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BEZBEDNOSNI IZAZOVI
NOVOG SVETA

IZAZOVI VOJNE NEUTRALNOSTI U DINAMIČNIM
GEOPOLITIČKIM ODNOSIMA

*CHALLENGES OF MILITARY NEUTRALITY
IN DYNAMIC GEOPOLITICAL RELATIONS*

| 22. MAJ/MAY | 2024 |

FAKULTET ZA DIPLOMATIJU I BEZBEDNOST BEOGRAD
FACULTY OF DIPLOMACY AND SECURITY BELGRADE

KNJIGA APSTRAKATA
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

BEOGRAD/BELGRADE
2024.

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CHALLENGES OF MILITARY NEUTRALITY IN DYNAMIC GEOPOLITICAL RELATIONS

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BELGRADE, MAY 22, 2024

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UVODNIK

Dinamični geopolitički odnosi koji se intenziviraju u XXI veku i promene koje se na globalnom i regionalnim nivoima dešavaju, zahtevaju značajna vojna, ideološka i ekonomska prilagođavanja, kao i reviziju bezbednosnih strategija u mnogim zemljama širom sveta.

Republika Srbija je geografski i geopolitički uvek na raskrsnici velikih imperija, a potom i modernih, ideološki i vojno jasno definisanih država. Iskustva iz ratova s kraja XIX i početka XX veka, kao i političke prilike u Evropi, učinile su da Srbija nastavi sa vojnom neutralnošću, jer je to bio koncept odbrane i bezbednosti koji je Srbija imala u sastavu Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije (SFRJ). Srbija je svoju odluku o pristupanju Evropskoj uniji (EU) deklarativno definisala i u tu svrhu država ima aktivnosti na unapređenju zakonodavstva, uticaju civilnog društva i ekonomskom prilagođavanju. Za sve to vreme Srbija ostaje vojno neutralna, što je dodatno utemeljila kroz dve Strategije nacionalne bezbednosti koje je usvojila i koje se odnose na period od 10 godina. Definisane jedinstvenog vojno neutralnog i politički specifičnog identiteta za jačanje položaja Srbije, koji uvažava nacionalne interese, kulturu, ekonomske potrebe, ali i razlike u svetu, bez namere da ih bezbednosno ili politički ugrožavamo, model je kojim želimo da doprinesemo razvoju Srbije kao moderne, mirne i identitetski jasno definisane države.

Međutim, aktuelna dešavanja i oružani sukobi koji se pokreću i vode, pokazuju da i zemlje koje su decenijama gajile svoju vojnu neutralnost, sada odlučuju da aktivno pristupe nekom od vojno-političkih saveza. Osim toga, bezbednosne, političke i geoekonomske prilike u XXI veku pokazuju da je ovo doba značajnih izazova koji imaju nevojni karakter. Kontinent kojem pripadamo, ali i države širom sveta, suočavaju se sa ozbiljnim bezbednosnim rizicima, poput transnacionalnog organizovanog kriminala, korupcije na međunarodnom nivou, masovnih (prisilnih) migracija i klimatskih promena. Ovakve izazove nijedna zemlja ne može razrešiti samostalno, te je nužna saradnja, kao i razmena iskustava, saznanja i praktičnog delovanja. Sa te strane, saradnja sa međunarodnim organizacijama iz polja bezbednosti, ali i sa vojno-političkim savezima je nužna, u cilju zaštite građana i demokratskog poretka, suzbijanja i prevencije kriminala, ali na način koji neće dovesti u pitanje naš politički identitet i vojno nesvrstavanje.

Konferencija Bezbednosni izazovi novog sveta BINS 2024: Izazovi vojne neutralnosti, kao završna aktivnost istoimenog projekta koji je Fakultet za diplomatiju i bezbednost sprovodio u periodu 2023-2024. godine, ima za cilj da sa naučnog stanovišta prikaže različite poglede na bezbednosne rizike današnjice, kao i adekvatne odgovore država, društava i savremenih teorija na izazove koji ne postaju manji, već naprotiv, sve raznovrsniji i brojniji.

Prof. dr Milica Bošković

FOREWORD

Dynamic geopolitical relations that have intensified in the 21st century, alongside global and regional changes, necessitate significant military, ideological and economic adjustments, as well as a revision of security strategies in many countries worldwide.

The Republic of Serbia has always found itself geographically and geopolitically at the crossroads of great empires, and later, of modern, ideologically and militarily clearly defined states. Experiences from wars at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as well as political circumstances in Europe, led Serbia to maintain military neutrality, as that was a defense and security concept that Serbia had within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Serbia has declaratively defined its decision to join the European Union (EU), and for that purpose, the state has been engaged in activities aimed at improving legislation, influencing civil society and adapting economically. Throughout this time, Serbia remains militarily neutral, which it further solidified through the adoption of the two National Security Strategies covering a period of 10 years. Defining a unique military-neutral and politically specific identity to strengthen Serbia's position, which respects national interests, culture, economic needs, as well as differences in the world, without the intention of security or political endangerment, is the model through which we aim to contribute to the development of Serbia as a modern and peaceful state with a clearly defined sense of identity.

However, current events and armed conflicts which have been initiated and waged show that even states that have nurtured their military neutrality for decades now decide to actively join some of the military and political alliances. Furthermore, security, political, and geo-economic circumstances in the 21st century show that this era is marked by significant challenges that are non-military in nature. The continent to which we belong, as well as countries worldwide, are facing serious security risks such as transnational organized crime, international corruption, mass (forced) migrations and climate change. None of these challenges can be solved independently by any country, hence cooperation, exchange of experiences, knowledge, and practical action are necessary. From this perspective, cooperation with international organizations in the field of security, as well as military-political alliances, are necessary to protect citizens and democratic order, combat and prevent crime, but in a manner that will not question our political identity and military non-alignment.

The Conference "Security Challenges of the New World BINS 2024: Challenges of Military Neutrality", as the final activity of the project bearing the same name implemented by the Faculty of Diplomacy and Security during the period 2023-2024, aims to present diverse perspectives on today's security risks and adequate responses of states, societies, and contemporary theories to challenges that are not decreasing but, on the contrary, becoming more diverse and numerous.

Prof. Dr. Milica Bošković

1.

Prof. dr Radojica Lazić

Fakultet za diplomatiju i bezbednost, Beograd, Srbija

ODRŽIVOST VOJNE NEUTRALNOSTI REPUBLIKE SRBIJE U SAVREMENIM GEOPOLITIČKIM OKOLNOSTIMA

Sažetak

Vojna neutralnost Republike Srbije na ozbiljnoj je probi usled geopolitičkih promena koje su se desile nakon specijalne vojne operacije Rusije u Ukrajini. Baveći se aktuelnim dešavanjima na globalnom i regionalnom planu, u ovom istraživanju pokušaće se dokazati opravdanost takve politike i stavova izraženih u Strategiji nacionalne bezbednosti. Rad se pretežno bavi analizom i sintezom aktuelnih događaja u međunarodnim odnosima i njihovim uticajem na poziciju Republike Srbije, a kroz prizmu strateških opredeljenja i vojne neutralnosti. Uporedo sa tim proučavaju se svi relevantni naučni izvori i saznanja o ovom kompleksnom pitanju, uključujući i sprovedenu anketu među građanima Srbije o održivosti vojne neutralnosti.

***Ključne reči:** Republika Srbija, vojna neutralnost, Strategija nacionalne bezbednosti, geopolitičke promene, rat u Ukrajini.*

Prof. Dr. Radojica Lazić

Faculty of Diplomacy and Security, Belgrade, Serbia

SUSTAINABILITY OF SERBIA'S MILITARY NEUTRALITY IN MODERN GEOPOLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Abstract

The military neutrality of the Republic of Serbia is seriously tested due to the geopolitical changes occurred after Russia's special military operation in Ukraine. Dealing with current events at a global and regional level, this research will try to prove the justification of such policy and positions expressed in the National Security Strategy. The paper mainly deals with the analysis and synthesis of current events in international relations and their influence on the position of the Republic of Serbia, through the prism of strategic determinations and military neutrality. At the same time, all relevant scientific sources and knowledge about this complex issue are being studied, including a survey conducted among Serbian citizens about sustainability of military neutrality.

***Keywords:** Republic of Serbia, military neutrality, National Security Strategy, geopolitical changes, war in Ukraine.*

2.

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Prof. dr Matthieu Grandpierron

ICES, la Roche sur Yon, Francuska

OBLICI SAVREMENIH SUKOBA U VREME KRAJA NEOLIBERALIZMA I BIOPOLITIKE

Sažetak

U ovom interdisciplinarnom članku – kroz preplitanje savremene političke filozofije i političke teorije – reflektuje se pitanje pojmovnog okvira oblika sukoba između država i entiteta u XXI veku. Polazeći od uvida kako se vreme promene epoha u brojnim aspektima ispostavlja kao vreme serije ratova lokalnog i/ili regionalnog karaktera, iznose se argumenti kako je reč o logičnoj i prirodnoj posledici kraja neoliberalizma i biopolitike. Ili, još preciznije, radi se upravo o imanentnim konsekvencama političkog, ekonomskog, društvenog i kulturnog neoliberalizma u teoriji i praksi, čiji je militantni karakter njegov sine qua non. Analiza različitih oblika ovih sukoba skreće pažnju na njihov biopolitički i postmoderni karakter. U završnom delu rada, razmatra se pitanje povratka stanovišta „realizma” u međunarodnoj politici, a posebno u svetlu tranzicije u multipolarni svet, kao i sve implikacije koje iz ovoga proizilaze za razumevanje savremenih oblika sukoba.

Ključne reči: savremeni sukobi, neoliberalizam, biopolitika, realizam, multipolarni svet.

Dr. Bogdana Koljević Griffith, Senior Research Associate

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Prof. Dr. Matthieu Grandpierron

ICES, la Roche sur Yon, France

FORMS OF CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS IN THE ERA OF THE END OF NEOLIBERALISM AND BIOPOLITICS

Abstract

This interdisciplinary article - through the intertwining of contemporary political philosophy and political theory - reflects on the conceptual framework of forms of conflict between states and entities in the 21st century. Starting from the observation that the era of epochal changes manifests itself as a time of a series of local and/or regional wars in numerous aspects, it is argued that this is a logical and natural consequence of the end of neoliberalism and biopolitics. Or, more precisely, it is just about the inherent consequences

of the militant nature of political, economic, social, and cultural neoliberalism in theory and practice, whose militant character is its sine qua non. The analysis of various forms of these conflicts draws attention to their biopolitical and postmodern character. In the final part of the paper, the question of the return of the "realist" standpoint in international politics is considered, especially in light of the transition to a multipolar world, as well as all the implications that arise from this for understanding contemporary forms of conflict.

Keywords: *contemporary conflicts, neoliberalism, biopolitics, realism, multipolar world.*

3.

