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THE WORLD'S GLOBALIZATION AND GLOBAL MILITARIZATION

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Introduction

Globalization and militarization are two phenomena which attract special attention not only of public opinion but scientific and public workers as well. For a long time, the globalization was considered as military expansion, such as the endeavours of Alexander the Great, Roman and Ottoman empires' ambitions, British expansions, and Hitler's occupations. However, as a concept globalization is something quite different. Globalization of the modern time is understood as spreading new scientific and technological discoveries, economic, trade and transportation advances all around the world.

The notion of militarization should be distinguished from militarism. The militarization is a process of global character, while militarism is predominance of the military in the administration or policy of a state. As a global process, militarization is demonstrated through armament and disarmament, arms race and military trade, global threat of armed conflicts etc.

The impacts of the globalization and militarization upon the world's peace and development are exposed in quite different ways – the globalization in a productive, militarization in a destructive one.

In this article, globalization is deliberated in a rather large scale because it is, as a concept, relatively new and not so well understood among scientists, especially economic analysts. As a matter of fact, within the professional literature one can easily encounter quite different views. Proponents of globalization assert that it contributes to the development of both developed and developing world. On the other hand, the opponents think that globalization deepens the gap between developed and developing countries, promotes conditions that lead to unrest, conflicts and even to wars.

Definition of globalization

The term globalization came from the words *globe* (a representation of the shape of the earth, the earth itself, a planet), *global* (having a shape of a globe)[1], and *globalize* (make it global). It usually begins with scientific discoveries and technological innovations at one place or by one scientist and spreads all around the world.

As a process, the globalization traces its history centuries behind, but as a concept it is of much earlier origin. According to Wikipedia, the free Encyclopaedia, one of the

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[1] See, Webster's unified Dictionary and Encyclopedia New York, 1951, globalization is not listed, nor in the.

earliest usages of the term as a noun was indicated in a 1930 publication titled "Towards New Education" where it denoted a holistic view of human experiences in education.

In the Webster's Unified Dictionary and Encyclopaedia, New York 1951 or in the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Boston, 1973 the word globalization is not listed. In the Encyclopaedia Britannica 2005 – Deluxe Edition CD, globalization is listed as the process by which the experiences of everyday life foster a standardization of culture expression around the world.

In mass media and professional literature it is hard to find proper definition of the term. However, in the Wikipedia, one can find numerous definitions of globalization with the reference to their authors. It is worth to mention at least two of them. According to sociologists Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King, globalizations are "all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single society", while Swedish journalist Thomas Larsen in his book titled *'Race to the Top – the Red Story of Globalization'* stated that globalization is "the process of world shrinkage, of distances getting shorter, things moving faster". The first definition refers more to the goal than to the clarification of the notion (the world to be incorporated into a single society) which can hardly be achieved, while the Thomas Larsen's definition expresses real sense of globalization.

Globalization, as we see it now, emerged with the Industrial, but dramatically intensified with the Technological Revolution. Some thinkers assert that globalization flourished with the fall of the Berlin Wall, when the iron and bamboos curtains were raised and free movements of peoples, ideas, goods and services were made possible.

Globalization – Its sources and scope

The centre of innovations and discoveries for a rather long time was in the Western Europe and spread through peripheries. During the Second Industrial Revolution it extended to the North America and in the course of the new Technological Revolution it is being spread to almost all other parts of the world.

According to Toffler(s) (Alvin and Heidi)[2] contemporary civilization has passed through only two ages – *agrarian* and *industrial*. In the second half of the 20th century it entered into the third – *technological* age. During the agrarian age, lasting a dozen of millenniums, there were no big discoveries and the ideas, news, and the like were kept within local boundaries. The Industrial Revolution, starting in the 17th and being evaluated into Technological Revolution in the course of the 20th century opened a new opportunity for new discoveries and faster globalization.

However, discoveries and inventions achieved in the Industrial Age were applied mostly within areas from which they emerged, that is, in the Western Europe and Northern America. Advances of such endeavours could hardly break the borders and penetrate into areas of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, that is, the developing world. With the advance of the Technological age, those borders were crossed much faster and much more easily.

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[2] See, Alvin & Heidi, The Third Wave, Bantam Book (USA), 1980.

New military technologies – Introduction into new Technological age

In the Second World War, new military technologies played a crucial role in determining its outcome. Most of them were developed in the war period, some were developed in response to the lessons learned during the war, and some were in the beginning phase to be developed in the post-war period. During the war there were tremendous improvements in quality and efficiency of so-called standard weapons, such as artillery pieces and rockets, armoured vehicles, airplanes, ships and submarines. However, missiles and rocket technologies, nuclear weapons and electronic devices – radar, sonar, systems of weapons guidance, nuclear technology – traced the path to the new technological age.

Leaving the hot war, the contemporary world entered into a cold one. Two major allies in the hot war became potential enemies in the Cold War. Relying on the technological advances achieved in the Second World War, they continued and intensified research, development and production of new, more efficient and more deadly weapons. The arms race, especially in its horizontal (technological) way assumed planetary dimension.

American (USA) – Russian (Soviet Union) ideological confrontation was, in the same time, a competition not only in research and production of more and more sophisticated weapons, but – and first of all – in control over the space. To that effect, they made tremendous efforts in research on new materials and guiding systems needed for production and utilization of launching and orbital vehicles.

Results of this and other endeavours, especially in the fields of electronics, optoelectronic, computerizing and internet, spilled over into the civilian sector. Products made on the basis of high technologies (transistors, TV sets, mobile telephones, etc.) entered most homes and offices all around the world. Means of communications and other new technologies' products indicated transfer of the spirit of Industrial Revolution into spirit of Technological Revolution. Research on new materials, guidance and communication systems for military purposes gave a significant contribution to speeding up globalization[3].

Science and technology – Main engines of globalization

Globalization is not a wave carried on across meadows and over horizons by some virtual force. Rather, it is a gradual process stemming from human activities in certain fields, such as science and technology, production and trade, communication and transportation, militarization and pacification etc.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) identified four basic aspects/fields of globalization: trade and transportation; capital and investment movement; migration and

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[3] Among scientists there are disputes regarding contributions of the military expenditures to the development. Some of them think they contribute to the employment and the economic growth, while the others think that military expenditures and military production break economic development. "Thus use of capital (for military purposes) produces parasitic economic growth", argues Seymour Malmen in his PENTAGON CAPITALISM – The Political Economy of War, 1970.

movement of people, and dissemination of knowledge. Environmental challenges, such as global warning, according to the IMF, are linked with globalization as well. All of them, and others, in interactions, embrace the Globe and modify its very nature.

It would be hard to specify which of the aspects precede the others and play a major role in globalization. All of them in interaction create globalization in its full scope. However, scientific discoveries and technological advances might be considered as major engines of globalization.

Today, new scientific discoveries, as a result of research, development and management, are being spread and promptly applied almost all over the world. Furthermore, they are the major driving force for speeding up globalization in economy and trade, communication and transportation, and in other aspects of globalization.

During the Industrial age, production of the technical goods was concentrated within developed countries, that is, the North-West area, while the underdeveloped world, that is South-East area used to be "market taker" and raw material "giver. Today, in new Technological age, sophisticated goods are being produced in most of the major developing states, which used to be "market taker" countries.

Economic globalization and New International Economic Order

Economic globalization, as we know it today, was shaped to a great extend at the end of the Second World War. The Bretton Woods Conference held even before the war ended, created three extremely important institutions: International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), and the International Trade Organization (ITO), today often referred to as the Old International Economic Order (OIEO).

The OIEO was designed by the victorious allies, the dominant colonial powers of that era and it essentially served their interests. The Soviet Union refused to join the system and never did. Great majority of the UN member-states, specifically of the Third World countries, including China, has not recognized the Bretton Woods system and insisted on the need for it to be reformed. They tried to push through the General Assembly a concept of New International Economic Order (NIEO) but in vain. Nevertheless, in 1974, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration for establishment of such Order, as well as a "Program of Action" for its implementation, but it failed since "Western opposition completely killed it", as Ismail Serageldon[4] said.

The Third World, or the Global South[5] countries continued to insist on the need for the OIEO reforms, referring to the changes in the balance of the world power. To the verbal insistence, they added the establishment of new independent institutions – creation of a group of five leading Global South states was established.

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[4] See, Ismail Serageldon, "The Global South: The Next half Century", in the European Journal of Management and Public Policy, ECPD, Belgrade, 2015.

[5] In the professional literature one can encounter the term "Global South" (Global South" countries) instead of the "Third world" (the "Third world" countries), a geopolitical notion embracing almost whole Asia, Africa and South America, opposite to the Global North consisting od Europe, North Americas, Oceania and part of the Far East.

Globalization and demographic movements

In the course of the evolving transition from the Industrial to the Technological age, dramatic changes were not only evident in the sciences and technologies, economy and trade, but they were also present in the human or demographic sphere as well.

The world population of about two billion people in 1927, increased to four billion in 1974, six billion in 1999, and 7 billion in 2011. It is estimated that in 2025 we will have about eight and in 2050 – almost 10 billion of the world population.

The world population growth accelerated along with the emergence and advancement of the technological revolution and globalization. At the same time, the migration of peoples also increased.

Migration of peoples is not something new. It is rooted deeply in history, leading back to the very origins of our species, but in the second half of the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century it has been unprecedented. Inequality in the economic development and unrest in the world, numerous armed conflicts and foreign military interventions during the Cold War, dictated intensification of the human migration from the South to the North.

Booming economies of the Western European countries, in the middle of the 20th century, provoked massive movement of the labour force from Southern Europe, Northern Africa and the Middle East to the Western Europe. Very soon, however, the Mediterranean Sea became the most dangerous border for the North African peoples in their way towards South-western Europe and further.

However, unrests in the North African and the Middle East countries, foreign military intervention in Iraq and Libya, the Afghanistan and Syrian wars, organization and activities of international terrorist groups have intensified migration of peoples dramatically from those areas towards the Western European countries. Only in 2015, till beginning of September, more than 380.000 peoples crossed the Mediterranean Sea and at least 2,850 drowned or went missing at sea in search for safety and a better life[6]. Recently, more than 60 per cent of them have landed in Greece tracing their ways to the Western European countries through the Balkan states. Today, millions of people are flowing from the South-east to the North-west in search not only for a job and better a life, but for safety as well, bringing serious problems to the receiving countries[7].

On the other hand, population in Africa and the Middle East is rapidly growing, while population in Europe and across northern Asia is set to decline and get older. So this migration could be considered as some kind of balancing, but it is far beyond a normal process.

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[6] According to Thakif Deen, the military conflicts and political instability, driving hundreds of refugees into Europe were triggered largely by the USA and Western military intervention for regime change, specifically in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya, ISA, Other News, Sept. 4, 2015.

[7] "From recently, they are moving across borders and sees in growing numbers, accepting great risks and placing strains on nations that receive them", is stated in the U.S. National Military Strategy, DoD Washington, D. C, May 2015.

Wider political globalization?

Technological, economic and cultural globalization could be considered natural globalizations. They are crossing barriers, national and other borders without support of force. However, it is not the same with the political globalization, which is understood as the common world with common values imposed and dominated by the world leading power(s).

In the Western mass-media, political globalization is not widely published. It seems that journalists, political and other analysts try to avoid these sensitive questions since the pretenders to the world political leadership use it to impose their models of civilization by force.

During the Cold war there were two philosophies or ideologies: the Western democracy and Eastern dictatorship – each struggling to run the world. The Western democracy prevailed and the United States, supported by major European powers, as victors in the Cold War, tried to spread its own model of democracy to the whole world.

Political globalization, namely, is understood as a united world with a governing leader, meaning the Western values with the Western leadership. However, the contemporary world is too complex. Consisting of several civilizations, with deep historical traditions, it is more inclined to have clashes8, than living together in peace and harmony.

Lack of global governance

Long ago, especially during and just after the Great War, a lack of global governance was perceived. To fill that gap, on 10 January 1920 the League of Nations, an intergovernmental organization, was founded.

The League of Nations was the first international organization whose principal mission was to maintain peace through collective security. After a number of notable successes, the League of Nations proved to be unable to prevent aggressions by the Axis powers.

In the course of the Second World War, the League of Nations lost its credibility and existence. After that War, another international organization – the United Nations – was founded. The purposes of the United Nations were similar (or almost the same) as the principal roles of the League of Nations – "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace…"[9] The responsibility for peace and security was trusted to the UN Security Council, while other matters of global significance were trusted to the General Assembly.

Through its activities on disarmament, prevention of the nuclear weapons proliferation, peacekeeping enforcement etc., the United Nations contributed significantly to preventing a big war, but it was unable to prevent a hundred small – local and regional wars. Besides, the United Nations have not made any significant steps towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Today, the principal UN missions are being undertaken by leading world power(s) more and more.

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[8] See, Samual P. Huntinmgton, the Clash of Civilizations – Remaking of World Order, A Touchstone Book, New York, 1996.

[9] See, Charter of the United Nations, Art. I.

Downfall of the UN. The UN's decline in performing its principal missions was gradual, but the main turning point was the Summit of Heads of states held in Cancun (Mexico) on 24 October 1981. The Summit was devoted to such issues as: how to grow more food, how to produce more energy, how to reduce trade barriers, etc.

It was expected that the Summit would turn down the Bretton Wood system in favour of the new international economic order but the outcome was quite the contrary. The USA and the UK were represented by newly elected President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher respectively. Their policy prevailed with a great impact upon further development.

During that meeting, President Reagan paid little significance to the Third World demands and stated that he could not let the USA be equal to some other country. He also said publicly that the USA will decide when to use or not use the UN. Further along, Washington followed its policy as the nation with an exceptional destiny, trying to impose its own policy on the United Nations. His state-point that poverty generates poverty and the wealth generates wealth, it seems, prevailed as well.

The American global leadership

Promoting the US National Security Strategy of 2015, President Obama said: "Any successful (US) strategy must begin with an undeniable truth – **America must lead**"[10] (bolded by T.M.) He also stressed that the question was not whether America would lead, but "how we will lead the world into the future". In the US National military strategy it is indicated why, how, and with whom America will lead.

First and foremost, **America will lead with purpose** (bolded by T.M.) – which is "grounded in American enduring national interests." **America will lead with strength** – represented in the most dynamic and resilient economy and unrivalled military strength, but most of all with American founding values. **America will lead by example**, expressed in democratic institutions in the American governance. America, it is stated further**, will lead with capable partners** (and allies) – the cornerstone of American international engagement.

America is, no doubt, the most powerful country in the world. It has the strongest economy and non to second military. It holds a leading role in the unique military-political alliance and has a significant influence in the European Union and beyond[11]. However, the balance of the world power is changing. New economic and military powers are emerging and US global position relatively declines[12]. Besides, whether America has the skill, legitimacy and commitment to continue playing a leading role has been questioned from many sides. For example, a rather long time ago (in 2007), Russian President Vladimir Putin noted that concentration of decision authority in one country would not be sustainable.

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[10] See, the White House paper on the National Security Strategy, February, 2015.

[11] According to David Vine, the U.S. dominate the world not only through the economic power and political influence, but through its military power as well. Hundreds of the U.S. bases and hundreds thousands of U.S. troops still encircle the Globe. (See, IPS, Other News, September 15, 2015.

[12] "The USA-EU are declining not only as markets, also us producers", said Johan Galtung, founder and the first director of the Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), in his report on "The Real Global South Today: BRICS. See, Proceedings of the Ninth ECPD International Conference, Belgrade, October 20-21, 2012, ECPD, Belgrade, 2013.

Globalization and the World order: Towards bi-polarity

The World order could be uni-, bi-, or multi-polar. This polarity is changeable, depending on the balance of the world power. In recent history we have witnessed all three modality – multi-polarity between the two world wars; bi-polarity during the Cold War, and uni-polarity after the Cold War. Today, we are at the crossroad – to bi-, or to multi-polarity.

The uni-polar world order, with the USA as a centre of gravity, became questionable with the emergence and development of the Technological age. Born in the West, high technology has been rapidly transferred to the East, where it met with the huge quantity of inexpensive, industrious labour. Development and production of sophisticated goods and services was no longer a privilege of highly developed countries. Skilfully applied, the high technology, including modern management, resulted in emerging of, at first, the small, and later the "Big Asian Tigers". People's Republic of China with one billion, 250 million of inhabitants became leader of new developing world.

China and India with enormous labour force, Russia and Brazil, with huge natural resources and South Africa, the strongest African economy joined together in an un-formal organization[13] known as BRICS. Its original aim was to counter G-7/G-8 in global monetary and economic policy, but during the course of development, it is becoming more and more a global political forum. At the periodical meetings, the BRICS members define their current policies and activities, primarily in extension cooperation with all developing countries.

Recently, in the world literature one can encounter the term "Global South", opposite to the "Global North" (Johan Galtung, Vijay Prashad, and others). It is not only geographic; it is more of a geo-political term. It includes Asia, Africa, Central and South America, while the Global North consists of Europe, without European Russia, North America, and Australia with some parts of Asia.

Central point of the Global South is China and of the Global North – USA. Numerous indicators show that the actual world order – still with many uni-polar characteristics, is going towards bi-polarity, quite different then bi-polarity of the Cold war. The alternative could be multi-polarity in case that the major players at the Great Chessboard decide to play their own games.

Globalization and armament

Armament, defined as **"all the military forces and war equipment of a country"**[14] (or of the world) is part of human society and shares its destiny. It is global in scope, but in a specific way. It is global more than any other human aspect; armament is spread all around the world. Today, out of 193 UN-member states, only two countries (Costa Rika and Island) do not have armed forces. All other countries maintain their own military and try to keep them ready for war.

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[13] There is no (or unknown) an official agreement on their establishment and function.

[14] More specific, military personnel, weapons and military equipment, resources (money and infrastructure) devoted to military purposes, etc.

Global Firepower

Global Firepower (GFP) as a term means the same as the global military power. It consists of the military personnel (in the active and reserve duties), weapons and military equipment, and materiel resources (money, first of all) devoted to military purposes. Here, only military manpower and military spending are taken into considerations, with a reflection on the military technologies.

The GFP is not a static one; it is changeable, depending upon the international situation. At the end of the Cold War, for example, there were 28.6 million persons in the world on active military duty. Ten years later, that number felt to 22.3 million, and now we have about 21 million of the world military manpower.

Decrease of the military manpower was primarily due to technological advances. At the end of the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century, big and powerful states, first of all the USA, introduced new hardware in their armed forces, developed on the new technological bases. At the same time, a group of military thinkers in Pentagon, led by Prof. Alvin Toffler, defined new strategy for the Electronic Warfare. They indicated that the Industrial model of warfare – concentration of huge quantities of armoured and artillery forces on the battlefields, was over[15]. They renamed the term "theatre" and extended it to "*combat space*" – a visual zone of action[16].

This strategy, also called Strategy XXI (for the 21st century) requires less manpower than the strategy of the Industrial age. Tested in numerous wars waged by the US and coalition forces, it has been proved that this strategy requires less military manpower and quantity of weapons than the strategy defined by Von Clausewitz and others.

New weapons for new Global strategy

Military strategy defined by Von Clausewitz and other military thinkers was a strategy for the Industrial age. It required large troops concentrated on the battlefield divided between enemies by a front line. Major military operations were carried out on the land and at seas, supported by the fire power from air.

Strategy for the 21st century, however, is conceived quite differently. Land troops concentration on battlefield is reduced or even eliminated in favour of the air power. Instead of huge quantities of artillery and armoured troops, Strategy XXI requires such firepower as: laser guided small arms weapons; guided mortar munitions; cannon-launched guided projectiles, fired from artillery pieces, ship cannons and armoured vehicles; guided rockets and bombs – all together named Precision Guided Weapons, or Direct Attack Munition (PGW/DAM).

So-called Stand-off Weapons (SoW) and their platforms have particular significance. They are launched from land, from sea and undersea, from air and from space, against

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[15] See Gordon R. Sullivan and James M. Dubic, War in the Information Age, Military Review, 74(1994), pp. 46 – 62.

[16] See, Morris J.Boyd and Michael Woodgerd, Information Operations – Force XXI Operations, Military Review, November 1994, pp. 16 – 28.

targets hundreds miles/kilometres away. Such weapons were tested in the Gulf War (Operation "Desert storm"), further improved and used in several other wars, including NATO aggression against FR Yugoslavia. Newest versions of such weapons are non-piloted vehicles, controlled from Nevada, launched from Afghanistan against targets in Pakistan, for example. Recently, big powers (the USA, Russian Federation and China) have adopted new military strategies, confirming their decisions to continue with strengthening their military potentials.

The strategy for 21st century and corresponding weapons have been developed by big powers, first of all by the USA. Small and less developed countries are not able to develop and produce precession guided or stand-off weapons. However, they could be (and have been) attacked by them, without the capability to respond adequately.

Global military sending

Military spending represents rather heavy burden on the economy of each country. Its volume depends upon international situation. During the Cold War, the two super powers and two military blocks used to spent tremendous amounts of money for military purposes. The Third World countries did not lag too far behind them.

At the end of the Cold War, the global military spending reached almost US $1,000 billion. (967 billion in 1989). However, after call-ups of the USSR and the Warsaw pact disintegration, military spending of this group of countries was dramatically reduced. The USA and other NATO countries, having lost their major enemy, reduced their military expenditures as well, but not in such a large scale.

The last decade of the 20th century was the only one after the Second World War in which the military spending (the military manpower as well) was reduced. From $967 billion in 1989, the world military spending came at the level of $760 billion ten years later[17]. However, the reduction of the military spending did not last too long. With the entrance in the 21st century, the global military spending began to rise.

Due to its engagement in the Afghanistan, and later on in the Iraq war, the USA increased its military budget. Russia and China began to increase their military spending as well. So, in 2004, the global military expenditure significantly surpassed those from 1989, reaching the amount of $1.361 billion. It continued to rise and in 2013 it was estimated to have been $1.747 billion, representing 2.4 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP) or $248 per each person of the world. It was 26 per cent higher than in 2004, while a share of global GDP, that is the global military burden, remained stable. More than 60 per cent of total world military expenditures is spent by five biggest military spenders, while ten largest military spenders expended about 70 per cent of total world military budgets (Table 1).

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[17] Major reductions were made by big powers. The Soviet Union's armed forces of 5,096,000 in 1989, were reduced to 1,654,000 in 1973 of all Independent. Commonwealth States (Russian 964,000). Peoples Republic of China reduced its armed forces from 3,500,000 in 1989 to 2,250,000 in 1998, while the United States' armed forces were decreased from 2,163,000 to 1,450,000 in the same period of time. (Data from the MILITARY BALANCE, annual editions).

Table 1 – *Ten biggest military spenders (2013)*

Country	Spending ($ bn)	Share of GDP (%)	World share (%)
USA	640.0	3.8	37.0
China	188.0	3.0	11.0
Russia	87.0	4.l	5.0
Saudi Arabia	67.0	9.3	3.8
France	61.3	3.3	3.5
United Kingdom	57.9	2.3	3.3
Germany	48.8	1.9	2.8
Japan	48.6	1.0	2.8
India	47.4	2.5	2.7
South Korea	33.9	2.8	1.9
Total	**1,280.0**		**73.8**

(SIPRI Yearbook, 2014, p. 182)

Despite the significant reduction of the world military manpower and hardware quantity, the world military spending increases. It is due to high costs of research, development and production of weapons, requested by the military strategies designed for the new electronic warfare.

Global arms transfers

The trend of the global arms transfers (international arms trade) is going along with the trend of the global military expenditures. From early 1980s, the volume of the arms transfers was in downfall trend almost constantly until 2000 – 2004, when it was only 44 per cent of the volume in 1980 – 1984. Over the past ten years, according to SIPRI Yearbook, it has been increasing. In 2004 – 2008 it was 14 per cent higher than in previous five years' period and continued to rise until 2012/2013.

In the global arms transfers, the major suppliers and receivers are easily recognized. The major suppliers are big powers and big arms producers, while the receivers are primarily developing countries. Today, the five largest suppliers are: the USA, Russia, Germany, China, and France. China, India and some other countries are both – suppliers and receivers.

The global arms transfer does not represent some significant financial value. However, it does have important economic and political dimensions. The export of arms and military equipment, military technologies, and military engineering, is considered to be the most lucrative business. On the other side, the arms import imposes serious economic burden to the receivers.

Besides the military importance, the arms transfer has political significance, as well. The big powers, as a rule, deliver the arms and military technologies primarily to their own allies and friendly counties. In case they export them to some neutral states, they expect to achieve some political benefits and/or to extend military cooperation with the recipient.

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Global arms race

Arms race represents competition between two or more countries or military coalitions in possessing and strengthening military power. In the eve of the Great War, it was conducted between a group of states preparing for aggression, on the one, and the other European powers, on the other side. It was almost the same before the Second World War.

During the Cold War, the main participants in the arms race were two super powers, each supported by their own allies. With the call-ups of the Soviet Union and disintegration of the Warsaw pact, the arms race ended. However, the USA continued to maintain strong military power, but without a partner to compete with in running the arms race.

In the beginning of the 21st century, new regional powers emerged, threatening American leadership in each aspect of globalization, including military. Russia recovered its economy, reorganized and reequipped its military, and re-established rough nuclear parity with the USA, while China, along with its rapid economic growth, intensified modernization of its armed forces.

After withdrawal from Iraq in 2011, the USA began to reduce its military spending, but the funds devoted to research, development and procurement of new weapons remained very high (almost $200 billion each year). The slices of Russia's and China's military budgets devoted to the research and development are also significant.

Today's arms race is heading primarily towards the horizontal (technological) direction. In the programs of research and development of the big powers priority is given to the so called "smart" weapons and precision guided munition. Research and development of the ballistic weapons is significantly reduced in favour of the smart weapons capable to attack targets hundreds miles/kilometres far from the launching sites.

Now we have a new round of the arms race with different participants. The USA convincingly leads and it probably will be leading for a longer time. However, Russia and China amplifying additional energy try to approach the USA in quantity as well as in quality of the military hardware.

Big powers are paying special attention to research and development of the so-called non-lethal weapons. In the US National Military Strategy, for example, special attention has been given to defence of the cyber-attacks. It could be presumed that the USA at the same time also develops offensive weapons of this kind. Western news agencies reported that Russian troops or Russian supported rebels in eastern Ukraine use so-called electronic weapons to jam, cancel and/or incapacitate Ukraine's and NATO's communications[18].

Arms race conducted by the big powers, especially in development and use the Stand-off and Direct-attack weapons brings small and less developed countries in very difficult position. They are indirectly involved in that race and enforced to spend considerable part of their GDPs for military purposes without possibility to develop or to supply such weapons or to provide means needed for effective defence in case they are attacked by such weapons.

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[18] The USA plans to spend 800 billion of US dollars for research and development in next ten years, while Russia for the same purpose and the same period of time is planning to spend 20 trillion of rubles ($364 billion) for purchasing "high tech weapons.

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Global nuclear threat

It is widely recognized that nine states – the USA, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea – possess nuclear weapons of estimated 16,950 warheads. This overall quantity of nuclear warheads, according to the SIPRI Yearbook 2014, is declining primarily due to Russian–USA agreements on the nuclear weapons control and/or reduction.

Both countries try to compensate for the reductions of the existing nuclear arsenals by modernization of the existing, and research, development and production of new nuclear weapons. The USA Government, for example, plans to spend $350 billion to maintain and modernize its nuclear forces in the next ten years. This includes, *inter alia*, designing a new class of submarine with ballistic missiles (SSBM), a new strategic bomber, the next generation of land based intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and others.

Reduction of Russian nuclear strategic forces is due to gradual retirement of all Soviet–era missiles, which are being replaced by new modern systems. Modernization of its strategic forces is also motivated by the intention to maintain rough nuclear parity with the USA.

The nuclear arsenals of the other nuclear-armed states are considerable small, but all of them are engaged in developing or deploying new nuclear weapons. Some of those countries have announced their intentions to do so. China, India, North Korea and Pakistan are the only nuclear weapon states that are expanding their nuclear arsenals. Israel is considered as a nuclear weapons state, but it has neither denied nor confirmed their possession.

Table 2 – *World nuclear forces (January 2014)*

Country	Year of first nuclear test	Deployed warheads	Other warheads	TOTAL Inventory
United States	1945	2.100	5.200	7.300
Russia	1949	1.600	6.400	8.000
United Kingdom	1962	160	65	225
France	1960	290	10	300
China	1964	–	250	250
India	1974	–	90–110	90–110
Pakistan	1998	–	100–120	100–120
Israel		–	80	80
North Korea	2006	–		6–8
Total		**4.150**	**12.200**	**16.350**

(Source: SIPRI Yearbook 2014)

Nuclear weapons are spread all around the world: on the land[19], at the sea and under the sea, and in the air (mounted on the strategic bombers). Nevertheless, the likelihood of a global nuclear war is significantly reduced, but it is not the same with regional wars.

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[19] In Europe.

The situation in the Far East, South Asia, or Middle East – all of them nuclear-armed regions, warns about a possibility of a nuclear war. Besides, several other countries – Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Iran, Libya (late Gadhafi's intentions) – have expressed their desire to possess nuclear weapons. Possession and use of nuclear weapons by powerful terrorist groups is not far from reality.

Global terrorism

Terrorism, as an act of destruction and violence, is not new. It has been used since the early times of recorded history. However, the modern terrorism of international or global dimensions, has largely taken its shape at the turn of the 20th century. Although it has recently attracted broad international attention, it would be relatively hard to define its meaning[20].

Perpetrators of terrorism are individuals, groups and/or states. A modern trend in terrorism appears to lead towards loosely organized, self-financed, international networks. .A state can sponsor terrorism by funding and allowing proving grounds in its territory to the terrorist groups. A state can also be an organizer and perpetrator of terrorism.

The aim of individuals or minor terrorist groups is usually to provoke attention of public opinion on their existence and purpose. Larger terrorist activities, however, could be undertaken with an economic, religious, political or ideological goal.

Al-Qaeda was the most powerful and best organized terrorist group. Its attacks against US key economic and defence centres were largest terrorist endeavour ever undertaken and achieved. The USA responded by setting for George Bush's "Anti-terror" strategy which lead to the Afghanistan war and killing its leader Osama bin Laden. Later on, in February 2015, promoting the new US National Security Strategy, president Barak Obama said "Even as we have decimated Al-Qaeda's core leadership, more diffused networks of Al-Qaeda, ISIL[21], and affiliated groups threaten US and international security" and announced decision to "degrade and destroy" Sunni extremist groups in the Middle East, the ISIL being the main targeted group.

Terrorism has become a global *"evil empire",* threatening almost everyone, everywhere, which should be fought by all available means.

Global and regional security

After dramatic geopolitical changes at the end of 1980s and the very beginning of the 1990s, several indicators suggested that the world is going towards positive development in maintaining and strengthening international peace and security. The threat of big nuclear war declined and the overall desire to build a new world order increased.

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[20] In professional literature has been described variously as both a tactic and strategy, a crime and a holy duty, a justified reaction to oppression. Obviously, it depends on whose point of view is being represented.

[21] ISIL, Islamic State of Iraq and Levant.

However, the things did not go that way. The likelihood of a new world war diminished, but many new local wars (internal violence, inter states conflicts, foreign military interventions) emerged. The Gulf War (Operation "Desert Storm"); Yugoslav inter-ethnic and inter-religious wars ended with the NATO aggression on Serbia: terrorists attacks on the key American economic and defence centres; Afghanistan and Iraq wars; Arabs springs – these are only a few of such terrible events of the last twenty five or so years.

The world is facing several regional crises which could escalate into global dimensions. The armed conflicts in the Middle East threaten to break the regional borders, while peoples' migration from that area and the North Africa could create a deep European crisis. The increasing tension between the USA and Russia threatens to return the world in a new cold war. The Western Balkan peoples still have not found the way to reconcile, fifteen years after the inter-ethnic and inter-religious wars, while the tension between two Far-eastern states of the same origin tends to escalate in an open armed conflict. Now it seems, unfortunately, that the world is still far from achieving anything that could be described as "global peace".

Concluding Remarks

Globalization is an inevitable process. It is going along with the human society's development. Science and high technologies are its major driving force, being unmistakable engines for the fast economic growth and cultural advances.

Globalization is impacting almost every aspect of human life. It is changing even the man and his way of life. The very nature is also being changed under globalization's processes. The strongest globalization's impact is extended upon the economy and relations among peoples and states – "market taker" and raw material "giver". Sophisticated goods are now manufactured in and exported from numerous, until recently developing states. However, the gap between the highly developed North and underdeveloped South still exists and, more importantly, the gap between the rich and the poor all around the world is deepening.

The trend of deepening the gap between the rich and the poor provokes unrest on one and fiery reactions of the rich and powerful (recent and current events in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria) with far reaching negative consequences (mass migration for example). That might be one of the reasons of sharp differences among proponents and opponents of globalization.

Mr Staples' opinion might be rather extreme, but it is a fact that more wars were waged after than during the Cold War. Economic inequality is growing; more conflicts and civil wars are emerging. Human migration unprecedented in the modern time presses Europe and threatens to bring its disintegration. Let me here cite one of the opponents of globalization, saying: *"Globalization promotes the conditions that lead to unrest, inequality, and ultimately to war"* (Mr Steven Staples, Chair of the International Network on Disarmament and Globalization, Vancouver, Canada).

In the process of globalization, the world military power was not reduced. Quite the contrary: we are now facing a new round of arms race and the world is heading towards a new cold war. Current crisis, local and regional armed conflicts threaten to escalate in a big war.

Proponents of globalization are inclined to say that current issues are transitory. True globalization with western values fully implemented has not been completed. When completed, the world will live in peace, security and welfare. However, is the selected way leading towards achieving that end the best way? It should be noted that the Jeans, Coca Cola, fast food chains, pop music and the like have made greater western influence and global promotion than all those political pressures and military interventions.

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IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF EXTREME TEMPERATURES AS NATURAL DISASTERS[1]

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Much of the scientific community agrees that global temperature as a result of climate change has increased significantly in the last century, and will continue to grow in the near future. According to the Third Assessment Report of the IPCC, 2001 (IPCC - Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), the global average temperature has increased by about 0.6 degrees in the 20th century, although climate warming was not uniform neither spatially nor temporally, as was indicated by observed changes and modelling studies. Variations in global or regional cases of extreme air temperatures that occurred due to changes in climate cause more and more attention lately as living beings and ecosystems and human society are sensitive to the severity, frequency and persistence of cases of extreme temperatures. In this regard, in order to effectively protect and respond to emergencies caused by harmful temperature extremes, it is necessary among other things to comprehensively investigate the mentioned natural phenomenon, so the subject of this paper will be an analysis of climate change as well as form, consequences, temporal and geospatial distribution of extreme temperatures. Using an international database on natural disasters of the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED), based in Brussels, with the support of program for statistical analysis (SPSS) and the method of thematic cartography, we have tried to point out the number, trends, consequences, temporal and geospatial distribution of extreme temperature in the period from 1900 to 2013, as well as the need for an adequate response of society to this type of natural hazard.

Key words: *security, emergency situations, climate change, extreme temperatures, adaptation, disaster, distribution*

Introduction

Climate changes are among the most researched risks of global disasters (Dimitrijević 2010). No other environmental issue has received so much attention in the popular press and expert analyses, although perhaps the effects of pandemics or other natural hazards could be more serious (Cvetković 2014; Cvetković, Milojković and Mlađan 2013). According to the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), climate change is a significant change in climatic conditions, such as temperature, precipitation and winds that last for a decade or longer, and can occur as a result of: natural processes within the climate system (changes in ocean circulation), changes in the intensity of solar radiation or human activities that affect the composition of the atmosphere (through the burning of fossil fuels) and soil (deforestation, urbanization, desertification) (Dimitrijević 2010). The signatories to the United Nations Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol 1997 accepted that climate changes bring with them many potential hazards such as sea level rise, increased frequency of storms and floods, spread of infectious diseases, decline in biodiversity and reduced food and water availability.[2] Such impacts are a threat not only to human lives and the quality of the environment but also for sustainable community development. According to current trends, the average global temperature will rise by 2-3°C over the next fifty years, which will cause many severe impacts, often manifested through the water (Climate change, studies and analyses 2010), ablation will firstly increase the risk of natural disasters (floods, droughts, storms), water supplies will be reduced to a great extent; there will be a decline in crop yields (food security will be compromised), especially in Africa where millions of people could remain with no food without the ability to produce or purchase sufficient food; each year, sea level rise will result in hundreds of millions of additional people experiencing flooding; natural disasters will be more intense, more frequent and more severe; Ecosystems will be particularly vulnerable to climate change, about 15-40% of species will potentially face extinction after warming of only 2°C.

Scientists agree that climate change caused (Climate change, studies and analyses 2010): very likely increase in sea level in the second half of the twentieth century; likely changes in wind patterns, affecting directions extra-tropical storms and temperature patterns; likely increase in temperatures of extremely hot nights, cold nights and cold days; increased risk of heat waves, broadening the area affected by drought, the frequency of heavy rainfall; warming which is the greatest on land and at the highest latitudes, and the lowest over the Southern Ocean and parts of the North Atlantic; contraction of the area under the snow, increased thaw depth in most areas and reduced volume of ice in the sea; very likely increase in precipitation at high latitudes.[3] Thus, climate change affected all natural processes, changing their many features, which will have different consequences for people.

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[2] Although the United Nations Convention on Climate Change and the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction within the United Nations differ, they have overlapping basic principles: reducing the risks associated with rapid climate change.

[3] In the period from 1906 to 2006, the average temperature on Earth has risen by 0,6-0,9°S, and sea level by 17 cm². If global warming trends continue, by the end of the XXI century, sea level will rise by another 1,4 m.

Similar warnings could be found in numerous media statements and policy documents. The organization „Christian Aid" warns that by the end of the 21st century in Africa alone 184 million people could die from the effects of climate change, which would have caused floods, famine, drought and conflicts. In October 2006, it a so-called Stern Review on economic implications of climate change was published in the UK, which indicates that hundreds of millions of people, directly or indirectly, may be affected by extreme weather conditions that could lead to the emergence of famine and disease due to lack of water and other resources. Although the report of the Ministry of Finance of the Great Britain emphasizes the economic consequences of climate change, it also presents the possible scenario of mass migration and conflicts in developing countries. According to the report, conflicts would result from forced migration, and by 2050 about 200 million people could be forced to change their permanent place of residence (*Stern Review 2006*). In the spring of 1995, residents of the island of Bhola in Bangladesh were forced to forced migration when half of their island disappeared under the water. UN Refugee Agency considers that they were the first „climate refugees", and it is anticipated that a similar fate awaits at least 20 million people of Asian countries by 2030 (Милинчић и Шабић 2009). World Yearbook of natural disasters of the International Red Cross in 2001 gave an overview of countries and regions whose populations were affected and / or threatened by natural disasters in the period from 1981 to 2000. A total number of registered disasters in the period 1991-2000 increased from 454 to 752 (Cvetković 2013; Cvetković 2014; Cvetković i Mijalković 2013; Цветковић, Милојковић и Стојковић 2014; Цветковић и Драгићевић 2014; Цветковић, Гаћић и Јаковљевић 2014), while in the same period 4,703 accidents caused by climate change were recorded. In 1991, 170,093 persons were killed, and in the period to 2000, 752,521 people were killed, while 2,108,025 persons were directly threatened by the devastating impact of natural disasters, which caused extensive damage. It is often claimed that the degradation of the environment is one of the main reasons that can lead to armed conflict, though in the scientific community that deals with this problem, there are objections that the IPCC (IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) relies on the information with little empirical corroboration (Димитријевић, Милинчић и Ђорђевић 2010).

