



THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BELGRADE, VOL. LXX, No. 1174, APRIL–JUNE 2019

Jan-Boje FRAUEN

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THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

The Review of International Affairs

ISSN 0486-6096

UDK 327

VOL. LXX, No. 1174, APRIL–JUNE 2019

Publisher

Institute of International Politics and Economics,
Belgrade, Makedonska 25

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BiFS doo, Books and Periodicals, Supilova 10
11000 Belgrade, Serbia,
Tel/fax: +381 11 20 84 229
E-mail: bfsbooks@sezampro.rs

Printed by:

Planeta print, Vinogradski venac br. 9, Beograd

The Review of International Affairs is included in ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences) <http://erihplus.nsd.no/>



The Review of International Affairs is the leading journal of national importance, classified M51, according to the classification by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, the Republic of Serbia.

Publishing of *The Review of International Affairs* is funded by
the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia

The Review of International Affairs

Vol. LXX, No. 1174, April–June 2019

UDK 327 ISSN 0486-6096

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THE COMPULSIONS OF INTERDEPENDENCE: NORBERT ELIAS' *CIVILIZING PROCESS* AS EVOLUTIONARY REALISM

Jan-Boje FRAUEN¹

Abstract: Despite Norbert Elias's moderate importance in International Practice Theory (IPT) and the occasional admittance that his work sometimes displays realist principles on the international stage, it has hitherto largely overlooked that *The Civilizing Process* starts out with an essentially realist picture of human nature. Only through norm internalization processes and discourse gets this nature altered in a constructivist way by the socialized environment rational-selfish agents find themselves in after the institution of sanctioning forces. Furthermore, individuals integrate into the social apparatus out of rational self-interest. Thus, the theory never completely loses its realist roots.

This article attempts to contribute to International Relations (IR) theory by augmenting classical realism's dogmatic theory of crime & punishment with Elias's gradual process of social norms alienating 'state of nature' individuals internally and cognitively. The 'social contract' is thus reinterpreted as a gradual process of collective emergence.

Key words: Elias, IR theory, civilizing process, norm internalization, realism & constructivism.

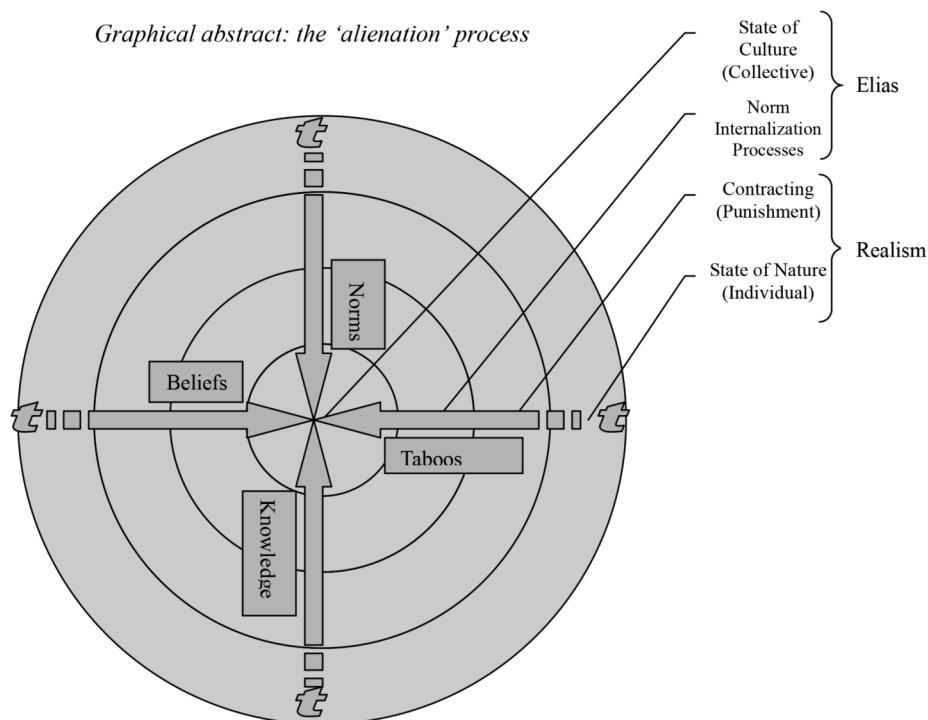
NORBERT ELIAS: INTRODUCTION

To begin, I want to briefly summarize the basic tenets of realism's *restrained free-and-rational actor* claim (Baylis, Smith, & Owens, 2017; Dunleavy & O'leary, 1987; Morgenthau, 2006; Snyder, 2004; Walt, 1985, 1998; Waltz, 1964, 1967).²

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² To my knowledge, rationalist theories stick to at least this claim in all interpretations. However, there have been attempts to reform the classical, Hobbesian picture both in terms of liberalism and in attempts to revise realism. See e.g. Al-Rodhan (2013); Katzenstein, Keohane, and Krasner (1998).



According to realists, the individual in society equals the individual in the 'state of nature' under outer social constraints. Accordingly, individuals in the absence of the sanctioning apparatus of stately control would inevitably fall back into a state of latent war of everybody against everybody else (Hobbes, Tuck, Geuss, & Skinner, 1996). In the state of society, the only thing that keeps individuals from rule violation, hence, is 'fear of the punishment'—the fear of measures that the social superstructure's sanctioning mechanisms would impose on the individual in case of deviation from its nominally established code of appropriate behavior and opinion. In other words, what prevents rule violation is not perceived obligation but the material alteration of the expected long-term consequences of the deviating deed. The offense itself is deviating firstly only in the social state and secondly, even in that social state only if the agent deviating from social standards gets caught in the act of deviation. To phrase realism's creed in its founding father's words: 'covenants [contracts] without the sword are but words and of no strength to secure a [hu]man at all [spelling modernized]' (Hobbes et al., 1996, p. 117). Against this logic, I will display Norbert Elias's theory of 'civilizing processes' (Elias, 2005; Linklater & Mennell, 2010). This

article thus intends to focus on the coercion that the social superstructure exercises upon its individual units through what has been called ‘the compulsions of interdependence’ by Andrew Linklater (Linklater, 2012, col. 13). This means multilateral pressure relations exercised by individuals upon each other due to the steadily increasing *density of connectivity* in modern societies.

As an introduction into Elias’s thinking, I would like to briefly refer to rationalism’s ‘philosophical void’ when it comes to addressing individual mortality and thus ‘meaning,’ or ‘sense’ here. In his later work *Loneliness of Dying*, Elias implicitly deals with modern society’s way to deal with the imminent problem (Elias, 2001). To solve a problem, there are two ways to relieve the mental pressure it puts on one’s self corresponding to the most natural reflex of animation to solve pressure situations by either *fight* or *flight*. Transferred to an unsolvable problem, then, ‘flight’ becomes Freudian *repression* (Freud, 2017). This, Elias, connects to the violence of stately punishment, which, he argues, happens in secret behind closed doors these days. Dying, also, thus becomes something ‘unspeakable’ in modern societies and happens where people cannot see it and thus do not have to let it into their materialistic life-styles (Elias, 2001). Repression thus balances the fact that rational-materialist philosophy denies progressive systemic change. What this article will ultimately argue, however, is that Elias’s work also offers a gateway out of the dead end of meaning *without* contradicting the realist concept of rational-selfish human nature. Constructivism holds these state-of-nature constants to be relative altogether (e.g. Adler, 1997; Baylis et al., 2017; Guzzini, 2000; Klotz & Lynch, 2014; Kubáľková, 2015; Philpott, July 2010; Walt, 1998; Wendt, 1992; Williams, 2004). Elias, on the other hand, displays a theory that does accept realist roots as a natural given. However, in Elias, the ‘compulsions of interdependence’ trigger an evolutionary process of internal alienation from these roots through the cultural alterations to the human environment performed by the social superstructure. Instead of regarding Elias to be purely constructivist, one should hence rather see Elias as a link between realism and constructivism. In Elias, the very foundations of rational selfishness provide the structural prerequisites that trigger the construction of a socio-culturally augmented human nature through *The Civilizing Process*. As these mechanics lead into an evolutionary process, one might even dare to rethink rationalism’s ‘philosophical void’ in final consequence when applying Elias to the classical picture.

NORBERT ELIAS: PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

As is well known, Elias’s work has gotten some attention in International Relations (IR) over the last two to three decades, and especially so since the revival of constructivism (Adler, 1997; Fierke & Jorgensen, 2015; Guzzini, 2000; Klotz

& Lynch, 2014; Kubáľková, 2015; Wendt, 1992; Williams, 2004). There are books and international conferences dedicated to current trends in researching Elias's impact on IR (e.g. Linklater, 2012; Mennell, 2015). Indeed, though it has also been argued that Elias's work, where it explicitly deals with IR, is actually rather close to 'defensive realism' than it is to the constructivism Elias clearly displays for individuals within social systems. In Linklater's words:

They ['civilized' societies] may have made major advances in removing the danger of violence from everyday life within their respective societies, but they did not have the same taboos against using force in their external relations. Elias referred to the 'Janus-faced' nature of state-formation: signification internal pacification co-existed with the expectation of war and with preparation for the next violent competition for security or survival. His explanation was essentially realist. There is, he maintained, a high probability of war wherever societies must provide their own security. They are often drawn into conflicts that no-one desired. The explanation of geopolitical rivalry and war has some parallels with 'defensive realism;' it relies on concepts that resemble the idea of the 'security dilemma' in International Relations. In short, states do not always try to project their power as far as possible for its own sake but in order to control areas that might otherwise fall into the hands of actual or potential adversaries. (Linklater, 2012, col. 11)

Much of Elias research in IR, in other words, focus on Elias's own statements on international mechanisms. Here, Elias's own opinion seems to have been that 'civilizing processes' only apply internally among individuals, but not externally among states. On the international stage, Elias, despite all his theoretical novelties in collectivity mechanisms among *people*, applies the realist 'billiard ball' model among *states*.

However, it is flawed to analyze states as solid, single, and unchangeable units. Instead, diverse, possibly millions of social systems struggle, overlap, converge, ally and part not merely in every state's construction but in each and every *individual human mind* in their Darwinian struggle to construct individual identities; i.e., to determine how individuals look out into the world (Halbwachs, 2006). More so, it is hence an obvious fact that each state is constructed through millions of not only individuals, but also of non-stately collectives (Lenartowicz, 2017; Lotman, 2001; Luhmann, 1995, 2017, Moeller, 2011a, 2011b). Social systems and states, which are one kind of social systems, are morphing into and out of each other, evolving, and never completely separate, as each social system constitutes a multitude of changing individuals and is constituted by a multitude likewise. The current article, thus, is not meant to be a system-internal reading of Elias's work. I want to look at the 'civilizing process' as something that fundamentally shapes human beings. Thus, the aim is to gain insights into how the steadily increasing 'socialization,' 'civilization,' or 'collectivization' of individuals affect

collective structures in the bilaterally-dynamic process of social systems constructing individual identities and individuals constructing and constituting social systems.

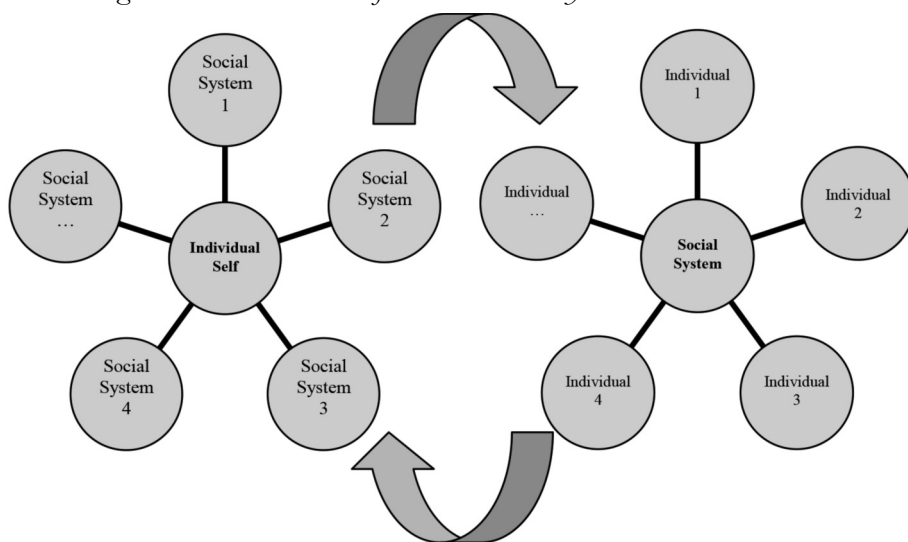
In fact, this approach is quite in line with Elias's own philosophy of the social sciences or of science in general and with what he thought went wrong at his time. According to Elias's 'The Retreat of Sociologists into the Present' and *An Essay on Time*, the social sciences have abandoned looking at the bigger picture and 'overspecialized' in order to reduce the complexity of social processes to a degree that makes it possible to deal with a limited set of data in a way that permits for stable predictions (Elias, 1987, 2007; Linklater & Mennell, 2010, pp. 4–5; Mennell, 2015, col. 6, 9). One could hence say that the social sciences try to reduce complexity to a level that makes it possible to treat social phenomena 'clocky' in theory, to use the old metaphor (Almond & Genco, 1977). The problem here, however, is that social complexity is not reducible in the same way in which it is possible to look at chemical or physical processes; despite a long tradition of laboratory 'state of nature' thought experiments (e.g. Hobbes et al., 1996; Locke & Laslett, 1988; Rousseau & Cress, 2013). In the words of the contemporary big historian, complexity scientist, and philosopher Cadell Last:

The phenomenon of humanity has the broadest of all possible future event states. We can predict the future evolutionary possibilities for galaxies, stars, and planets on the deepest conceivable scales of time, but we have trouble predicting human possibility out even 100 years. (Last, 2017, p. 40)

The state of complexity that animation and consciousness have created in the course of biological and sociocultural evolution, steadily accelerated by technological progress, has thus made it nearly impossible to deal with the vast amount of data available leading to an incalculable scale of possible outcome scenarios, as has been observed by many, especially since the explosion of complexity through ICT since the latter half of the 20th century (e.g. Heylighen, 2002, 2004; Moore, 1965; Moore, 2006; Toffler, 1970; Turchin, 1977). However, Elias believed that if one fails to see the bigger picture, the snapshot that one ends up with will ultimately be useless, and most of all, stagnant, while the real world is, most of all, organic, dynamic, and evolving. This, of course, holds true also and perhaps especially so for collective structures. Going away from the simplifications and thus falsifications of the social sciences of his age, Elias, the lone scholar of his times (Mennell, 2006), thus ironically called for a 'process sociology' reminiscent of the current 'Big History' movement, which should link with all other sciences in interdisciplinary research groups and span the entire spectrum of science including the full trinity of social sciences, natural sciences, and humanities (Elias, 1987, 2007; Linklater, 2012; Linklater & Mennell, 2010). In the spirit of Elias's own philosophy, the present paper thus attempts to take the most central concept of his 'magnum opus' *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*

[*The Civilizing Process*] and apply it without spending too much time on particulars within Elias's broad corpus. I will thus display general concepts and try to avoid getting sidetracked by close reading as far as possible.