Brankica Janković, MA

Poverenik za zaštitu ravnopravnosti, Republika Srbija

SAVREMENI PRISTUPI BEZBEDNOSTI – FEMINISTIČKE TEORIJE

Sažetak

U uslovima dinamičnih i kompleksnih uslova u unutardržavnim i međunarodnim odnosima neophodno je otvoriti prostor i stvoriti podržavajuće okruženje za debate i razmatranja različitih pristupa bezbednosti, u cilju stvaranja najboljih uslova za dostizanje željenog stanja bezbednosti na svim nivoima i u svim sektorima. Upliv savremenih, odnosno kritičkih promišljanja i uticaj na izmenu tradicionalnih pogleda na međunarodnu i bezbednost uopšte, naročito je bio izražen na kraju Hladnog rata, nakon pada Berlinskog zida, koji tradicionalne teorije bezbednosti nisu ni predvidele ni objasnile. Otvoreno je novo poglavlje u teorijskim pristupima bezbednosti, u kojem feminističke teorije zauzimaju, možda još uvek nedovoljno prepoznato i sistematizovano, ali važno mesto. Feministička teorija uvodi rod kao ključni koncept za razumevanje društvenih tokova u kojima su mizoginija i patrijarhat sveprožimajući elementi društvene strukture, zasnovane na nejednkim odnosima moći između muškaraca i žena, kao posledica istorijski nejednakih odnosa moći koji su u savremenim uslovima života dobili nove oblike ispoljavanja. Percepcija moći, koja je ostala dominantno muška, centralizovana i usmerenea na ostvarivanje nacionalnog interesa kao najvažnijeg za ostvarenje željenog stanja bezbednosti, ključna je za razumevanje doprinosa ovog teorijskog pristupa nauci o bezbednosti i međunarodnim odnosima. Feminističke teorije proširile su dodatno polje razmatranja bezbednosti kroz iskorak u odnosu na koncept ljudske bezbednosti koji je stavio pojedinca u fokus, davanjem rodne perspektive - ženske, i davanjam doprinosa u naučnim debatama koje se odnose na pretnje koje dolaze iz nevojnog sektora, ali i iz vojnog, a naročito pogađaju žene. Rodna neutralnost koja ne uzima u obzir žensku perspektivu u sagledavanju pitanja bezbednosti nije u mogućnosti da pruži odgovor na koje sve načine savremeni bezbednosni

izazovi, rizici i pretnje utiču na život žena. Emancipatorski poduhvat i projekat kakav je feminizam, nastavlja da se razvija i utiče na transformaciju odnosa u svim društvima, osporavajući postojeće odnose strukturalnih nejednakosti i diskriminacije žena i drugih marginizovanih društvenih grupa, prevazilazeći u praksi dimenzije i okvire teorijskog delovanja kroz kontinuiranu borbu za puno poštovanje svih ljudskih prava.

Ključne reči: bezbednost, koncept, feminizam, rod, pretnje i rizici.

Brankica Janković, MA

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MODERN APPROACHES TO SECURITY – FEMINIST THEORIES

Abstract

In the dynamic and complex conditions of intra-state and international relations, it is necessary to open space and create a supportive environment for debates and consideration of different approaches to security, aiming to create the best conditions for achieving the desired state of security at all levels and in all sectors. The influence of contemporary, or critical, reflections and their impact on changing traditional views on international security, in particular, was specially pronounced at the end of the Cold War, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which traditional security theories neither predicted nor explained. A new chapter has opened in theoretical approaches to security, wherein feminist theories hold a significant place, although they may still be insufficiently acknowledged and systematized. Feminist theory introduces gender as a key concept for understanding social trends in which misogyny and patriarchy are pervasive elements of social structure, based on unequal power relations between men and women, as a consequence of historically unequal power relations that have taken on new forms of expression in contemporary life. The perception of power, which has remained predominantly male, centralized, and focused on achieving national interests as the most important for achieving the desired state of security, is crucial for understanding the contribution of this theoretical approach to the science of security and international relations. Feminist theories have further expanded the field of security considerations by moving beyond the concept of human security, which focused on the individual, by adding a gender perspective - women's perspective, and contributing to scientific debates related to threats emanating from the non-military sector, but also from the military one, affecting women, in particular. Gender neutrality that does not take into account the female perspective in understanding security issues is unable to provide answers on the ways in which contemporary security challenges, risks, and threats impact women's

lives. The emancipatory endeavor and project such as feminism continue to evolve and influence the transformation of relations in all societies, challenging existing relations of structural inequalities and discrimination against women and other marginalized social groups, transcending in practice the dimensions and frameworks of theoretical action through continuous struggle for full respect for all human rights.

Keywords: *security, concept, feminism, gender, threats and risks.*

4.

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SOCIJETALNA BEZBEDNOST U ERI GLOBALIZACIJE – JEZIK KAO SREDSTVO I OBJEKAT SEKURITIZACIJE

Sažetak

Najkraće i najjednostavnije rečeno, kada vršimo sekuritizaciju, mi verbalnim činom oživljavamo postojeću ili nepostojeću opasnost. Teorijski koncept sekuritizacije podrazumeva postojanje vršioca sekuritizacije – onoga koji vrši verbalni performans, odnosno govorni čin, zatim referentni objekat koji je ugrožen i javnost, koju treba ubediti da je potrebno sprovesti određene (neretko i hitne ili ekstremne) mere, kako bi se predmet sekuritizacije osigurao, a time i društvo, država i pojedinac u celosti. Ilokutivni aspekt govornog čina govori o nameri onoga ko izgovara – vrši sekuritizaciju – da iskaže snagu (sopstvenu), odnosno izgovorenog i ostavi utisak na primaoca poruka. Zavisno od odabira objekta sekuritizacije i krajnjeg cilja aktera, nekada je u pitanju samo retorička manipulacija, pojačana subjektivnošću i društvenom pozicijom, umesto iznošenja objektivnih analiza i dokaza.

Ključne reči: *sekuritizacija, jezik, govorni čin, objektivnost.*

Prof. Dr. Milica Bošković

Faculty of Diplomacy and Security, Belgrade, Serbia

Mina Suknović, MA

Faculty of Diplomacy and Security, Belgrade, Serbia

SOCIETAL SECURITY AT GLOBALIZATION – LANGUAGE AS TOOL AND OBJECT OF SECURITIZATION

Abstract

In the shortest and simplest terms, when we perform securitization, we bring to life an existing or non-existent danger through a verbal act. The theoretical framework of securitization presupposes the existence of the actor of securitization: one who performs a verbal activity, that is, a speech act, then a reference object that is threatened, and the public, who needs to be convinced that certain (often urgent or extreme) measures need to be implemented, so that the object of securitization can be protected, and by that, the society, the state and the individual as well. The illocutionary aspect of the speech act shows the intention of the one who utters it – carries out securitization – to express the power (their own), and leave an impression on the recipients of the message. Depending on the selection of the object of securitization and the actor's ultimate goal, sometimes securitization is only rhetorical manipulation, reinforced by subjectivity and social position, instead of presenting objective analyses and evidence.

Keywords: *securitization, language, speech act, objectivity.*

5.

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MEDIJI I NEVOJNE PRETNJE U HIBRIDNIM RATOVIMA: KEPTOLOŠKI ALATI - PROBLEMSKI PRISTUP

Sažetak

Rad istražuje složen pejzaž nevojnih pretnji unutar hibridnih ratova, koristeći keptološki okvir za dubinsku analizu. Prateći upotrebu keptoloških alata, studija se bavi manipulacijom informacijama, psihološkim operacijama i tehnološkom subverzijom kao nekonvencionalnim sredstvima ratovanja. Analizom evolucije prirode hibridnih pretnji, istraživanje ima za cilj da unapredi razumevanje savremenih izazova bezbednosti,

pružajući uvide od suštinskog značaja za efikasne strategije odbrane u dobu gde tradicionalne vojne paradigme više nisu jedini determinanti geopolitičkog uticaja.

***Ključne reči:** hibridni ratovi, keptološki alati, manipulacija informacijama, psihološke operacije, tehnološka subverzija.*

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MEDIA AND NON-MILITARY THREATS IN HYBRID WARFARE: CAPTOLOGICAL TOOLS – ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Abstract

The paper explores the complex landscape of non-military threats within hybrid warfare, utilizing a captological framework for in-depth analysis. Following the use of captological tools, the study delves into information manipulation, psychological operations, and technological subversion as unconventional means of warfare. Through an analysis of the evolution of hybrid threats, the research aims to enhance understanding of contemporary security challenges, providing insights of essential significance for effective defense strategies in an era where traditional military paradigms are no longer the sole determinants of geopolitical influence.

***Keywords:** hybrid warfare, captological tools, information manipulation, psychological operations, technological subversion.*

6.

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DEKONSTRUKCIJA DŽAIŠANKAROVE DOKTRINE

Sažetak

Kao direktni odgovor na ruski napad na Ukrajinu u februaru 2022. godine, Sjedinjene Američke Države i njihovi evropski saveznici pokušali su da kazne ruskog predsednika Vladimira Putina i njegove generale na što više mogućih načina, među njima i nametanjem nekih od najstrožih diplomatskih i socio-političkih sankcija Rusiji ikad. Iz zapadne perspektive, Putin je prešao granicu, pa je korišćenje najstrožih mogućih mera prema

agresoru izgledalo kao jedini adekvatan odgovor na ovo očigledno kršenje međunarodnog prava i još jedan napad na ovu mirnu naciju (prvi put 2014.godine, a zatim i onaj pokrenut 2022. godine). S obzirom da je Ruska Federacija najveća zemlja na svetu i predstavlja direktnog naslednika Sovjetskog Saveza, koji je preživio razne socio-političke osvete tokom više od 74 godine, zapadni kreatori politike odlučili su da formiraju koaliciju spremnih kako bi ostvarili značajan uticaj na Putina koji bi ga primorao da ponovo razmotri svoje postupke. Tako su i lideri NATO-a i EU krenuli u mnoge diplomatske misije kako bi ubedili ostatak sveta da se pridruži zapadnim silama u izolaciji Rusije i njenog političkog establišmenta zbog ovog neopravdanog napada na mirnu naciju. Ali, koliko god su izražene bile neke zabrinutosti zbog razvoja situacije u Ukrajini, nezapadne nacije su pokazale izuzetnu uzdržanost što se tiče otvorenog kritikovanja Putina zbog njegovih postupaka. Na iznenađenje zapadnih kreatora politike, čak i sve prisutniji međunarodni igrači poput Indije, Kine i Brazila, nisu pokazali entuzijazam za biranje strana u ovom sukobu. Neki su mislili da je takva uzdržanost najbolji način postupanja, jer nije doprinela pogoršanju situacije u Ukrajini, koja je već zagušila globalna tržišta, podižući cene mesa, mlečnih proizvoda, žitarica, šećera i biljnih ulja, jer i Rusija i Ukrajina predstavljaju glavne globalne proizvođače i izvoznike žitarica, prehrambenih proizvoda, suncokretovog ulja i đubriva. Ali, rast cena poljoprivrednih proizvoda nije bio jedini razlog zabrinutosti za tržišta u razvoju; neki lideri zemalja Jugoistočne Azije odlučili su se da ne optuže Rusiju za ovaj sukob, jer nisu želeli da zapale mostove saradnje koje su izgradili sa jednim od svojih najvažnijih trgovinskih partnera - Ruskom Federacijom, koja je bogata energetske resursima i koja im je prodavala vojnu opremu i tehnologiju koju su zapadne sile odbile da im daju. Osim toga, koliko god su zapadne zemlje mogle da priušte svoju politiku zaustavljanja ovog sukoba po svaku cenu, lideri zemalja u razvoju su znali da ukoliko žele da nastave svoje ogromne uspehe u izvlačenju ljudi iz siromaštva i zadovoljavanju osnovnih potreba svojih građana, moraju da obezbede neograničenu nabavku jeftinih energetske resursa, kako bi pozitivno podsticali ekonomske potrebe svojih ekonomija, kao i jeftinijih fosilnih goriva iz Rusije. Ministar spoljnih poslova Indije dr Subrahmanjam Džaišankar (Subrahmanyam Jaishankar), posebno je bio otvoren u vezi sa odlučnošću svoje zemlje da prioritet stavi na svoje nacionalne interese, iznad moralnih poziva za pružanje dalje podrške Ukrajini u odbrani od ruske agresije, kada je izjavio na Konferenciji o bezbednosti u Bratislavi 2022.godine da iz njegove perspektive rat u Ukrajini predstavlja evropski rat i da je njegov prioritet da se brine o nacionalnim interesima Indije. Takođe je naglasio da, pošto zapadni svet nije pružio ni najmanju pomoć najmnogoljudnijoj demokratiji sveta tokom sukoba Kina-Indija 2020–2021, Indija se neće pridružiti bilo kojoj antiruskoj koaliciji uskoro. Kako je rekao: „Evropa mora da odraste iz mentaliteta da su problemi Evrope problem sveta, ali problemi sveta nisu problem Evrope; to si ti, to je tvoje, to sam ja, to je naše.” S njegove tačke gledišta, takođe je bilo prilično licemerno tražiti od Indije da prestane da kupuje rusku naftu u trenutku kada

„Indija kupuje manje nafte od Rusije u jednom mesecu nego što Evropa kupuje za jedno popodne.” Moj rad će istražiti pozadinu odgovora EU/NATO-a na sukobe Kina-Indija 2020–2021. i odgovor Indije na ruski rat u Ukrajini (2022 -) iz perspektiva kako klasičnih realista (Hans Morgenthau), tako i liberalnih institucionalista (Robert Keohane), da bi se utvrdilo da li možemo postići tačku konvergencije/zajedničkog tla između EU/NATO-a i Indije. Pokušaću da utvrdim da li smo sposobni da sledimo istovremene diplomatske kapacitete koji bi nam omogućili da postignemo uloge nepristrasnih pregovarača kada je to potrebno u našim budućim sukobima sa susedima, ili je verovatnije da prevaziđemo naše razlike kako bismo počeli izgradnju aktivnog antiruskog i antikineskog partnerstva koje bi se moglo koristiti u budućnosti.

