godine posebno su navedeni određeni evropski modeli multilateralne saradnje, odnosno „slične regionalne strukture“ – Nordijski savet, Višegradska grupa i Beneluks (NPNCJPWB 2013, 5) Oni su u ovom dokumentu pomenuti prevashodno kao bitni forumi za uspostavljanje međuregionalne saradnje Zapadnobalkanske šestorke sa njima. Ipak, u samom tekstu *Non paper-a*, se vide mnogi elementi koji su kao model podrazumevali sličnost okvira saradnje koji su tada bili predviđeni za Zapadnobalkansku šestorku sa navedenim evropskim oblicima regionalne saradnje.

Navedena sličnost se ponajpre vidi u komparaciji sa *Nordijskim savetom ministara*, a posebno u 2013. godini predviđenim redovnim sastancima ministara i šefova država/vlada regiona Zapadnog Balkana. U skladu sa Helsinškim sporazumom (1962) saradnja između nordijskih država se odvija u oblasti pravosuđa, socijalnih pitanja, ekonomije, transporta i komunikacija, kao i životne sredine (TCBDFINS 1962, Articles 1–38). Dakle, i u ovim oblastima nordijske saradnje može se uočiti značajna podudarnost sa zapadnobalkanskom regionalnom saradnjom. Postoje i drugi sporazumi koji se tiču produbljivanja kulturne saradnje

(1971), Nordijske pasoške unije (od 1957), jezičke konvencije (1981), pravnog statusa Nordijskog saveta i Nordijskog saveta ministara (1987) i njihovog osoblja (1988) (Norden.org 2021). Struktura i sastav Nordijskog saveta, sa druge strane, podseća na parlamentarnu skupštinu, i u okviru zapadnobalkanske saradnje takvo telo ne postoji, ali kada je u pitanju Nordijski savet ministara u okviru Zapadnobalkanske šestorke i ovdašnjih regionalnih inicijativa ima sličnih foruma. Međuparlamentarna saradnja bila je u fokusu Saveta za regionalnu saradnju, ali 2013. godine najavljenja Parlamentarna skupština Zapadnog Balkana nikada nije oformljena (NPNCJPWB 2013, 4; Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 100–107). Ovo se može obrazložiti i činjenicom da u svim državama Zapadnog Balkana parlamenti i inače gube na značaju kada je u pitanju funkcionisanje njihovih političkih sistema.

Kada su u pitanju ovlašćenja nordijskih formi saradnje i njihovo poređenje sa Zapadnobalkanskim šestorkom i Berlinskim procesom, ona su u značajnoj meri gotovo podudarna. A posebno je bitno istaći da će pokušaj stvaranja regionalnog tržišta u okviru prvobitne inicijative „Otvoreni Balkan“ (od 2019–2021. godine nekadašnji „Mali Šengen“), a sada i Berlinskog procesa, podseća na sličan aranžman koji postoji unutar nordijske saradnje još od 1982. godine. Puna mogućnost kretanja građana Zapadnog Balkana unutar ovog regiona samo sa ličnom kartom istovremeno nalikuje na projekat Nordijske pasoške unije, koji se razvijao u ovom delu Evrope od 1957. godine. Može se zato zaključiti da i pored brojnih kulturoloških, geografskih, etničkih i drugih razlika koje su uočljive između Nordijske regije i Balkana postoji izvesna sličnosti u modalitetima njihove unutrašnje multilateralne saradnje. Nordijski kulturni i regionalni identitet, treba napomenuti, je veoma duboko ukorenjen u državama severa Evrope, za razliku od suštinskog neprihvatanja (zapadno)balkanskog od strane država njenog jugoistoka. No, proces „skandinavizacije Balkana“, koji je polovinom ratnih 90-ih na postjugoslovenskom prostoru zagovarao hrvatski političar i sociolog Stipe Šuvar definitivno je uspeo da otpočne, sa još uvek ne dovoljnim izgledima i da u potpunosti uspe (Đukanović 2020, 147).

Saradnja u oblastima ekonomije, unutrašnjih poslova, povezivanja mладих, nauke i tehnologije, i infrastrukture jedna je od temeljnih odlika *Višegradske grupe* tokom protekle tri decenije.<sup>7</sup> Sve navedene oblasti su produbljene i u zapadnobalkanskoj regionalnoj saradnji, a pre svega kroz Berlinski proces od 2014. godine. Takođe, 2017. godine osnovan je i Fond za Zapadni Balkan (*Western Balkans Fund*), a po ugledu i na inicijativu Međunarodnog višegradskog fonda (*International Visegrad Fund*) (Tomović 2015). Postojale su i određene ideje da se formi za

<sup>7</sup> Videti: <https://www.visegradgroup.eu/cooperation/contents-of-visegrad-110412>.

Zapadnobalkanska odbrambena grupa po ugledu na Višegradska borbena grupa (*Visegrád EU Battlegroup*), ali to do sada nije realizovano (Ejdus, Savković, i Dragojlović 2010, 6–24). Ranija saradnja srednjoevropskih zemalja u okviru CEFTA, gotovo je istovetna i u CEFTA 2006. aranžmanu uz dodatak produbljivanja ekonomske saradnje kroz zapravo integraciju njihovih tržišta – Zajedničko regionalno tržište Zapadnog Balkana. Takođe, većina aktivnosti Višegradske grupe se realizuje i u okviru regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu na gotovo identičan način. Ovo se odnosi kako na redovne sastanke premijera, tako i resornih ministara i koordinatora za regionalnu saradnju. Slične forme se odvijaju i na Zapadnom Balkanu kroz konsultacije nacionalnih parlamenta i nevladinog sektora. Naravno, postoji i značajna razlika kada je u pitanju ambijent regionalne saradnje, odnosno sve dublje prihvatanje srednjoevropskog identiteta koji se emanira upravo kroz Višegradsku grupu, dok se zapadnobalkanski identitet otežano prihvata u većini ovdašnjih društava (Orel 2012, 85–88; Pavlović 2010, 91–102).

Kada su u pitanju sličnosti sa *Unijom Beneluksa*, zapadnobalkanska regionalna saradnja postoje veoma slična kada je u pitanju sprovođenje četiri slobode kretanja (ljudi, usluga, roba i kapitala) na Zapadnom Balkanu, što je za benelušku saradnju karakteristično od njenog otpočinjanja. Dodatna sličnost predstavlja i najavljeni priznanje diploma između zapadnobalkanskih aktera, kao i jača policijska saradnja i saradnja u oblasti bezbednosti. Tu su i ideje da se usklade sistemi PDV-a, kao i da se zajednički privlače strane investicije, što je podvučeno u Skoplju krajem jula 2021. godine na prvom sastanku „Otvorenog Balkana“. Kao i zapadnobalkanska saradnja i Unija Beneluksa pokušava da u celini bude komplementarna sa članstvom u Evropskoj uniji i njenim zakonodavstvom (TRTEBEU 1958, Preamble and Article 2). U nastojanjima redefinisanja regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu veoma često se ukazuje da ona u potpunosti korespondira sa evropskim nastojanjima država regionala, a to se uvek podvlači i u aktima koji se usvajaju u okviru brojnih inicijativa i foruma.

Pored navedenog i oblasti digitalizacije, saradnja u oblasti energetike i klimatskih promena, kao i transporta i slobode kretanja radne snage zajedničke su i za Beneluks i Zapadnobalkansku šestorku (TRTEBEU 1958, Article 3). Odnedavno je tu pridodata i cirkularna ekonomija, kao posebna oblast regionalne saradnje u okviru Beneluksa. Na određeni način te oblasti saradnje unutar Unije Beneluksa i zapadnobalkanske saradnje sada su gotovo identične sa nastojanjima pre svega u okviru Berlinskog procesa, ali i „Otvorenog Balkana“/ranijeg „Malog Šengena“. Takođe, i nastojanja Saveta za regionalnu saradnju su gotovo sasvim identična sa svim navedenim oblastima saradnje.

Postoji, takođe, i nekoliko bitnih razlika kada je u pitanju regionalna saradnja u okviru Unije Beneluksa i zapadnobalkanskih oblika multilateralne saradnje. U

okviru Beneluksa postoji Međuparlamentarni konsultativni savet (*The Benelux Interparliamentary Consultative Council*), dok ideja iz 2013. godine o formiranju Parlamentarne skupštine Zapadnog Balkana, kao što je već napomenuto, još uvek nije zaživela (TRTEBEU 1958, Articles 15–16). U okviru Beneluksa postoje još i Sud pravde (*The Benelux Court of Justice*) i Organizacija za intelektualnu svojinu (*The Benelux Organization for Intellectual Proprety*) (TRTEBEU 1958, Articles 17 and 31). Pored navedenog, saradnja u okviru zemalja Beneluksa počiva i na saradnji njihovih lokalnih vlasti, što nije slučaj sa Zapadnim Balkanom (TRTEBEU 1958, Article 2). A istovremeno održivi razvoj, koji podrazumeva i ekonomski razvoj, ali i viši stepen socijalne zaštite građana i zaštitu životne sredine predstavlja srž saradnje u okviru Unije Beneluksa (TRTEBEU 1958, Article 2). Dodatna razlika sa zapadnobalkanskim formama saradnje jeste i realno prihvatanje regionalnog identiteta Beneluksa u društvima Luksemburga, Belgije i Holandije, koji, sa druge strane, ne postoji na Zapadnom Balkanu kao zaseban oživljeni konstrukt.

Polovinom devedesetih u srpskoj javnosti, uglavnom liberalnim krugovima, takođe, su se pojavljivale ideje o „*balkanskom Beneluksu*“ (Radivojša 1995, 14). On bi obuhvatao pored tadašnje Savezne Republike Jugoslavije još i Makedoniju i tada ratom zahvaćenu Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Posebno je zanimljiv bio predlog koji je tada stigao iz Fonda demokratski centar od strane Slobodana Vučkovića da se održi vanredna međunarodna konferencija koja bi podrazumevala i „*obnovu ekonomске razmene i kretanje ljudi bez carinskih i drugih ograničenja*“ (Radivojša 1995, 14). Međutim, tokom ratne decenije pa ni kasnije nije bilo značajnije političke opcije koja se zalagala za ovaj vid saradnje i integraciju regiona, iako su u pojedinim krugovima u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama uoči Dejtona 1995. godine razmatrane opcije čvršćeg povezivanja današnjih država Zapadnog Balkana (Radivojša 1995, 14). Nešto kasnije, zapravo tokom 2012. godine analitičari *EU Observera* Ginter Fehlinger (Gunther Fehlinger) i Ekrem Krasnići (Ekrem Krasniqi) su pokrenuli ideju o stvaranju „*balkanskog Beneluksa*“, koji bi uključivao Albaniju, Kosovo, Crnu Goru i današnju Severnu Makedoniju, ali bez Srbije i Bosne i Hercegovine (Fehlinger, Krasniqi 2012). On bi tako reflektovao zapravo panalbanske tendencije i aspiracije. Međutim, ova ideja nije nikada ozbiljnije uzimana u razmatranje i naišla je na osude u Evropskoj uniji (*Blic* 2012).

Ponovo je, međutim, došlo do pominjanja „*balkanskog Beneluksa*“ uporedo sa pokretanjem inicijative „*Mali Šengen*“ iz 2019. godine (Georgievski 2019). Međutim, njena nedovoljna inkluzija, tj. realno odsustvo panzapadnobalkanskog karaktera i nepostojanje spremnosti regionalnih aktera da se produbi „*izvorna*“ regionalna saradnja dovila je do prekomponovanja inače veoma ambiciozno osmišljenih aktivnosti i svođenje na svega nekoliko komponenata (kretanje roba i radne snage, kao i saradnja vezana za vanredne situacije). Sve su očiglednija različita

sagledavanja regionalne saradnje od strane aktera u regionu. Jedna grupa lidera smatra da ona mora biti sve više „autohtona“ odnosno da bude inicirana od strane građana i lidera regije, dok sa druge strane postoje veoma isključivi stavovi da se ne prihvataju nikakvi pokušaji saradnje koji nisu usaglašeni i koordinirani od strane uticajnih zapadnih aktera. U tom smislu se i oko inicijative „Otvoreni Balkan“ vode višegodišnje rasprave (RSE 2021a).

## Zaključak

Geneza regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu tokom protekle dve i po decenije odvijala se u poprilično otežanim okolnostima. Štaviše, prvoibitni postkonfliktni i oblici saradnje na Balkanu su stidljivo uspostavljeni i na određeni način nalikovali su igri „kule od karata“, dok je kasnije, posebno od 1999. godine uporedno sa Procesom stabilizacije i pridruživanja Evropske unije na insistiranje međunarodnih aktera (EU i SAD, pre svega) došlo do čvrćih oblika povezivanja u Jugoistočnoj Evropi (Đukanović 2020, 143–151). Štaviše, postepeno se ova regionalna saradnja svodila na niži „geografski“ nivo – Zapadni Balkan, što je posebno bilo uočljivo nakon 2006. godine odnosno nakon transformacije aranžmana CEFTA u CEFTA 2006. Isto se odnosi i na Savet za regionalnu saradnju koji je uspostavljen s početka 2008. godine, a posebno Berlinski proces od 2014. godine. Ovo su bili prelomni momenti u razvoju regionalne saradnje na jugoistoku Evrope sa posebnim akcentom na saradnju u oblastima ekonomije, bezbednosti, razvoja infrastrukture, pravosuđa i unutrašnjih poslova i razvoja ljudskih resursa (Lopandić i Kronja 2010, 101).

Regionalni, „zapadnobalkanski“ identitet od polovine 2000-tih počinje postepeno da se promoviše, ali nije uspeo značajnije da se ukoreni u ovdašnjim društвима. Štaviše, regionalna saradnja se često smatrala više nužnošćу (u kontekstu evrointegracija) nego li kao potvrda postojećih „nasleđenih“ i jakih privrednih, kulturnih i drugih veza koje objektivne postoje u ovom delu Evrope. Zato je kao uzor/model novih oblika regionalne saradnje krenuo od „labavijih“ formi koje već postoje u Evropi, da bi već od 2013. godine bilo više reči o iskustvima Unije Beneluks, Višegradske grupe (V4) i nordijskih oblika saradnje.

Objektivno produbljivanje regionalne saradnje posebno je podstaknuto 2014. godine nakon pokretanja Berlinskog procesa, koji i jeste nastao kao odgovor na evidentnu nespremnost političkih elita u ovom delu Evrope da prihvate čvrše forme saradnje svega godinu dana pre toga. Od tada se može govoriti o gotovo potpunoj komplementarnosti sastava, procedura i ovlašćenja Zapadnobalkanske

šestorke i Višegradske grupe. Takođe, postoji više nego jasna sličnost Nordijskog saveta ministara sa oblicima regionalne saradnje na Zapadnom Balkanu. Gotovo sasvim su identična ovlašćenja Beneluksa i Saveta za regionalnu saradnju i Procesa saradnje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi, ali i izvesne razlike vezane za institucionalne okvire (pre svega „Parlament“ i Sud pravde Beneluksa). U tom smislu sasvim će izvesno u narednom periodu biti ponovo pokrenuta inicijativa za konstituisanje Parlamentarne skupštine Zapadnog Balkana, a možda i suda koji bi tumačio akte ukoliko oni budu donošeni u okviru postojećih vidova regionalne saradnje.

Jasno je da suštinski izostanak promocije i izgradnje regionalnog „zapadnobalkanskog“ identiteta ostaje glavna kočnica za ojačanu saradnju. Tu su dodatna značajna prepreka i megalomansi nacionalistički projekti, koji postoje i koji se u svim ovdašnjim društвима ciklično učestalo ponavljaju. Zato se pojavljuju i težnje da se ovi projekti stave u prvi plan nasuprot često javno spominjanoj evropskoj perspektivi Zapadnog Balkana. Međutim, pojedini fenomeni poput organizovanog kriminala, korupcije i drugih pretnji bezbednosti na Zapadnom Balkanu usloviće nužnost još čvršće međusobne saradnje u okviru regionalnih inicijativa i foruma. Takođe, objektivno egzistiranje Zapadnog Balkana na evropskoj periferiji utiče na nužnost saradnje ovdašnjih država. Međutim, značajni delovi ovih društava ne prihvataju tu potrebu smatrajući da ona ne pripadaju „zapadnobalkanskom korpusu“ već drugom krugu/ovima zemalja u Evropi. Stoga se ponovo pokreću priče o pojmu Jugoistočne Evrope (Kosovo), jadranskom/mediteranskom identitetu (Crna Gora i Albanija), „istočnoj perspektivi“ regionalne saradnje (povremeno okretanje Srbije ka Kvadrilateralu), itd. (Cvetković 2021). Ovo višestrano „bežanje“ sa Zapadnog Balkana, međutim, nije realno jer i Evropska unija, a i Sjedinjene Američke Države regiju percipiraju kao integralnu celinu, još uvek neinkorporiranu u Uniju. S tim u vezi će i dalje insistirati na tome da se pojačaju oblici regionalne ekonomske saradnje i integracije, kao i političke kooperacije. Isto se odnosi i na pokušaje pojedinih susednih država da od Zapadnog Balkana „otrgnu“ određene zemlje – poput nastojanja Mađarske i njenog premijera Viktora Orbana (Viktor Orbán) da Srbiju predstavi kao „južni deo Srednje Evrope“ i isključivim delom ove evropske regije (Komarčević 2021).

Izazovi globalne ekonomske krize, takođe, mogu potvrditi i opravdanost formiranja Zajedničkog regionalnog tržišta u okviru Berlinskog procesa, kao i stvaranja uslova za lakše kretanje radne snage u okviru novoimenovanog „Otvorenog Balkana“ (nekadašnji „Mali Šengen“). Svакако su bitne i forme saradnje u vanrednim situacijama zapadnobalkanskih država, digitalizaciji, cirkularnoj ekonomiji, položaju Roma, itd. Nužno je i jačanje prekogranične saradnje lokalnih vlasti, što je u okviru regionalne saradnje do sada bilo van fokusa, kao i ukazivanje

na manjinska pitanja koja najčešće predstavljaju najznačajnije probleme u bilateralnoj ravni odnosa zemalja Zapadnog Balkana.

Imajući u vidu da funkcionalnoj i osnaženoj regionalnoj saradnji na Zapadnom Balkanu značajnu prepreku predstavljaju nerešeni bilateralni problemi, fokus će u narednom periodu pre svega kroz Berlinski proces biti na ovom korpusu pitanja. Štaviše, od dinamike njihovog rešavanja zavisiće i puno sređivanje prilika i puna bezbednost Zapadnog Balkana, a samim tim i dodatno preoblikovanje regionalne saradnje u ovom delu Evrope.

Puna komplementarnost dosadašnjeg razvoja regionalne saradnje na Balkanu povezana je sa evropskim intencijama ovdašnjih država i u potpunosti se razvijati u skladu sa standardima i okvirima Evropske unije (Đukanović i Krstić 2021, 9–26). To znači da se ona mora razvijati na temeljnim načelima Unije. Slično je i sa Unijom Beneluks i Višegradskom četvorkom, čije su države članice su ujedno i članice Evropske unije. Takođe, veoma je slično i sa nordijskom regionalnom saradnjom, čije dve od pet država nisu članice Unije (Island i Norveška), a ujedno dve nisu ni članice NATO (Švedska i Finska). Dakle, regionalna saradnja na Zapadnom Balkanu i dalje će ostati pod izvesnim okriljem pre svega Evropske unije, ali i drugih zapadnih aktera koji na njoj insistiraju, a pre svega Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. One su posebno insistirale na bivšem „Malom Šengenu“, ali nisu uspele da animiraju sve aktere na Zapadnom Balkanu da mu se priključe ni gotovo dve godine o pokretanju ove inicijative (KSENA 2020, Point 5).

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**MODELING REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE BALKANS AFTER 1999:  
EUROPEAN EXPERIENCES AND THEIR APPLICATION**

**Abstract:** In this paper, the authors comparatively analyze the development of regional cooperation in Europe after the Second World War and in the Western Balkans since 1999. They compare and contrast regional cooperation in the Western Balkans (with a particular focus on the period after 2006, when the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe was transformed into the Regional Cooperation Council, and after 2014, when the Berlin Process was launched) with similar forms of cooperation in Europe, such as the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Visegrad Group, and the Benelux. Therefore, the authors approach a comparative analysis of the composition of these regional forums and their areas of cooperation with the Regional Cooperation Council, the Southeast European Cooperation Process, and the Berlin Process. In this regard, the authors state that there are more than obvious similarities between regional cooperation in the Western Balkans, primarily with the Visegrad Group, and to a significant extent with the Benelux. Regional cooperation on the Balkan Peninsula and between the Nordic countries is similar to a lesser extent, owing to the absence of the formation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western Balkans, which was overlooked in 2013. The authors conclude that there are numerous obstacles to establishing more intensive and deeper regional cooperation in the Western Balkans, the most significant of which are the lack of a multilaterally accepted regional identity, the different interests of regional leaders regarding its "originality", the conflicted views of dominant opinions, and the predominant influences of various Western actors.

**Keywords:** regional cooperation, cooperation models, Europe, Western Balkans, Benelux, Visegrad Group, Nordic cooperation, Berlin Process, Regional Cooperation Council.

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## International relations through the prism of the new technological division of power

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**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to determine which country has technological superiority in the field of industry by analysing the strategic approaches to the industrial development of three leading industrial countries (Germany, China, and the US), as well as selected indicators of industrial development. The results of the research show that China has the most ambitious approach and pretension to take a leading position in a large number of high-tech industries. Since 2014, China has become the second-largest industrial power, right after Germany, while the US has been in fourth place since 2017. China leads in terms of the share of industrial products in global trade and the share of manufacturing value added in the total world gross domestic product. Since 2015, China and Germany have developed intensive cooperation in the area of hi-tech industrial production, while bilateral relations between China and the US are tight due to the trade war. While the US, as the third-largest bilateral trading partner of Germany (after China and the Netherlands), is generating a trade deficit, China is making a breakthrough towards the European market, which is in line with the strategy of taking the position of a global leader in high technology.

**Keywords:** Germany, China, the United States, international relations, the fourth industrial revolution, technological development, industry.

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## Introduction

New revolutionary technological inventions have always preceded global socio-economic and political changes (Lučić 2019) and marked the beginning of a new industrial revolution. The first industrial revolution is symbolically associated with the invention of the steam engine in 1769, while as a beginning of the second industrial revolution is taken 1860 as a year when were promoted innovations in steel production which further enabled mass production, electrification of production and development of new industries. The third industrial revolution began in the late 1970s thanks to the development of digital and information technology, electronics and telecommunications, which improved the automation of the industry through the development and application of robotics in industry. On the foundations of the digital revolution, the current fourth industrial revolution ("Industry 4.0") has been developing, characterized by a fusion of various technological breakthroughs that blur the line between the physical, digital and biological spheres (NICVA 2021). The essence lies in the smart functioning of ubiquitous networks, the emergence of smart devices and big data technology-based applications, cloud technology and the internet of things. Unlike previous industrial revolutions, the fourth industrial revolution is far faster and brings changes in all industrial areas and branches. It was preceded by a period of great movements in international capital and productivity growth (Tošković and Filipović 2017; Marjanović 2010), but the global turnaround in terms of reindustrialization occurred after 2009 when it became clear that economic recovery was not possible without strengthening industry and technological modernization (Gerlitz 2016).

The fourth industrial revolution was officially presented in 2016 at the World Economic Forum, through the transformation of digital, physical and biological technologies, which announced the global transformation of entire production and management systems. Improving efficiency and productivity, reducing transport and communication costs, innovations provided better logistical support and inclusion in global supply chains, which together boost international trade (Schwab 2016). In the sphere of production, these technologies are based on merging the virtual and the real, introducing artificial intelligence, increasing computer and telecommunication capacities (Šenk 2018), which qualitatively changes material production and affects the international division of labor. On one hand, automation can lead to greater inequality, not only on labor market but also inequality among countries (Brinjolfsson and McAfee 2015), while on the other hand technological advances have the potential to raise income level and quality of life globally (iED 2019).

The turnaround in global economic policy after escalation of the global economic crisis, showed that economic growth based on services was not sustainable and that process of reindustrialization was necessity. To respond more effectively to new challenges of technological progress, most countries have adopted national strategies to define future industrial development. Among the first in the European Union (EU), Germany adopted "Industrie 4.0" and France "Nouvelle France Industrielle" after which Italy adopted "Fabbrica del Futuro", the Netherlands "Smart Factori", Great Britain "High Value Manufacturing Catapult", Spain "Industria Conectada 4.0" and the Czech Republic "Prumisl 4.0". In Asia, strategic programs have been developed by Japan's "Industrial Value Chain Initiative" and several emerging economies such as China's "Made in China 2025", the Republic of Korea's "Manufacturing Innovation 3.0", India's "Make in India", Singapore's "Smart Nation Program", Malaysia "National Industry 4.0 Policy", and Kazakhstan's "National Technology Initiative", etc. (Kheyfets and Chernova 2019).

In their strategic documents, the countries opted for so-called sectoral approach (separation of special sectors of industry) or for a horizontal approach, which implies the creation of general conditions that encourage innovation, digitalization and technological transformation. Accelerated development of nano, bio- and information technology, determine the main direction of global innovation dynamics, while the use of new technologies become the basis for the formation of new markets and significantly affect the appearance of traditional industries (energy, transport, industrial production, etc.).

Analysing the strategic approach to the industrial development of three leading industrial countries (Germany, China and the US), as well as selected indicators of industrial development, the aim of this paper is to determine which country has technological superiority in the field of industry. The fourth industrial revolution is creating new leaders on market of high-tech industrial products, where new division of power might be one of important factor influencing on further international relations of countries that claim to become global leaders. In accordance with the goal and the general hypothesis, the paper is structured so that the first chapter gives an overview of the strategic industrial goals of world centers of industrial power in the direction of reindustrialization and taking a position on a competitive market of high-tech products. The second chapter provides analysis of selected indicators of industrial performance and ranking on the international list of industrial competitiveness. Considering the strategic directions of development and indicators of industrial performance, the third chapter provides insight how current positions and pretensions in the field of high technologies are reflecting on international relations. Finally, in the concluding part, certain conclusions are drawn.

## **Strategic approaches to the Fourth industrial revolution**

The need for reindustrialization became obvious after the escalation of the global economic crisis in 2008 when it became clear that a service-based model of economic growth was not sustainable. In addition, the rapid spread of technology and intensified global competition have further accelerated the process of reindustrialization and led to the definition of different national strategic approaches to the fourth industrial revolution, with a focus on the development of new high-tech industries.

### ***Innovation and digitalisation as the backbone of the German approach***

Germany, as member of the EU, defines its national industrial policy in accordance to EU recommendations and its national needs. Generally, the EU industrial policy is based on a horizontal approach where future industrial policy guidelines are going in the direction of competitiveness development, creation of a favorable business environment and encouragement of investment, as well as continuous improvement of entrepreneurship and innovation. In addition to horizontal principles and instruments, every EU member state can define its national industrial policies which can boost competitiveness and launch initiatives.

In accordance to the new Industrial Policy Strategy (European Commission 2020) which promotes increase of global competitiveness based on green and digital transition, the aim of Germany is to accelerate and drive changes, innovations and growth, and to reduce strategic dependence on key materials and technologies, food, infrastructure and security. Highly prioritising decarbonisation process and supporting the EU goal to become the world's first climate-neutral continent by 2050, Germany is promoting innovation, digitalization, global competition and key technologies (Council of the European Union 2019). Having in mind that key areas of intervention (European Council 2019), one of the great challenges will be how to neutralize the risk of inequality, given that innovation and digitalisation (as key areas of intervention) are agglomerations that are sustainable and more concentrated towards increasing disparities in regional development (Pilati 2019).

Building an industry based on digitalization, innovation and the application of new technologies that are efficient and non-harmful to the environment (circular and carbon economy), is linked with direct investments in these technological areas, knowledge and skills of employees (European Commission 2017).

Accordingly, the key areas that should contribute to the improvement of the further German industry are: digitalization, innovation, investment, internationalization, improvement of knowledge and skills of employees and circular and carbon economy.

Germany, as the most developed industrial country, was the first which presented the idea of “Industry 4.0 (I40)” and smart companies (Belov 2016). Germany adopted “The High-Tech Strategy 2020” in 2010, and then in 2012 the strategic document “Industry 4.0” (Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2010). Unlike the previous approach, in which German industry was focused on the growth of industrial production so that industrial production has a high share in gross domestic product (GDP), new priorities became innovation and digitalization (Gerlitz 2015; Davies 2015) that should secure Germany a competitive position on the global market (Ramsauer 2013). It is estimated that this approach will bring an annual growth of 1.7% by 2025, and an additional 78 billion EUR for six key industrial sectors, of which mechanical engineering 23.04 billion EUR, automotive industry 14.80 billion EUR, electrical engineering 12.08 billion EUR, chemical industry 12.02 billion EUR, information and communication technology 14.05 billion EUR and agriculture 2.78 billion EUR (Bauer et al. 2014, 6-7). However, as other countries are rapidly working to improve the industry, Germany is challenged to maintain its high competitive position (Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy 2018), constantly reviewing existing business models and supporting innovations within its industry (Burmeister et al. 2015).

### ***Leading position in high-tech industries as a strategic goal of China***

In 2015, China adopted the strategic document “Made in China 2025”, which announced the revitalization and modernization of the industry, following the example of the German national strategy “I40” (ISDP 2018). The strategic goal is to achieve a global leadership position in a large number of high-tech industries (production of medical devices, aero-nautical equipment, robots, etc.), as well as to meet as much as 70% of demand for high-tech products from its own production (Laskai 2018).

The Strategy “Made in China 2025” defines the process of improving the industry in three phases with the goal that China will become the leading world manufacturing power by 2049. The strategy is guided by two principles: “innovations driven by quality, green development, structurally optimizes and human-oriented” as well as the principle of “market orientation, government

guidance, focus on the present, future perspective, overall promotion, key discoveries, independent development, opening and cooperation" (Zhang et al. 2016). Thus, this strategy represents the first phase of strategic development whose implementation by 2025 should contribute to the development of Chinese technological innovations and the creation of recognizable local brands in the global market, which will make China the leading innovative superpower (Mehanik 2018). In the second phase, the goal is to reach the medium level of the world manufacturing powers to 2035, while the third phase refers to further consolidation of China's position as a manufacturing power and strengthening comprehensive Chinese manufacturing at the top of the world list until 2049. According to Huimin et al. (2018), the strategy "Made in China 2025" identifies nine priority tasks: 1) Improving production innovation; 2) Integration of information technology and industry; 3) Strengthening the industrial base; 4) Support for Chinese brands; 5) Strengthening green production; 6) Promotion of discoveries in 10 key sectors (information technology, numerical control tools and robotics, aeronautical equipment, equipment for ocean engineering and high-tech ships, railway equipment, energy saving and new energy vehicles, energy equipment, new materials, biological medicine, medical funds and agricultural machinery); 7) Improving the restructuring of the manufacturing sector; 8) Promoting service-oriented manufacturing and manufacturing-related service industries; and 9) Internationalization of production.

These goals indicate that it is necessary to deepen institutional reforms primarily through the creation of a market environment, financial support and improvement of industrial processes. Improving technologically backward industrial processes with investments of USD 300 billion (Bradsher and Mozur 2017), the aim is to improve the competitiveness of domestic industry and to gradually prepare China for global expansion (Wübbeke et al. 2016). With the development and promotion of advanced technology, China is gradually using domestic technology instead of foreign technology. In order to promote smart manufacturing, China is setting up smart plants and digital workshops as pilot projects in major industrial areas and accelerating the application of advanced manufacturing techniques and equipment (including smart human-machine interaction, industrial robots, intelligent logistics management and additive production). Thus, in 2017 China produced a third of the installed robots in the world, while the plan is to become the leader with over 950 thousand robots in the next few years (IFR 2018). In addition, the goal is that as much as 40% of chips for smart mobile devices will be produced by domestic Chinese manufacturers, and that domestic production cover more than 60% of the demand for smart technologies by 2025.

### ***Strengthening the competitive position as a priority for the US***

In order to strengthen the competitiveness of industrial production, the US adopted the “US Recovery and Reinvestment Act”, the “American Clean Energy and Security Act 2009” in 2009, while the Barack Obama Government adopted the “United States Production Promotion Act 2010” (Xu 2013). In order to encourage technologically advanced industrial production, „A National Strategic Plan for Advanced Manufacturing” was adopted in 2012. This strategic plan is based on the promotion of innovation, encourages cooperation between science and economy and advocates a stimulating business environment that supports technologically advanced production and strong development of domestic technologies (National Science and Technology Council 2012).

With the arrival of Donald Trump as the President of the US in 2017, the process of industrialization was more strongly advocated. At the very beginning of his mandate, Trump asked for a study of the competitiveness of the US economy, which would form the basis for the creation of the national production and defense “industrial base”. The research pointed to the loss of US global competitiveness, as well as the consequences of uncertain government spending, declining sales in certain markets, negative long-term effects of switching certain sectors abroad due to lower prices, loss of labor skills (Intergovernmental working group of the US 2018). Also, according to the National Science and Technology Council (2018), private investment in manufacturing technology has been reduced as investors have focused on a quick return on investment through software launches. Although the US remain the largest producer of products in some sectors, it is concerned about the sharp decline in production and employment in some strategically important sectors, especially in the IT sector. Also of key importance to the US industry is the military industry, which relies on other sectors and which must maintain the capacity for rapid innovation. That is why an office for trade and production (White House 2017) was formed at the White House, and employment in the production sector was promoted.

In October 2018, the White House published a quadrennial Strategy for American Leadership in Advanced Manufacturing whose vision is the creation of American leadership in advanced manufacturing across industrial sectors to ensure national security and economic prosperity. In that sense, three strategic goals have been defined: 1) Development and transition of new production technologies; 2) Improving education, training and connecting the productive workforce; 3) Expanding the possibilities of the supply chain of domestic production (NIST 2018). For each of these goals, specific goals have been identified together with action plans that define the measures and specific actions that need to be implemented

in the next four years. In addition to emphasizing the importance of innovation and competitiveness in production, the strategy also stressed the need to improve the military industry, in terms of modernization and growth of investment in this sector, strengthening the independence of supply sources from other countries, improving cooperation with partner countries, growth of research and development, etc.

Since the strategy for the US leadership in advanced production was created during Donald Trump's tenure, one of the priorities of his administration was to improve competence and develop certain profiles because the lack of applied knowledge from science, technology, engineering, mathematics and technology was recognized. In addition, it was pointed out the need for all levels of government to act to support research and development, improving the competencies of the workforce, creating a stimulating business environment. Nevertheless, the US federal agencies have a key role in fostering the growth of advanced production through investment in research and development, education and workforce development.

Based on the defined strategic priorities of Germany, China and the US, Table 1 shows the key areas for further development of the industry.

**Table 1: Priorities in scientific and technological development**

|                            | Germany                  | China   | US  |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|
| Medicine and biotechnology | Medicine                 | Medicine<br>Agricultural production system with high value added    | Medicine and biotechnology                              |
| ICT                        | Communication technology | The system of pervasive information network                         | ICT   |
| New materials              |                          | Composite materials   | Composite materials                                     |
| Green technologies         | Ecology / Energy sectors | Sustainable resources, nuclear power                                | Clean Energy  |
| Production technologies    |                          | Smart manufacturing technologies                                    | Management of complex systems                           |
| Other                      | Mobility Security        | Use of space and the ocean potential<br>Security and defense system | Space and aviation technologies<br>Defense technologies |

Source: Kheyfets and Chernova 2019.

## Comparison of industrial performance

In 1966, the UNIDO developed a methodology for the international comparison of countries' industrial competitiveness based on six categories of industry performance indicators.<sup>3</sup> The survey covers 152 countries, which are categorized as developed industrialized countries, emerging industrialized countries, other developing economies and least developed countries.

According to the UNIDO report from 2019, on the international list of industrial competitiveness, Germany is the best placed, followed by China, the Republic of Korea, the US and Japan. By the way, Germany is the best placed country since the beginning of monitoring this indicator in 1990. In the same period, the US held the second position, and China was on the 15th position on average. However, China climbed from 32nd positions in 1990 to 7th place in 2008, and in 2014 it became the second placed country, after which it was held this position to this day. The US fell to third place in 2015, and then to fourth position in 2017, where they are and today.