Fig. 1. Social construction of individual identity structures and vice versa



NORBERT ELIAS: THE CIVILIZING PROCESS

Elias substitutes the rationalist ‘social contract’ that changes human collectivity from a ‘state of nature’ to a ‘state of culture’ instantly for a gradual ‘civilizing process’ that evolves individuals into social beings. In a nutshell, Elias proves that the famous realist ‘sword of justice’ becomes obsolete through the gradual indoctrination of cultural norms in a society (Elias, 2005; Linklater & Mennell, 2010). For instance, Elias invokes the norm of non-spitting (Elias, 2005). In late 19th century Europe, he shows, it was as common to spit in public as it is currently in some other parts of the world (Elias, 2005; Tatlow, 2018). Due to disease control, however, European states at some point decided to outlaw spitting (Elias, 2005; Tatlow, 2018). Quite congruent with realist theory, stately authorities evoked the ‘sword of punishment’ and started to sanction spitting severely (Elias, 2005). However, these laws are long forgotten and so are the sanctions for their violation (Elias, 2005). Still, spitting has become basically extinct in Europe and ‘the West’ today. Moreover, not only public spitting disappeared; alongside with it did its private practice and most amazingly, even the individual urge to spit. This is a remarkable phenomenon. It seems like a

most natural human reflex has vanished without a trace and seemingly without the chance of a comeback. In regard to spitting in public, European individuals are back in the ‘state of nature’ according to realist theory. There is no state sanctioning for spitting in public any longer. However, even if the state and its sanctioning machinery would disappear, people would not start spitting again. How far does this phenomenon extend?

Let us take a closer look at the sanctioning apparatus of many of our modern, liberal democracies today. In many central European and especially Scandinavian countries, penalties for rule violation and transgression of socially acceptable norms are hardly worth being called penalties any more (Pinker, 2012).³ As a matter of fact, even murder is hardly sanctioned any more in, for instance, modern Norway, which abolished not only the death penalty but also lifelong imprisonment (fengsel, 2012; Norwegian Correctional Service, 2018). Moreover, if punishment happens at all, it happens in secret these days (Spierenburg, 2008). Let us note, also, the vast difference to medieval European societies here, where public executions were an everyday event for people to rejoice in (Elias, 2005; Spierenburg, 2008).⁴ Back in those days, society really owned the realist’s ‘sword of punishment’ to keep possible transgressors ‘in awe,’ as Hobbes put it (Hobbes et al., 1996). However, in highly norm-internalized societies today the realist’s ‘sword of punishment’ is catching dust in the closet of fading social memories. Still, people do not transgress. *Despite rationalism’s stagnancy claim, then, it seems humanity has changed.*

If one thinks this remarkable theory to the end, it even seems the state could abolish its sanctioning apparatus altogether once individuals were fully ‘civilized’ by its institutions. To summarize Elias’s theory of the repression of violence in Andrew Linklater’s words:

The knife was gradually turned from a weapon into a humdrum eating utensil. That was a manifestation of the larger pacification of society and a symbol of changing attitudes to violence. Very gradually over time – and not in a linear fashion or in a ‘straight line’ – people came to regard certain forms of punishment – beheading, amputation, blinding and so forth – as incompatible with their state of civilization. As part of that same movement, they came to

³ John Pratt offers a more differentiated picture in a recent study on penalizing today accounted for on terms of Norbert Elias’s theory. In the study, Pratt displays that a number of Western governments (USA etc.) is pushed by public opinion to reinforce penalizing beyond what is rational. However, Pratt also mentions Scandinavia and others as ongoing examples for the opposite trend. There thus seems to be ‘contrasting trends.’ See Pratt (2011).

⁴ Nietzsche, also, mentions this example in *Genealogy of Morals*. However, he does so to make the point that people back then actually perceived open violence towards weaker beings as something morally positive. See Nietzsche (2006).

regard judicial torture as contradicting their civilized values. Changes occurred in attitudes to capital punishment and to the public execution of criminals so that, today, opponents of the death penalty maintain that it has no place in a society that regards itself as civilized. Capital punishment was either abolished or, like the bloody slaughter of animals in the abattoir, moved ‘behind the scenes’ where it could not offend civilized sensibilities. The same is true of death and dying. They have been screened from view, Elias argued, along with everything else that reminds people of their ‘animality.’ (Linklater, 2012, col. 12)

I do admit here that typically a reduction of sanctioning force goes hand in hand with the establishment of a close-knit social welfare net, as especially the Scandinavian example displays (Pratt, 2007, 2008). Here, the realist would argue, one can see that people only refrain from transgression because they have generally more to lose and are in no need of urgency to transgress. However, while this certainly is part of the reason, I believe that it does not fully account for the remarkable phenomenon.

NORBERT ELIAS: INTERDEPENDENCE AND SELFISHNESS

The Civilizing Process and norm internalizations as displayed above are driven by *stately* punishing. Accordingly, this top-down mechanism corresponding to the social contract is what Elias-scholarship has largely focused on and is still largely focused on today (e.g. O’Connor & Shon, 2019; Strimling, Barra, & Eriksson, 2018). However, how does this picture of stately force towards individual members tie in with ‘the compulsions of interdependence’ mentioned in the introduction of the present paper (Linklater, 2012, col. 13)? Apparently, there are two divergent (though not unconnected) mechanisms at work in the *Civilizing Process*:

Firstly, stately sanctioning known from classical realism keeps transgressors in awe during the infancy of the social state. Over time, however, the norms that punishment enforces get internalized in individual agents and constantly reinforced through an upbringing in the social environment. Instead of the rational evaluation to refrain from transgression because of its negative consequences (punishment), an internal sense of ‘shame’ keeps individual agents from transgressing. The selfish mind has thus been socially altered. At this point, selfishness has indeed been substituted and the rationalist episteme of individual agents has been rearranged in a constructivist way by the addition of an internally imposed sense formerly unknown. However, let us also notice how reminiscent of Skinnerian learning histories or Pavlovian conditioning this feeling of ‘shame’ is as opposed to a truly relative human nature that might be selfish or social from birth (Skinner, 1974). More importantly, however, the process starts out from

rational selfish human nature. Because of the unpleasantness of punishment, the constructivist alienation process gets triggered and starts to unfold.

Secondly, there are the ‘compulsions of interdependence’ between rational-selfish actors. Like stately punishment in its roots, there must be a realist motivational force here that urges individuals to mutually build up and integrate into the network of interdependence. In the following, I will attempt to display how this dynamic mechanism develops and tightens between the poles of compulsion and benefit. I will attempt to do so by looking at pressure exercised, especially in the *institution*. This research aspect of Elias’s *Civilizing Process* as an imprint upon every generation anew has been given much detailed attention lately by Laura Gilliam and Eva Gulløv’s *Children of the Welfare State* (Gilliam & Gulløv, 2017). Of course, it is impossible to think schooling and the social institution more generally without referring to Pierre Bourdieu and especially to Michel Foucault (Bourdieu, 2010b, 2010a; Foucault, 2012). Like Gilliam and Gulløv, I will keep my focus on Elias’s *Civilizing Process* for conciseness’s sake, though.

The institution grows out of the individual desire to gain a Darwinian advantage in the alienated environment of the social state. More precisely, it is parents deliberately institutionalizing their offspring for their later advantage. Children dislike going to school. However, parents know that it will benefit them in the future, which, historically, of course, conditioned the parent’s future survival as well. Historically, the more educated individuals were, the higher was their status in society. Being part of the more educated was hence fundamentally tied to being part of the more collectivized or connected. Accordingly, rational self-interest started to build up a dynamic course of self-driven removal from the individual self on Elias’s terms. Being ‘educated’ essentially means to be able to think in a collective instead of individual knowledge production, which in the social state entitles individuals to evolutionary advantages through the Bourdieusian trinity of ‘cultural, social, and economic capital’ (Bourdieu, 2011). Education thus enables individuals to think in a common epistemic reference frame and send their thoughts back into the public sphere. Only the educated have a voice. Only the educated have the opportunity to prosper. Individuals thus willingly integrate their children into the institution for their latter benefit. The institution then provides the norm internalizations that make rational-selfish actors fit to serve as social agents for the collective super-organism.

It has to be understood in this context how far removed our social lives today already are from how human beings would live naturally. Life itself can be defined as a matter under the internal urge to move and communicate. Schooling essentially inhibits both of these fundamental natural reflexes by creating learning histories in which both of these get sanctioned severely (‘sit and keep your mouth shut!’). Moreover, it has already been mentioned in the introduction of the present paper that the most natural reflex for any living organisms to avert an

unpleasant pressure situation is between fight and flight with the choice between the two made by rational evaluation of the chance of success. The attempt to execute either of these gets sanctioned severely in school, which indeed is the first and foremost thing individuals learn in the institution. This is far from being a coincidence. The social alienation that follows from the learning histories thus created turns individuals into social units, which first enables them to function in their socialized environments later on. Cavemen cannot work in companies. They cannot because they do not have the skills required for feeding a computing machine. Equally, however, they cannot because they would not be able to sit still and stare at a screen for the largest part of the day. Therefore, education enables individuals to function in their social environment. Equally, this is also to be seen as a Darwinian requirement for individual survival and prosperity within this social environment.

The fundamentals of the institution are hence to remove the organism's inside-out reactions (animation) from its natural individual condition towards what might be called a 'cellular' condition. The Civilizing Process, therefore, does more than to 'tame' the state of nature individual internally. Furthermore, it enables the individual to connect into the trans-subjective and participate in the *discourse*. This happens with individuals actually incorporating each other mutually by creating an environment that makes it evolutionary mandatory for each of them to self-include and participate for its own, individual advantage.

Following Alexander Wendt's discussion of 'teleological argumentation,' one might ask then what this mechanical course of the social becoming will turn the human condition into over time and in final consequence (Wendt, 2003)? Is there perhaps a kind of collective developing that goes beyond rationalist contracts? A kind of trans-individual connectivity that goes beyond the mechanical international stage build by international contracts and looks more like a super-organism constructed of individuals incorporated into its structure through highly dense complexes of norm internalization processes on a global scale? Realist, selfish-individual roots thus trigger the dynamic process. In other words, are yet the being of the becoming. However, are they building up a whole different entity to be in a constructivist sense?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Norm internalization is essentially an *alienation* process. As norms internalized add upon internalized norms, the individual is less and less stirred by her own, internal impulses. Thus, individuals become increasingly stirred by social programming. The famous 'Civilizing Process' is hence essentially an *alienation process* to remove human individuals from their rationalist, analytic nature as self-centered agents.

Thus, one also has to see the implications of the theory for the classical rationalist divide of a ‘state of nature’ turned into a ‘state of society’ through the ‘social contract’ by the institution of a penalizing force for rule violations. With Elias, realist mechanics along these lines are yet the roots of culture and society. The theory does not turn constructivist, as it is admitted and indeed claimed that the rationalist picture of individuals as rationally selfish actors holds true in a ‘state of nature’ and that it is indeed this human nature that makes the institution of the state necessary for individual agents in order to gain protection from each other. However, unlike for realists, mechanics do not end here for Elias. Elias’s picture is evolutionary, not stagnant. Within the state once created, the ‘compulsions of interdependence’ trigger a dynamic that removes individual actors from their rationalist roots gradually over time. Selfish individuals thus get turned into social units. Combining this picture with other theories of social alienation through the superstructure imposed upon individuals, one interesting question would be were dynamics lead to in the long run. This, however, is a question that goes widely beyond what the present article can accomplish.

In any case, one can conclude that the realist ‘billiard ball’ model of separate states is to be modified not merely in the liberal sense of growing cooperation, but more fundamentally in the sense that international interaction increasingly takes place within long-established societies in a globalizing world. The ‘Civilizing Process’ can be seen as a theoretical synthesis of classical realism and constructivism. It accepts realist core concepts as the foundations of the individual and the state. Through its sanctioning forces, however, the state gradually rearranges realist identity constructions by the super-structure individuals grow up in towards a more socialized state. In turn, then, a dynamic develops which likewise changes the structure of the state when it abolishes realist penalty measures once they are deemed unnecessary and ‘cruel.’ Beyond internal friction within states, this can lead to international conflicts as well, as is displayed by friction on ideological grounds between ‘Western’ states that have come to regard harsh punishments as rights violations and states outside of the ‘Western’ sphere, which are punishing today like European states did before tightening norm internalization processes increasingly grew into social identity constructions. On an international level, the post-colonial conclusion thus should be to use the application of one’s own political sphere’s social norms only very carefully (if at all) when dealing with foreign entities.

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**NAMETANJE MEĐUZAVISNOSTI:
PROCES CIVILIZOVANJA NORBERTA ELIASA
KAO EVOLUCIJA REALIZMA**

Apstrakt: Uprkos manjoj važnosti Norbert Elias u Teoriji međunarodne prakse (International Practice Theory – IPT) i mestimičnim priznanjima da njegov rad ponekad počiva na principima realizma, umnogome je prenebregnuto da *process civilizovanja* započinje sa realističkim shvatanjem ljudske prirode. Priroda ponašanja se menja kroz internalizaciju norme i diskursa, kako konstruktivisti obrazlažu, u skladu sa društvenim okruženjem, ali tek nakon institucionalizacije sankcionišuće sile. Štaviše, individue postaju članovi društvenog mehanizma zbog racionalnog samo interesa. Tako teorija nikada ne gubi u potpunosti realističke korene.

Autor nastoji da pruži doprinos teorijama međunarodnih odnosa obogaćivanjem klasične realističke teorije učenja kroz zločin i kaznu sa Eliasovim postepenim procesom izmeštanja individual iz prirodnog stanja. Taj process se vrši putem internog i kognitivnog usvajanja društvenih normi. Na taj način se društveni ugovor reinterpreтира kao postepeni proces kolektivnog uspinjanja.

Key words: Elias, Međunarodni odnosi, process civilizovanja, internalizacija norme, realizam i konstruktivizam.

Received: 01 April 2019

Accepted: 07 May 2019

THE CONJUNCTION OF RUSSIAN-CHINESE INTERESTS WITHIN THE BRI, THE EAEU AND THE SCO

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Abstract: This paper presents the results of an analysis of three Eurasian integration projects – the BRI, the EAEU and the SCO, which intersect in Central Asia. The author identifies the political and economic interests of Russia and China in these projects and reviews priority tasks for Moscow and Beijing based on their national interests for cooperation in the international arena. The article also sets forth recommendations for promoting Russia – China interaction. Particular attention is given to multilateral collaboration within the SCO, the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union.

Key words: Eurasian Economic Union, BRI, SCO, Russia, China, infrastructure projects.

INTRODUCTION

The tendency of the joint development, mutual cooperation on the basis of equal rights has assumed ever greater importance in the modern world. At the same time, the global challenges and threats, as well as factors of uncertainty and unpredictability, are on the rise. Taking into account these tendencies of global and regional development, the Chinese government has introduced the concept of the “Silk Road Economic Belt” which was later combined with the “21st Century Maritime Silk Road” under the name the “Belt and Road Initiative”.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) became the basis of the Chinese foreign strategy for the nearest historical prospects. The announced objective of this high scale project is the development of the new economic factors directed to promote more effective regional resource allocation, strengthening of the market integration between Eurasian and African states and in the surrounding seas. The

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project implementation will be one of the main targets to optimize the structure of the economic development of the Eurasian region.