Indeed, since the first report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change[4] in 1990 a significant progress has been made in terms of: 1) determination of reality of anthropogenic climate change, and 2) a sufficient understanding of the scale of the problem in order to confirm that it requires a public response. However, there remain considerable scientific uncertainties. Specifically, the researchers were not able to narrow the range of uncertainties about the reactions of the average global temperature to a doubling of carbon dioxide compared to preindustrial levels. Advances in science made us more aware of the uncertainty created by the previously untested processes. Discussions about „turning points" in the Earth system have raised awareness of the

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[4] The main conclusions of this report: a) the greenhouse effect exists, emissions resulting from human activities significantly increase atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide, methane, chlorofluorocarbons, nitrous oxide, etc.). Increase in concentration of these gases intensifies the greenhouse effect resulting in warming of the atmosphere; b) carbon dioxide is responsible for over half of the amplification of the greenhouse effect; v) the expected increase in global mean annual temperature during the 21st century is 0.2 degrees Celsius per decade; g) there is still a lot of uncertainty in the forecasts and projections of climate change in particular as regards the timing, intensity and regional particularities; d) the expected rise in sea level due to thermal expansion and melting of ice is 6 cm per year (Cvetković, 2014).

possibility that climate change and the processes they cause are much more dangerous than we anticipated and that some of the worst attacks may begin earlier, creating an alarming picture of the contemporary generation that created the conditions for the beginning of a climate disaster (Kemp 2007). Meanwhile, most theoretical analyses showed differences between direct, indirect or structural threats, personal risks (which affect the individual and his closest community) and covariant (which affect the smaller or larger groups, so we can talk about meso risks and macro risks), i.e. fatal and bearable risks. The limits of acceptable risk of climate change are usually formulated in terms of „dangerous" risk. For these reasons, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) drafted a framework through which a nation can respond to climate change. Under the Convention, governments share information and try to develop a national strategy for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, at the same time adapting to the expected impacts. The focal point of the Convention, in Article 2, is the intention to stabilize the concentration of greenhouse gases, and thus the climate. Article 2 introduced problematic, inevitable concept of „dangerous anthropogenic interference" (DAI) into the climate system, and into the dictionary of scientific and public communities (Frame and Allen 2011). DAI has been the subject of much debate, with its presentation by multitude of simple studies, primarily in terms of possible thresholds of global average temperature (O'Neill and Oppenheimer 2004; Masstrandrea et al. 2004) or the equilibrium reactions to some unspecified atmospheric concentrations of CO_2.[5]

Efforts to reduce vulnerability to climate change

The fight against climate change and the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions have become priorities for many countries in the world and for many world organizations. The introduction of climate change topics in the realm of politics is the first but very important step, because most political leaders have become aware of the risks that climate changes represent and the need to respond to them. The second step is that the topic of climate change becomes part of care of institutions and citizens (Gidens 2010). The basic document to conduct and coordinate global efforts to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which was adopted in 1992 at the World Summit in Rio de Janeiro. By itself, this Convention does not constitute a binding document, but it provides for the adoption of the protocol that introduces binding provisions for the signatory countries. The most important such protocol is the Kyoto Protocol, which was adopted in 1997 and entered into force in 2005. According to this protocol, the most developed signatory countries (37 countries listed in Annex I of the Protocol) have an obligation to reduce their emissions by 5% of the value of those in 1990 in the period

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[5] Research shows that since 1800, the concentration of carbon dioxide has increased by about 35%, and during the last century its global emissions increased by 77%, which is one of the main causes of the rise in average temperatures by 0,7°C. During the last two decades, the annual global carbon emission into the atmosphere constantly exceeds six billion tons, which, in comparison with the mid-twentieth is an increase by four times. The average annual increase of the concentration of SO2 in the atmosphere is 0.4% and it is considered to be one of the main causes of global warming, increasingly pronounced temperature extremes, general instability of the atmosphere, climate zone shifts, more frequent extreme pluviometric regime, and ultimately distortion of global laws in the geographic space (Nordhaus 2005).

2008-2012. In addition to these limitations, the Protocol provides the ability to implement mitigating mechanisms, namely: emissions trading, the Clean Development Mechanism and joint implementation projects. In addition to this global initiative there are other regional ones. The European Union has developed a set of strategic and legal documents related to climate change. The document that is directly related to this issue is the EU White Paper on adaptation to climate change. By this document, EU has set a framework for solving the problems of adaptation at the community level and at the same time committed its members to serious and strategic approach to solving this problem (Assessment of vulnerability to climate change-Serbia, South East European Forum on Climate Change Adaptation, 2012). Serbia as a candidate for EU certainly has to expect these obligations and certainly in the future it will work intensively on the issue of climate change, especially on adaptations. Previous activities in Serbia in the process of adaptation to climate change were very modest and there are strong hopes that such a document will contribute to faster and more expedient organization of system adaptation. South East European Forum on Climate Change Adaptation was formed within the same project and it brought together about 80 members that are organized in four national networks in one of the regions that are considered most vulnerable to climate change in Europe.

There are four national networks of civil society organizations in Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro, with the aim to strengthen the capacity of civil society and to raise public awareness and dialogue through activities with decision makers at national and regional levels in order to draw the attention to the issue of climate change. It is believed that, for us, this is the most important initiative of the European Union, which is reflected in the so-called 20-20-20 goals. The European Union has adopted a set of legal documents entitled "Climate and energy package", which obliges member states to reduce emissions by 20% of level in 1990 by 2020, to achieve a level of energy production from renewable sources by 20% and to reduce primary energy consumption by 20% through improvement of energy efficiency. All measures that are based on the reduction of emissions, i.e. the prevention of causes of climate change are called mitigation or mitigation measures. Despite the efforts to reduce emissions as one of the main causes of climate change, it is clear that the exclusive use of mitigation measures is not sufficient to cope with climate change. The effects of climate change are already visible and it is clear that it will become more intense in the near future. Even if drastic reduction of greenhouse gas emissions occurred instantly, the effects of emissions from the past would be felt for many years. Practically, climate change cannot be stopped in the short term. Predictions are that greenhouse gas emissions will grow over the next few decades, so it is impossible to expect positive effects of "mitigation measures" for many years (IPCC 2001). For this reason, in recent years, special attention has been given to adaptation measures to climate change at the international level. Adaptation means finding ways to reduce the vulnerability of natural systems and human communities to climate change. Adaptations in fact represent an increase in tolerance to climate change. During all analyses of possible measures for adaptation to climate change, it must be taken into account that all these predictions are related to a number of uncertainties. These uncertainties are product of use of different methods for predicting (different models, selection of scenarios, selection of periods for verification and prognosis, selection of methods of lowering the modelling results from the global to the regional level, and the like), and unreliability of data

(insufficient number and quality of certain data lack of compatibility of different studies, and the like). However, it must also be taken into account that these uncertainties are not of the same order of magnitude. For example, it is of quite high reliability to predict that the average seasonal temperatures will rise, a much lower reliability is that there will be a reduction in average annual rainfall, while it is particularly unlikely what changes will occur on seasonal basis. Given the many uncertainties, it is desirable that the measures that would be applied in order to adapt to potential climate change do not cause adverse effects in case of deviations from the planned changes. In other words, it is desirable to apply such measures that would reduce the risks of climate change, but would have other positive effects on society, economy and environment. Efforts to solve the problem of climate change but also opposing views were expressed on the Copenhagen two-week UN Climate Change Conference, where representatives of 192 countries negotiated and tried to reach a mutual agreement whose application would result in slowing the pace of global warming. The conference resulted in a loose arrangement in which the participating countries of COP 15 agreed to "note" the final document of the summit, the Copenhagen Declaration. The final document of COP 15 was agreed on by 26 countries, among which are the US, China, India, Brazil, South Africa and the leading EU countries, but its adoption has not been accepted by a number of developing countries (Sudan, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Cuba). These countries were dissatisfied with both the content of the document and the way in which it was agreed. Developing countries have agreed to subsequently submit a notification about whether they will join the Declaration and to support its conclusions. The Copenhagen Declaration was a legally non-binding document, and it was left to the will of the participating countries of summit to identify and communicate their national goals related to reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. Opening the COP 15 summit, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said: "Climate change is the dominant geopolitical and economic issue of the 21st century, which disturbs the balance of world development, peace and prosperity" and he added that failure to reach a global deal in Copenhagen would be "morally inexcusable, economically short-sighted and politically unwise". The Copenhagen Declaration contains no specific figures related to the obligations of countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, either in the short term until 2020 or in the long term until 2050, and it only specifies that the increase in global temperatures over the next hundred years should be kept within the boundaries of two degrees. In the same vein, there was the largest conference of world leaders on climate change opened in September 2014 at the UN headquarters in New York, in the midst of calls for urgent action to stop global warming. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon hosted a summit of 120 leaders, the first such gathering at the highest level of the Copenhagen conference on climate change in 2009. Diplomats and experts for climate consider the summit as crucial event on the eve of the conference in Paris, scheduled for the end of 2015 in the struggle to reduce gas emissions by 2020. At the climate summit, there was talk about the economic aspect for climate action, benefits of climate action for health and job of the next generations. Opening the Climate Summit, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said that a joint action to reduce emissions of harmful gases into the atmosphere was necessary, but also pointed out that by the end of this century, the mankind must cease to produce carbon, and he sent the appeal to the world famous companies to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide.

Climate change and extreme temperatures

Much of the scientific community agrees that global temperature as a result of climate change has increased significantly in the last century, and will continue to grow in the foreseeable future. According to the Third Assessment Report of the IPCC, in 2001, it was stated that the average global temperature has risen by about 0.6 degrees over the twentieth century (Houghto et al. 2001), although climatic warming was not uniform either spatially or temporally, as was indicated by observed changes and modelling studies (Folland et al., 2001; McAvaney et al. 2001). Important aspects of climate change are variable properties of daily temperature, especially changes of extreme values of distribution of daily temperature. It is expected that the increase in average temperature will be accompanied by an increasing number of hot days and warm nights. Since these changes can be identified, it is expected that there will also be changes in cases of extreme temperatures, such as an increasing number of days with extremely low or extremely high temperatures. As shown by Katz and Brown, climate change is reflected more in extreme temperatures than in their average values (Katz and Brown 1992; Meehl et al., 2000; Frich et al. 2002). This means that if global climate change is an actual phenomenon, it could be detected and clearly shown through the patterns of behaviour of extreme climatic events. Variations in global or regional cases of extreme air temperatures that occur due to changes in climate draw more and more attention lately as living beings and ecosystems and human society are sensitive to the severity, frequency and persistence of extreme temperatures (Easterling et al., 2000).

Houghton et al. showed how continuous and increasing variation affects the extreme temperature where the temperature rises to reach a normal distribution. Many scholars have noted that this type of warming is not uniform throughout the day, with a lower degree of warming observed in maximal temperatures and significantly higher level in minimal temperatures. For example, Karl and Easterling have found that in the period from 1951 to 1990, global temperatures during the day and daily average temperature rose by 0.28 degrees C, while night (minimal daily) temperature rose three times more, by 0.84 degrees Celsius (Easterling et al. 2000). In other words, the warming is stronger in minimal daily temperature than maximal temperatures. As a consequence, it reduces the amplitude of daily temperature measured at the surface of the soil above large land masses. Such asymmetric changes of day and night temperatures have been confirmed in many other studies but with different magnitudes and regional differences (Turkes and Summer 2004; Weber et al., 2007; Qian and Lin 2004). In recent years, an increasing number of studies deals with observational analysis, which includes variability and trends in cases of extreme temperatures in various regions of the world, taking into account that the amplitudes of extremes at regional level are greater than the amplitudes of extremes at global level, as well as the importance of regional studies of climate change in assessment of climate impacts. For example, various analyses of daily minimal, daily maximal and extreme temperatures were made in North America (Robeson 2004), Canada (Bonsal et al. 2001), Europe (Klein and Konnen 2003), Australia and New Zealand (Plummer et al., 1999), East Africa (Kinguyu, Ogallo and Anyamba 2000), India (Roy and Balling 2005) and South Korea (Ryoo, Kwon and Jhun 2004). As in much of the world, there has been varying degrees of warming in China, andthere is a general

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tendency towards a higher rate of warming when it comes to the minimal winter temperatures in comparison with the maximal summer temperatures (Zhai and Pan 1999). Zhai et al. also showed that in northern China there is a reduction in the number of days with extremely low temperatures. Recent studies have further documented the temperature extremes and trends in China (Yan et al., 2002; Gong, Pan and Wang 2004). Since this is a really extensive and complex material, the subject of this paper will be an analysis of forms of manifestation, number, consequences, temporal and geospatial distribution of extreme temperatures, especially bearing in mind that the effects of extreme temperatures have caused more damage to people and their property than other natural hazards.

Methods

The survey was conducted based on extensive material of the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED). It was realized in such way, as in the first step the raw – unprocessed data in format of "excel" file with 25,552 registered events was taken from the Centre (www.emdat.be).[6] The download was conducted on 5/6/2013. Subsequently, the data was processed by the program for statistical analysis of data, "IBM SPSS Advanced Statistics 20.0". Frequencies and percentages of the considered variables were calculated by program operations. Also, tables and charts were made by the program, which were further processed in "MS Word 2013". The results of processing of quantitative data are displayed in the text, tables and graphics in the form of cartographic visualization by method of thematic mapping – volume cartography (Filipović and Milojković 2010). The results of processing of the data are displayed in text, tables and graphics.

The meanings of terms that are used in the paper are: the death toll - the number of people with confirmed death and the number of missing, apparently dead people, the number of injuries - the number of people suffering from psychological injury, or trauma requiring immediate medical attention; the number of affected – the number of people requiring immediate assistance during and after a disaster, including deployed or evacuated people, homeless - the number of people who need emergency accommodation because they lost their house, the affected toll - a summary of injured, homeless and affected, the total damage - a global picture of the economic impact of flooding, given in U.S. dollars.

Analysis of geospatial distribution of extreme temperatures

Results of analysis of geospatial distribution of extreme temperatures for the period from 1900 to 2013, indicate that most (439) extreme temperatures occurred in Europe, and the least (12) in Oceania. The number of most people killed (280349) due to the extreme temperatures was in Europe, and the lowest number (454) in Oceania. When it comes to the number of the injured and the affected, the situation is as follows: the

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[6] Natural event will be recorded in the database as a natural emergency situation if the following criteria are met: there are ten or more people killed, 100 or more people affected, declared emergency and call for international assistance.

highest number of injured people (3649796) was in America and affected (6373404) in Asia. In contrast, the lowest number of injured (1516) and affected (170,379,476) people was in Asia. When analysing the total number of people left homeless due to the extreme temperatures, it is evident that the number was the lowest (0) in Africa and the highest (466000) in Asia (Table 1).

Table 1 – *Review of consequences of extreme temperatures to people in the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by continent. Source: author's calculations*

Continent	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
Africa	22	454	210	2015000	0	2015210	95618
America	206	17894	3649796	6865500	32000	10547296	34529700
Asia	291	43163	68788	170379476	466000	170914264	47654666
Europe	439	280349	44562	2564504	2680	2611746	32374702
Oceania	12	740	5568	9200000	0	9205568	400000
Total	970	342600	3768924	191024480	500680	195294084	115054686
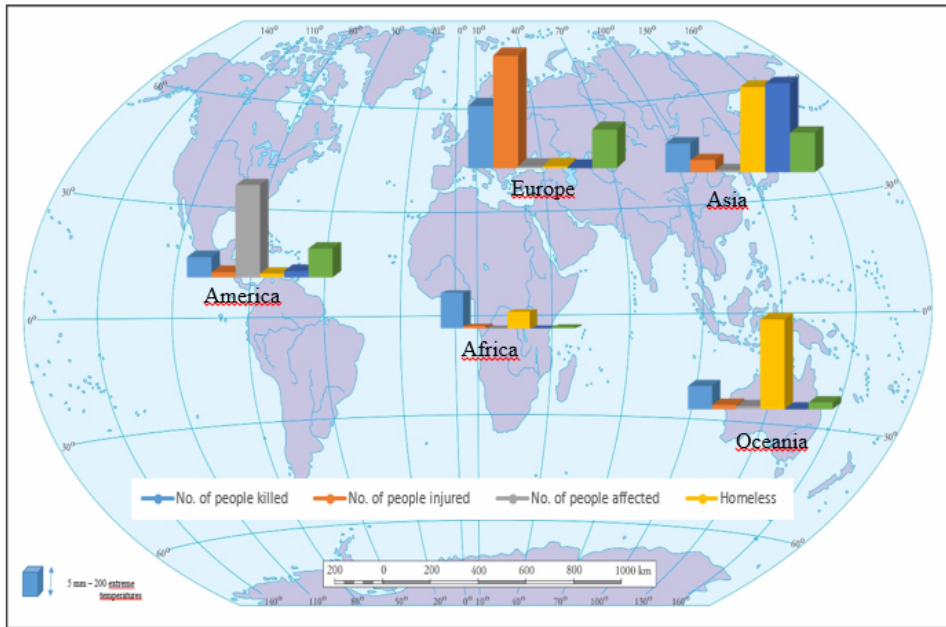
Figure 1 – *A thematic map of the total number and consequences of extreme temperatures in the world for the period from 1900 to 2013. Source: author's calculations*

Observed by continents, the highest number of extreme temperatures occurred in Europe (45%), followed by Asia (30%), America (21%), Africa (3%) and finally Oceania (1%) (Figure 1).
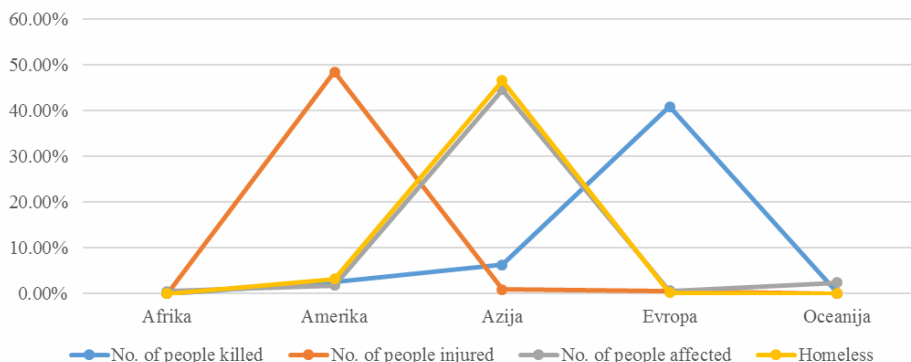
Figure 2 – *Percentage review of the effects of extreme temperatures on the people in the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by continents. Source: author's calculations*

As a consequence of extreme temperatures, in terms of continents, most fatalities (45.26%) were in Europe and the least (1.24%) in Oceania. Most injuries (96.84%) were in America and the lowest number (0.15%) in Oceania. The highest number of the affected (89.19%) was in Asia and the lowest number (1.34%) in Europe. The highest number of people (93.07%) left homeless in Asia and the lowest (0.54%) in Europe (Figure 2).

Table 2 – *Top five countries by number of extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013. Source: author's calculations*

Country	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
India	103	29085	500	0	0	500	1088000
USA	68	10322	62	0	0	62	27170000
Bangladesh	44	4880	4400	824000	0	828400	0
Russia	42	115828	5996	1512400	0	1518396	2800200
Romania	36	1032	2518	18000	0	20518	0

In the period from 1900 to 2013, the highest number of extreme temperatures occurred in India 103. Thus, by the number of extreme temperatures, in the first place is India, followed by USA 68, Bangladesh 44, Russia 42 and Romania 36 (Table 2).

Table 3 – *Top five countries by number of people killed due to extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013. Source: author's calculations*

Country	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
Russia	42	115828	5996	1512400	0	1518396	2800200
France	28	41912	400	20000	0	20400	10344000
Italia	16	40338	0	0	0	0	9065202
Spain	16	31232	140	0	0	140	3608600
India	103	29085	500	0	0	500	1088000

Analyses show that the highest number of people killed due to the extreme temperatures in the period from 1900 to 2013 was in Russia, 115,828. Thus, by the number of people killed due to the extreme temperatures, in the first place is Russia, France 41,912, Italy 40,338, Spain 31,232, and India 29,085 (Table 3).

Table 4 – *Top five countries by number of people injured due to extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013. Source: author's calculations*

Country	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
Peru	18	2986	3648524	6331560	0	9980084	0
Japan	8	556	50600	30000	0	80600	0
Ukraine	12	2056	25252	270000	0	295252	170000
China	24	678	9644	161964360	466000	162440004	42860400
Belarus	8	18	6350	20200	0	26550	60600

The highest number of people injured due to the extreme temperatures during the same period was in Peru, 3,648,524. Thus, by number of people injured due to extreme temperatures in the first place is Peru, followed by Japan 50,600, Ukraine 25,252, China 9,644 and Belarus 6,350 (Table 4).

Table 5 – *Top five countries by number of affected people due to extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013. Source: authors' calculations*

Country	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
China	24	678	9644	161964360	466000	162440004	42860400
Australia	10	740	5568	9200000	0	9205568	0
Peru	18	2986	3648524	6331560	0	9980084	0
Tajikistan	6	2	0	4005000	0	4005000	1680000
Liberia	2	0	0	2000000	0	2000000	94000

In the period from 1900 to 2013, the highest number of affected people due to extreme temperatures was in China, 161,964,360. Thus, by number of affected people due to extreme temperatures in the first place is China, followed by Australia 9,200,000, Peru 6,331,560, Tajikistan 4,005,000, and Liberia 2,000,000 (Table 5).

Table 6 – *Top five countries by number of people who were left homeless due to extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013. Source: author's calculations*

Country	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
China	24	678	9644	161964360	466000	162440004	42860400
Mexico	34	2376	0	240000	32000	272000	1165200
Albania	8	152	0	471790	2680	474470	0
Australia	10	740	5568	9200000	0	9205568	0
Peru	18	2986	3648524	6331560	0	9980084	0

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Data show that the highest number of people who have lost their home due to the consequences of extreme temperatures during the same period was in China, 466,000. Thus, by number of people who lost their home due to the extreme temperatures in the first place is China, followed by Mexico 32,000, and finally Albania, 2,680 (Table 6).

Table 7 – *Top five countries by estimated value of the material damage caused by extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013.*
Source: author's calculations

Country	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
China	24	678	9644	161964360	466000	162440004	42860400
USA	68	10322	62	0	0	62	27170000
France	28	41912	400	20000	0	20400	10344000
Italia	16	40338	0	0	0	0	9065202
Canada	6	1000	0	400	0	400	4000000

In the period from 1900 to 2013, the largest estimated damage caused due to the extreme temperature was in China 42,860,400. So, by estimated material damage caused by the extreme temperatures in the first place is China, followed by US 2,717,000, France 10,344,000, Italy 9,065,202 and Canada 4,000,000 (Table 7).

Temporal distribution of extreme temperatures

Data from analyses of temporal distribution of extreme temperatures in the period from 1900 to 2013, show that 970 extreme temperatures happened, 342,600 people were killed, 3,768,924 were injured, 191,024,480 affected and 500,680 left homeless. Thus, on an annual basis, 8.6 extreme temperatures happened, monthly 0.7, and daily 0.02 (Table 8).

Table 8 – *Review of the total number and consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013, with emphasis on annual, monthly and daily distributions.*
Source: author's calculations

Type	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
1900-2013.	970	342600	3768924	191024480	500680	195294084	115054686
Yearly	8.6	3031.9	33353.3	1690482.1	4430.8	1728266.2	1018183.1
Monthly	0.7	252.7	2779.4	140873.5	369.2	144022.2	84848.6
Daily	0.02	8.4	92.6	4695.8	12.3	4800.7	2828.3

Figure 3 – *Percentage overview of the total number of extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by ten-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

Until 1980, extreme temperatures occurred in the average number which amounted to 6%. After this period, a significant increase in the number of extreme temperatures has been noted, and the peak is period from 2000 to 2013, when 59.79% of the total number of extreme temperatures for the given period happened. The lowest number of extreme temperatures occurred in the period from 1900 to 1930, because during these periods there were no recorded events (Figure 3).

Figure 4 – *Percentage review of the total number of extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by twenty-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

Observed by twenty-year periods, the highest number of extreme temperatures (59.79%) occurred in the period from 2000 to 2013, and the lowest number (no recorded events) in the period from 1900 to 1920 (Figure 4).
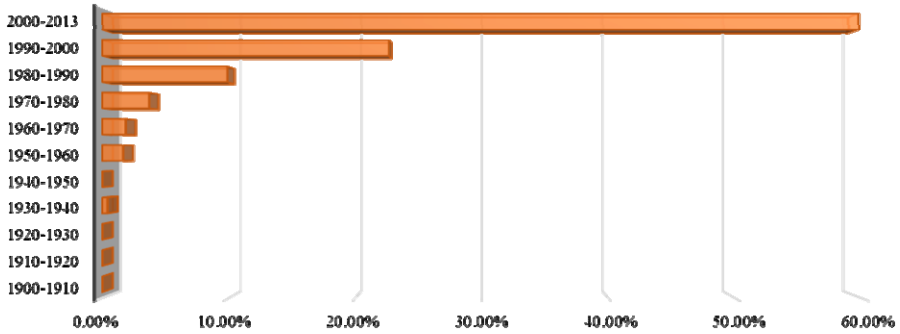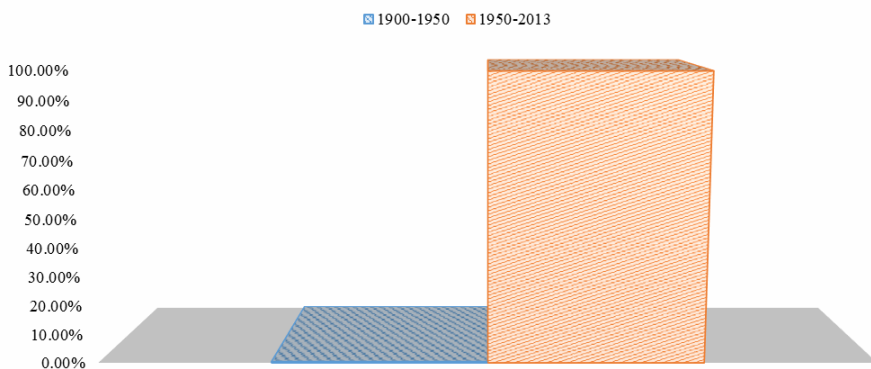
Figure 5 – *Percentage review of the total number of extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by fifty-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

When observing a fifty-year period, it is noted that after 1950 there is a significantly greater number of extreme temperatures. Accordingly, in the period from 1950 to 2013, 99.59% of extreme temperatures of the total number occurred. In contrast to that period, 0.41% of extreme temperatures occurred from 1900 to 1950 (Figure 5).

Figure 6 – *Percentage review of the effects of extreme temperatures on the people in the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by ten-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

In percentage terms, due to consequences of extreme temperatures, the highest number of killed people (59.79%) was in the period from 2000 to 2013, and the lowest (no consequences) in the periods from 1900 to 1930 and from 1940 to 1950. The highest number of injured people (99.77%) was in the period from 2000 to 2013, and the lowest

(no consequences) in the period from 1900 to 1970. The highest number of affected people (92.48%) were in the period from 2000 to 2013, and the lowest (no consequences) in the period from 1900 to 1980. The highest number of homeless people (93.07%) was present in the period from 2000 to 2013, and the lowest number (no consequences) in the period from 1900 to 1980 (Figure 6).
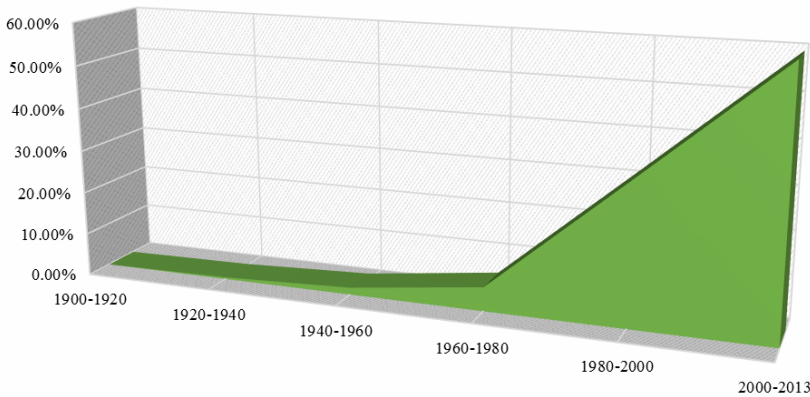

Figure 7 – *Percentage review of the effects of extreme temperatures on the people in the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by twenty-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

Observed by twenty-year periods, the highest numbers of killed people (87.47%), injured (99.77%), affected (92.48%), and homeless people (93.07%) were in the period from 2000 to 2013. The lowest number of killed people (no consequences) was in the period from 1900 to 1920, injured (no consequences) in the period from 1900 to 1960, affected (no consequences) in the period from 1900 to 1980, and homeless people (no consequences) in the period from 1900 to 1980 (Figure 7).
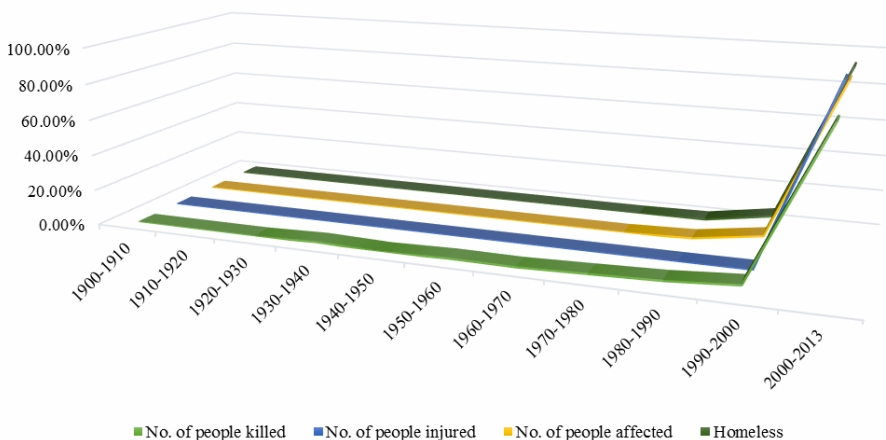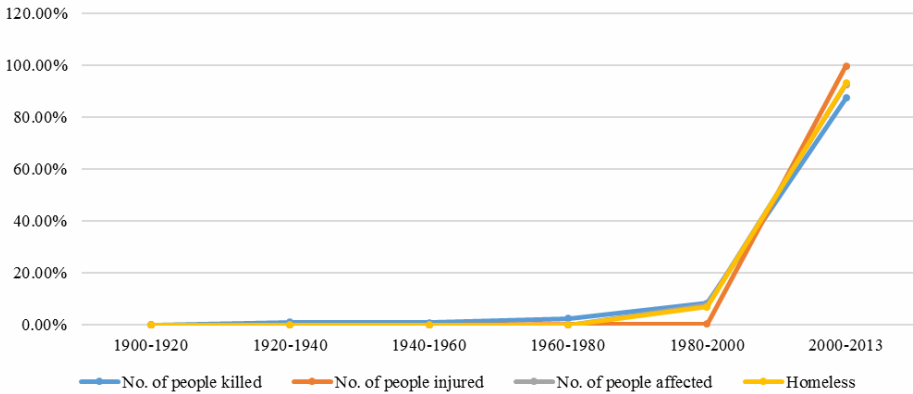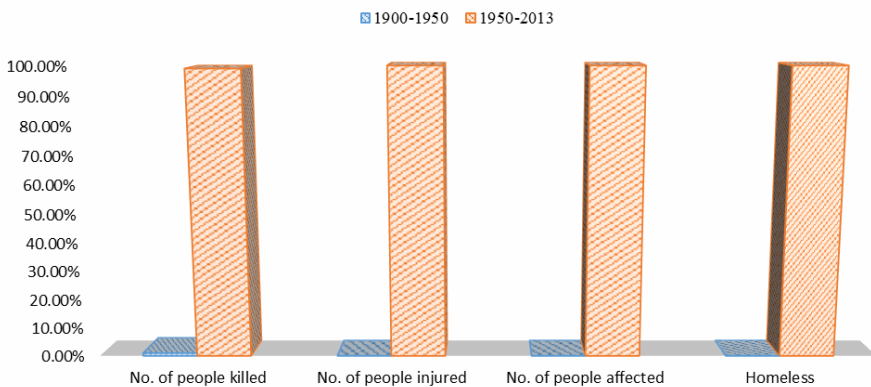

Figure 8 – *Percentage review of the effects of extreme temperatures on the people in the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by fifty-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

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When observing a fifty-year period, the highest extreme temperatures occurred in the period from 1950 to 2013: killed people (99.01%), injured people (100%), affected people (100%) and homeless people (100%). The lowest consequences were in the period from 1900 to 1950: killed people (0.99%), injured people (no consequences), affected people (no consequences) and homeless people (no consequences) (Figure 8).

Table 9 – *Review of the total number and consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 1900 to 2013, classified by decades. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
1900-1910	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1910-1920	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1920-1930	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1930-1940	4	3386	0	0	0	0	0
1940-1950	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1950-1960	16	2992	0	0	0	0	1240000
1960-1970	18	2254	0	0	0	0	0
1970-1980	36	5884	1200	0	0	1200	11160000
1980-1990	96	9850	434	2077290	2680	2080404	3967700
1990-200	220	18570	7126	12285614	32000	12324740	21574918
2000-2013	580	299664	3760164	176661576	466000	180887740	77112068

In the period from 1900 to 2013, the highest number of extreme temperatures (580) occurred in the period from 2000 to 2013 and the lowest number that is 4 extreme temperatures occured from 1930 to 1940. Of that, most fatalities were from 2000 to 2013, 299,664, and the lowest number, 2,992 in the period from 1960 to 1970. The highest number of affected people due to the extreme temperatures was in the period from 2000 to 2013 - 176 661 576, and lowest number in the period from 1900 to 1950 – no consequences. In the period from 2000 to 2013, most people were left homeless - 466,000 (Table 9).

Table 10 – *Review of the total number and consequences of extreme temperatures to people in the period from 1900 to 2103, classified by twenty-year periods. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
1900-1920	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1920-1940	4	3386	0	0	0	0	0
1940-1960	16	2992	0	0	0	0	1240000
1960-1980	54	8138	1200	0	0	1200	11160000
1980-2000	316	28420	7560	14362904	34680	14405144	25542618
2000-2013	580	299664	3760164	176661576	466000	180887740	77112068

The highest number of extreme temperatures, 580, occurred in the period from 2000 to 2013 and the lowest number, that is, four extreme temperatures, from 1920 to 1940. Of that, most fatalities were from 2000 to 2013 299 664, and the lowest number, 2992, in the period from 1940 to 1960. Most affected people due to the extreme temperatures

was in the period from 2000 to 2013 - 176 661 576, and lowest number in the period from 1980 to 2000 - 14,362,904. In the period from 2000 to 2013, most people were left homeless 466.000 (Table 10).

Table 11 – *Review of the total number and consequences of extreme temperatures to people in the period from 1900 to 2013, divided into two periods from 1900 to 1950 and from 1950 to 2013. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
1900-1950	4	3386	0	0	0	0	0
1950-2013	966	339214	3768924	191024480	500680	195294084	115054686

In the period from 1950 to 2013, the highest number of affected people – 191,024,480, was in the period from 1950 to 2013, while the lowest number of affected people was in the period from 1900 to 1950, that is, without consequences (Table 11).

Table 12 – *Top five years by number of extreme temperatures in the period from 2003 to 2012. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
2012	104	3614	11314	1211136	0	1222450	305602
2005	78	4330	25400	102000	0	127400	2800000
2000	62	1882	3418	51954	0	55372	740318
2010	56	114176	22	145500	0	145522	800000
2003	50	149396	400	3679776	0	3680176	25040000

In the period from 2003 to 2012, the highest number of extreme temperatures occurred in 2012 - 104. Thus, in the first place by number of extreme temperature is 2012, followed by 2005, 2000, 2010, and finally 2003 (Table 12) .

Table 13 – *Top five years by number of the killed due to consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 1998 to 2010. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
2003	50	149396	400	3679776	0	3680176	25040000
2010	56	114176	22	145500	0	145522	800000
2006	28	7498	600	0	0	600	0
2002	30	6738	7572	200400	0	207972	0
1998	24	6538	772	72000	0	72772	8550000

In the period from 1998 to 2010, in 2003, the highest number of people was killed due to consequences of extreme temperatures and it amounted to 149,396. In the first place by number of deaths due to consequences of extreme temperatures is 2003, followed by 2010, 2006, 2002, and finally 1998 (Table 13).

Table 14 – *Top five years by number of the injured due to consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 2004 to 2012. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
2004	32	510	3600826	678934	0	4279760	0
2009	38	2836	54082	1658212	0	1712294	2324000
2011	32	870	44944	8228066	466000	8739010	1562246
2005	78	4330	25400	102000	0	127400	2800000
2012	104	3614	11314	1211136	0	1222450	305602

In the period from 2004 to 2012, in 2004, the highest number of people was injured due to consequences of extreme temperatures and it amounted to 3,600,826. In the first place by number of the injured due to consequences of extreme temperatures is 2004, followed by 2009, 2011, 2005, and finally 2012 (Table 14).

Table 15 – *Top five years by number of affected people due to consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 1993 to 2011. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
2008	30	3386	1404	158341004	0	158342408	43880000
2011	32	870	44944	8228066	466000	8739010	1562246
1993	8	212	1120	6000400	0	6001520	0
2003	50	149396	400	3679776	0	3680176	25040000
2008	30	3386	1404	158341004	0	158342408	43880000

In the period from 1993 to 2011, in 2008, the highest number of people was affected due to consequences of extreme temperature and it amounted to 158,341,004. In the first place by number of affected people due to consequences of extreme temperatures is 2008, followed by 2011, 1993, 2003, and finally 2008 (Table 15).

Table 16 – *Top five years by number of people who were left homeless due to consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 1985 to 2011. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
2011	32	870	44944	8228066	466000	8739010	1562246
1992	14	776	0	0	32000	32000	6056000
1985	16	912	0	11490	2680	14170	288000
2008	30	3386	1404	158341004	0	158342408	43880000
1993	8	212	1120	6000400	0	6001520	0

In the period from 1985 to 2011, in 2011 the highest number of people due to the extreme temperature was left homeless and it amounted to 466,000. In the first place by number of people who were left homeless due to consequences of extreme temperatures is 2011, followed by 1992, 1985, 2008, and finally 1993 (Table 16).

Table 1**7** – *Top five years by estimated value of material damage incurred due to consequences of extreme temperatures during the period from 1977 to 2008. Source: author's calculations*

Year	Occurrence	No. of people killed	No. of people injured	No. of people affected	Homeless	Total affected	Estimated damage ($)
2008	30	3386	1404	158341004	0	158342408	43880000
2003	50	149396	400	3679776	0	3680176	25040000
1998	24	6538	772	72000	0	72772	8550000
1992	14	776	0	0	32000	32000	6056000
1977	2	0	0	0	0	0	5600000

In the period from 1977 to 2008, the largest estimated damage caused due to consequences of extreme temperature was in 2008 and it amounted to 4,388,000. Thus, by estimated material damage caused due to consequences of extreme temperatures in the first place is 2008 followed by 2003, 1998, 1992, and finally 1977 (Table 17).