Ključne reči: *Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, spoljna politika Indije, rusko-ukrajinski konflikt, 2020-2021. sukobi na kinesko-indijskoj granici.*

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DECONSTRUCTING THE JAISHANKAR DOCTRINE

Abstract

In direct response to the Russian attack on Ukraine in February 2022, the United States and its European allies have sought to punish Russian President Vladimir Putin and his generals in as many ways as it was possible by imposing on Russia some of the most severe diplomatic and socio-political sanctions ever. From the Western perspective, Putin crossed one bridge too far, so employing the harshest measures possible on the aggressor seemed to be the only adequate response to this blatant violation of international law and yet another attack on this peaceful nation (first in 2014, followed by the one launched in 2022). Given that the Russian Federation is the largest country in the world, and accounts for a direct descendant of the Soviet Union that survived various socio-political retaliation for over 74 years, the Western policymaker decided to form a coalition of the willing to make a considerable impact on Putin that would force his to reconsider his actions. So both NATO and the EU leaders embarked on many diplomatic missions to persuade the rest of the world to join the Western powers in isolating Russia and its political establishment for this unjustified attack on a peaceful nation. But as much as some concerns over the way the situation in Ukraine was developing were expressed, the non-Western nations showed a far-reaching restraint as far as openly criticizing Putin for his actions was concerned. To the Western policymaker's surprise, even increasingly assertive international players like India, China, and Brazil showed no enthusiasm for choosing sides in this conflict. Some thought that such restraint was the best course of action for it did not contribute to the deterioration of

the situation in Ukraine, which has already choked global markets, pushing prices of meat, dairy products, cereals, sugar, and vegetable oils considerably higher, for both Russia and Ukraine account for major global producers and exporters of grain, foodstuffs, sunflower oil, and fertilizers. But soaring agricultural commodity prices were not the only cause of concern for the emerging markets, some leaders of the Emerging South-East decided not to openly blame Russia for this conflict because they did not want to burn the bridges of cooperation that they built with one of their most important trading partner - Russian Federation that happened to be energy-resources-rich and was selling them the military equipment and technology that the Western powers refused them point blank. Furthermore, as much as the Western countries could afford their policy of stopping this conflict at all costs, the leaders of the Developing World knew that to continue their tremendous achievements in lifting people out of poverty and addressing the basic needs of their citizens they had to secure the unconstrained supply of cheap energy resources to keep the positive fueling the economic needs of their economies and cheaper fossil fuels from Russia. The Minister of External Affairs of India Dr. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, in particular, was very blunt about his country's determination to prioritize its national interest over some moralistic calls for providing Ukraine with further support to defend itself from Russian aggression when he stated at the Security Conference in Bratislava in 2022 that from his perspective the War in Ukraine accounts for European war and his priority is to look after India's national interest. He also emphasized that since the Western world did not lift a finger to help the world's most populous democracy during the 2020–2021 China–India skirmishes, India would not join any anti-Russian coalition any time soon. As he put it "Europe has to grow up out of the mindset that Europe's problems are the world's problem but the world's problems are not Europe's problem, it is you it's yours, it is me it's ours" From his perspective, it was also quite hypocritical to ask India to stop buying Russian oil at the time when "India buys less oil from Russia in a month than what Europe does in one afternoon". My paper will investigate the background of both the EU/NATO's response to the 2020–2021 China–India skirmishes and India's response to the Russian War in Ukraine (2022-) from both classical realists (Hans Morgenthau's National Interest) and liberal institutionalist (Robert Keohane's) perspectives to determine whether we could achieve a point of convergence / common ground of agreement between the EU/NATO and India. I will try to determine if we are capable of pursuing a simultaneous diplomatic capacity that would allow us to attain roles of impartial negotiators when the need arises in our future conflicts with the neighbors, or whether we are more likely to overcome our differences to start building an active anti-Russian and anti-China partnership that could be used in the future.

Keywords: *Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, India's foreign policy, Russia's conflict in Ukraine, 2020–2021 China–India border clashes.*

7.

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STRATEGIJE SAJBER ODBRANE VOJNO NEUTRALNIH DRŽAVA - STUDIJA SLUČAJA ŠVAJCARSKE KONFEDERACIJE

Sažetak

Strateška rešenja koja bi trebalo da doprinesu obezbeđenju sajber prostora, od velikog su značaja i za celokupan bezbednosno-odbrambeni sistem jedne države. Izazovi tehnološke revolucije i rapidni razvoj informacionih tehnologija konstruisali su nove rizike i pretnje nevojnog karaktera, pa i sama nacionalna bezbednost savremenih država u velikoj meri zavisi i od kvalitetnog strateškog okvira koji reguliše ovu oblast. Adekvatan strateški okvir doprinosi određivanju prioriteta i organizovanju, kao i kontroli nacionalne vulnerabilnosti na kritičnu informacionu infrastrukturu. Kako su odbrambeni sistemi država članica vojnih saveza implementirani u skladu sa standardima i propisima koji se donose na nivou takvih saveza i u cilju doprinosa kolektivnoj odbrani jedne takve zajednice, izazovi vojno neutralnih država, koje nemaju obavezu prema drugim subjektima, što jeste slučaj u savezničkim odnosima, još su izraženiji. S jedne strane, ostavljen im je slobodan prostor za manevar, tako da svoje strategije sajber odbrane mogu izraditi u skladu sa konkretnim bezbednosnim izazovima, rizicima i pretnjama svoje države u sajber prostoru, dok se sa druge strane, njihova ranjivost povećava samom činjenicom da većina ovih država nema na raspolaganju mehanizme zaštite koji su dostupni širim savezničkim zajednicama. Shodno tome, naučni cilj rada jeste naučno objašnjenje doprinosa strategija sajber odbrane na kompletan bezbednosno-odbrambeni sistem vojno neutralnih država, pri čemu je za primer, shodno naporima koje je uložila na ovom polju, odabrana Švajcarska Konfederacija.

Ključne reči: *sajber bezbednost, strategije, odbrana, Švajcarska, neutralnost.*

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CYBER DEFENCE STRATEGIES OF MILITARY NEUTRAL COUNTRIES – CASE STUDY: SWITZERLAND

Abstract

Strategic solutions that should contribute to the security of cyberspace are of great importance for the entire security and defense system of the country. The challenges of the technological revolution and the rapid development of information technologies have created new risks and threats of a non-military nature, so the very national security of modern states largely depends on a quality strategic framework that regulates this area. Adequate strategic framework contributes to prioritization and organization, as well as control of national vulnerability to critical information infrastructure. As the defense systems of the member states of military alliances are implemented in accordance with the standards and regulations defined at the level of these alliances and in order to contribute to the collective defense of such a community, the challenges of militarily neutral states, which have no obligation towards other subjects, and that is the case at allied relations, are even more pronounced. On the one hand, they are left with free space for maneuver, so they can develop their cyber defense strategies in accordance with the concrete security challenges, risks and threats of their country in cyberspace, while on the other hand, their vulnerability is increased by the very fact that most of these countries do not have the protection mechanisms available to wider allied communities. Accordingly, the scientific goal of the paper is a scientific explanation of the contribution of cyber defense strategies to the complete security and defense system of militarily neutral states, whereby the Swiss Confederation was chosen as an example, according to its efforts in this field.

Keywords: *cyber security, strategies, defence, Switzerland, neutrality.*

8.

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NOVE TEHNIKE SAJBER SIGURNOSTI U SUOČAVANJU SA NAPADIMA FIŠINGA (METODE - IZAZOVI)

Sažetak

Fišing je jedna vrsta elektronskih napada koja se oslanja na socijalni inženjering i smatra se jednim od najvećih sigurnosnih rizika za institucije. Metode fišinga variraju od slanja masovnih imejlova i SMS poruka, do napada usmerenih ka osetljivim korisničkim podacima. Fišing sajtovi igraju ključnu ulogu u samom uspehu ove metode, imitirajući ciljane sajtove kako bi prevarili svoje žrtve i naveli ih da veruju tim lažnim sajtovima koje počinioci koriste za fišing njihovih podataka. Različite organizacije koje su izložene fišingu takođe se mogu braniti od ovih napada putem raznih rešenja za sigurnost elektronske pošte i filtriranja internet adresa. Međutim, najbolje rešenje za ovu vrstu sajber napada jeste obuka samih zaposlenih, kako ne bi postali žrtve fišinga, pa organizacije obučavaju svoje zaposlene kako bi povećali njihovu svesnost o metodama koje se koriste u fišingu, organizujući obuke za otkrivanje ovakve vrste napada. Ova studija se bavi pojašnjavanjem koncepta fišinga, njegovih vrsta i metoda, posebno uzimajući u obzir pandemiju koronavirusa i rezultirajuću raznolikost, kao i povećanje broja metoda za izvršenje zločina, uz tehnički razvoj poput kvantnog računarstva i prelazak na virtuelni svet poput mete. Tu su virusi, virtuelna stvarnost, čet GPT i najopasnije od svega, kreiranje lažnih snimaka zasnovanih na unapredjenim tehnikama veštačke inteligencije. U ovoj studiji smo se trudili da istaknemo nove kriminalne obrasce i objasnimo metode izvršenja samih zločina, kao i da predstavimo kako se socijalni inženjering razvija s razvojem veštačke inteligencije. Studija je takođe usvojila pristup anticipiranja budućnosti fišinga u svetlu tehničkog razvoja i predviđanja, kao i to kako će izgledati i koje su sigurnosne metode koje mu se mogu suprotstaviti, koje su tehničke metode koje se mogu koristiti za borbu protiv njega u njegovim različitim oblicima. Zatim, kako su vlasti u Dubaiju radile na pronalaženju softverskih i tehničkih modela koji se mogu koristiti za otkrivanje ovakvih veza, metoda i sajtova, koji sprovode fišing žrtava preko interneta koristeći različite metode socijalnog inženjeringa, i koje su modele pripremile za obuku u otkrivanju metoda fišinga, kao i novih metoda socijalnog inženjeringa zasnovanih na naprednoj tehnologiji, a sa akcentom na rezultate koje su postigle različite studije u oblasti praćenja, otkrivanja i sprečavanja fišinga. Studija je zaključila da postoji mnogo vrsta fišinga, od kojih je najopasnija ona koja se oslanja na metode socijalnog inženjeringa. Borba protiv fišinga zahteva institucionalne sigurnosne strategije koje uključuju obuku za otkrivanje i praćenje ovakvih metoda. Fišing je takođe predmet detaljnog naučnog proučavanja, a naučna istraživanja su razvila mnoge programe

i modele kako bi se sprečili, pratili i otkrili ovakvi pokušaji, ali obuka i svesnost zaposlenih ostaju najvažniji i najsnašniji element u sistemu odbrane od fišinga. Postoje eksperimenti i studije slučaja sprovedeni u oblasti obuke zaposlenih i korisnika kako bi se smanjila mogućnost uspeha ovakvih metoda, uz prisustvo sistema za otkrivanje. Praćenje počinioaca i istraživanje slučajeva fišinga vrlo je korisno u identifikaciji prevladavajućih obrazaca fišinga i praćenju novih obrazaca. Novi tehnički razvoji, poput Metaversa i čet GPT-a proizveli su nove i naprednije obrasce fišinga, što zahteva učešće stručnjaka iz oblasti sajber bezbednosti, da bismo razumeli složene obrasce ovih metoda, i na taj način suzbili i smanjili ovakav vid prevara. Vlada Dubaija je na svojoj veb stranici odredila model putem kojeg se identifikuju pokušaji fišinga, kao i načine na koji se oni prijavljuju i identifikuju.