The Silk Road Economic Belt as part of the BRI is a project whose main region of implementation is Central Asia. The principal question for Russian-Chinese interests' coordination in Eurasia is the issue of crossing spheres of three neighboring projects – the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB). Starting from the 2015 SCO Summit in Ufa, the political leaders always emphasize the issue during their discussion, trying to find out the common Eurasian policy for the SCO development in the middle and long-range period.

Russia and Central Asian countries have the chance to use the current situation, i.e., Chinese interest in widening the cooperation and apply Beijing's huge potential to their own development priorities (Shilina, 2019). Building the relations between the EAEU and its external partners is seen as a significant stage in the economic integration formation in Eurasia and the regulation of international economic relations between the states of the continent.

Russia's foreign policy pays a lot of attention to the Greater Eurasia partnership project. The project supports the promotion of the Eurasian Economic Union and strengthening relations with China. The success of cooperation in these two directions will stipulate the future development of Russia in the conditions of sanctions from the western countries and allow the establishment of Russia as one of the independent centers of world politics. It will help to address the strategic question of innovation model of growth and solve the problem of social-economic development in its eastern regions. In this respect, the conjunction of the EAEU and the SREB has vital meaning for both countries.

China's consent for the conjunction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Eurasian Economic Union is the most important indication of the possibility to come to an agreement with Chinese partners. In spite of some Chinese experts' negative conclusions, the country's government has agreed for conjunction. Beijing believes that cooperation with the EAEU's single customs space is beneficial and profitable in many sectors even compared to the bilateral cooperation with each of members and the SCO is chosen as a main institutional platform for multilateral interaction.

COOPERATION SCENARIOS AND THE CONJUNCTION OPPORTUNITIES

In the beginning, the SCO, the SREB and the EAEU have been developing in parallel, independently, even with the potential risk of competition in the

transport, energy and trade-economic spheres. The experts considered several possible scenarios of further development, such as:

- a) the Chinese initiative will absorb the other two projects, there will be created a joint integration zone under the PRC's dominance;
- b) retention of the current "status quo";
- c) the creation of the interaction structure, where the SCO is playing the connecting role of the "Eurasian bridge" between the SREB and the EAEU. (Luzianin, 2015a, p. 7).

The SREB countries and the EAEU (initiated by Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus) are close geographically, they are connected by regional economic cooperation and close ties in the spheres of politics, transport and trade. They also have close cultural and historical traditions of the population. According to Chinese experts, the natural convergence within the two groups is inevitable. The SREB concept is not directed against the EAEU, and the BRI is not trying to substitute it. China offers parallel coordination, joint promotion and the establishment of partnership relations. (Luzianin, 2015c, p. 12).

The BRI countries have unique resources and their economic bases complement each other. The economic cooperation within the SREB has great potential for development. (Kulintsev, Xiujie, 2018). But we have to consider the different national interests of the countries and the fact that the benefits differ for each of the states.

The EAEU and China have been negotiating on the trade agreement since 2017. The representatives of the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC), the Union states national governments, as well as experts and Chinese official representatives, took part in the negotiations. The finalization and signing in May 2018 of the Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between the EAEU and China (Eurasian Commission, 2018) have created an international basis that unifies and consolidates their economic interaction legal foundations. The agreement sets a high regulation standard in various spheres of international economic relations and makes it possible to improve the access of domestic goods for the Chinese market by simplifying trade procedures and increasing the transparency level. The document could become an effective basis for the Eurasia integration concept for practical construction.

The Russian government expects the development of infrastructure, the diversification of the energy resource distribution routes and the strengthening of investment cooperation with China. Central Asian countries have greater transit potential. Kazakhstan because of its geographical location in the center of Eurasia is likely to become the optimal transportation link in the supply chain Europe – Russia – China. Uzbekistan has the chance to become one of the largest logistics centres for cargo traffic from Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Iran and gain

profits from cargo transit. China could intensify its economic ties with Central Asian countries and redirect the cargo routes from South East Asia to Europe. It also has an additional advantage such as substantial financial resources.

The geographic area of the concept which Chinese leader Xi Jinping initiated in autumn 2013, spread far away from a single state. Besides the development of the vast territory of West China, the concept supposes the expansion of the ties with foreign countries in Central Asia as the main focus, with countries in the Middle East and in South East Asia. (A.Ageev, V.Padalko, V.Remiga, 2015, p. 25). It is believed that more than 50 countries participate in the building of the Silk Road Economic Belt in Eurasia.

The supposed schemes of the SREB development include railway branches, highways and sea routes in the territory of the countries around and along the Eurasian continent. The main cargo transportation and logistics routes are shown on the map below.

Map 1: Silk Road Economic Belt main potential routes



Source: Valdai Discussion Club. Toward the Great Ocean – 3. Creating Central Eurasia. URL: http://valdaiclub.com/a/reports/toward_the_great_ocean_3_creating_central_eurasia/

One of the most attractive opportunities within the framework of the Silk Road Economic Belt is the chance to implement the cross-border infrastructure projects. For Beijing, traffic arteries of the SREB are the instrument to increase its economic presence and political influence in the neighboring countries, while the SCO countries receive the opportunity to solve its infrastructure problems at the expense of international investors. (Luzianin, 2015c, pp. 40-41).

The high collaboration prospects in the logistic sphere are confirmed by the research outcomes of the international experts, who expect the boom of infrastructure building in the Asian region in the middle term with an annual growth rate 7-8%. By 2015, the total investments in infrastructure projects in Asia are forecasted at the level of 5.3 trillion US, which is equal to 60% of the world investments in infrastructure construction.

According to Chinese researches, the most attractive region for the BRI is Central Asia. China pays high attention to it because the first transport corridors to European countries went through this region. (Shengyu, Weiming, 2015, C.48). At the same time, Beijing on repeated occasions has highlighted Moscow's influence on Central Asian countries and admitted Moscow's exclusive interests in the region. In this regard, the development of specific relations with Russia is beneficial for China because it allows the implementation of its economic plans, including import of energy resources from the territory of Central Asian countries.

For China, one of the priority tasks of the Silk Road Economic Belt is the strengthening transportation connectivity. According to Beijing, the participants have to increase the integration level by implementing new infrastructure projects. It is possible based on the combined efforts of the countries to promote the construction of the regional transportation corridor from China via Central Asia and Russia towards the West, into European countries. (Integration of megaprojects, 2015, p.32).

At the same time, the parties have to consolidate the institutional connectivity, such as coordination of customs service systems. In this regard, it is reasonable to adopt the SCO's negotiation experience. Regular meetings at the level of ministries and agencies with the participation of heads of core departments will increase the efficiency in simplification of procedure issues. This will decrease the time of the cargo delivery and the cost of prices, favour the development of an integrated coordination approach of logistic chain and the introduction of unified customs clearance forms and norms of cargo transportation.

SCO'S ROLE IN THE CONJUNCTION OF THE SREB AND THE EAEU

During the period of its development, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has proved its significance to international society. The SCO has become an important element of multilateral mechanisms of cooperation in Eurasia. The initiatives introduced within the Organization are widely welcomed by the countries which have the status of "Partner on dialogue" or the status of

“Observer”, most of these countries also participate in the Belt and Road Initiative.

Approaching the 20th anniversary of its establishment, the SCO has entered into the key stage of its development. The high attention to the SCO from the world community is explained by its potential to evolve into one of the centers of the multipolar world and by its ability to exercise a significant influence on the balance of international relations.

As a result of its institutional and political development, the role of the SCO on the global arena has changed. It is growing its influence on the regional and global levels, including the SCO's activity in the UN and its cooperation with the G20, the ASEAN, the BRICS, and other international integration groups. The SCO membership enlargement, observer framework and establishment of partner on dialogue status are increasing the authority of the Organization in the different parts of the world. (Luzianin, 2013).

In 2015 during the SCO Summit in Ufa, it was highlighted that the necessary prerequisites for a new quality of the Organization development were reached. These new quality characteristics were the increase of efficiency in cooperation in the spheres of politics, security, economics, development of cultural ties and expansion of the SCO's participation in the process of regional and global governance. The “SCO Development Strategy towards 2025”, which has been adopted at the Summit, shows the parameters and reference points for the Organization's future evolution. (Президент России, 2019).

According to the Strategy, the member countries will take the measures to implement the SCO's transit potential, will form the regional transport and transit corridors. The cooperation in the modernization of the infrastructure and logistic chains will be considered as one of the major directions of joint efforts. The possible ways of cooperation include the creation of the network of logistics centers and industrial clusters along the transport arteries on the SCO territory. (Президент России, 2019).

The most important achievement in this field is the signing of the Intergovernmental Agreement of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Member States on the Facilitation of International Road Transport, signed in 2014. (UN ESCAP, 2014). The agreement significantly promotes regional and sub-regional connectivity and integration, in particular, simplifies customs procedures and decreases the time for border control formalities.

On the one hand, the “Shanghai spirit” of the SCO helps to identify points of contact and promote economic cooperation by connecting the Central Asian countries with China. On the other hand, the Silk Road Economic Belt concept provides the guarantees of future development. For example, the gas pipeline has already accumulated three branches and combines together Turkmenistan,

Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and China. It is expected that by 2020 the fourth pipeline branch goes into operation. As a result, by 2017 the total Chinese trade volume with the SCO countries has exceeded 200 billion US with an increase of 18 times since the SCO establishment (Annual review, 2019).

China, as an author of the Belt and Road Initiative, receives geoeconomic and political dividends because of the conjunction with already existing integration projects. In the current world, the leaders of the western countries are straining every nerve to restrain the growth of Chinese influence. From the global perspective, this policy will be retained and the pressure on China will rise. In these conditions, Beijing is strongly interested in building stable and secured space west of its land borders, on the territory matched with the SCO responsible area in the geographical borders.

China creates reliable rear space in Central and South Asia and increases its share in the transport and logistics projects by focusing and solving geoeconomic problems. The Silk Road Economic Belt concept clearly indicates the importance of infrastructure interconnectivity, which proposes coordination of the construction plans, development of the Unified technological standards system and building-up of the international transportation lines network (National Development and Reform Commission).

Recently Beijing has shown more and more concern about security guarantees for the economic projects of the Belt and Road Initiative. The expert community discusses the idea of function separation as a possible way of the conjunction. According to this idea, Russia is responsible for the security issues, the Eurasian Economic Union provides the regulatory and institutional platform for cooperation, and China guarantees fanatical support and investments into infrastructure and development.

At the same time, Russia faces an important challenge to maintain its political influence and economic positions in Central Asia. The most favorable scenario for Moscow is to find out the common ground between Chinese SREB, the EAEU and the SCO. The other regional players (who participate in the projects) will have to assess the cooperation advantages, benefits and possible risks in return for investment opportunities provided by the integration models.

In order to optimize Russian political resources to support economic projects, it is necessary to stimulate the SCO's activity. For instance, it is recommended to set a new priority development vector for the SCO, such as coordination of economic cooperation within the EAEU and SREB initiatives. The SCO could connect the Central Asian countries (which are not members of the EAEU – India, Pakistan, Iran, Mongolia and other observers and dialogue partners) to the economic integration in Eurasia.

BRI'S PROGRESS, INTERESTS AND CHALLENGES

In May 2015 during Xi Jinping's official visit to Moscow leaders of both countries took an important political decision. Joint statement on cooperation on the construction of the joint Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road Economic Belt project was signed. The document marked a new milestone in the conjunction of Russian and Chinese interests in Eurasia. Joint statement highlights that both countries will take the coherent efforts to mutually match the construction of the Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road Economic Belt project guided by considerations to provide substantial economic growth and promote economic integration in the region (Президент России, 2015).

Russian and Chinese fundamental interests are not always and not everywhere coincided. It means that the process of conjunction should be based on the mutual approach to each other, including the mutual concessions; based on the principals of transparency, mutual respect, equal rights, the complementarity of different integration mechanisms and openness for all interested countries in Asia and Europe. The above-mentioned document has confirmed that Moscow and Beijing will adjust their collaboration in bilateral and multilateral formats, and priority will be given to the platform of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The working group under the guidance of the Russian and Chinese Foreign ministries has been formed to coordinate the conjunction cooperation.

The results achieved after the first period of the SREB Initiative implementation were summarized during the series of international events hosted by China. In May 2017, the first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation was convened in Beijing. China also hosted the Boao Forum for Asia annual conferences, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Qingdao Summit, and the China International Import Expo (Report, 2019). Over the past six years, the Belt and Road Initiative has won positive responses from numerous countries and international organizations and has attracted worldwide attention.

BRI's influence is growing. These results show that the project is a key Chinese program strategy with huge social-economic, geopolitical, diplomatic and cultural outcomes. The projects main aim is to provide Chinese interests near Chinese borders. But what makes the BRI attractive for the world society is the way how China plans to run it. As President Xi Jinping has declared: "In advancing the initiative, we should transition from making high-level plans to intensive and meticulous implementation, so as to realize high-quality development, bring benefits to local people, and build a global community of a shared future" (Xi Jinping, 2018).

China's main economic interests in the BRI include three major points: provide its economy with a resources base; provide its products with markets;

and provide its labor force with job positions. The size of the Chinese economy has overgrown the reserves of internal resources and market, so the only way for China to support its economic development is to “go outside”. The Silk Road Economic Belt concept has become the extension of Chinese “Go Global” Strategy, which during the implementation of the 10th (2001-2005) and 11th Five-Year Plan (2006-2010) the “Go Global” policy was emphasized as one of the most important strategic policies in China.

According to the findings of western experts (Zakić, Radišić, 2017), at the beginning of Going Global Policy, Chinese companies mostly focused their foreign investments on East and West Asia. In the period from 2010 to 2013, Asia and Africa were still the most dominant markets for Chinese ventures. However, there was also an increase in the investments in the EU countries and the USA, where they invested in IT and entertainment industry.

In 2016 the East Asian market became the main focus for Chinese investors and reached a historical maximum. They spent US\$ 247 billion on M&A around the world. The sectors in which they invested that year were: real estate, entertainment, tourism, IT and technology, transport, etc.

Starting from 2017 the situation has been different. The Chinese Government stated that it would shift the focus on the BRI project and invest in infrastructure, and not in buying foreign companies. A stricter control was introduced and ban on suspicious purchases by Chinese companies in foreign markets. The Chinese State Council gave an official warning about investing abroad: “Those on the restriction list include real estate, hotels, entertainment, sport clubs, outdated industries and projects in the countries with no diplomatic relations with China, chaotic regions and the nations that should be limited by bilateral and multilateral treaties concluded by China. In addition, the guideline also prohibits domestic enterprises being involved in an overseas investment that may jeopardize China’s national interests and security, including the output of unauthorized core military technology and products, gambling, and other prohibited technology and products (The State Council of PRC, 2017).”

The BRI is also facing challenges, and these challenges are to be solved by the Chinese government. The potential risks for the SCO and EAEU countries can be summarized in the following aspects. The first relates to the financial risks of infrastructure investments. Foreign aid and commercial loans used to be the only means for China’s infrastructure investment in the Central Asian countries. Over recent years, these loans tend to put both investors and recipients into a dilemma, with the former being concerned about investment return and the latter being worried about debt burden. This has led some Western media to accuse China of a “neo-colonial” agenda in Central Asia (Zhen, 2018).