Conclusion

Nowadays, the fight against climate change represents one of the priorities in the policy of international community. Climate change already adversely affects ecosystems and throughout the century it will increase in rate and degree of occurrence. This means that food and water will be less available, natural disasters will occur more often, human health will be threatened, species will disappear and ecosystems will be destroyed or degraded. The expected effects of climate change are complex and far-reaching, so it is not surprising that a number of global initiatives are focused precisely on these problems. In addition to the activities to mitigate climate change, it has become an inevitable urgency to develop a system of adaptation to climate change. Correlation between adaptation to climate change with all other problems of development and the necessity of a comprehensive resolution poses special challenges for all sectors, including politics, science, economy and civil society. Much of the scientific community agrees that global temperature as a result of climate change has increased significantly in the last century, and will continue to grow in the foreseeable future. According to the Third Assessment Report of the IPCC, 2001, the average global temperature has risen by about 0.6 degrees during the twentieth century, although climate warming was not uniform either spatially or temporally, as it is indicated by observed changes and modelling studies. It is expected that the increase in average temperature will be accompanied by an increasing number of hot days and warm nights. Since these changes can be identified, it is expected that there will also be changes in cases of extreme temperatures, such as the increasing number of days with extremely low or extremely high temperatures. Climate change is more reflected in extreme temperatures than in their average values. This means that if global climate change is an actual phenomenon, it can be detected and clearly shown through the patterns of behaviour of extreme climatic events. Variations in global or regional cases of extreme air temperatures that occur due to changes in climate draw more and more attention lately, as living beings and ecosystems and human society are sensitive to the severity, frequency and persistence of extreme temperatures.

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Using an international database on natural disasters of the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED) with the support of program for statistical analysis (SPSS) and thematic cartography methods, we have tried to point out the geospatial and temporal distribution of temperature extremes in the period from 1900 to 2013. By analysing geospatial distribution of temperature extremes by continents, it can be concluded that the greatest number of extreme temperatures affected the geographical area of Europe, so that the greatest number of people killed due to the impact of extreme temperatures was recorded on this continent. However, looking at individual countries, by the number of people killed due to consequences of extreme temperatures, Russia is in the first place, followed by France, Italy, Spain and finally India. Data from the analyses of temporal distribution of temperature extremes in the period from 1900 to 2013 show that 970 extreme temperatures happened, whereas in the same period, 342,600 people were killed, 3,768,924 injured, 191,024,480 affected and 500,680 were left homeless.

At the end of the 1970s, a significant increase in the number of extreme temperatures can be noted, while the peak is in the period from 2000 to 2013, when 59.79% of the total number of extreme temperatures for the given period happened.

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ECONOMIC-ACCOUNTING ASPECTS OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF CARBON EMISSION

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Due to economic differentiation in the world negative effects oc-curred at a global level. Non-global approach to the problem in rich countries caused the pollution to become a global problem because of their policies of transferring 'dirty' technologies into 'third world' coun-tries. This is why it is necessary to introduce the solution of the global problem in economic dimension by introducing oxygen as the fifth main productive element, the others being soil, labour, capital and knowledge. In connection to this, growing consumption and feedback in production cause growing oxygen consumption through their visible forms.

Key words: *accounting, economic, global temperature growth, carbon dioxide emission*

Introduction

Besides the main product, the problem of modern business operations is that they produce a great number of side products, one of which is carbon. Societies face negative consequences of growing carbon concentration in the environment at the be-ginning of 21st century such as global warming and related consequences, pollution of eco-system factors and many other problems. Negative effects of such consequences reflect in everyday monitoring of carbon concentration, primarily in air, but also in other elements important for environment protection. Economic dimension of the solution to this global problem can be found in accounting as a fundamental economic discipline which deals with planning, recording, control, analysis and reporting of business events. Only the correctly established global accounting – information system can stop, that is, reduce global effects in increased carbon emission.

Mathematically and economically speaking, global accounting system would reduce the number of multinational and transnational corporations to ordinary national companies, because it would incorporate national economy into a global accounting-information sys-tem. By doing this we would be able to monitor and express values of carbon emitters, the largest oxygen consumers. As market rules request, consumption has to be charged, and production paid off. In this way, payment obligation would be imposed upon the largest oxygen consumers, and the largest producers would be paid for their production. Market

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management viewed in this way needs to have certain reference points, based on which the system could be established. Therefore, social consciousness of the strongest and largest participants in global social life is necessary. Unfortunately, problems of humankind, as well as everything else in the society, are solved 'at the very last moment'. Social responsibility is reflected through numerous conventions on environment protection, on harmful gases emission reduction, on millennium goals, etc. Besides thus presented elements necessary for environment protection, we cannot disregard financial dimension which imposes the need for constant profit growth. Due to constant wish to have the largest profit possible, great number of companies want to locate their production capacities on the territories where general costs (taxes and local taxes) are lower. This leads to national economies having to adjust to the overall race for fresh capital and so they reduce fiscal dues, thus reducing compensational possibilities for environment protection. By introducing oxygen and carbon into the production system as a main factor on a global level and through global accounting – information system, these problems could be overcome and a new base for arranging production relations would be created.

World Carbon Emission

Air is a mixture of gases that form the atmosphere, and consist of approximately 80% nitrogen, 20% oxygen and very small portions of noble gases, carbon dioxide, hydrogen, ozone, water vapour and various impurities. Carbon, as a chemical element can be found everywhere: in nature, food, fat acids and proteins. Unpolluted air is a base for good health and life of people and whole ecosystem so the problem occurs when this balance is disturbed. Air pollution depends primarily on pollutant type. Polluted air has multiple effects on the entire ecosystem and people's health as well. Combustion of heating materials in individual consumption is main sources of air pollution, as well as industrial activities and traffic. The most frequent pollutants are carbon monoxide (CO), sulphur dioxide (SO_2), nitrogen dioxide (NO_2), soot micro particles. Air polluting substances may be, besides others, lead, cadmium, manganese, arsenic, chrome, zinc and other heavy metals and organic compounds, appearing as a result of different activities. Carbon monoxide (CO) is created at incomplete combustion of fossil fuels and it is a very poisonous gas, colourless, odourless and flavourless. Binding itself to an ozone atom, it weakens its structure and thus contributes to the reduction of its size. Emissions mainly come from traffic, thermoelectric power plants and similar. Carbon monoxide is toxic in high concentrations and indirectly contributes to global warming.

Carbon dioxide is besides carbon monoxide an even more important pollutant. Quantities of carbon dioxide emitted into the atmosphere at the beginning of world economic crisis in 2008 were reducing, but in 2009 and 2010, the pollution tempo returned to its previous level. 36.4 billion tons of carbon dioxide was emitted into the atmosphere in 2010, which is an increase of 45% compared to 1990.[1]

An estimate of sulphur dioxide emission (SO_2) in Europe is of 39 M-tons annually. Sulphur dioxide is created through fossil fuel combustion and occurs in the form of winter smog, most intensively and most frequently in central, south and southeast Europe. Because of this the authorities in countries of these regions initiated the campaign for traffic reduction in central urban areas. [2]

Industrial development imposes the need to monitor and measure the factors created as side products of industrial plants operations. Carbon dioxide (CO_2), as a combustion product, has been largely increasing globally with the industrial development, and it is necessary to find the way which makes quantification of its release possible, in order to enable monitoring and influencing its growth. That could be achieved by a formula expression which could be used to calculate the quantity of carbon dioxide created by combustion of certain fuel. Emission coefficient for carbon dioxide ($ECCO_2$) shows the quantity of carbon dioxide released from combustion of certain type of fuel per unit of such obtained heat quantity. Mathematical formula is expressed in the following way [3]:

$$CE_{co_2} = 3,67 \frac{fc}{H}$$

Where:
– fc stands for carbon in fuel (non-dimensional number in units [kg/kg] or [t/t],
– H stands for thermal fuel power (can be high or low thermal power) in units [MJ/kg or GJ/t],
– 3.67 stand for coefficient of stoichiometric equation of carbon combustion.

The formula shows that the carbon dioxide emission coefficient is expressed in units [kg/MJ] or [t/GJ]. Since both high and low thermal power values can be used in calculation, when presenting the value $CEco_2$, it must be pointed out which one is used.

Quantity of CO_2 emitted at some fuel combustion, directly depends on quantity of consumed fuel, carbon content in that fuel and thoroughness of carbon combustion.

Thus calculated coefficient takes into consideration only the so-called direct emission of CO_2, that is, the one from the combustion process, disregarding emission from the production process. The coefficient calculated in this way may differ significantly, which is particularly important for biofuels. It should be mentioned that in such combustion, carbon binding oxygen is used and as such represents the base of our presumption for introduction into reproduction process.

Table 1 – *Carbon dioxide emission coefficient for different fuels*

Fuel	Emission, kgCO$_2$/GJ
Biomass	109,60
Peat	106,00
Stone coal	101,20
Brown coal	97,09
Lignite	96,43
Diesel	77,40
Crude oil	74,10
Kerosene	73,30
Petrol	71,50
Liquid oil gas	63,10
Natural gas	56,10

(Source: Besermenji, S. (2007). Pollution of air in Serbia,
Collection of Papers of Geographic Institute "Jovan Cvijić", SANU, (57), 495-501)

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We can suppose, based on the data obtained in the above table [4], that the most favourable fuel from ecological and economical point of view is a natural gas. It has the lowest carbon dioxide emission coefficient, i.e. the lowest quantity of oxygen consumption for the same realized thermal effect which comes from its composition where methane is definitely most present and then other, lower hydrocarbons.

Natural gas has such composition that it has the least participation of carbon related to other fossil fuels (fc), which is why combustion, besides carbon dioxide, also emits a significant quantity of water vapour. Contrary to natural gas, biomass represents renewable source of energy and is considered CO_2 neutral. During its combustion, the same quantity of carbon dioxide that a plant can bind during photosynthesis when growing is released which is, of course, economically relevant in the conditions of equivalent consumption and production.

There isn't a catastrophe in our past or future that could cause such a disastrous effect on civilization and the life on our planet as can be caused by global warming, based on the report of the National Health Academy of U.S.A. Such consideration of this phenomenon demands realistic connections with the theory of limited resources and closed system. So far, the most relevant study on this issue is considered to be the study published after the end of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Changes held in 2001 within the United Nations (IPCH), which anticipates that the temperature on the Earth surface could rise from 1.4 to 5.8ºC by 2100. This study foresees that such growth of temperature could cause iceberg and Arctic polar ice caps melting, sea level rise, storm occurrence, animal habitats destabilization and animal migrating north, drinking water salinization, forest massive destruction, accelerated disappearance of plant species and major draught. [5]

If we consider that, due to man's activity, the quantity of CO_2 emitted into the atmosphere in this century will be doubled, the circumstances for sudden climate change at a global level could mature, perhaps in the interval of a few years.

Such assumptions are acceptable if the oxygen resources at a global level are not increased.

The Role of Economy in Carbon Emission Reduction

The phenomenon of globalization at the level of entire humanity as a global village is an unstoppable process. It is built on sound and modern basis and it is necessary for several reasons. Some of them can be found both in realization and maximization of exploitation of resources that are limited, which evolves from the very title. Each social system consists of two parts: commercial and non-commercial. Within so differentiated parts we can observe four sectors: external, monetary, real and public sector. In order for the society to develop, it is necessary to harmonize relations of these sectors filled with three types of subjects: workers, business subjects (here we think of an enterprise in its economic sense) and state. Business subjects have interest to obtain larger profit, exploiting resources as cheaply as possible. This principle applies to workers, while it goes for state, too, but in modified form. In economic theory and practice so far, the differentiated production factors are: labour, capital, land and know-how.

A new production factor is missing in this sequence, and it is oxygen. The question is why oxygen. Oxygen is an integral part of ozone which is the Earth's safety fuse, and therefore, mankind's refuge. Carbon is an integral part of all organic compounds on Earth, used to produce energy. Humanity shall exist on planet Earth as long as there is

oxygen and possibility for energy production. It is impossible, at an existing level of technological development, to search for a way out in discovering a new solution for life existence in the form of ozone protection by technical means only. This is not only a wrong course but also a wrong direction for solving the humanity crisis.

In our research, we have found assumptions for solving planetary crisis in monitoring oxygen consumption. Contrary to taxing solution, our solution is directed towards oxygen purchase and selling.

Accounting Aspects of Carbon Emission

It is impossible to change anything which cannot be recorded using accounting methods. Accounting – information system finds the role in solving this problem in its base. We will explain further the proposal reproduction system functioning, viewed in this way. By performing their functions, workers and business subjects realize a certain profit, which is a base for the functioning of the whole society. State, as an arbiter in economic relations, regulates redistribution of domestic product and thus enables satisfaction of life needs of the whole society (public expenditures). By performing its function in society, state has become its integral part, and as globalization process accelerated, it strengthened its apparatus. With globalization process acceleration, state assumes its role of a service, just like a car repair service, business subjects and workers being taken as cars.

Such state acting is enabled by existence of non-designated public revenue (tax), which for business subjects and workers means contributions, which, translated to accounting and technical sense can be identified with payment of some obligation without a bill. Such state acting complicates the process of harmonization of international conduct norms and makes reproduction process more complex. Contributions for environment protection are insufficient, since they are not system-solved. It is only system solution which can stop environment destruction. When this problem is observed from different aspects, environment protection aspects are not sufficiently protected in accounting and technical sense. This problem becomes more complex with exhaustion of resources that can be found on the planet Earth. Endangered existential conditions oblige man to look for a new place for living, and so new celestial bodies beyond Solar system are discovered, which indicates that social elite has lost hope of survival on the planet Earth. Solution of this very complex problem can be found only in: designating all public revenues (public revenues represent monetary assets that a state accumulates in order to cover public expenditures, they increase state net property at all levels of power and are characterized by: collecting cash, collection regularity, not risking property at making payments and covering costs of general character), introduction of life factors (primarily oxygen) in reproduction process in the form of production factor (production factors regulate material which needs to be input in the process of creating values) and accounting treatment[6] (accounting treatment is primarily linked to accounting aspect of possibility to make quantification records of economic events, and to other accounting aspects of planning, control and analysis of global economic processes) of these processes.

Designation of public revenues gives space to competition, which represent main precondition of mankind survival. Contesting with marketing means, business subjects

will exercise influence on resource exploitation reduction and repeated research in the technology field. Population has to know final destination of all their contributions, which is conditioned by technical development. As can be seen, there would be constant up-grade of production forces and production relations, alternately, in this sense. Tax contri-butions prevent the man to follow his money up to a final spending. This kind of attitude would be inevitable at a low level of technique and technology development when it was impossible to designate almost all public revenues.

This kind of designation would be conditioned by globalization process, role of state in global society, as well as by technical capacities. When we speak about glob-alization process, we have to say that conditions for humanity survival are connected with international integrations which are inevitable. At a global plan, it is necessary to set standards which would be binding for all, on the condition that their definition is linked to logically just and feasible factors. State will have to renounce its strong role at an international plan and thus enable the business subjects to adjust and come closer, aiming at optimization of natural resource exploitation. Such role of state shall be nec-essary for mankind functioning in the future, as it will turn into a business subject which will perform necessary functions, but in the form of business subject. Technical potentials are the base for introducing current accounts, electronic signature, global accounting system, internet, etc. Production factors upgrade in the form of oxygen implementation in a reproduction process as a production factor builds up a new as-pect of modern society development. [7]
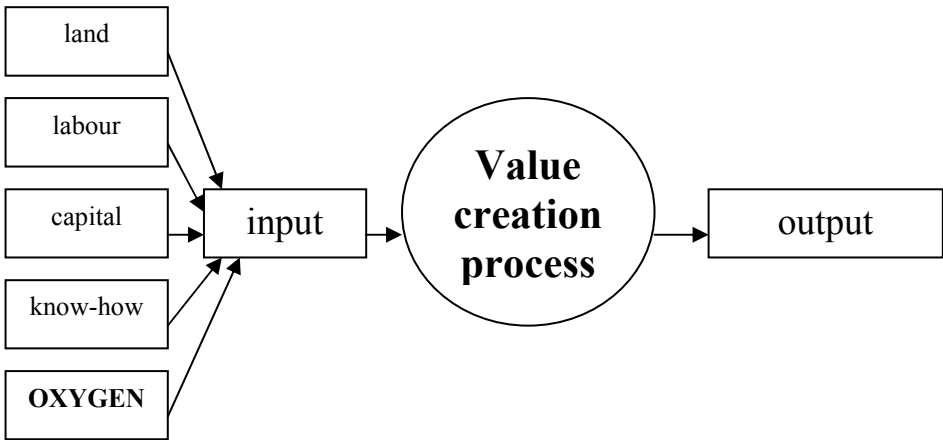

Figure 1 – *Production factors in global reproduction process*

Oxygen, as an integral part of ozone will be, in a global reproduction system one of production factors (global reproduction system represents a system of value creation at a level of global village, which entails a new social system administration, international busi-ness standards (one of them being International Accounting Standards), full mobility of production factors, etc.). Oxygen considered in this way, would implement the existence of a value system which would have functional effects on environment, taken at a global plan.

This production factor would require numerous technical and technological solutions, which would primarily reflect on: its measurability, its ownership, purchasing methods, etc. Measurability is conditioned by technical characteristics which can be achieved by measuring scales and measuring gas units. In the previous part, we brought up a formula for carbon monoxide calculation, which can be used to calculate oxygen, too.

Ownership is, in fact, a motive for its introduction to a reproduction process. Production will be rewarded, while consumption will be paid for, which will create conditions for the possibility of just globalization. For example: if an industrialist produces steel and consumes oxygen quantity H in a steel plant, maximum permitted oxygen quantity for consumption is Y (such observed value of maximum permitted oxygen quantity consumed at a level of business subjects would represent an equivalent of today non-taxable profit), whereas the amount paid above this maximum would be designated unlike tax which is not designated), difference H-Y is represented by value Ω which represents the total amount of oxygen consumption. This consumption multiplied with price α gives the amount of oxygen consumption δ.

To this process, we should add the quantity of carbon emitted. For each quantity of produced steel, certain quantity of carbon is released, generated during combustion of fuel needed for production. Now, besides steel as a final product, we have a by-product which pollutes environment. Here we arrive to global challenge which is related to the fact that wherever a producer consumes oxygen (which is present everywhere in the world, its quality is everywhere the same), while the impact of carbon release and related climate changes on the environment is not the same everywhere. Its influence on the environment has increased so much during the last hundred years, so that the differences in carbon effects on different parts of the world have been largely reduced.

The manner of sale and purchase of this production factor is a process which is tied to a state as a business subject, unlike the other production factors. State would represent a sale and purchase service for this production factor – it would redistribute global gross product to the producers of this factor and its consumers. Oxygen included this way would realize equal starting position in globalization process of technically developed and naturally rich countries. Accounting treatment of these processes represents the most complex and procedurally hardest part for realization. In the global system of financial transaction system accounting treatment, it would be necessary to establish: business records, book keeping documents and accounting procedures. Within thus established global accounting system, it would be necessary to establish an account of these resources, and the concept of a global layout of chart of accounts, as well as an account for treatment of externalities, which would contain all contributions of business subject related to harmful effects to the environment (noise, various waste material, etc.). Some factors have local influence (noise, waste), some have global impact (ultraviolet radiation), so, from this aspect, it is necessary to include them in the subject evaluation process. Global oxygen account would be treated by consumers as oxygen cost, and by producer as a global product account. Global externalities account would represent an account of non-material values for business subjects which would, according to automatism principle, reflect their value. Accounting and information system of this kind would solve problems of resource allocation, establish possibility for centralized monitoring of ecosystem sustainability, define the base for reporting fair values of business subject and create possibility for extending human existence on the planet Earth.

National Solutions for Reduction of Carbon Emission in Some Countries

Carbon dioxide is a gas that is transparent for shortwave Sun radiation and absorbs long-wave Earth radiation, and the temperature in lower atmosphere layers is because of his presence higher than if it was not there. In the last century, the quantity of carbon dioxide in atmosphere increased for about 25%. Carbon dioxide effect is joined lately by some other gas influence (chlorofluorocarbon, or Freon, methane, nitrogen oxide and ozone in troposphere) artificially emitted in atmosphere.

The global goal of reducing carbon emissions has significant contributions by some of the most industrially developed countries. An example can be taken of China, which has plans to obtain 30% of its electrical energy production from renewable resources by the year 2020. In 2005, it adopted the Law on Renewable Energy Support. We can find such legal foothold in Germany, too, which also adopted the Renewable Energy Law (EEG).

For example, Australia applies the Law which obliges around 300 largest pollution producers to pay 24$ per ton of greenhouse gas produced. Tax on carbon dioxide emission is necessary for fulfilment of obligations imposed in order to prevent climate changes. In the developed world, Australia is a country with largest gas emission per capita, but due to relatively low population, contributes with 1.5% of gas emission at a global level. Tax on gas emission in the European Union countries varies between 8.7 – 12.6$ per carbon dioxide ton, and it affects most mine industry, air companies, steel plants and energy companies. [5]

With the development of dynamic industrial progress, collecting taxes on gas emission polluting the environment has developed as well. Its beginnings can be found in the need of legislator to tax in some way something that endangers the environment, and the money thus collected can be used for new scientific projects which would help to find new and clean industrial capacities, whose work would provide the same productivity but less harmful gases. Global approach is missing to all this, as gases circulate throughout Earth atmosphere, from one continent to another, and not only around those states which tax harmful gases. It should be added that besides industry, harmful effects are released into the atmosphere by animals, too, which caused even cow taxing in Australia.

Financial Dimension of Economy Based on Carbon Dioxide Emission

Modern developed companies are owned through different types of ownerships. They are linked to business subjects through their accounting and legal connections and represent the base for their operations. We will process two main types of property for our research, private and state property, which will contribute to methodological distinctness of research subject statement. In the observed global financial and accounting system, regulation of ownership over production factors is one of the most important issues. Ownership at a global level should be approximated to a micro level, on the condition that its elements contain main characteristics of modern ownership, such as inviolability. In accordance with thus observed ownership characteristics, existing forms of business subjects, such as: entrepreneurs, proprietorships and partnerships, and corporations

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would require its evolutionary character. This evolutionary character would mean, in the first sense, the respect of ownership rights.

An example of this can be illustrated on the change of pubic into private property. This example shows the role of state which represents transmission mechanism in this process. Business subjects which were born in the form of shareholding companies with social property (shareholding company can have different forms of share ownership, which can appear in the form of: private, state, public, etc. share property).

They have found their accumulation of capital primarily in labour, which is in compliance with the labour value theory, which gave rise to public property. Such share capital accumulation in thus defined shareholding company had public character (public share character is a type of ownership where the ownership is dematerialized, and beneficial ownership dispersed to several parties) which was to be changed into private property. State as a mediator in this case conducts transmission of ownership without assuming ownership, which is in fact needed in order to materialize shares in a shareholding company such as this one, which turns group beneficial ownership into individual one. A frequent example for this kind of ownership change can be found in the term privatization, which cannot be essentially identified with change of ownership of business subjects. Establishing ownership over this new production factor will represent serious problem, unless essential process is implemented into a formal problem of future global reproduction system. The first thing to consider is a model of ownership definition which we presented, where private property will be dominant compared to all others. Private property and accounting statement of business subject value will enable rationalization of production factor consumption which will imply environment protection.

In the domain of oxygen ownership, there are consequences that are identical to those with public property in socialist countries. That is why a precise and clear establishment of beneficial owner over oxygen has to be carried out in the domain of finance, as some consume (use) oxygen, which is a general good of all people on the planet, for their own interests, without giving any compensation to the others.

Conclusion

Industry development, resource mobilization and their modern exploitation require a new overall approach in consideration, monitoring carbon emission as a by-product which affects the environment. Over the past decades carbon concentration has rapidly increased, through knowledge mastering and objectification, increased investment in science and education, expansion of the need for a higher quality life style.

World carbon emission primarily depends on the type of pollution producer it comes from. Whether pollution comes from thermal power plants, traffic, various impurities or chemical industry, it is necessary to express it with mathematical formula in order to be able to express it quantitatively and monitor it. Carbon dioxide emission coefficient represents that very indicator, but its disadvantage is that it shows carbon dioxide obtained from combustion process, neglecting emission from production process. The least emission coefficient is obtained from natural gas combustion due to methane content, while biomass represents a renewable energy resource and is CO_2 neutral. Economic globalization as a

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motor of climate changes enforced itself as a higher stadium of economic integrations. To-day, countries are connected into a network of financial, social connections, which resulted in productivity increase within certain branches of national economy. This exposure brought improvement in other branches within national economy. However, a by-effect may occur, which is that those branches simply cannot sustain the tempo of accepting new technolo-gies and work principles. Direct foreign investments go to those branches where there is a domestic factor of competitiveness, which domestic enterprises cannot support.

Economy finds the way in rationalization and maximization of global resources exploitation, which results in social system consisting of commercial and non-commercial part. Society de-velopment depends on harmonization of relations among workers, companies and state. Taxing carbon dioxide emitters is a new approach to the solution of climate changes aiming at using accumulated funds for researches in the field of environment protection, development of clean types of industry and its capacities. Europe and Australia are only ones of several global factors, which devoted themselves to this kind of solving and controlling carbon dioxide emission.

Accounting and information system basically finds the role in solving this problem. Contributions to environment protection are insufficient. Only system oriented solution may stop environment destruction. This problem may be observed also from another aspect, the aspect of environment protection which is not, in accounting and technical sense, protected enough. This problem is becoming more complex with wearing off re-sources that can be found on Earth. Endangered existential conditions compel human-kind to search for the new place of living. Destination of public revenues provides space for competition, which represents the main precondition for man's survival. Fighting with marketing instruments, business subjects affect the resource consumption reduction, and repeated research in technical field. Population has to know the final destination of their contributions, which is conditioned by technical development. Technical potentials create base for introduction of current accounts, global accounting system, internet, etc. Up-grade of all production factors in the form of introducing oxygen and carbon into repro-duction process as a production factor, creates a new aspect of shaping modern society.

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HEALTH ISSUES AS SECURITY ISSUES

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In recent years, the concept of health security has acquired an international dimension. Global health issues incurred as a result of modern conflict, globalization, increased mobility of people, climate change, bioterrorism and emerging infectious diseases pose threats not only to national, but to global security, as well. The potential dangers of epidemics, particularly pandemics, are considered to be threats to national security and as such they have found their place in the national documents and strategies of national security. After the UN Security Council passed the first ever resolution on a health issue in 2000 – Resolution 1308, which recognized the potential of an epidemic to pose a risk to stability and security and declared "peaceful war against AIDS" – as well as after a SARS outbreak in 2003, a H1N1 pandemic in 2009 and an Ebola outbreak in 2014, which the UN Security Council Resolution 2177 marked as a "threat to international peace and security", more attention has been given to the concept of global health security. In this paper, we will discuss why health issues are considered to be security issues, and present how health security has been treated in the national security strategies of individual countries, but also in global health security initiatives.

Key words: *health security, global health security, global health diplomacy, emerging infectious diseases, WHO*

Introduction

Globalization and the altered security context toward the end of the Cold War brought about changes in the nature of conflicts which nowadays tend to be of the intrastate rather than the interstate kind, with many civilian casualties, refugees and displaced persons (Newman, 2004:175). They also brought about new, non-traditional security threats, that is, non-military threats such as "environmental scarcity and degradation, the spread of disease, overpopulation, mass refugee movements, nationalism, terrorism, and nuclear catastrophe" (Paris, 2001:97) as well as changes in the perception of the very concept of security. The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report underscored that the concept of security had been long interpreted in too narrow terms as security of a territory from external aggression or as protection of national interests in foreign policy and it introduced the notion of human security focused on

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people (UNDP, 1994: 22). Human security consists of seven dimensions[1] whose common goal is "to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfilment" (Alkire, 2003: 2). One of the dimensions of human security particularly relevant to this paper is health security.

The concept of health security has become topical in recent years in both academic and political discourse. Although there is no universally accepted definition of health security, analysis of literature and various reports shows that this concept is linked to the mass spread of infectious diseases threatening not only individuals but society as a whole, and to the fact that pathogen microorganisms can be used as biological weapons and the fact that certain diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, can have social, political, economic and military implications thereby jeopardizing the stability and security of a country and region (Rushton, 2011:782; Fidler, 2003: 791-2). Even though, according to Ejdus, most people in developed countries believe that terrorism today is the biggest threat to security, the fact remains that disease is the cause of death in 91% of deaths worldwide (Ejdus, 2012: 106). In 2002 alone, more than 11 million people died of infectious diseases and, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), one of the biggest threats to global health is HIV/AIDS, which claimed 1.5 million lives in 2013 alone. According to World Bank data, since 1981, when AIDS was first registered, over 65 million people have become infected (World Bank, 2013), while there are currently 35 million people infected with this virus. AIDS is not only the leading cause of death in Africa today, it also has a fatality rate 10 times higher than armed conflicts.

In addition to its high mortality rate, HIV/AIDS, along with other infectious diseases, has profound consequences for health care, family, education, social cohesion, but also the security system. Elbe cites AIDS as the cause of death in 75% of fatalities among Kenya's police forces in the period between 1999 and 2000 (Elbe, 2005: 8). The armed forces are at a particularly high risk of contracting certain diseases, which affects military operational capabilities, while the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS can bear on the decision to deploy troops to a certain territory for peacekeeping operations, but also on the unwillingness of a country to host troops if there is a risk that soldiers might spread the disease.

Health issues have incalculable consequences for world economy as well. Because of its high mortality and morbidity rates, the HIV/AIDS pandemic affects workforce and causes capacity losses in key sectors of the labour market. Research shows that the pandemic throughout Africa has reduced the average social growth by 2-4% (Dixon et al. 2002), while the 2003 SARS pandemic is estimated to have cost the world economy over 50 billion dollars (MARSH, 2008).

Poverty and poor health conditions can lead to migrations, which increases the risk of existing diseases spreading and new infectious diseases emerging. The outbreaks of SARS in 2003, H5N1 (avian flu) in 2004, H1N1 (swine flu) in 2009 and Ebola in 2014 have shown that infectious diseases can spread rapidly, jeopardizing not only human lives, but also world economy, stability and security.

As a result of all this, health issues have started to be viewed through the prism of theory of securitization as security issues, while the Copenhagen School is accepted as the analytical

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[1] Seven essential dimensions of human security: Economic; Food; Health; Personal; Political; Environmental; Community.

framework for understanding the connection between health and security (Enemark, 2007; Elbe, 2010; Rushton and Youde, 2015; Caballero-Anthony and Cook, 2013; Pekkanen et al., 2014; Hanrieder and Kreuder-Sonnen, 2014; Kittelsen, 2013; Rushton, 2011). Securitization understood as a process in which some factor declares that a certain matter, issue or problem poses an existential threat to a designated referent object (McDonald, 2012: 119) becomes successful when it is articulated "from a specific place, in an institutional voice, by elites" (Weaver, 1995: 57). An important role in health securitization is therefore played by high-ranking political officials who in their statements, through a "speech act", alert to health issues as security issues which should be regulated by resolutions and strategic documents, since it was concluded at the Oslo Ministerial Conference that "threats to health may compromise a country's stability and security" (Oslo Ministerial Declaration, 2007:1).

The fact that "viruses, bacteria, and various kinds of plants and animals have never respected national borders" (Pirages & Runci, 2000: 176–93) means that, as stated in the World Health Report, "an outbreak or epidemic in one part of the world is only a few hours away from becoming an imminent threat elsewhere" (WHO, 2007:2). Certain diseases such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola were declared an international peace and security risk by UN SC resolutions and the very concept of health security is beginning to shift toward global health security. The main advocate of global health security is now the WHO, which has, in response to the altered health and security circumstances, revised the International Health Regulations (IHR), which have drastically reformed international legislation relevant to the international spread of disease (Fidler, 2005) as well as the relationship between the military and global health (Fidler, 2011).

By analysing literature from the field of health security, reports of relevant international organizations and national strategic documents, this paper sets out to show why health issues are considered national security issues in the 21st century, how certain countries address these issues in their strategic documents, why the focus has been shifted from the concept of national health security to the concept of global health security, and finally, what role the WHO plays in the promotion of this concept and the securitization of health.

Why is health considered to be a security issue?

As previously mentioned, the events that marked the end of the 20th century led not only to the emergence of new, non-traditional security risks, but also to the shifting of focus from interstate to intrastate conflicts. According to the SIPRI Yearbook data, the period from 2002 to 2011 saw 73 state-based conflicts, 40% of which in Africa, and 165 non-state conflicts, 76% of which in Africa (Neil, 2013:46; 52). Conflicts have incalculable consequences for all aspects of society, leading to deteriorating basic living conditions, a large number of civilian casualties, large-scale population displacement, but also to infectious disease outbreaks (see Figure 1). Thus the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the large number of refugees in the Democratic Republic of the Congo resulted in the spread of a cholera epidemic killing 50,000 refugees during the first month alone (WHO, 2007: 21). According to Gayer et al., malaria had been practically eradicated in Tajikistan in the early 1960s, with no more than 200–300 malaria cases reported each year before 1992. The 1992–1993 civil struggles resulted in large-scale population displacement and deteriorating living conditions. Over

100,000 persons escaped to Afghanistan only to bring back malaria pathogens with them in 1994. An outbreak followed, reintroducing malaria in Tajikistan for the first time in 35 years. By 1997 29,794 cases were reported each year. (Gayer et al. 2007:1625).
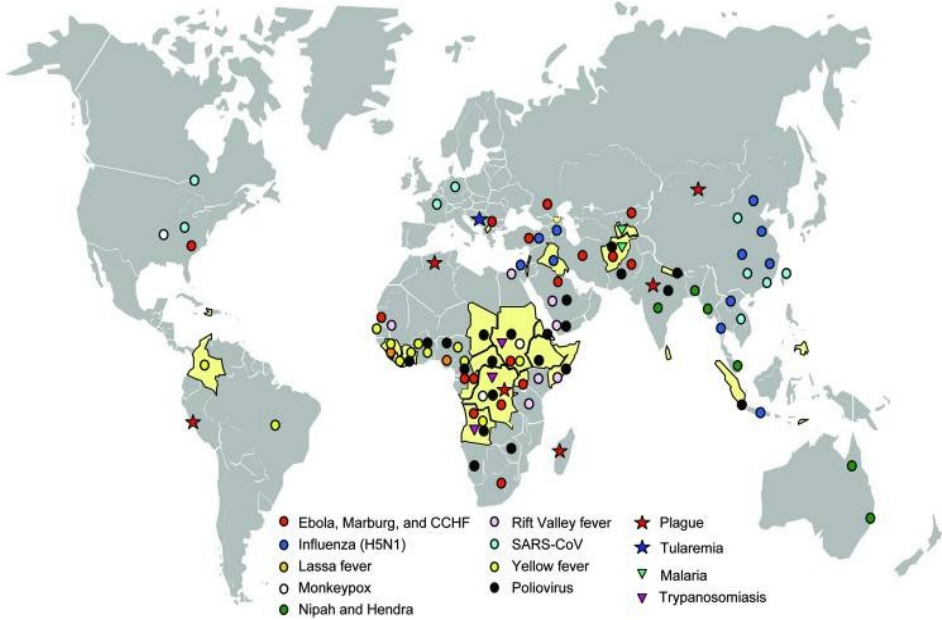

Figure 1 – *Geographic distribution of emerging or re-emerging infectious disease outbreaks and countries affected by conflict, 1990–2006 (Gayer et al. 2007: 1626)*

Some research also indicates that HIV/AIDS is used as a weapon of war in conflicts in Africa. During the Rwandan genocide Hutu militia members infected with the HIV virus were instructed to rape Tutsi women (Chowdhury & Lanier, 2012:47) and, according to available data, 67% of the 200,000-535,000 raped women in Rwanda were infected with the HIV virus (Global Justice Center, 2013). Elbe believes that HIV in conflicts in Africa can be defined "as a psychological, and perhaps even biological, weapon of war" (Elbe, 2002:168).

The fact is that today Africa is the worst affected region with 24.7 million people living with HIV, which amounts to 70% of the world's HIV-infected population. According to former US vice president Al Gore, "for the nations of sub-Saharan Africa, AIDS is not just a humanitarian crisis; it is a security crisis – because it threatens not just individual citizens, but the very institutions that define and defend the character of a society" (The White House Office of Vice President, 2000). AIDS is considered to be not only the leading cause of death in Africa, it also has a fatality rate 10 times higher than armed conflicts. Moreover, the 1995 US HIV/AIDS Strategy points out that "as the HIV/AIDS pandemic erodes economic and security bases of affected countries, it may be a potential 'war-starter' or 'war-outcome-determinant'". The Strategy pays special attention to the influence of AIDS on the armed forces and stresses that "HIV directly impacts

military readiness and manpower, causing loss of trained soldiers and military leaders and shrinkage of recruit and conscript pools" (US Department of State, 1995). It is the belief of the US National Intelligence Council that HIV incidence in selected military populations in sub-Saharan Africa is: Angola 40-60%, Congo-Brazzaville 10-25%, Côte d'Ivoire 10-20%, Democratic Republic of the Congo 40-60%, Eritrea 10%, Nigeria 10-20%, and Tanzania 15-30% (The US National Intelligence Council, 2000).

Members of the armed forces can also play a significant role in spreading the virus, particularly during peacekeeping operations. The bulk of UN peacekeeping operations take place on the territory of the African continent (9 out of 16 active peacekeeping operations). For instance, the civil war in Sierra Leone appears to have increased the number of infections partly due to the presence of peacekeepers, some of whom were from Zambia, Kenya and Nigeria, which all have high HIV incidence in the military. The realization that peacekeepers can be responsible for transmitting HIV has begun to have political implications for international peacekeeping operations, as countries refuse to host such missions for this particular reason. The impact of HIV/AIDS is also likely to render these missions increasingly unpopular among countries contributing peacekeepers to them (Elbe, 2005:4).

The consequences of conflicts, the changed living conditions and poverty have all led to migrations contributing to the spreading of existing diseases as well as newly emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases (EID). According to WHO estimates, there are currently around 1 billion migrants in the world, 214 million of whom international and 740 million internal. The rapid disease transmission is also driven by high population mobility, particularly in terms of international travel. According to World Tourism Organization data, the number of international tourists reached 1,138 million in 2014, 51 million more than in 2013 (4.7% increase) (UNWTO, 2015:1). Besides the changed living conditions brought about by conflicts, poverty and high population mobility, Morse also cites the following causes of emerging infectious diseases: ecological changes and agricultural development; changes in human demographics and behaviour; international commerce; technology and industry; microbial adaptation and change; breakdown of public health measures and deficiencies in public health infrastructure (Morse, 1995).

In the last 25 years, more than 30 new infections have been identified, some existing ones have re-emerged, and the WHO has registered over 1,100 cases of epidemics. EID primarily affect human lives, but they can also shake public confidence in government's ability to respond, compromise the social order of a state, spark regional instability, and pose a strategic threat through bioterrorism and/or biological warfare (Brower & Chalk, 2003: xiii). Certain authors view health securitization only through the prism of a potential bioweapons use (Kelle, 2007), which, as State Secretary Hilary Clinton has pointed out in one of her speeches, poses a threat to not only national but also global security: "we view the risk of a bioweapons attack as both a serious national security challenge and a foreign policy priority. In an age when people and diseases cross borders with growing ease, bioweapons are a transnational threat" (Rodham Clinton, 2011).

EID also have a profound impact on world economy, as observed at the 2006 World Economic Forum in Davos. The 2006 Davos Global Risk Report added pandemics to the list of risks jeopardizing the international community (World Economic Forum, 2006). Infectious diseases affect potential investment and tourism, as witnessed by the fact that gross domestic product of African countries would be 1/3 higher if malaria were eradicated

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(Cecchine & Moore, 2006:17). Furthermore, according to Gallup and Sach data, in 1995, income levels in countries with severe malaria amounted to only 33% of income levels in countries without malaria (Gallup & Sach, 1998:1). Analysing possible economic ramifications of the use of classical biological agents, Kaufmann et al. constructed a model which shows that the economic impact of a bioterrorist attack can range from an estimated $477.7 million per 100,000 persons exposed (brucellosis scenario) to $26.2 billion per 100,000 persons exposed (anthrax scenario) (Kaufmann et al., 1997).