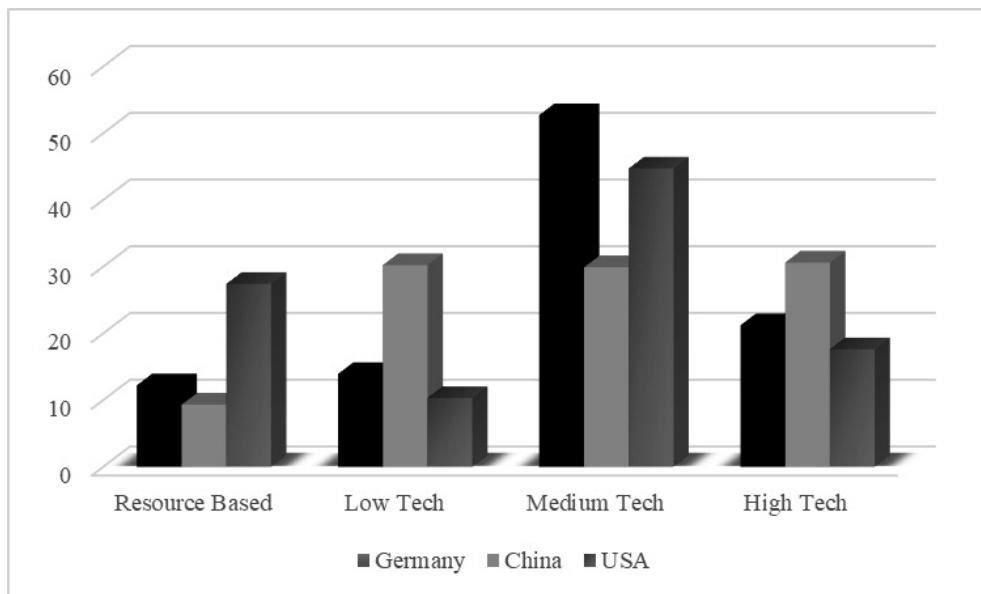
According to the latest available UNIDO data for 2018, it is evident that Germany and the US have such an industry structure in which medium tech leads, with 52.7% and 44.7% respectively, while China has an equally distributed industry on high tech 30.6%, medium tech 29.9 % and low tech 30.2% (Diagram 1). In other words, in China, high tech industries are more represented than in Germany (21.2%) and the US (17.6%). Observed by sectors individually, the main industrial sectors in China are: basic metals (14.3%), chemicals (10.8%), food and beverages (8.9%), machinery and equipment (8.5%), radio, television and communication equipment (6.8%). In Germany, machinery and equipment (18.6%), motor vehicles, trailers (17.6%), chemicals (10.3%), fabricated metal products (9.2%), food and beverages (7.2%) are in the lead. In the US, chemical products (16.4%), food and

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<sup>3</sup> Every of six indicators has its sub-indicators: Per capita indicators (Manufacturing Value Added per capita, Manufactured Exports per capita), World share indicators (Impact of a country on World Manufacturing Value Added, Impact of a country on World Manufactures Trade), Share of medium- and high-tech activities (Medium- and High-tech Manufacturing Value Added share in total manufacturing value added, Medium and High-tech manufactured Exports share in total manufactured exports), Share of national aggregates (Manufacturing Value Added share in total GDP, Manufactured Exports share in total exports), Manufacturing export indexes (Manufactured Exports per capita index, Share of manufactured exports in total exports index, Share in world manufacturing exports index, Share of Medium, High-Tech Activities in Manufacturing Export Index, Industrial export quality index) and Manufacturing Value Added (MVA) indexes (MVA per capita index, Share of world MVA index, Share of MVA in GDP index, Share of Medium and High-Tech Activities in Total MVA Index, Industrialization intensity index) (UNIDO 2010).

beverages (14.3%), fabricated metal products (7.7%), office, accounting and computing machinery (7.4%) have the largest share.

**Diagram 1: Structure of the industry as a percentage of GDP, 2018.**



Source: author's calculation based on UNIDO database.

In the period 1990-2019, Germany as the most developed EU country and the third largest economy in the world, had an average growth rate of 1.6% of GDP, while the EU noted an average of 1.8%. The average rate of exports of goods and services as a percentage of GDP in Germany, in the same period was 20.4%, while the highest level of exports (47.3% of GDP) was achieved in 2017. In EU in the same period exports averaged 36.9% of GDP, while the highest share of exports in GDP was 47.27% and that record was achieved in 2018. According to data for 2019, the share of manufacturing value added as a percentage of GDP in Germany was 26.7%, while the highest level was reached in 2016 in the amount of 27.6% of GDP (World Bank 2021). In EU, industry as a branch of the economy had the largest share of 24.4% in GDP in 2006, while manufacturing value added as a percentage of GDP in 2016 achieved the greatest success with 15% of the share (World Bank 2021).

According to the World Bank, China has maintained the continuity of high economic growth for years. In the period 1990-2019, the average growth rate was

as much as 9.3%, while the rate of exports of goods and services as a percentage of GDP was 22.7%. The highest level of exports of goods and services was achieved in 2006 in the amount of 36.04%, while in 2019 exports amounted to only 18.5% of GDP. According to data for 2019, the share of industry value added as a percentage of GDP was 38.5%, while the highest level (47.6% of GDP) was reached in 2006. At the same time, manufacturing value added as a percentage of the GDP was 37% (World Bank 2021).

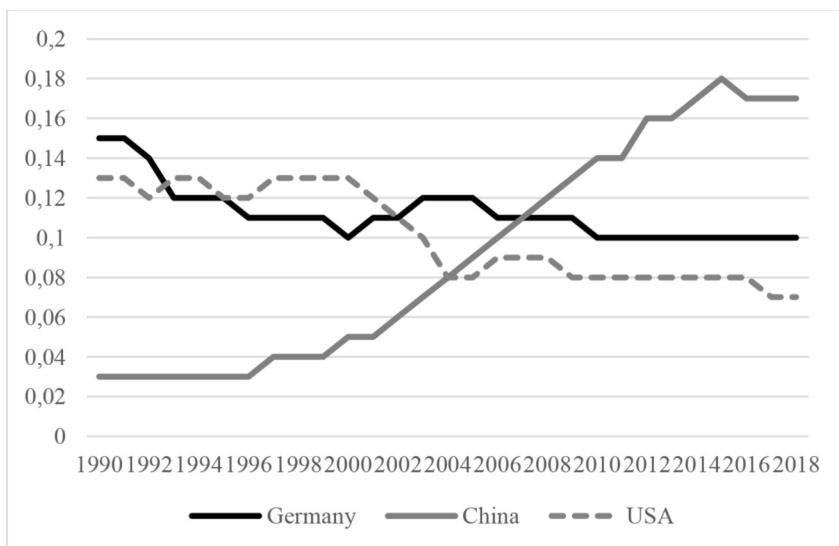
As part of the 1978 structural reforms, China emphasized the development of industrial production, which took place in three phases (Wübbeke et al. 2016). The first phase (1978-1990) was supported by a strong inflow of foreign direct investment (primarily from the US, after the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1979) which enabled access to new technologies (Filipović 2020) and the development of electronic products and electrical appliances. During this period, there was a development of the food and military industry, but still the main problem of this phase was the insufficient supply. In the second phase of the development of industrial production (1990-2000), the supply grew so that the main challenge became the adaptation of production to new market conditions and the harmonization of production with the requirements of foreign markets. The development of the private sector, with the support of foreign investment, has encouraged the rapid development of industrial production in coastal areas and China is becoming a base for outsourcing production (Huimin et al. 2018). The third phase (2000 to date) is characterized by a sharp increase in exports, primarily due to the fact that China became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. In addition, there was an influx of foreign direct investments (Xia 2017), which together with investments in infrastructure (railways, highways and communication facilities), gave a strong impetus to the development of machine and car industry, steel industry, electronics sector, forming an industrial chain.

In the US, economic growth has long been based on the services sector, so that the decline in the relative importance of industrial production has over time led to a loss of competitiveness in the industrial sector. The subprime mortgage crisis brought the US economy into recession in 2007 (Eichengreen et al. 2012), so the US had to turn to a revival of industrial production. After defining the new industrial strategy (White House 2012), more and more new industrial formats are being developed (Pan and Zhu 2019), which, among other things, imply attracting a larger number of American manufacturers to start their production in the US. However, there are different opinions in the US about the idea of reviving industrial production. First, there is the opinion that the revival of industrial production will not succeed because the race in competition with China has been lost, precisely because of globalization and the liberalization of trade and financial flows.

Therefore, the reorientation of production is a political reflection of the economic and social consequences arising from the globalization of capitalism (1980s) so that the trend of globalization cannot be changed. On the other hand, there are opinions that US industrial production has a significant impact on Chinese production, primarily through US technology used by Chinese manufacturers, as well as the US directing of foreign direct investment in China based on the wage ratio between Chinese and the US workers, which shows a positive correlation in export competitiveness. Also, an increase in US foreign direct investment will promote Chinese industrial upgrade and encourage the adjustment of Chinese production structure to high-quality areas, while, conversely, a decrease in foreign direct investment would hamper Chinese industrial upgrade.

In the period 1990-2019, the US had an average growth rate of 2.5% of GDP. In the same period, the average share of exports in GDP was only 11%, while the highest value of the share of exports in GDP (13.5%) was achieved in 2013. According to data for 2018, the share of industry in GDP was 18.3%, and the highest level was reached in 2006 (21.6%), while the manufacturing value added as a percentage of GDP was 11.2% (World Bank 2021).

If the impact of a country on world manufactures trade was analyzed, which presents a share of manufactured exports in total world exports, according to the data for 2018, China leads with 0.17%, followed by Germany with 0.10% while the US achieved only 0.07%. Considering the average value of this indicator in the period 1990-2018, the US impact of a country on world manufactures trade was 0.10%, while China and Germany recorded 0.09% and 0.11%, respectively. However, the decline in the US impact of a country on world manufactures trade occurred in 2004 when it was 0.08%, while China has started its growing share. Therefore, during the period 2001-2018, China increased the average impact on world manufactures trade to 0.12%, while the United States had an average of 0.08%. Germany, as the most developed EU member state (Wang 2016), had a constant impact on world manufacturing trade, which was not below 0.10% (Diagram 2).

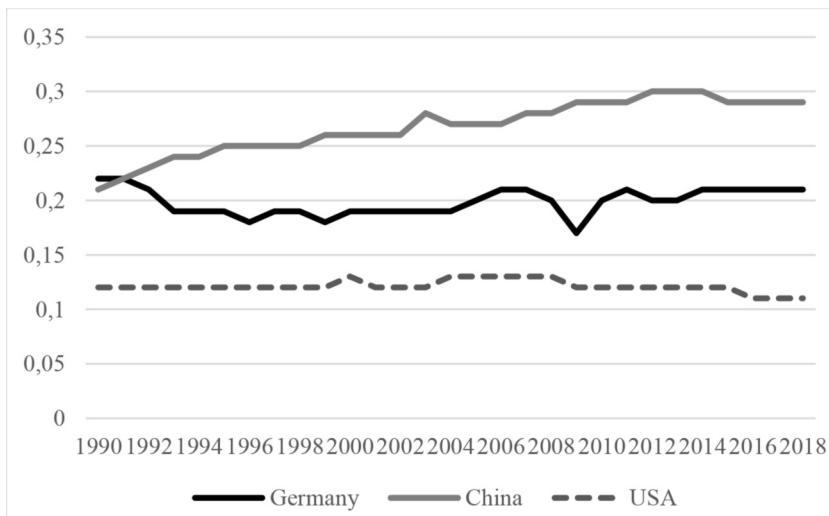
***Diagram 2. Impact of a country on world manufactures trade (%)***

Source: author's calculation based on UNIDO database.

The Manufacturing Value Added (MVA) indicator in GDP measures the share of gross value added in production in total world GDP:

$$\text{Share of MVA in GDP} = \frac{MVA}{GDP} \times 100$$

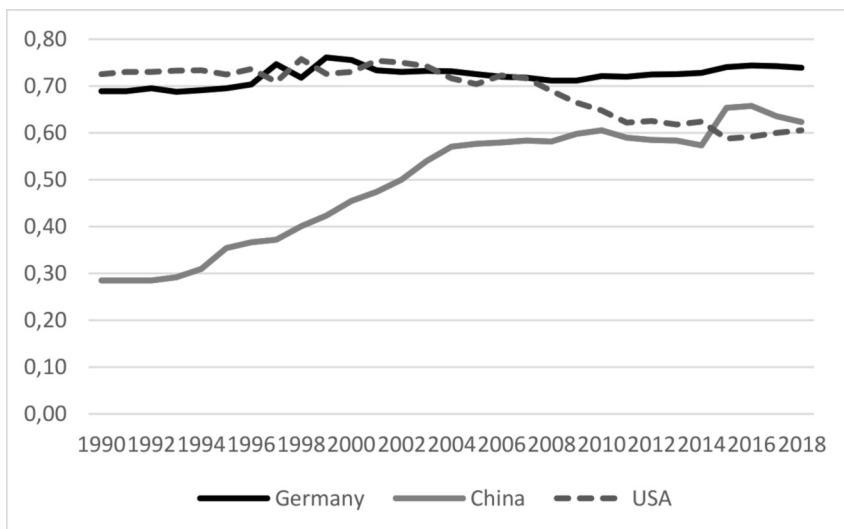
Industrialization contributes to the value of GDP and increases the share of MVA in GDP. In highly industrialized countries, service sectors tend to grow faster than manufacturing sectors (e.g., China is more industry-oriented than the US). Accordingly, MVA share in total GDP is higher in China (0.29%) than in Germany (0.21%) and the US (0.11%). Considering the average MVA in total world GDP (Diagram 3), China has an average share of 0.26%, Germany 0.19%, and the United States 0.12%. With the decline in value added in the US production, employment in the manufacturing sector gradually decreased, with e.g. 32% in 1953, to only 8.7% in 2015 (Chien and Morris 2017), which led to a difference in income or greater inequality.

***Diagram 3. Manufacturing Value Added share in total GDP (%)***

Source: author's calculation based on UNIDO database

Medium and high-tech manufactured exports share in total manufactured exports shows the country's competitiveness in the production of technologically advanced products for export to foreign markets, ie share of medium- and high-tech activities. According to the data for 2018, the share of total exports is led by Germany with 0.74%, while China achieved 0.62%, and the United States 0.61%. Considering the period 1990-2018, it is noticeable that Germany had the largest share of 0.72%, followed by the United States with 0.69% and China 0.49%. Although China recorded a markedly smaller share of medium and high-tech products in total exports in the early 1990s, it increased its share by increasing production after the second wave of the economic crisis (Diagram 4). From this, it is clear that China is making a step towards high technology and thus represents a serious competitor to the US, and the "Trade War" with the US can be called the "Technological War" (Reghunadhan 2018).

**Diagram 4. Medium- and High-tech manufactured exports share in total manufactured exports (%)**



Source: author's calculation based on UNIDO database

## International economic relations among industrial superpowers

In international trade relations with China, the US have recorded a high deficit in trade, ie a surplus in trade of products and in services. If the exchange in services is analyzed, the US are the second largest trade partner of services to China, while China is the third largest export market of the US services. According to Filipović (2020), the value of the US trade in services increased from USD 24.94 billion in 2007 to USD 75.05 billion in 2017, which means that the export of the US services to China increased by 340% during ten years. As much as 20% of China's deficit in trade in services is based on imports of services from the US in the field of tourism, transport and intellectual property royalties. For example, China's trade deficit with the US in tourism rose from USD 430 million in 2006 to USD 26.2 billion in 2016, with an average annual growth rate of 50.8%.

Considering trade, China was the third largest export market for the US goods and the largest supplier of goods in 2019 (USTR 2021). Overall, the US have had a large trade deficit in goods for many decades. At the end of 2017 trade deficit was

USD 811 billion, which is about USD 64 billion more than in 2016. On the other hand, in 2017 China recorded a trade surplus of USD 421 billion, which is as much as USD 173 billion less than in 2015.

The US trade deficit with China in 2017 amounted to USD 391.5 billion where trade deficit was the highest in the following products: computers and electronics USD 167.3 billion, electrical equipment USD 39.9 billion, misc. manufacturing USD 38.6 billion, apparel USD 29.3 billion, machinery USD 25.7 billion, furniture USD 23.4 billion, fabricated metal USD 20.3 billion, leather USD 19.8 billion, plastics and rubber USD 15.6 billion, textiles USD 11.6 billion. China runs up huge surpluses in medium technology products. On the other hand, the US surpluses with China in 2017 amounted to USD 40.8 billion, where surplus was the highest in farm crops USD 15.3 billion, transportation equipment USD 10.5 billion, oil and gas USD 6.9 billion, waste and scrap USD 5.5 billion, minerals and ores USD 1.5 billion, forestry products USD 1.1 billion (United States Census Bureau 2021). The trade deficit between the US and China increased to USD 419 billion in 2018, while in 2019 it was reduced to USD 345 billion. The US had a services trade surplus of an estimated USD 36 billion with China in 2019, which is decrease of 4.1% in comparison with 2018 (USTR 2021).

China's economic campaign, through the announcements of further strategic development, has called into question the competitive position of the US on the world market. Ever since the Trump administration, the US have considered China an economic rival, and the Chinese model of growth as a threat to the world trade system. Given that the US have had a problem with the trade deficit and loss of competitiveness for a long time, they accuse China for distorting its economic position at the expense of unfair competition, manipulation of the national currency and theft of intellectual property. Besides, the US referred to the Chinese influence on the global competitiveness of the US economy, endangering national security, and even China's interference in the US elections (Filipović 2020). These accusations were the announcement for the beginning of the trade war which has started with introduction of tariffs by the US. In addition, the US argue that WTO rules do not restrict China sufficiently to subsidize domestic industry, aid and favor state-owned enterprises, and discriminate against foreign investors, particularly through forced transfer of technology. In order to reduce the foreign trade deficit, especially with China, the Trump administration tried to pull the US out of the WTO, with the intention of creating a series of bilateral trade agreements that would protect American producers. Although, WTO members have the right to apply unjustified prohibitions, various anti-dumping and countervailing duties to a non-member country, they introduce permits and bans on the import of goods and other obstacles (Trošić Jelisavac and Rapaić 2015, 129).

The US first imposed a 30% tariff on import of Chinese solar panels in January 2018, accusing China for unfairly subsidizing the solar energy sector in order to benefit the global market. As China produces more than 2/3 of the world's solar panels, the growth of tariffs is an obstacle to Chinese competitiveness and further growth of production and exports, which was a strong hit to Chinese industry.

In March 2018, the US imposed 25% of tariffs on Chinese steel and 10% on aluminum. Believing it was not violating international trade rights, China responded by imposing tariffs on steel and aluminum worth USD 2.4 billion.

In April 2018, the US administration imposed sanctions on the Chinese company ZTE, which was one of the key players in the field of telecommunications and information technologies<sup>4</sup> on the US market. The sanctions stemmed from ZTE's non-compliance with US regulations on the illegal export of telecommunication equipment to Iran and North Korea.<sup>5</sup>

In June 2018, the US introduced tariffs of 25% on Chinese goods worth about USD 50 billion, which includes over 800 different industrial products (Nikolić 2018) ranging from dishwashers to aircraft tires, while China then imposed similar measures with tariffs on the US agricultural and industrial products (soybeans, pork, cotton, airplanes, cars, steel pipes, etc.).

Meanwhile, in May 2019, the US government imposed sanctions on the Chinese company Huawei, and banned the production of chips for smart devices, as a result of US fears of Chinese spying using the "backdoor" and "kill-switch" programs (Kawamata 2018). This step was provoked by Huawei's ambitions to develop the fifth generation of mobile telephony (5G network), which is characterized by high flow rates. Despite this, Huawei has continued to develop and build its AppGallery platform, which upgrades to missing applications.

At the end of December 2019, Washington and Beijing concluded a trade agreement with the goal of reducing tensions in the mutual trade war. The agreed

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<sup>4</sup> Previously, under the control and regulation of the Chinese government, the entry of American ICT companies into this sector in China was limited. For example, the American Facebook has not been available in China since 2009, and Twitter, Google search, Google maps, YouTube since 2010. Thus, the Chinese Baidu and Weibo gained a huge number of users, while Alibaba achieved market dominance in online shopping. However, Apple established its cloud service in China and sold a VPN application, but transferred its work to a Chinese company in 2017 after implementing the "Cyber security Law of the People's Republic of China" (Kawamata 2018).

<sup>5</sup> Considering that in March 2017, the company ZTE admitted the violation of sanctions due to the illegal sending of telecommunication equipment to Iran and North Korea, for which it had to pay compensation in the amount of USD 1.19 billion and fines for employees involved in breach of contract, ZTE secretly rewarded employees, followed by US sanctions in April 2018.

terms of the “first phase” of the future trade agreement were supposed to reduce US tariffs on Chinese goods, while China would increase the purchase of US agricultural, energy and industrial products, which would also improve the protection of intellectual property. Also, the US pressured China not to insist on US companies in China to do business through a Chinese partner and not to share its technology, which is explicitly prohibited by WTO rules on the one hand, while China denies violating that rule, claiming that US companies are not forced to share technology, but to do so voluntarily in order to access the Chinese market (Николић и Николић 2019). The truce was a short because immediately after the spread of the COVID19 pandemic outside the borders of China, the US continued to make accusations against China. And while the epidemic has been contained in China, it has spread to the US with far more casualties than in China.

According to Trapara (2018), China's economic development and presence in world trade previously corresponded to the US policy, while the US promoted itself as a protector of globalization, to which China significantly contributed with its development and market. However, as China took advantage of globalization, began to reap the benefits, and approached the US economic power, the US wanted to curb China's further strengthening. The US began to perceive Chinese growth as a threat to its position as the most powerful power in the international system, even during the mandate of Barack Obama, when the US policy turned to East Asia. In addition, the US have begun to view the international relations between the EU and China through Chinese interests, which poses a certain threat to the US economy. Namely, until the beginning of the crisis in 2008, Chinese capital did not have access to the European market. However, the global economic crisis, the public debt crisis and the weakening of the EU's financial capacities have opened the door for the inflow of Chinese capital into this strategic market. China, as the country with the largest foreign exchange reserves in the world, provided assistance to the EU in order to prevent its weakening as an important actor in preserving the multipolar world (European Council 2018), but also to preserve its important export market, maintain access to European technologies and investors (Arežina 2020).

Germany and China started mutual economic cooperation at the beginning of economic and systemic reforms in China, which initially relied on German investments that were important for China due to access to developed technology. During the fourth industrial revolution, the German and Chinese governments agreed on cooperation in the field of industry cooperation, development of common standards and science and research (Platform Industrie 2021). Two German-Chinese Memoranda of Understanding were adopted (Weiss 2021). The first was adopted in 2015 between the German Federal Ministry for Economic

Affairs and Energy (BMWi) and the Chinese Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), while the second was adopted in 2016 between the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) and the Chinese Ministry of Science and Technology (MoST). The main goal of the cooperation is to improve the business environment for entrepreneurs with the proactive shaping of the digital development of the manufacturing industry (Platform industrie 2021). In addition, the two countries have established a sub-working group with the aim of standardization in the field of industry 4.0, as part of the German-Chinese Commission for Collaboration on Standardization (DCKN) led by BMWi and the State Agency for Standardization of the People's Republic of China (SAC). Then, in 2016, the German-Chinese working group "Companies for Intelligent Production and Connection of Production Processes (AGU)" was established in Beijing, which enables direct cross-sectoral exchange, identifies new business activities and formulates proposals for improvement. The working group consists mainly of German-Chinese business representatives and experts in science. Their cooperation is mainly related to data security and intellectual property rights.

Germany and China became the largest trading partners in 2015, while in 2020 they achieved foreign trade worth USD 258 billion, which is a growth of as much as 3% despite the COVID-19 pandemic (Casey 2021). Hamburg's strong rail connections to the European hinterland that have made it a key link between the land and maritime arms of China's ever-expanding "Belt and Road Initiative" have contributed to this. As Chinese goods make up even the weight of cargo in Hamburg, Chinese companies are increasingly trying to direct their supply chain. Industrial products such as cars, chemicals and precision machines are mainly shipped from Germany via the port of Hamburg, while mobile phones, computers, home appliances and clothes are shipped from China to Germany, and then further distributed throughout Europe. The strengthening of international relations between China and Germany was contributed by the new Chinese "Belt and Road Initiative" (Weibin 2013), which further intensified the Chinese threat for the US. Through this initiative, China strives to achieve the broader goals of the New Silk Road development strategy, which not only determines the directions of China's internal development, but also provides guidelines for its strategic cooperation with neighboring countries and countries on other continents (Dimitrijević 2018; Dimitrijević and Jokanović 2020). The "Belt and Road Initiative" allows huge Chinese industrial capacities, mainly in the creation of steel and heavy equipment, to be exported along the New Silk Road and further allows for a focus on technologically superior industrial products (Lockhart-Bruce 2017). The "New Silk Road" seeks to accelerate the revitalization of this part of the world that is inhabited by more than 4.4 billion people and generates a third of the world's GDP (Janković 2016). "Belt

and Road Initiative” (BRI) is a Chinese foreign policy project that includes coordination of policies, connection of infrastructure and facilities, free trade, financial integration and closer ties between people (Vučić 2020). Part of this development strategy is so-called the “16 + 1”<sup>6</sup> cooperation mechanism, which brings together sixteen countries of Central and Eastern Europe and China, with the aim to develop and promote cooperation between them (Šekarić 2020; Filipović and Ignjatović 2021). Open door policy<sup>7</sup> in China, marked a complete turn in the economic development of China, where a new form of development is called market socialism or socialism with Chinese characteristics (Zakić and Radukić 2018; Garić and Filipović 2019).

However, smaller German producers are worried about China's penetration of the German market. For this reason, after the Chinese company Midea took over the robotics company Cook, in 2017 Germany introduced new laws to protect sensitive industries. This resulted in the examination of dozens of possible contracts by the German authorities, so that numerous takeovers by Chinese state-owned companies were blocked, including Leifeld Metal Spinning in 2018 and satellite manufacturer IMST in 2020. In addition, the Federation of German Industries published a report in 2019 describing China as a “systemic competitor”, calling on EU legislation to address state-subsidized Chinese industry and thus protect European IT companies. In the same year, rules for the difficult operation of Huawei's 5G mobile network were introduced. In June 2021, the German parliament passed a law requiring German companies, as well as their foreign subsidiaries, to keep their supply chains free from environmental abuse or forced labor. While part of the future German government has demanded the introduction of import duties and protection of digital and physical infrastructure from Chinese influence, another part of the German government praises China's development of Duisberg as a rail hub for BRI, which advocates strengthening trade relations between the two countries.

On the other hand, the international relations between Germany as an EU member state and the US are based on the Transatlantic Cooperation. In 2007, Germany supported the establishment of the Transatlantic Economic Council (TEC),

<sup>6</sup> The CESEE-16 region includes eleven EU member states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) and five Western Balkan countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia) which are (potential or) candidates for EU membership. Since 2019, this mechanism has been renamed “17 + 1”, because Greece has joined the project.

<sup>7</sup> China has had major infrastructure projects such as the TAZARA railway in Tanzania and Zambia, the Kinkon and Tinkisso hydropower plants in Guinea, and Bounenza in Congo.

between the EU and the US, to guide the work on transatlantic economic convergence, bringing together ongoing activities of economic co-operation between the two countries on issues of common interest (Council of The European Union 2007). Negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) with the aim of eliminating customs duties and increasing trade began in 2013, but were very quickly interrupted by the opposition of primarily Germany, but also France. As a reason for opposition, it was stated that customs barriers are low even without an agreement. Besides, the removal of regulations on workers' rights, the environment, privacy, food safety and toxic chemicals were mentioned as problems. One of the objects was the non-transparency of negotiations in the period (Žarković 2016). In spite of that, trade between Germany and the US is considered a central element of fragile bilateral economic relations, due to significant the US deficit, for what the US blame for the undervalued euro exchange rate and tariff deviations.

In 2012, Germany and the US recorded an average of about USD 170 billion trade (United States Census 2021), making Germany the fifth largest trading partner of the US behind, Canada, China, Mexico and Japan. However, although five years later, China surpassed the US as Germany's largest trading partner, the US remained Germany's largest foreign market, receiving as much as 8.4% of all German exports. In 2017, transport goods accounted for 30% of German exports to the US, primarily cars and car parts of the German brands BMW and Mercedes (OEC 2021), where German cars accounted for 8% of total sales of American cars (Riley 2018). On the other hand, US exports to Germany were in machinery, chemical products and transportation goods in the amount of 64% of German imports from the US in 2017 (Georg 2020). According to the OEC (2021) data for 2019, the largest share in German exports to the US have the following products: cars (15.8%), packed medicaments (8.14%), vaccines, toxins and cultures (3.32%), gas turbines (2.34%) and medical instruments (2.27%). Same group of products have the highest share in the US export to Germany: cars (11.4%), vaccines, toxins and cultures (5.99%), gas turbines (5.53%), packed medicaments (4.01%), planes, helicopters and / or spacecraft (3.65%).

According to the Federal Foreign Office (2021), the US were the largest buyer of German products in 2020, and Germany is the most important trade partner of the US in Europe. In terms of the total volume of trade, the US are the third largest bilateral trade partner of Germany (after China and the Netherlands). However, the US government focus is on trade deficit since in the period 2008-2018 the US has the largest total world trade deficit, out of which USD 57 billion with Germany. The US government as the main reason for trade deficit blame depreciation of

euro, denying that the reason for the growing deficit could be the loss of competitiveness of the US industry (George 2020; Kuo et al. 2021).

## Conclusion

The need for reindustrialization at the global level became apparent after the escalation of the global economic crisis, when it became clear that the service-based model of economic growth was not sustainable. The process of reindustrialization was affected by the rapid spread of technology and increased global competition, and the world's industrial powers began to compete in the development of new high-tech branches of industry, i.e. the implementation of the fourth industrial revolution.

Analyzing the strategic approach to the industrial development of three leading industrial countries (Germany, China and the US), as well as selected indicators of industrial development, the aim of this paper is to determine which country has technological superiority in the field of industry.

Germany adopted "The High-Tech Strategy 2020" in 2010, and then in 2012 the strategic document "Industry 4.0" promoting digitalisation and innovations in industry. Following the example of Germany, China adopted strategy "Made in China 2025" in 2015, announcing the modernization of the industry with the goal of becoming a global leader in a large number of high-tech industries, as well as that 70% of demand for high-tech products will be supplied from its own production. In order to strengthen the competitiveness of industrial production, the US have adopted a number of documents since 2009, but only after Donald Trump came to power was the process of industrialization was more strongly advocated.

According to the UNIDO methodology for the international comparison of industrial competitiveness, Germany is the best ranked country, followed by China, the Republic of Korea, the US and Japan. Additionally, Germany is the best placed country since the beginning of monitoring these industrial indicators in 1990. In the same period, the US held the second position, and China was on the 15th position on average. However, China climbed from 32nd positions in 1990 to 7th place in 2008, and in 2014 it became the second placed, after which it was held the position to this day. The US fell to third place in 2015, and then to fourth position in 2017, where it is today.

Germany and the US have such an industry structure in which medium technology leads, with 52.7% and 44.7% respectively, while China has an equally distributed industry on high tech 30.6%, medium tech 29.9% and low tech 30.2%.

In other words, in China high tech industries are more represented than in Germany (21.2%) and the US (17.6%). China leads if the impact of a country on world manufactures trade is observed, which represents a share of manufactured exports in total world exports. Likewise, China has the highest share of manufacturing value added in total world GDP. Considering medium and high-tech manufactured export share in total manufactured export, China still lags behind Germany, although in recent years China has made a significant step towards high technology and thus represents a serious competitor to the US, and the “Trade War” with the US can be called “Technological war”.

Given that the US has had a problem with the trade deficit and loss of competitiveness in the industrial production for a long time, accusations of intellectual property theft and manipulation of the national currency yuan escalated into a trade war in 2018, resulting in the introduction of tariffs to China. On the other hand, the improvement of international relations between Germany and China is noticeable, especially in the field of Industry 4.0 and intelligent production, ie the fourth industrial revolution in which both governments are cooperating intensively. Despite this, although China is increasingly trying to direct its supply chain using “Belt and Road Initiative”, Germany is worried that key technologies could become part of the production competition, and by adopting new laws it is protecting sensitive industries in the market. In addition, the weakening of bilateral economic relations between Germany and the US was caused by a significant the US deficit, while the US blame the undervalued euro exchange rate and tariff deviations. In addition, Germany is the largest European trade partner of the US.

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**Sanja FILIPoviĆ, Jelena IGNJAToviĆ**

**MEĐUNARODNI ODNOŠI  
KROZ PRIZMU NOVE PODELE TEHNOLOŠKE MOĆI**

**Abstrakt:** Analizirajući strateški pristup industrijskom razvoju tri vodeće industrijske zemlje (Nemačka, Kina i Sjedinjene Američke Države), kao i izabrane kvantitativne pokazatelje industrijskog razvoja, cilj ovog rada je da odredi koja zemlja ima tehnološku superiornost u industriji. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju da Kina ima najambiciozniji pristup i pretenziju da zauzme lidersku poziciju u velikom broju visoko-tehnoloških industrijalnih sektora. Kina još od 1990-tih godina ostvaruje napredak u performansama industrije, a 2014. godine je postala druga industrijska sila današnjice, odmah nakon Nemačke, dok su SAD od 2017. godine na četvrtom mestu. Kina naročito prednjači u pogledu učešća industrijskih proizvoda u globalnoj trgovini i učešća proizvedene dodate vrednosti u ukupnom svetskom bruto domaćem proizvodu. U oblasti visoke tehnologije, od 2015. godine Kina i Nemačka jačaju međusobnu saradnju, dok su bilateralni odnosi između Kine i SAD zategnuti zbog trgovinskog rata. I dok SAD, kao treći najveći spoljnotrgovinski partner Nemačke (nakon Kine i Holandije), u međusobnoj spoljnotrgovinskoj razmeni ostvaruje deficit, Kina sa inicijativom „Pojas i put“ pravi prodor ka evropskom tržištu, što je u skladu sa strategijom zauzimanja pozicije globalnog lidera u oblasti visoke tehnologije.

**Ključne reči:** Nemačka, Kina, SAD, međunarodni odnosi, četvrta industrijska revolucija, tehnološki razvoj, industrija.

# Nesvrstani i nuklearno razoružanje u XXI veku

Marina T. KOSTIĆ<sup>1</sup>

**Apstrakt:** Predmet ovog rada je da istraži politiku i ulogu Pokreta nesvrstanih zemalja (PNZ) po pitanju nuklearnog razoružanja u 21. veku. Nuklearno razoružanje nastavlja da bude najviši prioritet PNZ zbog čega zaslužuje posebno mesto u analizi delovanja PNZ u savremenim međunarodnim odnosima. Ova politika i uloga su međutim i u novom veku oblikovani donošenjem i izražavanjem načelnih stavova o neophodnosti nuklearnog razoružanja sa veoma malo postignutih rezultata, nekad i među sopstvenim članstvom. Kroz analizu sadržaja i komparaciju dokumenata PNZ donešenih na samitima Pokreta ili u okviru multilateralnih foruma koji se bave pitanjima razoružanja i međunarodne bezbednosti, kao i sekundarnih izvora koja se bave pitanjem razoružanja i Pokretom nesvrstanih autorka zaključuje da je uloga nesvrstanih u polju nuklearnog razoružanja pre svega u održavanju ovog pitanja visoko na međunarodnoj agendi i kao vidi kontrabalansa zahtevima nuklearnih sila za neproliferacijom nuklearnog naoružanja. Ova uloga međutim slabi iz najmanje šest razloga: značaja koje pojedine države članice PNZ pridaju nuklearnom naoružanju, njihovim odbijanjem da pristupe ili u potpunosti ispune univerzalne i regionalne instrumentime nuklearnog razoružanja, (zlo)upotrebotom PNZ kao sredstva ostvarivanja pojedinačnih interesa država članica za promocijanje pitanja koju nemaju značajniju podršku ostalih država članica Pokreta, izostankom bilo kakve mere PNZ koja bi osudila ili sankcionisala ovakvo ponašanje unutar Pokreta, dok se one stalno ponavljaju prema drugim državama poput Izraela i SAD, neujednačene „prozivke“ pojedinačnih NWS država koje poseduju nuklearno naoružanjeza nepoštovanje načela i mera razoružanja i nepostojanja adekvatnih mehanizama, ali i namere PNZ da aktivnije učestvuje u rešavanju postojećih kriza u vezi sa razoružanjem i neproliferacijom.

**Ključne reči:** Pokret nesvrstanih, razoružanje, neproliferacija, miroljubiva upotreba nuklearne energije, Zone slobodne od nukearnog naoružanja.

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## Uvod

Nuklearno razoružanje nastavlja da bude najviši prioritet Pokreta nesvrstanih zemalja (PNZ) i u 21. veku (NAM Statement 2011). Ono nastavlja da bude ne samo etičko, već i pitanje opstanka čitavog čovečanstva (NAM Summit 2016, 78). Nakon Drugog svetskog rata i prve upotrebe nuklearnog naoružanja, pojedine zemlje koje će kasnije postati članice PNZ zagovarale su nuklearno razoružanje, budući da su ovaj tip oružja videle i kao „rasističko“ oružje koje je upotrebljeno samo protiv azijske zemlje, dok je najveći broj testova nuklearnog naoružanja pogodio afričke i azijske zemlje, nekadašnje kolonije (Luthi 2016, 119). Takođe, glavni podsticaj za bavljenjem nuklearnim razoružanjem na prvom samitu PNZ u Beogradu 1961. godine bila je i najava tadašnjeg lidera Sovjetskog Saveza (SSSR) Hruščova da će SSSR nastaviti sa nuklearnim testiranjem, prekidajući na taj način moratorijum na nuklearno testiranje koji je prethodno uspostavljen između SAD, UK i SSSR, budući da je smatrao da je francuski nuklearni test iz 1960. godine, kojim je ona uspostavljena kao nuklearna sila, u stvari služio za testiranje nuklearnog naoružanja SAD i UK (Luthi 2016, 122).