There are also currency challenges for the BRI projects. China dealing with the SCO and EAEU countries has been still relying heavily on the dollar for the investments abroad. These countries must accept the risk of currency mismatch. Loans in foreign currencies present a high risk for both investors and recipients because the values of these currencies are under the influence of the central banks of the third countries (Yifan, 2018). Using foreign currencies for off-shore investment can, therefore, lead to a mismatch of large amounts of debts, which can be burdensome.

The next challenge relates to the security risks regarding the countries where the money is invested. The infrastructure investments are characterized by high start-up costs and long payback periods. The potential risks involved in investing in political, economic and socially unstable countries can be even higher. Compared with most SCO and EAEU countries, Central Asian countries have been at a critical period of social, economic transformation, and some (like Kazakhstan) are even in the midst of political power transition.

In terms of geopolitics, the BRI allows China counteracts to the U.S. policy in the Central Asian region (Rumer, Sokolsky, Stonski, 2016). Major geopolitical shifts and internal dynamics are setting the stage for possible increased great-power competition in Central Asia between Russia and China at the time when the region is becoming less hospitable to the projection of the U.S. power and to the promotion of democracy. The U.S. policy will need adapting to these changes to bring Washington's ambitions in Central Asia into better alignment with the U.S. interests and means. Some experts believe that Western countries' policy in Central Asia undermines the stability and is aimed to restrain the economic growth of China and to contain the Chinese geopolitical influence in the world (Suslov, 2018).

In the current geopolitical situation, China is interested in Russia's support and Eurasian integration. The Chinese government has granted the status of "Guest country of Honor" to Russia at the first China International Import Expo (CIIE) held in November 2018 (Yurou, 2018). The gesture shows the level of commitment of China to make Russia part of a shared future, which is undergoing massive infrastructure development to align itself with the global transportation and communication networks. It also confirms that Beijing considers a stable Eurasian space a major buffer which is able to prevent the USA from restraining China.

CONCLUSION

The Belt and Road Initiative has a comprehensive nature; it is emphasized by the interest of countries in Eurasia. Leaders and high ranking officials of the

Central Asian countries, Russia, Afghanistan have pointed out that the BRI is an important, constructive and opportune initiative, and have confirmed their readiness to participate in the implementation of it (Want China Times, 2014).

The political interests of China in the BRI prioritized by providing its economic interests and support security environment in Eurasia. The SREB project is oriented to the development of trade-economic cooperation between China and regional partners through assistance to their economic development, which stipulates the maintenance of a stable political environment in those countries.

For national interests, it is important to be aware of the challenges and risks which have arisen during the conjunction of integration initiatives in Eurasia. The development of the transportation routes and new high-speed transport corridors for the transit of Chinese goods could lead to a decrease of loading of the Russian Trans-Siberian railway and Baykal-Amur Railroad. The second risk is the focus on the development of natural resources project, which could lead the participants to the total economic dependence from the more financially strong partner.

From the Chinese perspective, some risks have arisen from the cultural and mentality differences between the countries which have signed intergovernmental cooperation agreements on the Belt and Road Initiative. By the end of March 2019, the Chinese government had signed 173 cooperation agreements with 125 countries and 29 international organizations (Report, 2019). The Belt and Road has expanded from Asia and Europe to include more new participants in Africa, Latin America and the South Pacific. But the only consolidation idea for all those different countries is the capability of Chinese financial resources to provide loans for local economies. And that could be the challenge for all participants.

Another challenge for the countries in the BRI implementation is the lack of particular projects under the SREB. A list of priority projects to be implemented by the EAEU States and support the formation of the Silk Road Economic Belt is not disclosed to the public. The researches have been informed that the projects are for the construction of new roads and renovation of the existing ones, creation of transport and logistics centers, development of key transport hubs (EEC, 2017). Therefore, it is not clear what else the SREB can offer, except for logistics, trade and financial infrastructure. In order to minimize those fears, it would be reasonable for Beijing to offer concrete and burst projects, such as a well-known gas pipeline network “Central Asia – China”. Unfortunately, it would be very difficult to realize, because Beijing’s priority cooperation direction is raw material sector, tax credits and supply of consumer commodities.

Moreover, the BRI countries have to take into consideration that in addition to cooperation in the energy sector and construction of transport corridors,

China has actively started to buy the most attractive assets abroad. At the same time, Beijing plans to relocate a part of its production facilities into neighboring countries and has become the main creditor for many of these countries. In consideration of the Chinese approach to export its labor force to the places of infrastructure project implementation, it means that the transport projects allow China to provide control not only over the movement of goods, services, capital and labor but also increase Chinese demographic and geopolitical presence in the neighboring countries.

These reasons stipulate the importance to take into account not only economic benefits but also consider national interests while accepting multilateral integration projects. Each of them should pass through a project feasibility study. Then, marketing researches for demand and capabilities of national economies should be conducted to evaluate the possible political risks of the project implementation. International projects of such a high scale require a global vision on the international state of affairs. These projects attract high public attention and have a vital influence on the economic, political, social and ecological situation in the particular regions of the world.

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POVEZANOST RUSKO-KINESKIH INTERESA KROZ BRI, EAEU i SCO

Apstrakt: U ovom radu predstavljeni su rezultati analize tri evroazijska projekta integracije – Inicijative Pojas i put (Belt and Road Initiative), Evroazijske ekonomske zajednice (Eurasian Economic Union) i Šangajske organizacije za saradnju (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation) – koje se presecaju na prostoru Centralne Azije. Autor u ovim projektima uočava političke i ekonomske interese Rusije i Kine i razmatra prioritete zadatke za Moskvu i Peking utemeljene na njihovim nacionalnim interesima za saradnjom na međunarodnoj sceni. U radu su takođe predstavljene preporuke za unapređenje rusko-kineskih odnosa. Posebna pažnja posvećena je multilateralnoj saradnji u okviru Šangajske organizacije za saradnju (SCO), Inicijative Pojas i put (BRI) i Evroazijske ekonomske zajednice (EAEU).

Ključne reči: Evroazijska ekonomska zajednica, Inicijativa pojas i put svile, Šangajska organizacija za saradnju, Rusija, Kina, infrastrukturni projekti.

Received: 09 May 2019

Accepted: 22 May 2019

UDC 323.269.6(497.115)(510)
Biblid 0543-3657, 70 (2019)
Vol. LXX, No. 1174, pp. 36–51
Review paper

DIASPORA POLITICAL MOBILIZATION – THE CASES OF ALBANIAN AND UYGHUR DIASPORA TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM

Dragan TRAILOVIĆ¹

Abstract: This paper deals with the transnational political activism of the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora organisations in comparative perspective. Starting from the similarities in the behaviour of the two diasporas on the international level, the paper explores the main mobilization practices, effective strategies and master discursive frames that were used by the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora organisations in attempts to achieve secessionist objectives and independence. The paper shows how the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora internationalize the Kosovo and Xinjiang issue by involving international state and non-state actors and adapting their political demands to the interests of international actors, which provided them with financial, political and moral assistance in their effort to resolve the Albanian and Uyghur national cause. Also, the paper deals with the Albanian and Uyghur organizations in the diaspora which used violent means of achieving political goals.

Key words: diaspora, transnational activism, lobbying, human rights discourse, Kosovo and Metohija, Xinjiang

INTRODUCTION

The collapse of real socialism and the weakening influence of communist ideology, as well as the emergence of the newly independent states in the early 1990s, have contributed to an increase in the ethnic and national consciousness of minority nations in some countries of the world. In fact, after the Central Asian republics and the former Yugoslav republics gained independence, some members of the Uyghur ethnic group in PR China (Xinjiang) and the Albanian ethnic group in Serbia (Kosovo and Metohija) saw the opportunity to achieve

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their statehood and independence by secession from these countries.² The impact of the different globalization tendencies³ has led many ethnic minorities in the world to advocate such a type of ethnic consciousness that requires a higher degree of autonomy or even complete independence. Such kind of minority ethnic consciousness was also hostile towards any form of national integration which presupposes the preservation of the existing majority identities and boundaries of the internationally recognized states.

Since minority ethnic groups often cannot be formally represented at the level of the international system, they may largely depend on the support coming from individuals and the organization of their ethnic diaspora (Demmers, 2005, p. 12-17). The diaspora of minority ethnic groups and its organizations around the world form a large network of interest groups that advocate the protection of their rights and interests at the international level. Due to its activism, the ethnic diaspora has become a political actor able from abroad to influence the events inside its home state. The goal of these activities, especially if there is a dispute between the ethnic minority and the central authorities over the position of the minority in the political, economic and social organization of the country, is to bypass the central authorities and communicate directly with international actors (states, international organizations). The main reason for this is to exert political pressure on the country of origin through established transnational networks (Keck & Sikkink, 2014 (1998), pp. 20-21).

Although there are differences in the case of Kosovo and Metohija and Xinjiang, especially in regard to the wider domestic context, history and causes of the ethnic conflict itself, there are also important similarities. When it comes to both these territories, Kosovo and Metohija and Xinjiang have the status of autonomous regions within unitary states of the Republic of Serbia and the People's Republic of China. These autonomous regions in both cases are inhabited by dominantly Muslim minority ethnic groups. Both regions have a history of ethnic unrest and conflict between minority ethnic groups and central authorities. Also, both of these ethnic groups have their own conflict-generated diaspora located in countries such as Turkey, Germany and the United States with similar patterns of mobilization. In an effort to create greater international support for their demands, fitting them into the dominant post-Cold War discourse of promoting and protecting human rights, both the Albanian and the Uyghur diaspora became better organised and politically mobilized in time. Their

² Although the Albanians have already achieved their statehood in the Republic of Albania.

³ For instance, 'globalization has intensified nationalistic and localistic sentiments as a result of greater international economic integration'; 'globalization has intensified conflicts as a result of a backlash against encroachment of identity'... (Ishiyama, 2004, pp. 2-4)

cooperation with the state and non-state actors enabled them to internationalize their political demands and transfer the internal affairs of their home countries to the international level. Over the past three decades, the Albanians and the Uyghurs in the diaspora, both peacefully advocated and fought militarily for the secession of the territory of Kosovo and Metohija and Xinjiang from Serbia and China. In addition, some members of both ethnic groups have resorted to the use of terrorist acts in order to realize their secessionist goals.

This paper deals with the political activities, mobilization practices and discursive frames of the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora organizations. Based on the examples of the Uyghur and the Albanian diaspora, we are trying to answer questions what are the mobilization patterns and master discursive frames used by the organizations of the ethnic diaspora at the international level in order to form transnational networks with state and non-state actors and to influence the events in their country by supporting secession. To answer these questions, the paper deals with political activities, lobbying strategies, established networks and coalitions of the most prominent Albanian and Uyghur organizations in the diaspora, such as the Albanian American Civic League, the National Albanian-American Council, the World Uyghur Congress, the Uyghur-American Association and others. Also, attention has been paid to the criminal and terrorist organizations of some members of the Albanian and Uyghur ethnic groups abroad.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The process of globalization and the increased interconnection and interdependence of states in the international system has enabled international state, but also non-state actors – international non-governmental organizations, transnational criminal and terrorist groups, as well as ethnic diaspora organisations - to have an effect on internal affairs, such as ethnic relations, of other states. When it comes to the diaspora, as Maria Koinova says, new political science research emerged in time to focus on the effect of diaspora - especially conflict-generated diaspora - activism, on political processes in their homelands (Koinova, 2013, p. 433).

Due to the development of the Internet, mass media and social networks, there has been an increase in the visibility and impact of ethnic diaspora within the international system. Because of the ability to easily establish contacts and to communicate quickly, the diaspora is increasingly able to realize and maintain social relations between the societies in which it is found and the one from which it originates (Demmers, 2005, p. 12).

In literature, diaspora is determined as one of the important examples of transnational social networks, which at the global level form a series of different

modalities of social organization, mobility and communication. Diaspora creates trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships between the diaspora, the host country, the home state and other international actors. (Sheffer, 2003, p. 10) Diaspora activities can be numerous - it can act as a lobby group in the country in which it is located, it can establish transnational networks and act as a bridge between the state in which it lives and the country of origin and play the role of transnational mediation, it can transmit the values of pluralism, democracy and the like. (Shain & Barth, 2003, p. 450)

The definition of the diaspora that we use in this paper determines diaspora 'as a people with a common origin who reside more or less on a permanent basis outside the borders of their ethnic or religious homeland - whether that homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control' (Shain & Barth, 2003, p. 452). We extend the definition by adding the diaspora's ability to address the collective interests of members of the social collective through a developed internal organizational framework and transnational links' (Adamson & Demetriou, 2007 as cited in Koinova, 2013, p. 435). We also accept cases where the ethnic diaspora as a transnational community functions through illegal and violent social networks that it can form.

The diaspora can also be active in advocating the right of people to national self-determination, as well as advocating more autonomy, secession and independence. David Carment and Patrick James point out the importance of the ethnic diaspora that provides material and nonmaterial (ideological, political) support to their compatriots. According to them, effective links are of paramount importance for the development of a national self-determination movement and these 'transnational ethnic affinities' exist among many groups in the international system, especially those with diaspora (Carment & James, 1997, pp. 217-2018). The influence of the diaspora on the internationalization of ethnic conflict is high since it links the spheres of international and domestic politics. (Ibid.)

Diaspora activities can be an important source of conflict in the home country. Some research suggests that after the Cold War, the diaspora became an important factor that has contributed to maintaining an ethnic conflict (Shain & Barth, 2003, p. 450). According to Fiona Adams, the diaspora participation in the ethnic conflict in the motherland goes through two phases: the first is the process of mobilization of the diaspora and the second is the influence of the mobilized diaspora on the course of the conflict (Adams, 2013, pp. 67-73). Two important mechanisms through which the diaspora can, directly and indirectly, affect the emergence and spread of ethnic conflict in the country of origin can be the mobilization of resources and lobbying (Ibid.). Or, as Jonathan Paquin and Stephen Saideman put it, 'diasporas can impact ethnic conflicts in two different ways: (1) they can constitute ethnic lobbies to influence the foreign policy of their host states; and/or (2) they can cause significant violence and

instability in their homeland by getting directly involved in political issues' (Paquin & Saideman, 2017).

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, LOBBYING STRATEGIES AND MOBILIZATION PATTERNS OF THE ALBANIAN AND UYGHUR DIASPORA

There is a large number of individuals and organizations of the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora in the world who in different ways tried to influence the fate of the region and people of Kosovo and Metohija and Xinjiang. In search of better living conditions, but also because of ethnic conflicts, a part of the Albanian and Uyghur population, especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s, migrated from their homelands and settled mainly in European and North American countries. As a result of the emergence of the nationalism of their compatriots, which was followed by a conflict with the central authorities, there has also been an increase in their political engagement. The main objective of this political engagement was to influence the foreign policy of the host country and thus to influence the events in their countries of origin.