The outbreaks of infectious diseases in Asia have showed huge impact on economy and global trade (see figure 2). The 2003 outbreak of SARS showed this to be not only a health issue (in 5 months a total of 8,098 people were infected, with 774 fatalities), but also an economic problem resulting in economic losses in the amount of $50 billion worldwide. SARS had the most dramatic economic impact in four East Asian economies with the highest incidence of probable cases: China, Hong Kong, Taiwan (China) and Singapore and Vietnam. In addition to the direct costs of intensive medical care and control interventions, SARS led to general social disruption and economic damage. Schools, hospitals and some borders were closed and thousands of people were quarantined. Many businesses collapsed, particularly in tourism-related areas, while several large production facilities were obliged to halt operations when a number of workers became infected (WHO, 2003: 78).
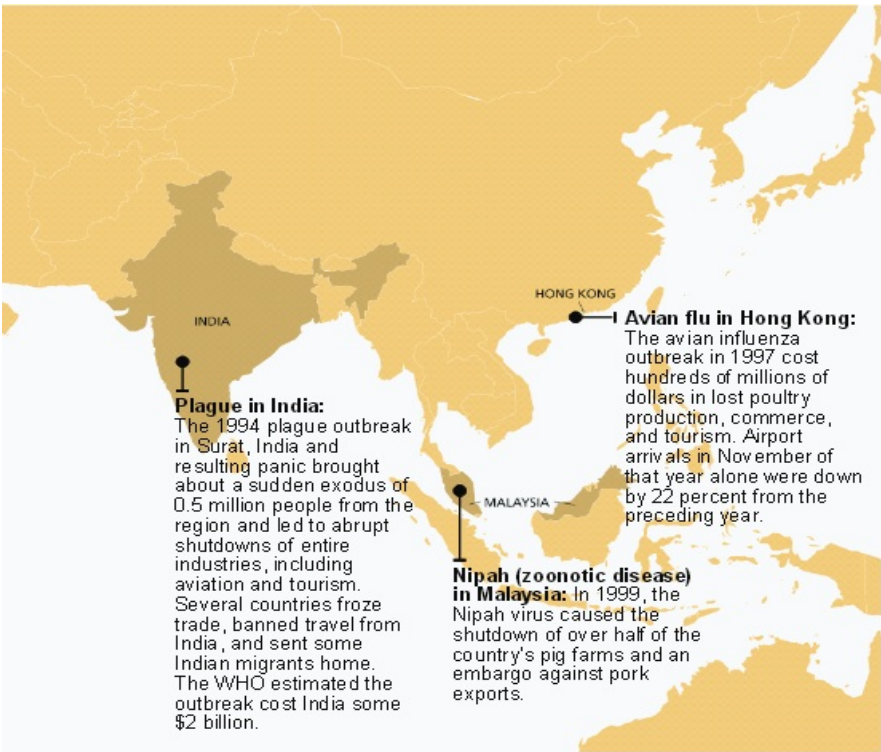

Figure 2 – *Economic Impact of Infectious Disease in South East Asia (MARSH, 2008: 15)*

As Elbe has stated, SARS demonstrated that it was now 'possible legitimately to view any disease with the potential to cause significant mortality and economic damage as a national security threat' (Elbe, 2010: 46.), which was confirmed by the 2004 avian flu outbreak, the 2009 swine flu (H1N1) pandemic and the 2014 Ebola outbreak. According to Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDCP) data, 9936 people have died since the West African Ebola epidemic emerged in southern Guinea in December 2013 (CDCP, 2015). Based on air travel parameters and expected rates of Ebola transmission within countries at the time, World Bank analyses estimated the potential damage to the West African economy in 2015 to approximately $1.6 billion in a "Low Ebola" scenario reflecting containment (rising to $3.8 billion when 2014 losses were included). Estimated losses could have been as high as $25 billion in 2015 in a "High Ebola" scenario (rising above $32 billion when 2014 losses were included) (World Bank, 2015: 3). In March 2015, leaders of West African countries therefore urged the world "to back a 'Marshall Plan' to help them stamp out the disease and rebuild their shattered economies" (Aljazeera America, 2015). The above data justify SC UN Resolution 2177, adopted in 2014, which confirmed "that the unprecedented extent of the Ebola outbreak in Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security" (UN Security Council Resolution 2177, 2014).

Bearing in mind all the aforementioned consequences of infectious diseases, certain health issues have started to be considered threats to not only national but also global security, while the concept of health security is moving toward global health security, which first appeared in the WHO report "Global health security: epidemic alert and response" (WHO, 2001) and was elaborated in detail in the report "A Safer Future: Global Health Security in the 21st Century" (WHO, 2007). According to the aforementioned report, global health security was defined as "activities required, both proactive and reactive, to minimize vulnerability to acute public health events that endanger the collective health of populations living across geographical regions and international boundaries" and threats to global health security as threats which have an impact on "economic or political stability, trade, tourism, access to goods and services and, if they occur repeatedly, on demographic stability" (WHO, 2007:1).

Since health issues pose a threat to stability and security and health being inextricably linked with the environment, trade, economic growth, social development, national security, and human rights and dignity, initiatives have been launched to incorporate health issues into the foreign policy agenda, as highlighted in Oslo Ministerial Declaration. After this Declaration, the 2008 UN General Assembly adopted the first resolution on global health and foreign policy, Resolution 63/33. This Resolution was followed by a series of others (resolutions 64/108, 65/95, 66/115, 67/81, 68/98), with the UN General Secretary's Report "Global health and foreign policy: strategic opportunities and challenges" emphasizing that "global health touches upon all the core functions of foreign policy: achieving security, creating economic wealth, supporting development in low-income countries and protecting human dignity" (UN, 2009: 2). Consequently, global health security has become part of foreign policy agendas in many countries and has been included in the discussion on both national security and commerce and diplomacy (Katz et. al, 2011). The US has become a leader in promoting the connection between health and national and/or international security, while the WHO has become the most significant forum for interstate discussions on international health issues, that is, one of the main actors in global health or disease diplomacy (Davies et al., 2015:7), as will be shown in the following sections.

Health security policies and national security strategies

A year after passing the 1995 HIV Strategy, the then US President Bill Clinton issued the Presidential Decision Directive NSTC-7, which confirmed that infectious diseases such as Ebola, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS "present one of the most significant health and security challenges facing the global community" (The White House, 1996). The US National Intelligence Council also gave health issues special consideration by publishing in 2000 a special report on the threat of global infections to the US and identifying AIDS and other infectious diseases as a national security issue (National Intelligence Council, 2000).

In the ensuing period, the US became a leader in promoting the connection between health and national and/or international security and US efforts to present HIV/AIDS as a security issue resulted in the UN SC organizing in 2000 the first ever meeting on 'The impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa – security implications of the disease in Africa', dedicated entirely to non-traditional security threats (UN Security Council 4087 Meeting, 2000). This meeting resulted in the adoption of Resolution 1308, which classified HIV as a threat to stability and security and declared a "peaceful war against AIDS" (Economic and Social Council Press Release ECOSOC/5884, 2000). Having in mind the high HIV/AIDS prevalence among members of the armed forces, as well as the fact that today most conflicts and peacekeeping operations take place on the African continent, at UN Security Council 6547 Meeting in 2011, a new resolution was adopted, namely Resolution 1983, which emphasized the role of UN peacekeeping missions in the global response to AIDS (UN Security Council Resolution 1983, 2011). The United Nations and the Security Council took on the role of the securitizing actor, while infectious diseases and health issues became security issues in the context of theory of securitization.

Fidler cites that besides AIDS, significant health issues from the standpoint of national and international security include infectious diseases, concerns over the proliferation of bioweapons and fears of terrorist use of bioweapons – bioterrorism (Fidler, 2003: 791-2).

The fear of bioweapons use became justified in 2001, when anthrax spores were mailed to US Congress. Centres for Disease Control and Prevention identified 22 cases of anthrax poisoning, five of which were fatal (Das & Kataria, 2010: 225). According to Ingram, this attack brought public health "onto the frontline of homeland security" (Ingram, 2008: 77) and led to the founding of the Global Health Security Initiative (GHSI)[2], aimed at strengthening mechanisms of combating and responding to chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear terrorism. Shortly after it was founded, the GHSI expanded its mandate to include threats of an influenza pandemic since, as the then US President George W. Bush pointed out in his speech to US National Institutes for Health in 2005, a potential influenza pandemic is not only a "vital issue to the health and safety of all Americans", but also a "danger to our homeland", explaining that the global implications of an influenza pandemic meant that "no nation can afford to ignore this threat" (President George W. Bush, 2005). All this resulted in the adoption of the National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza, which stressed that pandemics could have "significant implications for the economy, national security, and the basic functioning of society" (Homeland Security Council, 2006: ix).

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[2] This Initiative was launched in November 2001 by Canada, the European Union, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the United Kingdom and the United States.

By 2010, the US alone had signed 31 bilateral agreements on health issues, 20 of which targeted the prevention and mitigation of specific infectious diseases (Katz et al., 2011:506), while the connection between infectious diseases and security is a key element in a series of other strategic documents in the US, including the National Health Security Strategy and Implementation Plan (NHSS/IP) 2015–2018 (issued in February 2015) and the 2015 National Security Strategy, which classifies severe global infectious disease outbreaks as top strategic risks to the national interest and emphasizes that America is the "world leader in fighting pandemics, including HIV/AIDS, and improving global health security" (The White House, 2015:14).

A specific role in health securitization is also played by the EU, which defines global health as "those health issues which transcend national boundaries and governments and calls for actions to influence the global forces that determine the health of people" (Kickbusch & Lister, 2006: 7). EU participates in this process through the GHSI and the Health Security Committee (HSC), founded in 2001 during a discussion in the wake of the bioterrorist attacks in the US. In 2007 the HSC expanded its mandate to include influenza preparedness and response; public health preparedness and response to chemical, biological and radio nuclear (CBRN) attacks; and generic preparedness and response for public health emergencies (European Commission, 2009).

Another important actor in this process is the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC), founded in 2005 in the wake of a SARS epidemic. The ECDC is an EU agency whose main goal is strengthening Europe's defences against infectious diseases, with a mission to identify, evaluate and convey existing and emerging threats to human health from infectious diseases. The avian flu pandemic also prompted the adoption of the European Parliament's first resolution on pandemic influenza preparedness and response planning in the European Community (European Parliament, 2006) and the conclusion of the Council of the European Union on human security, which underlined that "the intensification and globalization of trade, the increase in European and international travel and climate change constitute factors that may contribute to the spread of pathogens in the European Union (EU) or to pathogens not previously present becoming established in Europe" and cited measures of cooperation between member countries in the field of health security in keeping with International Health Regulations 2005 (Council of the European Union, 2008).

The connection between health and security and the viewing of health issues as security issues have found their place in national security strategies of other countries. Thus, the UK's National Security Strategy emphasized that "the risk of human pandemic disease remains one of the highest we face" (HM Government, 2010: 30), while the 2013 National Risk Register classified the risk of pandemic influenza as the highest priority risk (Cabinet Office, 2013). The 2013 French White Paper on Defence and National Security also classified risks of pandemics among major risks: "we face the risk, in particular, of a new highly pathogenic and lethal pandemic caused, for instance, by the emergence of a new virus that crosses the species barrier, or by the escape of a virus from a biocontainment laboratory" (President of French Republic, 2013: 44). Russia's National Security Strategy to 2020 cites a broad spectrum of epidemics and pandemics as the most significant threat in terms of health and national security, with a focus on the mass spread of the HIV infection (President of the Russian Federation, 2009). According to

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available data, there were 390,365 registered cases in 2007 in Russia, while today there are an estimated 1.2 million cases, most of whom are young people, which bears significantly on recruitment to the armed forces. Between 2000 and 2005, several thousand potential recruits could not serve in the armed forces in Russia because they were HIV positive (Twigg, 2007: 7).

The consequences of the 2003 SARS outbreak in Asia prompted Asian countries to pay more attention to non-traditional security threats. In 2003, in just five months, SARS killed more than 700 people and, according to the Asia Development Bank, caused an estimated damage of about $18 billion in East Asia, or around 0.6% of the gross domestic product (Bloom et al., 2005: p. 1). The Philippines' national security adviser stated that "SARS threat was greater than any threat of terrorism in the country" (cited in Caballero-Anthony, 2006: 112). Bearing in mind the consequences of SARS, Asian countries entered talks on health security which resulted in a special ASEAN-China Leaders Meeting held on 29 April 2003 in Bangkok, where joint measures against health threats were adopted, namely measures concerning exchange of information and good practices in the combat against infectious diseases, promotion of cooperation in health care, immigration and customs control, coordination of travel procedures, etc. (Joint Statement of the Special ASEAN-China Leaders Meeting on the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 2003).

While nowadays health issues are included in discussions on national security and foreign policy of many countries, the most significant forum for interstate discussion on international health issues is the WHO. The following section will present the WHO's activities in the domain of global health security.

WHO and Global Health Security

The emergence of new diseases and their mass spread in the 21st century made the WHO, founded in 1948 with the aim of guiding and coordinating the health system within the United Nations, the most relevant forum for interstate discussions on international health issues and an advocate of the concept of global health security. Although the agreements negotiated in the WHO are few, they are considered important; these are, first and foremost, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control and the revised International Health Regulations, which is far more relevant to this paper (Katz et al, 2011: 506). Namely, pursuant to Articles 21(a) and 22, the Constitution of WHO grants the World Health Assembly authority to pass regulations "designed to prevent the international spread of disease" (Basic Documents, 2006). The International Health Regulations were adopted by the Health Assembly in 1969 to protect against the international spread of three diseases namely, yellow fever, cholera, and plague – "quarantinable diseases". Although the IHR have been revised several times since their adoption, Fidler cites three major problems in their implementation: the restricted number of infectious diseases subject to the IHR, the States Parties' failure to inform the WHO of outbreaks of diseases and to comply with the maximum measures applicable to the trade and travel originating from countries affected by outbreaks of diseases subject to the IHR (Fidler, 2005).

By the 1990s, the global health community had realized that the threat of emerging (e.g. Ebola virus) and re-emerging (e.g. dengue) infectious diseases was rising. The tools for coordinating the international response to trans-border outbreaks had obviously become lacking. This realization led to the adoption of a resolution at the 1995 World Health Assembly aimed at revising the International Health Regulations and the launching of an initiative in 1996 for a new global infectious disease surveillance and response platform - Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network (GOARN). GOARN was created in April 2000 with primary aims to: assist countries with disease control and combating the international spread of outbreaks; investigate and characterize events and assess risks of rapidly emerging epidemic disease threats; support national outbreak preparedness and capacity building. According to available data, since 2000, WHO and GOARN have responded to more than 50 events worldwide with over 400 experts providing field support to 40 countries.

In 2005 the Health Assembly adopted the Revised International Health Regulations, whose main purpose and goal, pursuant to Article 2, is "to prevent, protect against, control and provide a public health response to the international spread of disease in ways that are commensurate with and restricted to public health risks, and which avoid unnecessary interference with international traffic and trade." (WHO, 2008:10). In fact, the IHR are an instrument to address today's challenges, especially public health emergency of international concern. Public health emergency of international concern as defined by the IHR is "an extraordinary event which is determined to constitute a public health risk to other States through the international spread of disease and to potentially require a coordinated international response" (WHO, 2008:9). This definition involves a situation that is grave, uncommon or unforeseen, has implications for public health outside the national borders of the affected state, and might necessitate prompt international action. The report "A Safer Future: Global Health Security in the 21st Century" explores a range of threats to health security under the framework of the IHR: human causes of health insecurity; inadequate investment; unexpected policy changes; public health consequences of conflict; microbial evolution and antibiotic resistance; animal husbandry and food processing; weather-related events and infectious diseases; other public health emergencies; chemical events; radioactive events (WHO, 2007:17-35).

The IHR stipulate the legal framework for joint responsibility in global health security and define the roles, duties and core capacities for member states and the WHO. In fact, according to Fidler, the new IHR include five major changes from the previous regime: (1) broadening the scope of the IHR significantly; (2) obliging States Parties to create minimum core surveillance and response capacities; (3) conferring the WHO authority to access and use non-governmental sources of surveillance information; (4) giving the WHO power to declare public health emergencies of international concern and give recommendations on how such emergencies and routine public health risks should be handled by States Parties; and (5) incorporating human rights concepts into States Parties' application of the IHR (Fidler, 2005).

Under the revised IHR, changes were made to core missions and tasks of the armed forces. Namely, military health services have unique capabilities that can contribute to global public health under the International Health Regulation (2005) framework,

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particularly in surveillance such as that of the French Military Influenza Surveillance System (MISS) and the US Armed Forces Health Surveillance Centre Global Emerging Infectious Surveillance and Response System (AFHSC-GEIS) (Ho et al., 2014) and laboratory support (Chretien et al., 2007). Fidler argues that the military may make its contribution by strengthening the military's own capacities in disease surveillance and response; supporting civilian efforts at home and abroad to build detection and intervention capacities; supplementing civilian capacity in contexts where such capacity is inadequate or ineffective because of insecure conditions; helping foreign militaries build their IHR (2005)-relevant capacities; and assisting development agencies build capabilities in developing and least-developed countries (Fidler, 2011). In the most recent article on securitization and military role, Watterson and Kamradt-Scott argue that militaries can be powerful agents for pandemic preparedness and response, whose role is justified on the grounds of their capability to expand civilian programs, contribute to the national pandemic response, and lessen the impact of influenza on their own forces and military objectives (Watterson & Kamradt-Scott, 2015).

Conclusion

This paper explains why certain health issues are considered security risks and identifies the major actors in the health securitization process and global health diplomacy. The expansion of international travel and trade, the emergence or re-emergence of international disease threats and other public health risks, and the impetus from the appearance of severe acute respiratory syndrome (the first global public health emergency of the 21st century), have made the concept of health security an issue of growing relevance in both academic and political discourse. Our analysis of relevant literature and various reports has shown that this concept is linked to not only the mass spread of infectious diseases but also the possibility of using pathogen microorganisms as bioweapons and to the fact that certain diseases can have social, political, economic and military implications thereby jeopardizing stability and security. Therefore, pandemics of infectious diseases, along with the fear and concerns over a potential use of biological agents for terrorist purposes, have led to certain health issues being viewed through the theory of securitization as security risks and, as such, have found their place in national security strategies and foreign policy agendas of certain countries. The US has become a leader in promoting the connection between health and security and its efforts to present HIV/AIDS as a security issue resulted in the UN SC organizing in 2000 the first ever meeting on non-traditional security threats and adopting a historic resolution which defined HIV as a threat to stability and security. After the adoption of this resolution and in the wake of pandemics such as SARS, H5N1, H1N1, and Ebola in 2014, which the UN SC marked as a threat to international peace and security, more attention has been given to the concept of global health security, whose main supporter is the WHO. In 2005, when the revised IHR granted the WHO power to declare the existence of public health emergencies of international concern, the WHO became the most relevant forum for interstate discussions on global health issues and the main actor in global health diplomacy.

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WAYS OF ENHANCEMENT OF OPERATIONAL PLANNING PROCESS IN THE SERBIAN DEFENCE ORGANIZATION

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The purpose of this paper is to outline the policies, processes, procedures, and responsibilities governing the preparation, approval, promulgation, activation, implementation, review, and cancellation of operational planning documents necessary to execute the tasks allocated to all levels of command. These procedures and guidelines apply to two categories of operational planning – deliberate (advance) and crisis response planning – that cover and prepare the Serbian defence organization to meet future or developing crisis in the full spectrum of operations from crisis management to major aggression.

Consideration must be given to expanding and including the internal Serbian MOD civil-military interface for use in operational planning. In line with contemporary defence policy and trends, military planners should integrate Civil Emergency Planning (CEP) planners, as well as liaison with other defence system relevant agencies and organizations, into the appropriate steps of the operations planning process.

Key words: *Operational Planning, Operational Planning Process (OPP), Planning Categories, Planning Tools*

General background

Planning is performed at every echelon of command, and it is conducted across a range of military operations. Military planning includes two broad categories of planning:
1. force planning and
2. joint operational planning.

Force planning is associated with the creation and maintenance of military force structure and capabilities. The General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces should conduct force planning for the long-term development of the Serbian Armed Forces. The services should conduct force planning for recruitment, organizing, training, equipping, and provision of forces for assignment to the Operational Commander.

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The focus of this paper is operational planning, which is directed toward the employment of military forces within the context of a military strategy to attain specified objectives through the conduct of possible future contingencies. Operational planning includes the preparation of plans and orders by all levels of command as well as those planning activities that support the development of these operation plans or orders. These activities incorporate the functions of the General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces, Services and four Brigade Commands.

The establishment of a sound training program for commanders and their planning staffs on how operational art can be used to create effective operational designs will ensure the sound basis for future operational planning and will assist their determination of when, where and for what purposes forces will be employed.

Levels of operational planning

Operational planning is a sequential process performed simultaneously at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels.

Strategic-military level

At the strategic level, joint operational planning involves the development of strategic military objectives and tasks in support of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia and the development of the force and materiel requirements necessary to accomplish those tasks. The National Military Strategy (should be developed, so far there is only the Defence Strategy of the Republic of Serbia), developed with extensive military advice from the CHOD, translates national security policy into national strategic military objectives. These military objectives facilitate national strategic planning. Some of this strategic planning may be done in concert with allies and/or coalition partners.

Basically, irrespective of the circumstances, policy must be identified first. The MOD, or civil-military relations, plays a key role in shaping policy at the political/military strategic level. Once policy is established, the following key questions need to be answered to formulate the strategy: what and why; with whom; scale and risk; for how long; where and when; concurrent with; against whom; and, at what cost?

In the light of civil-military relations and from the perspective that Serbian Defence Organization is policy driven, the Serbian MOD, as the interface between the civil and military levels of Serbian Defence Organization, should provide military advice upward and convert policy and political guidance into military direction downwards. It is at this level that strategic political objectives are converted into supporting strategic military objectives, with a desired military end-state. In my point of view and in the Serbian Defence Organization's context, these issues should be covered in the appropriate Minister of Defence's Initiating Directive. The Ministry of Defence then becomes the head of mission or strategic commander's responsibility, with the assistance of all the major contributing agencies/players to develop the political/military plan for the operation. Military authorities should prepare Contingency Plans (CONPLANs) and Concepts of Operations (CONOPS) to cover possible changes in the political and military strategic situation. Military activity at the strategic and operational level will clearly be influenced, and ultimately directed, by political considerations including national

discrete command authorities. The need to consider the political dimension applies equally across the range of operations. With this in mind, a commander at the operational level may well require political advice, which could be provided either by a nominated adviser on the spot or by strategic guidance provided through the chain of command.

Operational level

Operational planning at the operational level links the tactical employment of forces to strategic objectives. The focus at this level is on the operational art – the employment of military forces to attain strategic and/or operational objectives through the design, organization, integration, and conduct of strategies, campaigns, major operations, and battles. Operational art determines when, where, and for what purpose major forces will be employed and should influence enemy force disposition. It governs the deployment of those forces, their commitment to, or withdrawal from, battle and the arrangement of battles and major operations to achieve operational and strategic objectives.

In addition, according to NATO Joint Doctrine, the operational level is 'the level of operations at which campaigns and major operations are planned, conducted, and sustained to accomplish strategic objectives within theatres or areas of operations'. The operational level provides the vital link between strategic objectives and the tactical employment of forces. Without this link, it is unlikely that tactical actions will lead to the achievement of strategic endstate. So appropriate activities must be linked by the operational level to the aims of the overall strategy, but the strategy should also be linked through the operational level to what is tactically realistic. Of prime importance is for the operational level Commander to understand clearly how his activities mesh with other strategic lines of operation.

The employment of the whole force through the conception, planning, and execution of operations is addressed at the operational level. Operational level activity must contribute directly towards achieving previously defined military strategic objectives, which are themselves drawn from the overarching political aims of the operation. Tactical activity cannot take place purposefully outside this context.

Tactical level

At the tactical level of planning, tactics is the employment of units in combat. It includes the ordered arrangement and manoeuvre of units in relation to each other and to the enemy in order to use their full potential. Tactics are employed to fight and win engagements and battles.

Process of operational planning

The Operational Planning Process (OPP) is a co-ordinated staff process to determine the best method of accomplishing assigned tasks or planning for possible future tasks or mission requirements. Because planning will usually be inhibited by inadequate information, insufficient time and limited resources, the OPP is designed to optimize logical, analytical steps of decision making under conditions of uncertainty and ambiguity. The Operational planning is carried out within a strategic framework and seeks to translate strategic guidance and direction into a

scheduled series of integrated military actions, carried out by joint forces to achieve strategic objectives efficiently and with acceptable risks. It requires the ability to envisage the employment of forces and their effects in time and space and to anticipate possible outcomes. Operational art is applied to determine when, where and for what purpose forces will conduct operations and to create an operational design as the basis for further planning. The OPP is applicable to any Strategic, Operational or Tactical HQ conducting planning for any theatre, for any kind of plans and with any size of force. The process is intended to enable commanders to integrate the efforts of various separate forces and commanders into the planning process so that an effective overall co-ordinated planning effort can result. Whereas the OPP is applicable for both Advance and Crisis Response Planning, Advance Planning is usually conducted with more time available to complete the process. Crisis Response Planning, due to time constraints, normally demands an accelerated use of the process.

The goals of this Operational Planning Process:
– Standardize and formalize the planning process and make it compatible with NATO (as a PfP country).
– Provide for strategic/political direction and control throughout the planning process.
– Provide a logical process for analysing higher-level direction and guidance and developing viable operational plans to achieve a desired military end-state.
– Enhance the commanders' ability to direct and guide the development of the plan.
– Provide a means to manage the time required for planning by creating a family of standing plans to draw upon in Crisis Response planning.
– Maximize logical and creative thinking by staffs to enhance the ability of commanders to make better decisions under conditions of uncertainty and ambiguity when time and information may be insufficient.
– Enable commanders to co-ordinate and integrate the efforts of different forces and commands during operational planning.
– Evaluate the products of the planning process.

The realm of Operational Planning

The realm of operational planning addresses the following main areas:
Conduct of operation to achieve strategic, operational, and tactical objectives.
– Force capabilities required to conduct the operation.
– Deployment of forces into the area of operations.
– Logistical sustainment.
– Control and use of operational information.
– Arrangements for command and control.
– The risks associated with planned operations.

Principles of Operational Planning

Operational planning may be carried out at different levels under varying circumstances and produce different products. In any case, the following are fundamental to any operational planning effort:
– Establish and focus on achieving strategic objectives and the desired end-state.
– Incorporate the higher commander's intent.

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– Account for the operational environment, including civil aspects.

– Appreciate the capabilities, limitations, and likely intentions of opposing forces.

– Orient on opposing Centres of Gravity (COGs).

– Ensure protection of own COGs.

– Achieve unity of effort with air, land, and sea forces in conjunction with the United Nations and other international and non-governmental organizations as required.

– Describe the sequence of related joint operations from initial entry through termination throughout the area of operations.

– Clearly define criteria for measuring success.

– Provide direction, operational objectives, and major tasks to subordinates as the basis for their planning.

– Ensure the provision of adequate sustainment.

– Establish the task organization of forces and command arrangements.

In the sense of the unity of purpose and effort, Operational planning requires a high degree of centralized activity in order to ensure that all planning agents remain focused on the strategic purpose. Activities of different planning staffs must be unified by a common appreciation of the strategic direction and the operational environment as well as a thorough understanding of the commander's intent. In addition, the use of common doctrine and procedures are required to ensure unity of effort.

Relating to direction and requirements, Operational planning involves concurrent activity at different levels of command in iterative cycles as planning matures from a basic idea, to a concept and finally to a mature plan. Guidance and direction are transmitted from higher to lower levels of command while requirements for resources and requests for information are transmitted from lower to higher for approval. Operational planning at any level should take account of guidance two levels above and requirements two levels below.

Concerning reverse engineering, Operational planning seeks to describe the sequence of actions, which have the greatest likelihood of setting the military conditions that are required to achieve a strategic goal. Therefore, it is usually necessary to describe those conditions and work backwards to the initial entry or build-up of forces in the area of operations to identify the activities most likely required to establish those conditions over time.

Structure of Operational Planning Process

An Operational Planning Process (OPP) must describe a logical sequence of cognitive processes and associated procedures that will be undertaken by commanders and staffs to analyse a situation, deduce mission requirements, and determine the best method for accomplishing assigned tasks and achieve the desired military end-state. The OPP must include, inter alia, the identification of military force capabilities and the task organization required to carry out the operation. A sound understanding of the operational planning principles outlined above is required if the OPP is to be applied effectively.

The OPP is used to produce plans to reach the desired end-state and to achieve the commander's mission requirements. The process is essentially the responsibility of the commander and his planning team and describes a deductive reasoning process for moving from general details to specific options. The process as outlined has five planning stages: initiation, orientation, concept development, plan development, and plan review.

Planning Categories

In order for the Serbian Armed Forces to be able to undertake the full range of its roles and missions, two operations planning categories could be used: Deliberate (Advance) Planning and Crisis Response Planning.

Deliberate (Advance) Planning

Deliberate planning consists of initiating and developing scenario-based plans in anticipation of a future event or circumstance – security risks – that the Republic of Serbia might face. Furthermore, the deliberate planning is conducted with a view to preparing the Serbian Armed Forces to deal with possible future security challenges in the best possible way and respond in time. It entails a comprehensive iterative co-ordination and approval process, which has been outlined above. The final outcome of Deliberate (Advanced) Planning will be one of three types of plans: a CONPLAN, FP or SDP.

Contingency Plans (CONPLANs)

CONPLANs are prepared for potential future events or circumstances and are based on known or assumed planning factors. CONPLANs are to be based on planning guidance, in the form of an Initiating Directive, and may be developed at any command level. Contingency Plans are the normal final outcome of Contingency Planning. These plans, produced in as much detail as possible, enhance the approved CONOPS and serve as a basis for subsequent operational planning. CONPLANs are developed in co-ordination and consultation with relevant commanders and civil authorities, to include international security organizations or friendly nations if applicable. Also, a CONPLAN should address the potential future force and capability requirements necessary for the conduct of the mission, out to an agreed and understood planning horizon. This way, CONPLANs can significantly accelerate the defence planning process.

Functional plans (FPs)

Functional plans involve the conduct of military operations in a peacetime or permissive environment. These plans are traditionally developed for specific functions or discrete tasks (e.g., nuclear accident or evacuation, logistics, communications, or continuity of operations) but may also be developed to address functional peacetime operations such as disaster relief, humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping operations. Functional plans are written using the procedures and formats specified for a CONPLAN.

Standing Defence Plans (SDPs)

An SDP should be designed to support the Serbian Armed Forces response to short/no-notice potential risks when the Forces are in a peacetime posture. The requirement for an SDP will be included in a commander's Terms of Reference (TOR). Approval of the TOR constitutes the necessary authority for the Commander to initiate planning. Development of SDPs requires co-ordination with concerned commanders and civil authorities, to include friendly nations if applicable. A complete SDP will be a fully developed plan that can be readily executed, with forces assigned and execution authority delegated to the appropriate level of command.

Crisis Response Planning

Crisis Response Planning consists of initiating and developing plans in response to a current or developing crisis that has not escalated to the point or in the direction anticipated by any SDP. It requires expeditious preparation, co-ordination, and approval of operational plans. Crisis Response Planning may use an existing CONPLAN, if available, to guide the development of an Operation Plan (OPLAN). An OPLAN is the end product of crisis response planning.

Operation Plans (OPLANs). OPLANs are plans developed in response to a current or developing crisis. They are based on an Initiating Directive, and may be developed at any command level. OPLANs are produced in sufficient detail for execution, may enhance a CONOPS previously submitted for approval to the Initiating Authority, and are developed in co-ordination and consultation, at the appropriate level, with relevant commanders and civil authorities, to include friendly nations if applicable. Finalized strategic level OPLANs include all appropriate supporting annexes as well as force requirements. OPLANs are approved by the Initiating Authority. All in all, if a crisis was foreseen, the OPLAN might be developed from an appropriate CONPLAN although it is still necessary that it follows the OPLAN development process in order to test and validate earlier planning assumptions; if the crisis was not foreseen, the OPLAN must be developed in response to the prevailing circumstances. An OPLAN is a detailed and comprehensive plan capable of execution, which has forces assigned for which preparations will be complete.

Planning tools

The military commanders implement national guidance through a series of planning tools, to include the following.

Political-Military Estimate (PME)

In response to an actual or developing crisis, national authorities may undertake a political-military estimate (PME), taking account of both strategic political direction and military considerations, to identify a range of potential political and military response options for dealing with a crisis. This would normally commence with consideration of possible crisis management actions, which could include military activities, as appropriate. The identified options will then be scrutinized by the Ministry of Defence to provide direction to the CHOD and assist his operational planning staff in the further development or refinement of potential military response options. The PME process, by its nature, will assist the political decision-making process. Once the Minister has agreed on a way forward, the CHOD may be directed to undertake further detailed operational planning, which may lead to the development of an OPLAN.

Military Estimate

The military estimate process involves mission analysis, which is followed by the identification of the various courses of action (COA) available to the military commander for the accomplishment of the mission.

Military Response Options

In crisis management, military response options (MROs) are courses of action, which may be taken in a coordinated and timely manner alongside political, diplomatic and/or economic actions. An MRO can be developed for a military response in the early stages of a crisis, when the threat may still be ambiguous and where national territory is not necessarily threatened. The MRO may be designed to covertly increase the preparedness of the forces, or to send clear signals of national resolve to a potential adversary. The MRO may be applicable as a crisis management tool during national deliberations leading to the activation of a SDP or initiation of an Operational Plan.

Examples of potential MROs include:

Options with preventive political effect. These could include making statements, convening meetings, imposing restrictions on military contacts and assistance.

Options to counter risks of a wider nature. These could include intelligence sharing, collective assessments, consultation, coordination of support, cooperation of individual nations, and assistance as well as other military activities.

Options drawn from CSBMs and Arms Control Provisions. These could be used to coordinate and concentrate the Treaty Verification efforts in an area, to restrict intelligence gathering by a potential enemy through the exploitation of Verification procedures.

Surveillance – Options to Monitor Developments in an Area of Potential Crisis. These could provide for the use of military surveillance assets or information sharing arrangements with friends and allies to assist in the compilation and maintenance of a comprehensive picture of the evolving security environment.

Readiness – Options for Raising Readiness in Response to a Developing Crisis. These could raise the readiness of commands and forces and provide for the use of exercises as a political signal. These options should be considered together with the military responses listed under the Deterrence options.

Deterrence – Options for Increasing Deterrence and Demonstrating National Resolve. These could complement those designed to raise readiness and could in some cases contribute to the containment of a crisis. These options should be considered together with the Readiness and Containment options.

Containment - Options for Containing a Crisis by Means Short of the Application of Force. These could provide a range of non-violent actions including the enforcement of sanctions on trade and or goods as directed by the international body imposing the sanctions.

De-escalation – Options to De-escalate a Crisis. These should be dictated by the national political aim and the nature of the crisis.

Functional Planning Guides (FPGs)

To support planning for operations in conjunction with NATO forces, it is important that planners consider the use of available NATO FPGs. FPGs provide planning guidance in specific functional areas and detail unique planning considerations within a specific functional area that are not covered elsewhere.

Regional Planning Guides (RPGs)

To support planning for operations in conjunction with NATO forces, it is important that planners consider use of available NATO RPGs that detail unique planning considerations within the Area of Responsibility (AOR) of each NATO Regional Command.

Specific Planning Guides (SPGs)

NATO Commanders' SPGs provide further essential planning guidance unique to their command. Like FPGs and RPGs, they are designed to supplement and not repeat available planning information. As above, these documents can support the Serbian Armed Forces' planning for operations in conjunction with NATO forces.

Initiating Directive

The Initiating Directive is an instrument to start and guide operational planning but it is not the authority to execute. It provides the situation, political and/or military objectives, tasks and the desired political and military end states. They may take the form of the Commander's Planning Guidance or a Warning Order.

Concept of Operations (CONOPS)

The completion of a CONOPS document is a preliminary step in the development of an operational plan. The CONOPS expresses the military commander's intentions on the use of forces, time, and space to achieve his mission, objectives, and end state. It includes how the capabilities of the available resources are to be synchronized towards this goal. The CONOPS is the final output of the Concept Development Stage of the OPP and is submitted for approval, in document form, to the appropriate Initiating Authority. CONOPS approval is not a pre-requisite for further plan development, but approval is a pre-requisite for full plan development. A CONOPS document usually consists of a situation overview, mission statement, commander's intent, outline concept for execution, force capability requirements, outline logistic support concept, key command and control arrangements, and other resource requirements. The CONOPS does not include any of the detailed annexes found within a fully developed plan or any supporting plans.

Supporting Plans (SUPLANs)

SUPLANs provide detailed amplification for particular functional planning areas and must be directly linked to a specified CONPLAN, SDP, or OPLAN. A SUPLAN can be a stand-alone document or can be incorporated as an annex within the supported main plan. The agency providing the support develops the SUPLAN, which must be endorsed by the supported commander and approved by the next higher commander. The full range of SUPLANs includes but is not limited to the mobilization, deployment, sustainment, and redeployment of forces. Specific examples are: Mobilization Planning, De-

ployment/Redeployment Planning, Sustainment Planning, Force Reception and Onward Movement Planning, and Host Nation Support Planning.

Mobilization Planning. Primarily the responsibility of the HQ of the Serbian Armed Forces, mobilization planning is directed toward assembling and organizing national resources to support the achievement of stated national objectives. Mobilization planning includes bringing all or part of the Serbian Armed Forces to the necessary state of readiness to meet the requirements of the specific contingency. Mobilization planning may include planning for the activation of all or part of the Reserve components, as well as assembling and organizing personnel, supplies, and materiel. A mobilization SUPLAN will support developed CONPLANs, SDPs, OPLANs and other SUPLANs as appropriate.

Deployment/Redeployment Planning. Deployment/redeployment planning is the responsibility of the Operational Commander in close coordination with the HQ of the Serbian Armed Forces. Deployment planning is planning to move forces and their sustainment resources from their original locations to a specific operational area to conduct operations outlined in a given plan. Redeployment planning is planning to move forces and their sustainment resources to a different operational location or to home station. A deployment/redeployment SUPLAN will support developed CONPLANs, SDPs, OPLANs, and other SUPLANs as appropriate.

Sustainment Planning. Sustainment planning is directed toward providing and maintaining levels of personnel, materiel, and consumables required to sustain the planned levels of military activity for the estimated duration and at the desired level of intensity. The sustainment planning for out-of-country deployments could incorporate bi- or multilateral agreements. A sustainment SUPLAN could have a sub-plan for HNS. Sustainment planning is the responsibility of the force commanders in conjunction with appropriate authorities. A sustainment SUPLAN will support developed CONPLANs, SDPs, OPLANs, and other SUPLANs as appropriate.

Force Reception and Onward Movement Planning. This type of planning focuses on the reception and integration of friendly forces into the Serbian Armed Forces defence operations. This planning must ensure that the personnel, materiel, and C2 elements necessary to support such operations are readily available. This planning is responsibility of the Operational Commander with the support of HQ of the Serbian Armed Forces and the MOD. This type of SUPLAN will support developed CONPLANs, SDPs, OPLANs and other SUPLANs as appropriate.

Host Nation Support Planning. This type of planning should cover the HNS rendered to friendly forces deploying into the Republic of Serbia, as well as HNS requirements for the Serbian Armed Forces components deploying outside the Republic of Serbia. The HQ of the Serbian Armed Forces and MOD support and conduct the HNS planning in cooperation with the Operational Commander. An HNS SUPLAN will support developed CONPLANs, SDPs, OPLANs and other SUPLANs as appropriate, as well as be a stand-alone plan.

Operation Orders (OPORDs)

A commander issues an OPORD to his subordinate commanders for the purpose of effecting the co-ordinated planning and execution of an on-going operation. OPORDs for a given OPLAN will be issued once the authorization has been granted.

Other Planning Factors

In the course of development of planning procedures and operation plans, other planning factors may also have implications, such as:
– Doctrine,
– Concepts,
– Agreements and
– National Legislation

Review, Revision and Cancellation

The periodic review, revision, and/or cancellation of standing operation plans are necessary to ensure their long-term credibility and utility. Revisions and/or cancellations of standing operation plans will occur when circumstances under which these plans were developed have changed.