Nuklearno razoružanje za PNZ predstavlja „jedinu absolutnu garanciju protiv upotrebe ili pretnje upotrebotom nuklearnog naoružanja“ (NAM Plan of Action 2010, 1). Ono je deo šireg osnovnog koncepta PNZ po kome je „opšte i potpuno“ razoružanje u pogledu oružja za masovno uništenje, kao i izbalansiraniji odnos u posedovanju konvencionalnog naoružanja, okosnica postizanja svetskog mira, bezbednosti i razvoja. Osnovna načela na kojima PNZ insistira u procesu nuklearnog razoružnja su transparentnost, verifikacija i nepovratnost. Pitanje nuklearnog razoružanja, a kasnije i eliminacije svog drugog oružja za masovno uništenje, je postalo sastavni deo identiteta nesvrstanih koje će u decenijama koje su usledile biti važan princip za težnju da se one zaštite od uticaja nuklearnih sila i moguće upotrebe nuklearnog naoružanja, da ukinu „hegemonski poredak“ zasnovan na podeli na one koje imaju i one koji nemaju nuklearno naoružanje, pozovu na okončanje trke u naoružanju između dva hladnoratovska rivala – SAD i SSSR – i generalno učestvuju u naporima da se izbegne mogućnost nuklearnog sukoba. Pored toga, nuklearno razoružanje i smanjenje izdataka za vojne svrhe uopšteno, ali i sa druge strane mogućnost upotrebe nuklearne energije u miroljubive svrhe bez diskriminacije, su u paradigmi PNZ neraskidivo povezani sa stvaranjem Novog ekonomskog poretku razvojem slabije razvijenih zemalja i smanjenjem jaza između bogatih zemalja Severa i siromašnijih zemalja Juga. Međutim, i pored zalaganja za razoružanje, nesvrstani nisu u potpunosti odbacili mogućnost sukoba, posebno ne prava na samoodbranu i posedovanja konvencionalnog naoružanja u tom cilju, kao ni onog protiv eksploracije, kolonijalizma ili secesionizma. Pored toga, neke od

država članica PNZ poput Indije, Pakistana i Severne Koreje su čak i same stekle nuklearno naoružanje i ostale van Ugovora o neproliferaciji (NPT), iako je univerzalizacija ovog Ugovora jedan od osnovnih ciljeva PNZ u oblasti nuklearnog razoružanja. To međutim, nije predstavljalo osnov da se ove države članice izbace iz članstva PNZ, povuku ili na neki drugi način sankcionisu unutar samog Pokreta, zbog čega se PNZ-u često negira neutralna i kredibilna pozicija po ovom pitanju. Još možda drastičniji slučaj je slučaj Belorusije koja je istovremeno i članica PNZ i Organizacije dogovora o kolektivnoj bezbednosti (ODKB), odbrambenog saveza okupljenog oko Rusije koji samim tim predstavlja i nuklearni savez i u direktnoj je suprotnosti sa načelima članstva u PNZ.

Tokom decenija nesvrstani su izražavali svoje težnje za nuklearnim razoružanjem na različitim multilateralnim forumima i kroz različite instrumente. Ovaj rad će se međutim fokusirati na period nakon 2000. godine, budući da je istorijat razvoja PNZ i njegovo funkcionisanje tokom Hladnog rata u značajnoj meri obrađeno u akademskoj literaturi. U radu će se koristiti kako primarni tako i sekundarni izvori podataka. Primarne izvore čine zajednički stavovi PNZ izražavani kroz završne dokumente sa samita nesvrstanih, na sastancima Pripremnog komiteta i Preglednim konferencijama NPT, Generalnim konferencijama i sastancima Borda direktora Međunarodne agencije za atomsku energiju (IAEA), kao i sastancima Prvog komiteta Generalne skupštine Ujedinjenih nacija (UNGA) koji se bavi pitanjima razoružanja i međunarodne bezbednosti. Sekundarni izvori podataka koji se koriste u radu su akademske monografije, naučni članci i analize koje se bave nesvrstanim, njihovom ulogom u post-hladnoratovskom svetu i aktivnostima na polju razoružanja.

Sadržinski, rad prati glavne prioritete i zalaganja nesvrstanih u oblasti razoružanja nakon 2000. godine. U prvom delu on obrađuje odnos nesvrstanih prema univerzalnim instrumentima za razoružanje. U njemu se posebno ističe zahtev za univerzalizacijom svih instrumenata koji se odnose na proces neproliferacije i razoružanja i značaj multilateralnog pristupa procesu razoružanja i njegovoj verifikaciji. U drugom delu rada analizira se odnos nesvrstanih prema regionalnim instrumentima za razoružanje, pre svega Zonom slobodnim od nuklearnog naoružanja. Posebno mesto u naporima nesvrstanih ovde pripada izuzetnom i neprekidnom zalaganju da se uspostavi Zona slobodna od nuklearnog naoružanja/oružja za masovno uništenje na Bliskom istoku. Treći deo rada je odraz promene međunarodnog sistema nakon Hladnog rata, rastućeg unilateralizma SAD i opstanka jednog od hladnoratovskih odbrambenih saveza – Sevrnoatlantskog saveza (NATO). Nastavak politike vojnih blokova, nuklearnog odvraćanja i značajnog oslanjanja na nuklearno naoružanje u odbrambenim doktrinama SAD i NATO i nakon 2000. godine, istureno odvraćanje SAD u Evropi i vojne baze, izlazak SAD iz

Ugovora o protivraketnoj odbrani (ABM), različiti vidovi intervencionizma, uključujući i rat protiv terorizma koji je u sebi sadržao i doktrinu preemptivnog napada, bili su od posebne pažnje za PNZ koja je u svojim dokumentima i izjavama tim povodom izražavala zabrinutost.

## **Nesvrstani i univerzalni instrumenti za razoružanje**

Jedan od osnovnih principa PNZ je multilateralizam i univerzalizacija postojećih međunarodnih instrumenata u oblasti nuklearnog razoružanja. Univerzalizam i težnja da se proces razoružanja, pa i nuklearnog odvija pod međunarodnom kontrolom i procesom verifikacije, kao i uz očuvanje načela jednake bezbednosti za sve i podele odgovornosti i prava u procesu razoružanja i miroljubive upotrebe nuklearne energije između NWS država koje poseduju nuklearno naoružanje NNWS država koje ne poseduju nuklearno naoružanje razlozi su zbog kojih nesvrstani stavljaju težište na Organizaciju ujedinjenih nacija (UN) u procesu razoružanja (Parzymies 1985, 107). Konkretno, glavno težište procesa razoružanja stavlja se na UNGA koja treba da ima ključnu opštu ulogu u rešavanju konflikata i stvaranju svetskog mira, a posebna uloga u procesu razoružanja treba da pripadne i Konferenciji za razoružanje (NAM Final Document 2003, 21). Ovakva ojačana uloga UNGA bi, po uverenju PNZ, bolje doprinosiла prevazilaženju podela i neaktivnosti Saveta bezbednosti UN (SBUN), ali i omogućila veće šanse za ostvarivanje interesa i uloge zemalja PNZ budući da bi u ovom telu imali značajnu numeričku prednost (Strydom 2007, 26). U tom kontekstu, PNZ je na primer inicirao i održavanje prvog ikad visokog sastanka UNGA o nuklearnom razoružanju 26. septembra 2013. godine.

Tokom svoje istorije PNZ se zalagao za univerzalizaciju svih postignutih sporazuma o razoružanju pod okriljem UN. To se pre svega odnosi na Ugovor o neproliferaciji (NPT), zabranu nuklearnog testiranja u vidu Sveobuhvatnog ugovora o zabrani nukearnog testiranja (CTBT), smanjenje fisionog materijala, odredbe o zabrani smeštanja nuklearnog naoružanja u svemiru, Ugovor o zabrani nuklearnog naoružanja (TPNW) i sveobuhvatne mere zaštite IAEA.

Ugovor o neproliferaciji koji je stupio na snagu 1970. godine često se naziva „velikom pogodbom“ država koje poseduju nuklearno naoružanje i onih koje ga ne poseduju, među koje spada i najveći broj država članice nesvrstanih. Tri ključna stuba ovog Ugovora su neproliferacija, razoružanje i miroljubiva upotreba nuklearne energije, koji se po mišljenju PNZ moraju balansirano ostvarivati. Dodatne mere u pravcu ograničavanja neproliferacije po njima su mogući tek nakon što NWS preduzmu ozbiljnije korake ka razoružanju (Yew 2011, 4). U tom smislu,

zahtevi nuklearnih sila za neproliferacijom nisu viđeni kao opravdani i kredibilni ukoliko nisu praćeni ozbiljnim merama ka razoružanju tih istih sila. Takođe, nesvrstani su insistirali na uklanjanju svih prepreka i ograničenja, poput strogih izvoznih kontrola, koje bi mogle da dovedu do ograničavanja razvoja u upotrebe nuklearne energije u NNWS. Po mišljenju nekih autora države poput Kube, Irana i Venecuele su igrale glavnu ulogu u formulisanju politike PNZ prema IAEA u smislu protivljenja jačanju mera zaštite (Yew 2016, 6). Iako u potpunosti podržavaju rad IAEA kao glavnog sredstva za transfer nuklearne tehnologije u miroljubive svrhe uključući i NWS, uvođenje strožijih ograničavajućih mera za pojedine države bi po mišljenju PNZ u stvari onemogućavale pored razvoja NNWS i postizanje veće jednakosti između NWS i NNWS, i ugrožavale „neotuđivo pravo“ svih država da razvijaju, istražuju, proizvode i koriste nuklearnu energiju za miroljubive svrhe *bez diskriminacije* (italic dodat)“ (NPT 1968, Article III).

IAEA je po mišljenju PNZ jedini kompetentni autoritet za verifikaciju poštovanja mera zaštite i glavno mesto tehničke saradnje u oblastu nuklearne energije, zbog čega je od izuzetnog značaja da ona zadrži svoju profesionalnost i nepristrasnost i ne bude predmet politizacije i instrument u rukama pojedinačnih interesa država članica. Ovakvo konstantno insistiranje plod je pre svega straha od napora SAD da kroz organe IAEA optuži pojedine članice, pre svega sa Bliskog istoka, za nepoštovanje mera zaštite i kršenje NPT-a što bi kasnije moglo voditi i njihovoj prijavi Savetu bezbednosti i mogućim daljim prisilnim merama. Pored toga, od izuzetnog značaja za postojeći sistem kontrole naoružanja je i stav PNZ da IAEA treba da ima ulogu i sposobnost u verifikaciji postojećih sporazuma o nuklearnom razoružanju (NAM Recommendations for 2020 NPT RevCon, 11). U tom smislu bi bila učinjena značajna razlika u odnosu na, na primer, bilateralne aranžmane SAD i Rusije o smanjenju nuklearnog naoružanja, koji sadrže jedino bilateralne mehanizme verifikacije. Isto tako i nuklearna postrojenja NWS bi po mišljenju PNZ trebala biti pod zaštitnim merama IAEA kako bi se prevenirala mogućnost prebacivanja nuklearne energije za miroljubive svrhe u nuklearno naoružanje i prebacivanje nuklearne tehnologije i materijala državama koje nisu članice NPT-a poput Izraela (NAM Recommendations for 2020 NPT RevCon, 11). Takođe, uloga IAEA se vidi i kao značajna u donešenju standarda nuklearne bezbednosti, pripremanju za moguće regionalne i međunarodne nuklearne katastrofe koja uključuje i sprovođenje edukacije o upravljanju krizama i izgradnju kapaciteta država članica, na njihov zahtev, da odgovore na moguće krize (NAM Final Document 2012, 65). PNZ je takođe, prepoznao potrebu za postizanjem „sveobuhvatnog multilateralno ispregovaranog instrumenta“ kojim se zabranjuju napadi ili pretanje napadima na nuklearna postrojenja, postojeća ili u izgradnji, namenjena miroljubivoj upotrebi nuklearne energije (NAM Final Document 2006, 32).

U svojim brojnim dokumentima PNZ je pozivao NWS, a pre svega dve najveće nuklearne sile, da pristupe ozbiljnom i bržem faznom procesu razoružanja koji bi se utvrdio na poseban način i poštujući načela transparentnosti, verifikacije i nepovratnosti. PNZ je od početka novog veka pozivao na punu primenu 13 praktičnih koraka ka nuklearnom razoružanju koje su usvojene 2000. godine na Preglednoj konferenciji NPT (NAM Final Document 2003, 24). U završnim dokumentima sa PNZ samita redovno je navođeno da je totalna eliminacija nuklearnog naoružanja „jedina apsolutna garancija protiv upotrebe ili pretnje upotrebom nuklearnog naoružanja“ (NAM Plan of Action 2010, 1). U radnom dokumentu koji je PNZ priložio za Preglednu konferenciju NPT 2010. godine sadržan je akcioni plan za eliminaciju nuklearnog naoružanja koje bi se sprovelo u tri faze. U prvoj fazi (2010-2015. godina), PNZ je predviđao postizanje ugovora koji bi zabranio proizvodnju fisionog materijala a kome bi prethodio moratorijum na njegovu proizvodnju, okončanje svog nuklearnog testiranja i razvoj novih tehnologija za unapređenje postojećih oružanih sistema, prispitivanje nuklearnih postavki svih NWS kako bi se uklonila uloga nuklearnog naoružanja u njivim bezbednosnim i odbrambenim politikama, usvajanje negativnih bezbednosnih garancija prema NNWS, kao i konvencije o zabrani upotrebe i pretnje upotrebom nuklearnog naoružanja, sazivanje međunarodne konferencije o nuklearnom razoružanju, potpuna primena svih ugovora kojima je predviđeno uspostavljanje zona slobodnih od nuklearnog naoružanja i uspostavljane Zone slobodne od nuklearnog naoružana na Bliskom istoku, uspostavljanje jasnog mehanizma praćenja smanjenja nuklearnih arsenala, smanjenje operativne spremnosti sistema sa nuklearnim naoružanjem, postizanje novog START sporazuma i stavljanje svog nuklearnog fisionog materijala NWS prebačenog iz vojne u miroljubive svrhe pod zaštitu IAEA. Druga faza (2015-2020. godine) predviđala je stupanje na snagu ugovora o eliminaciji nuklearnog naoružanja i uspostavljanje jedinstvenog i sveobuhvatnog multilateralnog sistema verifikacije koji bi uključivao odvajanje nuklearnih bojevih glava od sistema odašiljanja, njihovo prebacivanje u skladišta pod međunarodnom kontrolom i prebacivanje nuklearnog materijala u miroljubive svrhe, kao i balansirano smanjivanje raketa nosača nuklearnog naoružanja. Treća faza koja se odnosila na period 2020-2025. godine predviđala je potpunu primenu ugovora o eliminaciji svog nuklearnog naoružanja i njegovog verifikacionog režima uz stavljanje svih nuklearnih postrojenja pod IAEA zaštitu (NAM Plan of Action 2010, 2-4). Ovaj vremenski okvir je, budući da je malo od elemenata ispunjeno, promenjen u Radnom dokumentu priprmljenom za Preglednu konferenciju NPT 2020. godine, tako da je u njemu prva faza obuhvatala period od 2020. do 2025. godine, a koji je u prethodnom dokumentu bio završna faza, a završna faza obuhvata period od 2030. do 2035. godine (NAM Plan of Action 2019).

Nakon što je u UNGA usvojen TPNW 2017. godine, PNZ je izrazio podršku njegovom usvajanju uz viđenje da ovaj Ugovor treba da doprinese faznom procesu nuklearnog razoružanja čiji je glavni okvir i dalje NPT (NAM recommendations for the 2020 NPT RevCon, 2).<sup>2</sup> I pored postojanja ovog Ugovora PNZ je samim tim nastavio da zahteva usvajanje Sveobuhvatne konvencije o nuklearnom naoružanju, osnivanje posebnog tela pri Konferenciji za razoružanju koja bi iznadrila ovaj dokument kao i sazivanje posebne međunarodne konferencije UN o nuklearnom razoružanju. Pored toga, kao i u slučaju drugih međunarodnih institucija i ugovora načelan stav zauzet od strane PNZ ne znači i automatsku primenu tog stava od strane svih država članica PNZ. U slučaju TPNW, iako ga je PNZ zvanično podržao, do 23. septembra 2021. godine samo 35 država članica PNZ ga je ratifikovalo a 31 potpisala, što čini nešto više od polovine od ukupno 120 država članica ovog Pokreta (UNTC, TPNW).<sup>3</sup> Ovo se može objasniti upravo politikom pojedinih država PNZ da pre nego što sebe obavežu na potpunu zabranu nuklearnog naoružanja, NWS sprovedu značajne korake ka razoružanju, kao i regionalnom bezbednosnom dinamikom poput one na Bliskom Istoku. Egipat na primer do sada nije ni potpisao TPNW iako je bio jedna od tri afričke države koje su bile uključene u proces pregovaranja koji je prethodio zaključivanju ovog sporazuma.<sup>4</sup> Egipat je takođe i samo potpisnik Ugovora iz Pelindabe (1996), kojim je uspostavljena Zona slobodna od nuklearnog naoružanja u Africi, kao i CTBT-a za čiju se univerzalizaciju zalaže, imajući u vidu težnju da Izrael najpre postane članica NPT-a i pristupi Zoni slobodnoj od nuklearnog naoružanja na Bliskom Istoku, kao i činjenicu da SAD nisu ratifikovale nijedan od Protokola uz Ugovor iz Pelindabe (Wyk and Turianskyi 2021, 4-5). Na taj način se umesto kroz univerzalizaciju intrumenata za razoružanje, što je jedno od načela PNZ, pojedine države članice odlučuju upravo za suprotno – nesprovođenje ovog načela dok se neki od prethodno zadatih uslova ne ispune. U tom smislu, se PNZ u nekim slučajevima koristi kao pogodno sredstvo za održavanje pojedinih pitanja visoko na Agendi, dok se u drugim slučajevima načela delovanja NAM zanemaruju.

Po pitanju CTBT, ovaj Ugovor kao i organizacija proistekla iz njega (CTBTO) predstavljaju glavne poluge za zabranu nuklearnog testiranja treba da budu univerzalno prihvaćene. PNZ insistira na CTBT-u kao instrumentu i delu faznog procesa nuklearnog razoružanja, a ne samo neproliferacije, i posebno poziva NWS

<sup>2</sup> Prva preporuka Radnog dokumenta koji sadrži preporuke koje bi bile unite u Završni dokument 10. Pregledne konferencije NPT koja je bila predviđena za 2020. godinu glasi: "Naglasiti da je Ugovor o neproliferaciji ključan međunarodni instrument namenjen postizanju nuklearnog razoružanja..."

<sup>3</sup> Izračunato prema podacima o statusu TPNW.

<sup>4</sup> Tu su bile još i Nigerija i Južnoafrička Republika koje su ratifikovale TPNW.

da ga ratifikuju i poštuju njegove odredbe (NAM Final Document 2016, 69). Pri tom, razvoj novog nuklearnog naoružanja i unapređenje postojećeg u posedu NWS PNZ takođe vidi kao suprotno CTBT-u (NAM Final Document 2016, 66). Međutim, PNZ dokumenti ne sadrže na primer posebnu osudu ili poziv Iranu ili Egiptu, (koje su dve od deset članica PNZ koje nisu ratifikovale CTBT) niti pojedinačno pobraja države koje nisu ni potpisale ovaj Ugovor (njih jedanaest do septembra 2021. godine) da to i učine, kao što je to na primer slučaj sa redovnim pozivanjem Izraela da pristupi NPT-u (UNTC, CTBT). Pozicija Irana, na primer, po ovom pitanju je da CTBT ne doprinosi u dovoljnoj meri nuklearnom razoružanju, niti da ograničava razvoj novog nuklearnog naoružanja NWS, već da je njegovo težište na neproliferaciji, što je za Iran neprihvatljivo (UNTC, CTBT, Declarations and Reservations).

Po pitanju militarizacije svemira, PNZ je konstantno izražavao svoje neslaganje sa povlačenjem SAD iz ABM Ugovora, mogućim smeštanjem naoružanja u svemir i trkom u naoružanju u ovom prostoru koja može voditi i povećanju nuklearnog naoružanja. S druge strane, u Završnom dokumentu PNZ samita iz 2008. godine PNZ je zajedničku rusko-kinesku inicijativu u vidu nacrt-a ugovora o „Prevenciji smeštanja naoružanja u svemir, pretnji ili upotrebi sile protiv objekata u svemiru“ podnetu Konferenciji za razoružanje video kao konstruktivan doprinos i dobru osnovu za buduće pregovore o usvajanju međunarodnog obavezujućeg instrumenta (NAM Final Document 2009, 42). Takođe, PNZ je podržao i UNGA rezolucije o „Prevenciji trke u naoružanju u svemiru“, „Ne prvog smeštanja naoružanja u svemir“ i o „Transparentnosti i merama izgradnje poverenja povodom aktivnosti u svemiru“ (NAM Final Document 2019, 82).

Na kraju, PNZ je preuzeo i neke od dodatnih inicijativa u cilju podizanja svesti o značaju zabrane nuklearnog naoružanja. Unutar PNZ, Radna grupa za razoružanje je pod vođstvom Indonezije, koja je bila dugogodišnji koordinator ovog tela, 2013. godine inicirao usvajanje odluke o proglašenju 26. septembra za Međunarodni dan totalne eliminacije nuklearnog naoružanja (Sugiono 2015). Ova odluka je usvojena na zasedanju UNGA u decembru iste godine (UNGA Rezolucija 68/32) nakon sastanka na visokom nivou UNGA o nuklearnom naoružanju održanom 26. septembra 2013. godine u Njujorku (UN 2013, International Day). Prethodno je 2009. godine, na inicijativu Kazahstana, posmatrača u PNZ i člana Centralnoazijiske zone slobodne od nuklearnog naoružanja, ali i ODKB, usvojena UNGA Rezolucija 64/35 kojom je 29. avgust uspostavljen kao Međunarodni dan protiv nuklearnog testiranja (UN 2009, International Day).

## Nesvrstani i regionalni instrumenti za razoružanje

Zone slobodne od nuklearnog naoružanja (Zone) prepoznate su kao osnovni regionalni instrumenti koji treba da doprinesu globalnom nuklearnom razoružanju (NAM Final Document 2003, 22-23). Time se gore predstavljeni „top-bottom“ pristup nadopunjuje i pristupom „bottom-up“. U vezi sa uspostavljanjem ovih zona od posebnog interesa za PNZ je pružanje takozvanih negativnih bezbednosnih garancija članicama Zone od strane NWS. Ovo do danas ipak nije slučaj sa postojećim zonama. U pogledu Zone u Latinskoj Americi svih pet NWS ratifikovalo je Protokol II, dok Protokol I nije ni potpisala ni ratifikovala Kina. Francuska i UK su ratifikovale sva tri protokola Zone u Južnom Pacifiku, dok su Kina i Rusija ratifikovale samo Protokole II i III a SAD nije nijedan iako ih je potpisala 1996. godine. Takođe, nijedna NWS nije potpisala Protokol za Zonu u Jugoistočnoj Aziji. Što se tiče Zone u Africi, sve NWS su ratifikovale Protokole I i II osim SAD koje su ih samo potpisale 1996. godine, dok je Protokol III ratifikovala jedino Francuska. Protokol uz Zonu u Centralnoj Aziji potpisale su sve NWS osim SAD, iako su ga one potpisale 2014. godine (status i detalji zona i njihovih protokola se mogu naći na: UN Protocols to the NWFZ). Ovde je važno naglasiti da su Kazahstan, Kirgizija, Tadžikistan i Uzbekistan, dakle sve države članice Centralnoazijske zone osim Turkmenistana, ujedno i članice ODKB predvođenog Rusijom, koji je zasnovan na vojno-političkom odvraćanju i podrazumeva sistem kolektivne odbrane koji bi mogao uključivati i nuklearno naoružanje (ODKB).

Nesvrstani su posebno insistirali na stvaranju Zone slobodne od nuklearnog oružja, kasnije svog oružja za masovno uništenje, na Bliskom istoku. Oni su posebno podržavali inicijative Egipta i Irana u tom pravcu i konstantno nastavili da zahtevaju odustajanje Izraela od nuklearnog naoružanja, njegovo članstvo u NPT i stavljanje izraelskih nuklearnih postrojenja pod sveobuhvatne garancije IAEA. Po mišljenju PNZ „stabilnost se ne može ostvariti u regionu gde se ogrmone nejednakosti u vojnim sposobnostima održavaju kroz posedovanje nuklearnog naoružanja koje dozvoljava jednoj strani da preti svojim susedima i regionu“ (NAM Final Document 2003, 23). Takođe, završnim dokumentom iz Kuala Lumpura iz 2003. godine, kao i svim budućim dokumentima sa PNZ samita, zahtevano je i da se zabrani transfer celokupne opreme, podataka, materijala, postrojenja resursa i uređaja Izraelu koji su u vezi sa nuklearnim naoružanjem, kao i podrška u obučavanju izraelskog osoblja u vezi sa nuklearnim naoružanjem (NAM Final Document 2003, 23-24). Osnovna zamerka se ovde odnosi na to da PNZ zauzima neprincipijelnu podršku time što uporno insistira na članstvu Izraela u NPT, dok nikad nije vršio pritisak ili javno tražio pojedinačno od sopstvenih članica Indije i Pakistana da pristupe ovom ugovoru (Yew 2011, 12). Takođe, osim u Završnom dokumentu iz 2003. godine kada se samo

konstatiuje izlazak Severne Koreje iz NPT-a i daje podrška razgovorima šest strana, u daljim Završnim dokumentima se ovo pitanje ne pominje niti se Severna Koreja poziva na odustajanje od nuklearnog naoružanja i ponovno pristupanje NPT-u.

Po mišljenju PNZ pitanje uspostavljanja ove zone se ne može uslovjavati završetkom mirovnog procesa na Bliskom istoku, već ono mora da mu prethodi (IAEA 2017, 2). Predstavnik Kube je, na primer, u ime Bečkog poglavlja PZN, 2007 i 2008. godine tražio od generalnog direktora IAEA da pitanje izraelskih nukleranih sposobnosti uvrsti u dnevni red Generalnih konferencija IAEA tih godina (vidi na primer NAM Communication 2008). U ostalim slučajevima ovakve rezolucije su predlagane od strane država članice PNZ, ali u ime Arapske lige. Ipak, svaki završni dokument PNZ sadržao je odredbu o podršci naporima Arapske grupe u Beču da održi pitanje izraelskih nuklearnih sposobnosti pod razmatranjem Generalne konferencije IAEA (vidi na primer NAM Final Document 2016, 72). Pojedinih godina se o ovim tačkama dnevnog reda sprovodilo glasanje a ponekad je ono samo razmatrano bez izjašnjavanja. Kada se o njoj glasalo ovaj nacrt je uglavnom odbijen što je bio slučaj na zasedanjima 2013, 2014 i 2015. godine. Naredne dve godine se o ovoj tački nije sprovodilo glasanje. Stav Izraela po ovom pitanju je konstantno bio da se pitanje Zone može rešavati samo u sklopu mirovnog procesa i da PNZ ima neprincipijelnu poziciju time što ne osuđuju druge države članice Bliskog istoka za nepridržavanje preuzetih obaveza. S druge strane, Nacrt rezolucije o primeni zaštitnih mera na Bliskom istoku je redovno usvajan.

U skladu sa svojim nedvosmislenim zalaganjem da sve NNWS imaju pravo na razvoj i upotrebu nuklearne energije bez diskriminacije, PNZ je konstantno podržavao pravo Irana na upotrebu nuklearne energije u miroljubive svrhe. U ovom slučaju PNZ je ipak igrao određenu ulogu, pre svega iz razloga što Iran jeste članica NPT, za razliku od Severne Koreje, Indije i Pakistana. Bečko poglavlje je formirano 2003. godine sa namerom da koordinira poteze PNZ u okviru IAEA. Pored toga što je konstantno u svojim izjavama PNZ podržavao neotuđivo pravo država na nuklearnu energiju, takozvana Trojka PNZ je od 2005. godine redovno posećivala Iran navodeći da ceni saradnju Irana sa IAEA (Rajiv 2012). Ipak, nisu sve članice PNZ zauzele istu poziciju prema iranskom nuklearnom programu prilikom glasanja o istom, budući da su neke od njih podržale odluke IAEA o prijavi iranskog nuklearnog programa kao mogućeg izvora zabrinutosti Savetu bezbednosti UN, kao i kasnije odluke Saveta bezbednosti o sankcijama Iranu. Za rezoluciju SBUN 1737 (2006) koja uvodi zabranu trgovine sa Iranom određenih materijala koji mogu biti upotrebljeni za nuklearnu proliferaciju, zamrzavanju imovine licima i entitetima uključenim u aktivnosti proliferacije i uspostavlja Komitet za sankcije glasalo je svih pet članica PNZ koje su u tom momentu bile nestalne članice SBUN. Za narednu Rezoluciju 1747 (2007) kojom se uspostavlja

zabrana izvoza naoružanja iz Irana i dpunjue lista zamrzavanja imovine glasalo je takođe istih pet država članica PNZ, dok je za Rezoluciju 1929 (2010) kojom se uvodi dodatna runda sankcija Iranu glasalo tri od četiri članice PNZ, dok je jedna (Liban) bila uzdržana (UNSC voting record). Nacrt rezolucije o SAD o zadržavanju sankcija Iranu koje se odnose na trgovinu naoružanjem iz avgusta 2020. godine međutim nije dobio potrebnu većinu, pre svega zbog neslaganja samih evropskih saveznika i Kine i Rusije sa unilateranim povlačenjem SAD iz JCPOA i potezima Trampove administracije u vezi sa Iranom. Na ovom glasanju SAD je podržala jedino Dominikanska Republika, koja jeste članica PNZ, dok su ostalih šest članica PNZ koje su tom momentu bile članice SBUN bile uzdržane (UNDOCS 2020). Ovaj trend ukazuje na to da neke druge alijanse i bilateralni odnosi mogu imati prednost nad stavovima zauzetim od strane samog Pokreta.

Jedan od primera kada su države članice PNZ odigrale značajnu ulogu po pitanju jedne proliferacijske krize jeste u IAEA prilikom razmatranja navodne sirske nesaglasnosti sa odredbama NPT-a. Još od septembra 2007. godine kada se dogodio, PNZ u svojim zvaničnim dokumentima osuđuje napad Izraela na sirske navodno nuklearno postrojenje u regionu Dair Alzur (NAM Final Document 2009, 43). Prilikom odlučivanja o prijavi Sirije Savetu bezbednosti UN u junu 2011. godine, 11 članica PNZ koje su u tom momentu bile članice Borda guvernera IAEA bilo je uzdržano, budući da se izjašnjavanje video u sklopu pokušaja promene Asadovog režima na početku sirske revolucije i zasnovano na pristrasnim obaveštajnim podacima SAD, a ne objektivnim nalazima IAEA (CACN 2011). Obaveštajni podaci SAD o sirskskom nuklearnom reaktoru su se u velikoj meri zasnivali na izveštajima izraelskih obaveštajnih organizacija koji su tvrdili da je sirske nuklearni reaktor završen u aprilu 2007. godine uz pomoć Severne Koreje, kao i da je on deo sirskeg programa razvoja nuklearnog naoružanja namenjen proizvodnji plutonijuma (Riedel 2013).

Pored toga, neki autori poput Trivibova smatraju da PNZ može imati i veću ulogu u rešavanju kriza izazvanih nuklearnim programima država poput Severne Koreje ili Irana, koje su višedecenijske članice PNZ (Triwibowo 2015, 11). Ovakvo rezonovanje se bazira na neutralnoj poziciji PNZ, sličnosti principa na kojima se zasnivaju politike ovih država i Pokreta kao celina, sličnom nivou razvoja država članica i većoj mogućnosti „kažnjavanja“ u slučaju nesaradnje (Triwibowo 2015, 17). Međutim, PNZ kao celina nema sposobnost da se bavi ovim pitanjima pre svega zato što često u stvari nema saglasnosti među državama članicama o konkretnim pitanjima neproliferacije iako Pokret može imati načelni stav o tome i, sa druge strane, Pokret nema institucionalne mehanizme da sproveđe mere neproliferacije i nuklearnog razoružanja među svojim državama članicama. Još važnije ponekad ne postoji saglasnost unutar PNZ da se proliferacija osudi, budući da je

neke države vide kao instrument borbe protiv imperijalizma i hegemonizma i očuvanja nezavvisnosti, kao i način da se NWS dodatno pritisnu u pravcu nuklearnog razoružanja. Kako i sam Trivibo zaključuje iako ima mogućnost većeg angažovanja u procesu razoružanja „izgleda da PNZ samo igra u sivoj zoni bez davanja ikakvog saopštenja o tome koja država ili igrač trebaju biti razoružani“ (Triwibowo 2015, 17). U Završnom dokumentu PNZ samita iz 2003. godine, na primer, što je godina u kojoj se Severna Koreja povukla iz NPT-a samo je jedan kraći pasus konstatovao ovo povlačenje i naveo da „direktno zainteresovane strane reše sva pitanja...kroz dijalog i pregovore i kao izraz njihove dobre volje“ (NAM Final Document 2003, 24). Na taj način PNZ je izuzeo sebe kao aktera iz rešavanja korejskog nuklearnog pitanja, videći kao glavne aktere druge nejasno definisane „direktno zainteresovane strane“, što se odnosi na podršku razgovorima šest strana – Severne i Južne Koreje, SAD, Rusije, Kine i Japana. Sličan je slučaj i sa davanjem podrške stranama koje su ispregovarale i danas teže da ožive JCPOA.

Kao poseban vid aktivnosti koje doprinose procesu razoružanja na regionalnom nivou PNZ je pružio podršku i održavanju i revitalizaciji tri regionalna centra UN za mir i razoružanje (za Latinsku Ameriku i Karibe, Aziju i Pacifik i za Afriku) (videti na primer: NAM Final Document 2011, 59). Po njihovom mišljenju ovi centri mogu suštinski da doprinesu razumevanju saradnji država određenog regiona u kojima centri deluju u oblastima mira, razoružanja i razvoja, da time povećaju stabilnost i bezbednost država članica, primenu aktivnosti razoružanja, kontrole naoružanja i neproliferacije kroz seminare i konferencije, izgradnju kapaciteta i treninge, političku i tehničku ekspertizu i zagovaranje na svim nivoima (NAM Draft Resolution 2017).

## Nesvrstani i nuklearna politika NATO i SAD

Iako vođeni politikom nesvrstavanja uz bilo koji od vojnih blokova, tokom svog postojanja nesvrstani nisu bili i neaktivni u odnosu na vojne blokove i njihove predvodnike. Oni su težili da utiču na njih u pogledu položaja nuklearnog naoružanja u njihovim vojnim doktrinama kao i generalno okončanje trke u naoružanju. Kako Luti navodi, kroz neophodnu saradnju sa SAD i Rusijom kako bi ostvarili svoje ciljeve, kao i angažovanje na brojnim poljima, PNZ je automatski postao sastavni deo Hladnog rata (Luthi 2016, 99-100). Ove svoje ciljeve i angažovanje u odnosu pre svega na SAD i NATO, PNZ je nastavio i nakon Hladnog rata. Za razliku od redovnog pominjanja NATO strateške doktrine i odbrambenih dokumenata SAD povodom kojih je izražavao zabrinutost, PNZ, međutim, ni na koji

način nije osudio nastanak još jednog sistema kolektivne odbrane koji se zasniva na „političko-vojnom odvraćanju“ (ODKB 2021) – ODKB-a 2002. godine, i čak u svom sastavu ima jednu članicu ove organizacije – Belorusiju. Takođe, PNZ je u svojim dokumentima podržao Rusko-kinesku zajedničku inicijativu o sprečavanju trke u naoružanu u svemiru ali ni na koji način nije osudio ili izrazio zabrinutost protiv na primer ruskih ili kinskih testova antisatelitskog naoružanja, što je tokom Hladnog rata bio slučaj.

U pogledu NATO i nuklearne politike SAD, PNZ je izražavao zabrinutost ili nezadovoljstvo po nekoliko ključnih pitanja: politike nuklearnog odvraćanja NATO, posebno isturenog odvraćanja u Evropi, povlačenja SAD iz ABM Ugovora i daljeg pravca razvoja protivraketne odbrane SAD i NATO koje mogu voditi militarizacija svemira, doktrini preemptivnih napada, humanitarnih intervencija i unilateralnih akcija razoružanja, kao i izbegavanja SAD da usvoji politiku „ne-prve upotrebe“ nuklearnog naoružanja i negativnih bezbednosnih garancija za NNWS.

Završni dokumenti PNZ nakon 2000. godine izražavali su zabrinutost povodom novog Strateškog koncepta NATO usvojenog 1999. godine koji se zasniva na promociji modela bezbednosti zasnovanog na nuklearnom odvraćanju, kao i politike „isturenog odvraćanja“ na osnovu koje je nuklearno naoružanje SAD stacionirano u nekoliko evropskih zemalja. „Deljenje“ nuklearnog oružja koje se primenjuje u konceptu isturenog odvraćanja SAD po mišljenju PNZ predstavlja vid horizontalne proliferacije i „jasno kršenje“ članova I i II NPT-a (NAM Statement 2012a). PNZ je, inače, tokom svoje dugogodišnje istorije redovno pozivao NWS da isključe upotrebu ili pretnju upotrebom sile iz svojih vojnih doktrina, kao i na uspostavljanje garancija NWS da nuklearno naoružanje neće biti upotrebljeno protiv NNWS (NAM Statement 2012b). Kao instrument protiv moguće upotrebe nuklearnog naoružanja protiv NNWS oni su se založili za usvajanje posebnog pravno obavezujućeg instrumenta o bezbednosnim garancijama kao „privremene mere do potpunog nuklearnog razoružanja“ (NAM Final Document 2006, 11).

U svetu rata u Iraku 2003. godine PNZ je na svojim sastancima i u dokumentima izražavao i svoje protivljenje unilateralnom delovanju i unilateralnim akcijama, kao doktrini pre-emptivnog napada. U skladu sa svojim načelima PNZ je podržao i rezoluciju UNGA o „Promociji multilateralizma u oblasti razoružanja i neproliferacije“ (NAM Final Document 2003, 20). Deklaracija o revitalizaciji PNZ iz Kuala Lumpura iz 2003. godine upozoravala je na nastanak unipolarnosti i rast unilateralizma i pozvala na jačanje multilateralizma (NAM Final Document 2003, 10). U svetu problema sa nuklearnim programima Irana i Severne Koreje i rata u Iraku 2003. godine, ovaj dokument kritikovao je i unilateranu podelu država na dobre i loše, kao i sve vojne akcije koje se sprovode bez odobrenja SBUN (NAM Final Document 2003, 8). Ove vojne akcije su tokom godina obuhvatale

humanitarne intervencije (kao što je bio slučaj sa SRJ 1999. godine), rat protiv terorizma i protiv-proliferacijske mere (u slučaju Avganistana 2001. i Iraka 2003. godine) ili odgovornost za zaštitu (u slučaju Libije 2011. godine). Još 2009. godine PNZ je u svom završnom dokumentu izrazio zabrinutost da se koncept Odgovornosti za zaštitu može zloupotrebiti za legitimisanje unilateralnih akcija mešanja u unutrašnje stvari suverenih država (Egypt Statement 2009). Po viđenju PNZ, postupanje SAD i NATO u ovim slučajevima protivilo se temeljnim načelima na kojima se zasnivao ovaj Pokret: načelima suvereniteta, teritorijalnog integriteta i nezavisnosti, kao i multilateralizma, nemešenja u unutrašnje stvari drugih država i neintervencionizma.