Organized Uyghur transnational activism began to gain momentum, especially during the 1990s, and it was reflected in the founding of associations, printing publications, establishing contacts with international leaders and organizations, signing petitions and appeals, organizing demonstrations, and others (Shichor, 2003, pp. 282, 288). Also, political activities and transnational organization of the Uyghur diaspora from Turkey and Central Asia during the 1990s moved to the countries of Western Europe and North America. Many of Uyghur communities in diaspora formed organizations such as the Belgium Uyghur Association, the Swedish Uyghur Committee, the Uyghur Canadian Association and many others (Shichor, 2003, p. 293). First Uyghur Organization out of Turkey was the Eastern Turkestan Union in Europe, founded in 1990 in Germany. The Union of East Turkestani Youth was also located in Germany where in 2004 the World Uyghur Congress was founded when the Eastern Turkestan National Congress and the World Uyghur Youth Congress merged to create the WUC (Shichor, 2013, pp. 617-618). In fact, the nineties were years when the internationalization of the Uyghur issue began due to the ethnic riots in Xinjiang, which at the time became violent and bigger in their proportions and consequences. Also, the Chinese authorities, during this period, began to emphasize the connection between the groups that advocate Xinjiang's secession in China and contacts from outside, such as the numerous Uyghur groups and movements that operated in exile.

At the same time, relations between the central authorities and the Albanian minority in Kosovo and Metohija had deteriorated. In the early 1990s, a number

of the Albanians began to speak publicly that all 'ethnic territories' were to be included in Albania's borders. The main goals of the Albanian extremists were an ethnically pure province, secession from Yugoslavia, and unification with Albania. This led to the further radicalization of the Kosovo diaspora in the US, Germany and Switzerland (International Crisis Group, 2004, p. 5). Many radicals who opposed the Yugoslav authorities went abroad, where they formed new political groups which played a key role in the development of the Kosovo Liberation Army (Ibid, p. 25). In turn, the radicalisation of the Albanian diaspora affected further radicalization of Kosovo's Albanian politics (Koinova, 2013, p. 444).

As their main activity in the diaspora, the Uyghur organizations were trying to establish ties with countries that want to include the Uyghur issue in their bilateral relations with China in order to get support from governments and international organizations, especially from those NGOs that are involved with human rights issues. Many of the activities of the Uyghur diaspora were taking place in order to internationalize the Uyghur issue in a way to raise general public's awareness of their perception of the issue and justify the reasons for possible secession of Xinjiang. In recent times, a significant way of internationalising the Uyghur issue used by organizations of the Uyghur diaspora is the Internet. The growth of the number of Uyghur diaspora internet sites has become one of the new directions of Uyghur political activism. The increasing use of the Internet has greatly encouraged the Uyghur diaspora in advocating its demands, especially because the Internet has made it easier for them to communicate and exchange information, both between themselves and with other foreign activists (Chen, 2010, pp. 3, 5-8).

Similarly, the strategy of the Albanian ethnic minority representatives was to internationalize the ethnic conflict by involving connections to non-state actors, including diaspora entrepreneurs (Koinova, 2013, p. 440). Albanian organisations in diaspora provide timely information and analysis of the Albanian issues to the different government officials, policy and opinion makers; issue press releases and policy papers; serve as a speaker at leading think tanks and academic forums; and provide commentary for leading media (NAAC, 2019). Also, there was a strong Albanian lobby in the US where the Albanian organizations effectively lobbied in the Congress through a network of contacts, primarily in the Republican Party in order to influence the U.S. foreign policy regarding the Kosovo issue. When it comes to Uyghur movement in the US, supporters have traditionally been also Republicans.

The most influential Albanian organisations are the National Albanian-American Council (NAAC) and the Albanian-American Civic League (AACL), which were established with the aim of gathering a number of influential groups of the American Albanians in the campaign to draw the attention of the American Congress on the issue of Kosovo (International Crisis Group, 2004,

p. 25). These organizations were active in lobbying and financing. In terms of lobbying, the AACL facilitated contacts between American senators and Albanian political figures from Kosovo. The Albanian American Civic League was founded by the Joe DioGuardi, former Republican congressman at that time, in New York in 1989. The AACL's priority was to give publicity to the Kosovo issue and for that purpose, the AACL created the Albanian American Public Affairs Committee (AAPAC) as well as the Albanian-American Foundation. Fund-raising, collecting and spreading information were the main activities (Ragaru & Dymi, 2004, pp. 14-16). In order to create an organized network of Albanian groups in the diaspora, the Albanian Turkish Civic League was established as an independent affiliate of the AACL in Turkey in 1992 (AACL, 2019a). The National Albanian American Council was founded in Washington in 1996 as a non-partisan organization with the intention to link the Albanian-American community to the US government and the Albanians in the Balkans (Ragaru & Dymi, 2004, pp. 14-16). During the 1980s and 1990s, on the proposal of Congressman Joe DioGuardi, several resolutions on the state of human rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia and Serbia were considered in the US Congress⁴. In addition, during this period, the AACL organized several rallies to 'protest Serbian domination of the ethnic Albanians in Kosova' (AACL, 2019b). In recent years, the League has continued to lobby key foreign policy leaders in the US House of Representatives about the Kosovo status. Next to other organizations that were active in lobbying for the Kosovo issue in the United States, lobbying activities to push the White House and Congress to support Kosovo's independence were carried out by the firm Jefferson Waterman International. According to the article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine written by John Newhouse, Samuel Hoskinson - the firm's vice president and chief financial officer - became one of the heads of a group Alliance for a New Kosovo in 2007. According to the author, the organisation hired people to lobby US legislative and executive institutions and media and when the United States recognized Kosovo's independence the firm considered it as one of its greatest successes (Ibidem).

The two most important and most influential Uyghur organizations in exile are the Uyghur-American Association based in Washington and the World Uyghur Congress, based in Munich (see Chen, 2013). The Uyghur-American Association was founded in 1998 by several Uyghur activists in America with the aim of preserving the Uyghur culture, but also supporting the Uyghur's right to use 'peaceful and democratic means to determine their political future' (Clarke, 2017, pp. 12-14). Since the end of the nineties, the organization has launched an

⁴ The U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs holds hearings on the 'Kosovo issue' witnessed by the Albanian representatives.

Internet site and actively reported on issues related to Xinjiang. The main role of the Uyghur-American Association is to serve the Uyghur community in the United States and represent the Uyghurs in the US administration in Washington, but also to lobby in the US Congress and the United Nations in New York. Through its newsletter and through various educational programs, the Uyghur-American Association is trying to achieve and improve communication and interaction between the Uyghur in Xinjiang and those in the United States (Trajber, 2014, p. 225; Guang & Ranjan Debata, 2010, p. 70). The World Uyghur Congress was founded in 2004 in Munich. Its founding was the result of many years of efforts by numerous Uyghur groups in the diaspora, in particular, Turkey and Europe, to achieve their unification and form one organization as the exclusive representative of the Uyghurs in the diaspora that will present the Uyghur issue before foreign governments and to the wider international community (Clarke, 2017, pp. 12-14). The World Uyghur Congress is an umbrella organization composed of over 28 affiliate organizations in 16 countries. The WUC is engaged in collective action, such as simultaneous demonstrations around the world, advocate for Uyghur rights in local situations, share information and work together with other international organisations to develop a holistic and coordinated strategy for Uyghur advocacy (see Chen, 2013). The WUC launch campaigns around particular issues, conduct interviews, monitor the news, engage with academics, human rights activists and the Uyghur community. The WUC is also active in engaging with international press and for this purpose its staff regularly liaise with journalists, giving interviews and sharing information to ensure the Uyghur issues get coverage in the international media. The World Uyghur Congress, in collaboration with the wider Uyghur diaspora community also organizes demonstrations and cultural events to put the Uyghur issues and awareness of the Uyghur culture into political and cultural spaces. The WUC regularly raises these issues in international institutions, namely the EU and the UN, and with national governments. In recent years, the WUC has made great strides to better organize and communicate with the Uyghur organizations in the diaspora (World Uyghur Congress, 2019).

Activities of the Uyghur organizations in the diaspora are supported by governments and legislative bodies of individual states, as well as international organizations. The support of the United States to the Uyghur's organisations is taking place in several ways: by internationalizing this issue, by adopting resolutions, by giving political asylum to Uyghur dissidents and to the leaders of the Uyghur movement for national self-determination, by financial and other forms of support for the work of Uyghur organizations. A significant form of US support for the Uyghur organizations and their work is carried out through the National Endowment for Democracy. In 2000, the US Congress established the Congressional-Executive Commission on China with the aim of monitoring

human rights and the development of the rule of law in PR China. The Commission adopts the annual report with policy recommendations on specific issues submitted to the President and the Congress (CECC, 2019). For this purpose, the Commission holds hearings and roundtables where, among others, the Uyghur diaspora activists are witnessing as well. With their testimonies they contribute to the creation of these annual reports, providing the information needed to formulate policy recommendations. Most recently, a bill that could pave the way for sanctions against China over its treatment of Muslim ethnic minorities in Xinjiang was revived in the Senate (Shih, 2019). Also, the European Parliament had hearings, passed several resolutions on Xinjiang and organised conferences attended by representatives of Chinese ethnic minority organizations in the diaspora.⁵ Organizations such as the Society for Threatened Peoples and the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization are acting as mediators of the Uyghur organizations in the diaspora. These organizations help activists of the Uyghur organizations in the diaspora with their appearance in the international context, shaping their activities so that they correspond to the accepted models of activism in local communities in the West. They also train them for procedures and tactics of effective international political mobilization (Trajber Waisbich, 2014, pp. 230-231).

On the other hand, some Albanian and Uyghur groups in exile applied violent strategies for the secession. The activities of some Albanian and Uyghur diaspora groups included funding through crime, weapons and drug trafficking, and other illegal activities, in order to mobilize resources for the use of violence and terrorism in conflict with the central authorities. With the claims that different ethnic identity is the reason why their members do not have the same rights as a majority nation they resorted to ethnic violence and terrorist acts as the means of abolishing alleged ethnic discrimination.

The rebel groups of the ethnic Albanians to a great extent relied on a million emigrants of the ethnic Albanians for political, moral and financial support. An anarchic situation in neighbouring Albania allowed the founders of the Kosovo

⁵ The Conference on “The Situation in East Turkestan after half a century of Chinese communist occupation” was held at the European Parliament in 2001. The Conference “Uyghurs Call for Dialogue with China - Implementation of the Chinese Constitution to Safeguard and Protect the Rights of the Uyghur people” was held at the European Parliament in 2017. The conference was organized under the auspices of the World Uyghur Congress, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe and UNPO, with the aim of urging the Chinese authorities to open a dialogue with Uyghur leaders, and to appeal to EU representatives to support such a dialogue. In 2011, the European Parliament adopted the “Resolution on the Situation and Cultural Heritage in Kashgar”. The European Parliament’s Human Rights Subcommittee organized an exchange of views on the current state of human rights in China, with a special focus on the Xinjiang region.

Liberation Army (KLA) to acquire light weapons and to reach part of the territory of Albania where there was no longer any effective state power, where they could arm and train guerrillas in the 90s (International Crisis Group, 2004, p. 5). Actually, the Kosovo Liberation Army⁶ changed the strategy of the Albanians from non-violence to guerrilla warfare and effectively advocated for a violent solution of the Kosovo issue. At this point, the diaspora redirected its support to the KLA in 1998, when voluntary contributions started flowing from the US, Canada, Australia, Germany and Switzerland (Koinova, 2011, pp. 349-350). Contributions to the KLA ranged from sending money, arranging shipments of weapons, and finally to signing up fighters. As a result, open conflict broke out between the KLA and the Yugoslav (Serbia) security forces when Albanian militants of the Kosovo Liberation Army launched a full-scale rebellion in 1998⁷. Such an open conflict situation has triggered additional support for the rebels among Kosovo's Albanians, the Albanian diaspora and the international community. According to Alan J. Kuperman, the KLA resorted to open conflict and ethnic violence in order to provoke Serbian retaliation, which would lead to the intervention of the international community, who made explicit warnings of military intervention in Kosovo several times during the 1990s, which eventually happened in 1999. The bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was carried out under the pretext that it was a humanitarian intervention in order to prevent the alleged violation of the human rights of the Albanian minority in Kosovo and Metohija and it came only when an ethnic conflict of great proportions caused by the militant actions of Albanian extremists broke out (Ibidem).

Also, some groups of the Uyghurs outside China were organized in a way to form numerous militant and terrorist groups based either on Islamist or on secular grounds. They were associated with regional and global extremist and terrorist organizations, especially those that operate in Central Asian republics, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Syria. According to the Chinese authorities, a large number of ethnic riots and terrorist acts that occurred in Xinjiang were carried out by Uyghur terrorist organizations - 'East Turkestan forces'. Chinese official reports stated that a certain number of terrorists were arrested in Xinjiang just after being trained in bases in Afghanistan and other countries (Information Office of State Council, 2001). According to the Chinese authorities, 'East Turkestan forces' had the support of Al-Qaeda, receiving financial and material support (weapons, ammunition, means of transport, telecommunication

⁶ The KLA originated from the Kosovar Albanian diaspora in Germany and Switzerland.

⁷ During 2003 Albanian militant groups re-emerged in the Balkans with a new organization called the Albanian National Army (ANA).

equipment), training assistance and assistance in networking with other terrorist organizations from the Central Asian region (Information Office of State Council, 2001). In the 1990s numerous militant and terrorist Uyghur organizations were formed and operated. One of the most famous was the East Turkestan Liberation Organization. In 2002, China identified this organization as a terrorist organization and considered this group responsible for numerous acts of violence, including incursions, bombings and robberies of banks, both in Xinjiang and in some Central Asian republics, especially in 1998 (Gunaratna, Acharya, & Pengxin, 2010, pp. 79-80). Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, the Chinese authorities are increasingly associating violent riots in Xinjiang with the Uyghur terrorist, separatist and extremist organizations claimed to be housed in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and linked to major terrorist and jihadist organizations.

Since 2002, the Chinese authorities have labelled the Islamic Movement of Eastern Turkestan (ETIM) as the main culprit for numerous terrorist acts in Xinjiang.⁸ This terrorist organization aims to establish an independent Islamic state in Xinjiang, and for these purposes sends these terrorists to China to conduct terrorist activities and train others (see Reed & Raschke, 2010). The Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP), between 2006 and 2008, emerged as the organization's successor to the Islamic Eastern Turkestan Movement with the primary goal to establish an Islamic caliphate (Vagneur-Jones, 2017, p. 3). The focus of the Uyghur terrorist activities has moved with this organization from the area of the Afghan-Pakistani border to Syria. During 2012, Chinese military officials for the first time drew public attention to the fact that the Uyghur terrorist organizations use the Syrian conflict to gain experience (Ibid, p. 5).

DISCURSIVE FRAMES USED BY THE ALBANIAN AND UYGHUR DIASPORA

In the post-Cold War globalized world, many unrepresented groups have sought to gain the attention and support of the 'global civil society', fitting their demands in the broader context of the interests of large global players. Changes at the international level have influenced changes in rhetoric and actions of individual members and groups of ethnic minorities. In order to obtain international social support, it was necessary to adjust to the normative framework and the value system used by those who provided the assistance. In this regard, many ethnic minorities, as well as the Albanians and the Uyghurs, had to adapt the discursive practices of those who provided support.

⁸ The United States has also put ETIM on the list of terrorist organizations.

In these circumstances, when it was considered that the Western social-political formula had won, there has also been a change in the very structure of the international system, as well as in the social, economic and political structure of individual states. The questions of the character of the political system, the establishment of democratic procedures, free and fair multi-party elections, the free market, as well as the issues of the rights of ethnic and national minorities and their position within multi-ethnic states were being raised. The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe again raised issues of national self-determination of the people, which had additional incentives to similar processes in other parts of the world. Also, the issue of democracy and human rights has become the dominant element of the discourse in international relations. The importance of human rights in international politics increased and many countries were put under pressure, especially by the United States, for the alleged ‘violation of their citizens’ human rights’. Among these countries were China and Serbia, therefore, the Uyghur, as well as the Albanian diaspora, adopted rights-based discourse in order to provide international support for their movements.