The Serbian Armed Forces commanders are required to:

1. Maintain a current status of their plans as well as those of their immediate subordinate commanders.

2. Develop procedures applicable to their subordinate forces to facilitate the conduct of comprehensive and partial reviews of all standing plans.

3. Determine follow-up actions to be taken as a result of such reviews, including changes to the command's own plan or operations planning documents or recommended changes to superior commanders' planning and other basic documents.

Review

Review must occur in all functional areas to evaluate and confirm feasibility and viability.

Plans must be reviewed when:

1. There is a significant alteration to the situation.

2. A period of 24 months has elapsed since initial approval or the last comprehensive review.

3. The review will dictate the degree of revision required or cancellation of plans as appropriate.

Revision

Revisions are made to the operation plans when changes are required, but the fundamental elements of operational design remain sound.

Requirement for formal re-approval will depend on the degree of changes made:

1. Purely editorial changes and other non-substantive amendments may be issued by the originator when appropriate and without approval or justification.

2. Major changes will require approval in accordance with the procedures detailed for newly developed plans.

Cancellation

The cancellation of an operation plan is necessary when the circumstances under which the plan was developed have changed to the degree that the plan is no longer viable or relevant. The cancellation of a plan or other operations planning document requires the authority of the original approving authority. The cancellation of a plan will cancel its SUPLANs, associated subordinate level plans, and OPORDs, unless ordered otherwise.

Roles and responsibilities

The design of the OPP provides the maximum freedom for planning staffs to develop ideas and concepts in the preparation of operation plans. The early steps of OPP are critical for orienting the planning process. Clear direction from the strategic level is essential before planning and orienting of its direction can commence.

Operational planning may be conducted simultaneously at a number of command levels, depending on the nature of the operation and the scope of the plan being developed. The roles and responsibilities of the various levels of authority in the initiation, development, approval, and execution of operational plans fall on various authorities.

Planning Authorities/Responsibilities

Within the national operational planning system there is a clear division of responsibilities for initiation, development, approval, execution, and cancellation of operational plans. These responsibilities are divided amongst the Minister of Defence, CHOD, Operational Commander, and subordinate Commanders within the military command structure.

1. *Responsibilities for deliberate (advance) planning*

Specifically, the division of responsibilities for deliberate (advance) planning is described as follows:

a. *Political level*

The Government approves the National Military Strategy (should be developed) that provides broad political guidance for deliberate (advance) planning. The Minister of Defence is the senior political authority within the defence establishment and as such he is responsible for the initiation and review of all deliberate (advance) operational plans. In the course of the political-military estimate (PME) process, the Minister will select one or more military actions and/or a category of operation plan(s) from those recommended by CHOD for his consideration. Should the Minister decide on a requirement for the development of an operation plan, he would issue an Initiating Directive (political guidance) to initiate the appropriate CONPLAN, SDP or FP. The Minister is also responsible for the review, revision, or cancellation of plans developed under his Initiating Directive, with approving authority delegated to the CHOD.

b. *CHOD*

The CHOD is responsible during the PME process for assisting the Minister of Defence in his deliberations concerning the initiation of CONPLAN or SDP development. Should the Minister decide on a requirement for military planning, the CHOD is responsi-

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ble for translating political guidance into strategic military direction for the Operational Commander and development of a Military Estimate. The CHOD is responsible for approving CONOPS, developed by the HQ of the Serbian Armed Forces/Joint Operational Command (JOC) in the course of deliberate planning. The CHOD is also responsible for approving a CONPLAN, FP or SDP that is developed by JOC/HQ of the Serbian Armed Forces prior to its being forwarded to the Minister for review, as well as for revising and cancelling CONPLANs or SDPs. FPs prepared for operations in support of civil authorities must be coordinated with the appropriate agencies.

c. *Operational Commander*

The Operational Commander is responsible, when directed by the CHOD, for assisting in the development of the Military Estimate. When directed by the CHOD, the Operational Commander is responsible for the development of a CONOPS, and the associated CONPLAN, FP or SDP. Where appropriate, the Operational Commander is responsible for development of the necessary SUPLANs. When the strategic level plans are complete, they are forwarded to CHOD for approval. The Operational Commander is responsible for approving subordinate plans. The Operational Commander is also responsible for the coordination of force activation planning that is then conducted at the tactical level.

d. *Subordinate Military Commanders*

Subordinate military commanders are responsible, when so tasked by the appropriate Initiating Authority, for the development of subordinate-level CONOPs and associated plans and, where appropriate, the development of any necessary SUPLANs and/or OPORDs. Plans developed by commanders at this level will be submitted to the next higher level of command for approval.

2. *Responsibilities for crisis response planning*

Specifically, the division of responsibilities for crisis response planning is described as follows:

a. *Political Level*

The overall responsibility for Crisis Response actions resides with the Governmental Crisis Committee (or appropriate equivalent) and the Minister of Interior. To the extent in which Crisis Response activities concern the sphere of responsibility of the MOD, the Minister of Defence is the senior political authority. As such, he is responsible for the initiation and approval of all operational plans developed in response to an actual or developing crisis. In the course of the political-military estimate (PME) process, the Minister will select one or more military response options from those submitted by CHOD for his consideration. Should the Minister decide on a requirement for military action, he will issue an Initiating Directive (political guidance) to launch detailed operational planning. The Minister will review the CONOPS developed by HQ SAF/JOC and approved by the CHOD. The Minister reviews the OPLAN, developed by JOC/HQ SAF and approved by the CHOD, and submits to the Government a request for Force Activation and/or changes in the current status of readiness of the SAF. The Minister is also responsible for the review, revision, or cancellation of plans that are developed under his Initiating Directive, with approving authority delegated to the CHOD.

b. *CHOD*

The CHOD is responsible during the PME process for assisting the Minister in his deliberations concerning the initiation of OPLAN development. Following this, the CHOD will submit potential military response options to the Minister for his consideration. Should the Minister decide on a requirement for military action, the CHOD is responsible for translating political guidance into strategic military direction for the HQ SAF and JOC. The CHOD is also responsible for approving a CONOPS developed by HQ SAF/JOC and an OPLAN developed by JOC/HQ SAF prior to its being forwarded to the Minister for review. He can also recommend revisions or cancellations of OPLANs to the Minister.

c. *Operational Commander*

The Operational Commander is responsible, when directed by the CHOD, for assisting in the further development or refinement of potential military response options during the PME process. Should the Minister decide on the requirement for military action, the Operational Commander is responsible for supporting HQ SAF in the development of CONOPS and then the development of an OPLAN with the support of HQ SAF. Where appropriate, the Operational Commander is responsible for the development of any necessary SUPLANs. When the OPLAN is complete, it is forwarded by the Operational Commander to CHOD for approval. The Operational Commander is responsible for approving subordinate plans as well as for the coordination of force activation planning that is conducted at tactical level.

d. *Subordinate Military Commanders*

Subordinate military commanders are responsible, when so tasked by the appropriate Initiating Authority, for the development of subordinate-level CONOPs and associated plans, and, where appropriate, the development of any necessary SUPLANs and/or OPORDs. Plans developed by commanders at this level will be submitted to the next higher level of command for approval.

Conclusion

Operational planning should be coherent with other non-military and potentially multinational and non-governmental initiatives intended to stabilize and create a self-sustaining secure environment. A Serbian Defence Organization response must therefore be integrated into a wider overall framework or a comprehensive approach.

This research paper does not elaborate on the preparation of commanders, staffs or forces for operations. However, the importance of this preparation should not be underestimated as it impacts on force structures, training, doctrine, concepts and other mission essential factors.

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SIGNIFICANCE AND PROSPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AIR DEFENCE SYSTEM[*]

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The actualization of the importance of the air defence system capabilities in performing tasks of defence system, both in peace and in war, is the result of changed conditions of warfare in contemporary armed conflicts and other conflict situations. In contemporary armed conflicts, air and air defence forces realize strategic effects through their operations and have decisive influence on the outcome of armed conflicts. In peacetime, these forces are the main factor in diverting and eliminating potential asymmetric threats from the air space.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the paper consists of three more parts. The first part deals with a conceptual definition of air defence system. The second part gives an overview of the importance of defence system and the development of anti-missile, i.e. anti-cosmic defence system of NATO alliance and the Russian Federation. The third part describes prospects of the development of organizational structures and objectives of the development of air defence system of the Republic of Serbia.

Key words: Air defence system, anti-missile defence, anti-cosmic defence, armed conflicts

Introduction

The historical-comparative analysis of armed conflicts that took place at the end of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century, unequivocally indicates the strategic significance of air and air defence operations. Modern aircraft and aviation ordnance, in the times of current technological development, have reached such a level that they play a decisive role in achieving the goal of combat operations [2]. Namely, not

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[*] Serbian to English translation made by Mirjana Vučić, Military Academy, Belgrade.

only do air and air defence operations, i.e. forces that carry out operations, influence the outcome of contemporary armed conflicts, but , at the same time, they also change the basic characteristics of armed conflicts, with particular emphasis on asymmetry and nonlinearity, which are new characteristics of contemporary armed conflicts. In these armed conflicts, it is particularly important to achieve, i.e. to maintain dominance in the air space during the first phase of air force and air defence operations (hereinafter: AF and AD). This is where duty forces of air defence system have the key role for the side that carries out air defence operation (hereinafter: AD).

It is also necessary to highlight that contemporary, asymmetric, security and terrorist threats often find their support in the attempt to conduct terrorist operations from the air space. These terrorist operations are interesting for potential subjects of terrorism because they are typical of being sudden, ephemeral and causing devastating consequences, which brings terror in a target group the terrorist attack is aimed at. An example of a way of conducting terrorist air operations and effects that these operations can cause is the terrorist attack that took place on 11 September 2001 in the United States. This has resulted in significant changes in security culture and new, enhanced measures that were taken at airports and in aircraft around the world, before, during and after the realisation of flight.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned, there have been some changes in how the place and role of air defence system is understood, as the bearer of the implementation of the air space control and protection.

Conceptual Definition of Air Defence System

Air defence is heritage of the civilization of the 20th century. It is the result of the development of science, technology and technological solutions for carrying out aviation operations [4]. In fact, as in some other cases, dialectical unity and struggle of opposites in civilization development have imposed a need, on the one hand, for continuous innovation of technological solutions in the field of military aviation, as well as tactics of the air force engagement, but on the other hand, for continual improvement of the organisation and functioning of air defence.

With the development of military thought, the standpoint of what air defence essentially presents has changed. In the period after the Second World War, when the expansion of the development of air and air defence forces took place, it was thought that air defence presented the component of combat operations. According to this point of view, air defence was placed in the same logical level with anti-armor combat, infantry operations and other activities of combat operations [1].

These viewpoints changed substantially at the end of 20th and at the beginning of 21st century. The qualitative shift in the importance of air defence is the result of rapid development of means for reconnaissance and operations from the air space. Nowadays, which of the warring parties will gain advantage in the initial period of the armed conflict (or in the armed conflict as a whole) depends largely on the readiness of air defence and success of their operations. It is certain that the side with insufficiently prepared and inefficient air defence in the initial period of the conflict will suffer a loss that could be decisive for the outcome of the conflict as a whole.

Bearing in mind the experience related to the use of aviation resources for achieving asymmetric threats, duty forces of air defence system have an important role, not only in the Armed Forces and defence system, but also in preserving the security of the country as a whole. Duty forces of air defence system are forces engaged in peace to continuously monitor and prevent violations of the air space, thereby realizing the tasks of: deterring from aggression by air, preventing surprises by aviation operations of potential enemies, as well as creating conditions for neutralizing asymmetric threats that had already taken place from the air space.

Applying the real definition, the conceptual definition of a terminological syntagm "air defence system" is determination of what is included in the first senior term (genus proximum) in relation to a term that is defined, as well as the specific difference (diferencia specific) which substantially separates air defence system from all other terms that could be found in the first senior term.

According to one definition, air defence system is a relatively autonomous subsystem of defence system, and is at the same time the organizational entity of Air Force and Air Defence, which includes a set of measures, activities in defensive operations of Air Force and Air Defence forces with the goal of protecting the air space, territory, groups of the Armed Forces and other defence forces, the most important civilian and military facilities, population and material resources of the country from reconnaissance and operations from the air space. The working definition of air defence system is also applicable, according to which it is a subsystem of defence system, and, at the same time, it is an organisational entity of Air Force and Air Defence, whose organization, structure, weapons and equipment are adapted for the implementation of the control and protection of the air space and facilities from all forms of threats to aviation in the territory of the Republic of Serbia, [4]. Accepting the fact that air defence system is the organizational system containing a number of elements that present its subsystems, using system access, it is defined as follows: air defence system is a system composed of a set of (composition) forces, trained by its subsystems, deployed on land and in the air space according to predetermined principles and prepared for the realization of control and protection of the air space and facilities from all forms of threats to aviation on the territory.

According to the criterion of their function, these are the following subsystems of air defence system: air surveillance and reporting, arms systems for air defence operations and air defence protection [3]. Air defence system, according to modern conceptions, also contains: command subsystem and subsystem of electronic countermeasures protection (unique to air defence protection). These subsystems realise their role and tasks through the training of the following forces: command forces, forces in charge of the air space control and forces in charge of anti-aircraft operations.[1]

How is Air Defence System Understood by NATO

After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact up to the terrorist attack that took place on 11 September 2001 in the United States, there has been stagnation in the development of NATO's air defence system. However, with the emergence of real asymmetric threats

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[1] Subsystem of anti-aircraft and electronic countermeasures protection does not have special forces. The realisation of the role and tasks of this subsystem is the goal and duty of all forces of air defense, system, and other forces in the defence system.

from the air space to the security of countries - members of NATO, as well as with an increase of political, economic and military influence of regional powers (China, Russia, India) on global terms, air defence system and within it the development of anti-missile defence system (hereinafter: AMDS) has regained strategic significance again [4]. New momentum in the development of anti-missile defence was given in particular by the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine, which was partly the result of direct confrontation between NATO and the Russian Federation (hereinafter: Russia).

Initial alleged reasons for the establishment of anti-missile defence in Europe were threats from Iran and North Korea. Realistically speaking, current military assets of Iran are not at the level that may threaten Europe and they are far from being able to threaten the United States. Iranian missiles of the longest range threaten only Russia and Belarus, while it is obvious that in the case of attacking North Korea the flight of missiles across the air space of Europe is not possible (Figure 1).
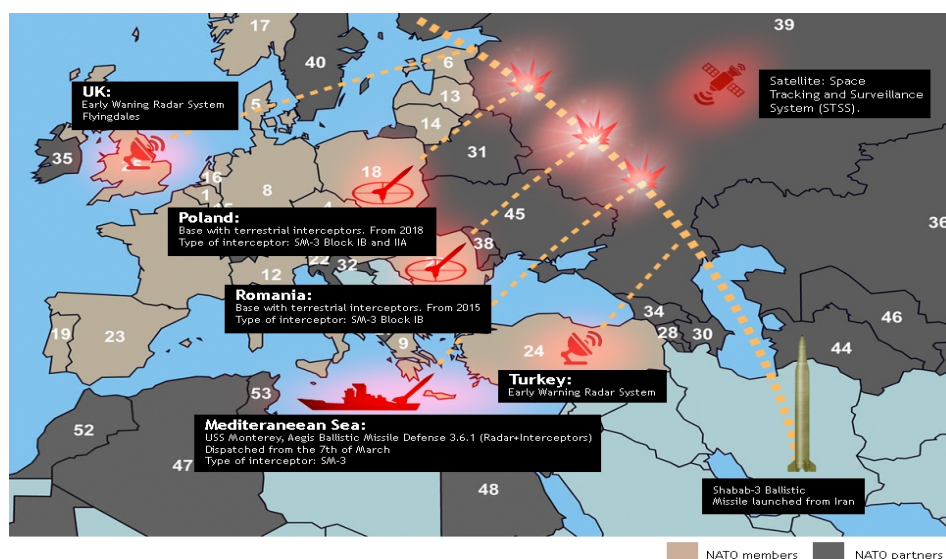

Figure 1 – *Possible scenario of intercepting Iranian ballistic missiles with European anti-missile defence*

Despite the opposition that mainly comes from Russia, the US and Europe are persistent in this project. After Poland and Romania, anti-missile defence was joined by Spain whose ports will be used by the naval component of anti-missile defence (the ships having installed radar means and missile systems for anti-aircraft operations (hereinafter: MS for AAO) and Bulgaria is expected to join.

In terms of organization and function, NATO anti-missile defence system consists of command force and forces in charge of anti-aircraft operations (fighters and missile systems for anti-aircraft operations of fourth and fifth generation of technological development).

Command force of anti-missile defence also realise the process of a unique command of combined forces of Air Force and Air Defence in Europe applying "Air Command

and Control System – ACCS" and "NATINEADS" command systems ("NATO Integrated Extended Air Defence System"), introduced in operational use in 2005. This system is intended to carry out reconnaissance of air targets, which could be a threat to the interests of the alliance through some operations from the air space, as well as to provide the command of other forces of anti-missile defence throughout the whole area of responsibility of the strategic command of NATO combined air force in Europe.

Special attention was paid to the subsystem of combat fighters, based on high-performance multi-purpose planes of the fourth and fifth generation. "The least attention", in technical terms, is paid to the subsystem of missile units for anti-aircraft operations, principally through the implementation of modifications of the existing missile systems for anti-aircraft operations: Patriot and Hawk. This concept of the development of air defence system where the aviation units are given priority is typical of the countries with doctrine of the use of forces outside its own territory (from intervention to open aggressions).

Prospects of the development of forces that realise the control and protection of the sovereignty of the air space of the US and NATO members are: numerous reduction in manpower and technology, modernization of equipment and ordnance, the development of means of "STEALTH" technology, the development of universal planes and aircraft, the development of combat unmanned aircraft, the development of laser, energy and magnetic weapons, return into space (revival of the program Star Wars) and super mobility.

Conceptually, the control and protection of the air space from the attacks coming from the air - cosmic space are realised through a system of active and passive air defence, which is organized according to the following multi-layer principle: early detection - at great distances, using systems and radars located on land; interception at great distances - using combat fighter patrols and anti-missile systems (aviation in the air space and on aircraft carriers); interception - by fighter airplanes stationed at airports on land; interception - short range (direct defence of facilities using air defence system).

The development and installation of anti-missile defence in Europe implies the deployment of surveillance means and interceptors missiles "Standard Missile SM-3". It is also planned to strengthen missile units armed with: missile system for anti-aircraft operations Patriot, Hawk and Roland. The project of the development of a new satellite system "Helios -2" has also been initiated, as well as of a satellite system "Horus" intended for day and night reconnaissance. The central zone of Air Defence (Germany, Benelux countries, northern regions of Austria and Switzerland) consists of two regions of Air Defence. The air space under the authority of the region and the sector is divided into front and rear area. In the central zone, air defence system is developed on the principle of protecting the entire territory with concentration of basic forces in the most important directions. The introduction of the "AWACS" system has significantly shifted the boundaries of combat fighters and missile systems for anti-aircraft operations.

The importance of the anti-missile defence for the US and NATO is best shown in the initiation of the project "Star Wars" which is based on "starting the experiments which will enable the installation of missile - interceptors in space". American estimates are that the current anti-missile defence system in the distant future will not be able to protect the US territory from ballistic missile attacks, especially from those which have shared nuclear warheads that are self-guided towards targets. It is considered that such missiles can be successfully destroyed only immediately after the start or in the middle stage of flight and that it can only and most

effectively be done from the cosmos. Also, this project, as a part of the national cosmic American policy, envisages the transformation of the US Air Force into the "Air and Space Expeditionary Force" capable of "acting from every point of the planet and in the universe" as in the near future, besides everything else, they are supposed to have "thousands of stealth bombers and the whole constellation of satellites armed with laser and electromagnetic weapons" at their disposal. In addition to that, at the latest by 2025, there are plans related to the development of supersonic missile aircraft that would unerringly hit targets at distances up to 12,000 km and guided supersonic unmanned aircraft that would carry up to 500 kilograms of the most destructive explosives and fly at speeds incomprehensible to today's technology.

How is Air Defence System Understood by the Russian Federation

Thanks to its enormous scientific and technological base, the Russian Federation has managed to build quantitatively and qualitatively large air defence system which can hardly be surpassed in the near future, when it comes to its characteristics and numbers. The main initiator of intensive development of Russian Air Defence is the doctrine of air-land battle. [4]

The concept of national security of the Russian Federation, after clashes in Ukraine, has developed a draft of "a new military doctrine", which emphasizes that Russia intends to use nuclear weapons vigorously in order to protect its sovereignty and territory of its allies (it can also be the first one to use it); that it gives itself the right to use nuclear weapons in response to aggression, and that it gives up the principle of balancing the volume of its nuclear potential with all the countries and it orients to act as a deterrent to the strongest country within the coalition.

Strategic concepts of the use of anti-cosmic defence (hereinafter: ACD) are elaborated and specified through the following functions:

– passive defence involves the preparation and execution of a series of activities in order to provide active defence as well as to prevent and eliminate the consequences of the attacks from the air-cosmic space (the focus of passive defence is on physical determination);

– active defence that consists of three segments: air defence, anti-ballistic and anti-satellite defence is harmonized with the use of air forces in contemporary armed conflicts (Figure 2).
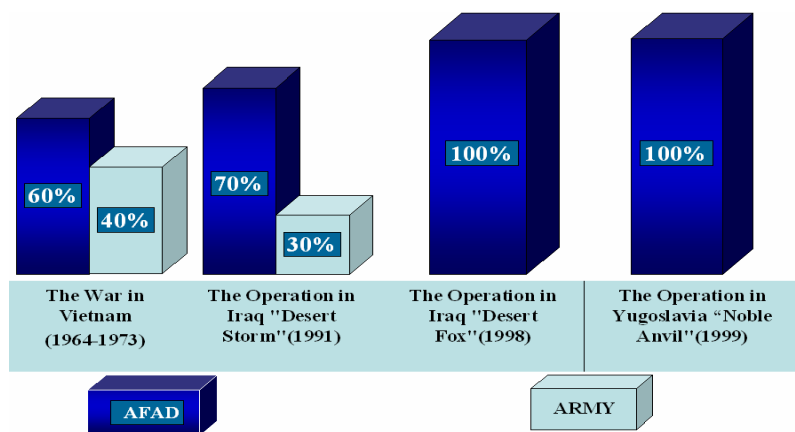

Figure 2 – *Graphic description of tendency for an increase in the influence of Air Force and Air Defence on achieving strategic aims in the armed conflict*

The network of radars for early detection, set at the borders of the Russian Federation, provides early detection of possible threats. In the operational work, there is a large number of satellites for detecting launched ballistic missiles. Air defence systems enable the destruction of warheads at very great distances, while the anti-satellite defence is being improved intensively.

Strategic aviation of the Russian Federation is developing in accordance with the protocol "START-2" and its application in the future is uncertain. The process of integrating all radar systems into a single automated radar system is in progress. Missile units for anti-aircraft defence are equipped with missile system for anti-aircraft operations C-300, whereas in several regiments of Air Defence, missile system for anti-aircraft operations FAVORIT has been introduced.

Russia is intensively developing and expanding anti-cosmic defence system and air defence on the territory of the former USSR. It has formed a unified regional system of air defence that is currently comprised of Russia, Belarus and Armenia.

On the territory of the Russian Federation, air defence system is integrated as well as the warning system of missile attack under a unified strategic command. Three zones of air defence are formed: Eastern European, Caucasian and Central-Asian and the coordination of activities of all regional systems is done as well as the drafting of rules of combat duty and exchange of information.

A new State program of arming is made (for the period up to 2020) and it envisions the modernization of strategic nuclear forces, the replacement of assets in space units, forming a single information space and moving on to an entirely new armament and military equipment (the contribution of new technique in the armed forces will be between 70% and 80%).

A new branch has been formed: Aerospace Defence (hereinafter: AD) which is a response to the European anti-missile defence and its function is to ensure safety from missile and air attacks. The formation of Aerospace Defence came from the need for unification of the management system and response forces into a unified whole.

Prospects of the Development of Air Defence System of the Republic of Serbia

An improvement in the state of air defence system of the Republic of Serbia is necessary to be realized through organizational changes, which would include: a change of the role, objectives and tasks of the air defence system of the Republic of Serbia; a change in the human factor (achieving fundamental and operational knowledge at the level necessary for transfer of knowledge in order to adopt new technologies); a change in the material-technical factor (to equip command force with modern command-information system; forces in charge of the air space control with modern radar-computer equipment; forces in charge of anti-aircraft operations with modern multipurpose combat aircraft and missile system for air defence); a transfer of technology on the basis of changes in technological solutions and necessary knowledge of human factors (in order to improve not only air defence system, but also the situation in the defence industry through acquiring knowledge about new technological solutions and the acceptance of modern technology); a change of the organizational structure.

Bearing in mind that the air defence system is an organizational system, it also achieves its own social role. In accordance with the tendencies of the development of air defence systems in the world, after organizational changes were made, the basic role of modeled future air defence system is to manage air traffic and regulate air traffic over the territory of the Republic of Serbia, as well as to control and protect the air space, territory and facilities of strategic importance on the territory of the Republic of Serbia from any form of threat to aviation. Basic tasks of modeled air defence system come from the social role of air defence system, [4]:

– deterring the enemy from endangering the security of the Republic of Serbia from air space;

– air traffic control over the territory of the Republic of Serbia, as well as over the territory of other countries in accordance with international and interstate agreements;

– air surveillance and reporting on the situation in the air space;

– protection and prevention of violations of the air space of the Republic of Serbia, as well as the air space of other countries in accordance with international and interstate agreements;

– protection of the territory, population, material goods and natural resources of the Republic of Serbia from aviation threats;

– taking anti-aircraft protection measures and procedures for the reduction and elimination of consequences of operations from the air space and

– participation in regional systems for keeping the air space security in accordance with international agreements.

The aim of the improvement in the organizational structures of air defence system of the Republic of Serbia is to optimize the implementation of tasks in order to conduct the activities of the air defence system (Figure 3). The changes in the organizational structure of the air defence system are significantly smaller than in the case of organizational structures of the command force and forces in charge of anti-aircraft operations.
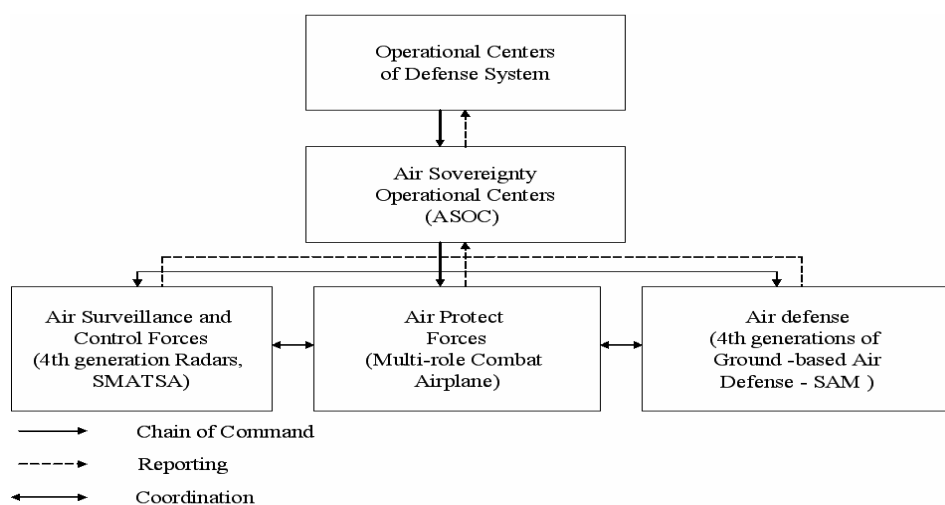

Figure 3 – *Organizational structure of modeled air defence system of the Republic of Serbia*

Objectives of the Development of the Air Defence System of the Republic of Serbia

The overall objective of the organizational changes in the air defence system of the Republic of Serbia is to improve its capabilities to ensure the rational use of resources and to achieve effects that are consistent with its social role, which is manifested through air traffic management, control and protection of the air space and territory against all forms of threats to aviation. Specific objectives come from the overall objective and their implementation is a prerequisite for the implementation of the overall objective. The specific objectives of the development of the air defence system are: improving effectiveness and efficiency, long-term financial sustainability, improving flexibility, shortening response time and ensuring interoperability.

Improving effectiveness and efficiency can't be easily determined. Bearing in mind the specific organisation and functioning of the air defence system, the acceptable definition of effectiveness is that it is the degree of capability to accomplish defined objectives and tasks at a given time and under concrete conditions of the operational environment [6]. The effectiveness is directly related to the function of the objective, i.e., achieving an optimal end state in accordance with the specified criteria.

Qualitative changes in the organizational system, such as the air defence system, increase the effectiveness based on a change of the role, objective and activities of the air defence system, while an improvement in the capability to perform the role of the air defence system also enhances effectiveness.

Changing the role and activities is determined by changes in the organisational structure, structural-functional integration of the Air Traffic Control of Serbia and Montenegro SMATSA Ltd. (hereinafter: Air Traffic Control) into the air defence system. Through the integration of air traffic control, modeled air defence system consolidates activities related to the air space control and air traffic management and thus its social, institutional role changes qualitatively in the security system of the Republic of Serbia.

Improving effectiveness, from the standpoint of enhancing air defence system capabilities, has been achieved by qualitative organizational changes in human and material-technical factor (equipping forces of the air defence system with technological solutions of defence industry of fourth generation) and optimization of functional structure of air defence system in accordance with functions and capabilities of modeled forces.

In the broadest sense, improved effectiveness of the modeled air defence system is the result of an increase in its capabilities to conduct the activities (surveillance of the air space; regulation of air traffic; prevention of air space violations, neutralizing, disabling or obstructing reconnaissance and operations of enemy aircraft from the air space, etc) which enables for the role and functions of the air defence system to be fulfilled.

The ratio between the efficiency and effectiveness of the air defence system can be seen in Figure 4 [6]. A significant contribution to understanding the difference between the concepts of organizational efficiency and effectiveness was given by Drucker's interpretation [6]. In his opinion, efficiency means "to do things right" and it is measured by the ratio between effects and costs (spent resources) required to achieve them, whereas effectiveness means "to do right things" and it is expressed by the degree of fulfilled objectives.

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EFFICIENCY		
	Low	High
High (Effectiveness)	**Low efficiency/** **High effectiveness** Objectives and tasks of air defence system are properly defined and implemented, but resources are not used well. Result: Air defence system fulfills its role, but the functioning is expensive.	**High efficiency/** **High effectiveness** Objectives and tasks of air defence system are properly defined and implemented and resources are adequately used. Result: Air defence system fulfills its role and the price of functioning is acceptable.
Low (Effectiveness)	**Low efficiency/** **Low effectiveness** Objectives and tasks of air defence system are not properly defined or they are not implemented and resources are not used well. Result: Air defence system does not fulfill its role and maintenance is very expensive.	**High efficiency/** **Low effectiveness** Objectives and tasks of air defence system are not properly defined or they are not implemented and resources are adequately used. Result: Air defence system does not fulfill its role. Resources are properly used, but the achieved effects are not adequate.

Figure 4 – *The ratio between efficiency and effectiveness of air defence system*

Taking into consideration that air defence system is specific as an organizational system, the working definition of efficiency that defines it as the coefficient of ratio between achieved results (achieved effects) and spent resources is acceptable [6].

Efficiency is determined by the state of all components of organizational systems. A change in the role, the advancement of knowledge and technology, and the improvement of organizational and functional structures of all forces, as well as air defence system as a whole, had a significant impact on the improvement of its organizational efficiency.

In the broadest sense, the improvement of organizational efficiency of the air defence system is in proportion to the improvement of capabilities in the implementation of activities that begin with detecting the aircraft - security threats in the air space and end with their neutralization or disabling of reconnaissance and activities from the air space. The more successful the implementation of these activities is, regardless of the conditions, the higher organizational efficiency of the air defence system is.

Long-term financial sustainability of the defence system is the possibility of executing constitutional role with available financial resources within a specified period of time that is not shorter than 20 years [5]. Long-term financial sustainability of air defence system is reflected in the ratio between costs generated by the use of resources of the air defence system and income from the reimbursement of the provision of the air navigation services (enabled by the air defence system).

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The costs generated by the use of resources of air defence system may relate to the use of movable property and facilities (operational costs) and the acquisition of movable property and construction of facilities (investment costs), while income from the reimbursement of air navigation services provision is realized by air traffic control.

In order to determine the ratio between costs and income, the cost analysis of the air defence system and the projection of income from the reimbursement of long-term air navigation services provision are conducted. In the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces, software KOSTMOD 4.0 is used (hereinafter: software) for conducting cost analyses. Conducting cost analyses depends on the reliability of input data: the data on salaries and other personal income of members of the air defence system, the data on costs of utilization and occupancy of movable assets and facilities, the data on procurement prices of movable assets, etc. Based on the input data and the structure of the air defence system, the software enables the implementation of simulation for the projected period and creation of reports on the costs of the planned structure of air defence system. The income from the reimbursement of providing services is projected on the basis of historical data on actual income determining the trend and calculating the expected income in the projected period based on a specific trend.

A comparison of overall costs and projected income enables peak periods to be detected (periods when costs exceed income, figure 5), and the results of cost analysis show the reasons for exceeding the income. The results of cost analysis and income projection enable timely measures for the removal of disharmony to be taken (financing projected structures of the air defence system, correction of the structure of the air defence system, etc) i.e. long-term financial sustainability of the air defence system to be provided.
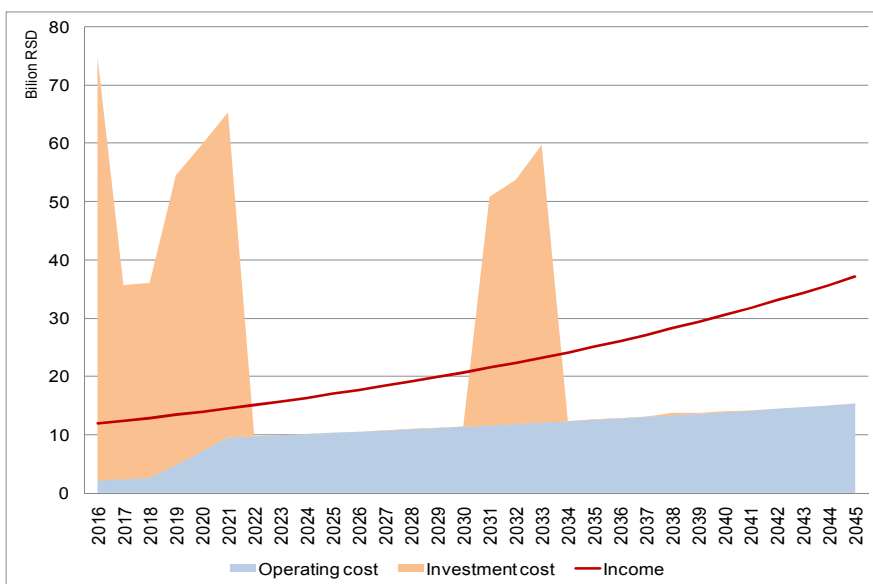

Figure 5 – *A comparison of projected costs and income*

Improving flexibility is the result of the fact that air defence system operates in extremely dynamic and changeable conditions of the operational environment. Flexibility is the capability of the air defence system of the Republic of Serbia to timely seize new opportunities for success, i.e. to avoid or minimize to the maximum the impact of unexpected adverse circumstances using as little resources as possible (in order to adapt). Improving flexibility is achieved through the improvement of internal and external flexibility by the modeled air defence system [6].

Improving external flexibility is achieved by increasing interoperability and adopting international obligations in air traffic management, control and protection of the air space (either independently or in coordination with the task force of the air defence in the region) in accordance with interstate and international agreements.

Through qualitative, proactive, organizational changes in technology of forces and organizational structure of the air defence system, the internal flexibility of the air defence system has been significantly improved.

Shortening response time is necessary due to the dynamic of conducted contemporary air and air defence operations. The term response time means the required time interval necessary for establishing the readiness of the air defence system forces to launch operations and implement tasks in the concrete conditions of the operational environment.

Shortening response time in the modeled air defence system can be achieved by: timely processing and distribution of data on the situation in the air space to interested users; situation analysis, operational decision-making and implementation of activities related to the process of executive command and fire control in real time; minimizing the response time (transferring into the highest level of preparedness) of forces in charge of anti-aircraft operations.

Equipping and arming with modern technological solutions, optimization of functional structures, as well as improvement of the process of education and training among forces of air defence system have created the conditions for achieving a specific goal of shortening response time of the modeled air defence system forces.

Ensuring interoperability is the result of the following tasks: air traffic management, control and protection of the air space of neighbouring countries, as well as participation in regional systems for keeping the air space security in accordance with international agreements. Interoperability means the capability of the air defence system to participate with relevant task forces of neighbouring countries in the realization of joint activities in accordance with international agreements. Interoperability is expressed through: compatibility, interchangeability and commonality [6].

Organizational changes and the establishment of the new air defence system have ensured the interoperability in the following areas: operational standardization – through development and establishment of standards related to future actions and procedures in air traffic management, control and protection of the air space of neighbouring countries and participation in regional systems for keeping the air space security in compliance with international agreements; material standardization – provided by the implementation of the characteristics of material technical factors among forces of the modeled air defence system, which is essentially fully compatible with the means and weapons systems in the region; administrative standardization – through development and establishment of standards related to terminology that is applied to the material plan, which is achieved through the acquisition of the necessary fundamental and operational knowledge by the human factor in the modeled air defence system [6].

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Conclusion

The development of science and technology influences the changes in all spheres of social life. It has also left an undoubted impact on the defence system, as well as its organizational units including the air defence system. With the exponential development of civil aviation, the air defence system of the country has turned into a crucial component of everyday social life, whereas the way of performing tasks of the air space control and protection significantly affects the security of the country. In addition to that, the main role of the Air Force and the Air Defence in contemporary armed conflicts determines the critical importance of the air defence system in the initial stage of the armed conflict.

Based on the aforementioned, it can be concluded that it is necessary, in the future long-term period, to pay special attention to organizational changes in the air defence system, especially in the domain of material resources, i.e. weapons and equipment systems in accordance with modern air and air defence technological solutions. Such organizational changes need to be clearly defined with precise content and aim, as well as harmonized with security and economic needs and financial capacities of the country.

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SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF PRIVATE SECURITY IN HIGH-RISK ZONE

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Rapid commercialization of security services in high-risk zones and engaging security and private military companies has put private security in high-risk zones in the focus of interest.

As the tactics of attackers who act in high-risk zones is becoming more progressive and innovative, security experts and practitioners in the field of private security have to secure and improve the overall safety of the assigned zone, facility, individual, vehicle, aircraft or vessel by means of adequate organizational, intelligence-security and physical-technical measures.

It is believed that private security in high-risk zones will be of relevance in the near future as part of security system. This paper is an attempt of contributing to scientific material which describes the above stated security issues. The paper shall explain the concept, features and standards of private security operation in high-risk zones and offer some of the models for predicting the flow of suicide attacks, attacks on vehicles in movement by improvised explosive devices, attacks on road convoys, pirate attacks on commercial ships, as well as procedures of protection against such attacks in high-risk zones.