PNZ je izražavao i zabrinutost povodom usvajanja Pregleda nuklearne postavke SAD u kojoj je predviđen razvoj novih tipova nuklearnog naoružanja, kao i razvoja protivraketne odbrane SAD i mogućeg smeštanja delova tog sistema u svemiru, što bi vodilo njegovoj militarizaciji ali i novoj trci u naoružanju sa Rusijom i Kinom (NAM Final Document 2003, 20-22). Takođe, PNZ je izražavao posebnu zabrinutost zbog razvoja novog nuklearnog naoružanja, koje bi po mišljenju PNZ bilo suprotno CTBT.

Na Ministarskom sastanku PNZ 2019. godine izražena je zabrinutost zbog Pregleda nuklearne postavke i Strategije nacionalne bezbednosti SAD koji se po njima protive pravnim obavezama SAD da sprovedu totalnu eliminaciju nuklearnog naružanja i predstavljaju pretnju međunarodnom miru i bezbednosti (NAM Final Document 2019, 81-81). Sam produžetak NPT na neograničeno vreme, po uverenju PNZ, ne znači i pravo NWS da poseduju nuklearno naoružanje neograničeno dugo, te je u tom smislu stalna zamerka usmerena ka tome da iako dve najveće nuklearne sile SAD i Rusija postižu uzajamne sporazme o kontroli nuklearnog naoružanja, ne čine to tako da smanje stvarni broj nuklearnih bojevih glava već samo broj razmeštenih (Novi START, primer, ograničava broj razmeštenih bojevih glava na 1.550 iako po poslednjim procenama Rusija ukupno poseduje 6.257 nuklearnih bojevih glava a SAD 5.550 [FAS 2021]). Takođe, kao što je već pomenuto, PNZ predlaže značajnu ulogu IAEA u verifikaciji procesa razoružanja tj. nepovratnog uklanjanja fisionog materijala iz nuklearnog naoružanja i njegovo stavljane pod zaštitne mere IAEA, a ne samo bilaterlane mere verifikacije. Nesvrstani su, pored toga, kritikovali i praksu administracija SAD (iako se SAD ne pominju direktno) da se obavežu na modernizaciju nuklearnog naoružanja u zamenu za ratifikaciju bilateralnih ugovora o kontroli naoružanja sa Rusijom, budući da PNZ svaki vid modernizacije nuklearnog naoružanja ili proizvodnje novih nuklearnih sistema vidi kao kršenje CTBT (NAM Working Paper for the 2020 NPT RevCon, 4). Takođe, iako ne pominjući direktno SAD, PNZ je izrazio duboku zabrinutost zbog namera SAD da razviju nove nuklearne opcije, sa manjom snagom i dometom, koje po njima u stvari snižavaju prag za moguću upotrebu nuklearnog oružja i ovakav trend

kategoriju kao novu trku u nuklearnom naoružanju (NAM Working Paper for the 2020 NPT RevCon, 6). PNZ međutim nije izrazio ovakvu zabrinutost povodom razvoja novog nuklearnog naoružanja Rusije ili nove ruske nuklearne doktrine iz 2020. godine pod nazivom Osnovi državne politike Ruske Federacije u oblasti nuklearnog odvraćanja koja ne odustaje od „ne-prve upotrebe“ nuklearnog naoružanja i proširuje moguće uslove upotrebe nuklearnog naoružanja, kao ni razvoja novog ruskog nuklearnog naoružanja koje je nastalo u procesu sveobuhvatne modernizacije ruskih nuklearnih snaga ili kinesko uvećavanje nukleranih snaga.

Takođe, još od Reganovog koncepta Strateške odbrambene inicijative (SDI) 1983. godine, PNZ je u svojim dokumentima izražavao zabrinutost da to može voditi novoj trci u naoružanju i militarizaciji svemira. I odluka SAD da 2002. godine napusti ABM sporazum praćena je istim kriticizmom. U skladu sa svojim načelima, i viđenjem upotrebe prostora svemira samo u miroljubive svrhe, PNZ je odbio njegovo određivanje od strane SAD 2018. godine kao novog strateškog bojnog polja i pozvao na hitne aktivnosti unutar Konferencije za razoružanje koje bi sprečile trku u naoružanju u svemiru (NAM Final Document 2019). U vreme neposredno nakon usvajanja američkog koncepta SDI, na svom samitu u Harareu 1986. godine PNZ je podjednako kritikovao i SDI i razvoj antisatelitskog naoružanja koje je bilo težište kosmičkih napora SSSR (Civić 1986, 500). Međutim, na svojim samitima u 21. veku PNZ nije kritikovao ruske i kineske antisatelistke testove ili posebno uspostavljanje Vazdušno-kosmičkih snaga Rusije 2015. godine. Pored toga i države članice PNZ poput Indije aktivno su angažovane na polju razvoja vojne svemirske tehnologije ali i sprovođenja antisatelitskih testova.

## Zaključak

U ovom radu smo pokušali da prikažemo prirodu Pokreta nesvrstanih u XXI veku u odnosu na pitanje nuklearnog razoružanja. Svakako da ovo pitanje nije neosnovano obrađeno kao posebno. Nuklearno razoružanje je od samog osnivanja igralo suštinsku ulogu za Pokret nesvrstanih putem kojih su države članice ovog pokreta želele da ostvare veću bezbednost, mir i razvoj, ali i stvore okvir mogućnosti za delovanje prema NWS. Videći nuklearno naoružanje kao najveću pretnju opstanku čovečanstva, uz istovremeno očuvanje prava na razvoj i upotrebu nuklearne energije, one su želele da oslobole svet izvora nejednakosti i nebezbednosti uz istovremeno očuvanje rezultata nuklearne revolucije. Međutim, sagledavajući načelne stavove PNZ prema pitanju razoružanja i efekte tih stavova

na univerzalnom i regionalnom planu može zaključiti da je rezultat PNZ ostao u nedovoljnoj meri ostvaren.

PNZ je nastavio sa umnožavanjem svojih poziva na nuklearno razoružanje na mnogobrojnim multilateralnim forumima, pre svega u UNGA, ali oni nisu urodili značajnim plodom. Ovo se ne odnosi samo na NWS, priznate NPT-om, već i na države članice pokreta koje neguju politiku koja se može opisati kao suprotna načelima PNZ. Pojedine od njih su razvile nuklearno naoružanje i van su NPT-a koji je najvažniji instrument u okviru koga po mišljenju PNZ treba da se odvija proces nuklearnog razoružanja. Četvrtina članica je ratifikovala TPNW, neke od njih poput Indije angažovane su na polju razvoje satelitske vojne tehnologije i antisatelitskog naoružanja i imaju posebne odbrambene kosmičke snage, a jedna od njih je čak i članica vojno-odbrambenog saveza (Belorusija je članica ODKB). Budući da se sve ovo odvija bez većih posledica po članstvo ovih država u Pokretu, kredibilitet PNZ i ciljeva za koje se zalaže se u značajnoj meri dovodi u pitanje.

Na regionalnom planu takođe PNZ ostaje posvećen stvaranju Zona slobodnog od nuklearnog naoružanja i davanju garancija NWS prema članicama Zona, ali je malo učinjeno po tom pitanju. Neke članice Zona su pri tom i članice odbrambenih saveza sa nuklearnim naoružanjem poput onih iz Centralnoazijske Zone, ali PNZ ni u jednom dokumentu ne kritikuje takvu politiku. Takođe, ovaj Pokret je jedan od zaslužnih za održavanje pitanja Izraelskog nuklearnog naoružanja na agendi Generalne konferencije IAEA, kao i insistiranju da Izrael pristupi NPT-u i stavi svoje nuklearne objekte pod sveobuhvatnu zaštitu IAEA kao prvi preduslov stvaranja Zone slobodne od nuklearnog naoružanja/oružja za masovno uništenje na Bliskom istoku. Pri tom, nepridržavanje drugih država Bliskog istoka a članica PNZ odredbama NPT-a se ne pominje u dokumentima PNZ, iako je rezultat glasanja u ovim pitanjima u IAEA podeljen i često bez uspeha tj. odražava u stvari podeljen stav među državama članicama PNZ po pitanju izraelskih nuklearnih sposobnosti i načina rešavanja tog pitanja. Države koje su istovremeno i članice Arapske lige, pri tom prednjače u osudi Izraela. Takođe, konkretna angažovanost u drugim pitanjima nuklearne proliferacije poput Irana ili Severne Koreje praktično ne postoji. U tim slučajevima PNZ pre svega podržava aktivnosti drugih mehanizama za rešavanje ovih pitanja poput razgovora šest strana u slučaju Severne Koreje odnosno JCPOA u slučaju Irana.

Politika PNZ ostaje posvećena i kritici SAD i NATO, pre svega njihovih odbrambenih doktrina zasnovanih na odbrambenim savezima, nuklearnom odvraćanju, unilateralizmu i intervencionizmu. Pri tom isti stepen kriticizma ne postoji u odnosu na Rusiju i Kinu.

Sumirano, može se na kraju zaključiti da je uloga nesvrstanih u polju nuklearnog razoružanja pre svega u održavanju ovog pitanja visoko na međunarodnoj agendi

i kao vida kontrabalansa zahtevima nuklearnih sila za neproliferacijom nuklearnog naoružanja. Ova uloga međutim slabi iz najmanje šest razloga: (1) značaja koje pojedine države članice PNZ pridaju nuklearnom naoružanju, (2) njihovim odbijanjem da pristupe ili u potpunosti ispune univerzalne i regionalne instrumentime nuklearnog razoružanja, (3) (zlo)upotrebom PNZ kao sredstva ostvarivanja pojedinačnih interesa država članica za promovisanje pitanja koju nemaju značajniju podršku ostalih država članica Pokreta, (4) izostankom bilo kakve mere PNZ koja bi osudila ili sankcionisala ovakvo ponašanje unutar Pokreta, dok se one stalno ponavljaju prema drugim državama poput Izraela i SAD, (5) neujednačene „prozivke“ pojedinačnih NWS za nepoštovanje načela i mera razoružanja i (6) nepostojanja adekvatnih mehanizama ali i namere PNZ da aktivnije učestvuje u rešavanju postojećih kriza u vezi sa razoružanjem i neproliferacijom.

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**NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT  
IN THE XXI CENTURY**

**Abstract:** The subject of this paper is to investigate the policy and role of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) on nuclear disarmament in the 21st century. Nuclear disarmament continues to be the highest priority of the NAM, which is why it deserves a special place in the analysis of the activities of the NAM in modern international relations. However, this policy and role have been shaped in the new century as well by the adoption and expression of principled views on the necessity of nuclear disarmament, with very few results achieved, sometimes even among its own membership. Through the analysis of the content and comparison of NAM documents adopted at the NAM summits or within multilateral forums dealing with disarmament and international security issues, as well as secondary sources dealing with this topic, the author concludes that the role of non-aligned in nuclear disarmament is primarily to keep this issue high on the international agenda and as a kind of counterbalance to the demands of the nuclear powers for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, this role is weakened for at least six reasons: the importance that individual NAM member states attach to nuclear weapons; their refusal to accede to or fully implement universal and regional instruments of nuclear disarmament; the (mis)use of the NAM as a means of pursuing individual member states' interests for the promotion of issues that lack significant support from other member states of the Movement; the absence of any NAM measure to condemn or sanction such behaviour within the Movement, while they are constantly repeated towards other countries such as Israel and the United States; inconsistent "call out" of individual NWS for disrespect of the principles and measures for disarmament and lack of the adequate mechanisms; and the intention of the NAM to participate more actively in resolving existing crises regarding disarmament and non-proliferation.

**Keywords:** Non-Aligned Movement, disarmament, non-proliferation, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, nuclear-weapon-free zones.

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## **Pokret nesvrstanih u XXI veku – struktura, teme i uloga**

Marko NOVAKOVIĆ<sup>1</sup>

**Apstrakt:** Pokret nesvrstanih je nakon raspada bipolarnog sveta i okončanja procesa dekolonizacije, kako u teoriji tako i u praksi, u potrazi za novim identitetom. Shodno tome, najčešće se pominje mogućnost da NAM bude medijator u odnosima između velikih sila (s posebnim akcentom na Kinu), pa će deo ovog rada biti posvećen analizi ove mogućnosti. Ipak, fokus će biti kako na administrativnoj strukturi NAM i mogućnosti za njegovu transformaciju iz pokreta u organizaciju ili neku drugi oblik saradnje čvrste strukture tako na analizi najčešćih i najznačajnije tema iz oblasti međunarodnog prava i reforme Ujedinjenih nacija u konačnim dokumentima NAM.

**Ključne reči:** Pokret nesvrstanih, NAM, Ujedinjene nacije, SAD, Kina, Rusija, Izrael, međunarodno pravo.

### **Uvod**

Kada se u literaturi analizira Pokret nesvrstanih zemalja<sup>2</sup> (u skladu sa usvojenim akronimom – u daljem tekstu i NAM, Pokret ili Nesvrstani), fokus je najčešće na njegovom osnivanju, ulozi u doba Hladnog rata i kasnije prilagođavanju unipolarnom svetu. Nesvrstani su veoma primamljiva tema pre svega za politikologe, zbog svoje uloge u jednom veoma turbulentnom i karakterističnom hladnoratovskom periodu

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<sup>2</sup> Non-Aligned Movement

kada je NAM bio i najaktivniji, ali i zbog ciljeva u međunarodnim odnosima. Ipak, kao što će se pokazati u radu, jedan od fokusa NAM u XXI veku jeste promocija međunarodnog prava pa zato ovaj pokret ostaje relevantan i za pravnike. Nakon raspada bipolarnog sveta, koji je ne samo imao krucijalni uticaj na naziv Pokreta, već i na njegovu politiku i funkciju mosta između zapadnog i istočnog bloka, NAM traga za svojim jasnim identitetom. Taj put traženja svoje uloge, NAM je otežala i činjenica da je proces dekolonizacije (u kome je Pokret nalazio jedan od glavnih motiva ali najefikasnijih sfera delovanja) takođe okončan. Od osnivanja Ujedinjenih nacija, 80 bivših kolonija steklo je nezavisnost (United Nations 2021). Ove činjenice dovele su u pitanje relevantnost NAM. Mnogi autori smatraju da je NAM potrebu za svojim postojanjem iscrpeo urušavanjem bipolarnog svetskog poretku (The Print 2020). Ipak, nasleđe NAM nije zanemarljivo i u pitanju je ideja koja ima svoj legitimitet i u međunarodnim odnosima danas, pa se često prisvaja od strane evropskih zvaničnika i daje se uloga EU kao „novog NAM-a“ (Observer Research Foundation 2021).

Kakva god da je percepcija NAM, autori se uglavnom slažu da mu je neophodna temeljna promena. Te promene se tiču kako uloge i ciljeva NAM u međunarodnim odnosima, tako i promene unutar samog Pokreta – pre svega formiranje sekretarijata, što je pitanje kome će biti posvećena posebna pažnja.

Kroz analizu sa fokusom na konačni dokument, kao najznačajniji pisani trag rada i strategije NAM, biće izvršena analiza realnih mogućnosti za ostvarivanje nekih pregleda koji se ponavljaju kao mantra u poslednje 2 decenije, poput NAM-a kao posrednika između velikih sila (ponajviše SAD i Kine), zatim mogućnosti integracije pokreta kao i osrvt na nekoliko stavova NAM po pitanju međunarodnog prava i UN.

## Struktura NAM

### *Sekretariat*

Pokret Nesvrstanih nema stalni sekretariat (Union of International Associations 2016).<sup>3</sup> Od samog osnivanja NAM, formiranju stalnog sekretarijata su se opirale neke od velikih država unutar organizacije, poput Jugoslavije ili Indije. Lideri ovih zemalja su se plašili da bi takva institucija mogla biti skupa i da bi mogla unutrašnje razlike i sukobe učiniti očiglednijim ili ih čak rasplamsati, što bi ugrozilo ionako krhku koheziju Pokreta. Takođe, postojao je strah da će mala grupa zemalja preuzeti kontrolu nad

<sup>3</sup> Najsličnija organizaciona jedinica tome jeste Biro za koordinaciju – videti više u <https://uia.org/s/or/en/1100061001>

Pokretom. Ovakvo stanje stvari omogućilo je liderima NAM da iskoriste samite da daju grandiozne izjave, da promovišu svoje države ali i sebe kao lidere i nakon toga zaborave na ideje i ciljeve Pokreta do sledećeg samita (Keethaponcalan, 2016 10). Otuda se rešenje za mnoge probleme samog Pokreta ali i njegovog razvoja uopšte, često videlo upravo u osnivanju Sekretarijata NAM (Keethaponcalan 2016, 11). Ova čežnja za sekretarijat i verovanja da njegovo formiranje može doneti značajne pomene i napredak u organizaciji nije samo karakterističan za NAM. U izveštaju Južne komisije se na primer tvrdi da su aranžmani povremenih političkih sastanaka na visokom nivou i *ad hoc* radnih grupa neadekvatni da zadovolje zahteve i potrebe država na „Globalnom jugu“. Zato se kao rešenje vidi stvaranje Sekretarijata Juga (Južna komisija 1990). Uprkos ovim željama, činjenica je da je nedostatak stalnog sekretarijata samo posledica stanja u kome se nalazi NAM, a ne njegov uzrok. Da postoji potreba za kontinuitetom, koji se ogleda upravo u periodima između samita i/ili konferencija, stvaranje stalnog administrativnog aparata bi se iskristaliso kao potreba na nivou celog Pokreta. Upravo to je način na koji su nastali sekretarijati u međunarodnim organizacijama u XX veku. U tom procesu, neophodan uslov jeste potreba za administrativnim aparatom – koja najčešće nastaje kao posledica razvoja same organizacije. Sve širi spektar poslova, kompleksnost potrebnih administrativnih operacija ali pre svega pomenuta potreba kontinuiteta između sastanaka/konferencija dovele su do stvaranja sekretarijata. Danas, u XXI veku, za organizovanje konferencije, samita ili drugog grupnog oblika rada takođe je neophodna administracija, koja obavlja pre svega tehničke poslove (transkripti, distribucija dokumenata, organizacija sednica, itd.) ali je kompletna organizacija značajno lakša nego što je bila pre pola veka. Ipak, princip nastanka isti – sekretarijati se formiraju pre svega kada postoji potreba za njima a ne kada je njihov nastanak plod nečije želje. Važno je istaći da se ova činjenica odnosi na sekretarijate *per se* a ne na određenu vrstu sekretarijata kao organa. Embrionalne oblike sekretarijate međunarodnih organizacija nije odlikovala nezavisnost niti su se odlikovali inherentno međunarodnim karakterom, ali su i dalje, kao što su i sada, nastali kao posledica potrebe organizacije za njihovim nastankom i delovanjem.

Uvezši u obzir gore-navedeni način nastanka administrativnog aparata u embrionalnim međunarodnim organizacijama, i činjenicu da NAM postoji više od pola veka, jasno je da on ne ide u pravcu te vrste koherentnosti i institucionalizacije.

### ***Predsedavanje***

U nedostatku sekretarijata, generalnog sekretara/predsednika ili drugih elemenata strukture karakteristične za međunarodne organizacije, poseban značaj u funkcionisanju NAM ima predsedavanje i konsekventno, samiti NAM. Predsedavanje

se vrši po rotacionom sistemu, države koje predsedavaju se smenjuju na svake tri godine i samo predsedavanje predstavlja odličnu priliku da predsedavajuće države prikažu kao lidere, kao relevantne faktore na međunarodnom planu ali i da na agendu, pa samim tim i u konačni dokument, postave teme od značaja za njih. Na stranu činjenica da se manje više svaki samit proglašava za revitalizujući, poput onog u Teheranu 2012 (Third World Resurgence 2012), u Šarm el Šeiku, ili Margariti činjenica je da i sama vidljivost NAM kao pokreta kulminira za vreme ovih samita. Time samiti predstavljaju jednu od retkih prilika da se interesi predsedavajuće države istaknu i promovišu i na globalnom nivou. Zbog same činjenice da države članice Pokreta u najvećem broju slučajeva nemaju vodeće regionalne a pogotovo ne globalne uloge, samiti su posebno značajni članice NAM (Daily Star 2009).

Posebno eklatantan primer za to je Iran i organizacija samita u Teheranu 2012. S obzirom da je ta država okovana višedecenijskim sankcijama, upravo je samit NAM predstavljao najznačajniju priliku za promociju Irana na međunarodnoj političkoj sceni još od 1979 godine, kada su sankcije i uvedene. Ovaj samit je izazvao veliku pažnju u medijima. Tadašnji Generalni sekretar Ujedinjenih nacija Ban Ki-mun je došao na samit (UN News 2012), što je izazvalo protivljenje SAD i osudu ne samo zbog te činjenice, već i toga da je samit organizovan u Teheranu jer „sama činjenica da da se sastanak održava u državi koja krši toliko svojih međunarodnih obaveza i predstavlja pretnju za susede... šalje veoma čudan signal kada su u pitanju podrška međunarodnom poretku, vladavini prava itd“ (Charbonneau 2012).

Da samo članstvo a pogotovo predsedavanje NAM predstavlja dobru platformu za promovisanje sopstvenih interesa i ciljeva u domenu međunarodnih odnosa i međunarodnog prava u okviru samog Pokreta, demonstrirao je Azerbejdžan, koji je prepoznao NAM kao forum koji može da posluži za dobijanja šire podrške u višegodišnjem sukobu sa Jermenijom oko Nagorno-Karabaha. Ovo važno međunarodno-pravno pitanje nije se pominjalo u konačnim dokumentima NAM iako ovaj sukob datira iz 1993 godine (Jović Lazić, Jelisavac Trošić, Jazić 2011). Kada je članstvo u NAM postavljeno kao strateški cilj Azerbejdžana, lobiranje za aktualizaciju ovog pitanju u okviru NAM je počelo i pre samog ulaska u Pokret 2011 godine,<sup>4</sup> a dodatno se intenziviralo nakon prijema u članstvo. Namera da se pitanje Nagorno-Karabaha uvrsti u konačni dokument je ostvarena samo godinu dana nakon pridruživanja Azerbejdžana Pokretu, pošto je na samitu u Teheranu 2012. u konačni dokument ušla rečenica „Šefovi država i vlada izrazili su žaljenje što sukob između Jermenije i Azerbejdžana ostaje nerešen i nastavlja da ugrožava međunarodni i regionalni mir i bezbednost. Ponovo su potvrdili značaj principa zabrane upotrebe

<sup>4</sup> Zajedno sa Fidžijem.

*sile sadržanog u Povelji Ujedinjenih nacija i ohrabrili strane da nastave da traže pregovaračko rešenje sukoba u okviru teritorijalnog integriteta, suvereniteta i međunarodno priznatih granica Republike Azerbejdžan“ (Teheran 2012, para 391). Ova formulacija se prenela u integralnom obliku i u naredni konačni dokument, dok je svoje predsedavanje Azerbejdžan iskoristio da dodatno pojača ovu izjavu sa paragrafom 663 koji glasi „*S tim u vezi, šefovi država i vlada su takođe istakli neprihvatljivost sticanja teritorije primenom sile, potvrdivši da nijedna država neće priznati kao legalnu, situaciju koja je nastala kao rezultat okupacije teritorija Republike Azerbejdžan, niti pružati pomoć ili podršku u održavanju tog stanja, uključujući i ekonomske aktivnosti na ovim teritorijama*“ (Baku 2019, para 663).*

U ovom drugom paragrafu je NAM jasnije stao na stranu Azerbejdžana u ovom sukobu, jer se od država u sukobu traži da nastave da traže pregovaranje o rešavanju sukoba unutar teritorijalnog integriteta, suvereniteta i međunarodno priznatih granica Republike Azerbejdžan (Teheran 2012, para 391).

Naveden primer jasno ukazuje na značaj predsedavanja NAM, ali uprkos tome, sami samiti NAM predstavljaju najočigledniji podsetnik o relevantnosti NAM. Pored samita, ne treba zanemariti značaj sastanaka na marginama samita, poput onog između premijera Indije i Pakistana iz 2009. godine (France24 2009).

### ***Konačni dokumenti***

Deklaracije u formi konačnog dokumenta sa samita Nesvrstanih daju najjasniju sliku u kom pravcu i na koji način se NAM razvija. Konačni dokumenti sa jedne strane predstavljaju svojevrsni pisani trag kontinuiteta rada i razvoja NAM a sa druge strane se u njima ogleda delovanje NAM, njegovi prioriteti i ciljevi.

U ovim dokumentima se takođe na jasan način može videti na koji način se stvaraju kompromisi oko tema koje će biti deo konačnih dokumenata ali i na koji način će se izabrana tema analizirati. Tu postoji značajna razlika između pristupa prema državama uopšte a posebno razlika u pristupu između pitanja koji se tiču država članica NAM, država posmatrača i država koje nisu deo ovog Pokreta. Ta razlika nije toliko važna (i nije neočekivana) iz ugla NAM kao pokreta ali je od krucijalnog značaja za ulogu NAM u XXI veku.

### **Uloga NAM u XXI veku**

Kako je proces dekolonizacije završen, težnje koje je NAM ulagao u taj proces su se transformisale u politiku NAM u kojoj se stremi borbi protiv globalizacije i

ekonomске dominacije zapadnih država. Nadalje, autori često propagiraju ideju koja derivira iz principa „pravičnog svetskog poretku“. U tom principu, NAM se percipira kao „most između političkih i ideoloških razlika“ (Drishti 2021) te postoje ideje da se iz svoje uloge medijatora između istočnog i zapadnog bloka iz perioda Hladnog rata, NAM može transformisati u medijatora između aktuelnih supersila, kao „balansirajuća tačka u svetskim odnosima“ (Sahni, prema Marković 2013) pre svih SAD i Kine (Chopra 2021). Kada je u pitanju odnos SAD i Kine, ekonomski i političke okolnosti, ali i sama terminologija sve više podsećaju na nastanak novog Hladnog rada. Ovakva percepcija se posebno iskristalisala i dobila na značaju nakon ponovnog uspostavljanja i aktualizacije QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) 2017. godine. Ova alijansa, koju čine Australija, Indija, Japan i SAD ima jasnu ulogu i odnos prema Kini koji se mogu uporediti sa ulogom NATO u odnosu na Rusiju za vreme Hladnog rada (Chopra 2021).

I pored toga što bi ostvarivanje uloge NAM kao medijatora između velikih sila predstavljalo logičan nastavak uloge NAM u periodu hladnog rata, to jednostavno nije moguće. Pored opštih razloga poput činjenice da postoje mnoge organizacije koje se u nekim delovima preklapaju sa spektrom delovanja NAM, poput Grupe 77 (koja ima i više članova), ASEAN i mnogih drugih, primarni razlog se nalazi u odnosu između NAM sa jedne i SAD i Izraela sa druge strane. U narednom poglavlju će biti jasno demonstrirano da je ta netrpežljivost toliko visoka da je ovakva uloga NAM iluzorna u bližoj budućnosti. Štaviše, poslednji događaji u međunarodnim odnosima pokazuju upravo suprotnu tendenciju – dodatno udaljavanje Kine i Rusije od SAD u kome NAM kao organizacija<sup>5</sup> jasno staje na stranu prve dve države.

### ***NAM kao medijator između velikih sila u XXI veku***

Zvaničnici SAD se nisu često osvrtni na pitanja NAM, stavljajući tako implicitno do znanja o njihovom stavu o (ne)relevantnosti NAM. Eksplicitno, NAM je označavan od strane SAD ili kao prevaziđen i zastareo (Chopra 2021) ili jednostavno anti-američki i anti-izraelski (Lynch 2009). Ta percepcija NAM u SAD kao anti-američki nastrojenog pokreta demonstrirana je od strane SAD i putem paradiplomatije na samitu u Margariti 2016., na kome nije prisustvovao indijski premijer Modi. Ovo je prvi put od 1979. godine da neki indijski premijer nije prisustvovao Samitu NAM. Iza ovog odsustva стоји pre svega uticaj SAD. Indija se sve više okreće SAD kao savezniku, a kako se samit održavao u Venecueli koja ima izrazito loše odnose sa Vašingtonom, ovo je bila jasna demonstracija moći SAD i njene

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<sup>5</sup> Za Indiju se to ne može reći da podjednakom sigurnošću (prim.aut).

percepcije NAM (Mint 2016). Demonstrirana netrpeljivost između NAM i SAD ima i značajan istorijski aspekt, ali se iz ugla funkcionisanja NAM, razlog za taj stav SAD može videti pre svega u odnosu prema Izraelu.

Samit u Margariti je takođe ostao upamćen i po tome što je od strane predsednika Venecuele Nikolasa Madura ocenjen kao skup koji će se pamtitи vekovima, dok je sa druge strane njemu prisustvovalo značajno manje lidera država nego na prethodnim samitimima, uključujući i prethodni samit u Teheranu (Al Jazeera 2016). Takođe, ovaj turbulentni samit je ostao zapamćen i po protestima opozicije i sprečavanju predstavnika opozicije da dođu na ostrvo Margaritu za vreme samita (Cawthorne 2016). Odnos latinoameričkih država i SAD, koji je poslovično veoma kompleksan i intenzivan, predstavlja još jedan izazov za NAM. Direktna dominacija SAD kontinentom koja se često ispoljavala u prošlosti više nije moguća, pa su i sami odnosi sada značajno kompleksniji. Kina, sa svojim sve većim uticajem u regionu predstavlja pretnju po interesu SAD. Ova „borba“ oko Latinske Amerike je već počela (Nuggent/Campell 2021). NAM može imati određenu ulogu u pokušaju država Latinske Amerike da izbegnu ulogu piona u razračunavanju velikih sila, s'obzirom da su sve države Latinske Amerike članice NAM, osim Urugvaja, Brazila, El Salvador-a, Kostarike, Paragvaja i Argentine, koje su posmatrači.<sup>6</sup>

U konačnim dokumentima sa NAM samita, posebno mesto imaju osvrти na situacije od značaja za NAM. Teme su države sa svih kontinenata osim Severne Amerike i Australije, dok Evropa svoje mesto ima tek od samita u Teheranu i to isključivo povodom sukoba u Nagorno-Karabahu. Pomenuti osvrt na pojedine države je prilično heterogenog karaktera, ali se ističe pitanje Izraela, kako po obimnosti tako i po tonu. Već je odavno poznata veoma oštra kritika koju NAM izriče prema Izraelu i njegovom odnosu prema „okupiranim teritorijama“ (Strydom 2007, 7). Za početak, sa čisto statističke strane, u poslednja 3 konačna dokumenta NAM (Teheran 2012; Margarita 2016; Baku 2019) Izrael je pominjan više od 100 puta. Ova osrvanja na Izrael ne samo da su u porastu već su isključivo u negativnom kontekstu. Jezik koji se koristi u kontekstu Izraela je takođe veoma direkstan i oštar, kakav se ne viđa često u ovim dokumentima. NAM koristi izraze poput „brutalan“ u kontekstu opisivanja delovanja Izraela. Ovaj izraz se u izveštajima koristi još samo u kontekstu terorističkih napada sa civilnim žrtvama. Od Izraela se stvari „zahtevaju“, on se „osuđuje“, „kategorički osuđuje“, „krivi“ poziva se na „ozbiljne napore da se Izrael prisili“ itd. Delovanja SAD ja takođe tema kritike u konačnim dokumentima i uz ogragu da se tako oštar jezik ne koristi po pitanju spoljne politike SAD kao u slučaju Izraela, otvorene kritike su i dalje prisutne.

<sup>6</sup> Meksiko je takođe posmatrač, ali tehnički, Meksiko pripada Severnoj Americi (prim.aut).

Bez ulaska u osnovanost ovih osvrta, NAM ne može biti „most“ između SAD i bilo koje druge sile, dokle god sa jedne strane postoji takav narativ koji se u SAD jasno percipira kao anti-američki, dok se sa druge strane Kina i Rusija, ne pominju ni u jednom trenutku u negativnom kontekstu, a kamoli da postoji otvorena osuda delovanja, kao što je slučaj sa SAD ili posebno oštar ton kao u slučaju Izraela i njegovih akcija. Štaviše, Kina a od skoro i Rusija su države posmatrači u NAM i sa njima NAM blisko sarađuje (CGTN 2018), pa je teško očekivati značajne promene u ovom odnosu u skorijoj budućnosti.

Približavanje saradnje Rusije i NAM koje traje već nekoliko godina ubrzano je nakon preuzimanja predsedavanja NAM od strane Azerbejdžana a kulminiralo je davanjem Rusiji statusa države posmatrača NAM u Beogradu, 11. oktobra 2021. godine. Bliža saradnja Rusije i NAM je u skladu sa politikom Ruske Federacije koja se najbolje oslikava u sledećoj izjavi: „*Rusija je glavni garant mira, branilac suvereniteta i slobode izbora za sve zemlje i civilizacije, garant novog pokreta nesvrstanih i sprečavanja hegemonizma*“ (Karaganov 2020).

Pored navedenih razlika u reagovanju na delovanje velikih sila, u okviru konačnih dokumenata NAM, ističe se i nesrazmerno blaga reakcija na mnoge probleme i kršenja ljudskih prava i međunarodnog prava od strane država članica, što će biti prikazano u narednom poglavljju.

## Međunarodno pravo i NAM

Zastupanje rešavanja sukoba u skladu sa pravilima međunarodnog prava i njegova promocija u širem smislu, iskristalisali su se kao jedan od glavnih post-hladnoratovskih fokusa NAM-a. Upravo zato, pitanja od značaja za međunarodno pravo imaju posebno mesto na svim samitima i u konačnim dokumentima NAM. Veoma zanimljiva činjenica je da su se sve do samita u Margariti 2016. godine, u delu u kome se insistira na primeni međunarodnog prava, pominjali isključivo principi međunarodnog prava ali ne i pravila. Ovo deluje kao čisto tehnički detalj ali je svakako dobro došao dodatak pravila međunarodnog prava pored principa, jer je jedna od glavnih zamerki koja se može dati na rad NAM ta da se u izveštajima ponavljaju opšta mesta i da se insistira na generalnim principima a da se konkretnе akcije retko podstiču ili se to čini nekonistentno.

Nekoliko tema zaokuplja pažnju NAM kada je u pitanju međunarodno pravo u užem smislu. Pre svega, NAM primećuje zloupotrebu principa univerzalne jurisdikcije. Ona je prvi put bila deo konačnog dokumenta na samitu u Šarm el Šeiku 2009. godine, dok je 2016. godine Iran, ispred NAM govorio na 71. zasedanju

Generalne skupštine Ujedinjenih nacija o neophodnosti limitiranja upotrebe ovog principa i jasnog formulisanja granica primene univerzalne jurisdikcije (UNDOCS 2016). Pored postojanja razloga altruističke prirode za ovakav zahteve NAM, sigurno je veliki uticaj za zastupanje ovog stava odigrala i činjenica da su uglavnom državljeni NAM bili meta zasnivanja nadležnosti po ovom principu poput Mauritanije ili Senegala (Vešović 2020). Nažalost, NAM nije dao predlog na koji način bi se ograničila primena i šta bi se smatralo zloupotrebotom ovog principa.

Kada su u pitanju države koje nisu članice NAM, Pokret se odlučuje da se osvrne na kršenje međunarodnog prava u nekim situacijama, dok u drugim ostaje nem. Pokret se recimo osvrnuo na političku situaciju u Paragvaju 2012 godine (Teheran 2012, 104). Na tom samitu, prvi put je svoje mesto dobila i Evropa, kroz komentar sukoba Jermenije i Azerbejdžana. Sa druge strane na mnoga pitanja, uključujući situaciju na Kosovu i Metohiji, u Kini i mnogim drugim teritorijama, NAM ostaje nem. Ovakva praksa nije neuobičajena u međunarodnim odnosima, a odličan primer tog „biranja“ tema o kojima se odlučuje možemo videti i u samom radu Međunarodnog suda pravde (Novaković 2018). Ono što je važno istaći jeste činjenica da NAM skoro nikada ne pominje kršenja pravila ili principa međunarodnog prava ili ljudskih prava od strane članica NAM, a kada do toga dođe, to radi na jedan prilično benevolentan način. Ovo je uistinu jedna od najvećih zamerki kako izveštajima NAM tako i samom načinu funkcionisanja i delovanja ovog pokreta, i predstavlja praksu koja ne ostavlja neokrnjen kredibilitet samog Pokreta u razmatranju kršenja ljudskih prava i međunarodnog prava.