The main topics of the ethnic Albanian minority changed over time, and moved from those who had the ‘national question’ as the main motive, to those that were based on communism/anti-communism motive⁹, and finally to the rhetoric of ‘human rights violations’. In the end, the Albanian organisations in diaspora managed to transnationalise the Kosovo issue using ‘the violation of human rights’ discourse in their political activism (Koinova, 2013, p. 442). Similarly, as the centres of the political activity of the Uyghur diaspora changed from Central Asia and Turkey to Western Europe and North America, the dominant discourse they used were also changed. At the beginning of the nineties, a large number of Uyghur organizations from Central Asia advocated the secession by violent means and used rhetoric based on Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. The main themes that were used were based on identity issues (Bonnenfant, 2018, pp. 91-99). Later, Uyghur advocacy groups, which often continue to support Xinjiang’s secession, used discourses and activities more acceptable to Western societies such as the discourse of human and minority rights, and non-violent means and liberal models of political mobilization (Ibid).

In addition, both Albanian and Uyghur diaspora widely propagated the themes of historical inequities and both have historic claims for territories of Kosovo and Xinjiang. During the anti-colonial era, some representatives of ethnic minorities in China, as well as their representatives in exile, sought to portray

⁹ Anti-Communism was another narrative line similar to both diasporas – the Albanian and the Uyghur - which was deliberately used in the West.

China as a 'colonial conqueror' and put the conflict with the Chinese authorities into a 'national liberation' discourse (Juergensmeyer, 1993, p. 142). The Uyghur diaspora in Turkey has, among other things, endeavoured to link the Uyghur issue with the wider decolonization movement in Asia and Africa, appealing for assistance to Muslim countries (Clarke, 2017:8). Members of the Albanian ethnic group also used the 'foreign occupation' and 'national liberation' narrative in the international public sphere (International Crisis Group, 2004, p. 2).

CONCLUSION

During the 1990s, the political activism of the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora gained momentum. On the one hand, in the countries from which they originated, violent ethnic conflicts broke out. On the other hand, there was a radicalization of the diaspora itself, which was politically mobilized in the host countries with the intention of influencing events in the countries of origin. For this purpose, the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora has started the implementation of various operational strategies. Firstly, they started with a better internal organization, the unification of different movements and the creation of umbrella organizations. Secondly, the work on the internationalization of the Kosovo and Xinjiang issues - the collection and dissemination of information, networking and the creation of transnational coalitions and the connection with numerous and various international actors, lobbying and advocacy - followed.

Numerous organizations of the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora in Western countries provided reports, analyses and information on events in the home countries from their perspective to the governments of host states and international governmental and non-governmental organizations, in order to gain credibility and legitimacy in the wider international community by obtaining international publicity. Using the circumstances in international relations after the Cold War, where efforts were made to expand the Western model of democracy and protect human rights, the Albanian and Uyghur diaspora sought to put their activities within the framework of these wider processes at the level of the international system and in line with the foreign-policy goals of international actors. Both Albanian and Uyghur movements used a discursive repertoire of human rights in search of potential supporters among the societies of the West. The main reason for this was to get the sympathies of global players and thus support for their political demands. When it comes to the international actors, they were not just mere observers and their motives for support, mediation and intervention were mainly instrumental and based on their own political, economic and military interests interpreted within a broader geopolitical and geo-economic context.

When it comes to both ethnic groups, there were also movements that advocated the use of violence, as well as those who formed terrorist organizations and linked them to regional and global criminal and terrorist groups.

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POLITIČKA MOBILIZACIJA DIJASPORE – SLUČAJEVI TRANSNACIONALNOG AKTIVIZMA DIJASPORE ALBANACA I UJGURA

Apstrakt: Ovaj rad se, u uporednoj perspektivi, bavi transnacionalnim političkim aktivizmom albanskih i ujgurskih organizacija u dijaspori. Polazeći od sličnosti u ponašanju dveju dijaspora u međunarodnom okruženju, rad istražuje glavne prakse mobilizacije, efikasne strategije i glavne diskurzivne okvire koje su koristile albanske i ujgurske organizacije u dijaspori u nastojanju da postignu secesionističke ciljeve i nezavisnost. Rad pokazuje načine na koje su albanska i ujgurska dijaspora internacionalizovale pitanje Kosova i Sindanga uključivanjem međunarodnih državnih i nedržavnih aktera i prilagođavanjem svojih političkih zahteva interesima međunarodnih činilaca, što im je pružilo finansijsku, političku i moralnu pomoć u pokušajima da reše albansko i ujgursko nacionalno pitanje. Takođe, rad se bavi albanskim i ujgurskim organizacijama u dijaspori koje su koristile i nasilna sredstva za postizanje političkih ciljeva.

Ključne reči: dijaspora, transnacionalni aktivizam, lobiranje, diskurs ljudskih prava, Kosovo i Metohija, Sindang.

Received: 15.4.2019.

Accepted: 25.5.2019.

COMPATIBILITY OF MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY MEASURES AS AN ECONOMIC GROWTH INSTRUMENT: THE CASE OF THE USA AND JAPAN

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Abstract: Monetary and fiscal policies and measures are the primary instruments of creating general balance in the economy of a country. Their expansion or contraction depends on the defined goals and existing macroeconomic variables. In the case of the unification of East and West Germany, economists have found that a different macroeconomic environment requires a different combination of macroeconomic variables and the necessity for their dynamics (change) during the time. The global economic crisis in 2008 again raised the question of efficiency of the basic types of measures of the implemented policies. Researches dealing with this topic, which are gaining more and more attention, show us the need for compatibility of monetary and fiscal policy measures and in this respect the creation of innovative models of implementation that are correlated with sustainable economic growth and development.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate through the case of the developed countries like the USA and Japan the necessity of compatibility of monetary and fiscal policy measures as instruments for economic growth. At the time of the global economic crisis in 2008, these countries applied non-standard measures in resolving recession and achieving economic growth and thus innovated the previous models of economic policy.

The paper examines the period from 2000 to 2016 and the dynamics of the following variables: GDP, unemployment rate, inflation, external debt coverage

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by GDP. The hypothesis of the research is that as the higher degree of compatibility of monetary and fiscal policy measures are, the greater their efficiency in economic growth and development are.

Key words: monetary policy, fiscal policy, macroeconomic variables, compatibility.

INTRODUCTION

The determinants of macroeconomic policy efficiency are primarily related to realistic goals and their consistency with available instruments. They are also in relation with appropriate coordination of measures and instruments of macroeconomic policies, followed by the selection of the most effective measures and timeliness in their application.

It is very important that economic policymakers set realistic goals in a national economy. Different economies have various macroeconomic situations, levels of economic development, the structure of the economy and relations with other economies. Therefore, the objectives and their consistency with the instruments and measures of adequately coordinated macroeconomic policies will depend on the potential of a particular economy in the economic, social and political sense.

Besides adequately selected goals and coordinated macroeconomic policy measures, it is also necessary to know when the best moment for their implementation and realization is. The timeliness of the implementation of macroeconomic policy measures and instruments plays an important role in establishing macroeconomic stability. Namely, if it is identified that certain disorders have a temporary character in an economy, it is better not to undertake anything, because it can lead the economy to an even more unfavorable position, for example, decreased GDP or increased unemployment. Another important fact - there is a case when some implemented macroeconomic policy measures have a delayed effect. The reason for that may be the fact that most macroeconomic policy measures indirectly affect the activities of economic entities.

At certain stages of the economic conjuncture, economic policymakers will leave the automatic stabilizers to bring the economy to stability, and sometimes they will implement macroeconomic policy measures themselves. For example, when the unemployment rate is increasing in a country, the built-in stabilizers should automatically be activated, which would increase the help to the unemployed. This help comes from state budget funds. However, sometimes the automatic regulation of the macroeconomic situation can lead to the deepening of the problem.

In the case of a regulated economy, economic policymakers have standard and non-standard measures for implementation at their disposal. This choice between the forms of the implemented measures comes from the different levels

of economic development and its structure, the scope and maturity of newly emerging circumstances, as well as from the expectation of potential future developments. As this paper focuses on monetary and fiscal policy, it is necessary to make a brief overview of the implementation of standard measures of these policies, and their coordination with other economic policies.

Economic policymakers, through monetary policy, influence macroeconomic aggregates, such as demand, output, and prices. More specifically, monetary policy influence through transmission channels. It is known that monetary policy affects the money market and the financial market, but inevitably there is a spill-over impact on the market of products and services, and consequently on macroeconomic indicators, such as GDP, GNP, inflation rate movements, prices, as well as employment rates. Economic activity and the value of inflation have a backward effect on monetary policy.

If there is an increase in the money supply in the market, that will increase the demand for products, services and securities, which will cause an increase in GDP. In such a situation, through automatic stabilizers, interest rates will decrease, which will have a positive effect on lending and investments stimulation. This is an expansive monetary policy. It is important to note that such an angle of observation is meaningful only if there is a pronounced elasticity of investments in case of the interest rate change. Otherwise, due to the inelasticity of investments in interest rate changes, monetary policy has a very limited scope. In this situation, economic policymakers act by taking a standard measure of increasing interest rate and excessive spending, which would lead to inflation.

If there is a decrease in money supply on the market, the liquidity of economic entities will be reduced, and at first, the savings will be stimulated due to increased interest rates until there is no further reduction in money supply on the market (contractionary - restrictive monetary policy). In such a situation, there is no longer stimulation for savings, but there is a money holding. That will decrease investment activities and slow down economic activities. In that case, the economic policymakers should undertake standard measures to reduce interest rates, to stimulate investment in economic activities.

Fiscal policy through its transmission mechanism conveys impulses in the economy that provoke discretionary measures of the government in order to increase or contract economic activity (Gnjatović, Grbić, 2009, p.38). Fiscal policy with its instruments like collecting public revenues (taxes) and executing public expenditures, operates through transmission channels in order to change the relations between basic macroeconomic aggregates and the behavior of business entities. The effect of the fiscal policy transmission mechanism can be seen through reducing tax rates or increasing public expenditure as measures of expansive economic policy and by increasing tax rates or reducing public

expenditure as a measure of restrictive economic policy. The restrictive fiscal policy will influence overcoming excessive demand and consumption.

If there is a depression in the economy, the fiscal policy measures go towards reducing the tax burden. In this case, the population will have more money available, which will increase the propensity for consumption. This is a chain reaction. Increasing demand for products and services affects manufacturers to increase their production, which requires hiring new workers. The effects are the increase in employment as well as the increase of national income. By increasing the volume of demand and the required quantity of products and services, the investment multiplier is activated. When the economy is in a decreasing trend and facing unemployment, decreased production volumes and depression, the first approach is the measures in budget policy through increasing the public expenditure with public works. The aim of this kind of policy is to open new job opportunities for the unemployed population in a short time. This is an expansive fiscal policy, through which investments are increasing in the economy. The side effect might be excessive consumption, but that must be avoided.

When an economy is in a situation of excessive consumption, i.e., demand inflation in the stage of full employment when the population has higher incomes, the demand for products and services is rising. At the same time, however, the economy has no potential and possibility to increase the product sales fund and the state is trying to fill up an inflationary “gap” by raising taxes or by reducing public works. That is the so-called contractionary (restrictive) fiscal policy.

Thus, in the case of macroeconomic instability related to excessive growth in the consumption of goods and services, monetary authorities increase the interest rate, and the fiscal authorities increase taxes or reduce the public expenditures. In the event of a decrease in economic activity, monetary authorities take measures to reduce interest rates, and fiscal authorities reduce the taxes and increase public work (expenditures).

Realistic goals and their consistency with available instruments, adequate coordination of measures and instruments of macroeconomic policies, the selection of the most effective measures and the timeliness of their implementation, do not necessarily require standard macroeconomic policy measures recorded in theory. Often, theory and practice do not match.

The creators of the monetary and fiscal policy usually take standard balancing measures with a certain macroeconomic situation. However, circumstances change due to extraordinary shocks. When exceptional circumstances do happen in a macroeconomic environment, like West and East Germany unification, the global financial crisis in 2008, they require a departure from the established regime and the introduction of innovative measures.

The example of the unification of East and West Germany in 1989 showed that the classic economic models of the monetary and fiscal policies had failed. Unification occurred at a time when Western Germany had a strong economic position. The GDP was based on a non-inflationary demand, both domestic and foreign. The employment rate was high, and a trade surplus of 5% GDP was evident. The inflation was about 2%. Unlike the West, the economy of East Germany was poor and was estimated to amount only 10% of GDP of West Germany. The Government and the Bundesbank carried out strong contraction fiscal and monetary policies which have led to a worrying deflationary environment. After uniting between 1990 and 1992 there was a double rise in the unemployment rates and GDP grew by 1.5% annually. The contraction monetary policy between 1990 and 1995 had counterproductive implications for fiscal policy. The goal of such a monetary policy was to maintain inflation at a low level. The excessive fiscal tightening and the reduction of public finances in 1992 had a number of negative consequences and did not respond to inflation, on the contrary. The recession that followed after 2008 also indicated that even the developed countries have to access innovative monetary and fiscal measures. This will be presented in the case of the USA and Japan. (Bibow, 2001, p. 7-25)

In the process of researching, collecting data, information and their interpretation, in order to confirm or reject the hypothesis, the following scientific methods were used: the method of theoretical analysis and synthesis of published research, the method of deductive-inductive logical conclusion, the empirical method of confronting theoretical settings with empirical facts, i.e., verification of the theoretical conclusions reached in this field with the application of comparative analysis. The aim of this paper is to illustrate, in the case of developed countries such as Japan and the USA, the necessity of compatibility of monetary and fiscal policy measures as instruments of economic growth.

ECONOMIC POLICY MEASURES OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES – CASE STUDY THE USA AND JAPAN²

Based on the data from the International Monetary Fund, the trends in key macroeconomic aggregates can be seen in the following tables, in order to get the picture of the implementation of monetary and fiscal policy measures from 2000 to 2016. Based on the presented data, and the percentage of change in GDP, inflation rates, unemployment rates, it can be concluded how the economic

² A part of research is based on Gavrilović, M., (2014) *Odnos monetarne i fiskalne politike u ekonomskoj politici*, PhD thesis, Megatrend Univerzitet.

policymakers of Japan and the United States of America manage monetary and fiscal policy measures.

Table 1: Macroeconomic indicators for Japan in the period from 2000 to 2016

	GDP % change	Inflation % change	Unemployment % change
2000	2.78	-0.67	4.73
2001	0.41	-0.74	5.04
2002	0.12	-0.92	5.36
2003	1.53	-0.25	5.24
2004	2.20	-0.01	4.73
2005	1.66	-0.28	4.42
2006	1.42	0.25	4.12
2007	1.65	0.06	3.83
2008	-1.09	1.38	3.98
2009	-5.42	-1.35	5.07
2010	4.19	-0.72	5.06
2011	-0.11	-0.27	4.58
2012	1.49	-0.05	4.32
2013	2	0.34	4.0
2014	0.37	2.76	3.58
2015	1.35	0.79	3.37
2016	0.96	-0.11	3.11

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, 2018

The changes in GDP in Japan show the continuity of the positive trend in economic activity from 2000 until 2008. When the global economic and financial crisis erupted, GDP started to change and it became negative (-1.09 percentages). The trend in the unemployment rate is different. It fluctuated during the analyzed period. It had a positive trend, with variations between 338 and 536 percentages. Global crises affected it during the two following years. The inflation rate has similar movements as the real GDP, which means that the Japanese economy ensured stability considering the development and small inflationary pressures.