Key words: *private security, high-risk zone, private security companies, private military companies, suicide terrorist attack, static guards, securing individuals during vehicle movement, road convoy*

Introduction

Contemporary international social-political scene faces numerous security challenges and threats. Along with expansion of weapon for mass destruction, conflicts (especially interstate conflicts) and transnational organized crime, one of the most present challenges is terrorism in the so-called *high-risk zones*.[1] According to the western theory of security research, high-risk zones refer to warfare or low-intensity conflict areas. Current combat areas include the territories of Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, etc. Additionally, high-risk zones are present in socially-politically instable

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[1] On terrorism and organized crime as global threats to security, see, *Organizovani kriminal i terorizam,* Academy of Criminalistics and Police Studies, Belgrade, 2012; Townshend, C., *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*, New York, Oxford University Press., 2002; Carr, M.. *Unknown Soldiers: How Terrorism Has Transformed the Modern World*, London: Profile Books, 2006.

countries (Pakistan, Libya, Israel- Lebanon, Yemen, Mali, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan-South Sudan, Congo, etc.). Additionally, aggravated robberies, robberies and frequent pirate attacks on cargo ships in Somali sea area, Red sea, Gulf of Aden and waters around the Horn of Africa are present in high-risk areas, especially on the African continent.

Fundamental security system institutions of most countries are armed forces, intelligence-security agencies, police and anti-terrorist units. Rapid commercialization of security services has been present in high-risk zones, especially in the past two decades. Security-related tasks, which state security forces of the countries with armed conflicts or countries engaged in war conflict zones could not independently and efficiently handle, have become more and more present on security market and thus the above stated countries started relying on private security subjects.

As for high-risk zones, private security services are carried out by private security companies as new/modern security service "providers". However, there are numerous dilemmas regarding the foundation and operation of *private military companies* as important private security entities, and their active and key participation in security service providing in high-risk zones. As time goes by, private security entities take more part in accomplishing, preserving and improving integral (general) security, as well as all other security levels (individual, social, regional, international, economic, energy and corporative) in high-risk zones.

The increasing presence of private security actors in high-risk zones and the lack of material that deals with this topic have been sufficient justification for writing this professional paper.

Constant progress and innovations in attackers' tactics (methods of operation) create a changeable situation on the field and therefore the system of security measures is to be adjusted on regular basis in order to minimize attack risk and provide an efficient response to attacks in high-risk zones.

Necessity of researching the role of private security sector in high-risk zones derives from the fact that the basic actions of private security subjects are focused on fighting terrorism, which has become a global threat to security. Therefore, terrorism is to be eliminated by continuous, systematic, efficient and timely planned actions.

Scientific justification of this research comes from the fact that overall, objective and integrated overview of private security potential for fighting terrorism and other forms of jeopardizing safety in high-risk zones is impossible without actual insight into this area, including all facts and specificities on the field. Social justification of this research is in informing professional academic community about the necessity of timely and organized planning and conducting activities that make private security subjects more efficient in high –risk zones.

Innovations and changes of attackers' tactics require adequate measures of prevention and protection of clients, facilities, vehicles, vessels, aircraft, etc. by private security forces.

I believe that a special system of security measures, which are adjusted to field situation, is necessary for reducing risk to the minimum and responding to attacks on protected individuals, zones, facilities, vehicle, aircraft, vessels, etc. in efficient manner.

The subject of this research is emphasizing specificities of private security segment in high-risk zones.

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Suicide terrorist attacks on facilities in high-risk zones

According to American politicologist *Robert A. Pappe's*[2] analysis of suicidal actions, a constant growth of suicide terrorist attacks has been recorded worldwide for the past thirty years. During 1980s, there were three suicide actions a year, during 1990s there were ten suicide actions, while there were around fifty terrorist suicide actions during the past decade.

My personal analysis of the information sold by the private companies that deal with collection and market distribution of data[3] has shown that there are more than 80 suicide terrorist attacks on the territory of Afghanistan per year and that the number of attacks is constantly increasing.

Information from the same source show constant growth of light infantry armed attacks (using automatic rifles, guns, hand grenades, rocket launchers, mortars, etc.). However, as light infantry armed attacks are not characteristic for high-risk zones only, *suicide terrorist attacks are specific tasks that private security is facing in high-risk zones.*

Persons who are protected in high-risk zones move from accommodation facility to work facility (various private companies, banks, embassies, international organization offices, government and local institution facilities, military-police facilities, airports, construction sites, energy and industrial installations, etc.). As a rule, accommodation and work facilities are secured by professional military-police or private security companies. Additionally, attackers are interested in accommodation and work facilities, which are also the targets of suicide attacks.

A suicide attack on the selected facility is an individual act. However, the attacker is the last link in the chain of well-organized groups behind these suicide attacks. After making a decision on the attack, action organizers do the following:
1. select the target (facility, person, vehicle, etc.),
2. collect information about the target,
3. recruit the attacker,
4. carry out physical-mental preparation of the attacker,
5. prepare arms and explosive charge, and
6. organize the transportation of the attacker to the target.

Preparation of suicide attacks is different from the attack performed by military-police forces, as it does not imply attacker's rescue after the attack. This fact facilitates suicide attack organizers' job, but makes it harder for security services, both military-police and private security companies. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is a lack of plan for rescuing the attacker and lack of care for his personal safety in the final stage of the attack.*

Several people, sometimes more than ten, take part in organizing and carrying out suicide attacks. The number of direct attackers- suicide actors is the smallest, while the other members of the team, who will not perform self-detonation, are crucial for organizing and carrying out the attack.[4] Such people select the target, collect information about the target, recruit the attacker, carry out training and psychological preparation of

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[2] Pappe, RobertA., "TheStrategicLogicofSuicideTerrorism", *AmericanPoliticalScienceReview*, Vol. 97, No. 3 August 2003, pp. 20-32.

[3] "Securo group", "Titan", companies which do business within "ACAS" group, etc.

[4] Sprinzak, E., *Razumnifanatici*, vid.http://www.bhdani.com/arhiva/223/t22313.shtml

the attacker, provide arms and necessary parts of explosive charge, and provide accommodation, supplies and safety of attacker during the attack preparation. They take part in both the above stated elements of attack preparation and in direct attacks as watchers, drivers, cameramen, landmark-positioned men, couriers- reporters from the location of the attack and other positions that are used for supporting the attacker.

Secrecy of preparation and initial attack stage is necessary for suicide attack success. In order to achieve the effect of surprise, suicide attack organizers are to make sure that preparations are secret. Simultaneously, they continue collecting information about the target. Information are obtained by watching the target- if the information are precise and thorough, the attack is planned to the smallest details. If the attack is well-planned the suicide attacker will not be noticed until the moment of the suicidal act. Having in mind that suicide attacks require large amount of information, attack organizers have the entire network of field agents who collect data. They watch the target facility, surrounding roads, record time and routes of target movement, time of guard service change and other characteristics of security service (security measures, procedures, equipment, vehicles, etc.).

International institutions(UN, EUPOL, UNDP, etc.), as well as private military and private security companies mainly hire local population of the area where they have been engaged, due to low cost of labour and the idea that local population should not see them as occupying forces. Suicide attack organizers collaborate with local workers who are located within the secured facility and who collect information about the target. Example of such collaboration is the attack on the largest military base on the planet, which includes *Camp Bastion and Camp Leatherneck*[5] in Afghanistan province Helmandin 2012. A group of fifteen Taliban, organized by the growing Haqqani network, broke into the facility, killed two American marines, injured nine people and destroyed eight Harrier jets.

In order to prepare this attack, the organizers used information from the local workers who were engaged as construction site workers. These people made passages (holes in the fence) which were later used by suicide attackers. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is the presence of local workers inside the protected facilities.*

Local workers mainly come from tribal societies. One person (chief- tribe leader) is the leader of these ethnic-territorial groups. The chief is an authoritative leader and organizer of the life of tribe members. Tribe leaders are part of official local and state government organs. As for Afghanistan, tribe leaders constitute a specific legislature institution called Shura. Security managers of private military and security companies cannot hire new local workers without consulting the tribe chiefs. Security companies hire only the members of the local tribe who live on the territory of the secured facility. The exceptions are working positions that require specific education or skills which majority of the candidates does not possess (translators, drivers, technical equipment handlers, etc.). Strong sense of belonging to the tribe and tribe members' presence makes it hard for security management to deal with these people. Tribe members often collectively refuse to work, leave the workplace or collectively stop working.

In such cases, cooperation between security management and tribe chiefs is necessary for overcoming the above stated problems and enabling the work of security services. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is cooperation between security management and chiefs of the tribes that live on the territory of the protected facility.*

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[5] Compare: Camp Leatherneck, Internet 18/08/2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19608561.

High-quality selection (recruitment) of attacker is essential for the success of a suicide attack. During 1990s, selection of candidates for suicide attacks was exclusively connected with Islamic service and religious-terrorist organizations, such as "HAMAS", "Islamic Jihad", etc. which had their recruiting agents in mosques. Nowadays, modern suicide attacker recruitment is carried out in schools, workplaces and even families. Ideology-religious motives are not crucial for making a decision to take one's life and kill other people. In order to attract new attackers, recruiting agents use blackmail, intimidation, financial compensation to the attacker's family, etc. Attackers are chosen from various national, gender, social-intellectual and age structures, and include young men, experienced fighters, women with children, uneducated peasants and intellectuals. Taliban recruit young boys aged 12-15. Diversity of attacker selection could be supported by a famous example of suicide attack on the Chapman camp that took place in 2009 in Afghanistan province Khost when Jordanian doctor killed himself and 7 CIA agents and wounded six other people. This intellectual was a double agent. Both American CIA (*Central Intelligence Agency*)[6] and Al-Qaeda used his services. On the date of the attack, the doctor arranged a meeting with several CIA operating agents within Chapman base[7]. Each agent wanted to find out the important information that the doctor wanted to reveal and thus all agents appeared on the meeting place together. At the moment when the agents approached to greet the doctor, he detonated himself.

Picture 1 – *Suicide-bomber who will press electrical-switch and activate explosive charge*

Selection of suicide attackers from various psychological and demographic structures is observed as specificity of private security in high-risk zones.

Vehicles that suicide attackers or their drivers use are often stolen or have stolen registration plates (usually, these are the vehicles or registration plates of UN which has

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[6] More about this intelligence agency: Bajagic Mladen, *Spijunaza u XXI veku – savremeniobaveštajno-bezbedonosnisistemi*, MARSO, Blegrade, 2010.

[7] (FOB Chapman/ Forward Operating Base Chapman)

the largest transportation fleet). Reason for stealing such vehicles or plates is the possibility of passing control military-police spots without problems, covering tracks and achieving the effect of surprise.

Suicide attackers' explosive charges are activated either personally or from a distance. Vehicle's forceful entrance into the facility usually happens before the suicide-bomber's attack. Most frequent time of the day for the attack is after one of five daily prayers, as Islamic fundamentalists are then very motivated for suicide attacks. Suicide bombers carry put the attacks by means of:

1. BBIED[8],
2. MBIED[9], and
3. VBIED[10].

Aside from the case where the attacker personally activates explosive charge[11] by pressing the switch fixed on his palm, the explosive charge can be activated from a distance by "the operator" who chooses the ideal moment for the detonation. In this case, explosive charge is activated electrically, usually by means of a cell phone or radio device.

The price of a suicide belt is approximately $ 100 US and its construction is technically simple. Explosive, as well as other types of arms and ammunition are available on the black market. Trained men are always in charge of explosive charge construction[12].

Organization of facility security service in high-risk zones

Facilities in high-risk zones consist of accommodation facilities and work facilities (various private companies, banks, embassies, international organization offices, government institution facilities, local administration facilities, military-police facilities, construction sites, energy and industrial installations, etc.). These facilities are located in urban environment, as well as in city suburbs and rural areas.

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[8] BBIED- Body Born Improvised Explosive Device, Compare: Improvised explosive device, Internet 18/09/2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Improvised_explosive_device, Alexander, Naomi et al„*Body-borne IED detection: NATO DAT#10 BELCOAST 09 demonstration results"*, *SPIE*, Vol.7670, 76700G (2010).

[9] MBIED-Motocycles Born Improvised Explosive Device, Compare: Briefing to the UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons: Diversion of Civilian Explosives and Commercial Products for use in IEDs, April 2014, Internet, 18/07/2014,
http://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/D4830D557AE1C3A0C1257CAE0045D4E0/$file/09+USA-JIEDDO+(Maj+O'Connell)_APII+GX+2014.pdf.

[10] VBIED- Vehicle Born Improvised Explosive Device, Compare: Vehicle Borne IEDs (VBIEDs), Internet 21/07/2014, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/intro/ied-vehicle.htm.

[11] Explosive charge consists of high-blasting explosive bullets, electric detonator, cables, electrical battery, switch-trigger, mobile phone or radio device) packed into a vest which is adjusted to attacker's body

[12] YahyaAyyash, called "the Engineer"was the chief bombmaker and one of the leaders of Hamas wing "Al-Quassam". Ayyash was born 06.03.1966. inRafat near Nablus. He graduated from BeirZeit University, Department for Electrical Engineering in 1988. Yahya joined "Al-Quassam" in 1992. after which he specialized the process of making "homemade bombs" which were used for series of suicide attacks in Israel. Soon after that, he became on of most wanted terrorists in Israel. After a three-year search, he was killed by Israel security forces on January 5th 1996. by means of a bomb which was set in is mobile phone, ICT website http://www.ict.org.il,

Basic elements of security service formation in high-risk zone facilities are:
– Static guards[13],
– ECP Enter Control Points,
– Patrol service, and
– Service for video and technical supervision of facility perimeter.

Each of the above stated services operates in accordance with its own standard procedures.

Static guards are mainly members of the local community or former members of military-police forces from „the countries of the third world"(Uganda, Philippines, Haiti, Nepal, etc.). Exception from this rule are facilities of special importance, such as embassies, facilities for accommodating commanding structures of coalition forces or facilities for security services. Former officers and sub-officers of local military-police forces are engaged on the position of lower management or have lower commanding duties. Former officers and sub-officers, members of military-police forces from Europe, USA, Australia and Republic of South Africa are on higher management level and are engaged as Shift Supervisors or Team Leaders. The Gurkha[14] members are quite often the members of Static guard service in high-risk zones. Guard service is organized in two shifts (day shift and night shift). Guards are located on the towers which are at dominant height as compared to perimeter wall which is constructed from stone or prefabricated elements- combination of wire fence and impregnated canvas with sand between them, the so called "HESCO- Defensive Barriers[15].

Picture 2 – *Guard towers with HESCO Defensive Barriers*

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[13] Static Guards, Internet 29/06/2014, http://www.consolidatedsecurity.com.au/static-guards/.

[14] Gurkhas are the people of Nepal. Having in mind the closeness of the Himalayan Mountain, male population traditionally works as escort to alpinists who climb Mount Everest. However, majority of Gurkhas work as soldiers. They are initially members of Nepalese army, but the best soldiers are recruited in Gurkha brigade which is a part of the British army. Due to their loyalty to superiors and employers, Gurkhas are present in private security guard service in high-risk zones. Additionally, an important reason of their massive presence is low cost of work and lower life standard of Nepalese population.

[15]*Defensive Barriers*, Internet 21/06/2014, http://www.hesco.com/products/defensive-barriers; *HESCO Bastion - Protective Barriers, Accommodation Bunkers and Hostile Vehicle Mitigation Fences*, Internet 21/06/2014, http://www.army-technology.com/contractors/infrastructure/hesco/.

Guard shift is controlled by Shift Supervisor. Shift Supervisor manages the guards from the control room and visits guarding spots from time to time. He is in constant contact with facility Security Manager. The Supervisor coordinates activities with Patrol Supervisor on duty, Enter Control Point Commanders and Technical Supervision Shift Leader.

In case of an attack, Static Guards who are not on duty are to secure all individuals who are located within the facility. After they make sure that everyone has left the facility and that protected individuals have been sent to the closest bunker, members of Static Guard shift turn off electrical installations in the facility, use fire equipment in case of a fire, help the injured and, if necessary, support the Static Guards on duty in facility defence.

Enter Control Point Service consists of experienced guards who speak English and one of the local languages. Their duty is to control individual and vehicle entrance into the secured facility area. The presence of guides with dogs trained to detect explosive and gunpowder is mandatory. The important rule is that only one gate can be opened inside the barrier in order to direct the impact wave in case of explosion. Gate Commander manages the service and his direct superior is Shift Supervisor that is on duty.

Practice has proven that this team is most exposed to possible attacks. The members of the team are to recognize a suspicious person – a potential attacker in time by observing his body language, seeing if he is nervous, sweaty, looking at his eyes, checking if the potential attacker does not know what to do with his hands, if he frequently changes his body posture, monitoring the position of his mobile phone, checking if he is hiding something beneath his clothes, etc.

Picture 3 – *Enter Control Point Team*

In case of an attack, Gate Commander organizes locking of the gates at entrance and exit barrier, directs the fire towards the attackers and orders the position of manpower behind the shelter. He reports the details of the attack to Shift Supervisor, sends off manpower which is not part of security service and pays special attention to managing machinegun fire from the dominant point. Additionally, Gate Commander requires ammunition backup and other types of support (medical support, combat gear, etc.) from Shift Supervisor, sends wounded and the injured to the station for treating the wounded, and manages Static Guard fire in the gate area. In case of gate barrier penetration and attacker's infiltration into the protected facility area, Gate Commander organizes withdrawal of his team to the next defence position.

Patrol service consists of men with guarding experience. The patrol is carried out exclusively within the perimeter of the protected facility. Patrol Supervisor reports directly to Facility Security Manager and coordinates his work with Shift Supervisor on duty, Gate Commanders and Technical Supervision Shift Leader. Depending on the size of the area within the protected perimeter, patrol can be carried out simultaneously by several teams which have been assigned sectors. Vehicles are available to the patrol on duty. The patrol on duty is also the intervention group.

In case of an attack to the protected facility, Security Manager (or Shift Supervisor, in the absence of Security Manager) sends patrol to the place of attack. The patrol is expected to carry out rapid-fire manoeuvres and protect the attacked sector by closing the path of attackers' potential penetration deeper into the protected facility. In case the attackers have penetrated into the protected facility, patrol members cover the endangered area by shooting from reinforced-concrete shelters arranged inside the perimeter in accordance with previously defined fire system for each shelter in order to avoid jeopardizing the safety of protected individuals inside the facility. Members of patrol team are to be trained for *Close Quarters Battle – CQB*[16] and for team "cleaning" of invaded facilities. Mandatory parts of their equipment are chemical means for temporary incapacitation (tear gas, shock, smoke grenades, chemical bombs, etc.).

Patrol's duty is to protect and control access to restaurants during meal times, since many people at the same location may also be targets. If the attackers have not penetrated inside the facility after the initial attack, patrol members secure the attack point until the damage recovery and help the group that looks after the injured.

Service for Video and Technical Supervision of the facility consists of Technical Supervision Shift Supervisor and the necessary number of operators of video and technical supervision (geophones, active "IC" motion detectors, lighting, etc.) of perimeter security. Their place of work is the control room. The most important task of this service is to provide timely detection of unauthorized access to protected facility perimeter and control remote alarm system.

Technical Supervision Shift Leader reports directly to Shift Supervisor on duty and coordinates his work with Patrol Supervisor on duty and Gate Commanders. The presence of *Closed-circuit television - CCTV*[17]represents the minimum technical supervision in high-risk zone.

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[16] Close Quarter Battle

[17] CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

Necessary level of protection and frequent technical systems for facility protection in high-risk zones

Possible adverse events in facilities which are secured in high-risk zones concern the life and health of individuals i.e. protected persons who are located inside the facility. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is high probability of suicide terrorist attacks which are usually followed by intruders' penetration into the facility.* Having in mind that the point of adverse event is intruders' "break-in" the protected facility area, security services frequently apply:

– measures for preventing and detecting unauthorized entrance into facility area, and
– measures for identifying individuals.

According to the principle of "golden number seven"[18], the highest level of security in high-risk zones is achieved by maximum protection of the first line of defence, i.e. the line of perimeter with physical barriers. During the design of protection levels for facilities which are located in high-risk zones, items taken into consideration are values of lives of the secured individuals and economic justification of technical security of the border line. Protection level 4 – High level of protection[18] is frequently applied with the aim of preventing unauthorized access into the protected facility area. This level of protection implies the use of alarm system which detects unauthorized access to border line (external perimeter wall), remote alarm system, CCTV, access control system and presence of physical security service – Static Guards. The role of such system for technical protection of facilities in high-risk zone is detecting the attack and discouraging the attackers. Practice shows examples when technical security has detected attack on the facility in timely manner, but has not immediately stopped the attack. There have been numerous records that show attack activity until the moment of the explosion. Due to strong explosive charge impact which aimed at demolishing entry barriers, CCTV system near the place of explosion was destroyed. However, recording devices kept on recording the area, even during the defence of the protected facilities. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is the use of CCTV pictures and records during the defence of the protected facility and their use for the analysis of security service work after the beginning of the attack, as well as for later use during trainings.*

In construction terms, perimeters of the facilities in high risk zones are fenced by means of stone walls or HESCO Defensive Barriers, width from 50 cm to 3 m and height which is not less than 4 m. Counter-sniper panels, i.e. high aluminium sheet fences are constructed on places which represent potential hazard from watching the inside area of the protected facility. Reinforced-concrete elements, usually in the form of tetrahedron, are constructed on the external side of the perimeter, i.e. along the roads. Barriers for vehicle direction and slowdown are places along the access to facility entrance gate. As a rule, facility gates are not located close to high-density roads. Dominant points (towers) are constructed for machineguns inside the facility area, as well as sufficient number of reinforced-concrete shelters for shooters. Bunkers made of reinforced-concrete or combination of HESCO Defensive Barriers and reinforced-concrete are secured inside

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[18] Radovanovic, Radovan V and Milan D. Blagojevic, *Sistemifizicko-tehnicke zastite,* Belgrade 2010.

the facility area for the purpose of securing individuals who are located within the protected facility. The bunkers are located near the facilities where protected individuals are accommodated and are planned for longer stay. They contain water and food supplies for at least a day, while many of them have electrical lighting, air conditioning, medical equipment, etc. *Specific aspects of private security in high-risk zones is the presence of comfortable reinforced-concrete bunkers within the area of protected facilities and security's obligation of training protected individuals how to use the bunkers in case of an attack.*

Most facilities in high-risk zones possess independent systems for electric power and water supply, sewerage network, internal telecommunication system, Internet and Intranet. Moreover, many facilities have catering, trade, bank, sports and many other elements. Such independency certainly increases security level.

When it comes to controlling the access to facilities in high-risk zone, all guests, protected individuals, local workers and security service workers are in obligation to carry visible ID cards. ID cards are of various colours and contain a photograph, work position, name of the company which employs them and card validity date. Guests of the camp-protected facility, as well as local workers are in obligation to go through metal detector door prior to entering the protected facility. Their personal items are examined by detectors with X-rays. Many security services use biometric authentication of cornea and fingerprint recognition during the process of employing new local workers in facilities in high-risk zones. The information is stored in database which is maintained by the members of military-police coalition on the field.

Observation balloons are used for the purpose of observation and supervision of high-risk zones. This aerostatic system is filled with helium and possesses day-night cameras, thermal imaging equipment, laser range unit, GPS, computer and screencorder. Balloon is fixed to the earth part of the system by means of metal rope and it can fly up to 500m. Balloon can record sharp and precise images which are tens of kilometres away. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is the use of aerostatic balloon system for territory observation and supervision.*

Picture 4 – *Observation balloon*

Securing individuals during vehicle movement in high-risk zones

"PSD[19]" tasks imply securing individuals during vehicle movement in high-risk zones. Such escort of protected individuals-clients is frequently performed by "PSD" team. Clients are usually: engineers of various fields, managers, officials and workers of private multinational companies, UN staff, EUPOL police forces and rarely members of military personnel. Leaders of "PSD" team – Team Leaders come from the Western states, Russia, Ukraine, the Balkans, Australia and the Republic of South Africa. Members of "PSD" teams are usually local workers with experience in securing individuals and driving experience.

The seriousness of such tasks requires highly trained professionals. "PSD" teams work independently on the field and therefore use modern means of communication ("VHF" radio devices and satellite phones for mutual communication, communication with the base and, which is most important, for communication with QRF"[20] team. The use of "GPS" transponder[21] is mandatory during the ride. Protected individuals are transported in armoured cars with B-6 level of protection.

Aside from other types of weapons, "PSD" teams use automatic rifles, usually AK-47 and M-4. *Specific aspect of private security in high-risk zone is mandatory use of automatic weapons.*

During the performance of their duties in high-risk zones, members of security „PSD" team do not hide their weapons, combat or communication equipment, their armoured vehicles or equipment for observation. *Specific aspect of private security in high-risk zone is open type of security, without concealing battle equipment which security service members use for their work.*

Characteristics of Improvised Explosive Device (IED) attacks on vehicles in high-risk zones

According to analytical data of "Securo group" company, more than 66% of killed members of coalition forces in Afghanistan were killed by Improvised Explosive Devices (IED).[17] Improvised explosive devices are hand-made and consist of explosive and

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[19] Personal Security Team, Compare: Army Regulation 190–58, Military Police
PersonalSecurity, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, DC, 22 March 1989.

[20] QRF-Quick Reaction Force implies duty unit for intervention in case of attack on "PSD" team, attack on the facility, as well as attack on a vehicle or vehicle convoy, *Quick Reaction Force (QRF)*, Internet 29/06/2014, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/army/qrf.htm, Упореди: JFLCC, QRF/RRFPamphlet, Department of the Army FORSCOM Pamphlet 380-1, Headquarters, United States Army Forces Command, May 2003.

[21] GPS (Global Positioning System) transponder is electronic device which tracks the current position based on longitude and latitude, gives user the information on current altitude and movement speed, and sends the same info to appropriate control room via satellite signal. GPS transponder can memorise several routes, send and receive messages in case of an attack by means of "panic" alarm. Most frequent model on the market is: "TRACK- 24"; Compare: *GPS-based tracking solution*, Internet 23/06/2014, http://www.track24.eu/static/GPS-based_tracking_solution.pdf.

chemical substances, the combination of which results in a chemical reaction. Basic characteristics of IED explosions are:
- – strong impact,
- – high temperature, and
- – shrapnel effects.

Most frequent way of activating explosive charge is by electrical impulse. If the improvised explosive device- IED is fixed to the suicide bomber's body, it is called "BBIED[5]", if IED is in a vehicle it is referred to as "VBIED[7]" and if it is on the motorcycle, it is called "MBIED[6]". *Specificity of private security in high-risk zone is a variety of use of improvised explosive devices.*

Improvised explosive devices (IED) are set up on the roads, next to the roads, in road beddings, on cross-sections, in parked vehicles, at places which are usually full of people (markets, bus stops, etc.), on places where a vehicle is to slow down due to a barrier, on road and street reductions, on road bends, at bridges, etc.

Safe distance from the place of explosion for improvised explosive device is:
- – for explosive device the size of a shoebox – 200 meters,
- – for explosive device set up in a vehicle – 300 meters, and
- – for explosive device set up in a truck – from 600 to 1000 meters.

Humans who are present at the place of explosion may be injured or killed, and vehicles which are present may be damaged or completely destroyed. After the explosion, the attackers very often act by means of light infantry weapon. Such an attack is characterized as *ambush effect*.

Picture 5 – *Parts of improvised explosive device with initial part for stepping and explosive charge from rocket launcher gunpowder*

Picture 6 – *Ideal place for setting up "IED" – the driver will turn right, attempting to avoid water barrier*

In the past few years, especially on the territory of Iraq, attackers use specialized improvised device called *Explosively Formed Penetrator – EFP*.[22]
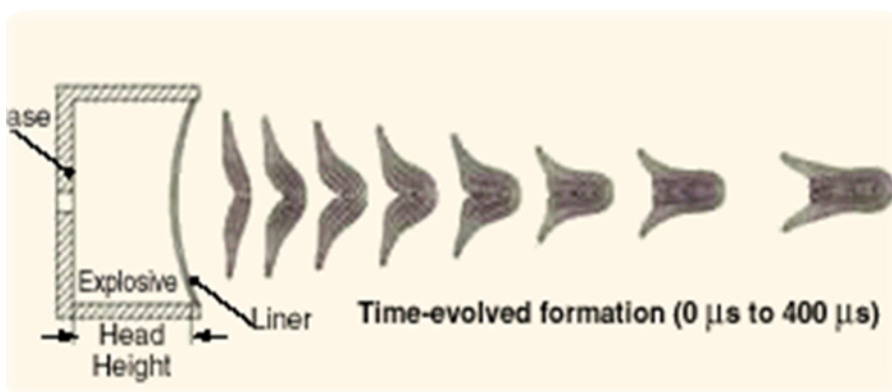
Picture 7 – *Explosively Formed Penetrator – EFP23*

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[22] EFP- Explosively Formed Penetrator.

[23] Explosively formed penetrator – EFP, Internet 23/07/2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Explosively_formed_penetrator.

This homemade explosively formed penetrator is a combination of formation and auxiliary means, and has become a weapon which cannot be fully defended against. Practice shows that this device has seriously damaged armoured military vehicles and tanks. Namely, professional knowledge of antitank production, dating from World War II, has been used for producing "EFP". Between the moment of firing and copper melting point, fragmented metal is moderately deformed into concave form of the missile. This enables enormous speed of incandescent metal mass which opens holes on the armour (or armoured vehicle protection) and has mechanical and heat effect on the cabin area.

Picture 8 – *Armoured vehicle damaged by "EFP"*

Organization of security service while protecting an individual in a moving vehicle in high-risk zone

Security service which protects an individual in a moving vehicle in high-risk zone is very complex. Its organization is based on fundamental principles of securing protected individuals. However, this type of organization is adjusted to security challenges which are always present in high-risk zones.

Unlike standard operative preparation of the area where the protected individual is transported, advanced guards are not used in high-risk zones. The risk that the members of advanced guard would be exposed to is not acceptable. Additionally, the presence of advanced guards would imply engaging new workers and vehicles, which would

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significantly increase the cost of security organization, having in mind that movement of only one vehicle is avoided in high-risk zones. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zones is lack of security advanced guard during operative preparation of the area where the protected individual is travelling to.*

Unlike standard operative preparation of the area, preparation and accomplishment of the task-mission, security service members do not cooperate with local military-police forces of the area, from security reasons. Many times, the members of local military-police forces have been the actors of terrorist attacks. Even if there is cooperation with the members of local military and police, it is not completely open or professionally close. *Specific aspect of private security in high-risk zone is lack of close cooperation with local security forces.*

PSD teams use intelligence-security data and information that private security and military companies buy from other private companies specialized for intelligence-security work. Data and information are relevant for planning and carrying out activities on the field, as well as for assessing danger. These companies hire former members of intelligence-security services from military-police forces hired in the working zone. After the retirement or demobilization from secret services, these members continue their work, maintain their network of associates and use associates' services for collecting information, which is then sold on the market. Such specialized private companies (Titan, Securo group, ACAS Group, etc.)[24] offer intelligence bulletins (on daily, weekly and monthly basis). *Specific aspect of private security in high-risk zone is the use of intelligence-security data and information collected from specialized private companies-commercial intelligence work.*

PSD team for securing an individual who is transported by a vehicle in high-risk zone performs its tasks-missions based on daily agenda and, in very rare cases, based on weekly or monthly agenda. From safety reasons, information on the future mission is given to the team members as late as possible. Team Leader plans and carries out team training during the period without tasks-missions. Training is focused on practicing reactions to various types of attacks. Team Leader is to plan enough time for team preparation, personal preparation, preparation of "QRF[15]" team and vehicle preparation.

Right before the beginning of the mission, Team Leader carries out detailed preparation with the client (briefing). Client briefing contains information about "PSD" team, arrangement of vehicles in the convoy, radio, satellite and navigation equipment, indexes of participants in radio traffic, numbers of satellite and mobile phone of the base and "QRF" teams, vehicles used for the mission, details of the planned route (main and backup), medical equipment and person in charge of medical (MEDIC[25]) and procedures for various types of attack. Team Leader and "MEDIC" should know blood type and medical conditions of each client, as well as of each member of the team.

Specific aspect of private security in high-risk zone is detailed client preparation (briefing) for the task-mission and the necessity of practicing various procedures, which is also the client's obligation.

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[24] Sicuro group, Internet 23/06/2014, http://www.sicurogroup.com/.

[25] MEDIC- English translation, slang name for a person who is in charge of medical care of the injured and ill in PSD team. Individuals with experience in PSD are hired as MEDICs after completing appropriate courses for first aid, using oxygen equipment, using defibrillator and intravein administration of liquid.

Route observation is crucial during the transportation. The first vehicle in the convoy is usually "the observer". The leader of the first vehicle informs the other vehicle leaders about all visible details on the road via radio connection. The leader pays special attention to:
– each unusual detail on the route,
– vehicles coming from the opposite direction, vehicles which are in front of the convoy, especially parked vehicles,
– lack of people, children, noise and crowd which is characteristic for the route,
– presence of cables, wires, rock piles, animal carcasses,
– lack of parked cars on the route,
– freshly dug holes or fresh soil on the road, waste, etc.

Based on the information from the first vehicle, other drivers react by moving away from the critical points. Team Leader makes the decision on the following manoeuvres. All members of the team in the assigned zones observe:
– vehicles which make a sudden overtake,
– overloaded vehicles,
– vehicles which suddenly move from the parking,
– parked vehicles with drivers who sit inside and wait,
– several passengers in a vehicle, passenger structure,
– vehicles parked for a longer period of time, without a driver,
– vehicles which show clear intention of cutting the convoy route,
– motorists and cyclists, etc.

Depending on the side of the attack to the vehicle or vehicle convoy, there are standard operating procedures for reaction to:
– contact to the right,
– contact to the left,
– contact to the front, and
– contact to the back.

There are special standard operating procedures in case of vehicle incapacitation due to the attack or vehicle defect. *Specificity of private security in high-risk zone is the rule of destroying incapacitated vehicle with mandatory removal of radio, navigation and satellite telephone equipment, if the vehicle cannot be pulled out before leaving the attack zone.*

Conclusion

The evident increase of size and influence of private security in high-risk zones results in increased need for new analysis, discussions and innovative professional solutions in this area. Private armies and private security companies are positioning on the contemporary security service market, due to their efficiency, cost-effectiveness, flexibility and staff professionalism. Defence, security and armed forces are traditionally within state jurisdiction, and therefore a clear limit in security service privatization is necessary. Disputableness of the presence of this limit results in further research of private security issues, especially in combat zones.

The following specificities of private security in high-risk zones have come into focus during the research and writing of the paper:
– suicide terrorist attacks,

– lack of plan for rescuing the attacker and lack of care for his personal safety in the final stage of the attack,

– presence of local workers inside the protected facility area,

– cooperation between the management and tribal chiefs from the territory of the protected facility,

– selection of the attacker- suicide actor from various psychological and demographic structures,

– high probability of terrorist suicide attacks, which are often followed by attacker's further penetration into the facility,

– the use of CCTV pictures and records during the defence of the protected facility and their use for the analysis of security service work after the beginning of the attack, as well as for later use during trainings,

– the presence of comfortable reinforced-concrete bunkers within the area of protected facilities and security's obligation of training protected individuals how to use the bunkers in case of an attack,

– the use of aerostatic balloon system for territory observation and supervision,

– mandatory use of automatic weapons,

– application of open type of security, without concealing battle equipment which security service members use for their work,

– variety of use of improvised explosive devices,

– lack of security advanced guard during operative preparation of the area where the protected individual is travelling to,

– lack of close cooperation with local security forces,

– use of intelligence-security data and information bought from specialized private companies- commercial intelligence work,

– detailed client preparation (briefing) for the task-mission and the necessity of practicing various procedures, which is also the client's obligation,

– the rule of destroying incapacitated vehicle with mandatory removal of radio, navigation and satellite telephone equipment, if the vehicle cannot be pulled out before leaving the attack zone, and

– re-planning of working hours and organizing substitutes among the local members of security service during daily prayers and Islamic religious holiday Ramadan (as for the territory, high-risk zones are usually the zones in which the local population is Islamic).

When it comes to specificities of private security of vehicle convoy in high-risk zones, the most emphasized *specificity is the use of vehicles with machineguns.*

As for the specificities of anti-pirate private security of ships, most important specificities are *kidnaping ships, cargo and crew and demanding ransom, as well as armed attacks of pirates from small and instable skiff platforms.*

The aim of this paper is to show specificities of organizing individual, property and business protection in high-risk zones from professional and vocational aspect. Therefore, I have relied on my personal and official documents which have been available to me while performing this service. The fact that professional literature is not abundant with this topic motivates the experts who focus on security issues to study and enhance private security in high-risk zones.

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THE "INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY" AND TERRITORIES WITH ALTERED SOVEREIGNTY[*]

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From Kosovo to Syria

As the so-called Kosovo "war"[1] is being used by the United States of America as a blueprint[2] for how the euphemistically[3] called "international community"[4] should militarily resolve the crisis in Syria without a mandate from the U.N. (in spite of the U.S. persistently insisting that it was a *sui generis* case), it is becoming increasingly more important not only to finally independently study the "mob or sole assailant"[5] aspect of the contemporary U.S. international approach but, even more, to dedicate particular attention to the post- and extra-combat involvement (or the lack of it) of the "international community" in the management[6] of the territories and the people "liberated"[7] by it.

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[*] 2do Seminario Internacional "Análisis e incidencia de las políticas públicas" – EGAP – Tecnológico de Monterrey – 25 y 26 de Septiembre 2013 – México

[1] Strictly legally speaking, no war was declared by the aggressors (the U.S. called it "hostilities" and "military operations in Kosovo"). The government of the attacked sovereign founding member of the U.N. didn't denounce the aggression as war (only after the November 2012 Strasbourg Court ruling that "war veterans" must be paid for the time served in the "war of 1999" did Serbia implicitly recognize NATO aggression as a war). The U.N. itself kept silent about the grossest violation of its Charter since its founding (the silence forced upon the U.N. by the U.S. blocking any move in the U.N. Security Council to condemn the attacks or to order their cessation).

[2] Air War in Kosovo Seen as Precedent in Possible Response to Syria Chemical Attack; Landler, Mark and Gordon, Michael; The New York Times; August 23, 2013- http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/24/world/air-war-in-kosovo-seen-as-precedent-in-possible-response-to-syria-chemical-attack.html?pagewanted=all&_r=2&

[3] If asked what the priority in today's world would be, Confucius would most likely repeat what he said about 2500 years ago: "'What is necessary is to rectify names.' […] 'If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success.' […] 'Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect.'"-The Analects of Confucius; The Chinese Classics; Translated by James Legge; Book XIII, Chap. III, 2-7; Kindle location 625-626.

[4] "To the extent that there is such a thing as an international community, it owes much to NATO." - Norris, John; Collision Course: NATO, Russia, and Kosovo; Greenwood Publishing Group, Preager, NY; 2005; Forward by Strobe Talbott; page ix.

[5] "The Democrats prefer allied lynch mobs, whereas the Republicans are more willing to intervene without outside help. The difference is basically the same. At the end of the day, both Democrats and Republicans remain committed to the same "values" of forcing political change on foreign regimes." - Deliso, Christopher; Kosovo, 1999: An Insider's View; June 17, 2005 - http://antiwar.com/deliso/?articleid=6338

[6] "...To put it in a terminology that harkens back to the more brutal age of ancient empires, the three grand imperatives of imperial (American-ed.) geostrategy are to prevent collusion and maintain security dependence among the vassals, to keep tributaries pliant and protected, and to keep the barbarians from coming together." - Brzezinski, Zbigniew; The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy And Its Geostrategic Imperatives; Basic Books; New York; 1997; p. 40.