### ***Međunarodno pravo u NAM***

NAM na svojim sastancima i u konačnim dokumentima na vrlo delikatan način pristupa osrvtu na kršenja međunarodnog prava ili na kršenja ljudskih prava od strana država članica. Sa jedne strane, kršenja međunarodnog prava i ljudskih prava od strane država članica NAM (i posmatrača) najčešće ostaju potpuno neprimećena kako na samitima, tako i u konačnim dokumentima. Ova činjenica nije neuobičajena ali posebno je delikatna situacija je način na koji kršenja prava koja dođu na agendu prezentuju, tačnije na koji način se ta kršenja u konačnim dokumentima NAM „osuđuju“. Odličan skorašnji primer takve prakse je Mjanmar i pitanje Rohindži u toj državi. NAM izražava zabrinutost zbog humanitarne situacije u državi Rakhina u Mjanmaru, i osuđuje sve akte nasilja, ali posebno ističe „napade na bezbednosne snage Mjanmara“. Nakon toga, u jednom opštem maniru nastavlja se osrvrt na „akcije sprovedene od strane bilo koje strane a koje negativno utiču na nenaoružane civile i rezultuju u gubicima života i raseljavanju velikog broja ljudi“ (Baku 2019, 148). Ovakav osrvrt predstavlja veoma paušalnu ocenu, i jasno je da je

Vlada Mjanmara imala veliki uticaj na ovakvu formulaciju, te da je ona plod kompromisa unutar Pokreta. Posebno je zanimljivo što je NAM ignorisao u potpunosti prethodne serije nasilja (OHCHR Report 2018), uključujući etničko čišćenje, koje se desilo 2012. godine. Još više zabrinjava činjenica da je samo dva meseca pre Samita u Teheranu OHCHR izdao Izveštaj o situaciji u Mjanmaru, koji je NAM potpuno ignorisao, a u kome se jasno navodi sledeće: „*Usled nasilja je raseljeno više od 140.000 ljudi, uglavnom Rohindža. Nekoliko hiljada raseljenih etničkih Rakhina je bilo u mogućnosti da se vrati ili ih je Vlada ponovo naselila. Šest godina nakon nasilja, 128.000 Rohindža i Kamana i dalje je segregirano, zatvoreno u kampovima i mestima raseljenja, bez slobode kretanja, pristupa dovoljnoj hrani, adekvatnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti, obrazovanju ili sredstvima za život. Raseljenim licima je onemogućen povratak u mesto porekla. Takvo zatvaranje prevazilazi svaku opravdanu meru bezbednosti i predstavlja proizvoljno lišenje slobode. Ostale Rohindže u centralnom delu države Rakin, uključujući i one koji su preseljeni, takođe se suočavaju sa ozbiljnim ograničenjima, uključujući slobodu kretanja, što utiče na svakodnevni život*“ (OHCHR Report 2018).

Bez ikakve intencije da se ulazi u motive zanemarivanje ovog dokumenta, teško je poverovati da pokret koji se toliko revnosno i detaljno bavi radom međunarodnih organizacija slučajno previdi ovako značajan akt. Samo u jednom delu, NAM „ohrabruje“ implementaciju preporuka konačnog izveštaja Savetodavne komisije za državu Rakin (Baku 2019, 148).

Konačno, NAM temu situacije u Mjanmaru zaključuje sledeće:

„*Šefovi država i vlada istakli su implementaciju Sporazuma o povratku raseljenih lica iz države Rakin između vlada Mjanmara i Bangladeša i istakli važnost stvaranja povoljnih uslova u državi Rakin za dobrovoljni povratak raseljenih lica u Mjanmar. na bezbedan, siguran i dostojanstven način. Oni su dalje naglasili potrebu da se pronađe sveobuhvatno i trajno rešenje za rešavanje korena uzroka sukoba i stvaranje povoljnog okruženja u Mjanmaru kako bi pogodjene zajednice mogle da ponovo izgrade svoje živote u državi Rakine*“ (Baku 2019, 148).

U ovom završnom osvrtu na situaciju u Mjanmaru, uočava se formulacija koja se može percipirati kao pozitivna strana kompromisa unutar NAM, jer se na jedan implicitan način pominje diskriminacija Rohindža muslimana. Kada se pominje „koren uzroka konflikta“ teško se može pomisliti na bilo šta drugo osim na akcije, kako pravne tako i vojne, države protiv Rohindža muslimana. Istorija diskriminacije Rohindža muslimana je duga, a posebno su značajni u poslednjih nekoliko decenija zakon o državljanstvu Burme iz 1982. po kome Rohindže nisu prepoznate kao jedna od 135 nacionalnih rasa koje žive u Mjanmaru, kada im je uskraćeno pravo na

državljanstvo pa samim tim i mnoga druga prava, uveden je pojam „nacionalne rase“ i stanovništvo je podeljeno na ono koje je prvog i drugog reda. Iako član 347. Ustava Mjanmara iz 2008. godine proklamuje pravo svakoj osobi da uživa jednaka prava i zaštitu pred zakonom, neka osnovna prava, poput prava na obrazovanje ili zdravstvenu zaštitu nisu obezbeđena za Rohindže (Novaković i Blešić 2020).

## Reforma Ujedinjenih nacija i Savet bezbednosti

Reforma Ujedinjenih nacija predstavlja jednu od najznačajnijih tema u konačnim dokumentima NAM. Dok se sa jedne strane podržavaju principi Ujedinjenih nacija i promoviše zaštita Povelje Ujedinjenih nacija, Pokret je kritičan prema Savetu bezbednosti. Ova kritika predstavlja vitalan deo politike NAM prema Ujedinjenim nacijama kao organizaciji i jasno se elaborira u konačnim dokumentima.

Odličan primer je repetitivna formulacija koja se pojavljuje u više konačnih dokumenata a koja glasi „*Šefovi država i vlada izrazili su snažnu zabrinutost zbog zloupotrebe određenih odredbi Rimskog statuta od strane Saveta bezbednosti, uključujući njegovu praksu da nastoji da selektivno ograniči nadležnost MKS-a prilikom upućivanja pitanja MKS-u i napomenuli da ta praksa predstavlja zloupotrebu ovlašćenja Saveta bezbednosti za prosleđivanje predmeta MKS-u*“ (Baku 2019, 17).

Posebna kritika se upućuje Savetu bezbednosti iz „*zabrinutosti zbog stalnog zadiranja Saveta bezbednosti u funkcije i ovlašćenja Generalne skupštine i Ekonomskog i socijalnog saveta rešavanjem pitanja koja su tradicionalno u nadležnosti ovih potonjih organa, i pokušaja da se uđe u oblasti utvrđivanja normi, administrativne i budžetska pitanja i utvrđivanje definicija koje su u nadležnosti Skupštine*“ (Baku 2019, 47-48).

Koren ovih kritika jeste činjenica da NAM percipira Savet bezbednosti kao forum globalističkih sila koje imaju privilegovani položaj u odnosu na ostale države sveta. Upravo zato, NAM se zalaže za proširenje sastava Saveta bezbednosti. Na liniji ideje o smanjenju dominantnog uticaja velikih sila u Ujedinjenim nacijama, su pored predloga o proširenju Saveta bezbednosti, manje konkretnе ideje poput demokratizacija Saveta bezbednosti, povećanje njegove transparentnosti i sl. (Baku 2019, 43-44, 46).

Ono što je pohvalno jeste da NAM na koncu ovih kritika, pored opštih mesta nudi i konkretnе (neke manje neke više realne) korake koje treba preuzeti, kako bi se rad Saveta bezbednosti unapredio. Takođe, insistira se na detaljnijim izveštajima koje Savet bezbednosti treba da dostavlja Generalnoj skupštini (Baku 2019, 47-48),

kao i insistiranje da se više uzima u obzir mišljenje Generalne skupštine u radu Saveta bezbednosti (Baku 2019, 48).

Ono što se posebno ističe ovoj seriji kritika Saveta bezbednosti, kako po svojoj sadržini tako i upitnoj opravdanosti, jeste insistiranje da SB treba da prestane da se bavi pitanjima ljudskih prava koja ne predstavljaju pretnju međunarodnom miru (Baku 2019, 47-48). Ova kritika se ponavlja od Samita u Teheranu (Teheran 2012, 34), a od Margarite se pojačava istina kvantitativno a ne kvalitativno, jer se „zabrinutost“ zbog ove prakse Saveta bezbednosti ponavlja na dva mesta u skoro identičnom obliku (Margarita 39-40). Ovo možemo pripisati još jednom u nizu kompromisa unutar NAM, s'obzirom da su članice NAM mnoge države u kojima su ljudska prava na veoma niskom nivou poput Saudijske Arabije, Turkmenistana, Eritreje ili Severne Koreje. Iako je proširenje nadležnosti Saveta bezbednosti tema koja je oduvek izazivala kontroverze, istorija nas je naučila da mnogi međunarodni sukobi kreću upravo iz kršenja ljudskih prava u samim državama. Ne postoji dilema da je neophodno poštovati suverenitet država i na jedan pažljiv način pristupiti rešavanju ovih pitanja, ali ljudska prava moraju biti od primarnog interesa i za Savet bezbednosti i za celokupnu međunarodnu zajednicu.

Za razliku od prethodnog upitnog pristupa ljudskim pravima, NAM sa pravom dovodi u pitanje jedan aspekt rada Ujedinjenih nacija koji predstavlja kontroverzu već dugo vremena i zavređuje posebnu pažnju, a tiče se imuniteta članova mirovnih misija UN država koje nisu potpisnice statuta Međunarodnog krivičnog suda.

Prema rezoluciji 1422 koja je usvojena 2002. godine, samo 11 dana nakon stupanja na snagu samog Statuta Međunarodnog krivičnog suda (MKS), zahtevano je od MKS da se uzdrži od pokretanja istrage ili postupka protiv članova mirovnih misija koji nisu državljeni država potpisnica Statuta MKS (UNSCR 2002). Od stalnih članica saveta bezbednosti, Kina, Rusija i SAD nisu potpisnice. Ova rezolucija ali i praksa koja je prethodila donošenju ove rezolucije jasno demonstrira da mnoge kritike sistema UN i generalno i od strane NAM imaju smisla. Ova odluka je doneta pod direktnom prednjom SAD da će blokirati buduće mirovne operacije UN (Stahn 2003, 85). Iako je SAD insistirala na ovoj rezoluciji, činjenica da je usvojena jednoglasno, jasno ukazuje na dogovore u okviru Saveta bezbednosti. NAM od samita u Šarm el Šeiku insistira da je ovom rezolucijom prekršen Statut (Kuala Lumpur, para.121). Od tada, kraća formulacija se prenosi u svakom konačnom dokumentu, koja glasi: „*Nesvrstane države potpisnice Rimskog statuta MKS-a protive se svim akcijama, posebno preko Saveta bezbednosti, koje imaju za cilj uspostavljanje procesa davanja imuniteta osoblju mirovnih operacija UN, koje krši relevantne odredbe Rimskog statuta. MKS-a i škode kredibilitetu i nezavisnosti MKS-a;*“ (Baku 28.17, str 17, Margarita 27.17, str 15, Teheran 24.17. str 14, Šarm el Šeik 18.16, str 10., Havana 16.12.).

### **Generalni sekretar UN**

Pored, uglavnom negativnih, osvrta na rad Saveta bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija, pitanje Generalnog sekretara Ujedinjenih nacija takođe je tema u radu NAM. Posebno je zanimljivo analizirati konačne dokumente NAM u godinama koje prethode imenovanju novog Generalnog sekretara, pored opštih osvrta o načinu izbora Generalnog sekretara Ujedinjenih nacija koji se prenose od samita do samita. U konačnom dokumentu sa samita u Havani se ističe da sledeći (osmi) Generalni sekretar treba da dode iz azijskih zemalja (Havana 2006, para 46–48) – što se i desilo. U poslednja dva konačna dokumenta (2016 i 2019) pitanje Generalnog sekretara ima veću zastupljenost, ali se u njemu NAM osvrće mit o pravilu o geografskoj rotaciji u izboru Generalnog sekretara Ujedinjenih nacija. Naime, istaknuto je sledeće „*Šefovi država i vlada su napomenuli da će se tokom identifikacije i imenovanja najboljeg kandidata za mesto generalnog sekretara, dužna pažnja i dalje poklanjati regionalnoj rotaciji, kao i rodnoj ravnopravnosti kako je predviđeno u paragrafu 59 rezolucije 51/241*“ (Margarita 2016, 42; Baku 2019, 51).

Upravo su pitanja izbora Generalnog sekretara ali i slične teme za koje je potrebno lobiranje i zajednički front velikog broja država pravac u kome se može iskoristiti potencijalna snaga NAM. Ovaj zajednički nastup se često spominje u konačnim dokumentima NAM samita. Saglasnost i zajednički dogovor oko potencijalnog Generalnog sekretara Ujedinjenih nacija je dostižan i u ovoj “labavoj” konstelaciji NAM. Taj kapacitet je NAM demonstrirao već 2006, kada je došlo do saglasnosti da je “red na Aziju” da „da“ Generalnog sekretara, jer je te godine na funkciju Generalnog sekretara UN došao Ban ki Mun (Security Council Report 2015).

Ono što je važno istaći jeste da ne postoji nikakav pravni osnov na osnovu koga se pravilo geografske rotacije primenjuje prilikom imenovanja Generalnog sekretara. Iako ne postoji sporazum običaj pa čak ni džentlmenski sporazum<sup>7</sup> o primeni pravila o geografskoj rotaciji prilikom izbora Generalnog sekretara, ovaj mit je neverovatno živ i dalje kako u nauci tako i u praksi (Novaković 2016). Mnogi autori vide pravni osnov da se Generalni sekretar postavlja u skladu sa pravilima geografske rotacije u članu 101. Povelje Ujedinjenih nacija, u kome se navodi: „*Posebna pažnja će se obratiti na važnost regrutovanja osoblja na najširoj mogućoj geografskoj osnovi.*“ Ipak, ovo i ovakvo tumačenje jednostavno nema osnova. Pre svega, navedeni član i celu glavu u kojoj se član 101. nalazi, odnose se na Sekretarijat a ne na Generalnog sekretara – a Generalni sekretar ne spada pod osoblje

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<sup>7</sup> Između članova P-5 da ne imenuju svoje državljane za mesto SG. Iako ovo pravilo nije pravno formalizovano, ova praksa se već više od 70 godina poštuje bez presedana.

Sekretarijata, na koje se član 101 jedino i odnosi. Štaviše, kada se govori o osoblju Ujedinjenih nacija se odnosi na sve članove Sekretarijata osim Generalnog sekretara. Ovo jasno proizilazi iz člana 97. Povelje, gde se upravo i ističe da se Sekretarijat sastoji od Generalnog sekretara i osoblja. Shodno tome, postoji „jasna razlika“ između osoblja i Generalnog sekretara, pa je uloga člana 101. da instruiše Generalnog sekretara da geografsku rotaciju uzme u obzir prilikom imenovanja osoblja na „višim nivoima u Sekretarijatu“ (UNDOCS 1987) poput Visokog komesara (Norchi 2004), a ne da služi kao smernica za izbor Generalnog sekretara.

Pitanje geografske rotacije u izboru Generalnog sekretara posebno je aktuelizovano krajem 1980-ih godina, kada su afričke zemlje insistirale da sledeći Generalni sekretar treba da dođe sa tog kontinenta. Na kraju, njihov zahtev je uslišen izborom Butros Butros-Ghalija iz Egipta za Generalnog sekretara, koji je započeo svoj mandat 1992. Međutim, to geografsku rotaciju ne čini pravilom ili smernicom čak ni u najširem smislu. Ovo nije pravilo - ne samo zato što ni na koji način nije formalizovano, već i zato što čak i praksa u vezi sa ovim pitanjem jasno negira formiranje običaja ili njegov nastanak (Novaković 2016).

## Zaključak

Ove godine navršava se 60 godina od osnivanja NAM, često osporavanog u zapadnom svetu ali podjednako veličanog u državama u razvoju, pre svega u Africi, Aziji i Južnoj Americi. Nakon raspada bipolarnog sveta, NAM se bori da pronađe načine da ostane relevantan. Za neke potencijalne nove uloge je demonstrirano u ovom radu da su nemoguće, poput uloge medijatora između velikih sila, među kojima je SAD. Ipak, NAM i te kako ima ulogu u modernom svetu, među kojima se ističu posebno dve.

Prva se tiče delovanja kao foruma svojih članica i zaštite njihovih interesa u međunarodnim institucijama. Još od početka XX veka, postalo je jasno da male države, pogotovo bivše kolonije i države Afrike i Azije, nemaju drugu opciju da imaju svoj glas u relevantnoj međunarodnoj arenii osim NAM (Shenon 1992) – ili je tih opcija jako malo, poput ASEAN ili Grupe 77.

Sa druge strane, uloga NAM se može pronaći i u okviru „koloseka grananja koncepta nesvrstanosti“ (Igrutinović 2018, 139) a posebno kao deo četvrte grupe principa koji se tiču Novog međunarodnog ekonomskog poretkaa (NMEP). Ovu grupu principa čine kontinuirani, brzi i stabilni ekonomski razvoj, sa prioritetom datim zemljama u razvoju. Inicijalna ideja je prevazilaženje jaza u razvijenosti, a podrazumevala je traženje preferencijskog i nerecipročnog pristupa tržištim.

razvijenih zemalja (Vrhunec 1978, prema Igrutinović 2018, 140). Naravno, putevi ostvarivanja cilja i stvaranja NMEP se nužno moraju prilagoditi XXI veku i novim međunarodnim političkim, ekonomskim i pravnim odnosima, ali je ovo prostor na kome NAM kao pokret može ostvariti veće pomake nego bilo koja članica pojedinačno.

Konačno, odnos NAM i Ujedinjenih nacija je posebno kompleksan i zavređuje detaljniju analizu. Jasna je kritika rada Saveta bezbednosti sa jedne strane i podrška pojačanom uticaju Generalne skupštine i veće inkluzivnosti država NAM u rad Ujedinjenih nacija sa druge. Upravo je navedena težnja ka većem stepenu zajedničkog delovanja država NAM u okviru Ujedinjenih nacija nešto čemu NAM kao organizacija treba da teži, jer kroz takvo delovanje može napraviti značajne pomake.

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**THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN THE 21ST CENTURY – STRUCTURE,  
TOPICS AND ROLE**

**Abstract:** The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is in search of a new identity after the dissolution of the bipolar world and the completion of the decolonization process. In that sense, the NAM is often perceived as a balance between great powers, particularly the US and China. Therefore, the author will investigate this possibility. However, the focus of this article will be on the analysis of the administrative structure of the NAM and the possibility of transforming it into a more coherent organization. Furthermore, the analysis of the most prominent topics in the area of international law and reform of the United Nations, mainly contained within the final documents of the NAM summits, will also be conducted.

**Keywords:** The Non-Aligned Movement, NAM, United Nations, USA, Russia, China, Israel, International Law.



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## Damaging effects of vaccine geopolitics and the EU's distorted soft power

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**Abstract:** The authors deliberate that the EU's soft power leadership has been inadequate during certain periods of the pandemic, being additionally challenged by proactive campaigns of other international actors. According to the authors, such EU underperformance primarily lies in the damaging fact that the Union perceives and treats aspects like the inoculation process not solely as a health-humanitarian issue, but also as a geostrategic activity. The authors consider that EU logic has been largely shaped by the pre-existing geopolitical distaste for China and Russia, and hence also their subsequent COVID-19-related engagement in Europe. Apart from strategic rivalries, EU international status has been exacerbated by deteriorating relations with the UK. According to the authors, the aforementioned international actors have been applying various soft power instruments during the mass inoculation process against COVID-19 in Europe, which also resulted in consequences that are usually attributed to hard power. Antagonisms between the abovementioned stakeholders manifest in unfavorable phenomena such as “vaccine nationalism” and “jab geopolitics”. The authors argues that a less selective, and more flexible and pragmatic approach would have been more beneficial both for public health and the EU's impaired reputation in certain parts of CEE.

**Key words:** vaccine nationalism, EU, COVID-19, challenge, inoculation, power, Russia, China, reputation, CEE.

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## Introduction

The authors address the question of how different activities in the domain of vaccine procurement process manifest in international relations in Europe in the context of the ongoing COVID-19 crisis. Research shows that under current pandemic conditions, vaccine acquisition, apart from being a public health element, also constitutes a geopolitical activity, which represents an unfavorable phenomenon in the context of overcoming that challenge not only in Europe, but also globally. The ongoing mass immunization process manifests in several adverse aspects. Firstly, some foreign actors use vaccine diplomacy as an instrument of soft power, attempting to improve their international status. Secondly, political conflicts have emerged, as observed in the context of the EU-UK vaccine row in 2021, but also pertaining to the internal cohesion of the European Union. Thirdly, disagreements regarding the vaccine approval process in Europe divert attention away from the need to urgently focus on overcoming the pandemic crisis on an international scale.

Having in mind the abovementioned, the authors aim to show that the EU approach towards the vaccination process and some other aspects has been prolonged and inadequate, as well as responsive and reactive rather than proactive, being motivated by the dynamic campaigns carried out by China, Russia, and the UK. Such a logic of EU institutions originates in the pre-existing geostrategic disinclination towards the presence of China and Russia in Europe, which has continued or even worsened during the pandemic. The authors consider the geostrategic calculations damaging, having in mind that COVID-19 represents a global risk which currently affects the entire humanity, for which reason it requires more, rather than even less, cooperation and solidarity. The authors aim to show that, by denouncing the possibility to show more flexibility and a less selective approach, and opting to perceive the inoculation and other processes through geopolitical lenses, the EU has missed the opportunity to portray itself as one of the leaders in the international dialogue surrounding the COVID-19 crisis, therefore failing to contribute to overcoming this challenge globally. Instead, the EU engaged in unfavorable activities like vaccine nationalism, which has affected its soft power potential in international terms and further disrupted the perspectives for reducing tensions in cooperation with major actors like Russia, China and even the UK. The

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researched period largely refers to the first half of 2021, when the mass immunisation process against COVID-19 intensified in Europe.

Not long following the official inception of immunization in Europe with vaccines against COVID-19 (in further text also: “vaccines” or “jabs”) it became evident that the process is faulty, which may be illustrated through three interconnected phenomena: (1) the absence of solidarity within the EU (the intergovernmental aspect overriding the supranational, as part of the broader occurrence of “vaccine nationalism”); (2) the shortage of empathy of the EU towards the partner regions, such as the Western Balkans, and (3) the greater presence of rival actors and geostrategic influences (“vaccine/jab geopolitics”). The authors interpret these manifestations through the perspective of intertwining between the soft power and the hard power on the European continent in the specific context of the pandemic, thus shaping the thematic focus of this paper.

Namely, various actors have been using the humanitarian aspect not solely in an attempt to reverse the unfavorable course of the pandemic, but also to advance national interests and improve their external political image. According to certain soft power indicators in the domains of international relations and foreign reputation, Russia and China have been downgraded during the COVID-19 pandemic, which they aspired to compensate through various activities, ranging from the classic humanitarian diplomacy (donations of medical equipment, healthcare workers exchange programmes, financial aid, etc.) to international promotion and distribution of vaccines produced by their domestic manufacturers (Brand Finance 2021, 33-34; Lee 2021a, 2). Nevertheless, the pandemic crisis also affected the reputation of the USA and European countries which are traditionally high-ranking in the domains of soft power (Trapara 2021, 48; Brand Finance 2021, 4-7). As a consequence of decisions to limit the export of vaccines and medical equipment, these actors not only faced the erosion of their international reputation, but also failed to contribute to improving the unfavorable course of the pandemic in partner countries, including those in the Western Balkans (Požgan, Bojinović Fenko and Kočan 2020, 1134). Moreover, the European Union sidelined its liberal practices by becoming the first major trading power to impose overt export controls on COVID-19 jabs (Evenett 2021, 398-399). Through such protectionist activities, the EU institutions actually intended to rectify their earlier mistakes when even influential member states like Italy and Spain voiced their skepticism and disappointment regarding the inadequate functioning of supranational bodies, but also with how their fellow-members reacted to it (Luxner 2020). Specifically, during the Europe’s first major COVID-19 outbreak in Italy, the crisis led to that highly-developed nation’s devolution into a user of humanitarian aid. The responsibility for the inadequate and delayed response to the pandemic,

including the domain of vaccine procurement, has been growingly attributed to the EU complex bureaucracy and inertia, the lack of empathy among member states, as well as inadequate actions by “western” vaccine manufacturers, against which legal process has been announced (Reuters 2021a). Apart from numerous organizational and political hurdles, medical challenges have also aggravated the process, raising additional concerns over the efficacy of jabs, their side effects, mutations and so on (Gstrein 2021, 372). However, medical aspects will not be considered in this research, having in mind its academic focus on the international relations domain.

The lack of available vaccines against COVID-19 recorded during the first half of 2021, combined with the “inherited” political issues, have also contributed to the growingly geostrategic character of the ongoing battle against the pandemic. These aspects led to damaging manifestations as countries which had privileged ties with the vaccine manufacturers (such as the USA or the UK, as pioneers in the process) practically marginalized other countries and regions, including those that urgently required assistance in reducing the tragic toll of the pandemic. The decision of Hungarian authorities during the most fatal wave of COVID-19 to bilaterally secure the imports of the jabs produced by the Chinese Sinopharm and Russia’s Gamaleya Institute (in further text also: “eastern vaccines”) should be interpreted also bearing in mind the public health emergency situation. The authors will analyze this instance in further segments of this paper.

Nevertheless, the aforementioned bilateral activities, in the context of the global epidemiological crisis, cause ethical, epidemiological and security dilemmas, especially through comparing the highly developed nations and regions with beneficial access to vaccines to the economically-less developed or less influential countries, which rely on multilateral platforms. That brings us to the notion of “vaccine nationalism”. According to Zhou (2021, 2), vaccine nationalism is understood as (...) “the mindset and act of gaining preferential access to newly developed COVID-19 vaccines by individual countries”, especially those within higher-income ranks. While analyzing the European Commission’s 2021 temporary ban on vaccine exports in the context of vaccine nationalism, Evenett (2021, 399; while also referring to Ujal Bhatia, Caroline Freund and Christine McDaniel’s 2020 COVID-19-related research), illustrates that international phenomena through (...) concerns that governments may seek national advantage during the procurement, production, and distribution of COVID-19 vaccines, taking steps that frustrate or delay the equitable and efficient global distribution of such vaccines”.

Whereas the European Commission had negotiated deliveries with the “western” vaccine manufacturers on behalf of all member states, problems emerged surrounding the distribution of vaccines, especially those contracted

through multilateral frameworks, causing international discontent and tensions during the first two quarters of 2021. Contrastingly, countries like the USA, UK, Israel and also Serbia, which obtained the vaccines through bilateral agreements rather than multilateral frameworks, emerged as leading nations in the process of inoculation against COVID-19 during the first quarter of 2021. Multilateral arrangements at the EU level, as well as the CoVax initiative, designed to secure greater access to the vaccines for underprivileged countries or regions, initially failed, while bilateral shipments in the case of several Western nations functioned well (Petrović 2021, 97; Santos Rutschman 2021, 12). Multilateral efforts have been significantly challenged by such examples of “contractual bilateralism”, which manifested in nationalistic activities in domains of vaccine acquisition and distribution (Santos Rutschman 2021, 12-13). Apart from these unfavorable “nationalistic” tendencies, countries like the USA and the UK also enforced temporary limitations in domain of vaccine exports in order to prioritize their own population, which in the case of Britain deepened the already damaged relations with the EU, which will be analyzed further in the text.

The application of the “eastern vaccines” in Europe further incited the political phenomena of vaccine nationalism and inoculation geopolitics, which have been manifesting globally since the inception of the crisis (Fidler 2020, 749). Even the commercial name of the Gamaleya Institute vaccine – Sputnik V – which attempts to establish analogies with Moscow’s strategic triumph during the “cosmic race”, adds to the geopolitical impression. To the dislike of the geo-strategically awakened European Commission, the stronger presence of these actors has been recorded since the outbreak of the epidemiological crisis, especially across the continent’s eastern periphery (European Commission 2021b). The EU entry into the pandemic occurred at a sensitive political stage, during the strategic dispute with Russia (ongoing since the Ukrainian crisis), in parallel with the proclaimed “systemic rivalry” against China, and in the final stage of the multiannual exhausting process of UK withdrawal from the European Union membership (European Parliament 2020). The entanglement of rivalries and worsened relations with the abovementioned nations deepened during the pandemic, especially during the mass inoculation process, which surpassed the health domain and obtained geostrategic traits, which will be discussed in further segments of this paper as the main focus point.

Since the first quarter of 2020, the EU has experienced several negative aspects. Firstly, the political unity has been challenged. In April 2020, the Spanish PM, Pedro Sanchez, appealed for solidarity among member states in order to preserve the cohesion of the Union, whereas the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, qualified the challenge as the most serious crisis since the establishment of the EU (Busse,

Loss, Puglierin and Zerka 2020). The absence of empathy was also recorded in neighboring regions like the Western Balkans (WB), which was subjected to limitations pertaining to the import of urgent medical equipment despite being included in the EU enlargement agenda (Von Der Burchard and Gray 2020). The EU's inadequate reaction also reflected on some later actions of member states like Hungary, which will be elaborated in closer detail. The Union's credibility also eroded internationally, while the unfavorable strategic phenomena, as well as a lack of political willingness, further inhibited the possibility to limit or reduce transnational rivalries, at least during the course of the pandemic. The entropic combination of the abovementioned elements, apart from turning the crisis into a geopolitical one, also diverted attention from the necessity to limit as much as possible the consequences of the global epidemic. Even when faced with an unprecedented modern health challenge, these negative political manifestations have either remained or intensified, which portrays a rather pessimistic image of the current state of international affairs in Europe.

In order to understand current international phenomena surrounding the COVID-19 inoculation process, the authors divide the article into three sections (apart from the introductory part and conclusion remarks). The first section is focused on theoretical considerations of various manifestations of soft and hard power which emerged during the pandemic in the EU context. The second part follows up through an analysis of the phenomena of "vaccine geopolitics" and "jab nationalism" in Central Europe. The third unit builds upon the previous sections by providing examples of the EU's diminished soft power in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

### **Theoretical approach: vaccine procurement and the EU's instruments of power**

According to Joseph Nye, the concept of power can generally be understood as the ability to conduct certain activities, exert influence, and navigate steps towards preferred outcomes (Nye 2011, 6). That notion is inseparable from the context of a specific activity (and its desired outcomes), from the stakeholders, as well as from the area where power is being projected (Nye 2011, 6-7). Hard power correlates with certain aspects of pressure or force, manifesting in international affairs through conditionality in security, economic, political and other areas, for example through sanctions, rewards, etc. (Gray 2011, V-VIII). Between the spheres of hard power and soft power stretches an entire spectrum of behavior within the

power dynamic, from those belonging to the “imperative” pole (coercion, threats, sanctions) to those on the co-optive side (embedding, persuading, attracting); Nye illustrates this gradation through a dichotomy of “pressuring” as opposed to “attracting” (Nye 2011, 20-21). The fundamental argument underlying soft power is that institutions have the ability to indirectly influence the functioning of other institutions, such as through cultural patterns, value systems, persuasion, or requests (Dowding 2012, 130). Hans Morgenthau (1962, 301-309) points out the complex nature of humanitarian aid, which might be interpreted by some as a particular sort of moral duty of the authorities of privileged nations towards the underprivileged ones. In addition, Greenough, Blume and Holmberg (2017, 7) argue that scientists from various disciplines have been correlating aspects like emerging diseases, international health and new manifestations of great-power interests, while recognizing that the global health area legitimizes the authority of multilateral initiatives and organizations. Having in mind the abovementioned, the authors intend to clarify that different COVID-19-related activities (such as the mass inoculation process during the first half of 2021) can also be interpreted through soft power aspects, with certain consequences that border on hard power effects, having in mind the specific context of the pandemic as a global challenge.

The European Union, as one of the most influential actors in the field of soft power, bases its logic on the respect of norms, institutions and acts, on persuasive acts and attraction rather than coercion, putting a specific focus on the procedures and the process, with expectations that these ultimately lead to the realization of some intended outcomes (Kagan 2004, 5-6). Having in mind the methods and instruments used, power in an EU context is frequently understood as normative power (Forsberg 2013, 27). However, under the pandemic circumstances, the spotlight of EU institutions on international negotiations, norms, diplomacy and multilateralism did not convey expected results during the initial stages of the mass inoculation process, which formally started in late December 2020. The EU’s entrenchment within its normative framework has again proven to be geostrategically inadequate, as it has been for some time now (Kovačević 2020, 219). Through the sophisticated advance purchase treaties, the European Commission previously negotiated deliveries of 1,3 billion jabs produced by the manufacturers BioNTech/Pfizer, Moderna, AstraZeneca and Johnson & Johnson, noticeably more than its overall population numbering less than 450 million people (EEAS 2021). However, despite what had been negotiated, it turned out that this sort of demand was very ambitious in terms of deadlines for deliveries. By the end of January, Spain had become the first EU country to temporarily stop vaccinations due to a lack of doses; similar events ensued across the European Union (Steviš-Gridneff and Pronczuk 2021). While the EU was faced with delayed shipments of

vaccines, its Western counterparts like the USA, UK and Israel continued inoculating their populations seemingly ordinary, causing the feeling of marginalization of the EU, to which the European Commissioner for Health Stella Kyriakides responded that “the logic of first-come first-served...may work at the butcher...but not in our advanced purchase agreements” (Stevis-Gridneff and Pronczuk 2021). However, despite the EU’s insistence to secure deliveries of the agreed doses, the actual effect of its soft power here was limited by the vaccine shortages in the vaccine manufacturers’ facilities, a result of their own miscalculations.

Apart from the abovementioned, and the complicating fact regarding the enormous global demands, certain nations like the USA did secure reliable vaccine deliveries early on; some experts attribute that to a proactive approach of the American Government which financed and aided the acceleration of the vaccine production all along, whereas the EU acted passively, as a customer which solely relied on the bureaucratic and legal aspect (Apuzzo, Gebrekidan and Pronczuk 2021). Under such circumstances, the EU attempted to regain its soft power influence by “pressuring” individual vaccine producers, which had a delayed and largely limited effect. By the end of March 2021 the EU had only inoculated 10% of its population with a single dose (compared to around 40% in the UK); that can also be attributed to the prolonged negotiations with the vaccine manufacturers, a selective and deliberative approach to approving some vaccines and administrative hurdles at the local level (Apuzzo, Gebrekidan and Pronczuk 2021). The conditionality principle, one of the EU’s basic instruments in the soft power domain, showed its limitations in this extraordinary crisis situation.

Whereas hard power manifests through direct attempts to influence through pressures, soft power materializes through gaining others’ trust for one’s own political or other logic, for example through cultural, medical or other channels of diplomacy (Lee 2021a, 2). The two types of power also diverge when it comes to their preferred resources. Hard power largely correlates with the use of physical or other force, as well as financial incentives or sanctions, whereas soft power primarily manifests in intangible aspects (values, institutions, cultural patterns), which doesn’t exclude a crossing of results (Nye 2011, 21). For instance, activities in the soft power sphere can result in some security-related consequences, and economic sanctions can produce an outcome in institutional or normative alterations. Interinstitutional cooperation in the area of humanitarian diplomacy can therefore primarily be considered within the soft power category, as an instrument through which countries intend to acquire greater influence. Countries like China and Russia use both bilateral and multilateral channels to improve their international positions, for example through regional initiatives such as the “Belt and Road” project (Stanojević 2020, 6-7; Zakić and Šekarić 2021, 7-38). Such

activities are consistent with some Chinese expert stances that the subjects of soft power could be both nations and entire regions (Suzuki 2010, 199-200).

During the past two years, humanitarian efforts have significantly focused on attempts to reduce the devastating consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. Having in mind the sudden escalation and spread of this epidemiological risk, resources are required across the world. Vaccines can be considered as instruments of soft power, as they currently represent a very valuable resource in humanitarian and health sectors. Also, some international actors use the inoculation aspect in order to improve their reputation. However, having in mind the global scale of this comprehensive challenge, the authors also consider that the aspect of vaccine procurement and distribution has repercussions which are usually more associated with hard power, like the need to preserve as many lives as feasible. As mentioned earlier, hard power typically correlates with the notions of force or financial aspects; for example, nations are sometimes being conditioned to revise their behavior under economic, political or military coercion, or else be prepared to face grave consequences (Wilson 2008, 114-115). However, under the specific pandemic circumstances, where a dangerous virus constitutes an overall risk, hard power can manifest in various domains, not only in health, but also in economics, politics, etc. Symbolically speaking, vaccines against COVID-19 represent a “weapon” in the epidemiological battle that is being fought against humanity. All countries and regions are included in that struggle. By accumulating more doses, international actors aim to improve their public health perspectives, which would allow them to stabilize and focus on other issues and thus advance their transnational position. Vaccine procurement and the inoculation process have been exposed to hard power logic. That represents a continuation of the trend of weaponizing the soft power instruments, recorded during the previous years in domains of technology and trade by EU rivals like Russia and China, as part of their mutual rivalry (Laïdi 2019, 2). In other words, attempts to obtain an advantage during the pandemic through greater access to health/humanitarian resources are also geo-strategically driven.

There is also an additional perspective: unlike soft power, which attempts to soften or shape behaviors towards the co-optive pole, hard power results in non-voluntary action; such coercive measures are not necessarily sustainable and might lead to further challenges (Gallarotti 2011, 29-31). An example of hard power pressuring by the EU was recorded during the 2021 vaccine dispute, during which the British side was pressured and coerced to compromise. Such a lack of international solidarity ensued as an intention of EU institutions to compensate for what the Bavarian PM Marcus Söder described as their delayed, selective and overly bureaucratic approach during the vaccine procurement negotiations, whereby the Union completely misinterpreted the essential meaning of the

situation (Lee 2021b). Namely, the dispute regarded the deliveries of the Oxford/AstraZeneca COVID-19 vaccines to the EU, whereby the European Commission considered that the British side unjustifiably halted and delayed the shipments in an attempt to accelerate the inoculation of UK citizens. As a response, EU institutions supported the temporary suspension of exporting the EU-produced-vaccines, which consequently manifested at the Irish-UK border. The crisis reached its climax when the European Commission temporarily paused the inoculation with the Oxford/AstraZeneca jabs due to allegations regarding their damaging health effects, as the process within the EU almost came to a halt (Hockley 2021). The political outcome of this winter dispute was such that the head of the European Commission, Ursula Von Den Leyen, declared that larger shipments of vaccines into the EU were secured (Hockley 2021). As for the legal outcome, the two sides formally ended their litigation before a court in Brussels in September 2021 (European Commission 2021a). Alleged concerns over health side-effects were used here as a tool in a political bargaining process, which negatively manifested on the credibility of the immunization strategy as such.