***Ključne reči:** fišing napadi, socijalni inženjering, audio napadi, kampanja.*

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THE NEW TECHNIQUES OF CYBER SECURITY IN FACING PHISHING ATTACKS (METHODS - CHALLENGES)

Abstract

Phishing is one of the types of electronic attacks that rely on social engineering, and it is considered one of the greatest security risks for institutions. Phishing methods vary between sending mass emails and text messages and attacks directed at sensitive user data. Phishing sites play a major role in the success of phishing, and imitation of sites to deceive victims. And make them trust those fraudulent sites that the perpetrators use to phish their data. Various organizations that are exposed to phishing can also defend against these attacks through email security solutions and Internet address filtering. However, the best solutions are to train employees so that they do not fall victim to phishing, so organizations train their employees. To enhance their awareness of phishing methods, training courses are organized to detect phishing. This study dealt with clarifying the concept of phishing, explaining its types, and the methods of perpetrators of committing it, especially considering the Corona pandemic and the resulting diversity and increase in methods of committing crimes, in addition to technical development such as quantum computing and the shift towards a virtual world such as meta. Virus, augmented reality, chat GPT, and the most dangerous of all, which is deep fakes based on advanced artificial intelligence techniques. In this study, we were keen to highlight new criminal patterns and explain the methods by which crimes are committed and how social engineering methods develop with the development of artificial intelligence. The study also adopted the approach of anticipating the Phishing future in light of the technical development and predicting what it will be like and what are the security methods that

can be confronted with it, as well as what are the technical methods that can be used to combat it in its various forms, then how the authorities in Dubai worked to find software and technical models that can be used to detect fraudulent links, methods and sites, Which works to phishing victims over the Internet using various methods of social engineering, and what are the models prepared for training in detecting phishing methods and the new social engineering methods based on advanced technology and what are the results reached by various studies in the field of monitoring, detecting, and preventing phishing and what are the models? It is possible to use them in this regard. The study concluded that there are many types of phishing, the most dangerous of which is based on social engineering methods. Combating phishing requires security strategies developed by institutions that include training on detecting and monitoring phishing methods. Phishing is also the subject of in-depth scientific study from many parties. Scientific research has developed many programs and models to prevent, monitor and detect phishing attempts, but training and awareness of employees remains the most important and strongest element in the defense system against phishing. There are experiments and case studies conducted in the field of training employees and users to reduce falling victim to phishing, in addition to the presence of detection systems. Monitoring phishers and investigating phishing incidents is very useful in identifying prevailing phishing patterns and monitoring new patterns. New technical developments such as Meta verse and chat GPT produced new patterns and advanced and more complex phishing environments, which requires information security specialists and security personnel to Specialists monitor it and understand its complex patterns and methods to combat it and reduce phishing using it. Dubai government has specified a model on the website through which phishing attempts are identified, reported and their patterns are identified.

Keywords: *phishing attacks, social engineering, vishing attacks, campaign.*

9.

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IZAZOVI VOJNE NEUTRALNOSTI U KONTEKSTU SAVREMENIH GEOPOLITIČKIH ODNOSA U EVROPI

Sažetak

U bezbednosnom okruženju gde najveće bezbednosne pretnje obuhvataju široku lepezu vojnih i nevojnih pretnji, ni jedna država ne može da se osloni samo na sopstvene snage. Trend razvoja multilateralnih odnosa značajno utiče na kreiranje bezbedosne politike

država. Međutim, ne postoji konsenzus globalnih centara moći o pravcu izgradnje zajedničke politike globalnog mira. Sve veća konfrontacija velikih sila (SAD-RF), sa tendencijom povećanja broja uticajnih država (Kina, Brazil, Indija), najavljuje još kompleksnije međunarodne odnose. Rat u Ukrajini uticao je na to da Švedska i Finska napuste status vojne neutralnosti, dok druge evropske zemlje, uključujući Austriju i Švajcarsku, nisu promenile pravac kreiranja bezbednosne politike. Republika Srbija, sa svojim nerešenim unutrašnjim pitanjima, pre svega statusom AP Kosovo i Metohija, nalazi se pred ozbiljnim bezbednosnim izazovima i postavlja se pitanje da li je vojna neutralnost odgovarajući politički pravac za zaštitu nacionalnog interesa. Analizirajući savremene bezbednosne pretnje i promenu geopolitičkih odnosa, došlo se do zaključka da je vojna neutralnost najadekvatniji okvir kreiranja spoljne i odbrambene politike Republike Srbije.

Ključne reči: vojna neutralnost, bezbednost, sfere uticaja, Evropa.

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CHALLENGES OF MILITARY NEUTRALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY GEOPOLITICAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE

Abstract

In a security environment where the most significant security threats encompass a wide range of military and non-military threats, no state can rely solely on its own strengths. The trend of developing multilateral relations significantly influences the formulation of states' security policies. However, there is no consensus among global centers of power on the direction of building a common policy for global peace. The increasing confrontation between major powers (USA-RF), with a tendency to increase the number of influential states (China, Brazil, and India), heralds even more complex international relations. The war in Ukraine has led Sweden and Finland to abandon their status of military neutrality, while other European countries, including Austria and Switzerland, have not changed the direction of their security policy formulation. The Republic of Serbia, with its unresolved internal issues, primarily the status of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, faces serious security challenges, raising the question of whether military neutrality is an appropriate political direction for protecting national interests. Analyzing contemporary security threats and changes in geopolitical relations, it has been concluded that military neutrality is the most adequate framework for shaping the Republic of Serbia's foreign and defense policy.

Keywords: military neutrality, security, spheres of influence, Europe.

10.

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OBELEŽJA SAVREMENIH SUKOBA U INFORMACIONOM PROSTORU I NJIHOVA PRIMENA U STRATEGIJI ODVRAĆANJA

Sažetak

U savremenim sukobima, aktuelizovana je upotreba informacionog ratovanja, kao načina vođenja geopolitičkih sukoba između velikih sila, ali i kao sredstva strategije prisile i odvratanja. Sa druge strane, savremene informacione tehnologije pružaju mogućnost i ostalim učesnicima u sukobu, pre svega nedržavnim akterima i malim državama, da utiču na informacionu dimenziju sukoba, a samim tim i na odluke velikih sila u vezi sa primenom vojne sile. Cilj rada je preispitivanje relevantnosti klasičnog teorijskog pristupa upotrebe informacionog ratovanja i njegove primene u strategiji odvratanja. U radu se predmet istraživanja razmatra kroz primenu metode komparativne analize teorijskih i doktrinarnih stavova o informacionom ratovanju i strategijama odvratanja, sa rezultatima njihove primene u modernim sukobima. Autor ocenjuje da, imajući u vidu da su protivnički lideri centralna meta prema kojima je usmerena strategija prisile i odvratanja, odvratanje mora biti shvaćeno prvenstveno kao napor da se oblikuje razmišljanje lidera potencijalnog agresora, percepcija i ponašanje protivničkih oružanih snaga, stanovništva i međunarodne zajednice. S tim u vezi, rezultati istraživanja, posebno primene informacionih mera odvratanja u sukobu u Ukrajini tokom 2022. i 2023. godine, ukazuju na zaključak o relevantnosti primene informacionog ratovanja i za današnju praksu strategije odvratanja koju mogu da primenjuju i male države.

Ključne reči: *informaciono ratovanje, strategija, odvratanje.*

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CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS IN THE INFORMATION SPACE AND THEIR APPLICATION IN DETERRENCE STRATEGY

Abstract

In contemporary conflicts, the use of information warfare has been highlighted as a means of conducting geopolitical conflicts between major powers, as well as a tool of coercion and deterrence strategy. On the other hand, modern information technology provides opportunities for other participants in the conflict, primarily non-state actors and small states, to influence the information dimension of the conflict, and thereby the decisions of major powers regarding the use of military force. The aim of the paper is to reexamine the relevance of the classical theoretical approach to the use of information warfare and its application in deterrence strategy. The subject of the research is examined through the application of the method of comparative analysis of theoretical and doctrinal views on information warfare and deterrence strategy, along with the results of their application in modern conflicts. The author evaluates that, considering that opposing leaders are the central targets of the coercion and deterrence strategy, deterrence must be understood primarily as an effort to shape the thinking of potential aggressor leaders, the perception and behavior of opposing armed forces, population, and the international community. In this regard, the research results, especially the application of information deterrence measures in the conflict in Ukraine during 2022 and 2023, point to the conclusion about the relevance of using information warfare for today's deterrence strategy practice that can be applied by small states.

Keywords: *information warfare, strategy, deterrence.*

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PROMENA VOJNIH DOKTRINA U RUSKO-UKRAJINSKOM RATU KAO FAKTOR NOVIH TEHNOLOGIJA

Sažetak

Rat je produkt političkog sukoba, ali je određen tehnologijom koja je dostupna suprotstavljenim stranama. Istorija je puna brojnih primera potcenjivanja tehnologije. Dovoljno je pogledati samo primer Izraela, koji je primenom naprednih tehnologija dobio brojne ratove protiv arapskih zemalja. Tehnologija nastavlja da se nezaustavljivo razvija i čovečanstvo mora neprestano da se navikava na nove tehnološke promene. Među onima koji prvi treba da prate i prilagođavaju se tome su vojni komandanti, jer se operativno okruženje konstantno menja. Nove tehnologije se uvode sve brže, a automatizacija, kompjuterizacija i robotizacija postaju glavni trend savremenih oružja. Cilj je postići što veći efekat, pri tom povećavati preciznost oružja, kako bi se izbegli neželjeni efekti. Cilj rada je sagledati kako su nove tehnologije uticale na promene vojnih doktrina Ruske Federacije (RF) i Ukrajine tokom aktuelnog sukoba. Težište je da se utvrdi da li su nove tehnologije dovele do ključne prednosti nekoj od zaraćenih strana koja je brže menjala doktrinu. U istraživanju korišćena je metoda analiza sadržaja brojnih relevantnih izvora u kojima se razmatra nagli razvoj tehnologije, koja je u ovom ratu dobila novu dimenziju. Metode analize i dedukcije korišćene su u razmatranju kako i na koji način su nove tehnologije uticale na to da je došlo do određenih promena u doktrinama na obe strane. Takođe, metode sinteze i dedukcije korišćene su u kreiranju stavova u vezi sa prirodom i načinom pomenute povezanosti i uslovljenosti.

Ključne reči: doktrina, odbrana, tehnologija, promene, Ruska Federacija, Ukrajina.

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CHANGING MILITARY DOCTRINES IN THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR AS A FACTOR OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Abstract

War is a product of political conflict but is determined by the technology available to the opposing sides. History is full of numerous examples of underestimating technology. It is enough to look at the example of Israel, which won numerous wars against Arab countries by applying advanced technologies. Technology continues to develop relentlessly, and humanity must constantly adapt to new technological changes. Among those who should first follow and adapt to this are military commanders because the operational environment is constantly changing. New technologies are being introduced ever faster, and automation, computerization, and robotization are becoming the main trends in modern weaponry. The goal is to achieve the greatest effect while increasing the precision of weapons to avoid unintended effects. The aim of the paper is to examine how new technologies have influenced changes in the military doctrines of the Russian Federation (RF) and Ukraine during the ongoing conflict, with an emphasis on determining whether new technologies have led to a key advantage for one of the warring parties that has rapidly changed its doctrine. The research used the method of content analysis of numerous relevant sources discussing the rapid development of technology, which has gained a new dimension in this war. The methods of analysis and deduction were used to examine how and in what way new technologies have influenced certain changes in doctrines on both sides. Additionally, the methods of synthesis and deduction were used in forming opinions regarding the nature and manner of the mentioned interdependence and conditioning.