While the U.S. President announces[8] a possible attack on a sovereign nation of Syria without the authorization by the U.N., citing the precedent of Kosovo as justification for it, the U.S. Secretary of State (accused by some of being *le ministre étranger aux affaires*) assures U.S. citizens that rich Arab nations would foot the bill[9] (attempting to relieve concerns about the system's impending bankruptcy[10]), and a multitude of the West's "corporate intellectuals"[11] (especially the ones from the so-called *La Gauche Caviar*) are soothing the moral and psychological worries of its ever-conscientious public, there are legitimate and reliable voices who give us different points of view about this issue, from the warnings to the U.S. leaders that aiding a declared enemy[12] of the U.S. would be treason[13], that Syria's socialist secular economic/political system[14] is the main problem for both the neo-liberal West and the reactionary, fundamentalist Islamist Arab regimes, to those that the so-called opposition in Syria are "a bunch of criminals" and not "revolutionaries."[15]

Just a part of this list of concerns should create a grave apprehensiveness about the "international community's" capacity to act in Syria militarily, but even more about its competence to be the leader of the supposed post-conflict stabilization and reconstruc-

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[7] See: The Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 [http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c105:H.R.4655.ENR:], or George, Amir; Liberating Iraq: The Untold Story of the Assyrian Christians; Cardinal Publishing Group; 2013, or Crucified Kosovo [http://crucified-kosovo.webs.com/], or Redmond, Helen; Their empty talk of liberating Afghan women; SocialistWorker.org; March 23, 2011- http://socialistworker.org/2011/03/23/empty-talk-about-liberation

[8] Air War in Kosovo Seen as Precedent in Possible Response to Syria Chemical Attack; The New York Times; Aug. 23, 2013 - http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/24/world/air-war-in-kosovo-seen-as-precedent-in-possible-response-to-syria-chemical-attack.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

[9] Arab nations ready to pay for Syria strike: Kerry - The News; Sept. 6, 2013.
http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-25265-Arab-nations-ready-to-pay-for-Syria-strike-Kerry

[10] Just as Standard & Poor's and Moody's maintained the illusion of Lehman Brothers' solidity up to six and one day respectively, before its collapse in 2008, it seems that it is being done for the whole West's financial system these days. See also: US borrowing authority to be exhausted by Oct. 17; AP http://news.yahoo.com/us-borrowing-authority-exhausted-oct-17-151054701--finance.html

[11] Such as the ever-ready Frenchman Bernanrd-Henri Lévy, calling the other international community—the governments who actually respect the international law and the U.N. rules—"gangster states, led by their godfather, Russia". See: ¿Qué quiere Rusia?; El Pais, Sept. 2 2013 http://elpais.com/elpais/2013/08/29/opinion/1377787206_916631.html

[12] Syria: nearly half rebel fighters are jihadists or hardline Islamists, says IHS Jane's report [by analyst Charles Lister]; by Ben Farmer, defence Correspondent, and Ruth Sherlock, in Beirut; The Telegraph; Sept. 15, 2013 - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/10311007/Syria-nearly-half-rebel-fighters-are-jihadists-or-hardline-Islamists-says-IHS-Janes-report.html

[13] "Whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason and shall suffer death, or shall be imprisoned not less than five years and fined under this title but not less than $10,000; and shall be incapable of holding any office under the United States."-18 USC § 2381 - Treason - http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2381

[14] "We trouble the West and the extremists because we are a socialist country." - Syrian ambassador to Serbia, H.E. Suleiman Abu-Dijab to V. Radojević; in an interview for the Communist Party of Serbia on Sept. 3, 2013, in Belgrade, Serbia - http://www.kps.rs/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1136:intervju-ambasadora-sirije-u-beogradu-gospodin-sulejmana-abu-dijab&catid=65&Itemid=574

[15] "[The West calls it] a revolution, but in fact it has nothing to do with revolutions. A revolution needs thinkers. A revolution is built on thought. Where are their thinkers? A revolution needs leaders. Who is its leader? Revolutions are built on science and thought not on ignorance, on pushing the country ahead not taking it centuries back, on spreading light not cutting power lines. A revolution is usually done by the people not by importing foreigners to rebel against the people. A revolution is in the interest of people not against the interests of people. Is this a revolution? Are those revolutionaries? They are a bunch of criminals." - Syria's President Bashar al-Assad; Damascus; June 1, 2013.

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tion. Taking into consideration the "international community's" aggressive and criminal March 1999 record in Serbia, November 2001 in Afghanistan, March 2003 in Iraq, and March 2011 in Libya, its involvement, and especially the U.S. leadership role, should be extremely questionable[16].

It is certain that the U.S. global position was dominant in the post-Soviet period, and that the phrase "international community" became synonymous with the U.S. – the main formulator of what were dogmatically[17] believed to be liberal[18] privatization-centred[19] pro-democratization and economic growth policies during the 1990s and the early 21st century. Yet, as these policies' truthfulness and efficacy became increasingly questioned and challenged[20], due to their failures and catastrophic consequences in practice[21], and as the U.S. increasingly turned into a defender against charges of imperialism and aggression[22], and a coercer of unwilling allies[23] into arrogant violations of international law[24] than it remained a leader of any true community of states, great questioning[25], strong confirmations[26], and new understandings and opinions[27] of the term "international community" appeared.

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[16] Although these words were written with a different context in mind, they seem prophetic: "Every friend of freedom must be as revolted as I am by the prospect of turning the United States into an armed camp, by the vision of jails filled […] and of an army […] empowered to invade the liberty of citizens on slight evidence." Milton Friedman; An Open Letter to Bill Bennett; The Wall Street Journal; September 7, 1989 http://fff.org/explore-freedom/article/open-letter-bill-bennett/

[17] "Today we see how utterly mistaken was the Milton Friedman notion that a market system can regulate itself. We see how silly the Ronald Reagan slogan was that government is the problem, not the solution. This prevailing ideology of the last few decades has now been reversed." - Samuelson, Paul (Nobel Prize in Economics, 1970); Don't Expect Recovery Before 2012 - With 8% Inflation; Global Economic Viewpoint; January 16, 2009 - http://www.digitalnpq.org/articles/economic/331/01-16-2009/paul_samuelson

[18] "Milton Friedman is the Establishment's Court Libertarian." - Rothbard, Murray N.; Milton Friedman Unraveled; Journal of Libertarian Studies; Vol. 16, no. 4 (Fall 2002); pp. 37-54 - http://mises.org/journals/jls/16_4/16_4_3.pdf

[19] "It turns out that the rule of law is probably more basic than privatization. Privatization is meaningless if you don't have the rule of law. What does it mean to privatize if you do not have security of property, if you can't use your property as you want to?" - Milton Friedman. See: Gwarney, James and Lawson, Robert; Economic Freedom of the World: 2002 Annual Report; Preface: Economic Freedom behind the Scenes, by Milton Friedman; The Fraser Institute; Vancouver, B.C.; 2002; page xviii.

[20] Boas, Taylor C & Gans-Morse Jordan; Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan [http://people.bu.edu/tboas/neoliberalism.pdf]; Harvey, David; Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction; The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science [http://ann.sagepub.com/content/610/1/21.abstract]; Weyland, Kurt Gerhard; Assessing Latin American Neoliberalism: Introduction to a Debate; Latin American Research Review; Vol. 39, Number 3, 2004; pp. 143-149.

[21] See: The Neoliberal Deluge-Hurricane Katrina, Late Capitalism, and the Remaking of New Orleans; Cedric Johnson, editor; 2011; University of Minnesota Press; Minneapolis; or, Klein, Naomi; The Shock Doctrine-The Rise of Disaster Capitalism; Henry Holt & Co.; New York; 2008; or, Saltman, Kenneth J.; Schooling in Disaster Capitalism; Teacher Educational Quarterly; Spring 2007; pp. 131-156.

[22] Watts, Carl P; Is globalization another name for US imperialism?; Politics Review Online; Vol. 20, No. 3 (Feb. 2011).

[23] Outrage at 'old Europe' remarks; BBC News; January 23, 2003- http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2687403.stm

[24] Pritchard, Claire; Who Cares if We Violate the Geneva Convention?; Chicago Policy Review; May 31, 2013- http://chicagopolicyreview.org/2013/05/31/who-cares-if-we-violate-the-geneva-convention/

[25] Golub, Philip S; Conflict in the Balkans: An International Community?; Le Monde Diplomatique; June 1999 ttp://mondediplo.com/1999/06/06golub

Although there had been a few U.N. missions in the disputed/non-sovereign territories before the Kosovo mission was established, the fact is that all of them were initiated properly in the U.N., and implemented by it, including military forces of various member states, that willingly lent them, working in close cooperation with the world organization.

Kosovo was a crucial turning point and the precedent that nullified the old rules by force, without establishing any clear and agreed upon new ones for the future.

As the Kosovo precedent allowed for the creation of new states, such as Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and for the establishment of new "international communities", who justified and implemented such acts, it became obvious that a trend was being set and that the organization of the United Nations was increasingly either serving the purposes of one of the "international communities", or that it was being ignored by either of the "international communities"[28] or by all of them[29]. The multitude of the small states for decades has been pointing out the fact that they are not even considered by the "international community" if they disagree with its policies, or are used to shore up its "moral imperative" when they do, but their plight is not as important in the "realpolitik" world as the latest warnings by one of the greatest powers – China, about the "improper comments in the name of the 'international community'"[30] by some Western politicians.

Although there are some Western intellectuals[31] and popular commentators[32] who point this out, a blindness to these facts, and a dogmatic, quasi-religious faith in the only true "international community" is very noticeable in the so-called West – not only among

[26] "The international community does exist. It has an address. It has achievements to its credit. And it is the only way forward."-U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan; The Address to the 52nd DPI/NGO Conference in New York City; September 15, 1999- http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19990915.sgsm7133.doc.html

[27] Ralph, Jason; Tony Blair's 'new doctrine of international community' and the UK decision to invade Iraq; POLIS Working Paper No. 20; School of Politics & International Studies; August 2005
http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/research/working-papers/wp20ralph.pdf

[28] Created *ad hoc* after the declarations of independence by Abkhazia and South Ossetia and their subsequent international recognition by Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Nauru, Vanuatu, Tuvalu (although Vanuatu, in a horribly embarrassing manner, later withdrew it).

[29] As in the case of Russia and the other states recognizing Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and in the case of the NATO states' attack on and destruction of Libya, which went far beyond the U.N. mandate of ensuring a no-fly zone over the territory of that member of the U.N.

[30] "Since the Industrial Revolution in Britain, the self-centered way of thinking that long formed in Western powers has been swelling with the constantly consolidated powers. One of the performances is that some Western politicians often make improper comments in the name of 'international community' when they talk about the international affairs or in the Western media reports. In their eyes, they are the 'international community'" - How the world opinion is kidnapped by West's "international community" rhetoric; People's Daily Online; September 1, 2013- http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90777/7932499.html

[31] See: Letter by Adolfo Pérez Esquivel to Barack Obama (accessed on Sept. 8, 2013)
http://www.democraticunderground.com/10023621013

[32] "When you next hear the term, what is being referred to is not the international community at all - understood as all the nation-states that make up the world - but just a small sliver of it, our bit. The great majority of the world, indeed - the west constitutes less than one-fifth of the world's population - is, in fact, being tacitly ignored: unless, of course, it happens to agree with the west, in which case it is implicitly tagged on the end as a good old western fellow-traveler."-Jacques, Martin; What the hell is the international community?; The Guardian; Aug. 24, 2006 -http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/aug/24/whatthehellistheinternati

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its political classes but in academia as well, where it should be happening the least, especially taking into consideration the plenitude of analysis of international politics[33].

The pattern has already become commonplace: a regime is declared "rogue" for not accepting the "international community's" dictates and not opening its economy for a neo-liberal takeover, and an adequate "endangered" minority is designated a victim within the "rogue" regime's borders, and the minority's criminal sub-population is trained and equipped to be the "legitimate and justified" opposition to the regime and the future "guarantor of democracy and economic development" of the "liberated" nation, and an ally in mutually beneficial money laundering operations[34]. Then, cases of "human rights violations" are exaggerated or, if necessary, fabricated, and an insurrection by the "democratic, free-market oriented, and Westernized and moderate" guerrilla is legitimized, and a "red line" is drawn, after which a military intervention by the "morally indignant" "international community" becomes a must in order to save face and show the world its dedication to peace and international cooperation.

The "international community's" interests in the Middle East are obvious: preventing China from obtaining cheap oil for its economic growth and military development; getting closer to Russia's "soft southern belly", and increasing the possibility of destabilizing the E.U. through strong control and manipulation of its Moslem population, making the "allies" long-term dependant on the "international community".

With Kosovo, it was not so obviously clear why the "international community" got so deeply and expensively involved in that oil-deprived region[35]. Although the territory known as Kosovo is a landlocked, economically undeveloped, and socially backward land of 10,887 sq. km.[36], populated by anywhere between 1.5 to 2 million people[37], it is of a significant geo-political and strategic importance.

Its position at the ancient surface crossroads – *Via Militaris* and *Via Egnatia*[38] – was made very obvious by the placement of the U.S. military base Bondsteel near that crucial intersection of the roads that connect Europe and Asia. Taking into consideration that the

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[33] Modelski, George (Jerzy), Long Cycles in World Politics, University of Washington Press, 1987; Bull, Hedley, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics, Columbia University Press, 2002; Georg Schwarzenberger, International Law, Stevens, 1949; Juraj Andrassy, International Law, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 2010.

[34] Documented widely, from The Contras, Cocaine, and Covert Operations [http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB2/nsaebb2.htm], through Albanian Mobsters: Albanian Mafia, Rudaj Organization, Princ Dobroshi, Ismail Lika [http://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/albanian-mobsters-books-llc/1103425185?ean=9781158328673], to Syrian Rebels Funded by Afghan Drug Sales [http://en.rian.ru/russia/20130411/180581557.html]

[35] "It was Yugoslavia's resistance of the broader trends of political and economic reform--not the plight of the Kosovar Albanians--that best explains NATO's war." - Norris, John; Collision Course: NATO, Russia, and Kosovo; Greenwood Publishing Group, Preager, NY; 2005; p. xxiii.

[36] Smaller than the Sea of Marmara (11,350 sq. km.), between the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles straights in Turkey, the U.S. state of Connecticut (14,357 sq. km.), or the U.K. county of Yorkshire (11,903 sq. km.), about half the size of the State of Mexico and a bit smaller than the State of Queretaro.

[37] Reliable and complete census data haven't been available for Kosovo and Metohija for at least three decades.

[38] See: Külzer, Andreas; The Byzantine road system in Eastern Thrace; 4th International Symposium on Thracian Studies, April 2007; Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert; Amsterdam; 2011., or: Tafel, Gottlieb L. F.; Via Militaris & Egnatia; 1841; Columbia University Libraries, Preservation Department; Master negative #: 91-80058-10; http:// ia600804.us.archive.org/6/items/viamilitarisroma00tafe/viamilitarisroma00tafe.pdf

planned American-backed "Nabucco"[39] pipeline, as well as the Russian natural gas and oil pipeline, "Southern Stream"[40], were to pass through that area, supplying Europe with Russian and former Soviet Central Asian states' oil and gas, the geostrategic importance of Kosovo becomes more prominent.

The post-intervention international administration of a territory "liberated" by the "international community" brings many advantages both to the allied governments and the private businesses from the "cooperative" nations.

The case of Kosovo is an excellent example: it has been declared an investor's dream and a venture capitalist's heaven[41] by its new rulers.[42] Its labour market offers one of the cheapest labour forces in the world. With official unemployment rates in Kosovo reaching 50%[43], once the means of production are secured[44], and access to global markets are guaranteed, the investors will be attracted to the profit-making opportunities unparalleled in the developed world.

At the same time, the natural resources of Kosovo are legendary–according to the World Bank[45], 13.5 billion Euros are lying there, waiting for investors brave enough to acquire them: the richest lignite reserves in South Eastern Europe, which provide for a powerful electricity production for the whole region, as well as abundant reserves of zinc, cadmium, magnesium, kaolin, quartz, asbestos, chrome, bauxite, and lead[46], along with silver and gold–all of that under the watchful eye of the "international community"[47], eager to help set it to production and profit.

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[39] The "Nabucco" pipeline project was aborted in the summer of 2013.
https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2013/07/13/nabu-j13.html

[40] http://www.south-stream.info/en/pipeline/route/

[41] Untrue, as the still non-existent economy shows, just as in Libya today, in spite of the positive propaganda about its "anticipated boom in natural resources". - See: Cockburn, Patrick; Special report: We all thought Libya had moved on - it has, but into lawlessness and ruin; The Independent; September 3, 2013 - (accessed on Sept. 8, 2013) http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/special-report-we-all-thought-libya-had-moved-on--it-has-but-into-lawlessness-and-ruin-8797041.html

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ttp://www.bitkom.org/files/documents/IPAK__PPT_General_22_03_13.pdf

[43] http://www.indexmundi.com/kosovo/unemployment_rate.html

[44] And the U.N.'s Mission in Kosovo Privatization Policy made it easier than anywhere else in the world–means of production and real estate may be bought disregarding their deeds.

[45] "Kosova [Kosovo] mine [mineral] resources are worthy of 13.5 billion Euros, according to a joint survey conducted by the Directorate for Mines and Minerals and the World Bank."
http://kosovareport.blogspot.com/2005/01/world-bank-survey-puts-kosovos-mineral.html

[46] Vickers, Miranda; Between Serb and Albanian-A History of Kosovo; Columbia University Press; 1988; page XV.

[47] George Soros, a billionaire financier/amateur politician, eager to acquire the Trepča mines [http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/Johnstone/howitis.htm], vying for it with H.R.H. Prince Michael of Kent, according to the Kosovo Privatization Agency Director Shkelzen Luka [as reported by www.economy.rs/vesti/18697/Kosovo-Vojvodina-izgradila--Princ-od-Kenta-dobija-na-poklon.html]. Madeleine Albright, U.S. Secretary of State at the time of NATO war on Yugoslavia, is contending for mobile phones and internet opportunities in Kosovo
[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/11/world/europe/ex-us-official-pulls-bid-for-kosovo-telecom-stake.html?_r=0], while Wesley Clark, the Supreme Commander of NATO during the "Madeleine's War" in 1999, is "seeking a license to explore Kosovo's underground coal deposits to use to make synthetic fuel for cars and planes." [Marketplace; Oct. 26, 2012- http://www.marketplace.org/topics/world/wesley-clark-puts-name-behind-kosovo-coal-project]

Yet, there are overwhelming problems and obstacles to that. They range from linguistic, through socio-cultural, historical and political, to legal – especially in terms of property law.

Thus, understanding the meaning and history of the names in Kosovo is only the beginning of the difficulties related to such problems.

The official and full name of the territory is Kosovo and Metohija. The land was always (as it still is today) known as Old Serbia[48] as well. Kosovo, just as Metohija did, emerged as a symbol, a reminder, a warning, and was almost accidentally used as a territorial designation only by the end of WWII, by the Communist party of Yugoslavia.

The word Metohija remains as another reminder, a public declaration by the rightful owner that the theft has not been forgotten, and as a subtle warning that order and justice shall be restored. That is why all false claimants to the land have insisted on the elimination of the word Metohija from the land's name.

Kosovo, as a word, means something only in the Serbian language[49] – the possessive adjective of the word *kos*, the American robin, a black bird, *turdus merula*, that flew in the skies over the famous battlefield of 1389[50].

The meaning of Metohija is clear and recognized easily by the Orthodox Christians. Being of Greek origin (*μετόχια*), the word is a legal and official term used to demarcate the earthly possessions of the Orthodox Church, in this case of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

It is very common in the West to dismiss all factually supported Serbian historical claims to Kosovo, while the most incredible, evidence-less Albanian claims to the antiquity of their possession and presence in the same territory are accepted as valid. Very often a question is asked by independent and reasonable observers how far back in time should the "international community" go, and what kind of mythical or spectral evidence[51] would be acceptable to lay a claim so that the matter could be settled. The situation is very similar to the one in Palestine at the time of the Jewish resettlement there, when the famous British writer H. G. Wells said: "If it is proper to 'reconstitute' a Jewish state which

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[48] "[It] also included the Serbian province of Sandzak and the northwestern part of today's Macedonia." See: Joksimovich, Vojin Ph.D.; Kosovo is Serbia; gmbooks.com - http://www.gmbooks.com/product/Kosovo-GM.html

[49] "Proof of the Serbian origin of the name and the loanword status of the immigrant Albanian term is that the word "kosovo" has a clear etymology to anyone who knows a Slavic language, while Albanian "Kosova" is an opaque, meaningless place name in the Albanian language." - Maher, J. P.; Professor of Linguistics, Emeritus; Northeastern Illinois University; "Kosova" or "Kosovo"? - What's in a Name?; http://emperor.vwh.net/articles/JP%20maher/InAname.html

[50] Although many scholars in the West publish linguistically baseless claims that the word is of "Turkish-Albanian origin", in spite of the fact that it doesn't have any meaning at all in either of them. See: Vickers, Miranda; Between Serb and Albanian-A History of Kosovo; Columbia University Press; 1988; page XIV.

[51] "Spectral evidence refers to a witness testimony that the accused person's spirit or spectral shape appeared to [the] witness in a dream at the time the accused person's physical body was at another location. It was accepted in the courts during the Salem Witch Trials." [June-September 1692] http://definitions.uslegal.com/s/spectral-evidence/ - It reappeared in the U.S. in 2013: "Jurors at the Jacko trial heard testimony from a surprise witness yesterday – the ghost of Michael Jackson! [...] In the supernatural tête-á-tête, Jacko's ghost allegedly absolved Dr. Conrad Murray of any guilt in his death and admitted he "accidentally killed himself." - "Ghost" of Jacko stars at LA trial; New York Post; June 12, 2013. http://www.nypost.com/p/news/national/ghost_of_jacko_stars_at_la_trial_Flr5EJeWiSLJQsCT9djE9L

has not existed for two thousand years, why not go back another thousand years and reconstitute the Canaanite state?"[52]

Yet, Kosovo and Metohija became an official U.N. Protectorate, with NATO as the power that guarantees it remains so for the time being. Although the Albanians declared independence in 2008 and the "international community" recognized its "sovereignty"[53], it is still NATO that has the final authority there[54], along with the U.N. Special Representative of the Secretary General. Simultaneously, the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 guarantees the territorial integrity of Serbia, although some of the powers that voted for that resolution, in a paradoxical bipolar opposition to themselves, recognized the self-declared independent Republic of Kosovo.

A matter of great interest for the scholars of international law and politics, and international management of territories and peoples, should be the evolution of the post-"liberation" fate of the leaders of the territories under "international community's" control, especially the speed and the degree of the degradation of their status and life.

Slobodan Milošević, the leader of Serbia, was captured and put on a long-term trial by a special "international community's" tribunal[55], which terminated in his highly suspicious death after it became increasingly obvious that the evidence necessary for his conviction was not going to materialize.

In Afghanistan, the Taliban were simply scattered and replaced by a puppet government, which still fully depends on the U.S. occupying forces in the country. Saddam Hussein, the leader of Iraq, was also chased away from his seat of power, and later captured and put on trial, but not by an international tribunal. The experience with Milošević most certainly taught the "international community" the risks of exposing its own alleged crimes before the increasingly judgmental world. The Iraqi court expressly found him guilty and he was executed by hanging, giving the impression that no appeal was permitted, or a chance for a pardon either.

Libya's Muammar Gadhafi experienced no official capture or trial. The democratic and freedom-loving "opposition" to his regime was allowed by the "international community" to hunt him down like a wild animal and his slaughtering was filmed and widely distributed on the internet. A U.S. apparatchik to the new friendly and allied regime of Libya was murdered in a very similar manner a few months later. Then, the "international community" expressed an absolute outrage at the shocking and brutal treatment of a human being by the, now-legitimized, subject of international affairs.

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[52] Sakran, Frank C.; Palestine Dilemma: Arab Rights versus Zionist Aspirations; Public Affairs Press; Washington; 1948; p. 204.

[53] See at least the1932 U.S. Stimson Doctrine (on non-recognition of international territorial changes executed by force), and Articles 3 and 11 of the 1933 Montevideo Convention, on the rights and duties of states (prohibition of creation and recognition of puppet states) and the prohibition of the use of force in order to obtain sovereignty. The "international community" claimed they were obsolete until the cases of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

[54] As late as July 28, 2013, the KFOR Commander, German General Walker Halbauer, stated that "As far as military matters are concerned, [I] decide who may enter Kosovo. […] I want to emphasize that in Kosovo, both the U.N. Resolution 1244 and the Kumanovo Agreement, are in force." ("Када је војска у питању ја одлучујем ко може да уђе на Косово. […] Хоћу да нагласим да је на Косову и даље на снази и Резолуција УН 1244 и Кумановски споразум.") - See: Lazanski, Miroslav; I understand the Serbs from the Ibar River area; Politika; July 28, 2013. - http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Politika/Razumem-Srbe-na-Ibru.sr.html

[55] Totally disregarding the *ex injuria jus non oritur* legal principle.

The "post-conflict" status of the "liberated" territories also differs significantly:

Kosovo seems to have been the experiment that set too high the bar for the future, causing extraordinary complications and embarrassing need for legal and moral "creativity". Following its lessons, a degradation and de-internationalization of the status of any new territory whose sovereignty[56] was altered has become noticeable. There has happened a lowering and limiting of the prerogatives of the "governor" in the field, and, with each new case, a gradual elimination of a significant portion of the U.N. membership from the pool of legal international subjects with a right to be involved in the governing and/or supervision of the territory.

In Kosovo, it was still the Secretary General of the U.N. (through his Special Representative) who was the highest civilian authority in the official U.N. protectorate[57], although the NATO military commander on the ground was the highest authority "in the theatre", with a right to declare anything or anyone of "military significance" so as to grant himself the power to outrank the civilian authority of the U.N. at any time.

In Afghanistan, "full sovereignty" was gradually "restored" to the local government after the U.S.-led international invasion and occupation of the land, and after the U.N. Security Council *post factum* established the International Security Assistance Force. The U.N. Assistance Force's mandate was to oversee the security in the country, but the Afghan "authorities" couldn't move freely even within the capital without full military escort by the mostly NATO troops, while the provinces were the realm of local warlords and, almost exclusively, of U.S. military commanders, who had most of the U.S. troops under their direct and separate command.

In Iraq, the U.S. attacked that sovereign U.N. member without a declaration of war and invaded its territory under what was later proven to be a false pretext. After a quick military conquest, the country was occupied by U.S. troops. A "sovereign" puppet government was established, but the U.S. military was in charge of the land. The U.N. Security Council then established a mission in Iraq, which recognized "the responsibilities and obligations" of the U.S. occupying force, giving legitimacy to the illegal and criminal invasion of a sovereign member of the U.N. The Mission still supervises the work of the Iraqi government. The U.S. military combat operations and occupation of Iraq were officially declared finished by the end of August 2010, but U.S. troops still remain in Iraq (under separate U.S. command), together with the troops from other nations, which are under U.N. command.

In Libya, there was neither a U.N. mission set up after its destruction by NATO, nor was there an occupation of any kind by the "international community's" military forces. The early 2011 conflict was declared a civil war, in which the "rebels" refused all attempts, both by their government and by the African Union, to stop fighting. The "international community" secured a U.N. Security Council resolution (1973), which was to protect civilians and which allowed the use of force against the government of Libya, but did not allow a foreign occupation of the country. The "international community", led by the U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, secured the supply of arms to the rebels. The Resolution stated that in order to "protect civilians" "all necessary measures" were allowed, thus, the supply of arms was unilaterally declared permitted in spite of the arms

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[56] "The sovereignty of states is not absolute." – Strobe Talbott; See: Norris, John; Collision Course: NATO, Russia, and Kosovo; Greenwood Publishing Group, Preager, NY; 2005; Forward, by Strobe Talbott; page x.

[57] Although the "international community" allowed the U.N.'s involvement only after it had already concluded the destruction and subjugation of Yugoslavia/Serbia, using the world organization as a "legal mask" to cover up and put away brutal and criminal NATO aggression, in which it committed crimes against peace, humanity and war crimes with impunity, since the U.N. transformed it into its own Military Authority in Kosovo.

embargo imposed on "everyone" in Libya (Paragraph 9). The French Air Force bombarded the government troops, as did the U.S. and U.K. submarines. Soon, 17 countries participated in the military operations against the government of Libya, with NATO taking over the command of the operations. The "international community" thus became the air force of the rebels, providing them with some ground troops as well, violating its own U.N. resolution and not allowing for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. After the rebels took over the capital city of Tripoli, the U.N. recognized them as the legitimate government of Libya. An *ad hoc* local government, the National Transitional Council, was set up and recognized by the "international community" and left in power to run the country as it saw fit, as long as the oil exploitation was opened to the corporations from the "international community's" realm – the Chinese and Russian companies were not allowed in the competition in the "free market" and "globalized economy" (just as they were kept out and away by the U.S. occupying authorities from the once open-to-international-competition oil fields of Iraq).

The U.N. Protectorate of Kosovo has proven itself to be the "international community's" experiment that set the standard for the amount of sovereignty which were to be accorded the inhabitants under the "international community's" domination – **none**!

Thus, the sovereignty over the territory of Kosovo was altered and the whole international system thrown into a disarray. The overlapping and cancelling-out of sovereignties is blatant: the United Nations Resolution 1244 (which is still in effect and is recognized even by the powers[58] that officially recognized Serbia's Albanian minority's self-declaration of independence) recognizes the sovereignty of the Republic of Serbia over the territory of Kosovo[59]. So does, of course, the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia[60]. At the same time, Serbia's Albanian Moslem minority in the Province of Kosovo and Metohija had declared the province's independence from Serbia and claimed sovereignty over the territory, calling it the *Republic of Kosovo*. It has been officially recognized by the U.S. and many of the individual great powers, which are members of the European Union, although the international organization called the European Union itself has not recognized the self-declared independent Republic of Kosovo, and works closely with the U.N. on administering the Serbian province as a U.N. protectorate[61]. Simultaneously to all this, the Constitution of the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo, by its articles 147 and 153, clearly renounces its own sovereignty and states that the final authorities in Kosovo

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[58] Even if they "creatively interpret the UN SC Resolution 1244", knowing fully, as Carl Bildt, Sweden's Foreign Minister, stated, that "there are no legal grounds for doing what we are doing, but we must preserve at least a semblance of international law." - http://www.kosovocompromise.com/cms/item/charts/en.html?id=478

[59] Resolution 1244 (1999), adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting on 10 June 1999: "… Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the other States of the region, as set out in the Helsinki Final Act and annex 2…"

[60] The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, The Preamble: "… the Province of Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the territory of Serbia…"

[61] Resolution 1244 (1999), adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting, on 10 June 1999, authorizes the Secretary-General, with the assistance of relevant international organizations, "to establish an international civil presence in Kosovo" and "decides on the deployment in Kosovo, under United Nations auspices, of international civil and security presences, with appropriate equipment and personnel as required…", "requests the Secretary-General to appoint, in consultation with the Security Council, a Special Representative to control the implementation of the international civil presence, and further requests the Secretary-General to instruct his Special Representative to coordinate closely with the international security presence to ensure that both presences operate towards the same goals and in a mutually supportive manner […]"

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are the U.N. civilian administrator and NATO military force commander, making those who command NATO the ultimate sovereigns over Kosovo[62].

The "international community" did the same thing, which it did in the previously legally established U.N. protectorates and in the many historical instances before the current supposed internationalization of protectorates – the "international community" ensured its own *fiat*[63] to be the legal basis and norm for any activity.

The first U.N. protectorate, an innovative and an *ad hoc* approach to resolving international problems insolvable by the then-current international law, was the U.N. Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA)/U.N. Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF), established in October 1962[64] in order to administer the Dutch colony of West New Guinea until it was transformed into a province of Indonesia on May 1, 1963.

The following one was established in February 1992 for Cambodia, as the U.N. Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), in order to implement the Paris Accords, which ended the civil war in that country. The U.N. was not to have direct control of the country but was supposed, during the 18 months of its mandate, to foster "a neutral political environment conducive to free and fair general elections"[65]. It was the most extensive and costliest U.N. operation up to that time.

On December 21, 1995[66], the U.N. International Police Task Force (IPTF) and a U.N. civilian office in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BH) were established, known as the U.N. Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH). It was terminated on Dec. 31, 2002. It invented a new supra-sovereign office – The High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina (on December 14, 1995) – by the Peace Implementation Council[67]. It was not a U.N. mission. SFOR, a NATO-led multinational peacekeeping force in BH, was established by the U.N. S.C. Res. 1088, on Dec. 12, 1996, and it lasted until Dec. 2, 2004. It was replaced by the E.U. EUFOR Althea mission, which is still in BH, as is the High Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who still possesses his supra-sovereign powers and is the final authority in that supposedly sovereign nation.

The U.N. S.C. Resolution 1037 (Jan. 15, 1996) established the U.N. Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES) to monitor the demilitarization of these regions and to ensure the peaceful reintegration of these

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[62] The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo; Article 147 [Final Authority of the International Civilian Representative]: "Notwithstanding any provision of this Constitution, the International Civilian Representative shall, in accordance with the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement dated 26 March 2007, be the final authority in Kosovo…", and Article 153 [International Military Presence]: "Notwithstanding any provision of this Constitution […] The Head of the International Military Presence shall, in accordance with the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement dated 26 March 2007, be the final authority in theatre […]"

[63] The U.S. Secretary of State, Richard Olney, on July 20, 1895, wrote: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interpretations […]." - See: Chronological History of United States Foreign Relations 1776 to January 20, 1981; Vol. I; ed. Lester H. Brune; Garland Publishing, Inc.; New York & London; 1985; page 167.

[64] Article 2; The New York Agreement

[65] Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict; Annex 1, Section B, Paragraph 1; UN Document A/46/608-S/23177; Oct. 30, 1991 - See: (accessed on Sept. 8, 2013) http://www.ichrp.org/files/papers/56/128_ _Cambodia_-_Human_Rights_in_Negotiating_Peace_Agreements_Edwards__Adrian__2005.pdf

[66] U.N. Security Council Resolution 1035

[67] Consisting of 55 countries, based on the Dayton Peace Agreement, negotiated during Nov. 1995, formally signed in Paris on Dec. 14, 1995, after the London Conference, Dec. 8 & 9, 1995.

territories of the Republic of Serbian Krajina into Croatia. It ended on Jan. 15, 1998, after allowing the new country of Croatia to take over these, formerly Serb-majority but then Croat- and NATO-ethnically cleansed lands. Eventually, the newly sovereign Croatia was fully integrated into NATO (2009) and E.U. (2013), thus firmly and unquestionably putting these territories under the "international community's" control.

In 1999, the "international community" established its most ambitious and authoritative grasp on a territory – the U.N. Protectorate of Kosovo.

The U.N. administration took upon itself the public policy mission, traditionally reserved for a sovereign state alone, to make local laws and to enforce them, to appoint and supervise local officials, to collect and manage local revenue, to run local educational, health and other social services, to supervise the economy and finances, and even to decide in the disputes related to the very basis of any society – property matters.

The most illustrative example of the "international community's" incompetence and, if the criteria used for ordinary people were applied to it, all out criminality, is exactly this area of public policy – privatization. Contrary to its U.N. S.C. mandate, the U.N. Administration of the Serbian province designed and partially implemented a public policy of privatization of the socially owned property there. It was very clear that such a policy could not be implemented[68] as the "international community" wished it, due to its basic illegality[69]. The province's chief U.N. administrator, Soren Jessen-Petersen, on April 22, 2005 (UNMIK Regulation No. 2005/18), simply decreed a fundamental change in UNMIK rules[70] and property law[71] (undocumented in human history, except during conquests and pillages of ages past), providing for the privatization agency to make "clear and final ownership determination after a sale of assets" and not before it, as has been the practice throughout human history. Although Mr. Jessen-Petersen gladly announced that "now with this change… we no longer have to establish ownership before the sale of the socially owned enterprise"[72], the process of privatization in Kosovo has been disastrous. Not even the local criminals wanted to participate in it since it didn't provide them with a clear and legal title to the prop-

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[68] Bota Sot 2010: A failed process of privatization in Kosovo?; Institute for Development Research; 12. 03. 2010; http://www.riinvestinstitute.org/index.php?gjuha=en&action=meshume&cid=10&sid=30&id=137

[69] Since the U.N. S.C. Resolution 1244 mandates UNMIK only to administer such property in Kosovo—not to change property status—and UNMIK's own Regulation No. 2001/9, On a Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo, of May 15, 2001, Section 8.1 (q), (r) and (u), states that UNMIK has the "authority to administer public, state and socially owned property, [and] the regulation of public and socially owned enterprises" but nothing else beyond that.

[70] Yet, UNMIK Regulation No. 2005/18.15, Section A, still stated that "the Trust Agency [Privatization Agency] must act in the interest of the owners of the SOEs [Socially Owned Enterprises]", a regulation that cannot be fulfilled if "clear and final ownership determination [will be made] after a sale of assets", as UNMIK new rule stated.

[71] Section 8 - Establishment of Subsidiary Corporation of Enterprises: "the requirements of founders' agreement and foundation meeting of section 25 of the aforementioned Regulation [Law on Business Organizations] shall all be waived and that a founder's statement signed by a duly authorized representative of the Agency shall be a valid substitute for a founders' agreement." This meant that the Privatization Agency's representative received the power from UNMIK to effectively be the legal agent of a publicly owned enterprise and to sell it, disregarding the Article (section) 25 of the Law on Business Organizations, which states: "Article 25 - Change of Registered Agent or Office - 25.1 If a business organization desires or is required to change the name of the person designated as its registered agent, it shall deliver to the Registry a notice, signed by an authorized person, that sets forth (i) the name of the business organization and its registration number, and (ii) the name of its new registered agent."

[72] Kosovo: UNMIK Changes Rules for Privatization; ECIKS-Economic Initiative for Kosovo; Prishtinë Kosova; April 22, 2005; (accessed on Sept. 19, 2013) http://www.eciks.org/english/lajme.php?action=total_news&main_id=178.

erty. There are many accusations that through the process of privatization they laundered the illegally earned funds. Knowing that such practice would create legal problems[73] for the U.N. staff in both the field and in the New York City headquarters, the U.N. ensured its employees' immunity[74] from legal prosecution but the local Albanians were left to the mercies of "the market"-causing a number of highly suspicious deaths[75] of both high level officials in Kosovo and key witnesses in Western countries over the last couple of years, all of which were ruled suicides[76] by EULEX and Western medical examiners.

This extent of legislative, executive and judicial authority, exercised with basically no scrutiny by anyone, with no supervision by independent monitors, and with no accountability to any single or collective sovereignty (especially that of the local population[77]) is substantially higher than that which the colonial governors had in the past, and which were the main reasons why the colonized peoples fought wars of liberation. It was expected, even by analysts from the "international community", that even the most "benign" protectorate of this kind would eventually turn itself into an "*oppressor-ate*" that would be hated by the population it was established to protect in the first place.

Yet, there are no open anti-U.N. movements in Kosovo. It seems that while the ethnic cleansing of its Serbian citizens is yet unfinished, and while the lucrative and unmolested businesses of human trafficking, drugs and arms smuggling, and "privatization" of the Serbian state, social, Church and private property are still underway, there is no rush to end the unnatural and contradictory parallel existence (but a long-term partnership and symbiosis) of "local sovereignty" and "international community's" protectorate there.

Yet, this unnatural symbiosis only seems to be lucrative to those with a short-term vision and with a superficial understanding of economy and politics.

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[73] Since UNMIK violated its own first regulation—Regulation No. 1999/01, which entered into force on June 10, 1999, the very date the world organization passed its Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999). Section 6.2 of UNMIK Regulation No. 1999/01 states that "administration by UNMIK of [movable and immovable property in Kosovo] shall be without prejudice to the right of any person or entity to assert ownership or other rights in the property"—a mandate clearly violated by the U.N. Administrator Soren Jessen-Petersen.

[74] Already on Feb. 9, 2004, under Harri Holkeri, Special Rep. of the Sec. General, the UNMIK Regulation 2004/3, on the promulgation of the law on public procurement in Kosovo (Law No. 2003/17, meant to ensure "the most efficient, cost-effective, transparent and fair use of public funds and public resources in Kosovo"; "to ensure the integrity and accountability of public officials, civil servants and other persons"; and "to promote the establishment of an institutional culture of unbiased, ethical and materially disinterested professionalism among all public officials, civil servants and other persons"), in its Section # 3, on Exemptions, states that "The present law shall not apply to […] UNMIK […] and an intergovernmental, bilateral, multilateral or international financing institution."