Moreover, these vaccine-nationalism-activities also widened the “empathy gap” and further complicated overall EU-UK relations, with potentially lasting consequences; Hockley (2021) even referred to it as the “Brexit vaccine war”, implying that some of the disagreements were also inherited. In this case, the EU influenced British institutions to alter their previously inadequate activities through instruments ranging from sanctioning (hard power domain) to persuasion and agreement regarding future shipments. Unfortunately, considering not only the bitter history surrounding the UK’s withdrawal from the EU, but also the ramifications of the vaccine dispute in the sector of public health, these disagreements might also lead to further confrontations. The quarrel perhaps marked the new low-point, as distrust between the two sides increased even further since the challenging Brexit process had ended. To make things worse, apart from the disrupted trust, the event also damaged the credibility of the inoculation process, as many citizens became apprehensive about the alleged side-effects which EU politicians and institutions had referred to (Smith 2021). The World Health Organization criticized (WHO) the EU’s vaccine export limitations, referring to them as a manifestation of “vaccine nationalism”, which would have damaging effects on the duration of the pandemic (Lee 2021).

Even though EU citizens’ expectations were initially not met, according to the World Bank, the European region has evolved into a privileged one by mid-summer 2021, ranking first globally when it comes to applied individual doses against COVID-19 (84 per 100 inhabitants), far ahead of Asia (54) and Africa (only 5) (World Bank 2021). These results have been achieved on the basis of intensified contacts

with the manufacturers, whereby the orders surpassed actual needs multifold, while numerous other world regions have been unable to secure deliveries as a consequence of excessive Western demand (World Bank 2021). Apart from the EU's pressures on manufacturers, there are allegations that its (postponed) global leadership was secured by virtue of inflated prices; according to the Global People's Vaccine Alliance, which advocates universal and equal access to the anti-COVID-19 jabs, the EU might have overpaid the delivered doses by an astounding 33 billion euros (Bray 2021). In case these vaccine nationalism claims turn out to be grounded, that non-ethical phenomena might also contain corruptive elements.

By disabling the export of medical equipment and vaccines outside the EU, the Union exhibited its own nationalist practice towards other countries and regions, including its close partners in the Western Balkans. Such appropriation and even hoarding of medical resources results in outcomes which resemble those in the hard power arena: damaging consequences for other regions' public health. Likewise, such activities also diverge from the Union's self-image as a normative power leader, its advocacy of liberal values and freedoms, justice, equality among people and so on (Müller 2021). Reflecting its own evolution as a peace project, the European Union rests on a specific set of principles and ideals in domains of power ethics (Kagan 2004, 11). However, in the pandemic crisis context, the EU institutions demonstrated faulty moral judgment and damaging practices.

## **“Vaccine geopolitics” in Central Europe**

Different power-related manifestations (ranging from coercion and pressuring to the attraction aspect) appear within the European Union's inoculation process against COVID-19. For instance, one EU member-state, Hungary, apart from the vaccines approved at the Union level, decided to also grant emergency use to the “eastern vaccines” (colloquially known and further referred to under the commercial names “Sinopharm” and “Sputnik V”). Such a course was in line with the European Commission's formal opinion that member-states were entitled to make such decisions on their own territories. As a consequence, before long, close to two million Hungarian citizens received these jabs (Vaski 2021). This occurred even though the vaccines were not formally approved by the European Medicines Agency (EMA), whereas the rest of the doses (produced by “western” manufacturers) were secured through the European Commission, which acted as a contact-point on behalf of its member states in that regard.

However, the actual recognition of the vaccination status of those inoculated with the “eastern jabs” during cross-border mobility has been challenged. The fact that Hungary is included in the Schengen area, which grants privileges of uninhibited mobility to citizens originating from their member-states, did not pose much value in the extraordinary pandemic context, when public health exceptions have been invoked across the EU, thus limiting cross-border mobility (De Bruycker 2021, 3). On one hand, the EU formally granted Hungarian citizens vaccinated with the “eastern doses” the right to have that status included in the cross-border digital certificate, as in the case of “western vaccines”. However, the Union institutions also formally backed their member-states to individually decide whether to actually grant international access to those vaccinated with Sinopharm or Sputnik V under the same conditions as to those who received, for example, Pfizer or Moderna doses. By delegating this matter to the member-states, EU bodies also avoided the possibility to be involved in indirectly recognizing the vaccines produced by its Chinese and Russian strategic rivals.

Hungarian authorities put an effort to overcome this challenge through bilateral agreements regarding the recognition of the vaccination status, mostly with the neighboring states; however, in other parts of the Union, citizens inoculated with the “eastern jabs” may be treated similarly to the unvaccinated ones (Vaski 2021). By permitting the possibility of sanctioning those EU citizens vaccinated with doses not endorsed by EMA, the Union’s institutions demonstrated hard power towards the Hungarian authorities’ decision to grant their use. The results are such that millions of Hungarian citizens are practically singled out compared to their compatriots vaccinated with the “western jabs”, or perhaps even discriminated against.

There are two motives why the European Union uses the instruments of soft and hard power towards its member-state Hungary in the mass inoculation pandemic context: the internal cause and the external argument.

From the internal perspective, it represents another instance of dispute between the supranational institutions and the Hungarian authorities, which are inclined towards sovereignism, bilateralism and inter-governmental cooperation. Hungarian institutions practised their right to decide independently, while other EU member states abstained from following suit. Whereas Slovakian PM Igor Matović did initially try, he was pressured into resignation by the coalition partners and pro-EU groups due to non-transparent contracting of 200.000 Sputnik V doses. The inappropriateness of political pressure on Hungarian and Slovak authorities can be illustrated by the root cause of vaccine procurement: to limit the damaging effect on public health in those states. Namely, as of September 2021, Hungary and Slovakia were ranked first and fourth in terms of the incidence of COVID-19 deaths among thirty countries belonging to the European Economic Area (Conor

2021). These tragic indicators have motivated Hungarian and Slovakian authorities to seek additional solutions to counter the fatal effects of the disease. However, despite the extremely high COVID-19 death toll, these authorities were faced with political pressures to abandon such an approach. From the EU perspective, their intergovernmental behavior should have been more in line with the supranational approach towards fighting the pandemic, regardless of the fact that the situations in Hungary and Slovakia were more threatening in terms of the number of deceased persons than elsewhere in the EEA. Although the intergovernmental aspect prevailed in Hungary (which already applied millions of “eastern vaccines”), the fact that other member states suspended their decision until the final EMA stance points to the concealed supranational logic which has also been influenced by geopolitical considerations, rather than primarily health concerns.

This brings us to the external argument, the underlying background of geopolitical confrontation between the EU and Russia, in effect since the inception of the Ukrainian crisis (Petrović 2019). That dispute manifests in reduced political, economic, energy and other cooperation and alienation in numerous domains, as well as in mutual sanctioning in specifically targeted domains (Sanctions Map 2021). Embargo as a hard-power instrument is being used by both sides. Unfortunately, the downgraded relations also manifest in the pandemic context, for instance in limiting the freedom of movement of persons and also goods (including the medical equipment), non-recognition of vaccines against COVID-19, etc. Some consider that Russia has been using the pandemic crisis not solely to strengthen its impaired reputation in the EU, but also in order to attract political sympathies of certain member states and thus compromise the Union’s internal cohesion. Such opinions may be used to illustrate Russian intentions to extend its influence through the means of soft power, by persuading some member states to continue or extend cooperation bilaterally, regardless of the EU’s generally frigid stance towards Moscow.

For instance, the Italian campaign in spring 2020 named “From Russia, with love” is perceived by some analysts as an intention to highlight the EU’s political and other tardiness and incite Euro-skepticism among the founding member states (Togoh 2020). Such opinions generally reflect the deeply rooted lack of trust in relations between the EU and Russia, which continues even when faced with a global health threat. Namely, the lack of solidarity within the EU, which was demonstrated in the non-responding to appeals from Italy’s medical sector and state officials, considerably affected the Union’s reputation among European citizens. The lack of empathy during the early stage of the pandemic was so evident that the President of the European Commission subsequently issued an official apology to the Italian nation (Tidman 2020). Under such grim circumstances, the

Italian administration accepted Russian humanitarian aid, consisting of more than a hundred military doctors, personal protective equipment, disinfectants and respirators; while some estimated that 80% of the donated protective equipment was “unusable”, one NATO representative expressed his concern over the presence of Russian military staff in Italy (Giuffrida and Roth 2020). Such national security concerns, which correlate with the outbreak of COVID-19 in Europe, fall into a domain typically associated with hard power. That represents an another instance of perceived weaponization of soft power (an example of Russian soft power being the humanitarian campaign). Nevertheless, Russian representatives responded to such allegations by saying that their engagement ensued at the request of the Italian government following the absence of reaction from EU member states (Giuffrida and Roth 2020). Be it as it may, in the absence of cooperation with the EU in the pandemic context, Russian soft power activities - such as those in area of humanitarian diplomacy – have been conducted bilaterally, with individual member states. The EU’s failure to counter these influences properly has made it appear passive and reactive rather than proactive.

The Hungarian-Russian bilateral cooperation in the process of vaccine procurement might also be illustrative. In early 2021, the two sides reached an agreement on delivery of a large quantity of Sputnik V jabs, thus bringing them to the market of an EU member state. This represented another example of sovereignist decision-making in Hungary, whose leader Viktor Orbán is frequently portrayed as the EU’s *enfant terrible*, his Fidesz party being suspended from the European People’s Party over rule of law concerns and illiberal tendencies. However, despite the neo-conservative and isolationist trends in Hungary which counter and challenge common EU stances on migration, security and interpretation of values, the authors find it highly damaging to contaminate the global health emergency risk with political issues, including those regarding the EU’s international role. During the peak of the epidemiological crisis in February 2021, when stressing the urgent need for additional vaccines, PM Orbán stated that every day spent waiting for Brussels resulted in the loss of a hundred Hungarian lives (RFE/RL 2021). Accordingly, while considering and interpreting various international motives, one should bear in mind that the decisions of Hungarian authorities (regardless of their ideological and other peculiarities) were made in the context of an unprecedented state of health emergency in that country. Although the delivery and inoculation with Sputnik V jabs in Hungary was carried out without EMA backing, such a decision facilitated the efforts to limit the damaging consequences of COVID-19 on the medical wellbeing of Hungarians during the most fatal wave of the pandemic to that date.

During the first quarter of 2021, the EMA initiated the process of consideration of studies regarding the efficacy and safety of the Gam-Covid-Vac (commercially known as Sputnik V), which has still been ongoing as of the fourth quarter (EMA 2021). An earlier study published in one of the most prestigious medical journals - *The Lancet* – had positively evaluated both the safety and efficacy of that jab (Jones and Roy 2021, 642-643). It should also be noted that the WHO has been concluding its inspection visits to the Russian manufacturing facilities ahead of its own final decision on official approval for mass use (Nogrady, Bianca 2021, 339-340). Meanwhile, the vaccine has been approved for use in 70 countries, and its mass production has been announced or initiated in 14 countries, including Serbia (Sputnik V 2021). However, statements like those of the EU Commissioner Thierry Breton that the Union has “absolutely no need for Sputnik V” lead to the impression of geostrategic revanchism towards Russia (Nogrady, Bianca 2021, 339-340). Contrastingly, numerous other Central European member states, like Austria, Czechia and even some German federal states, expressed willingness to import or produce Sputnik V, albeit with a “disclaimer” that it first required an EMA approval (Bateson 2021).

Likewise, Hungarian authorities approved for emergency use another “eastern vaccine” as part of its mass inoculation process against COVID-19. The BIBP (Beijing Institute of Biological Products) vaccine, also referred to as “Sinopharm”, was approved in January 2021, backed by the positive experiences from neighboring Serbia, which previously began applying it. Namely, during the first months of 2021, Serbia recorded the second-fastest rate in terms of applied vaccines during the mass inoculation process in Europe, following a pragmatic approach towards procurement and approval of both “eastern” and “western”-produced jabs, which the authorities interpreted through an imperative to treat the vaccines as a health issue rather than a political one. In the case of Serbia, such individualistic course may be observed in the context of its neutral stances in certain aspects of international affairs, which is also present in some other Eastern European countries (Jović-Lazić, Kuvekalović-Stamatović 2020, 23-24). However, while Serbia, as a non-member-state, could not rely on direct supplies through the European Commission and was hence motivated to autonomously seek alternatives, Hungarian institutions opted to follow the Serbian example, dissatisfied with the remarkably slow and inefficient process of vaccine distribution on the supranational level. At that time, hospitals in that country marked tragic records regarding the numbers of COVID-19 patients, as well as deceased persons.

Apart from the danger to public health, Hungary’s decision can also be analyzed in the context of fruitful bilateral ties with Russia and China, which (as in the case of Serbia) represented a favorable platform for accelerating the negotiations and

shipments of the “eastern vaccines” during a very sensitive epidemiological period. As the first EU member state to join the “One Belt – One Road” initiative in the previous decade, and as a host to numerous Chinese projects, Hungarian authorities approached this process pragmatically in an attempt to improve the health crisis situation, with millions of Hungarians also receiving the “western” jabs (Orbán 2017). Meanwhile, the WHO called for wide recognition of the BIBP vaccine in order to curtail defragmentation and reduce pandemic-related gaps which are evident between different regions of the world (Cheng 2021). In addition, numerous member-states opted to bilaterally recognize the digital certificates of those inoculated with BIBP, including Croatia, Slovenia, Czechia and Austria (Schengenvisainfo 2021).

## Overshadowed EU efforts in CEE

Authors like Lee (2021a) interpret the Chinese “vaccine diplomacy” in a dualistic manner: as a continuation of efforts in domains like development aid and business ventures in underdeveloped regions since the 1990s, and also as an instrument to improve international reputation, which has been damaged since the escalation of COVID-19 in that very country. As regards classical humanitarian aid to the affected and less-developed regions, China already contracted over one billion vaccines, delivered over 390 million to roughly one-half of the international community (94 countries), and directly donated over 24 million vaccines (second after the USA which gave away close to 60 million, but significantly more than the EU which donated less than 8 million – a staggering 96% less than it initially planned to devote) (Deutsch and Furlong 2021). That represents a very convincing depiction of the inadequate role of the EU during the pandemic crisis, which is inconsistent with its regional leadership ambitions.

Apart from that, efforts have been made to improve the national image abroad. In pandemic-stricken Europe, China has been projecting its soft power via its eastern periphery. One of the platforms which facilitates such an approach is the comprehensive diplomatic project 17+1 (part of the “Belt and Road” initiative), which - with the sole exception of strategically-important Greece - assembles exclusively former socialist nations (Zweers, Shopov, Van der Putten, Petkova and Lemstra 2020, 7-9). Apart from the “new” member-states, the participation of Western Balkan (WB) candidates represents a favorable aspect for expanding cooperation with other EU(ropean) regions, for instance in connecting the Piraeus harbor (Chinese-owned) to Hungary, one of the primary partners in the EU (Zweers,

Shopov, Van der Putten, Petkova and Lemstra 2020, 7-9). China combines elements typical for cooperation with developing countries (infrastructural projects) and those envisaged within the 17+1 initiative, aiming to strengthen the connecting role of Western Balkans within its approach towards the EU (Zweers, Shopov, Van der Putten, Petkova and Lemstra 2020, 9-10). During the escalation of the pandemic, Chinese humanitarian assistance in the WB was greeted with great sympathies, following the sudden EU decision to suspend the export of urgent medical equipment. Large quantities of Chinese humanitarian aid were also delivered to EU member states like Estonia and Hungary, at a sensitive moment during the initial wave of COVID-19 in Europe, which was hailed by their authorities (Xinhua 2020). While the pandemic has turned numerous developed EU countries into users of humanitarian aid, contrastingly, actors like China and Russia have been using their large health and other resources to advance their impaired international reputation both multilaterally and bilaterally, largely in CEE.

A research conducted in 2021 by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) revealed that relative majority of Serbian examinees (38%) stated that their country could rely on China in the field of recuperating from the pandemic; Russia ranked second with 28%, whereas a mere 14% opted for the EU, despite Belgrade's EU membership talks taking place since 2014 (Hosa and Tcherneva 2021). Another poll also shows favorable trends for the application of soft power by non-western actors in Serbia: over 90% of respondents consider Russia and China as allies and partners, compared to 68% in the case of the European Union (out of which only 11% consider the EU an "ally", and a further 57% solely a "partner") (Hosa and Tcherneva 2021). These results show that the attractiveness of the EU as a strategic partner (and consequently also its soft power potential) in the pandemic context is being challenged by other international actors like China and Russia in Serbia, but perhaps also in broader terms. For instance, another ECFR study shows that around one half of Bulgarian and Hungarian respondents would choose the Sputnik V jab, which is beneficial for Russia's image in Europe (Dennison and Puglierin 2021, 11). Indeed, regardless of the fact that both China and Russia recorded a slight drop on the 2021 soft power ranking list, both countries scored significantly better compared to 2020 in the "education and science" domain, partially also due to the development of their own anti-COVID-19 vaccines and their subsequent export globally (Brand Finance 2021, 33-34; 112-113; Brand Finance 2020, 108-109).

## Conclusion

Results of this research are consistent with Joseph Nye's perception that the application of soft power instruments might also lead to effects in the hard power spectrum (Nye 2011, 21). This study considered different manifestations of hard power and soft power aspects, focusing on the first half of 2021, when the mass inoculation process was initiated in Europe. The authors conclude that the EU has been using the elements of soft and hard power to retain its privileged international status, during which time it was faced with both internal and external challenges. Despite its normative hegemony which manifests its ability to influence and shape the activities and processes in other regions (for instance WB), the EU hasn't lived up to the expectations of neither its partners nor its own member states. The lack of solidarity and cohesion that were recorded during the escalation of the pandemic also stretched into the mass inoculation process, which was plagued by negative phenomena like "vaccine nationalism" and geopolitical bidding. Faced with such occurrences, the EU institutions attempted to demonstrate their ability to conduct the mass inoculation process as swiftly and as advanced as possible. However, such an approach has led to the marginalization and lack of compassion towards its partners (like those in the WB), but also some member states like Hungary, which opted to approve the non-western vaccines during the most fatal wave of COVID-19 in winter 2021. Although the Sinopharm jab has been approved by the WHO and has been used in tens of countries, the EU decision to delegate the matter of recognition of the vaccination status to member states enabled the possibility of direct sanctioning of tens of thousands of Hungarians. Other instances of the EU's vaccine nationalism include those recorded during the damaging jab dispute with the UK.

The European Commission, which has been self-labeled as geopolitical, has been using the mass inoculation aspect to counter foreign influences within the EU, like those of its strategic rivals in China, Russia and even the UK. Apart from the coercing, sanctioning and persuading activities within the EU's hard-line approach towards the British side, other unfavorable situations in the domain of power asymmetry also occurred during the observed period. According to the WHO, close to 90% of all vaccines during the first half of 2021 have been allocated to the most developed countries, whereas less than 1% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa has been inoculated, which has been colloquially referred to as "vaccine apartheid", as a specific consequence of the nationalistic and geostrategic tendencies plaguing the inoculation process (Nazareth, Shawoo and Lager 2021). The "hoarding" of vast amounts of vaccines in the storages of economically developed countries and regions, including Europe, as a specific form of "me-first"

nationalism”, represents a non-empathetic and damaging phenomenon, as it deprives other nations of access to the vaccines and other resources (Allen 2021, 204). Whereas as of fall 2021 the inoculation process has not even begun in many regions, some western countries have contracted vaccines in an amount which surpasses their population by up to five times. Such manifestations of jab nationalism - which also originate in Europe - are internationally inconsiderate and damaging to the perspective of extinguishing the pandemic.

The governments of numerous member states found themselves in a precarious position due to the lack of vaccines during the initial stage of the mass inoculation process in Europe. Their concerns were directed towards attempts to preserve as many lives as possible, which can be compared to situations when there is a threat related to the use of force (hard-power-consequences perception). During the first quarter of 2021, when Czechia was faced with thousands of COVID-19-related-casualties per month, its president Miloš Zeman stated that he had asked the Russian president Vladimir Putin for urgent delivery of Sputnik-V doses, which was overruled by the Czech government. Similar gaps between governmental and opposition parties, which were using the pandemic situations to discredit the response of authorities, were evident throughout the continent, regardless of the ideological orientation. Assigning the primary blame to politicians, especially when it comes to fatalities, has been recorded not only in Europe, but elsewhere as well (Aparicio and Grossbard 2021, 308). Having that in mind, pro-EU decisions of certain Central European governments which were faced with political opposition (as in Czechia and Slovakia) should be interpreted in a context of attempts to preserve their own legitimacy in the wake of the crisis. Although informally interested in ordering the Russian anti-COVID-19 vaccines, these governments later discarded such a possibility, as a result of political pressures aimed at securing a common EU approach in domain of mass inoculation process. Eventually Hungary remained a sole exception in that regard. Although the attempts to establish a common vaccination platform may represent a favorable aspect in terms of EU’s internal cohesion, on the other hand, it also limits the access to vaccines to those citizens which are primarily or solely interested in non-western jabs, which by itself hampers the recovery from the pandemic “from below”. Apart from selective access to the vaccines, which is limited to western-produced jabs, the EU also indirectly supported the possibility of sanctioning the cross-border mobility of Hungarian citizens who opted to vaccinate with the doses unapproved by the European Medicines Agency.

Through its soft power instruments – its institutions, norms and processes – the EU not only aims to shape and “attract” its member states towards its own perception of the vaccination logic, but also supports the sanctioning of those who

diverge from the EMA opinion. The resignation of Slovakia's Prime Minister as a result of Sputnik-V dose orders served as a political wake-up call for those who chose to follow the Hungarian example, and was interpreted as an EU strategic victory (Higgins 2021). Through such an approach, the EU institutions convey a political message that the supranational EMA should prevail over national medicine bodies. Instead of focusing on curtailing the crisis which has already resulted in over one million deaths in Europe alone, the EU contaminates public health measures with geopolitics, attempting to retain power and counter its strategic rivals. Even the most influential multidisciplinary journal "Nature" refers to a potential bias towards the "Pfizer" conglomerate that has been manufacturing vaccines in partnership with the German company BioNTech, which may also have a certain influence on the prolonged approval of the Russian-produced "Sputnik V" (Nogrady 2021, 339-340). Formally, the lengthy process is argumented by concerns regarding the side-effects oversight by that manufacturer (Nogrady 2021, 339-340). Regardless, it is discouraging that the decision-making process of competent European institutions in the public health domain is being influenced by the deteriorating relations with strategic rivals like Russia and China, especially having in mind the extraordinary epidemiological conditions which continue to take their fatal toll. Whereas the EU has been avoiding to upgrade cooperation with these actors, Russia and China have meanwhile agreed to extend their previously-existing strategic partnership agreement, which will also benefit their efforts to curtail the consequences of the pandemic (Lađevac 2015, 243; Reuters 2021b).

Whereas the US, China and Russia have been recognized as leaders in domains of science, education and humanitarian diplomacy, contrastingly, the EU has conducted its pandemic-related international activities in a belated and geopolitically-motivated manner, which negatively affected both its reputation and the cross-border health efforts. Several ECFR polls demonstrate an increased affinity of certain CEE countries towards Russia and China, which acted proactively and dynamically in the pandemic context, allowing them to exert greater (soft) influence in some regions in the time to come. The mass inoculation process constituted a part of the humanitarian diplomacy and soft power of all mentioned actors, although their results, which also manifested in phenomena like nationalism and vaccine geopolitics, might also yield hard power consequences, reflecting negatively on the preservation of lives. The mass inoculation process against COVID-19 is currently perceived by the WHO as the only possible option in attempts to curtail that global health risk. The Von Den Leyen "geopolitical European Commission" was faced with the pandemic crisis at a particularly unfavorable strategic moment, marked by the discord with Russia, systemic antagonisms with

China, having just concluded the debilitating process of Brexit with the United Kingdom. This entanglement of animosities complicated during the COVID-19 global epidemic, especially during the mass vaccination process, which eclipsed the health concerns and assumed geopolitical attributes. That sort of international behavior paints a gloomy picture of the prospects of closer international cooperation in combating the pandemic as a major European and global challenge.

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**Miloš PETROVIĆ, Zlatan JEREMIĆ**

**ŠTETNE POSLEDICE GEOPOLITIKE VAKCINA I POREMEĆENA MEKA  
MOĆ EVROPSKE UNIJE**

**Apstrakt:** Autori nastoji da pokaže da je predvodnička uloga Evropske unije u domenu meke moći bila neadekvatna i ispod očekivanja tokom pojedinih perioda pandemije, čemu su dodatno doprinele proaktivne kampanje drugih međunarodnih aktera u Evropi. Prema mišljenju autora, takvi nepovoljni rezultati mogu se prvenstveno povezati sa štetnom činjenicom da Unija percipira i tretira aspekte poput procesa masovne vakcinacije ne samo kao zdravstveno-humanitarno pitanje, već i kao geopolitičku aktivnost. Autori smatraju da je logika Evropske unije velikim delom oblikovana ranijim geopolitičkim neslaganjima spram Kine i Rusije, a posledično i njihovim angažmanom u Evropi u kontekstu pandemije. Pored toga, pogoršani odnosi sa Ujedinjenim Kraljevstvom dodatno su doprineli nepovoljnog međunarodnom okruženju. U radu se prepoznaje da su spomenuti međunarodni akteri koristili različite instrumente meke moći tokom procesa masovne vakcinacije stanovništva protiv KoVida-19 u Evropi, što je ishodovalo i posledicama koje uobičajeno spadaju u domen tvrde moći. Rivalstvo između gorespomenutih aktera ispoljava se u vidu nepovoljnih fenomena poput „vakcinalnog nacionalizma“ i „geopolitike cepiva“. Autori polemišu da bi za domen javnog zdravlja i narušenu reputaciju Unije u pojedinim delovima Srednje i Istične Evrope bilo povoljnije da je tom domenu pristupljeno manje isključivo i selektivno, odnosno da je pokazano više fleksibilnosti i pragmatizma.

**Ključne reči:** nacionalizam vakcina, EU, vakcinacija, KOVID-19, izazov, moć, Rusija, Kina, reputacija, Srednja i Istična Evropa.



# **PRIKAZI KNJIGA**



## **Izolacionizam: Istorija američkih napora da se zaštiti od sveta**

Charles A. Kupchan, *Isolationism: A History of America's Efforts to Shield Itself from the World*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2020, pp. 456

Knjiga Čarlsa Kupčana (Charles Kupchan) *Izolacionizam: Istorija američkih napora da se zaštiti od sveta* (*Isolationism: A History of America's Efforts to Shield Itself from the World*) predstavlja sveobuhvatnu analizu američkog izolacionizma od osnivanja Sjedinjenih Američkih Država (SAD) do savremenih dana. Čarls Kupčan je profesor međunarodnih odnosa na Univerzitetu Džordžtaun u Vašingtonu (Georgetown University in Washington) i istraživač u Savetu za spoljne odnose. Kupčan je kao niko pre njega u pomenutoj monografiji do detalja analizirao uspone i padove izolacionističke spoljnopolitičke orijentacije SAD. Ova tema postaje posebno značajna nakon dolaska Donalda Trampa na poziciju predsednika SAD 2016. godine. Trampov pristup spoljnoj politici može se smatrati agresivnim izolacionizmom koji je raskrstio sa spoljnopolitičkom strategijom internacionalizma dominantnom kod gotovo svih američkih predsednika od Ruzvelta pa nadalje. Kupčanova knjiga sve vreme analizira smenu dva glavna pristupa spoljnoj politici uz sve interne raznolikosti – izolacionističkog i internacionalističkog. Iako pristupa objektivnoj analizi problema, autor kritikuje stanovište po kojem je američki internacionalizam u praksi uvek osuđen na propast (Miršajmer 2019). Od svog nastanka SAD nisu imale namenu delovanja izvan svojih granica. Džordž Vašington je jasno odredio kurs govoreći da “prava politika SAD uključuje da se klone trajnih saveza sa bilo kojom stranom silom”. Kontinuitet izolacionizma u SAD ostaje gotovo neokrunjen uz uspone i padove sve do japanskog napada na Perl Harbor 1941. godine.

Knjiga se sastoji iz tri glavna poglavlja. Prvi deo analizira period ere izolacionizma od 1789. do 1898. godine. Još od revolucionarnog perioda osvajanja nezavisnosti, SAD su imale politiku nemešanja u poslove drugih država. Francuska revolucija iz 1789. godine uticala je na oblikovanje nacionalne suverenosti SAD i odnosu prema drugim državama. Izolacionizam je postojao kao doktrina, čak i tokom rata protiv Velike Britanije 1812. godine. Defanzivna strategija posebno dolazi do izražaja usvajanjem Monroove doktrine koja je značila suprotstavljanje evropskom

kolonijalizmu na američkom kontinentu. Ova doktrina je jačala ustrojeni izolacionizam SAD koji se protivio evropskom mešanju u Južnoj i Severnoj Americi, što je uvelo agresivnu komponentu izolacionističkoj strategiji. Američki građanski rat i kasniji rast moći SAD pobedom „severa“, zauzdavala je velika strategija izolacije. SAD su na neki način obuzdavale samu sebe ograničavajući sopstvenu moć na delovanje u „svom dvorištu“.

Druge poglavlje knjige govori o novim porivima SAD da izade iz svog dvorišta i projektuje moć na druge teritorije. Ovaj deo knjige analizira period između 1898. i 1941. godine. Imperijalne ambicije rastu nakon Špansko-američkog rata, ali izolacionizam u vidu kočnice deluje poput povratne sprege. Kupčan tako pojašnjava prvo republikanski imperijalizam, pa potom i wilsonovski idealizam kao nove spoljnopoličke orijentacije koje nisu prošle bez snažnog odgovora izolacionista i vraćanje u pređašnje stanje. Ličnost Vudro Vilsona odigrala je značajnu ulogu u pomeranju kursa ka internacionalizmu ali u poslednjoj instanci nije uspela u tome. Wilson je nakon uvlačenja SAD u Prvi svetski rat i iniciranja formiranja Društva naroda kao preteče Ujedinjenih nacija, uspeo donekle u cementiraju korena novih ideja unutar američkog političkog establišmenta. Međutim, američki Kongres je blokirao pristupanje SAD Društvu naroda smatrajući da su se SAD već dovoljno mešale u unutrašnje evropske poslove i vraćajući ih na kurs izolacije. Sve do japanskog napada na Perl Harbor, SAD su uživale u moći bez odgovornosti za dešavanja na globalnom planu, čemu je pomogla i Velika depresija ekonomije.

Treće poglavlje knjige obrađuje uspon i pad liberalnog internacionalizma u periodu 1941. do 2020. godine. Zlatno doba liberalnog internacionalizma Kupčan vidi u periodu od Drugog svetskog rata pa sve do kraja Hladnog rata i kraha arhinepriatelja u vidu Sovjetskog Saveza. Pobeda u Hladnom ratu ostavila je SAD bez neprijatelja, a time i argumenta za mnogobrojne intervencije daleko od kuće, pa su SAD morale da traže novu svrhu preoblikujući matricu delovanja. Kraj Hladnog rata označio je i delimični povratak izolacionizma na scenu iako su paralelno obe paradigme nastavile da postoje sve do današnjih dana. Dolaskom Trampa na mesto američkog predsednika klatno se pomerilo u korist izolacionizma, vraćajući SAD na kurs gledanja u sopstveno dvorište. Ipak, snaga liberalnog internacionalizma nije prestala dolaskom Donalda Trampa. Autori poput Henrika Kisindžera predvideli su novi Hladni rat pre više od deceniju i situaciju u kojoj naglašavanje ideološke različitosti ide do mere praktičnog blokiranja saradnje o bazičnim pitanjima poput nuklearne proliferacije ili klimatskih promena (Kissinger 2011, pp. 521-522).

Prema Kupčanu, američka istorija izolacionizma može da pruži lekcije za trenutno lošu geopolitičku situaciju po SAD koje su prethodnih 80 godina provele

u pokušajima da upravljaju svetom kroz globalnu mređu međunarodnih institucija, saveza i vojnih baza. Ovaj period delovanja SAD može se reći da je više anomalija nego pravilo posmatrajući celokupnu istoriju ove države od njenog osnivanja do danas. Kako svedoči Kupčan je ovu izuzetnu monografiju počeo da piše 2012. godine, četiri godine pre dolaska Trampove administracije, odričući da glavni razlog pisanja knjige leži u Trampovoj izolacionističkoj doktrini „America first“. Kupčan tvrdi da je percipirao slabosti internacionalizma posle pada Berlinskog zida, kada je američku intervenciju u Iraku Senat usvojio tesnom većinom od 52 naspram 47 senatora. Tokom devedesetih godina, Kupčan vidi slabljenje internacionalizma koji su do tada podržavale centrističke snage, bilo na republikanskoj ili demokratskoj strani političkog establišmenta. Većina je tokom devedesetih postala upitna, naročito od 1994. godine kada su republikanci preuzezeli većinu u Kongresu. Međutim, teroristički napad na američkom tlu u septembru 2001. godine, odložio je povratak izolacionizmu na neodređeno vreme. Barak Obama je osvojio dva mandata zahvaljujući svojoj pacifističkoj retorici neophodnosti izlaska američkih snaga iz Avganistana i Iraka. Kupčan je kao neko ko je radio u Savetu za nacionalnu bezbednost tokom Obaminog drugog mandata, tvrdio da su intervencije na Bliskom istoku, otpočele nakon napada u Njujorku 2001. godine, bile toliko komplikovane i teške, da je izlazak iz tog regiona morao biti spor i mukotrpan. Tramp je ovaj ulazak američkih snaga na bliskoistočne teritorije pojednostavio i jasno sledio put izlaska, čak iako je to neretko vodilo slabljenju moći SAD i gubitka poverenja među američkim saveznicima. Pojedini autori ističu opasnost povratka u izolacionizam, svodeći ga na najgori mogući odgovor zasnovan na pogrešnom tumačenju sveta da će „šuma prestati da raste kada je jednom posečete“ (Kagan 2018). Najbolji primer za ovakvu tvrdnju je povratak talibana na vlast u Avganistanu nakon potpunog povlačenja američkih snaga.

Ova knjiga ne samo da je udžbenik za razumevanje američke spoljne politike od njenih početaka do današnjih dana, već neretko i putokaz za praktično delovanje. Kupčan kao neko ko je istovremeno i teoretičar i praktičar međunarodne politike, daje i smernice i najbolje recepte za američko spoljnopoličko delovanje. On sebe vidi kao zastupnika škole tzv. „selektivnog angažovanja“, kritikujući posebno emotivno uzrokovane intervencije posle 11. septembra 2001. godine. Kupčan zaključuje da je protivnik potpunog napuštanja pozicija izvan američke teritorije, ali se istovremeno zalaže za napuštanje Bliskog istoka kao „strateške periferije“ u novim globalnim odnosima prema Kini kao glavnom rivalu. Angažovanje SAD u Evropi i istočnoj Aziji, uz istovremeni izlazak iz regiona Bliskog istoka, Kupčan vidi kao spoljnopolički recept za uspešno održanje SAD kao najveće globalne sile.

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*Bogdan STOJANOVIĆ*

## **Međunarodna bezbednost u trećoj dekadi XXI veka**

Vladimir Ajzenhamer, Nebojša Vuković (ur.), *Čovek, prostor, tehnologija, ideje:međunarodna bezbednost u trećoj dekadi XXI veka*, Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd, 2020, 321 str.

Za tematiku savremene međunarodne bezbednosti vlada veliko interesovanje u naučnoj i stručnoj javnosti kako u Srbiji tako i na međunarodnoj sceni. Stoga možemo reći da nije među nedovoljno obrađenim temama. Ipak, zbog svoje dinamične prirode ona je gotovo neiscrpna. Ovakvo stanje naučnog fonda omogućilo je urednicima zbornika i autorima radova da postave više naučne ciljeve istraživanja. Na to ih poziva i sam naslov ovog tematskog zbornika, imajući u vidu da ja treća decenija XXI veka tek počela, pa ukoliko želimo da je promišljamo, moramo pogledati u budućnost. Neizvesnost i strah za sopstveno zdravlje i opštu bezbednost, koje je sa sobom donela pandemija virusa, izmenjeni obrasci ponašanja i jedna potpuno nova realnost, čine izazovnim pogled u budućnost. Prikladan je citat Branka Miljkovića koji je rekao: „Opsesija budućnošću ponekad je dobar način da se prespava sadašnjost“. Pošto je ne možemo prespavati moramo je uvažiti i iz nje naučiti, o sebi, državi i međunarodnim prilikama koje je pandemija neupitno izmenila. Smatramo da najveći doprinos ovog dela leži upravo u činjenici da je postavljen najviši naučni cilj a to je naučno predviđanje. Predikcija je veoma nezahvalan posao u društvenim naukama, pogotovo u okviru nauke o međunarodnim odnosima u vremenu globalizacije, kada je dinamika promena na međunarodnoj sceni znatno ubrzana. Zbog toga treba odati priznanje kako urednicima zbornika tako i autorima, što su se latili teškog ali neophodnog posla. Naučno predviđanje često krije klopku optimizma, te da su često zasnovna na verovanju u bolje sutra. Realističkim pogledom na svet, i ostvarenjem ovog naučnog cilja, odnosno anticipiranjem budućih trendova na polju međunarodne bezbednosti delimično je popunjeno nedostatak u naučnom fondu. Kažemo delimično jer smatramo da ni jedno delo ne može u totalitetu zadovoljiti potrebe naučnog saznanja i da je potrebno više ovakvih publikacija, a nadamo se da će sam zbornik, ali i ovaj prikaz podstići istraživače i naučnike na takav potez.