Keywords: *doctrine, defense, technology, changes, Russian Federation, Ukraine.*

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INTELEKTUALNA SVOJINA U GLOBALNOJ BEZBEDNOSTI: BALANSIRANJE PRAVA I STRATEGIJE ZAŠTITE

Sažetak

Ovaj rad istražuje ključnu ulogu intelektualne svojine u globalnoj bezbednosti. Istražuje suptilnu interakciju između zaštite prava intelektualne svojine i obezbeđivanja globalne bezbednosti, sugerišući da su jaki zakoni o intelektualnoj svojini osnovni za ekonomsku stabilnost i inovacije, što su ključni faktori globalne bezbednosti. Rad prepoznaje izazove koji se postavljaju pred sprovođenje i obim ovih zakona u globalnom kontekstu. Centralni cilj ovog rada je pažljivo ispitivanje uticaja intelektualne svojine na mere globalne bezbednosti, to jest na često nedovoljno istražen aspekt međunarodnog prava i politike. Ovaj cilj se postiže kroz detaljno i višeslojno ispitivanje načina na koje prava intelektualne svojine presecaju, doprinose i utiču na dinamiku globalne bezbednosti. Studija istražuje složene mehanizme putem kojih prava intelektualne svojine mogu delovati i kao potpora, i kao prepreka, u kontekstu globalne bezbednosti. Istražuje dvostruku ulogu zakona o intelektualnoj svojini, s jedne strane, kao katalizatora za ekonomski rast, tehnološke inovacije i stabilnost tržišta, a s druge strane, kao potencijalne izvore sukoba i nesigurnosti, posebno kada su izloženi zloupotrebi ili spornom sprovođenju. To uključuje procenu kako zaštita intelektualne svojine može podsticati inovacije i ekonomski razvoj, time doprinoseći stabilnijem i sigurnijem globalnom okruženju. Koristeći kvalitativne istraživačke metode, rad obuhvata analizu međunarodnih sporazuma, nacionalnih zakona i postojeće literature o intelektualnoj svojini. Takođe uključuje evaluacije studija slučaja, sa ciljem razumevanja realnih implikacija zakona o intelektualnoj sredini u scenarijima globalne bezbednosti. Istraživanje otkriva dvostruku prirodu ovih zakona. Dok značajno doprinose ekonomskom rastu i tehnološkom napretku, oni takođe predstavljaju značajne izazove za globalnu bezbednost, posebno u oblastima kao što su falsifikovanje, piraterija i pretnje u domenu sajber bezbednosti. Studija identifikuje ključno pitanje neusaglašenosti u sprovođenju međunarodnih zakona o intelektualnoj svojini. Rad zaključuje da je balansiran pristup ovim zakonima ključan za održavanje globalne bezbednosti. To podrazumeva usklađivanje ekonomskih podsticaja koje pruža zaštita prava intelektualne svojine sa strateškim potrebama globalne bezbednosti. Studija naglašava značaj povećane međunarodne saradnje i pravne harmonizacije, kako bi se adresirala složena interakcija između prava o zaštiti intelektualne svojine i strategije glob-

alne bezbednosti. Rad ističe potrebu za prilagodljivim i odgovarajućim zakonima i politikama iz ove oblasti, imajući u vidu evoluirajući tehnološki pejzaž, doprinoseći tako značajno diskusiji o pravu intelektualne svojine i globalnoj bezbednosti.

***Ključne reči:** pravo intelektualne svojine, globalna bezbednost, ekonomska stabilnost, tehnološke inovacije, pravno usklađivanje.*

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INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY IN GLOBAL SECURITY: BALANCING RIGHTS AND PROTECTION STRATEGIES

Abstract

This paper delves into the pivotal role of Intellectual Property (IP) in global security. It explores the nuanced interplay between protecting IP rights and ensuring global security, positing that strong IP laws are fundamental to economic stability and innovation, both key to global security. The paper acknowledges the challenges posed by the enforcement and scope of these laws in a global context. The central aim of this paper is to meticulously scrutinize the impact of Intellectual Property (IP) on global security measures, a crucial but often underexplored aspect of international law and policy. This objective is approached through a detailed and multifaceted examination of how IP rights intersect with, contribute to, and influence the dynamics of global security. The study delves into the intricate mechanisms by which IP rights can act both as enablers and as barriers in the context of global security. It explores the dual role of IP laws: on one hand, as catalysts for economic growth, technological innovation, and market stability, and on the other, as potential sources of conflict and insecurity, especially when they are subject to misuse or contentious enforcement. This involves assessing how robust IP protection can drive innovation and economic development, thereby contributing to a more stable and secure global environment. Utilizing qualitative research methods, the paper encompasses an analysis of international agreements, national laws, and existing literature on IP rights. It further includes case study evaluations, aiming to understand the real-world implications of IP laws in global security scenarios. The research reveals a dual nature of IP laws. While they significantly contribute to economic growth and technological advancement, they also present notable challenges to global security, particularly in areas like counterfeiting, piracy, and cybersecurity threats. The study identifies a critical issue of inconsistency in the enforcement of international IP laws. The paper con-

cludes that a balanced approach to IP law is essential for maintaining global security. This entails aligning the economic incentives provided by IP protection with the strategic needs of global security. The study underscores the importance of increased international cooperation and legal harmonization to address the complex interaction between IP rights and global security strategies. The paper emphasizes the need for adaptable and responsive IP laws and policies, considering the evolving technological landscape, thus contributing significantly to the discourse on IP law and global security.

Keywords: *intellectual property rights, global security, economic stability, technological innovation, legal harmonization.*

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MOST IZMEĐU ŠKOLA STRATEŠKOG MENADŽMENTA I STRATEGIJA BEZBEDNOSTI U MEĐUNARODNIM ODNOSIMA: INTERDISCIPLINARNI PRISTUP

Sažetak

Reč „strategos” znači general na starogrčkom, dok reč „strategia”, odakle je izvedena reč strategija, ukazuje na posao generala. U oblasti međunarodnih odnosa, strategija, u njenom užem smislu, odnosi se na upotrebu vojnih metoda radi postizanja ciljeva ratovanja, dok označava veštinu generala sličnu starogrčkoj tradiciji. Kada se posmatra u širem smislu, termin takođe obuhvata upravljanje i usmeravanje svih resursa jedne nacije ka njenim političkim ciljevima (Herberg-Rothe, 2014). Dok su važni stratezi klasičnog perioda bili Sun Cu, Tukidid i Makijaveli, u modernom periodu su to Napoleon, Žomini, fon Klauzevic, Lidel Hart, Hobs, Ruso i Hegel. U ovom kontekstu, bezbednost u međunarodnim odnosima se posmatra na osnovu očuvanja postojanja i sigurnosti, uprkos unutrašnjim i spoljnim pretnjama. Koncepti strategije, koji su se koristili gotovo u istom smislu kao i bezbednost do 1980-ih godina, od tada su prošireni tako da obuhvate elemente poput ekonomije, životne sredine, populacije i migracija, siromaštva, ekoloških problema, kriminala, epidemija i političkih odnosa, uključujući upotrebu meke moći, pored vojnih pitanja u skladu sa potrebama. U tom kontekstu, strategije bezbednosti mogu se klasifikovati u dva različita pristupa, a to su realistički i liberalni. U oblasti poslovnog menadžmenta, strateški menadžment se odnosi na odluke koje or-

ganizacija donosi kako bi postigla svoje organizacione ciljeve i njihovo planiranje, sprovođenje i evaluaciju, veoma slično širem definisanju u oblasti međunarodnih odnosa (David&David, 2017). Principi strateškog menadžmenta, koji se često primenjuju u skoro svakoj oblasti poslovnog menadžmenta i deo su široke interdisciplinarnе mreže odnosa, temeljno su proučavani i istraživani u okviru istraživačkog opusa Henrija Mintzberga, vodeće figure u ovoj oblasti. Na ovom mestu, Mintzberg je klasifikovao strategije u okviru 10 osnovnih pristupa: škola dizajna, škola planiranja, škola pozicioniranja, škola preduzetništva, škola kognitivnosti, škola učenja, škola moći, škola kulture, škola životne sredine i škola konfiguracije (Mintzberg, Ahlstrand & Lampel, 1998). U ovom istraživanju, uspostavljanjem veza između škola strateškog menadžmenta u oblasti poslovnog menadžmenta i organizacije i strategija bezbednosti u oblasti međunarodnih odnosa, nastojali smo da povežemo relevantne literature iz interdisciplinarnе perspektive i izgradimo most između njih.

***Ključne reči:** Henry Mintzberg, međunarodna bezbednost, strateški menadžment, škole strategije, strategije bezbednosti.*

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THE BRIDGE BETWEEN STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT SCHOOLS AND SECURITY STRATEGIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Abstract

The word "Strategos" means general in Ancient Greek while the word "Strategia", where strategy is derived from, points out the job of the general. In the field of international relations, strategy, in its narrow sense, refers to the use of military methods to achieve the aims of warfare, while designating the art of generalship similar to Ancient Greek tradition. When taken in its broad sense, the term also includes the management and directing of all resources of a nation for its political purposes (Herberg-Rothe, 2014). While important classical period strategists include Sun-Tzu, Thucydides and Machiavelli, in the modern period, Napoleon, Jomini, Von Clausewitz, Liddell Hart, Hobbes, Rousseau and Hegel are the leading names in this field. In this context, security in international relations is considered on the basis of maintaining existence and safety despite the internal and external threats. The concepts of strategy, which were used in almost the same sense as security until the 1980s, has since been expanded to encompass

elements such as economics, environment, population and migration, poverty, environmental problems, crime, epidemics and political relations, including the use of soft power, in addition to military issues in line with needs. In this context, security strategies can be classified under two different approaches which are realistic and liberal. In the field of business management, strategic management refers to the decisions an organization makes in order to achieve its organizational goals and their planning, implementation and evaluation, very similar to the broad definition in the field of international relations. (David & David, 2017). Strategic management principles, which are frequently applied in almost every field of business management and are a member of a wide interdisciplinary relationship network, have been thoroughly studied and examined by Henry Mintzberg, a leading figure in this field. At this point, Mintzberg classified the strategies under 10 basic approaches: The Design School, The Planning School, The Positioning School, The Entrepreneurial School, The Cognitive School, The Learning School, The Power School, The Cultural School, The Environmental School and The Configuration School (Mintzberg, Ahlstrand & Lampel, 1998). In this study, by establishing connections between strategic management schools in the field of business management and organization and security strategies in the field of international relations, an effort has been made to relate the relevant literatures from an interdisciplinary perspective and to build a bridge between them.

Keywords: *Henry Mintzberg, international security, strategic management, strategy schools, security strategies.*

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REZERVNE VOJNE SNAGE NEUTRALNIH ZEMALJA U SAVREMENIM SUKOBIMA

Sažetak

Aktuelno operativno okruženje je sve složenije, dinamičnije i nepredvidivo. Vojna dejstva variraju po trajanju i intenzitetu, ali bez obzira na vrstu, predstavljaju veliki izazov za sukobljene strane, zbog složenosti identifikovanih pretnji i mnoštva aktera prisutnih u području operacije. Poslednji sukobi u Ukrajini, pre toga u Siriji, Iraku, Avganistanu, pa i bivšoj SFRJ, pokazuju da su dobro dimenzionisane, osposobljene i opremljene rezervne vojne snage neophodne u odbrani svojih nacionalnih interesa i dostizanju vojnih i

političkih ciljeva države. Nameće se pitanje: koja je uloga rezervnih snaga vojno neutralnih zemalja u savremenim oružanim sukobima? Analiza organizacije, veličine i sastava rezervnih snaga država koje su se opredelile za vojno neutralni status u međunarodnim odnosima, kao i za koncept totalne odbrane, dovešće nas do zaključka da i naše snage bezbednosti moraju da imaju jaku rezervnu komponentu koja će biti sposobna da podrži stalno zadejstvovane grupacije u budućim sukobima izmenjene fizionomije.