If the Japanese economic policymakers succeeded in stimulating economic activity by monetary or fiscal measures, while keeping inflation under control, the question of financing that economic activities (spending that does not create inflationary pressures) is raised.

Table 2: The share of total state debt in GDP in Japan in the period between 2000 and 2016

	Total debt of the state / GDP
2000	137.89
2001	146.83
2002	156.82
2003	162.73
2004	171.66
2005	176.78
2006	176.38
2007	175.43
2008	183.42
2009	201.04
2010	207.85
2011	222.09
2012	229.00
2013	232.47
2014	236.07
2015	231.26
2016	235.59

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, 2018

If we look at the participation of government debt in GDP (Table 2), the answer to this question can be found. Throughout the observed period, fiscal policymakers additionally indebted the state, so the share of state debt to GDP of 137.89% in 2000 increased to 183.42% in 2008. The trend of borrowing continued and it reached the level of 235.59% in 2016.

In the period after the outbreak of the global economic and financial crisis, based on macroeconomic indicators from Table 1, it can be noticed that economic policymakers devoted more attention to anti-inflation policies and neglected the economic activity, since the value of GDP recorded a negative change of -5.42% in 2009 and -0.11% in 2011. In 2009, however, the inflation rate was constrained by contraction of monetary measures.

The reason for paying more attention to restrain the inflation rate, for the creators of Japan's economic policy, is in their history. Japan, as one of the strongest economies in the world, faced high inflationary pressures with a pronounced decline in GDP and an increase in unemployment in the 70s and early 80s in the 20th century. Their national economy was characterized by a high inflation rate, in the period from 1973 to 1982 the inflation amounted 8.6%. The cause of expansive monetary policy inflation has continued to grow and heavily burdened the Japanese economy, especially in 1989. The result of such inflationary pressures was a sharp rise in real estate prices and stocks in Japan. In order not to have an excessive rise in asset prices, not to "inflate the financial bubble", the central bank of Japan relied on restrictive measures and instruments of monetary policy (Krugman, Obstfeld, 2009, p. 541).

On the other hand, the economic activity was on an enviable level, with the real GDP growth of 8.5% per capita in the seventies and about 3% in the period of the 80s (Krugman, Obstfeld, 2009, p.541). Unemployment was at the level of 1-2% of the total labor force. At the end of the 80s, high-interest rates as restrictive measures resulted in the contraction of economic activity and increased the unemployment rate. All that consequently caused the change in the Tokyo Stock Exchange Index and conditioned the crisis of the Japanese banking system. The recession of the Japanese economy followed as a result. Even until 2005, the crisis did not slow down.

Due to the rising of the public debt, the Japanese government resorted to combining a measure of interest rate cuts with fiscal policy contraction measures such as increasing taxes. However, the indebtedness continued to increase with the weakening of the national currency - JPY, and the situation with economic activity changed. Namely, in the period after the outbreak of the global economic and financial crisis, the unemployment rate was successfully maintained in the range of 3-5% and the change in the value of GDP showed that economic policymakers have worked on measures to stimulate economic activity. However, if we look at the entire observed period of sixteen years, in the stages before and after the crisis, it can be seen that positive changes in GDP values were higher at the beginning of 2000 than at the end of the observed period. One of the reasons for this is the problem of higher or lower inflationary pressures on economic activity. The problem of inflation deserves great attention from the creators of Japanese economic policy.

Previous facts, as well as events surrounding the global economic and financial crisis that broke out in America in 2008 and spread to the rest of the world, emphasized the importance of the macroeconomic indicators in the United States during the 2000-2016 period.

*Table 3. Macroeconomic indicators of the United States
for the period from 2000 to 2016*

	GDP % change	Inflation % change	Unemployment % change
2000	4.13	3.37	3.97
2001	0.99	2.82	4.74
2002	1.74	1.60	5.78
2003	2.86	2.30	5.99
2004	3.80	2.67	5.54
2005	3.51	3.37	5.08
2006	2.85	3.22	4.61
2007	1.88	2.87	4.62
2008	-0.14	3.81	5.8
2009	-2.54	-0.32	9.28
2010	2.56	1.63	9.61
2011	1.55	3.1	8.93
2012	2.25	2.07	8.07
2013	1.84	1.47	7.36
2014	2.45	1.61	6.17
2015	2.88	0.12	5.27
2016	1.57	1.27	4.87

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, 2018

If we look at the changes of GDP in the United States, we can notice the continuity of the increase in economic activity until 2008 when the global economic crisis took over and when GDP was reduced by - 0.14%. Like in the

Japanese economy, the unemployment rate was increasing until 2004 when a rate cut lasted for the next four years. In addition to reducing economic activity, the crisis has produced an increase in unemployment. Regarding inflation, some increases in the growth rates were evident until 2009 when the inflation pressure of -0.32% was recorded. In addition to these trends in macroeconomic aggregates from Table 3, there is evident indebtedness of the USA (Table 3) with a tendency of slight growth.

Table 4. Share of total state debt in GDP in the USA in the 2000-2016 period

	Total state debt/GDP
2000	54.83
2001	53.22
2002	55.58
2003	58.67
2004	66.17
2005	65.56
2006	64.31
2007	64.77
2008	73.79
2009	86.85
2010	95.55
2011	99.87
2012	103.34
2013	104.88
2014	104.57
2015	104.79
2016	106.83

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, 2018

At the beginning of the observed period, the Federal Reserve System, the monetary authority of the USA, applied an expansive monetary policy, while from the fiscal aspect, these measures were supplemented with expansive fiscal measures. The Federal Reserve has lowered interest rates, followed by a large reduction in taxes. In the short term, positive effects were visible, but over a longer period, expansive economic policy measures and increased investment activity led to large budget deficits. This amount of deficit was also recorded at the time of Reagan's rule, twenty years before. The state's indebtedness also grew. A significant portion of the USA deficit is financed by the rest of the world, especially by the Asian Central Bank. So, it is logical that the uncertainty in this Asian region opens major problems for the US government and the increased government debt, i.e., the higher cover of GDP by the state debt (Table 4).

This required a search for a new adequate combination and harmonization of monetary and fiscal policy measures. If economic policymakers then applied contractionary monetary and fiscal policies, that would lead the American economy to a new macroeconomic disorder. By reducing investment activity, economic growth would slow down considerably. Therefore, a fiscal contraction would not be desirable, but it cannot be expected that foreigners will always be in the position to finance the current account deficit of the United States.

The instability culminated in 2008 when the world economic and financial crisis broke out. It is also called "the US mortgage crisis". The main cause of the global mortgage crisis in America is the period of expansionary monetary policy measures. From US banks, the capital was borrowed at very low long-term interest rates in order to stimulate investment activity and increase aggregate demand. The increased purchasing power of the population increases the demand for products and services, and at the same time with the growth of demand, it increases the prices as well. Lower interest rates have influenced the increase in US prices, which have stimulated the population to borrow more and more to the detriment of domestic capital, as well as spending more national income. The state debt additionally burdened the economy. With 73.79% in 2008, the share of government debt in GDP increased to 86.85%. It was worrying because interest rates were declining, and the US deficit increased.

Hence, it is logical that the more pronounced reduction in interest rates is, the more pronounced increase in aggregate demand it will cause with a higher budget deficit, which will also result in a greater indebtedness of the state. This assumption was verified in the period from 2003 to 2007. Inflation increased due to increased consumption, which was caused by the growth of economic activity, i.e., growth of GDP, but with a gradual decrease in the growth rate until 2007. Interestingly, unemployment in the mentioned period decreased from 5.99% in 2003 to 4.62% in 2007. At the end of this period, in 2008, the increased "financial

bubble” in the US economy broke out, resulting in a major global financial crisis, which then spread to the rest of the world.

In the period after the outbreak of the crisis, a significant reduction in economic activity was evident in 2009. The change in the value of GDP was -2.54%, while in the following years the rate of change in GDP values grew in a positive direction. In the Japanese economy, for instance, before and after the crisis, it can be seen that positive changes in GDP values were far greater at the beginning of the observed period of sixteen years than at the end. Namely, the change in the value of GDP in 2000 was 4.13%, while in 2016 it was 1.57%. Unemployment has oscillated in the US economy as an important element of an economy or a significant macroeconomic indicator of the development of an economy. At the early beginning of the XXI century, the unemployment rate increased. After that, it decreased and finally, the crisis erupted. A significant increase in the unemployment rate was from 4.62% in 2007 to 9.28% in 2009. In the post-crisis period, economic policymakers have also encouraged the reduction of unemployment rates up to 4.87% by their measures of stimulating economic activity in 2016. As for inflation after the outbreak of the global crisis, economic policymakers maintain a rate of change in inflationary pressures ranging from 0-4%.

THE INNOVATED TRANSMISSION MECHANISMS OF ECONOMIC POLICY

It is evident that the economies of developed countries also had a lot of ups and downs in pursuing their economic policy. Therefore, there is a constant dilemma for economists about defining the best combination of measures and monetary and fiscal policy instruments in order to overcome general macroeconomic instability and achieving more positive effects on the real and financial sector.

During the period of the global economic crisis, various packages of short-term measures of macroeconomic policy were applied. This was done to stop the negative effects of the crisis on the normal functioning of the economy in these countries. However, such direct intervention by the state and its interference in business flows was not sufficient. (Sržentić, 2016, p. 91–103)

When such extraordinary circumstances appeared in the macroeconomic environment of this developed national economy, it required a departure from the established regime and the introduction of innovative measures. The deepening of the crisis in 2008 prompted economic policymakers to innovate transmission mechanisms of monetary policy whose effectiveness was questioned. The interest rate was so flexible that it reached the lowest value, which

resulted in credit expansion, but without adequate verification of the credibility of the entities. Such a situation takes away the incentives to launch some economic activities, which jeopardizes economy and macroeconomic stability and even the central bank itself cannot help liquidity of banks and other economic entities and the population by simple standard measures. When the interest rate is close to zero or equals zero, it cannot be further cut down in the long run with the classic measures of monetary policy (Jovancai, Stakić, 2013, p. 58-75). The Central Bank of Japan first introduced a policy of “zero interest rate” and adopted a new framework of monetary easing (relief). (Shirakawa, 2002, IMES Discussion Paper Series 2002-E-3).

A dilemma has been set in front of economic policymakers: *how to stimulate aggregate demand and provide liquidity, which will further influence the launching of new economic activities and thus positively influence the economy and reduce the effects of extraordinary circumstances?*

The answer to the dilemma is exactly the non-standard measures that started in some countries even before the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008. Japan's economic policymakers began to apply quantitative, credit and qualitative easing. The followers were the central bank of the United States, Great Britain and other central banks of developed countries. They have expanded the range of their monetary measures with adequate synchronization with fiscal measures in order to prevent the collapse of the financial system in the crisis period and ensure the recovery of the economy, i.e., macroeconomic stability. Non-standard measures of economic policy were implied (The basis of work: Jovancai, Stakić, 2013, p. 58-75):

1. Quantitative facilities - provision of certain reserves by banks (whichever is higher),
2. Credit facilities - providing better credit conditions for the population and businesses,
3. Qualitative relief - securing more liquidity, through the purchase of liquid financial assets, which reduces the risk.

A common feature of these non-standard measures is in the quantitative and qualitative reliefs, and in the better credit conditions.

As economic policy measures are different across countries, depending on the degree of development, the purchasing power of the population and living standards, available resources, levels of technological development, etc., the monetary policy measures are different, both standard and non-standard. The importance of the development of the financial system, the structure of the banking system and the measures implemented in the past were also important. So, how does the implementation of non-standard measures work?

The above-mentioned non-standard measures imply that the central bank purchases various forms of financial assets from various financial and non-financial institutions with a focus on purchasing placed on long-term financial instruments, preferably those that are characterized as highly liquid, in order to achieve a qualitative easing.

By purchasing financial instruments, the central bank increases the money supply of financial assets of sellers and increases their liquidity. For example, at the beginning of the global financial crisis, FED held \$800 billion in treasury bills according to its balance sheet. In late November 2008, it began to buy \$600 billion in mortgage securities. By March 2009, it had assets worth \$ 1.75 trillion in its balance sheet, comprised mainly of bank debts, mortgage booklets and treasury bills. In June 2010, the process of quantitative easing reached its peak, given that the assets amounted an impressive 2.1 billion dollars, which is about 15% of the US GDP (Censky, 2010).

The central bank may purchase long-term government bonds or some corporate securities. Buyers could buy financial instruments with another financial instrument (such as shares), which will result in an increase of the price of financial instruments. Then, aggregate demand in a particular national economy is encouraged by encouraging the population and businesses to consume. As banks have increased their reserves through quantitative easing, they may decide not to give loans to borrowers. It is up to them to decide whether they will become credit-worthy or not.

In order to achieve the efficiency of macroeconomic policy and in extraordinary economic conjunctions, it is very important to select the most effective measures and timeliness in their application. Central banks around the world (Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom, etc.) have expanded their range of monetary measures harmonized with fiscal measures in order to prevent the collapse of the financial system in the crisis period and ensure recovery of the economy or macroeconomic stability.

CONCLUSION

The real goals set by the economic policymakers are the basis for selecting adequate macroeconomic stability measures based on the quality measured by their long-term sustainability.

By analyzing the macroeconomic environment of the US and Japan, we can see that there is a constant dilemma for economists about defining the best combination of measures and instruments of monetary and fiscal policy in order to overcome general macroeconomic instability. Although we observed the economies of developed countries, it is inevitable to conclude based on

macroeconomic indicators, that each country had increasing and decreasing periods in conducting its economic policy. Makers of the macroeconomic policy used different approaches, even in cases with the same cause of instability, which requires a constant search for some optimal combination of monetary and fiscal policy measures.

First, it can be seen that the goals should be coordinated with available instruments, ensuring adequate coordination of measures and instruments of macroeconomic policies, and the most effective measures and timeliness for their implementation should be chosen. Second, the practice in these countries has shown that disorders and instabilities in the economy do not necessarily require only standard measures. Thus, there was a disagreement between theory and practice. Some macroeconomic environment (exceptional circumstances such as the global financial crisis in 2008) requires a departure from the standard measures and the implementation of innovative ones. That case occurred in Japan and the United States, and they tipped the economy in balance by using non-standard measures, such as quantitative, credit, qualitative exemptions.

It can be concluded that there is no universal solution for establishing macroeconomic equilibrium in an economy. It is necessary that each country defines its own model of implementation of economic policy measures, adapted to its level of economic development, the relations with other countries, business partners, economic and political problems. Thus, we confirmed the above hypothesis of the research that the higher degree of compatibility of monetary and fiscal policy measures is, so is their efficiency in economic growth and development.