Zbornik je podeljen u četiri tematske celine koje se podudaraju sa naslovom dela. Nit koja se prožima kroz ceo zbornik tiče se položaja i uloge države kao ključnog aktera međunarodnih odnosa. Država je dakle zadržala svoju dominantnu poziciju, ali je specifična uloga pojedinca u određenoj meri promenjena. Prvi deo posvećen je upravo izmenjenoj, dvojakoj ulozi pojedinca kao aktera međunarodne politike, to jest kapaciteta u kome on nastupa. Teorijski okvir analize autori nalaze

u teorijskim postavkama Keneta Volca (Kenneth Waltz 2001, 2010), Džejmsa Rozenaua (James Rosenau 1990, 1997, 2008) i Dejvida Singera (David Singer 1960, 1961). Dok je ranije pažnja bila usmerena uglavnom na državnike, odnosno spoljnopolitičke rukovodioce kao odgovorne za sprovođenje spoljne politike, danas je taj okvir znatno proširen pa obuhvata i članove međunarodnih nevladinih organizacija, multinacionalnih kompanija pa čak i privatna lica. Ono što pojedincu omogućava aktivnije učešće u međunarodnoj politici je nivo pravne zaštite koji mu je na raspolaganju. Smatramo da je jako važno da naučni radovi budu prijemčivi i razumljivi za mlađe generacije odnosno studente, jer oni pored političkih odlučioca treba da imaju najviše koristi od ovakvih publikacija. Ovaj zbornik svakako je ispunio ta očekivanja. Sa tim u vezi, kako je poželjno da se nauka u užem smislu prilagodi svojoj čitalačkoj publici, tako i političko delovanje i odlučivanje u širem smislu treba biti razumljivo široj glasačkoj populaciji. Upravo ulogom i značajem pojedinca kao pojednostavljavača bavi se jedan od radova u ovom poglavlju. Značaj pojednostavljavača ogleda se u njegovoj sposobnosti da publiku mobilise na delovanje, a ne samo uprosti predmetnu temu. Uloga pojednostavljavača otelotvorena je u liku i delu Džona Olivera (John Oliver), i onoga što sve u literaturi prepoznaje kao „Džon Oliverov efekat“. Nadamo se da će pojednostavljena kompleksnost međunarodne bezbednosti u tekućoj dekadi XXI veka proizvesti akciju kod čitaoca, u smislu daljeg istraživanja predstavljenih tema, ili da će poslužiti kao inspiracija za neka nova istraživačka pitanja. Još jedna nezaobilazna i veoma važna, a pre svega aktuelna tema našla je svoje mesto u ovom poglavlju a tiče se pandemija i to onih koje su okarakterisane kao pretnja za nacionalnu i međunarodnu bezbednost. Posebna pažnja posvećena je i ovoj aktuelnoj- virusu COVID-19. Kako je pandemija i dalje u jeku, smatramo da je neophodna vremenska distanca kako bi se analizirale njene posledice, dok se za sada može govoriti samo o predviđanjima, što nije zanemarljivog značaja. Autor zato fokus ispravno stavlja na pokazatelje koji ukazuju na nespremnost država i međunarodne zajednice da adekvatno odgovori na novonastalu situaciju, sa zaključkom da nisu izvučene pouke iz prošlosti. Nesumnjivo je da će ovaj rad biti jedna od polaznih tačaka svima koji se u budućnosti budu bavili ovom temom. Iako je teško napraviti strogu distinkciju i tematski grupisati radove, kada se i sama poglavlja međusobno prepliću i dopunjaju, ipak smatramo da bi ovaj rad možda bolje odgovarao temi drugog poglavlja o kome će sada biti reči.

Drugo poglavlje bavi se prostorom oličenom u državi. Poglavlje otvara rad koji tematski obuhvata pitanja značaja, uloge i opravdanosti, odnosno legitimiteta nacionalne države u savremenim međunarodnim odnosima. Počevši od njenog razvoja kroz istoriju, i geneze njenih uloga autor ističe da država u uslovima pandemije funkcioniše kao dobrovoljni „država-zatvor“ (Cvetković 2020). Razlog

za trenutnu „političku šizofreniju“ autor vidi u razočarenju koje je usledilo nakon neuspeha da se dosegnu vrednosti propagirane ideološkim narativima, kao što su sloboda, jednakost, napredak i mnoge druge. Govoreći o budućnosti nacionalne države, autor upozorava na negativne posledice do kojih bi došlo uspostavljanjem svetske države i napominje da se o njoj može govoriti samo kao idealu, ali ne i političkoj realnosti. U narednom radu kao primer države koja se adekvatno adaptirala na promene koje je sa sobom doneo XXI vek navodi se Narodna Republika Kina. Rad pruža uvid u višestruke koristi bilateralne i multilateralne saradnje Rusije i Kine u duhu strukturalnog realizma, a u cilju uspostavljanja balansa snaga u svetskom političkom sistemu. Reagovanje Kine u uslovima pandemije stavilo je na još povoljniji položaj u međunarodnoj areni, čemu je doprinela i takozvana „diplomatija maski“, a o čemu je bilo reči u radu iz prvog poglavlja, zbog čega smatramo da bi se on, kao i što je napomenuto, tematski bolje uklopio u ovo poglavlje.

Treće poglavlje obuhvata pitanja novih tehnologija u oblasti naoružanja, te potencijala i posledica njihovog korišćenja. Trka u naoružanju nije nikakva novost, i kao predmet naučne analize dostigla je svoj vrhunac za vreme Hladnog rata. Trka se nije promenila, ali jesu akteri i oružje. Neuhvatljivo hipersonično oružje predmet je analize čija je osnovna, i provokativna teza da operativna upotreba ove vrste naoružanja od strane Rusije predstavlja garanciju očuvanja strateškog vojnog balansa, a ne njegovog narušavanja. Ovim je, tvrdi autor, Amerika sprečena da taj balans naruši razvijanjem sistema protivraketne odbrane. Nasuprot tome, sledi rad koji se bavi prototipnim nesmrtonosnim oružjem. Ovo oružje zasnovano je na naprednim tehnologijama zvuka, usmerene energije i sintetičke proizvodnje biohemičkih i hemijskih agenasa. Sadašnja generacija nesmrtonosnog oružja upotrebljena je, između ostalog, i na Kosovu i Metohiji. Njegov potencijal, u slučaju SAD, autor vidi u disciplinovanju nekooperativnih političkih entiteta globalne periferije koji se suprotstavljaju američkoj hegemoniji. Koristi se reč disciplina jer njegova svrha nije uništenje protivnika, za razliku od pomenutog hipersoničnog naoružanja, već kazna za nedozvoljeno ponašanje. Na kraju pažnja se posvećuje izmenjenoj tradicionalnoj ulozi hegemonija, onako kako ga posmatra Kindlberger (Charles Kindleberger 1973, 198) njegovim pozicioniranjem, ne malopre pomenutom trkom u naoružanju, već telekomunikacionim tehnologijama. Akcenat je na primeru Kine u oblasti nove 5G tehnologije. Studija slučaja obuhvata države obuhvaćene inicijativom „17+1“, i analizira pitanje njihove potencijalne tehnološke nezavisnosti, aktuelizujući pitanje tehnološkog suvereniteta.

Poslednje poglavlje zbornika tiče se ideja, i to onih koje propagiraju savremene evropske stranke desnice i ekstremne levice, kao i da li imaju kapacitet da utiču na međunarodnu bezbednost, ali i da ugroze neoliberalni kapitalistički poredak. Ovo

je posebno važno jer je u javnom diskursu zastupljena teza o jačanju desnice kao bezbednosnom izazovu. Prvi rad bavi se upravo jačanjem desnice na primeru SR Nemačke kao potencijalno bezbednosnom pretnjom. Autor zaključuje da taj strah ne korespondira stvarnosti. Nakon postavljanja rada u širi istorijski kontekst autor zaključuje da je od kraja Drugog svetskog rata desnica u Nemačkoj u defanzivi, i to u toj meri da je može govoriti o „levoj kulturnoj hegemoniji“ (Dostanić 2020). Autor ne negira postojanje desnog ekstremizma ali u isto vreme ističe njegovu marginalnu ulogu u društvu, kao i da bi diverzifikacija političke ponude ka desnom spektru povoljno uticala na politički život u Nemačkoj. Poziciju ekstremne levice u Evropi analizira naredni rad, pružajući pre svega istorijsku retrospektivu delovanja ekstremno levičarskih partija na tlu Evrope. Marginalizacija ekstremnih levičara započela je padom Berlinskog zida i slomom Sovjetskog saveza, kada su mnogi ekstremni levičari ublažili svoje stavove, a da se danas nalaze potpuno skrajnuti od glavnih političkih tokova. Blago odstupanje od ovih tendencija vidi se samo kod onih stranaka koje su prigile populističku politiku a autor ih zapaža u Grčkoj, Italiji i Španiji. Na kraju, promatranje međunarodne bezbednosti bilo bi nepotpuno bez islamizma, koji autor poima kao *par excellence* političku ideologiju. Autor ukazuje na vezu između političkog islama i rasta ekstremne evropske desnice u čijoj se osnovi nalazi islamofobija.

Pored pomenute raznosrsti tema i sveprisutne multidisciplinarnosti, želimo da istaknemo da su naslovi koncipirani tako da privuku pažnju i zainteresuju čak i onu najtežu publiku, a sadržajem i da je zadrže. Zato i smatramo da ovaj zbornik zасlužuje prikaz u ovom uglednom naučnom časopisu, a da bi njegovo dalje promovisanje naišlo na dobar odziv u naučnoj i stručnoj javnosti. Razlozi za to su brojni, a između ostalog i umešnost urednika i autora da, pronađu ravnotežu između dve sveprisutne prakse prilikom pisanja naučnih radova. Prva se tiče upotrebe usko stručnog rečnika, šturih formulacija, odbojan mladim generacijama koje ne barataju terminologijom dovoljno dobro. A druga se odnosi na učestalu upotreba reči stranog porekla i onda kada postoji sasvim odgovarajuća reč na srpskom jeziku, što smatramo zabrinjavajućim. Imajući to u vidu, upućujemo pohvale urednicima i autorima koji su uspeli da pronađu ravnotežu između ove dve prakse, te da čitaoca upoznaju sa stručnom terminologijom na najbolji mogući način uz jasna objašnjenja, bez ostavljenih nejasnoća koja bi ga odvratila od štiva. Zbornik će se lako istaći među drugim publikacijama, zanimljivom i ilustrativnom fotografijom na korici koja omogućava čitaocu da vizualizuje naslov, ali i poglavljia budući da se pre svakog poglavљa nalazi prikladna fotografija. Dakle, velika pažnja posvećena je estetskom aspektu, koji je kada je reč o naučnim publikacijama često zapostavljen ili u potpunosti zanemaren.

Preporučujemo vašoj pažnji ovaj zbornik kao naučno delo u kojem možete pronaći odgovore na brojna pitanja o činiocima, dinamici i perspektivama savremene međunarodne bezbednosti.

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### **IME I AFILIJACIJA**

Ispod naslova napišite ime i prezime sa pratećom fusnotom u kojoj navodite pun naziv institucije u kojoj ste zaposleni, njeno sedište i svoju elektronsku adresu. Pod afilijacijom podrazumevamo instituciju u kojoj je sprovedeno istraživanje čije rezultate predstavljate u članku.

U fusnoti navodite naziv projekta u okviru kojeg je sačinjeno istraživanje i izvor finansiranja ili drugu vrstu dobijene podrške. Ovde takođe možete da ukažete čitaocima ukoliko pogledi izneti u članku odražavaju vaš lični stav, a ne stav institucije u kojoj ste zaposleni.

### **APSTRAKTI I KLJUČNE REČI**

Ispod vašeg imena i prezimena stavljate apstrakt na srpskom jeziku obima 150–200 reči. Isti apstrakt preveden na engleski stavljate na samom kraju članka.

Kod originalnih naučnih članaka, apstrakt mora da prikaže predmet i cilj istraživanja, teorijski okvir, osnovne hipoteze ili istraživačko pitanje, korišćen metod, jasan opis najvažnijih rezultata istraživanja, te krajnji zaključak u jednoj rečenici.

Kod preglednih članaka, apstrakt mora da sadrži glavni cilj pregleda dosadašnjih naučnih istraživanja na određenu temu i/ili sistematičnog uvida u trenutno stanje naučne discipline, obrazloženje načinjenog izbora, osnovne rezultate pregleda i izvedeni zaključak, u kojem treba opisati implikacije za dalja istraživanja, primenu ili praksu.

Ispod apstrakta prilažete do 10 ključnih reči na srpskom jeziku koje najbolje opisuju sadržaj članka. Podsećamo da je dobar izbor ključnih reči preduslov za ispravno indeksiranje članka u referentnim periodičnim publikacijama i bazama podataka. Ključne reči ne smeju da ponavljaju reči sadržane u naslovu članka. Ključne reči dajete i na engleskom jeziku i prilažete ih uz apstrakt na engleskom jeziku.

## **OSNOVNI TEKST**

Poravnajte osnovni tekst u skladu sa opcijom *justify*.

Podnaslovi se pišu podebljanim slovima, dok se pod-podnaslovi pišu u *italic-u*; u oba slučaja veličina slova je 12.

Koristite samo tri nivoa podnaslova (svi treba da budu centrirani):

Prvi nivo: **Podnaslov**

Drugi nivo: ***Podnaslov***

Treći nivo: *Podnaslov*

Nemojte numerisati podnaslove.

U tekstu moraju biti data puna imena, nikako inicijali. Strano ime i prezime treba pisati u srpskoj transkripciji, a prilikom prvog pominjanja u tekstu navesti u zagradi kako ona glase u originalu. Imena i prezimena koja potiču iz naroda koji ne koriste latinično pismo treba navesti u latinizovanoj transkripciji (npr. kineska, japanska ili arapska imena i prezimena). Isto važi za nazive različitih vrsta organizacija.

Latinske, starogrčke i druge strane reči i izraze navodite u kurzivu (*italic*), npr. *status quo, a priori, de facto, acquis communautaire* itd.

Ukoliko želite da koristite skraćenicu, onda kod prvog pominjanja punog termina (bilo u apstraktu, bilo u samom tekstu) navedite željenu skraćenicu u zagradi i potom je koristite dosledno u ostatku teksta. Koristite skraćenice koje su opšteprihvачene u domaćoj naučnoj i stručnoj literaturi.

Koristite samo sledeći oblik navodnika „ ”, a kada se unutar ovih znakova navoda nalaze i dodatni navodnici onda koristite ‘ ’.

Rukopis mora da bude tehnički uredan, a jezički stil mora da bude jasan, čitljiv i usklađen sa pravopisom i gramatikom srpskog ili engleskog jezika. Rukopisi koji ne ispunjavaju ove zahteve neće biti uzeti u postupak recenzije.

### **NAVOĐENJE IZVORA**

*Međunarodni problemi* koriste navođenje referenci shodno formatu „autor-datum“ zasnovanom na Čikaškom stilu – *The Chicago Manual of Style* (16th ed.), delimično dopunjeno shodno potrebama časopisa.

Izvore navodite u samom tekstu, i to tako što u zagradi dajete prezime autora, godinu izdanja i broj stranice (po potrebi). Pun opis izvora dajete u spisku korišćene bibliografije koji stavljate iza osnovnog teksta.

U samom tekstu, izvor uvek treba da stavite neposredno pre znakova interpunkcije. Kada ime autora pominjete u rečenici nije potrebno da ga ponavljate u zagradi, ali onda godinu i broj stranice navodite neposredno nakon pominjanja imena:

Johnson and Axinn (2013, 136) argue that killing with emotions is morally superior to killing without emotions, because military honour demands a clear will to assume a risk of sacrifice of health and life.

Kada je ime autora već u zagradi, koristite uglaste zgrade za navođenje njegovog rada:

(opširnije o ovom konceptu videti kod Jovanovića [2013, 133–136]).

Kada u zagradi navodite više izvora, onda ih razdvojte tačkom i zarezom:

(Jabri 2007; Herman 2004; Rohrbach 2020)

Kada u istoj zagradi navodite dva ili više rada istog autora, onda ne morate da ponavljate njegovo ime:

(Jabri 2007, 2011; Gregory 2014a, 2014b)

### **Knjiga**

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Vučić, Mihajlo. 2019. *Korektivna pravda pred Međunarodnim sudom*. Beograd: Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu.

Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou, and Anuradha Chenoy. 2007. *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, 2nd ed. Oxon: Routledge.

Vasquez, John A., Sanford Jaffe, James Turner Johnson, and Linda Stamato, eds. 1995. *Beyond Confrontation: Learning Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bentham, Jeremy (1907) 2018. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Reprint, London: Clarendon Press. [www.econlib.org/library/Bentham/bnthPML.html](http://www.econlib.org/library/Bentham/bnthPML.html).

Dal Lago, Alessandro, and Salvatore Palidda, eds. 2010. *Conflict, Security and the Reshaping of Society: The Civilization of War*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Hayek, Friedrich A. 2011. *The Constitution of Liberty: The Definitive Edition*. Edited by Ronald Hamowy. Vol. 17 of *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, edited by Bruce Caldwell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988–.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Vučić 2019, 59)

(Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007)

(Vasquez et al. 1995)

(Bentham [1907] 2018)

(Dal Lago and Palidda 2010)

(Hayek 2011, 258)

### Članak u časopisu

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Nordin, Astrid H.M. and Dan Öberg. 2015. “Targeting the Ontology of War: From Clausewitz to Baudrillard”. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43 (2): 395–423.

Kostić, Marina T. 2019. „Isključiva priroda evropskih, evroatlantskih i evroazijskih integracija i previranja na evropskom postsovjetskom prostoru“. *Međunarodni problemi* LXXI (4): 498–526.

Adams, Tracy, and Zohar Kampf. 2020. “‘Solemn and just demands’: Seeking apologies in the international arena”. *Review of International Studies*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210520000261>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Nordin and Öberg 2015, 401)

(Kostić 2019, 500)

(Tracy and Kampf 2020)

### Članak u zborniku radova

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

- Herman, Michael. 2004. "Ethics and Intelligence After September 2001". In: *Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century: Journeys in Shadows*, edited by Len V. Scott and Peter D. Jackson, 567–581. London and New York: Routledge.
- Zakić, Katarina. 2019. „Politika ekonomskih integracija Kine u Evroaziji“. U: *Integracioni procesi u Evroaziji*, uredili dr Dušan Proroković i dr Ana Jović-Lazić, 13–44. Beograd: Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privrednu.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Herman 2004)

(Zakić 2019)

### Rad izložen na konferenciji (ako nije objavljen u zborniku sa konferencije)

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

- Korać, Srđan. 2016. "Human Security and Global Ethics: Can International Organizations be Moral Agents?". Paper presented at the Third International Academic Conference on Human Security, Human Security Research Center (HSRC), Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, November 4–5.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Korać 2016)

### Prikaz knjige

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

- Firchow, Pamina. 2020. "Measuring Peace: Principles, Practices and Politics". Review of *Measuring Peace*, by Richard Caplan. *International Peacekeeping* 27 (2): 337–338.

- Stekić, Nenad. 2018. „Tesna povezanost ljudske bezbednosti i međunarodnih odnosa u Arktičkom krugu“, Prikaz knjige *Human and societal security in the circumpolar Arctic – local and indigenous communities* Kamrul Hossain, José Miguel Roncero Martín & Anna Petrétei (eds). *Međunarodni problemi* LXX (4): 455–457.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Firchow 2020, 337)

(Stekić 2018, 455)

## **Pravni i zvanični dokumenti**

### ***Međunarodni ugovori***

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

[PTBT] Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. 1963. Signed by US, UK, and USSR, August 5. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20480/volume-480-I-6964-English.pdf>.

[TFEU] Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 2012. *Official Journal of the European Union*, C 326, October 26. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN>.

[UN Charter] Charter of the United Nations, October 24, 1945. <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/introductory-note/index.html>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(PTBT 1963, Article III, para. 3)

(TFEU 2012, Article 87)

(UN Charter, Chapter X)

### ***Dokumenti Ujedinjenih nacija***

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

[UNSC] UN Security Council. Resolution 2222, Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, S/RES/2222. May 27, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/2015.shtml>.

[UNGA] UN General Assembly. Resolution 67/18, Education for Democracy, A/RES/67/18. November 28, 2012. <https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/RES/67/18>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(UNSC Res. 2222)

(UNGA Res. 67/18)

### ***Nacionalno zakonodavstvo***

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

[Constitution RS] Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. 2006. *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No. 98/2006.

Homeland Security Act. 2002. United States of America, 107th Congress, 2nd Session (November 25). [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/hr\\_5005\\_enr.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/hr_5005_enr.pdf).

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Constitution RS 2006, Article 111)  
(Homeland Security Act 2002)

### ***Zvanični izveštaji***

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

[YILC] Yearbook of the International Law Commission. 2014. Vol. 2, Part Two. [https://legal.un.org/docs/?path=../ilc/publications/yearbooks/english/ilc\\_2014\\_v2\\_p2.pdf&lang=ES](https://legal.un.org/docs/?path=../ilc/publications/yearbooks/english/ilc_2014_v2_p2.pdf&lang=ES).

[The 9-11 Commission] U.S. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. 2004. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Government Publication Office.

US Congress. 1993. Nomination of R. James Woolsey to be Director of Central Intelligence: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate. 104th Congress, 1st session, February 2–3, 1993. <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/hearings/103296.pdf>.

[USAFH] United States Air Force Headquarters. 2014. United States Air Force RPA Vector: Vision and Enabling Concepts: 2013–2038. [www.af.mil/Portals/1/documents/news/USAFRPAVectorVisionandEnablingConcepts%202013-2038.pdf](http://www.af.mil/Portals/1/documents/news/USAFRPAVectorVisionandEnablingConcepts%202013-2038.pdf).

Navođenje u tekstu:

(YILC 2014, 321)  
(The 9-11 Commission 2004, 437)  
(US Congress 1993, 125)  
(USAFH 2014)

### ***Zakonodavstvo Evropske unije***

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Regulation (EU) No. 1052/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 October 2013 establishing the European Border Surveillance System (Eurosur). *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 295, 6 November 2013. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32013R1052&from=EN>.

[EC] European Commision. 2010. The EU Internal Security Strategy in Action: Five steps towards a more secure Europe, COM(2010) 673 final, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, November 22. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52010DC0673&from=GA>.

Directive (EU) 2015/849 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 May 2015 on the prevention of the use of the financial system for the purposes of money laundering or terrorist financing, amending Regulation (EU) No 648/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council, and repealing Directive 2005/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and Commission Directive 2006/70/EC (Text with EEA relevance), *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 141, 5 June 2015. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32015L0849&from=EN>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Regulation [EU] No. 1052/2013, Article 11, para. 4)

(EC COM[2010] 673 final)

(Directive [EU] 2015/849)

### ***Odluke međunarodnih sudova i tribunala***

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

[ICJ] International Court of Justice. Accordance with the International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, Advisory Opinion, 22 July 2010, ICJ Reports. <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/141/141-20100722-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf>.

[ICJ Order 1999] *Legality of Use of Force (Yugoslavia v. United Kingdom)*. International Court of Justice, Order ICJ Rep. 1999 (June 2). <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/113/113-19990602-ORD-01-00-EN.pdf>.

[ICTY Indictment IT-98-32-A] *Prosecutor v. Vasiljevic*, Case No. IT-98-32-A. International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Indictment, 30 October 2000. <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/vasiljevic/ind/en/vasonly-ii000125e.pdf>.

*Costa v Ente Nazionale per l'Energia Elettrica*, Case 6/64, [1964] ECR 585. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A61964CJ0006>.

[CJEU Judgment T-289/15] *Hamas v Council*, Case T-289/15. Court of Justice of the European Union, Judgment, 6 March 2019, ECLI:EU:T:2019:138. <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/documents.jsf?language=EN&critereEcli=ECLI:EU:T:2019:138>

[Opinion of AG Bobek] *Région de Bruxelles-Capitale v Commission*, Case C-352/19 P. Court of Justice of the European Union. Opinion of Advocate General Bobek delivered on 16 July 2020(1), ECLI:EU:C:2020:588. <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf;jsessionid=485A5D9AC129179D3D2F2.EC571A384CD?text=&docid=228708&pageIndex=0&doctlang=EN&mode=req&dir=&occ=first&part=1&cid=5064004>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(ICJ Advisory Opinion 2010, 411)

(ICJ Order 1999, para. 3)

(ICTY Indictment IT-98-32-A)

(*Costa v ENEL*)

(CJEU Judgment T-289/15, para. 23)

(Opinion of AG Bobek C-352/19 P)

### **Novine i magazini**

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Gibbs, Samuel. 2017. “Elon Musk leads 116 experts calling for outright ban of killer robots”, *The Guardian*, August 20.

Power, Matthew. 2013. “Confessions of a Drone Warrior”, *GQ*, October 22. <https://www.gq.com/story/drone-uav-pilot-assassination>.

*Economist*. 2015. “Who will fight the next war?” October 24. <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2015/10/24/who-will-fight-the-next-war>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Gibbs 2017, A10)

(Power 2013)

(*Economist* 2015)

### **Audio-vizuelni mediji**

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Scott, Ridley. [1982] 2007. *Blade Runner: The Final Cut*. Directed by Ridley Scott. Burbank, CA: Warner Bros. Blue-Ray disc, 117 min.

*Future Weapons*. 2019. Waddell Media. Emitovano od 7. do 16. avgusta na kanalu Discovery Science HD, 3 sezone, 30 epizoda (svaka 43 minuta). <https://go.discovery.com/tv-shows/future-weapons/>.

Tech Legend. 2020. "Best Drones 2020 – Top 8 Best Drone with Cameras to Buy in 2020". Uploaded on February 7, 2020. YouTube video, 27:20 min. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6\\_4JU5Mspw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6_4JU5Mspw).

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Scott [1982] 2007)  
 (Future Weapons 2019)  
 (Tech Legend 2020)

### **Društveni mediji**

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

National Library of Australia. 2020. "National Library of Australia's Facebook Page". Facebook, August 1, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/National.Library.of.Australia/>.

Kruszelnicki, Karl (@DoctorKarl). 2017. "Dr Karl Twitter post." Twitter, February 19, 2017, 9:34 a.m. <https://twitter.com/DoctorKarl>.

Trapara, Vladimir. 2018. „Pobeda ili ništa”. *Unwrapping the Essence* (blog). 29 maj 2018. <https://unwrappingtheessence.weebly.com/blog/pobeda-ili-nista>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(National Library of Australia 2020)  
 (Kruszelnicki 2017)  
 (Trapara 2018)

### **Doktorska disertacija**

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Rohrbach, Livia. 2020. *Beyond intractability? Territorial solutions to self-determination conflicts*. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Rohrbach 2020)

### Izvor sa interneta

U slučaju da navodite nedatirani dokument sa interneta, priložite datum kada ste pristupili tom elektronskom sadržaju i godinu pristupa računajte kao godinu objavljivanja tog izvora.

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Oxford Library. 2012. "Library Strategy". Oxford Library. Accessed 3 June 2012. <http://www.ol.org/library/strategy.html>.

Google Maps. 2015. "The British Library, London, UK". Google. Accessed February 5, 2015. <https://www.google.com.au/maps/place/The+British+Library/@51.529972,-0.127676,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m2!3m1!1s0x48761b3b70171395:0x18905479de0fdb25>.

IMPP [Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu]. n.d. „Misija”. Pristupljeno 1. avgusta 2020. <https://www.diplomacy.bg.ac.rs/misija/>.

Navođenje u tekstu:

(Oxford Library 2012)

(Google Maps 2015)

(IMPP n.d.)

### Lična komunikacija

Izvori iz područja lične komunikacije obuhvataju razgovore uživo, intervjuje, materijale sa predavanja, telefonske razgovore, klasičnu i elektronsku prepisku. Izvore ove vrste navedite samo u tekstu, bez stavljanja u Bibliografiju, zato što je najčešće reč o podacima u koje čitalac nema uvid ili se zbog nematerijalnog oblika ne mogu naknadno proveriti:

... kao što je dr Slobodan Janković naveo u mejlu koji mi je poslao 10. decembra 2019. godine ...

Kada su objavljena u zbirkama, pisma se navode prema godini izdanja, s tim što datum kada je poslato pojedinačno pismo navodite u samom tekstu:

U pismu koje je Univerzitet u Beogradu 13. maja 2017. godine uputio Grinovoj (Green 2012, 34) ...

### Sekundarni izvor (posredno navođenje izvora)

Kada želite da navedete izvor koji ste pročitali u nekom drugom izvoru, uvek treba da ukažete na oba izvora – originalni i posredni:

Navođenje u tekstu:

U knjizi *Moć*, objavljenoj 1975. godine, Luman shvatanje moći pretežno zasniva na literaturi o društvenoj razmeni i moći zajednice (navedeno prema Guzzini 2013, 79).

Navođenje u Bibliografiji:

Guzzini, Stefano. 2013. *Power, realism, and constructivism*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

### **TABELE, DIJAGRAMI I GEOGRAFSKE KARTE**

Grafičke priloge (tabele, dijagrame, geografske karte, grafikone i sl.) numerišete i dajete im pun naslov:

*Tabela 1: Indeks ljudskog razvoja u zemljama članicama EU*

*Dijagram 2: Strane direktnе investicije kineskih kompanija u Africi (u milionima dolara)*

*Karta 1: Nacionalne pomorske jurisdikcije i granice na Arktiku*

Ukoliko je grafički prilog preuzet od nekog drugog autora ili iz nekog dokumenta neophodno je ne samo navesti izvor, već i dobiti pisani saglasnost za objavljivanje priloga pre podnošenja rukopisa na razmatranje Uredništvu časopisa *Međunarodni problemi*. Dobijena saglasnost se dostavlja uz rukopis.

### **BIBLIOGRAFIJA**

Na kraju članka, a pre apstrakta na engleskom jeziku, prilažete spisak korišćenih izvora naslovjen **Bibliografija**, koji sme da sadrži samo reference koje ste koristili u tekstu.

Bibliografske jedinice navodite prema prethodno predstavljenim pravilima za navođenje izvora, a redjate ih prema abecednom redosledu.

Ako imate dva ili više radova istog autora objavljenih iste godine, onda uz godinu dodajte slova a, b, c, itd. i ređajte bibliografske jedinice po abecednom redosledu prvog slova naslova rada:

Gregory, Derek. 2014a. "Drone Geographies". *Radical Philosophy* RP 183: 7–19.

Gregory, Derek. 2014b. "The Everywhere War". *The Geographical Journal* 177 (3): 238–250.

**Rukopisi koji nisu usaglašeni sa navedenim smernicama neće biti uzeti u postupak recenziranja.**

Uređivački odbor



## UREĐIVAČKA POLITIKA

*Međunarodni problemi* su najstariji naučni časopis u Srbiji i na Balkanu posvećen međunarodnim odnosima. Prvi broj je objavljen u aprilu 1949. godine, samo godinu dana nakon početka rada njegovog izdavača – Instituta za međunarodnu politiku i privredu iz Beograda.

*Međunarodni problemi* objavljaju rezultate naučnih istraživanja iz oblasti međunarodnih odnosa, međunarodne bezbednosti, međunarodnog prava i studija globalizacije. *Međunarodni problemi* objavljaju originalne i pregledne naučne radove i prikaze knjiga, na srpskom ili engleskom jeziku, koji prethodno nisu nigde objavljeni niti se nalaze u postupku razmatranja za objavljivanje u nekoj drugoj publikaciji. *Međunarodni problemi* ne objavljaju stručne radove, analitičke komentare niti predloge javnih politika, pa Vas najljubaznije molimo da ne šaljete te vrste članaka.

Uređivački odbor daje prednost analizi kontroverznih pitanja savremene teorije i prakse međunarodnih odnosa uz poštovanje bogatstva disciplinarnih i saznajnih perspektiva. Bez zastupanja konkretnog političkog i teorijsko-metodološkog stanovišta, a sa namerom da podstakne obuhvatniji naučni dijalog o ubrzanim promenama u svetskoj politici u 21. veku, Uređivački odbor smatra da su prioritetne sledeće tematske celine:

- Preobražaj prirode svetske politike u ranom 21. veku;
- Fenomenologija i praksa transnacionalnosti i kosmopolitizma;
- Problemi institucionalizacije međunarodnih odnosa;
- Različita teorijska tumačenja aktuelnih globalnih procesa;
- Kontroverzna pitanja upotrebe spoljnopolitičkih instrumenata vodećih globalnih aktera;
- Uticaj naprednih tehnologija Četvrte industrijske revolucije na oblikovanje međunarodnih odnosa u 21. veku;
- Civilizacija, religija i identitet u kontekstu svetske politike i globalizacije;
- Konceptualni i metodološki iskoraci izvan tradicionalnog epistemološkog okvira naučne discipline međunarodnih odnosa.
- Časopis izlazi četiri puta godišnje i kategorisan je kod resornog ministarstva kao nacionalni časopis međunarodnog značaja (M24).

## **OBAVEZE IZDAVAČKOG SAVETA, UREDNIKA I UREĐIVAČKOG ODBORA**

Izdavački savet je savetodavno telo koje aktivno doprinosi razvoju časopisa. Zadaci i dužnosti članova Saveta su: podrška razvoju časopisa, promocija časopisa, podsticanje stručnjaka u naučnom istraživanju političkih, bezbednosnih i pravnih aspekata međunarodnih odnosa da se uključe u rad časopisa kao autori i/ili recenzenti, pisanje uvodnika, recenzija i komentara o radovima.

Članovi Uređivačkog odbora imaju zadatku da u akademskoj javnosti deluju kao svojevrsni ambasadori časopisa, da pruže doprinos u vidu preporučivanja kvalitetnih autora i rukopisa, podsticanja potencijalnih autora da podnose rukopise za objavlјivanje u *Međunarodnim problemima*, te da recenziraju rukopise i pripremaju uvodnike i uredničke komentare.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik odgovara za objavljeni sadržaj i treba da teži stalnom unapređenju časopisa uopšte i procesa osiguranja kvaliteta objavljenog sadržaja, kao i zaštiti slobode izražavanja, integriteta i standarda naučnoistraživačkog rada od upliva političkih, finansijskih i drugih interesa. Glavni i odgovorni urednik treba uvek da objavi ispravku, objašnjenje, obaveštenje o povlačenju članka i izvinjenje.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik donosi konačnu odluku o tome koji će rukopis objaviti na osnovu: 1) ocene njegovog uklapanja u tematski okvir uređivačke politike, 2) ocene naučnog značaja, originalnosti, validnosti i disciplinarne relevantnosti istraživanja predstavljenog u rukopisu, 3) ocene njegove usklađenosti sa zakonskim propisima koji se odnose na klevetu, kršenje autorskih prava i plagiranje. Glavni i odgovorni urednik zadržava diskreciono pravo da primljeni rukopis proceni i odbije bez recenziranja, ukoliko utvrди da ne odgovara tematskim zahtevima uređivačke politike i opšteprihvaćenim standardima naučnoistraživačkog rada (tj. ako ne sadrži strukturne elemente originalnog ili preglednog naučnog rada). Radovi koji ne zadovoljavaju tehničke standarde propisane Uputstvom za autore, čak i u slučaju da je sadržaj korektan, biće vraćeni autorima na usklađivanje. U redovnim okolnostima, Uređivački odbor obaveštava autora u roku od sedam dana od datuma prijema rukopisa o tome da li se tema rukopisa uklapa u uređivačku politiku i da li je pokrenut postupak recenziranja.

Novi glavni i odgovorni urednik ne sme da preinaci odluku svog prethodnika o objavlјivanju rukopisa, osim ukoliko nisu utvrđene nove činjenice koje ukazuju na sporan kvalitet tog rukopisa.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik, njegov zamenik i članovi Uređivačkog odbora ne smeju da budu u bilo kakvom sukobu interesa u vezi sa rukopisima koje razmatraju. Iz postupka izbora reczenzata i odlučivanja o sudbini rukopisa isključuju se članovi Uređivačkog odbora kod kojih postoji sukob interesa. Ako takav sukob interesa postoji, o izboru reczenzata i sudbini rukopisa odlučuje glavni i odgovorni urednik.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik, njegov zamenik i članovi Uređivačkog odbora su dužni da blagovremeno prijave postojanje sukoba interesa.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik, njegov zamenik i Uređivački odbor dužni su da sud o rukopisu donešu na osnovu njegovog sadržaja, bez rasnih, polnih/rodnih, verskih, etničkih ili političkih predrasuda.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik, njegov zamenik i članovi Uređivačkog odbora ne smeju da koriste neobjavljen materijal iz predatih rukopisa za svoja istraživanja bez izričite pisane dozvole autora, a informacije i ideje iznete u predatim rukopisima moraju se čuvati kao poverljive i ne smeju da se koriste za sticanje lične koristi.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik, njegov zamenik i članovi Uređivačkog odbora dužni su da preduzmu sve razumne mere kako bi identitet recenzentata ostao nepoznat autorima pre, tokom i nakon postupka recenzije i kako bi identitet autora ostao nepoznat recenzentima.

## **OBAVEZE AUTORA**

Autori garantuju da rukopis predstavlja njihov originalan doprinos, da nije objavljen ranije i da se ne razmatra za objavljinjanje na drugom mestu. Predavanje istog rukopisa u više časopisa predstavlja kršenje etičkih standarda koji se odnose na naučnoistraživački rad i takav rukopis se isključuje iz daljeg razmatranja.