Ključne reči: *bezbednost, rezervni sastav, vojna neutralnost, odbrana.*

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RESERVE MILITARY FORCES OF NEUTRAL COUNTRIES AT MODERN CONFLICTS

Abstract

Current operational environment is getting more and more complex, dynamic and unpredictable. Military actions vary according to the duration and intensity, but they all are a great challenge for opposing sides due to the complexity of identified threats and numerous actors present in the area of operations. Latest conflict in Ukraine, and previous in Syria, Iraq, Avganistan, even in the former Yugoslavia, showed the significance of well dimensioned, trained and equipped reserve military forces in defence of the national interests and achievement of military and political goals of the country. Question emerges: What is the role of reseve military forces of the neutral countries in modern military conflict? The analisys of organisation, size and composition of the reserve forces belonging to the countries that have choosen military neutrality as a status in international relations, as well as the total defence concept, will lead us to the conclusion that our security forces must also have a strong reserve component that will be able to support constantly active groups in future conflicts with a changed appearance.

Keywords: *security, reserve, military neutrality, defense.*

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UTICAJ ILEGALNE MIGRACIJE NA TRGOVINU LJUDIMA I ORGANIZOVANI KRIMINAL

Sažetak

Problem ilegalne migracije postaje sve akutniji, budući da ima negativan uticaj na ekonomiju i društvo. S jedne strane, ilegalna migracija omogućava otklanjanje posledica demografske krize, a s druge strane, može izazvati negativne posledice u domenu socijalne, političke, ekonomske, etničke i međuljudske prirode. Glavni razlog za postojanje ilegalne migracije je nejednakost ekonomskog razvoja država. Migranti iz manje razvijenih zemalja privlače se visokim platama i visokim životnim standardom. Istovremeno, postoje i drugi razlozi, poput rata, prirodnih katastrofa, itd. Ilegalna migracija postavlja mnoge izazove za zemlje porekla, tranzita i odredišta, kao i za same migrante. Ilegalni migranti posebno su ranjivi na diskriminaciju, eksploataciju i nasilje. Ilegalni migranti takođe su podložni eksploataciji od strane kriminalnih organizacija koje se bave trgovinom ljudima i krijumčarenjem migranata - kriminalne aktivnosti koje predstavljaju ozbiljno kršenje ljudskih prava žrtava. Prilikom razmatranja trenutnog pravnog i političkog okvira, trgovina ljudima se tretira u dva ključna dokumenta Kancelarije Visokog komesara Ujedinjenih nacija za ljudska prava (OHCHR): u Preporučenim principima i smernicama o ljudskim pravima i trgovini ljudima iz 2002. godine i u njihovim opsežnim komentarima.

***Ključne reči:** diskriminacija, religija, govor mržnje, Evropa, migracije.*

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THE IMPACT OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION ON TRAFFICKING AND ORGANIZED CRIME

Abstract

The problem of illegal migration is becoming increasingly acute, as it has a negative impact on the economy and society. On the one hand, illegal migration makes it possible to eliminate the consequences of the demographic crisis, on the other hand, it can cause negative consequences of a social, political, economic, ethnic and interpersonal nature. The main reason for the existence of illegal migration is the inequality of the economic development of the states. Migrants from less developed countries are attracted by high wages and high living standards. At the same time, there are other reasons as well, for instance war, natural cataclysms, etc. Illegal migration poses many challenges for the countries of origin, transit and destination, as well as for the migrants themselves. Illegal migrants are particularly vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and violence. Illegal migrants are also at risk of exploitation by criminal organizations involved in human trafficking and migrant smuggling – criminal activities that constitute serious violations of the victims' human rights. In examining the current legal and policy framework, trafficking in persons draws on two key outcomes of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR): the 2002 Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Trafficking and its extensive commentary.

Keywords: *discrimination, religion, hate speech, Europe, migrations.*

16.

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ISTORIJA VOJNO NEUTRALNIH UMETNIČKIH PLAKATA

Sažetak

Istorija vojno neutralnih umetničkih plakata ima korene u različitim društvenim, kulturnim i političkim pokretima koji su težili da promovišu poruke mira, diplomatije i

međunarodne saradnje, ne pridružujući se specifičnim vojnim ideologijama. Tokom godina, ovi plakati igrali su značajnu ulogu u zagovaranju neutralnosti, razoružanja i humanitarnih ciljeva. Ključne istorijske prekretnice u razvoju vojno neutralnih plakata obuhvataju sledeće navedene periode: međuratni period (1918-1939): period nakon Prvog svetskog rata; talas antiratnih osećanja doveo je do stvaranja plakata koji zagovaraju mir i razoružanje. Umetnici i aktivisti su koristili simbole poput golubova, pokidanih lanaca i slika dece kako bi preneli poruke nade i želje za svetom bez sukoba. Španski građanski rat (1936-1939): period tokom španskog građanskog rata; umetnici su stvarali plakate koji podržavaju Međunarodne brigade i izražavali solidarnost sa Španskom republikom. Plakati tog perioda često su prikazivali antifašističke simbole i teme jedinstva protiv autoritarnih režima. Drugi svetski rat (1939-1945): period kada su neutralne zemlje, poput Švajcarske i Švedske, napravile plakate koji ističu njihovu posvećenost miroljubivosti i diplomatiji. Neki umetnici u savezničkim zemljama stvarali su plakate koji podstiču međunarodnu saradnju i jedinstvo protiv zajedničkih neprijatelja. Hladni rat (1947-1991): period kada se isticala potreba nuklearnog razoružanja i sprečavanja globalnog sukoba. Umetnici su koristili slike povezane sa mirom, simbole protiv nuklearnog oružja i pozive na diplomatska rešenja. Simbol Kampanje za nuklearno razoružanje, simbol mira, postao je ikoničan i široko korišćen u plakatima koji zagovaraju nuklearno razoružanje. Era Vijetnamskog rata (1955-1975), gde su antiratna osećanja izrodila plakate koji su dovodili u pitanje militarizam i pozivali na kraj neprijateljstava. Simbol mira i psihodelična umetnost često su korišćeni kako bi preneli poruke mira, ljubavi i otpora ratu. Post-hladnoratovski period (1991-i danas): sa završetkom Hladnog rata fokus se prebacio na regionalne sukobe i humanitarne krize. Plakati su nastavili da zagovaraju mir, diplomatiju i rešavanje sukoba. U 21. veku primećen je veći naglasak na ljudska prava, pitanja izbeglica i globalnu saradnju u odgovoru na sukobe. Savremeno doba (2000-i danas): plakati koji se bave savremenim vojnim intervencijama, poput onih u Avganistanu i Iraku, često se fokusiraju na uticaj koji ti sukobi imaju na civile, ljudska prava i potrebu za mirnim rešenjima. U odgovoru na globalne izazove, uključujući klimatske promene i pandemije, plakati zagovaraju međunarodnu saradnju i prioritizaciju zajedničkih ljudskih interesa. Tokom ovih istorijskih perioda, umetnici su koristili vojno neutralne plakate kako bi poslali snažne poruke koje prevazilaze nacionalne granice i apeluju na zajedničke ljudskih vrednosti. Kroz upotrebu univerzalnih simbola, promociju diplomatije i adresiranje humanitarnih problema, ovi plakati doprinose vizuelnom jeziku mira koji teži da ujedini ljude različitog porekla i perspektiva.

Ključne reči: umetnički plakati, ratovi, Hladni rat, vrednosti, promocija kroz umetnost.

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THE HISTORY OF MILITARY NEUTRAL POSTER ART

Abstract

The history of military-neutral poster art is rooted in various social, cultural, and political movements that sought to promote messages of peace, diplomacy, and international cooperation without aligning with specific military ideologies. Over the years, these posters have played a significant role in advocating for neutrality, disarmament, and humanitarian causes. Below are key historical milestones and influences in the development of military-neutral poster art: Interwar Period (1918-1939): Following World War I, a wave of anti-war sentiments led to the creation of posters advocating peace and disarmament. Artists and activists utilized symbols like doves, broken chains, and images of children to convey messages of hope and the desire for a world without conflict. Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): During the Spanish Civil War, artists created posters supporting the International Brigades and expressing solidarity with the Spanish Republic. The posters of this period often featured anti-fascist symbols and themes of unity against authoritarian regimes. World War II (1939-1945): Neutral countries during World War II, such as Switzerland and Sweden, produced posters emphasizing their commitment to non-belligerence and diplomacy. Some artists in Allied countries created posters encouraging international collaboration and unity against common enemies. Cold War Era (1947-1991): The Cold War prompted a focus on nuclear disarmament and the prevention of a global conflict. Artists used imagery related to peace, anti-nuclear symbols, and calls for diplomatic solutions. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) symbol, a peace sign, became iconic and was widely featured in posters advocating for nuclear disarmament. Vietnam War Era (1955-1975): Anti-war sentiments during the Vietnam War gave rise to posters that questioned militarism and called for the end of hostilities. The peace symbol and psychedelic art were often used to convey messages of peace, love, and opposition to war. Post-Cold War Period (1991-Present): With the end of the Cold War, the focus shifted to regional conflicts and humanitarian crises. Posters continued to advocate for peace, diplomacy, and conflict resolution. The 21st century has seen an increased emphasis on human rights, refugee issues, and global cooperation in response to conflicts. Contemporary Issues (2000s-Present): Posters addressing contemporary military interventions, such as those in Afghanistan and Iraq, often focus on the impact on civilians, human rights, and the need for peaceful resolutions. In response to global challenges, including climate change and pandemics, posters advocate for international collaboration and the prioritization of common human interests. Throughout these historical periods, artists have used military-neutral poster art to communicate powerful messages that transcend national boundaries and appeal to

shared human values. By employing universal symbols, promoting diplomacy, and addressing humanitarian concerns, these posters contribute to a visual language of peace that seeks to unite people across diverse backgrounds and perspectives.

Keywords: *poster art, wars, Cold war, values, artictis promotion.*

17.

Dr Galit M. Ben

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„NOVI HRABRI SVET” – KOMBINOVANJE VELIKIH RATOVA SA ASIMETRIČNIM RATOVANJEM

Sažetak

Postmoderni istorijski događaji doveli su do raspada starog poretka. Činilo se da smo ostavili iza sebe eru ratovanja nakon velikih ratova. Imperijalni ratovi i nacionalni ratovi su ostali iza nas. U vreme prelaska u novi milenijum počela je nova era ”malih ratova”. U ovoj eri, postoji mnogo militantnih oružanih grupa, uključujući Hezbolah u Libanu, ISIS na Bliskom istoku (poznat kao „slamska država” u Siriji i Iraku), Hamas u Gazi, Al Kaidu u Avganistanu, Boko Haram u Nigeriji, kao i Hute u Jemenu. Ove grupe bile su uključene u asimetrične ratove sa Izraelom, SAD, NATO-om, Kombinovanim zajedničkim snagama – Operacija Inherent Resolve, itd. Era „velikih ratova” vratila se nakon što je ruska vojska napala Ukrajinu 24. februara 2022. godine. Taj rat se nastavlja i danas. Očekivalo se da će se tip velikih ratova vratiti na Balkan, ili na Bliski istok ili da će Kinezi napasti Tajvan. Međutim, Hamas je 7. oktobra izveo inovativni napad na izraelske gradove i kibuce, signalizirajući početak rata. Hipoteze ovog istraživanja uključuju: 1. Svet ulazi u novu istorijsku eru okarakterisanu kako „malim ratovima”, tako i značajnim ratovima. 2. Militantne grupe poput ISIS-a, Hezbolaha, Hamasa, i druge, danas se ne mogu definisati kao terorističke organizacije, niti čak kao naoružani militanti, već kao terorističke vojske. 3. Terorističke vojske ne poštuju moderne zakone o ratovanju, one počinjavaju ratne zločine, zločine protiv čovečnosti i genocid. Metodologija: istraživanje je deo širokog komparativnog istraživanja na temu „malih ratova” u poslednja dve decenije, kao i rata između Rusije i Ukrajine i rata u Gazi 2023. godine. Neke slučajeve proučavamo koristeći komparativne tabele i veštačku inteligenciju. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na to da se značajni ratovi i asimetrični ratovi odvijaju u hibridnoj eri. Studija takođe otkriva da su terorističke organizacije, gerile i naoružani militanti postali vojske terora. Postoji mnogo načina na koje su terorističke vojske jednake državnim vojskama i treba ih tretirati kao takve. Prema tome, napad Hamasa na Izrael (7. oktobra 2023. godine) deli neke sličnosti sa otmicom učenica iz

Čiboka koju je sproveo Boko Haram (14-15. aprila 2014.godine) i sa genocidom nad Jazidima koje je Islamska država sproveda u oblasti Sindžar na severu Iraka (avgust 2014 - 2017), ali ima i neke nove aspekte.