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KOMPATIBILNOST POLITIKA MONETARNIH I FISKALNIH MERA KAO INSTRUMENATA EKONOMSKOG RASTA: STUDIJA SLUČAJA SAD I JAPAN

Apstrakt: Monetarna i fiskalna politika, te njihove mere, su primarni instrumenti kreiranja opšte ravnoteže u ekonomiji jedne zemlje. Njihova ekspanzija ili kontrakcija zavisi od definisanih ciljeva i postojećih makroekonomskih varijabli. U slučaju ujedinjenja Istočne i Zapadne Nemačke, ekonomisti su otkrili da različita makroekonomska okruženja zahtevaju različite kombinacije makroekonomskih varijabli i neophodnost njihove dinamike (promene) sa protokom vremena. Svetska ekonomska kriza 2008. godine je još jedanput postavila pitanje o efikasnosti osnovnih vrsta mera u okviru implementiranih politika. Istraživanja u okviru ove tematike, koja dobijaju sve više i više pažnje, pokazuju nam potrebu za kompatibilnošću monetarnih i fiskalnih mera i u skladu sa njima, kreiranje inovativnih modela za njihovu implementaciju koja je u korelaciji sa održivim rastom i razvojem.

Cilj ovog rada je da ilustruje kroz slučajeve razvijenih zemalja, poput Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i Japana, neophodnost kompatibilnosti politika monetarnih i fiskalnih mera kao instrumenata ekonomskog razvoja. Tokom svetske ekonomske krize 2008. godine, ove zemlje su primenile nestandardne mere u rešavanju recesije i postizanju ekonomskog rasta, i usled toga inovirale ranije modele ekonomskih politika.

Ovaj rad posmatra period od 2000. do 2016. godine i dinamiku sledećih varijabli: društveni bruto proizvod (DBP), stopu nezaposlenosti, inflaciju i pokriće spoljnog duga DBP. Hipoteza koja se ispituje u ovom istraživanju je da: što je veći stepen kompatibilnosti monetarne i fiskalne politike, utoliko je veća njihova efikasnost u okviru ekonomskog rasta i razvoja.

Ključne reči: monetarna politika, fiskalna politika, makroekonomske varijable, kompatibilnost.

Received: 01 April 2019

Accepted: 07 May 2019

BOOK REVIEW

DAVID VS. GOLIATH: NATO WAR AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Nebojša Vuković (Ed). *David vs. Goliath: NATO war against Yugoslavia and its implications*, Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade, 2019. pp. 481.

The Collection of thematic papers *David vs. Goliath: NATO war against Yugoslavia and its implications* represents a research study, composed of scientific papers from distinguished scientists from Europe, Asia, North America and South America, dealing with different aspects of the 1999 NATO aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This international collection of papers has been presented at the international scientific conference, organized by the Institute of International Politics and Economics and Faculty of Security Studies from Belgrade. The conference took place in Belgrade, on 22 March 2019 and it was devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the NATO aggression. It is worth to mention the conference was held with the support of the Government of the Republic of Serbia and that the Prime Minister of Serbia Ana Brnabić officially opened the event. This prominent edition of 481 pages is divided into five thematic units, covering different aspects of the topic and including papers from various disciplines: international relations, international law, security studies and geopolitics.

The first unit is devoted to the consideration of the international legal aspects of the 1999 NATO aggression. In this respect, it has been highlighted the necessity of examination of the issue from the perspective of its legality and legitimacy. This, as it has been properly suggested, enables evaluation of the old conclusions and reassessing the phenomenon in the light of its consequences twenty years after. In this regard, through an analysis of the concept of "humanitarian interventionism", Hans Kochler argues it has served as the ideological justification of the unilateral use of force by NATO member states. Additionally, he has highlighted the impotence of the current international order, relying on the United Nations Organization in preventing the unilateral use of force and concluded that only the new balance of power might guarantee the respect of the core principles of international law. It is further clarified that the NATO military action was neither within the legal responsibility of the international community to protect international peace, security and human rights,

nor within the framework of customary international law, which does not allow the use of collective self-defence based on a unilateral assessment of the situation. Therefore, as concluded in the first chapter, the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia represents an example of a serious violation of the core principles of international law, in the first line it constitutes a crime against peace and humanity. Additionally, the Alliance's military action resulted in numerous violations of international humanitarian law principles, through the actions of savage bombardment without selecting targets, such as hospitals, schools, cultural monuments, etc.

The second part of the book is titled *The War against the FRY in the Regional Geopolitical Context* and includes an examination of the crucial geopolitical aspect of the issue of NATO aggression. The papers in this chapter are dealing with regional and global factors that led to the war in 1999, its geoeconomic and geostrategic causes and consequences. Highly important arguments developed at the very beginning of this chapter emphasize geoeconomic interests of the United States and its allies in understanding the motives behind the NATO war since the Balkans represents an intersection of important energy and transport routes in Europe. Beside geoeconomic arguments, the second unit offers extensively explained foreign policy indicators aimed at identifying global causes of the 1999 aggression, such as confirming the credibility of NATO and putting the region under the control of the Alliance, particularly in relation to further pressure toward the Russian interest sphere. In geostrategic terms, the war against Yugoslavia resulted in creating small controlled protectorates and semi-independent countries which are significant geopolitical construct in making a buffer zone between Russia and continental Europe. In the end, although this unit refers to a unipolar order as a global context of this tragic event, the authors are unanimous in their pointing to the upcoming change in power within the international sphere and raising of great actors such as China, Russia, etc.

The third unit brings a wider perspective in examining the NATO aggression, as the authors have tried to position and understand this phenomenon within the framework of international relations. The authors have pointed out the changing nature of international relations after the unipolar zenith in the 1999 war and uprising multi-polarization in which predominance of the United States is seriously questioned. Although the 1999 aggression was a moment of total dominance of one superpower, the authors have rightly pointed out that the globalisation has opened the door for different players in economic, technological and political competition, thus shifting the focus of power from West to East. While Saša Gajić claims that the NATO aggression is widely considered as a turning point in Russia-NATO relations, other authors argue this event was a signal alert for many other countries that moved them from the comfort zone and faced with the reality of new dynamics in international politics.

The fourth chapter deals with different aspects of *modus vivendi* of the NATO aggression, including examination of the concept of crisis management, the military machinery infrastructure and the role of war propaganda and psychological operations. Firstly, it is noted that twenty years after it can be concluded that the 1999 aggression was a milestone event in the development process of the crisis management concept, as later operations were mostly based on the lessons learned from the NATO engagement in former Yugoslavia. In this framework, it is a very illustrative observation of Gordon Bardos who highlighted the relation between the NATO aggression and the continuation of the military intervening in the aftermath of this event. Namely, he pointed out that after 1999 the United States has been at war for nineteen of the subsequent twenty years, creating a phenomenon usually described as “permanent war”. Dealing with media and communication strategies performed during the entire decade of the 1990s represents a significant contribution within this chapter, bearing in mind the size and effects of the propaganda war that still affects the image of the Serbian nation. Additionally, this chapter draws attention to physiological operations, that together with media war, were part of low-intensity conflict before, during and after the military operations. Overall in this unit, the readers will be introduced with significant data on preparation and implementation of the NATO military operation, which might not be widely known before.

In the last unit of this collection of papers, the authors examine the future of NATO and the issue of the Alliance’s role in changing international relations. Through considering the new role of NATO in the 21st century, Richard Sakwa reasonably asks what is the purpose of the survival of military alliance when the circumstances that prompted its creation have dramatically changed. In the articles of the fifth session, the authors have also considered the relations between NATO and non-member states with special emphasis on the status of permanent neutrality of those countries, which is of particular interest for Serbia as a militarily neutral country that by itself cooperate with NATO. The comparison in this regard is useful for understanding strategies of cooperation and possible benefits within the framework of neutral state status. At the end of this chapter, a very useful and illustrative survey on economic, environmental and health effects of the 1999 NATO aggression are presented. This extensive survey includes detailed estimates of the losses during and after the NATO aggression, and with precise data and photographs illustrating the neglected aspect of this phenomenon.

The collection of papers *David vs. Goliath: NATO war against Yugoslavia and its implications* represents a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the 1999 NATO aggression. This book provides academic opinions about this issue from different angles and disciplines. Reading this book, a reader can be able to understand the

broadest causes of the aggression, its local and global implications and its impact on international relations two decades later. Re-examination of the various aspects of this phenomenon suggests that only by comprehensive, impartial and scientific consideration one may understand the essence of this event and its fundamental influence on current global affairs.

Sandra DAVIDOVIĆ

REVIEW

BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE: SIX YEARS AFTER

The Institute of International Politics and Economics (IIPE) organised the international conference “Belt and Road Initiative: Six Years After”. Bearing in mind the very successful long-term cooperation of the IIPE with a number of Chinese partners, the conference was aimed at launching an academic debate on the improvement of cooperation between China and Serbia, with a focus on economic issues, as the world economy continues to face many uncertainties and destabilising factors.

Professor Branislav Đorđević, Director of the IIPE, opened the conference with a welcoming speech emphasising the importance of the “Belt and Road Initiative” for further development and cooperation between the Republic of Serbia and the People’s Republic of China, not only in areas such as trade and economy, but in education and science as well. H.E. Ms Chen Bo, Ambassador of the People’s Republic of China to Serbia, brought attention to the fact that the current relations between Serbia and China are remarkable, and that they will inevitably continue to follow the upward path. In addition, the Ambassador pointed out that the “Belt and Road Initiative” is the largest platform for cooperation in the world. So far, 125 countries and 29 international organisations have participated in this platform. At the end of the opening part of the conference, Professor Vladimir Popović, State Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, and Professor Gao Peiyong, Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, emphasised the vital importance of enhancing cooperation in science.

The working part of the conference took place in two panels with twelve authors presenting ten research papers. The first panel delved into the significance of the “Belt and Road Initiative”, both for China and for the countries that supported this international initiative. Within this panel, presenters analysed the Chinese reforms that led to its economic progress, the changes in the social structure of the Chinese society, institutional frameworks important for the harmonisation of initiatives with the legal systems of the signatory states, and geopolitical and geo-economic aspects of the global role of the People’s Republic of China in the 21st century from the perspective of the Western Balkans countries. In the second panel, focused on the economic issues, the presenters analysed the importance of Chinese investments for the Western Balkan economies, with a special focus on Serbia. The questions related to the

relationship between China and the European Union were discussed, and in the end, in a comprehensive overview of the costs of Chinese cities, the importance of the size of the cities themselves for the development of a national economy. The conference participants agreed that the current relations between Serbia and the People's Republic of China are sound, but that there is still room for improvement of cooperation between the two countries, especially in the economic and social sphere. The organiser announced the publication of selected papers in the edited collection, which will be published by the end of 2019, as another contribution to the creation of a scientific basis useful for all stakeholders interested in China's role in the development of the Western Balkans.

Aleksa NIKOLIĆ

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

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Paper length:

Research papers should not exceed 6000 words including abstracts, references, acknowledgements and footnotes.

Title page:

A separate title page should be attached. This will be detached during the refereeing stage to maintain the anonymity of the author. The title page should include: The name(s) of the author(s); a concise and informative title; the affiliation(s) and address(es) of the author(s); the e-mail address of the author(s); the author(s) academic biography, up to 150 words, in the third persons. If the first author is not the corresponding author, this should be clearly indicated.

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(Miljus, 2009; Novičić, 2006; Vučić, 2011, Young, 1999).

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Last, F. M. (Year Published). Title of chapter In F. M.Last Editor (Ed.), *Title of book/anthology* (pp. Pages). Publisher City, State: Publisher.

RLA format example:

Serviss, G. P. (1911). A trip of terror.In *A Columbus of space* (pp. 17-32). New York, NY: Appleton.

Hemingway, E. (1999). The killers. In J. Updike & K. Kenison (Eds.), *The best American short stories of the century* (pp.78-80). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

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Last, F. M. (Year Published). Section title [Section Type]. In F. M. Last & F. M. Last (Eds.),*Book/anthology* (pp. Pages). City, State: Publisher.

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Sanders, S. R. (2007). [Introduction]. In L. Williford & M. Martone (Eds.), *Touchstone anthology of contemporary creative nonfiction: Work from 1970 to present* (pp. 148-151). New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Masur, L. P. (2011). Preface. In *The Civil War: A concise history* (pp. Iv–Xii). Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.

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Author, A.A..(Publication Year).Article title.*Periodical Title*, Volume(Issue), pp.-pp.
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Magazine citation

Author, A.A.. (Year, month of Publication).Article title.*Magazine Title*, Volume(Issue), pp.-pp.

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Author, A.A.. (Year, Month of Publication). Article title. *Magazine Title*, Volume(Issue), Retrieved from <http://xxxx>

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Tumulty, K. (2006, April). Should they stay or should they go? *Time*, 167(15) Retrieved from <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1179361,00.html>

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RLA format structure:

Rosenberg, G. (1997, March 31). Electronic discovery proves an effective legal weapon. *The New York Times*, p. D5.

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RLA format structure:

Author, A.A.. (Year, Month Date of Publication). Article title. *Newspaper Title*, Retrieved from newspaper homepage URL

RLA format structure:

Rosenberg, G. (1997, March 31). Electronic discovery proves an effective legal weapon. *The New York Times*, Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>

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Simmons, B. (2015, January 9). The tale of two Flaccos. Retrieved from <http://grantland.com/the-triangle/the-tale-of-two-flaccos/>

Citing a general website article without an author:

RLA format structure:

Article title. (Year, Month Date of Publication). Retrieved from URL

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Teen posed as doctor at West Palm Beach hospital: police. (2015, January 16). Retrieved from <http://www.nbcmiami.com/news/local/Teen-Posed-as-Doctor-at-West-Palm-Beach-Hospital-Police-288810831.html>

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Kammen, C., & Wilson, A.H. (2012). Monuments.In*Encyclopedia of local history*. (pp. 363-364) Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Institutions as authors and legal documents

Citing an institution document:

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United Nations. (2006, November 9). Delivering as one. Report of the Secretary-General's HighLevel Panel on UN System-wide Coherence in the Areas of Development, Humanitarian Assistance and the Environment, New York.

EC. (2002). Directive 2002/58/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 July 2002 concerning the processing of personal data and the protection of privacy in the electronic communications sector (Directive on privacy and electronic communications), Official Journal of the European Communities L201 37–47, 31 July (European Commission, Brussels).

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Citing a law:

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RLA format structure:

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no. 1 (1950)- . - Београд : Institute of
International Politics and Economics, 1950-
(Београд : Donat graf). - 24 cm

Тромесечно.
ISSN 0486-6096 = Review of International
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BOOKS:

Dragan Petrović, *Kraljevina Jugoslavija i SSSR 1929–1935.*, broširano, 2019, 290 str.

David vs. Goliath: NATO war against Yugoslavia and its implications, Nebojša Vuković (ed.), tvrd povež, 2019, 482 str.

Energetska diplomatija Republike Srbije u savremenim međunarodnim odnosima, Dušan Proroković (ur.), broširano, 2019, 274 str.

Mihajlo Vučić, *Mehanizmi ostvarivanja načela neuzrokovanja štete u praksi upravljanja međunarodnim vodotokovima*, broširano, 2019, 276 str.

Srđan T. Korać, *Disciplinsko ratovanje u doba dronova i robota*, broširano, 2019, 212 str.

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