Autori takođe garantuju da nakon objavljinjanja u časopisu *Međunarodni problemi* rukopis neće biti objavljen u drugoj publikaciji na bilo kom jeziku bez saglasnosti Instituta za međunarodnu politiku i privrednu kao nosioca autorskih prava. Takođe, rad koji je već objavljen u nekom drugom časopisu ne sme biti podnet za objavljinjanje u *Međunarodnim problemima*.

U slučaju da je poslati rukopis rezultat naučnoistraživačkog projekta ili da je, u prethodnoj verziji, bio izložen na skupu u vidu usmenog saopštenja (pod istim ili sličnim naslovom), detaljniji podaci o projektu, konferenciji i slično, navode se u fusnoti na samom početku teksta.

Autori su dužni da se pridržavaju etičkih standarda propisanih Kodeksom ponašanja u naučnoistraživačkom radu (Nacionalni savet za nauku i tehnološki razvoj, 2018). Autori garantuju da rukopis ne sadrži neosnovane ili nezakonite tvrdnje i ne krši prava drugih. Izdavač neće snositi nikavu odgovornost u slučaju ispostavljanja bilo kakvih zahteva za naknadu štete.

### ***Sadržaj rada***

Rad treba da sadrži dovoljno detalja i referenci kako bi se recenzentima, a potom i čitaocima omogućilo da provere tvrdnje koje su u njemu iznesene.

Namerno iznošenje netačnih tvrdnji predstavlja kršenje etičkih standarda propisanih Kodeksom ponašanja u naučnoistraživačkom radu. Prikazi knjiga moraju da budu činjenično tačni i nepristrasni.

Autori snose svu odgovornost za sadržaj predatih rukopisa i dužni su da, ako je to potrebno, pre njihovog objavljivanja pribave saglasnost svih lica ili institucija koje su neposredno učestvovali u istraživanju koje je u rukopisu predstavljeno.

Autori koji žele da u rad uključe ilustracije, tabele ili druge materijale koji su već negde objavljeni obavezni su da za to pribave saglasnost nosilaca autorskih prava i da ih dostave uz rukopis, a ne naknadno. Materijal za koji takvi dokazi nisu dostavljeni smatraće se originalnim delom autora.

### ***Autorstvo***

Autori su dužni da kao autore navedu samo ona lica koja su suštinski doprinela sadržaju rukopisa, odnosno dužni su da sva lica koja su suštinski doprinela sadržaju rukopisa navedu kao autore. Navođenje kao jednog od autora rukopisa lica koje nije učestvovalo u izradi istraživanja sadržanog u rukopisu predstavlja kršenje etičkih standarda koji se odnose na naučnoistraživački rad. Rukopisi sa više od dva autora neće biti uzimani u razmatranje, osim izuzetno ukoliko se proceni da rukopis predstavlja rezultate opsežnog empirijskog istraživanja.

Ako su u suštinskim aspektima naučnog istraživanja predstavljenog u rukopisu i/ili u samoj pripremi rukopisa učestvovali i druge osobe koje nisu autori, njihov doprinos mora da bude naveden u napomeni ili zahvalnici.

### ***Navođenje izvora***

Autori su dužni da ispravno navedu izvore koji su bitno uticali na istraživanje sadržano u rukopisu i na sam rukopis. Informacije koje su dobili u privatnom razgovoru ili korespondenciji sa trećim licima, prilikom recenziranja prijava projekata ili rukopisa i slično, ne smeju se koristiti bez izričite pisane dozvole izvora.

### ***Recikliranje teksta***

Recikliranje teksta, odnosno situacija u kojoj isti autor upotrebljava istovetne delove svog teksta u dva ili više svojih objavljenih radova, predstavlja kršenje etičkih standarda koji se odnose na naučnoistraživački rad i izdavaštvo.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik procenjuje ukupan obim recikliranih delova teksta, značaj mesta gde se oni pojavljuju u rukopisu (da li su deo uvoda, odeljka o

primenjenoj metodologiji, diskusije tj. glavnog dela članka ili zaključka), da li je naveden prethodni izvor recikliranog teksta i da li postoji povreda autorskih prava.

Ukoliko je utvrđeno postojanje podudaranja teksta manjeg obima, od autora se može zatražiti da ponovo napiše sporan deo teksta i da navede prethodno objavljen izvor iz kojeg je taj deo teksta preuzet – ako to već nije učinio. Autor ne može da opravda recikliranje teksta samo na osnovu činjenice da je naveo izvor iz kojeg je preuzeo taj deo teksta. Podudaranje delova teksta u značajnom obimu predstavlja osnov za odbijanje rukopisa.

Prilikom postupanja u slučajevima recikliranja teksta glavni i odgovorni urednik i Uređivački odbor rukovode se smernicama i preporukama Odbora za etiku u izdavaštvu (*Committee on Publication Ethics – COPE*, [https://publicationethics.org/files/Web\\_A29298\\_COPE\\_Text\\_Recycling.pdf](https://publicationethics.org/files/Web_A29298_COPE_Text_Recycling.pdf)).

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Plagiranje – odnosno preuzimanje tuđih ideja, reči ili drugih oblika kreativnog izraza i predstavljanje kao vlastitih, bez navođenja autora ili izvora – predstavlja grubo kršenje etičkih standarda u izdavaštvu i propisanih Kodeksom ponašanja u naučnoistraživačkom radu. Plagiranje može da uključuje i kršenje autorskih prava, što je zakonom kažnjivo.

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Autori su dužni da u radu ukažu na finansijske ili bilo koje druge sukobe interesa koji bi mogli da utiču na iznesene rezultate i interpretacije.

### ***Greške u objavljenim radovima***

U slučaju da autori otkriju važnu grešku u svom radu nakon njegovog objavljivanja, dužni su da momentalno o tome obaveste urednika ili izdavača i da sa njima sarađuju kako bi se rad povukao ili ispravio.

Predavanjem rukopisa redakciji *Međunarodnih problema* autori se obavezuju na poštovanje navedenih obaveza.

### **OBAVEZE RECENZENATA**

Recenzenti su dužni da stručno, argumentovano, nepristrasno i u zadatim rokovima dostave uredniku ocenu naučne vrednosti rukopisa.

Recenzenti ocenjuju usklađenost teme rukopisa sa tematskim okvirom časopisa, naučnu relevantnost istraživane teme i primenjenih metoda, originalnost i naučni značaj rezultata predstavljenih u rukopisu, stil naučnog izlaganja i opremljenost teksta naučnom aparaturom.

Recenzent koji ima osnovane sumnje ili saznanja o kršenju etičkih standarda propisanih Kodeksom ponašanja u naučnoistraživačkom radu od strane autora dužan je da o tome obavesti glavnog i odgovornog urednika. Recenzent treba da prepozna važne objavljene radove koje autori nisu citirali. On treba da upozori glavnog i odgovornog urednika i na bitne sličnosti i podudarnosti između rukopisa koji se razmatra i bilo kojeg drugog objavljenog rada ili rukopisa koji je u postupku recenzije u nekom drugom časopisu, ako o tome ima lična saznanja. Ako ima saznanja da je isti rukopis razmatra u više časopisa u isto vreme, recenzent je dužan da o tome obavesti glavnog i odgovornog urednika.

Recenzent ne sme da bude u sukobu interesa sa autorima ili finansijerom istraživanja. Ukoliko postoji sukob interesa, recenzent je dužan da o tome momentalno obavesti glavnog i odgovornog urednika.

Recenzent koji sebe smatra nekompetentnim za temu ili oblast kojom se rukopis bavi dužan je da o tome obavesti glavnog i odgovornog urednika. Glavni i odgovorni urednik uvažiće zahtev autora da određeni pojedinac ne bude recenzent njihovog rukopisa ako proceni da je taj zahtev valjano obrazložen i praktičan.

Recenzija mora biti objektivna. Sud recenzenata mora biti jasan i potkrepljen argumentima. Uputstvo za recenzente detaljnije propisuje merila i smernice za ocenu rukopisa.

Rukopisi koji su poslati recenzentu smatraju se poverljivim dokumentima. Recenzenti ne smeju da koriste neobjavljen materijal iz predatih rukopisa za svoja istraživanja bez izričite pisane dozvole autora, a informacije i ideje iznesene u

predatim rukopisima moraju se čuvati kao poverljive i ne smeju se koristiti za sticanje lične koristi.

## POSTUPAK RECENZIJE

Primljeni radovi podležu recenziji. Cilj recenzije je da glavnom i odgovornom uredniku pomogne u donošenju odluke o tome da li rad treba prihvatiti ili odbiti i da kroz proces komunikacije sa autorima poboljša kvalitet rukopisa. U normalnim okolnostima, rok za okončanje postupka recenziranja je 30 dana od datuma prijema rukopisa.

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Izbor reczenzenta spada u diskreciona prava glavnog i odgovornog urednika. Recenzenti moraju da raspolažu relevantnim znanjima u vezi sa oblašću kojom se rukopis bavi; oni ne smeju da budu iz iste institucije kao autori rukopisa niti smeju da sa njima imaju nedavno objavljene zajedničke radove.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik šalje podneti rukopis zajedno sa obrascem recenzije dvojici reczenzenta koji su stručnjaci za naučnu oblast kojoj pripada tema rukopisa. Obrazac recenzije sadrži niz pitanja na koja treba odgovoriti, a koja recenzentima ukazuju koji su to aspekti koje treba obuhvatiti kako bi se donela odluka o sudbini rukopisa. U završnom delu obrasca, recenzenti moraju da navedu svoja zapažanja i predloge kako da se podneti rukopis poboljša.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik može da tokom postupka recenzije zahteva od autora da dostavi dodatne informacije (uključujući i primarne podatke), ako su one potrebne za ocenu naučnog doprinosa rukopisa. Glavni i odgovorni urednik i recenzenti moraju da čuvaju takve informacije kao poverljive i ne smeju ih koristiti za sticanje lične koristi.

U slučaju da autor ima ozbiljne i osnovane zamerke na račun recenzije, glavni i odgovorni urednik će proveriti da li je recenzija objektivna i da li zadovoljava naučne standarde. Ako se pojavi sumnja u objektivnost ili kvalitet recenzije, glavni i odgovorni urednik će tražiti mišljenje dodatnog recenzenta.

## POSTUPANJE U SLUČAJEVIMA NEETIČNOG PONAŠANJA

Glavni i odgovorni urednik je dužan da pokrene odgovarajući postupak ukoliko razumno sumnja ili utvrdi da je došlo do povrede etičkih standarda propisanih Kodeksom ponašanja u naučnoistraživačkom radu – bilo u objavljenim člancima ili u još neobjavljenim rukopisima. Svako može da u bilo kom trenutku prijavi glavnom i odgovornom uredniku sumnju o postojanju povrede etičkih standarda uz dostavljanje valjanih dokaza.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik će u dogovoru sa Uređivačkim odborom odlučiti o pokretanju postupka koji ima za cilj proveru iznesenih navoda i dokaza. Tokom tog postupka svi izneseni dokazi smatraće se poverljivim materijalom i biće predloženi samo osobama koje su neposredno uključene u postupak. Autorima za koje postoji razumno sumnja da su prekršili etičke standarde biće data mogućnost da odgovore na predložene dokaze i iznesu sopstvenu argumentaciju.

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Prilikom postupanja u slučajevima neetičnog ponašanja glavni i odgovorni urednik i Uređivački odbor se rukovode smernicama i preporukama Odbora za etiku u izdavaštву (<http://publicationethics.org/resources/>).

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U pogledu povlačenja rada, glavni i odgovorni urednik i Uređivački odbor rukovode se odgovarajućim smernicama Odbora za etiku u izdavaštvu (<https://publicationethics.org/files/retraction-guidelines.pdf>).

## **AUTORSKA PRAVA**

Autori prenose sva autorska prava na Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privредu kao izdavača časopisa *Međunarodni problemi*.

Kada je rukopis prihvaćen za objavljivanje, autori prenose autorska prava na izdavača.

U slučaju da rukopis ne bude prihvaćen za štampu u časopisu, autori zadržavaju sva prava.

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## **MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION GUIDELINES**

*International Problems* publishes the following types of articles:

**Original research article** presents the results of research with clear contribution with a view of expanding and/or deepening of existing knowledge. It should be structured to include the following elements: general context and aim of research; theoretical background (review literature) clearly stated in the introduction; departing hypothesis or research question; applied methods; presentation and explanation of the results; conclusion discussing the main research findings departing hypothesis or research question.

**Review article** provides a comprehensive summary of research on a certain topic or a perspective on the state of the field by describing current areas of agreement as well as controversies and debates. Review article identifies gaps in knowledge and the most important but still unanswered research questions and suggest directions for future research.

**Book review** is a systematic description and/or critical analysis of the quality and significance of a book, edited volume, and textbook. Book review should include a general description of the topic and/or problem addressed by the work in question, summary of the book's main argument, basic biographical information about the author, summary of contents, strengths and weaknesses, as well as a concluding statement summarizing reviewer's opinion of the book.

In preparing manuscripts authors are kindly requested to comply with the following rules:

### **FORMAT**

All types of manuscripts should be submitted in Word and saved in .doc or .docx format.

Use Times New Roman font in size 12, with single-lined spacing, and with an empty line between paragraphs.

Use continuous line numbers starting on the first page, with page numbers on the right side of the bottom of the page.

### **LENGTH**

Articles range from 6000–8000 words (excluding abstracts and bibliography).

The length of book review essays is up to 1500 words.

### **TITLE**

Use bold for the article title (size 14).

The title should not only accurately describe the content of manuscript (i.e. convey the main topics of the study and highlight the importance of the research) but it should be concise.

### **NAME AND AFFILIATION**

Below the title is given the author's full name, with a footnote that refers to her/his institutional affiliation (the name of the institution and its seat), and her e-mail address. Author's affiliation is the affiliation where the research was conducted.

In the footnote, the author also provides all details regarding the project under which the research presented in her article is conducted and/or sources of financial and other support. The author also may point to readers that some of the views presented in the article express her own opinion and not the one of the institution she works for.

### **ABSTRACT AND KEY WORDS**

Below the author's name include abstract of 150–200 words that describes the material presented in the manuscript.

For original research article, the abstract must summarise the entire article, including theoretical background, the departing hypothesis or research question, the aim, a concise account of the methods, a clear description of the most important findings, and a brief presentation of the conclusions.

For review article, the abstract should include the primary objective of the review, the reasoning behind choice, the main outcomes and results of the review, and the conclusions that might be drawn, including their implications for further research, application, or practice.

The author provides up to 10 key words for the main idea of the article which can be used for indexing purposes. Key words should not repeat the title.

## **MAIN TEXT**

The basic text should be justified.

Use no more than three levels of headings (all should be centred):

First-level headings – **Heading**

Second-level headings – **Heading**

Third-level headings – **Heading**

Do not number headings.

Define all abbreviations at first mention in the abstract and in the main text by giving the full term, then the abbreviation in parentheses, and use them consistently thereafter.

Only the following form of quotation marks should be put in the text: “ ”. In case the additional quotation marks are to be put within these ones it should be done in the following way: ‘ ’.

The text should be clear, readable, and concise. Manuscripts should be well presented, with correct grammar, spelling and punctuation. If the English is unsatisfactory, we will return the manuscript for correction without review.

Please use British (-ise) spelling style consistently throughout your manuscript.

Latin, Old Greek and other non-English words and terms in the text should be italicised (e.g. *status quo, a priori, de facto, acquis communautaire*).

## **CITATION STYLE**

*International Problems* uses the author-date reference style based on *The Chicago Manual of Style* (16th ed). Sources are cited in the text, usually in parentheses, by the author's surname, the publication date of the work cited, and a page number if necessary. Full details are given in the reference list (use the heading References).

In the text, the reference should be placed just before punctuation. If the author's name appears in the text, it is not necessary to repeat it, but the date should follow immediately:

Johnson and Axinn (2013, 136) argue that killing with emotions is morally superior to killing without emotions, because military honour demands a clear will to assume a risk of sacrifice of health and life.

If the reference is in parentheses, use square brackets for additional parentheses: (see, e.g., Johnson and Axinn [2013, 133–136] on this important subject).

In text, separate the references with semicolons:

(Jabri 2007; Herman 2004; Rohrbach 2020)

If citing more than one work by an author, do not repeat the name:

(Jabri 2007, 2011; Gregory 2014a, 2014b)

## **Book**

Reference list entry:

Jabri, Vivienne. 2007. *War and the Transformation of Global Politics*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou, and Anuradha Chenoy. 2007. *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, 2nd ed. Oxon: Routledge.

Vasquez, John A., Sanford Jaffe, James Turner Johnson, and Linda Stamato, eds. 1995. *Beyond Confrontation: Learning Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bentham, Jeremy (1907) 2018. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Reprint, London: Clarendon Press. [www.econlib.org/library/Bentham/bnthPML.html](http://www.econlib.org/library/Bentham/bnthPML.html).

Dal Lago, Alessandro, and Salvatore Palidda, eds. 2010. *Conflict, Security and the Reshaping of Society: The Civilization of War*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Hayek, Friedrich A. 2011. *The Constitution of Liberty: The Definitive Edition*. Edited by Ronald Hamowy. Vol. 17 of *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, edited by Bruce Caldwell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988–.

In-text citation:

(Jabri 2007, 59)

(Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007)

(Vasquez et al. 1995)

(Bentham [1907] 2018)

(Dal Lago and Palidda 2010)

(Hayek 2011, 258)

### **Journal article**

Reference list entry:

- Nordin, Astrid H.M. and Dan Öberg. 2015. "Targeting the Ontology of War: From Clausewitz to Baudrillard". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43 (2): 395–423.
- Adams, Tracy, and Zohar Kampf. 2020. "'Solemn and just demands': Seeking apologies in the international arena". *Review of International Studies*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210520000261>.

In-text citation:

- (Nordin and Öberg 2015, 401)
- (Tracy and Kampf 2020)

### **Article in edited volume**

Reference list entry:

- Herman, Michael. 2004. "Ethics and Intelligence After September 2001". In: *Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century: Journeys in Shadows*, edited by Len V. Scott and Peter D. Jackson, 567–581. London and New York: Routledge.

Reference list entry:

- (Herman 2004)

### **Conference paper (if not published in conference proceedings)**

Reference list entry:

- Korać, Srđan. 2016. "Human Security and Global Ethics: Can International Organizations be Moral Agents?". Paper presented at the Third International Academic Conference on Human Security, Human Security Research Center (HSRC), Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, November 4–5.

Reference list entry:

- (Korać 2016)

## Book review

Reference list entry:

Firchow, Pamina. 2020. "Measuring Peace: Principles, Practices and Politics", Review of *Measuring Peace*, by Richard Caplan. *International Peacekeeping* 27 (2): 337–338.

Reference list entry:

(Firchow 2020, 337)

## Legal and official documents

### *International treaties*

Reference list entry:

[PTBT] Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. 1963. Signed by US, UK, and USSR, August 5. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20480/volume-480-I-6964-English.pdf>.

[TFEU] Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 2012. *Official Journal of the European Union*, C 326, October 26. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN>.

[UN Charter] Charter of the United Nations, October 24, 1945. <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/introductory-note/index.html>.

In-text citation:

(PTBT 1963, Article III, para. 3)

(TFEU 2012, Article 87)

(UN Charter, Chapter X)

### *UN documents*

Reference list entry:

[UNSC] UN Security Council. Resolution 2222, Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, S/RES/2222. May 27, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/2015.shtml>.

[UNGA] UN General Assembly. Resolution 67/18, Education for Democracy, A/RES/67/18. November 28, 2012. <https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/RES/67/18>.

In-text citation:

(UNSC Res. 2222)

(UNGA Res. 67/18)

### **National legislation**

Reference list entry:

[Constitution RS] Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. 2006. *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No. 98/2006.

Homeland Security Act. 2002. United States of America, 107th Congress, 2nd Session (November 25). [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/hr\\_5005\\_enr.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/hr_5005_enr.pdf).

In-text citation:

(Constitution RS 2006, Article 111)

(Homeland Security Act 2002)

### **Official reports**

Reference list entry:

[YILC] Yearbook of the International Law Commission. 2014. Vol. 2, Part Two. [https://legal.un.org/docs/?path=../ilc/publications/yearbooks/english/ilc\\_2014\\_v2\\_p2.pdf&lang=ES](https://legal.un.org/docs/?path=../ilc/publications/yearbooks/english/ilc_2014_v2_p2.pdf&lang=ES).

[The 9-11 Commission] U.S. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. 2004. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Government Publication Office.

US Congress. 1993. Nomination of R. James Woolsey to be Director of Central Intelligence: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate. 104th Congress, 1st session, February 2–3, 1993. <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/hearings/103296.pdf>.

[USAFAH] United States Air Force Headquarters. 2014. United States Air Force RPA Vector: Vision and Enabling Concepts: 2013–2038. [www.af.mil/Portals/1/documents/news/USAFRPAVectorVisionandEnablingConcepts%202013-2038.pdf](http://www.af.mil/Portals/1/documents/news/USAFRPAVectorVisionandEnablingConcepts%202013-2038.pdf).

In-text citation:

(YILC 2014, 321)

(The 9-11 Commission 2004, 437)

(US Congress 1993, 125)

(USAFH 2014)

***EU legislation***

Reference list entry:

Regulation (EU) No. 1052/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 22 October 2013 establishing the European Border Surveillance System (Eurosur). *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 295, 6 November 2013. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32013R1052&from=EN>.

[EC] European Commission. 2010. The EU Internal Security Strategy in Action: Five steps towards a more secure Europe, COM(2010) 673 final, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, November 22. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52010DC0673&from=GA>.

Directive (EU) 2015/849 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 May 2015 on the prevention of the use of the financial system for the purposes of money laundering or terrorist financing, amending Regulation (EU) No 648/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council, and repealing Directive 2005/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and Commission Directive 2006/70/EC (Text with EEA relevance), *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 141, 5 June 2015. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32015L0849&from=EN>.

In-text citation:

(Regulation [EU] No. 1052/2013, Article 11, para. 4)

(EC COM[2010] 673 final)

(Directive [EU] 2015/849)

***Decisions of international courts and tribunals***

Reference list entry:

[ICJ] International Court of Justice. Accordance with the International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, Advisory Opinion, 22 July 2010, ICJ Reports. <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/141/141-20100722-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf>.

[ICJ Order 1999] *Legality of Use of Force (Yugoslavia v. United Kingdom)*. International Court of Justice, Order ICJ Rep. 1999 (June 2). <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/113/113-19990602-ORD-01-00-EN.pdf>.

[ICTY Indictment IT-98-32-A] *Prosecutor v. Vasiljevic*, Case No. IT-98-32-A. International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Indictment, 30 October 2000. <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/vasiljevic/ind/en/vasonly-ii000125e.pdf>.

*Costa v Ente Nazionale per l'Energia Elettrica*, Case 6/64, [1964] ECR 585. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A61964CJ0006>.

[CJEU Judgment T-289/15] *Hamas v Council*, Case T-289/15. Court of Justice of the European Union, Judgment, 6 March 2019, ECLI:EU:T:2019:138. <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/documents.jsf?language=EN&critereEcli=ECLI:EU:T:2019:138>

[Opinion of AG Bobek] *Région de Bruxelles-Capitale v Commission*, Case C-352/19 P. Court of Justice of the European Union. Opinion of Advocate General Bobek delivered on 16 July 2020(1), ECLI:EU:C:2020:588. <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf;jsessionid=485A5D9AC129179D3D2F2.EC571A384CD?text=&docid=228708&pageIndex=0&doctlang=EN&mode=req&dir=&occ=first&part=1&cid=5064004>.

In-text citation:

(ICJ Advisory Opinion 2010, 411)

(ICJ Order 1999, para. 3)

(ICTY Indictment IT-98-32-A)

(*Costa v ENEL*)

(CJEU Judgment T-289/15, para. 23)

(Opinion of AG Bobek C-352/19 P)

## Newspapers and magazines

Reference list entry:

Gibbs, Samuel. 2017. “Elon Musk leads 116 experts calling for outright ban of killer robots”, *The Guardian*, August 20.

Power, Matthew. 2013. “Confessions of a Drone Warrior”, *GQ*, October 22. <https://www.gq.com/story/drone-uav-pilot-assassination>.

*Economist*. 2015. “Who will fight the next war?” October 24. <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2015/10/24/who-will-fight-the-next-war>.

In-text citation:

(Gibbs 2017, A10)

(Power 2013)

(*Economist* 2015)

### **Audio and visual media**

Reference list entry:

Scott, Ridley. [1982] 2007. *Blade Runner: The Final Cut*. Directed by Ridley Scott. Burbank, CA: Warner Bros. Blue-Ray disc, 117 min.

*Future Weapons*. 2019. Waddell Media. Aired on August 7–16 on Discovery Science HD, 3 seasons, 30 episodes (43 min. each). <https://go.discovery.com/tv-shows/future-weapons/>.

Tech Legend. 2020. “Best Drones 2020 – Top 8 Best Drone with Cameras to Buy in 2020”. Uploaded on February 7, 2020. YouTube video, 27:20 min. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6\\_4JU5Mspw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6_4JU5Mspw).

In-text citation:

(Scott [1982] 2007)

(*Future Weapons* 2019)

(Tech Legend 2020)

### **Social media**

Reference list entry:

National Library of Australia. 2020. “National Library of Australia’s Facebook Page”. Facebook, August 1, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/National.Library.of.Australia/>.

Kruszelnicki, Karl (@DoctorKarl). 2017. “Dr Karl Twitter post.” Twitter, February 19, 2017, 9:34 a.m. <https://twitter.com/DoctorKarl>.

Trapara, Vladimir. 2018. “Victory or nil”. *Unwrapping the Essence* (blog). May 29, 2018. <https://unwrappingtheessence.weebly.com/blog/pobeda-ili-nista>.

In-text citation:

(National Library of Australia 2020)

(Kruszelnicki 2017)

(Trapara 2018)

### **Doctoral dissertation**

Reference list entry:

Rohrbach, Livia. 2020. *Beyond intractability? Territorial solutions to self-determination conflicts*. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

In-text citation:

(Rohrbach 2020)

### **Internet source**

If citing an undated online document, give an access date and use the year of access as year of publication.

Reference list entry:

Oxford Library. 2012. "Library Strategy". Oxford Library. Accessed 3 June 2012. <http://www.ol.org/library/strategy.html>.

Google Maps. 2015. "The British Library, London, UK". Google. Accessed February 5, 2015. <https://www.google.com.au/maps/place/The+British+Library/@51.529972,-0.127676,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m2!3m1!1s0x48761b3b70171395:0x18905479de0fdb25>.

IIPE [Institute of International Politics and Economics]. n.d. "Mission". Accessed August 1, 2020. <https://www.diplomacy.bg.ac.rs/en/mission/>.

In-text citation:

(Oxford Library 2012)

(Google Maps 2015)

(IIPE n.d.)

### **Personal communication (letter, emails, telephone conversation)**

Personal communications include conversations, interviews, lecture material, telephone conversations, letters and e-mail messages. Place references to personal communications such as letters and conversations within the running text and not as formal end references, because they do not contain recoverable data:

... as mentioned in an e-mail to me from Dr Slobodan Jankovic, December 10, 2019 ...

When in published collections, letters are cited by date of the collection, with individual correspondence dates given in the text:

In a letter to Mary Louise Green from University of Belgrade, May 13, 2017 (Green 2012, 34), ...

### **Secondary source**

If you read an article or book which cites or quotes some information that you want to use, always refer to both the original source and the source where you found the information:

In-text citation:

In his 1975 book *Power* [Macht], Luhmann bases his understanding of power mainly on the social exchange and community power literature (cited in Guzzini 2013, 79).

Reference list entry:

Guzzini, Stefano. 2013. *Power, realism, and constructivism*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

### **TABLES, FIGURES AND GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS**

It is necessary to give their number and full title – e.g. *Table 1: Human Development Index among EU members* or *Figure 2: State-Building or Sovereignty Strategy* or *Map 1: Maritime jurisdiction and boundaries in the Arctic region*.

It is particularly important that you have been given written permission to use any tables, figures, and geographical maps you are reproducing from another source before you submit manuscript.

### **REFERENCE LIST**

The list of references should only include works that are cited in the text, tables, figure legend, and footnotes, and that have been published or accepted for publication.

Personal communications and unpublished works should only be mentioned in the text. Do not use footnotes or endnotes as a substitute for a reference list.

Reference list entries should be alphabetised by the last name of author or editor. If no author/editor, order by title.

If the reference list contains two or more items by the same author in the same year, add a, b, etc. and list them alphabetically by title of the work:

- Gregory, Derek. 2014a. "Drone Geographies". *Radical Philosophy* RP 183: 7–19.
- Gregory, Derek. 2014b. "The Everywhere War". *The Geographical Journal* 177 (3): 238–250.

**Manuscripts that do not comply with the above-mentioned guidelines will not be taken into consideration for reviewing process.**

Editorial Board



## **EDITORIAL POLICY**

*International Problems* is the oldest peer-reviewed journal in Serbia and the Balkans publishing original research focused on international affairs. Its first issue was published in April 1949. *International Problems* is quarterly journal brought out by the Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade.

*International Problems* welcomes the submission of scholarly articles on matters of international relations, international security, international law, and globalisation studies. *International Problems* publishes original and review research articles and book reviews, in Serbian or English, that have not been published before and that are not under consideration for publication anywhere else. *International Problems* does not publish foreign policy commentary or policy proposals.

The Editorial Board favours manuscripts that present the research addressing contemporary controversial issues in international relations from various disciplinary and methodological perspectives. Espousing no specific political or methodological stance and willing to advance our understanding of and provoke deeper dialogue on rapidly changing world politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Editorial Board prioritizes the following themes:

- Transformation of world politics in the early 21st century.
- Phenomenology and practice of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism.
- Institutionalisation of international relations and its challenges.
- Various theoretical standpoints on current global processes.
- Controversial use of foreign policy instruments by major global actors (old and emerging).
- The impact of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and its advanced technologies on international relations in the 21st century.
- Civilisations, religion, and identities in the context of world politics and globalisation.
- Conceptual and methodological innovations in epistemology of International Relations.

## **RESPONSIBILITIES OF EDITORIAL COUNCIL, EDITORIAL BOARD, AND EDITORS**

Editorial Council is an advisory body that actively contributes to the development of the journal. The tasks and duties of the Editorial Council include: the support to the development of the journal, its promotion, encouraging scholars and academicians in the area of political, security, and legal aspects of international relations to get involved as journal's authors and/or reviewers, writing editorials, reviews and commentaries.

Members of Editorial Board have tasks to act as the journal's ambassadors in the academic community, to contribute with a view to identifying key topics, suggesting quality manuscripts on these topics, and encouraging potential authors to submit to *International Problems*, as well as to review submitted manuscripts and prepare editorials and comments.

Editor-in-Chief is accountable for published content and should strive to constantly improve the journal and the processes for assuring the quality of published material, as well as the protection of freedom of expression, integrity and standards of the research from the influence of political, financial and other interests. Editor-in-Chief should always be willing to publish corrections, clarifications, retractions, and apologies.

Editor-in-Chief is responsible for the final decision to accept or reject a manuscript, and the decision should be based on: 1) evaluation of the manuscript relevance to thematic scope of the journal defined by the editorial policy, 2) assessment of importance, originality, validity and disciplinary relevance of the study presented in the manuscript, 3) assessment of manuscript's compliance with legal requirements regarding libel, copyright infringement and plagiarism. Editor-in-Chief has the discretionary power to reject a submitted manuscript without peer review process if it does not meet the requirements regarding thematic scope of the journal and universal standards of the research (i.e. if it does not have structural elements either of original or review article). Submitted manuscripts that do not meet technical standards defined in Instructions for authors will be sent back to the authors for correction. In normal circumstances, Editorial Board informs the author within seven days from the date of the manuscript submission whether the topic of the manuscript complies with thematic scope of the journal and if peer review process starts.

New Editor-in-Chief must not overturn decision to publish a manuscript made by the previous editor-in-chief unless new facts are established referring to serious problems in quality of the manuscript.

Editor-in-Chief, Deputy Editor-in-Chief and members of Editorial Board must not have a conflict of interest with regard to the manuscript they consider for publication. Members of Editorial Board who have conflict of interest will be excluded from the decision making on the submitted manuscript. If a conflict of interests is identified or declared, Editor-in-Chief selects reviewers and handles the manuscript. Editor-in-Chief, Deputy Editor-in-Chief and members of Editorial Board are obliged to disclose a conflict of interests timely.

Editor-in-Chief, Deputy Editor-in-Chief and members of Editorial Board decisions' to accept or reject manuscript should be free from any racial, gender, sexual, religious, ethnic, or political bias.

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Editor-in-Chief, Deputy Editor-in-Chief and members of Editorial Board shall take all reasonable measures to ensure that the reviewers remain anonymous to the authors before, during and after the evaluation process and the authors remain anonymous to reviewers until the end of the review procedure.

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By submitting the manuscript, the authors warrant that the entire manuscript is their original work, that it has not been published before and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere. Multiple submission of the same manuscript constitutes ethical misconduct and eliminates the manuscript from consideration by *International Problems*.

Authors warrant that the manuscript, once published in *International Problems*, will not be published elsewhere in any language without the consent of Institute of International Politics and Economics as the copyright holder. In addition, an article published in any other publication must not be submitted to *International Problems* for consideration.

In the case a submitted manuscript is the result of a research project, or its previous version has been presented at a conference (under the same or similar title), detailed information about the project, the conference, etc. shall be provided in a footnote attached to the manuscript title.

It is the responsibility of authors to ensure that manuscripts submitted to *International Problems* comply with ethical standards in scientific research. Authors

warrant that the manuscript contains no unfounded or unlawful statements and does not violate the rights of third parties. The Publisher will not be held legally responsible should there be any claims for compensation.

### ***Content of manuscript***

Submitted manuscript should contain sufficient detail and references to allow reviewers and, subsequently, readers to verify the claims presented by authors. The deliberate presentation of false claims is a violation of ethical standards. Book reviews should be accurate and unbiased.

Authors are exclusively responsible for the contents of their submissions and must make sure that, if necessary, they have permission from all parties involved in the presented research to make the data public.

Authors wishing to include figures, tables or other materials that have already been published elsewhere are required to obtain permission from the copyright holder(s), and provide it with the submission, not later. Any material received without such evidence will be assumed to originate from the authors.

### ***Authorship***

Authors must make sure that only contributors who have contributed to the submission are listed as authors and, conversely, that all contributors who have contributed to the submission are listed as authors. A manuscript with more than two authors shall not be considered for publishing unless it undoubtedly presents the results of a large-scale empirical study.

If persons other than authors were involved in important aspects of the presented research study and the preparation of the manuscript, their contribution should be acknowledged in a footnote.

### ***Acknowledgment of sources***

Authors are required to properly acknowledge all sources that have significantly influenced their research and their manuscript. Information received in a private conversation or correspondence with third parties, in reviewing project applications, manuscripts and similar materials must not be used without the written consent of the information source.

### ***Text recycling***

Text recycling occurs when an author uses the identical sections of her/his text in two or more published articles, and it is considered a scientific misconduct and breach of publishing ethics.

Editor-in-Chief considers how much of text is recycled in a submitted manuscript, the significance of places in which the text recycling occurs in the manuscript (e.g. whether are they part of the introduction, section on applied methodology, discussion or conclusion), whether the source of the recycled text has been acknowledged, and whether there is a breach of copyright.

If detected overlap is considered minor, action may not be necessary or the authors may be asked to re-write overlapping sections and cite their previous article(s), if they have not done so. The authors cannot justify the text recycling only on the ground that she/he cited the source. More significant overlap constitutes a basis for rejection of the manuscript.

When handling the cases of text recycling, the Editorial Board will follow guidelines and recommendations issued by the Committee on Publication Ethics – COPE (available at [https://publicationethics.org/files/Web\\_A29298\\_COPE\\_Text\\_Recycling.pdf](https://publicationethics.org/files/Web_A29298_COPE_Text_Recycling.pdf)).

### ***Plagiarism***

Plagiarism – that is when someone assumes another's ideas, words, or other creative expression as one's own without referring to original authors and source – is a clear scientific misconduct and breach of publishing ethics. Plagiarism may also involve a violation of copyright law, punishable by legal action.

Plagiarism includes the following:

Word for word, or almost word for word copying, or purposely paraphrasing portions of another author's work without clearly indicating the source or marking the copied fragment (for example, using quotation marks).

Assuming other people's ideas without stating the authorship and sources in which those ideas are originally presented.

Copying equations, figures, or tables from someone else's paper without properly citing the source and/or without permission from the original author or the copyright holder.

The procedure in cases where there are clear indications that a submitted manuscript or published article fall under the definition of plagiarism is described in the sections *Dealing with unethical behaviour* and *Retraction policy*.

### ***Conflict of interests***

Authors should disclose in their manuscript any financial or other substantive conflict of interest that might have influenced the presented results or their interpretation.

### ***Fundamental errors in published works***

When authors discover a significant error or inaccuracy in their own published work, it is their obligation to promptly notify Editor-in-Chief or the publisher and cooperate to retract or correct the paper.

By submitting a manuscript, the authors agree to abide by *International Problems'* editorial policies.

## **RESPONSIBILITIES OF REVIEWERS**

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327

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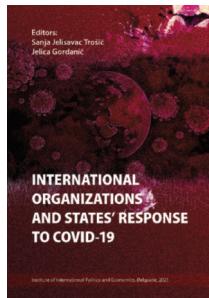
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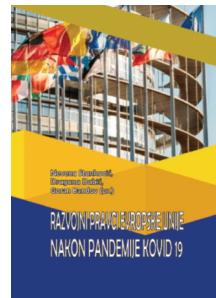
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