***Ključne reči:** državne vojske, terorističke vojske, asimetrični ratovi, Hamas, rusko-ukrajinsku rat.*

Dr. Galit M. Ben

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“A BRAVE NEW WORLD” – COMBINING BIG WARS WITH ASYMMETRIC WARWARE

Abstract

Postmodern historical events have led to the breakdown of the old order. We seem to have left the war era behind after the great wars. The imperial wars and national wars had been left behind. Around the turn of the millennium, a new era of "small wars" began. In this era, there are many militant armed groups, including Hezbollah in Lebanon, ISIS in the Middle East (known as "Islamic State" in Syria and Iraq), Hamas in Gaza, Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Boko Haram in Nigeria, and Houthis in Yemen. These groups were involved in Asymmetric wars with Israel, U.S., NATO, "Combined Joint Task Force – Operation Inherent Resolve", etc. The "Great War" era had returned after the Russian army invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This war continues to this day. It was expected that the great wars genre would return to the Balkans, or to the Middle-East or that the Chinese would invade Taiwan. On October 7, Hamas launched an innovative attack against Israeli cities and kibbutzim, signaling the start of war. Hypotheses of this study include: 1. The world is entering a new historical era characterized by both "small wars" and significant wars. 2. Militant groups such as ISIS, Hezbollah, Hamas, etc., cannot be defined today as terrorist organizations, nor even as armed militants, but as terrorist armies. 3. The terrorist armies do not obey the modern laws of war. They commit war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. Methodology: The study is part of a wide-ranging comparative study between the "small wars" of the last two decades and the Russia-Ukraine War and the Gaza War of 2023. Some cases are studied using comparative tables and artificial intelligence. Study results indicate that significant wars and asymmetric wars are occurring in a hybrid era. The study also finds that terrorist organizations, guerrillas, and armed militants have become armies of terror. There are many ways in which terrorist armies are equal to state armies and must be treated as such. Accordingly, Hamas's attack on Israel (October 7, 2023) shares some similarities with Boko Haram's "Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping" (14-15 April

2014) and the genocide of Yazidis by the Islamic State was carried out in the Sinjar area of northern Iraq (August 2014 – 2017), but it also has some novel aspects.

Keywords: *state armies, terrorist armies, asymmetric warfare, Hamas, Russo-Ukrainian war.*

18.

Prof. dr Batja Brutin

Akademski koledž Beit Berl, Izrael

IKONE HOLOKAUSTA U LIKOVNOJ UMETNOSTI I IZRAELSKO-PALESTINSKI SUKOB

Sažetak

Jevrejsko-arapski sukob datira od kraja devetnaestog veka i intenzivirao se zbog Rezolucije Ujedinjenih nacija 181, usvojene 1947. godine, a poznate kao Plan podele. Prema ovom planu, britanski mandat Palestine bio bi podeljen na arapske i jevrejske države. Prvi arapsko-izraelski rat (1948-1949) izbio je zbog proglašenja nezavisne države Izrael. Tokom i posle rata, stotine hiljada arapskih stanovnika bilo je primorano da napusti svoje domove pod različitim okolnostima i postali su izbeglice, dok je stotine arapskih sela napušteno ili uništeno. Kao rezultat rata, teritorija je podeljena na tri dela: država Izrael, Zapadna obala (reka Jordan), i Pojas Gaze. Tokom sledećih godina, tenzije su se povećavale u regionu, posebno između Izraela i okolnih zemalja, kao i političko-ideoloških arapskih organizacija. Ikone Holokausta su značajna komponenta umetnosti i pojavljuju se u različitim kontekstima. Jedan od njih je politički kontekst u kojem su umetnici integrisali slike Holokausta u svoja dela kako bi se bavili izraelsko-palestinskim sukobom. Umetnici manifestuju politički kontekst koristeći poznatu sliku malog dečaka sa rukama podignutim tokom likvidacije Varšavskog geta, plavu liniju serijskih brojeva koji su prisilno tetovirani na rukama zatvorenika u Aušvicu, i dobro poznatu frazu „Arbeit Macht Frei” („Rad oslobađa”) na vratima koncentracionih logora, posebno na onima u Aušvicu I. Prezentacija će kombinovati umetničko-biografski pristup i socio-istorijske reference kako bi stvorila vezu između ikonografske i stilističke umetničke debate i istorijskog vremena i socijalno-kulturnog konteksta u kojem su dela stvorena. U ovom predavanju ću naglasiti vizuelni izraz i tumačenja korišćena da izraze i prenesu umetničke političke ideje i poruke o izraelsko-palestinskom sukobu.

Ključne reči: *Holokaust, izraelsko-palestinski sukob, varšavski dečak iz Geta.*

Prof. Dr. Batya Brutin

Beit Berl Academic College, Israel

HOLOCAUST ICONS IN VISUAL ART AND THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Abstract

The Jewish-Arab conflict dates to the end of the nineteenth century and intensified because of the United Nations Resolution 181, known as the Partition Plan, in 1947. According to this plan, the British Mandate of Palestine would be divided into Arab and Jewish states. The first Arab-Israeli war, 1948-1949, was ignited by the declaration of an independent State of Israel. During and after the war hundreds of thousands of Arab residents were forced to leave their homes under various circumstances, and became refugees, and hundreds of Arab villages were abandoned or destroyed. As result of the war the territory was divided into three parts: the State of Israel, the West Bank (of the Jordan River), and the Gaza Strip. Over the following years, tensions escalated in the region, particularly between Israel and the countries surrounding it and the political-ideological Arab organizations. Icons of the Holocaust are a significant component of art and appear in different contexts. One of them is the political context in which the artists have integrated images of the Holocaust into their artworks to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The artists manifest the political context by utilizing the famous image of the little boy with his hands raised during the Warsaw Ghetto liquidation, the blue line of serial numbers forcibly tattooed on the prisoners' forearms in Auschwitz, and the well-known phrase "Arbeit Macht Frei" (Work Sets You Free) on concentration camps gates, especially the one in Auschwitz I. The presentation will combine the artistic-biographic approach and socio-historical reference to create a link between the iconographic and stylistic artistic debate and the historical time and the social-cultural context in which the artworks were created. In this lecture I will emphasize the visual expression and interpretations used to express and convey the artistic political ideas and messages about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Keywords: *Holocaust, Israeli-Palestinian conflict. the Warsaw Ghetto boy.*

19.

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GLOBALNI PORAST NASILJA I KULTURA NARCIZMA - KUDA IDE OVAJ SVET?

Sažetak

Živimo u postmodernom društvu u kome je važnija reprezentacija sebe nego autentično ljudsko predstavljanje, u kome je teško utvrditi koje su ljudske potrebe stvarne, spontane i autentične potrebe, a koje su nametnutne, nesvrshodne čoveku, ali korisne velikim korporacijama. I ako je Kristofer Laš pisao o kulturi narcizma još 90-tih godina prošlog veka, njegovi komentari o modernosti koja nudi fundamentalno poremećenu ličnost kao svoju paradigmatiku figuru, danas su posebno relevantni. Umesto stvarne autonomije, ljudi su potčinjeni konzumerizmu, obuzeti narcisoidnim samopotvrđivanjem, bez osećanja krivice, u neprestanom rivalstvu sa drugima, sa nesvesnim neobuzdanim nagonom za uništavanjem onih koji im stanu na put, zaronjeni u virtuelni svet kao vid bekstva od dosadnog nesavršenog sveta. I ako je narcizam u suštini odbrana od agresivnih impulsa, ova eksplozija narcizma neizbežno proizvodi individue sa graničnom psihopatologijom koje agresivnim beskrupuloznim ponašanjem dolaze na pozicije moći podjednako u državi, ekonomiji ili kriminalnoj organizaciji. Postavljamo pitanja kakve su posledice života u ovakvom društvu i pomoću kojih koncepata da razumemo fenomene kao što su porast nasilja, porast broja samoubistava, ekspanzija zavisnosti od droga, alkohola i lekova i uspon fundamentalizma i radikalnog ekstremizma. Koliko smo sposobni da adekvatno odgovorimo na pitanja ljudske bezbednosti u ovakvom svetu?

Ključne reči: postmoderno društvo, nasilje, narcizam, bezbednost.

Prof. Dr. Sanja Đurđević

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GLOBAL RISE OF VIOLENCE AND NARCISSISTIC CULTURE - WHERE IS THE WORLD HEADING?

Abstract

We live in a postmodern society where self-representation is more important than authentic human representation, where it is difficult to determine which human needs are real, spontaneous, and authentic, and which are imposed, purposeless to humans but beneficial to large corporations. Even though Christopher Lasch wrote about the culture

of narcissism back in the 1990s, his comments on modernity offering a fundamentally distorted personality as its paradigmatic figure are particularly relevant today. Instead of real autonomy, people are subjected to consumerism, obsessed with narcissistic self-affirmation, without guilt, in constant rivalry with others, with an unconscious unbridled urge to destroy those who stand in their way, immersed in the virtual world as a means of escape from the boring imperfect world. And while narcissism is essentially a defense against aggressive impulses, this explosion of narcissism inevitably produces individuals with borderline psychopathology who come to positions of power through aggressive and unscrupulous behavior in equal measure in the state, economy, or criminal organization. We ask what are the consequences of living in such a society and through which concepts do we understand phenomena such as the rise of violence, the increase in the number of suicides, the expansion of addiction to drugs, alcohol, and medication, the rise of fundamentalism, and radical extremism. How capable are we of adequately responding to questions of human security in such a world?

Keywords: postmodern society, violence, narcissism, security.

20.

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S ONE STRANE NAPADA NA USKRŠNJU NEDELJU: DIGITALNI TERORIZAM I IMPLIKACIJE NA BORBU PROTIV TERORIZMA U ŠRI LANKI

Sažetak

U svetu u kojem se tehnologija brzo razvija, svetski lideri i međunarodne organizacije spekulirali su o zloupotrebi digitalnog prostora od strane terorista. U intervjuu za Press Trust of India (PTI) od 3. septembra 2023. godine, premijer Narendra Modi je istakao da teroristi mogu imati uticaj na socijalnu strukturu zemlje ako koriste darkveb, metaverse i kriptovalute kako bi ostvarili svoje zle ciljeve. Ovo ukazuje da možemo očekivati da uticaj brzorastuće tehnologije promeni dinamiku terorizma širom sveta. Šri Lanka nije izuzetak kada je reč o zloupotrebi digitalnog prostora od strane terorista. U stvari, od 2018. godine, Zaharan Bin Hašim, koji je poznat kao navodni organizator napada koji su se desili na Uskršnjju nedelju, postavljao je ekstremističke propovedi na društvene medije sa logotipom 'Al Ghuraba' medija, a koji je identifikovan kao medijska agencija koja podržava Islamsku državu i koja se obraća slično mislećoj tamilskoj populaciji, uglavnom u Južnoj Aziji. Masovna upotreba interneta i društvenih medija dodatno je zamaglila granice ekstremizma, olakšavajući širenje džihadističkih verovanja po južnoaz-

ijskom regionu bržim tempom. Ovaj fenomen je uticao na kontekst Šri Lanke jer društvo trenutno živi u eri digitalnih tehnologija. U takvom kontekstu, ovo istraživanje analizira korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija od strane terorista i njihov uticaj na nacionalnu bezbednost Šri Lanke. Takođe, dodatno naglašava izazove borbe protiv terorizma sa kojima se Šri Lanka suočava nakon pomenutih napada na Uskršnju nedelju, usled posebno proisteklih digitalnih transformacija u svetu. Ovo istraživanje je sprovedeno korišćenjem kvalitativnih metoda, a primarni i sekundarni podaci prikupljeni su iz studija slučaja, naučnih radova, intervjuja, izjava i web stranica, kako bi se ispunili ciljevi istraživanja.

***Ključne reči:** Šri Lanka, borba protiv terorizma, digitalne tehnologije, napadi na Uskršnju nedelju, terorizam.*

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BEYOND THE EASTER SUNDAY ATTACKS: DIGITAL TERRORISM AND IMPLICATIONS TO COUNTERTERRORISM IN SRI LANKA

Abstract

In a world where technology is rapidly evolving, speculations related to misuse of digital space by terrorists have been made by world leaders and international organizations. In an interview to Press Trust of India (PTI) on 3 rd September 2023, Prime Minister Narendra Modi emphasized that, terrorists may have an impact on a country's social fabric if they use the darknet, metaverse, and cryptocurrency to further their evil objectives. This showcases the anticipation of influence of rapidly expanding technology on changing dynamics of terrorism around the world. Sri Lanka is no exception for being a victim of misuse of the digital space by the terrorists. In fact, from 2018 Zaharan Bin Hashim, who is also known as the alleged mastermind of the Easter Sunday Attacks, has uploaded extremist preachings to social media with the logo of 'Al Ghuraba' media which was identified as a pro Islamic State media agency catering to the like-minded Tamil speaking population mainly in South Asia. The mass use of internet and social media has additionally obscured the borders of extremism, facilitating the dissemination of Jihadist beliefs across the South Asian region at a faster pace. This phenomenon has affected the Sri Lankan context as society is currently living in the era of digital technologies. Within such context, this research examines the use of digital technologies by terrorists and its impact to Sri Lankan national security. This research further, emphasizes on the counterterrorism challenges faced by Sri Lanka after the Easter Sunday Attacks, especially arising from digital transformations in the world. This research is conducted using qual-

itative methods, and primary and secondary data have been collected from case studies, journal articles, interviews, statements and websites to fulfill the research objectives.

Keywords: *Sri Lanka, counterterrorism, digital technologies, Easter Sunday attacks, terrorism.*

21.

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ULOGA PRIVATNOG SEKTORA BEZBEDNOSTI U PREVENCIJI MEĐUDRŽAVNIH SUKOBA

Sažetak

Globalizacija i složenost savremenog sveta usloveli su da je danas sve teže prepoznati opasnosti i rizike društva, koji su vremenski i prostorno sve nepredvidiviji, a multidisciplinarno kompleksniji, bez mogućnosti da se sveobuhvatno i efikasno kontrolišu, a na koje tradicionalni modeli upravljanja karakteristični za sisteme nacionalne bezbednosti nemaju adekvatan odgovor. Istovremeno, sukobi su postali složeniji i dugotrajniji, a njihova priroda, intenzitet i učestalost evoluiraju poslednjih godina, prelazeći od konflikata koji se vode direktno između država na različite oblike unutrašnjeg ili unutardržavnog nasilja. Oni su sve više povezani sa globalnim izazovima i rizicima društva, koji su najčešće ekonomski, politički, bezbednosni, tehnološki, demografski, ekološki, zdravstveni itd.. Kao rezultat svega toga, u strategijama nacionalne bezbednosti savremenih država inkorporiraju se novi koncepti i stavovi koji priznaju novu realnost redefinisanja uloge nacionalne bezbednosti, kroz privatizaciju državnih bezbednosnih funkcija i višecentričnu perspektivu društva prema aktuelnim rizicima, njihovoj prevenciji i kontroli, kao potencijalno rešenje za upravljanje budućim sukobima i krizama. Rad ukazuje na to da, s obzirom na pozadinu konfliktnih situacija, privatni sektor bezbednosti, uz odgovarajuću podršku nacionanih aktera, predstavlja važan segment za prevenciju sukoba, kroz preventivne integrativne bezbednosne operacije i zajedničku politiku, kao i kroz odgovarajuće mehanizme neposredne rekonstrukcije društva i izgradnje mira.

Ključne reči: *međudržavni sukobi, prevencija, opasnosti, rizici, koncepti bezbednosti, privatni sektor bezbednosti.*

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THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SECURITY SECTOR AT PREVENTION OF INTERSTATE CONFLICTS

Abstract

Globalization and the complexity of the modern world made increasingly difficult to recognize risks for society, which are increasingly unpredictable in terms of time and space, as well as multidisciplinary more complex, and without the possibility of comprehensive and effective control for which traditional management models as characteristic of national security systems don't have an adequate answer. At the same time, conflicts have become more complex and long-lasting, their nature, intensity and frequency evolved in recent years, moving from armed conflicts directly between states to various forms of internal or intra-state violence. They are more and more connected with the global challenges and risks for society, and are most often economic, political, security, technological, demographic, ecological, health, etc. As a result of all these facts, the national security strategies of modern states incorporate new concepts that recognize new reality and need of redefining the role of national security, through the privatization of state security functions and a multi-centered perspective of society towards current risks, their prevention and control, and all that as a potential solution for managing future conflicts and crises. The paper indicates that, considering the background of conflict situations, the private security sector, with appropriate support of national actors, represents an important segment in the field of conflict prevention, through preventive integrative security operations and common policy, as well as through appropriate mechanisms of immediate reconstruction of society and peace building.

Keywords: *interstate conflicts, prevention, dangers, risks, security concepts, private security sector.*

22.

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ISLAMSKI FUNDAMENTALIZAM I NJEGOVA ULOGA U POLITIZACIJI RELIGIJE

Sažetak

Fundamentalizam nam dočarava slike onih beskompromisnih religioznih frakcija koje prate događaje od njihovih početaka i pružaju perspektive i tumačenja savremenih problema utemeljenih na ranijim etičkim i intelektualnim tradicijama. Globalni religijski fundamentalizam doveo je do radikalizma; muslimanski radikali se mogu naći u Avganistanu, Egiptu, Bangladešu, Iraku, Nigeriji, Siriji i Jemenu; hrišćanski radikali se mogu naći na Filipinima i u Sjedinjenim Državama, a jevrejski radikali u Njujorku i Palestini; hinduistički radikali i oni iz redova Sika se mogu naći u Indiji, a budistički radikali u Mjanmaru. Istorija islamskog fundamentalizma prethodi samom islamu. Fundamentalizam je sociokulturni pokret koji se opirao društvenim promenama. Islamski fundamentalizam nije samo problem u muslimanskom svetu. On predstavlja pretnju svetskom poretku i blagostanju ljudi. Islamski fundamentalizam je dugo značajan izazov međunarodnoj bezbednosti. Tema je veoma relevantna i interesantna po svom značenju, zapravo predstavlja svakodnevicu sveta. Kada govorimo o religiji, ono što nam pada na pamet su ljudi ujedinjeni pod određenom verom, čiji duh obično podrazumeva mir, ljubav i humanost. Međutim, istovremeno, ma koliko iznenađujuće, isti koncept asocira na rat, netoleranciju, krvoproliće i razne vrste nasilja. Stoga se postavlja legitimno pitanje, kako jedna te ista religija može jednog čoveka ispuniti dobrotom, a kod drugog prizvati zlo i nasilje? Religija je izgrađena na filozofsko-ideološkim osnovama, ali je i povezana sa kulturnim i etičkim normama uspostavljenim u društvu. Zašto i kako je islamska religija povezana sa terorom? Važno je razmotriti ko je kriv i koje su stvarne pretnje državnoj i socijalnoj bezbednosti sveta.

Ključne reči: islam, fundamentalizam, religija, radikalizam, terorizam.

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ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM AND ITS ROLE IN POLITICIZING RELIGION

Abstract

Fundamentalism conjures us images of those uncompromising religious factions that trace everything back to its beginnings and provide perspectives and interpretations of

modern problems grounded in earlier ethical and intellectual traditions. Global religious fundamentalism gave rise to radicalism; Muslim radicals can be found in Afghanistan, Egypt, Bangladesh, Iraq, Nigeria, Syria, and Yemen; Christian radicals can be found in the Philippines and United States; the Jewish radicals can be found in New York and Palestine and Sikh and Hindu radicals can be found in India; Buddhist radicals can be found in Myanmar. The history of Islamic fundamentalism predates Islam itself. Fundamentalism is a sociocultural movement that resisted social change. Islamic fundamentalism is not only a problem in the Muslim world. It poses a threat to the world order and people's well-being. Islamic fundamentalism has long been a significant challenge to international security. The topic is very relevant and interesting in its meaning, it actually represents the everyday life of the world. When we talk about religion, what comes to mind is people united under a particular faith, whose spirit is usually peace, love and humanity. However, at the same time, no matter how surprising, the same concept is associated with war, intolerance, bloodshed and various types of violence. Therefore, a legitimate question is asked, how can one and the same religion fill one person with goodness, and call another to evil and violence? Religion is built on philosophical-ideological foundations, but it also echoes cultural ethical norms established in society. Why and how was the Islamic religion connected with terror? It is important to consider Who is to blame and what are the real threats to the state and social security of the world.

Keywords: *Islam, fundamentalism, religion, radicalism, terrorism.*

23.

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EMOCIONALNI ODNOS PREMA VOJNOJ NEUTRALNOSTI

Sažetak

Vojna neutralnost je politička odluka države da se ne uključi u vojne saveze i sukobe s drugim državama. Postoje pozitivni stavovi prema vojnoj neutralnosti, posebno kod manjih država, koje se osećaju ranjivim u odnosu na velike sile. Takve države smatraju da je vojna neutralnost najbolji način za očuvanje njihovog suvereniteta i nezavisnosti, odnosno odlučuju se za vojnu neutralnost kako bi izbegle bilo kakve sukobe s drugim državama i očuvale svoj mir i stabilnost. Emocionalni odnos prema vojnoj neutralnosti često je duboko

ukorenjen u kolektivnim identitetima i vrednostima društva. U radu se razmatra složena i višedimenzionalna priroda emocionalnog odnosa prema vojnoj neutralnosti, odnosno analiziraju se faktori koji imaju snažan uticaj na izgrađivanje odnosa prema vojnoj neutralnosti građana, institucija i političke elite jedne države, kao što su: individualna iskustva, percepcija o prednostima i nedostacima vojne neutralnosti, nacionalna istorija, kultura, geopolitičke prilike, politička ideologija, ekonomski aspekti, itd. Pozitivan odnos država prema vojnoj neutralnosti može imati značajan uticaj na međunarodne odnose. Vojna neutralnost može pomoći u promovisanju dijaloga i saradnje između država - vojno neutralna država može biti percipirana kao neutralna strana u međunarodnim sukobima, što može pomoći u pregovorima i rešavanju sukoba na miran način. Za samu državu, pozitivan odnos prema vojnoj neutralnosti omogućava očuvanje suvereniteta i nezavisnosti, mira i stabilnosti, kao i izbegavanje sukoba s drugim državama.

Ključne reči: *vojna neutralnost, emocionalni odnos, faktori vojne neutralnosti, sukob, međunarodni odnosi.*

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EMOTIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS MILITARY NEUTRALITY

Abstract

Military neutrality is the political decision of a state not to join military alliances and conflicts with other states. There are positive attitudes towards military neutrality, especially among smaller states, which feel vulnerable in relation to great powers. Such states believe that military neutrality is the best way to preserve their sovereignty and independence, that is, they decide on military neutrality in order to avoid any conflicts with other states and preserve their peace and stability. The emotional attitude towards military neutrality is often deeply rooted in the collective identities and values of society. The paper discusses the complex and multidimensional nature of the emotional attitude towards military neutrality, i.e. the factors that have a strong influence on building the attitude towards military neutrality of citizens, institutions and the political elite of a state are analyzed, such as: individual experiences, perception of the advantages and disadvantages of military neutrality, national history, culture, geopolitical conditions, political ideology, economic aspects, etc. The positive attitude of states towards military

neutrality can have a significant impact on international relations. Military neutrality can help promote dialogue and cooperation between states - a militarily neutral state can be perceived as a neutral party in international conflicts, which can aid in negotiations and peaceful conflict resolution. For the state itself, a positive attitude towards military neutrality enables the preservation of sovereignty and independence, peace and stability, as well as avoiding conflicts with other states.

Keywords: *military neutrality, emotional attitude, factors of military neutrality, conflict, international relations.*

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