[75] Kosovo Privatization Agency chief "stabbed himself 11 times"; B92 & BETA Agency; June 22, 2012 http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics.php?yyyy=2012&mm=06&dd=22&nav_id=80899; or Government's official commits suicide; H.S. who has worked as an information officer at the Prime Minister's Office committed suicide; Kosovapress; Jan. 29, 2013 -http://www.kosovapress.com/archive/?cid=2,85,159346; or "Agim Zogaj, a protected witness then known only as Witness X, was found dead, hanging from a tree in Germany" – Close ally of Kosovo PM cleared of war crimes for third time; Reuters; Sept. 17, 2013 - http://news.yahoo.com/close-ally-kosovo-pm-cleared-war-crimes-third-152716959.html

[76] Kosovo privatization chief's death ruled suicide; Southeast European Times in Pristina; June 16, 2013 http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2012/06/16/feature-02.

[77] "No Republic of Kosovo authority shall have jurisdiction to review, diminish or otherwise restrict the mandate, powers and obligations [of the International Civilian Representative and/or the International Military Presence]" - Articles 147 and 153 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. See: http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Constitution1Kosovo.pdf (accessed on Sept. 8, 2013)

An interesting testimony of the development falsehood was, most likely unintentionally, offered by a German KFOR Colonel, Günter Bonn, published by Politika, and reported by an ethnic Slovenian military analyst, Miroslav Lazanski, in a report on his visit to the U.S. (KFOR) base Bondsteel in Kosovo. It says: "There is no industry here, no production. Only gas stations are being opened, shopping centres and night clubs."[78] The Colonel is reported to have openly wondered from where all the wealth in Kosovo was coming, comparing the apparent high-life style of the Kosovo Albanians to his modest life in the highly industrialized (and yet only second tier international community's member) Germany, especially considering his socio-economic status as a high level military officer of the military forces of the only stable and growing E.U. economy. Aware that he drives a small car there (in Germany), and doesn't own a house there, the new, big homes, daily built in Kosovo, and new, expensive cars driven on the same roads he patrols in a military jeep, make him wonder how surreal is his task of making sure that there wouldn't be any more suffering in the U.N. Protectorate of Kosovo.[79]

In addition to that, it is the "international community" that very quickly realized the true pitfalls of such an arrangement, and the long-term dangers to its control and welfare. The U.N. Protectorate of Kosovo, being under the formal legal authority of the U.N. Security Council, could not be controlled, modified, or terminated without Russia and/or China. Both powers were unable to prevent its establishment in 1999, but, since then they have grown and strengthened their international positions, creating a parallel and highly visible alternative "international community", and have created unforeseen problems for the U.S. and its allies in Kosovo (and in other parts of the world), especially regarding the public policy of privatization designed and attempted to be implemented there by the "international community".

The Protectorate of Kosovo was most likely designed as the ultimate triumph of the West, but it quickly turned into its most problematic product. With Russia and China sitting on the U.N. Security Council, with their veto powers, it proved impractical to set Kosovo as a blueprint for future invasions, takeovers and management of lands, peoples and resources, and, thus, all evidence suggests, it was forgone as a model.

Ever since, we have witnessed the abandonment of the U.N. or truly international models of behaviour by the "international community", observing the increased acting either unilaterally (the U.S. in Iraq) or as a group of military allies (NATO in Libya), with very limited and vague authorization by the U.N., or with none at all.

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[78] „Овде нема индустрије, нема производње, отварају се само пумпе за гориво, трговине и ноћни клубови" - See: Lazanski, Miroslav; One Day In Priština; Politika; July 27, 2013.
http://www.politika.rs/pogledi/Miroslav-Lazanski/Jedan-dan-u-Pristini.sr.html

[79] Compare that attitude by a foreign governor toward citizens' welfare and honest labor to the testimony by Count Bois-le-Comte de Rigny, a 19th century French diplomat, who left reports to the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs about his interviews with Prince Miloš of Serbia. In one of them, Prince Miloš of the Autonomous Serbia told him that he asked the Sultan's Governor of Serbia, the Vizier Mehmed, to allow the Moslem civilian population to leave Serbia's cities after Serbia received its autonomy from Istanbul, or that "if they aren't allowed to leave, they will starve to death", the Vizier replied: "It might happen but they would starve to death anywhere else as well because they don't want to work. Taking that into consideration, it is better that they die here since the Sultan ordered that they remain here." - See: Old Belgrade - From Travelogues and Memoirs; edit. Djuro Gavela; Kultura; Belgrade; 1951; Count Bois-le-Comte de Rigny; Turks in Belgrade, pp. 69-77; (Complete memoirs: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts; Spomenik XXIV for 1894).

It is worth remembering that already in 1996, in Buenos Aires, Michel Camdessus, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, officially announced that a "silent revolution" was taking place, and that "as regards the role of the state, it is now nearly universally accepted that the most effective economic strategies are private sector-led and outward-oriented"[80], and that "governments must demonstrate that they have no tolerance for corruption". Yet, it seems that the "international community" in the end, after its post-Kosovo experience, decided that it is much easier and more profitable to avoid the (semi-)state and its many layers of corrupt officials all together, and to let the West's private sector[81] (backed up by NATO) deal directly with the warlords[82] in the resources rich territories, whose sovereignty was altered, allowing certain allies in[83], and securely eliminating Russian and Chinese competition[84].

Although the 1989 informal Washington Consensus by the West's economic thinkers has been replaced by the 2010 G20 formally endorsed Seoul Consensus for "shared growth"[85], it seems that the "international community" has decided to undermine the Consensus' main goal of greater state intervention in economy and finances by simply eliminating the state from the equation and continuing with the old mantra of "stabilize, privatize, and liberalize"[86] – having already initiated that policy in Kosovo, and persisted with it in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya, attempting to press on with it in Syria today.

For the end, another reminder: The New York Observer warned, in 2007, "The smart money these days is in catastrophe: Hurricanes, tsunamis, political upheavals and wars have become the new profit points in the age of 'disaster capitalism,' which sees cataclysms 'as exciting market opportunities.'"[87]

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[80] Argentina and the Challenge of Globalization; Address by Mr. Michel Camdessus, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund at the Academy of Economic Science; Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 27, 1996
http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/mds/1996/mds9611.htm (accessed: Sept-16-2013)

[81] Libyan rebels sell first oil shipment; Boost for revolutionary leaders' credibility and finances as 1m barrels – £77m worth – sold to Swiss trading company; The Guardian; April 5, 2011
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/05/libya-rebels-sell-first-oil

[82] Libyan rebel group sells first oil to U.S. - The sale was made possible following an April announcement by the Office of Foreign Assets Control at the Treasury Department that established a new licensing policy with Libya; Crawford, Jamie; CNN National Security Producer; June 9, 2011
http://www.cnn.com/2011/US/06/08/libya.rebels.oil/index.html

[83] Qatar recognizes Libyan rebels after oil deal - Qatar is first Arab nation to recognize Benghazi-based council after rebels announce oil marketing deal with Gulf state; Al Jazeera; March 28, 2011
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/03/201132814450241767.html

[84] Europe leads Libyan oil race as rebels warn Russia and China - Italian oil company Eni led the charge back into Libya on Monday as rebels swept into capital Tripoli, hailing the end of Muammar Gaddafi's rule and warning Russian and Chinese firms of contract revisions; Reuters; August 22, 2011
http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/3/12/19470/Business/Economy/Europe-leads-Libyan-oil-race-as-rebels-warn-Russia.aspx

[85] The G20 Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth; April 7, 2012
http://ausaid.gov.au/HotTopics/Pages/Display.aspx?QID=230

[86] Where the "stabilize" part means destabilization of local sovereignty and stabilization of the "international community's" control—as in Kosovo's Constitution Articles 147 and 153.

[87] Amidon, Stephen; Milton Friedman's Afterlife; New York Observer; September 18, 2007
http://www.naomiklein.org/shock-doctrine/reviews/milton-friedmans-afterlife

POLITICAL REFLECTION AND FORMATION OF A NEW INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

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Dealing with complex economic, social and political challenges of our time requires the most competent people. The process of identifying political parties with their top leaders is not a phenomenon inherent in our political situation, but a widely accepted concept of concentration of power and strengthening the leadership influence in all societies. The overall objective of the paper is to point to the importance of implementation of reform commitments in terms of sustainable development of the Republic of Serbia based on practical and theoretical experiences, as well as a critical examination of the institutional behaviour of the current political elite in shaping the institutional environment, implementing reform commitments and eliminating political dichotomy in passive behaviour of one part of the institutional decision-makers in accordance with the efforts and activities of the current Prime Minister to protect national and strategic interests of the Republic of Serbia. Thus, some of the key factors for success of reforms will be analysed in this paper, as well as the type of correlation of reflection of political decisions with sustainable economic development and equitable social distribution.

Key words: *new institutional environment, democratic nihilism, structural authoritarianism, current political environment*

JEL Classification: P21 P27

Introduction

We study history in order to learn "how" to survive, "what" to do to have a better tomorrow and finally, to believe or doubt the capability of "friends" from 11 Nemanjina Street. Previous behaviour of political decision-makers and their competences expressed through the exercise of delegated responsibilities in the dominant institutions of the system has only confirmed the reason our country stands at the bottom of the European economic ladder. Another proof is that politicians have often made wrong choices.

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The higher the skills, professional experience and responsibility in carrying out entrusted functions, the more likely it is that one will establish a harmonious and mutually positive relationship between political elite and the society on a long term basis.

Control of system institutions is a key existential foothold of all authorities in modern societies, and only within and through the influence on the system institutions can the political power be constant and strong (Sarajlic, 2009: 29).

Democratic Nihilism

Experience has shown that it is easy to carry out political changes, but very difficult to carry out economic and social reforms, where the main problem is not the severity of the reforms, but their equity and social solidarity. When "October the 5th" is analysed through activities of distribution of income, it is revealed to have been a giant instrument of redistribution (Arandarenko, 2012), which was the high price paid by the vast majority of citizens of the Republic of Serbia.

After the October changes on the political scene entered a new political constellation, as a set of incomparable elements (a mixture of unscrupulous leaders of "bus" parties, short-sighted obsessives and corrupt complexes), which underestimating everything "old" started building an anarchic institutional environment where everything was possible and permitted for the chosen ones. Quite contrary to the explicated, the institutional behaviour very quickly produced disastrous economic and social effects of promises they had made. Instead of building a political existence in favour of the interests of society, it put the assigned mandate in function of its own interests, with "instinctive" sense that the national wealth, regardless of human, national or social character, was its personal property. In such an environment, the manipulation of the masses and their ultimate humiliation was a key instrument which the democratic government used to build the political and material existence. Getting rich irrationally and enormously, without moral discipline clearly indicates that publicly proclaimed principles of acting and living within the framework of genuine social values were completely eliminated in the practice. In such exploitative and extremely degrading treatment, criminalization of politics, or direct collusion of politics with crime affected almost all segments of society. Slogans, promises, domination of politics over the economy, reproduction of crisis, apologetics and palliative reforms were taken from the "old" times (Draskovic V., Draskovic M.:2012).

Illusory "economic and social polarization" that concentrated the power to dispose of the whole social capital and all available resources of the Republic of Serbia within the privileged circle of individuals, is yet incompatible with the "immortal" remaining in power. Nothing is more dangerous for a country than to demolish an entire floor where honour, reason and virtue live, or to leave just two extremes: those who barely make ends meet and those who have "unusual" wealth (Robert, 1938: 213). That was confirmed in 2012 election.

A lot of bad things have been said about democratic government, not for revenge of former oppositionists but because of the devastating economic and social outcomes. It is therefore unclear why the current government is still losing "precious time" proving who is

to blame for the disastrous situation that was left as a legacy, unless it is its way of hiding its own failures. After all, nationally responsible and politically coherent parties seek their social justification in decadence of economic and social policies they lead, as an open and public debate, with alternate solutions (regardless of who proposed them) and acceptance of social most suitable solutions.

A perennial crisis in building the new system of the Republic of Serbia by the previous establishment clearly indicates that not only the occasional external causes were the issue, but basically deep socio-economic contradictions caused by the neoliberal macroeconomic policy. The transformation of the state and social property did not allow a more rational and efficient use of resources, but it deprived society of that property. And when the system is not keeping pace with strategic national interests in its development, the ruling establishment is increasingly faced with the issue of social tolerance and civic trust. Probably because the "despotism of the ruling minority" is reflected in the fact that this "intelligent and therefore privileged minority" rules "as if it understands the real interests of the people better than they do themselves" and that "it does not represent the people any more but itself and its pretensions to govern the people" (Bahro, 1977: 34).

Political and Economic Mantra

In the distant 60-ies economists have concluded that it was impossible to identify the economic and political as two separate worlds. In the domain of the system of executive institutions the mutual relationship was even more obvious, with "consciously" established national agency with selected personnel who were supposed to monitor economic trends publicly displayed as "an extension of government competence" and not "as the rise of" economic and entrepreneurial sponsors to the level of political eminence.

At the beginning of "Milosevic's" reign, "clairvoyant" directors of state and socially-owned enterprises and entrepreneurs with financial and other support joined his political leadership and ideology of that time. Those who hesitated used their chance for survival in the second round by joining the party of the president's wife. After the fall of their regime, they continued further domination mainly owing to professional, moral and intellectual degradation of so-called democratic politicians and bringing the system institutions and institutional power and influence under the level they deserve.

Collusion of institutionally privileged tycoons with political authorities that had lasted for decades could not be terminated overnight. It is easy to arrest "temporarily" and let notorious businessmen out on bail or with an electronic tag, but it is much harder to build independent and efficient judicial institutions of the system and make their representatives incorruptible.

At present, authoritative element of the Prime Minister dominates institutionally in two ways: as a personal element which is engaged in the resolution of all issues, even those that are not within the scope of the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister, as well as a party element that creates its ideology. On the other hand, according to the simple Marxist point of view, a big businessman is actually the real holder of power and influence.

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Structural Authoritarianism

The current Serbian Prime Minister is not an "aristocratic" product, based on the nobility of hereditary origin. He does not have his compact bases in a small circle of famous "ruling" families, whose members would be able, potentially and actually, to take up positions of the highest social circles which coincide with each other and to provide him with "unconditional" support.

The dominant influence of the Prime Minister is more than obvious on the current political scene.

Strengthening the authoritative role of individuals is the result of forcing the disintegration process in the former state that lasted for decades, along with the international support. In such circumstances, when the composition of the state leadership adapted to republican interests, the national leader institute came to the fore. The dazzling leader's success at the republic level was mostly influenced by a formal institutionalism through "blockade" of functioning of the legitimate institutions of the system, with the personnel mechanism completely subordinate to the interests of the republic. Such an institutional vacuum leads to affirmation and creates leaders who actually have never had a mediocre political capacity, and much less statesmanship. That way, previously completely unknown people became even Heads of State, which on the other hand was no accident.

There is no doubt that the current Prime Minister attracts wide national and international attention, more thanks to the personal authority than to restrictive reform measures that find less understanding in most European countries. Presented, but not yet realized, economic and social results are so far still at the stage of wishful thinking; regardless of the conviction of the Prime Minister that these results will soon manifest themselves in the best light possible. On the other hand, the system is not just comprised of the Prime Minister and his team, but also of the "executive" owners of the private capital and entrepreneurs who have accumulated their wealth thanks to the previous institutional support. Accordingly, the current environment implies artificial stability or instable collusion of political and economic elements.

There is a kind of mutual attraction between people who have subordinated their individual abilities, creativity and knowledge to social or national interests. Although these people are few, it is essential that they exist, operate, offer a real example and a choice of socially equitable solutions and finally, invite all others to join them on this path. Current Prime Minister has chosen this path, and what about most of the others?

Multi-year decline in gross domestic product affected the exceptionally difficult economic and social situation in the country. High unemployment rate, structural imbalance of the economy, internal and external deficit, and the expected but unrealized foreign investments, protests and more potential "surprises" present challenges that will be "more" a job for the Prime Minister and "less" for the government to deal with intensively in the coming period.

The Current Political Environment

Every political power, regardless of its stated objectives, performs the entrusted function through the institute of "strong" state interventionism. The cleaned coast of the Sava is not a subject of international public tender, but of the predetermined purpose and Arab partners that agreed with it in advance. But that was also the case with FIAT and many other companies, with the support of SIEPA. The only "honest" difference between the former and current endeavours is in adopting Lex specialis, for public verification of the already agreed project.

Formation and operation of the current government exist in a formal institutional form that is essentially subordinate to the limited impact of the "independent politicians" and the growing influence of "executive politicians" in the function of protecting its political leader from all those who disagree with what he says or "believes". Party and any other form of poltroonery seems more lucrative business than respecting professional expertise, skills, personal existence, moral values and courage to tell the truth to a leader and suggest the correct solutions.

Undisputedly, the ruling elite is made of a small number of prominent people who work in the fields of politics, economy, military, police and other authorities, but that part is practically negligible. The reason is simple: most duties of responsibility are entrusted to incompetent and uneducated persons to blindly advocate and support the party and leadership viewpoints, often not even realizing their basic meaning, regardless of their positive or negative content. The opposite behaviour would mean the end of their national political career. Therefore, the civil servants, who are loyal to the system and strategic national interests, are the biggest social and individual losers of the "institutional vacuum" governed by party authorities and wealthy tycoons, mostly thanks to the identification of their common interests.

The similarity of the members of the political elite in Western countries is reflected in the fact that most of them have gained the same or similar degree in education. Those are generally people with a university degree from Harvard, Princeton, Yale and other prestigious universities. In our conditions, among those who make the most important decisions, we find people who were not elected or appointed for those positions according to professional competence and relevant experience.

Not only institutional mechanisms that gave the power to the members of the ruling elite and the degree in education they had and where they were educated are important for their psychological, moral, value, and social affinities. The key factor of a "correct" choice is the criteria used for selecting, rewarding and promoting them. If these elements are respected in all functions and at all levels (with no exceptions), the elected officials become similar to each other. It is a basic precondition to create a "winning team" and remain in power. Slowly, shyly and timidly, nevertheless, the tendencies which lead to the establishment through the necessary objective criteria are observed and expressed.

Building modern economic and social environment can be affirmed only through the existence and functioning of developed and independent institutions of the system through which the projected social tasks and detected problems will be successfully solved. Similarly, the creation of team work requires making and adopting the most

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important decisions to be based on professional knowledge and experience. After all, if you take into account everything that man could be, solutions that he offers as an individual cannot and must not be "taken at face value". There must be a mechanism that checks the share of each participant in the creation and adoption of decisions and thus determines his purpose and reliability. Only then is the final decision made (Galbraith, 1973: 245).

In this situation, political "geniuses" and "know-alls" become unnecessary, and performances resulting from this (through team work and professional decision-making) become socially more useful. Coordination and approval of relevant people consist only of the fact that professional and competent people should be positioned and interconnected (as a team) in a way that will give the best results.

The institutional environment for promoting the development of entrepreneurship and private companies is still not institutionally rounded. There is almost no economic or other branch that guarantees the payment of goods or developed institute of institutionally guaranteed collection of receivables. The relevant committees and public enterprises are still under the influence of political patronage and political recruitment. The salary system is still differentiated, even in the public, or the budget sector.

One of the key areas of significance for driving economic growth and development are structural and institutional reforms with an aim to improve public and private sectors in order to contribute to the achievement of equitable and sustainable development according to their complementary advantages. New theories of development suggest that economic growth depends on political factors and their capacity to define common goals. Consequently, given the political dimension of state capacity, it is necessary to bear in mind the institutional approach to development, i.e. political dimensions of institutions that support effective social and economic development and, therefore, need and interest of the society to develop capacities to build better institutions. In order to make a developing state efficient as well, it is necessary to take greater responsibility, to create greater autonomy in relation to the private elite and to construct more complex and more demanding forms of action. Accordingly, the developed institutional structure, and the efficient functioning of institutions represent one of the basic factors of economic growth and development. Bilateral interaction sets up between institutional quality and economic growth. On the one hand, effective institutions have a positive impact on economic growth by reducing the risk of uncertainty, reduce information asymmetry (which results in a reduction of transaction costs) and increase macroeconomic stability. On the other hand, weak economic growth usually stimulates the rent seeking compared to the national ruling elite (corruption, direct expropriation of investments, etc.), and consequently leads to institutional traps, as well as to the rise of cost of institutional transformation (Lekovic, 2013: 42).

Modern concept of economic development implies that reform and other necessary changes cannot be achieved by creating political objectives, issuing political directives and political marketing. Without building modern institutional infrastructure, it is impossible to realize more productive and dynamic economic growth and development. If there is a clear vision of strategic and other national interests and goals, the state is obliged to build institutions of the system that will enable achievement thereof. In addition to encouraging creativity, motivation, initiative, entrepreneurship, curiosity, efficient

corporate management and healthy competition, they prevent the institutionalization of privileges and processual forms of domination and totalitarianism, as they represent the direct opposite of unlimited political power (Drašković, 2003: 147). Besides, people want the solution to their existential problems, not political daily aspirins and Band-Aids in the form of "institutional cosmetics".

Today, the Most Pressing Issue: Salaries and Pensions

Politicians assure us that the only way out of the economic and social crisis is the maximum belt-tightening, while requesting from the rich to sympathize and share the fate of the rest of the people. We hoped that this concerning "the rich" will come true, but also feared learned by experience, that "inhabitants of the coastal region have long known that it is not true that a rising tide lifts all boats and that, when accompanied by storm, it throws only the weaker boats to shore" (Stiglitc, 2004: 91).

We have adopted a restrictive wage and pension policy as a necessary condition for stabilization of the economy and creation of new jobs. But this does not in any case mean that we have accepted a partial and discriminatory institutional inconsistency in restricting salaries and pensions of state or public sector. Why are the National Bank of Serbia, National Mortgage Insurance Corporation, many public companies and other state institutions so "meritorious" for the performance of government and public affairs that wages of their employees are several times above the average of the employees of state authorities? After all, if they are so professional and competent personnel and deserve multiple higher earnings than other civil servants, it is "extremely unclear" why they were not assigned to the Prime Minister and the Government in order to provide expert support and thus fully contribute to the realization and implementation of the initiated reforms. It is indeed high time to finish with anti-institutional farce and disgrace if there really is a will to introduce a "payment order" in the country.

Finally, the restrictions have never been popular because nobody likes to be told that he/she must lose a part of salary or pension. If it is done partially, it can cause just the opposite effect from the expected one.

Conclusion

There is no successful government that functions without defined a strategic orientation and a clear vision of long-term development, i.e. without expressed focuses, priorities and gradualism in the execution of institutional tasks, achievement of results, and achievement of set objectives for fulfilment (justification) of entrusted social mission. Whether further development will be faster or slower depends mostly on the creativity, skills and wisdom of decision-makers, as well as their attitude towards the strategic national priorities through appropriate institutional support for the sustainable growth and development of the Republic of Serbia.

Modern, flexible and efficient economic institutions are a basic condition for the development of economic freedom, entrepreneurship, democracy and market economic activity, stable economic relations and sustainable economic development. Their

stability, development and independent personnel mechanism depend on the current Prime Minister and the Government. Besides, the Prime Minister contributed most to prosecution of untouchables. But even his demonstrated courage, unlike of many current officials, is not sufficient to complete what has been initiated without functioning of independent and effective institutions of the system.

Prime Minister's commitment to modern and developed Serbia and day and night efforts to overcome the economic and social crisis in the shortest period possible are on the verge of human endurance. Does that indicate something about the team that he has chosen?

The reforms are not only an institutional embodiment of the new system and the new code of conduct as a roadmap to a better economic and social future and the limits within which may and can be moved. In addition to the "new roadmap", "inherited" dangers and prejudices will continue to exist. In order to really change the system as a whole, first of all, it is necessary to change the values on which it is based and change the awareness of the system as a whole. The hardest and certainly most important thing is to change the social mentality and institutional behaviour of political authorities.

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THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE RESEARCH TO THE CAPACITY OF THE SECURITY SYSTEM FROM THE SYMBOLIC APPROACHES

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*T*he *Symbolic Approach to Security System Reform* (SSR Symbolic Policy Capacity Building) is a set of ideas and concepts that sends a clear message to the environment that Serbia has broken with authoritarian regimes and their corresponding security systems of the past. As an illustration of the epochal meaning of this approach, the laborious and, based on the latest events, largely incomplete reform of the security services in Pakistan can be used. One of the tasks of social science is making a global assessment on the situation of Human Security. The United Nations has to address it, but our nation needs a serious reconsideration of *Common Values* (the general security values to be protected) and *Public Interest* (so – called policy of persecution). Why? Because the interest of the citizens is generally neglected by the bureaucracy by prioritizing the interests of various collectives from the state itself to the interest groups, political parties across the country (that same bureaucracy). Concept of the Economic Security is weak (although the most important, including freedom of the market, environment protection, protection of consumers etc.) because we have no long-term Development Strategy, which would be the basis of good Security Culture. If we consistently consider a system and security as such, we note that something is missing in the list of protected property, as priorities, the lack of protection of certain human rights in the *corpus iuris* of Human Rights (specifically the right to equal access of citizens to private property and private enterprise). But if you believe in such a generally accepted definition of protected resources, and just think of the national economy and finance, from this we can conclude that certain political parties, when they were in power, made decisions that were detrimental to national security with impunity.

Key words: *Symbolic Approach to Reforms, Institutional Approach, Balancing Democracy, Security State, Democratic State*

Symbolic Approaches

The Symbolic Approach to System Security Reform (SSR) is a collection of ideas and concepts which sends a clear message to the environment that Serbia has broken with authoritarian regimes and their corresponding security systems of the past.[1] For an illustration of how epochal this approach can be, we can use as an example based on recent events, a very hard and largely unfinished reform of the security services in Pakistan. It is harder and more painful, but also historically important process of balancing democracy in Turkey.

At our national level, a bit of research and scientific projects have not contributed enough to all of us, as an active civic public, to reach a better idea of the causes of our own insecurity and achieve greater impact on the public officials (military/police sector of the society) so more is done to reduce apathy and suffering of citizens in relation to a serious threat to the constitutional order and security of the state. But above all, one must know the answer: who is "we"? *People who think they are part of a nation should know who they are* (!) As "we", we should recognize what is common and what unites us, because it is as important as what each of us needs to know who I am, recognizing "I" as a citizen of their city and their country. The general problem of the level of *Security Culture*[2] in societies in transition from the authoritarian past to a stable democracy is that

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[1] Petar Zeman, "The Transformation of the Intelligence Services," Transformation - Chez Experience, Hugo Printing Company, Prague, 2006, p.115, "The primary task for newly emerging free societies immediately after the defeat or collapse of authoritarian or totalitarian power is to destroy the existing secret police services – it is a task that plays a major role in determining the success of transformation. There are at least two reasons for this. By dissolving their authority, an open society ensures the situation does not turn around and return to the old order, confirming, in a highly symbolic and visible way, its divorce with it before its own public and the world in general. However, in an open society a number of threats that had up to then been hidden beneath the blanket of oppression emerge with an inflationary tendency, the most visible of which is the appearance of new forms of serious crime. The new political elite are faced with the task of building new intelligence and security services (for simplification, I shall use the term *secret police* from here on) or transform the remains of the old ones almost immediately after the fall of a totalitarian regime..."

[2] Glossary of Security Culture, Centre for Civil-Military Relations, Belgrade 2009, Stajić, Ljubomir S. Mijalković, Sasha and Stanarević, Svetlana. Youth's security culture: how to live safely, Belgrade, 2006: Draganić, Johnston, Alastair I. "Thinking about Strategic Culture," International Security, Vol. 1 9, Nº4, (1995) Katzenstein, J. Peter Culture of National Security, New York: Columbia University Press, in 1996.

http://www.scribd.com/doc/19945269/pojmovnikbezbednosnekulture. "Security Culture has its own internal and external events. Interior relating to the consideration of security and external security relating to the behavior and the attitude and approach to security, by which is primarily related to the willingness and ability to, any material of any spiritual answers to the challenges and threats. How culture shapes the National Security, is best seen through the behavior of states in international relation, and accordingly, the exercise of such a position from which can significantly affect other countries in the international arena. When viewed / analyzed the sphere of action of Security Culture recognized then, three areas / fields where she often finds use in international relations and to the related fields of political, strategic and organizational culture. In studies of international security is often used precisely the concept of Strategic Culture. According to Jan Alastair Johnston, it can be defined as "an integrated system of symbols, establishing long-term strategic preferences by formulating concepts of the role and efficacy of military force in international relations at showing that the strategic, as well as factual preferences that they look unique realistic and effective ." And Security and Strategic Culture are part of the Political Culture of a political community. Since the time of creation of modern Nation-States, it became clear that culture can be shaped structures and deliberate policy, but it can also be a tool by which people can shape their opinions, prejudices, emotions, behaviors and policy preferences. Unlike

most people have a vague feeling of who they are as citizens and as members of a nation, or a minority group, where they were and where they were headed. The Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Church, all of what is considered the social elite, the Government and non-governmental organizations , the powerful media that have risen to the highest authority in the community (with the TV studios of which Hollywood would be envious), do not give the correct answer to the citizens of Serbia.

How wouldn't it be, when a large number of citizens of the Republic of Serbia do not recognize themselves in the vision of the nation and globalization provided by TV series "My Cousin from the Country" with the ambitious slogan: The major role is played by - Serbia! Therefore, the main security problem is that many citizens do not participate in public political life or resist accepting different standards and in that way similarly proclaimed social values, as they generally do not recognize themselves as subjects of national security.

Profiling of the National Legislative Framework and National Political Framework in this area is based on the sense of individual and general uncertainties within the natural state of insecurity and unpredictability. One of the tasks of the social sciences is to make a global assessment of the state of Human Security. The United Nations has addressed the theme, but on our national level we need *serious review of the common values* (the General Security Object of Protection to be built) *and interest* (so-called the General Policy of Persecution to meet the people's needs in this area). Why? Because the interests of citizens is typically neglected by the bureaucracy in the favour of the various collectives, ranging from interest groups across the political parties to the State itself (i.e., to that very same bureaucracy).

Previous studies have led to the development of many new Security Concepts, which sought to explain the new Security Reality, and one of the new key notions for understanding our Real Security and, in a way, the global awareness, is the notion of Human Security. Human Development Report of the UNDP in 1994 explains the concept of Human Security as "the universal human focused concern for human life and dignity."[3] It defines seven Categories of Human Security: Economic Security, Food Security, Health Security, Environmental Security, Personal Security, Political Security and Community Safety.

Essentially, the Capacity of the Security System, or an extent of protection provided by the system, does not refer to it as our national profile in the field of building security system enough civilian controlled and effective enough to protect society and derive some additional capacity to the global security, but refer to *whether the national profile is*

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the political, strategic and organizational culture, Safety Culture should allow to determine the behavior of some security in the system as a whole, its individual parts within a particular group (subculture), as well as the security key point's initiatives and decision-making at the level of state or any other entity. Culture and Code of Conduct of security are changing, evolving and becoming more complex in accordance with the changed role of the state and the change of the security area / environment inside or outside the state territory / territories."; Stajić, Ljubomir S., Mijalković, Sasha and Stanarević, Svetlana. Youth's security culture: how to live safely, Belgrade: Draganić, 2006th Johnston, All Star "Thinking about Strategic Culture," International Security, Vol. 1 9, Nº4 (1995); Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. Culture of National Security, New York: Columbia University Press, in 1996;

[3] UN Development Programme (UNDP). *UN Human Development Report*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 3;

narrower than desired profile of Human Security by the standards offered by international organizations such as DCAF[4] (and their Code of Ethics Politico-Military Aspects of Security[5]) and the RAND Corporation and their leading ideologue[6] (by the Report prepared for the Advisory Team for Security Sector Reform in Great Britain[7]), in order not to repeat the case of the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of National Security System[8] such as in the case of NATO's intervention in the former Yugoslavia[9]. There is no security system that is self – sufficient and that evens the global one, nor can it be copied. Security Systems that are assessed as these mentioned have been insufficient measured by some standards and should be *established as autonomous in relation to the other* precisely because of their capacity expansion, in the sense that in order to avoid the suffering outside intervention caused by the incompatibility, or if it ever comes to the international intelligence community being authorized to influence the appropriate way in terms of reforms. Otherwise there is a danger of the international instruments of control over the UN and their standards to be *administered inappropriately* by saying: "If all of you have a hammer, then every problem begins to resemble a nail."[10] We can show this logic in a simple empiric research:

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[4] Dimitrijević, Vojin. Social and Cultural Prerequisites for Promotion and Implementation of the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (Working Paper Series №67), Geneva: Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2002.

[5] Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Occasional Paper - №.11, Implementation of democratic control of armed forces In the OSCE Region: Lessons Learned from the OSCE, Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, Alexandre Lambert, Geneva, July 2006.

[6] Fukuyama, Francis, The End of History and the Last Man, CID, Podgorica, 1999, claims that the foundation of a new world order "universalization of liberal democracy as the final form of human government," Author's comment: it does not automatically mean that the leading democracy of the Western Countries but "Leading Democracies" around the world with all regional challenges and contradictions (EU, Brazil, India, the U.S., Australia, South Africa, etc.).

[7] Greg Hannah, Kevin A. O'Brien, Andrew Rathmell, Intelligence and Security Legislation for Security Sector Reform, RAND Corporation, Report was prepared for the UK's Security Sector Development Advisory Team, *www.rand.org*

[8] Matić, Goran, "The Angels of Mercy," MEDIAGRAF, Belgrade, 2005 , p. 344, Author's note: on this statement Matić does not agree;

[9] Annan, Koffi: "Two Concepts of Sovereignty." *The Economist,* September 18th 1999.
www.un.org/Overview/SG/kaecon.htm> (01/19/2000), In his speech in 1999 and again in his speech in 2001 on the occasion of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr. Annan supported the idea that the "General Interest of Humanity" has to be in front of the sovereignty of the states. The Secretary-General has argued that the UN armed intervention in support of this General Interest was the only occasion in which the use of force can be justified. Souverenity of states, in the most basic sense, redefines the forces of globalization and international co-operation ... (until) the sovereignty of individuals...increased by revived awareness of the right of every individual to control his own destiny... Massive and systematic violations of human rights, wherever they are going on, cannot be tolerated."

[10] Milosavljević, Zoran T. The role of the global political community in the preservation of world peace," University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Science, Department of Political Violence and State, Master thesis, Belgrade, 2009. "Often, paradoxically or not, the steps toward the resolution of the dilemma of Human Security occur only after the use of force, mostly military forces of National Security. But such an outcome should not prove to be as true for some of the problems of Human Security in the future (which are created today). Thus, there is a real need for alternative perspectives allow engross one's opinion. They point out that Military Security, especially American analysts and policy makers at the expense of other forms of security, can bring a fundamental paradox of self-sufficiency: When someone using more effort to avoid a military intervention, it is more compelled to intervene militarily due to the inability to recognize the conflicting aspects of security and to

Personal Safety of the citizens in Serbia is not high due to the increasing extremism, which is defined as an extension of man (society) beyond the reach of his limbs (borders) and related conditions such as: blaming someone else, a sense of inferiority, cruelty toward subordinates and servility to the powerful, xenophobia, militant exhibitionism, especially militant extremism "corresponded to times of crisis and intensified to the point of being unbearable." Conclusion is based on the results of a criminal prosecution for offenses involving violence and simple recital of the facts of Hate Speech and Hate Crime, intolerance that breeds conflict from which it follows that at first glance we can see and conclude that the threat to personal safety is much higher than the level in the stable democracies (EU). This is because many citizens do not earn for a decent living, look for work but cannot find it, and many of those having jobs are not able to live off of their work.

Hence, the Security Culture is reduced to simply navigate and rely on "everyone and everything" except the institutions.[11] From the ground, through the institutional to the outside space, (lack of) Security Culture manifests itself in the way that is politically assessed by influential international circles as *expansionism*,[12] fuelled by certain "government centres expansionism,"[13] as a synonym for the tendency to expand on someone else's premises as they may be bounded and as it could be considered a potential threat to world peace, as well as a *potential reason for foreign intervention*. In this way, our society and the country begin to look like the "nail" mentioned above, by coming under the international criticism of the political attitudes of the Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Government and the National Assembly.

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deal with them in a preventative manner. Old phrase that describes the trap is also a handy reminder: "If you all have a hammer, then every problem begins to resemble a nail." Certainly, as the intervention in Somalia, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq illustrate, the traditional use of Military Security may not be the best one, and not only one strategic instrument that is applicable."

[11] Maya Bjeloš, "What are the citizens thinking of their own security and the security of Serbia?" BCSP (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy), the Research in Cooperation with CeSID in April and May 2010. They conducted a public opinion survey on the perceptions of citizens on personal, collective and national security. Answering to the question of who is responsible for their personal safety, nearly three-quarters of women (66%) and men (65%) do not believe that the state authorities contributed to them to feel safe, but a sense of security as an attribute to their lifestyle, good neighborhood, the environment in which they live or the ability to self-protection. However, answering on the specific question on which institution contributes most to their sense of security, slightly more women (30%) than men (28%) said that this is so because the Police, while 5% of men as at the second place of the importance for their personal security selected by the Military, and only 3% of women.

[12] Dragan Simeunović, , Definition of extremism from the perspective of political theory, Serbian Political Thought, Vol. XVI Vol 24, Nº2/2009, p.15; From the abstract: "... The author analyzes a multidisciplinary point of the fundamental characteristics of political extremism, its causes and consequences for the socio-political system. While it is tolerable only as long as marginal in a society, extremism typically corresponded to times of crisis and intensified to the point of being unbearable and unaccepted. Extremism is expressed as a militant exhibitionism for fear of impersonality and ultimately the cancellation of personal identity."

[13] Miroljub Jevtić, S. Orthodoxy and the Serbian National Identity, Serbian Political Thought, 1998, Vol. 5, Nº 1-4, p. 63-78," Unlike other forms of identification, religious identification has always been a powerful and indivisible. That is why, under the influence of pro-elite churches and expansive government centers in Yugoslavia was particularly difficult inter-cultural rapprochement. Underestimation of religious differences in the formation of the South Slavic Communities and their effect on the slow development of other values and cultural foundations of South Slavic Unity over time has become an important cause of difficulty, crisis and the collapse of two of the Yugoslav states, which in any case deserves more attention in contemporary political studies."

However, most importantly, the Economic Security (Free Market) is low, because we have no Long-Term Development Strategy, as the foundation of the good Security Culture. What's more, the concept of National (State) Security refers to goods/values that are protected or are under way of becoming such, so the overall protective facility and special protected buildings already obsolete offenses against the security and the constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia in the Criminal Code, and threats that threaten these resources, such as: undermining or weakening of the national economic and financial power. But the real object of protection are natural resources, rather than a political regime, especially in the regime where the market is fraught with monopoly and oppression, which creates a breeding ground for corruption and money laundering, smuggling, and in which the natural resources are exploited without control and social character of the whole national production is not adequately used by society, but the total Gross National Production (GNP) is reduced to oligarchy. Oligarchy creates tycoons - inappropriately wealthy individuals who act uncontrollably and unsafely for the whole of society from the standpoint of the public interest ahead of the specified safety field because they protect their narrow economic interests and criminal activities (e.g. smuggling).

If you consistently consider such a Security System, we see that in the list of protected goods/values, the protection of certain human rights from the *corpus iuris* of human rights is lacking as a priority (specifically the right to equal access of citizens to private property and private enterprise, not just tycoons). The legislation lacks an anthropocentric kind of norms with environmental constraints (rather than ethnocentric norms with utilitarian extensions to allow tycoons uncontrolled extraction of resources such as sand from rivers, drilling machines for dispensing oil, mineral resources, hunting wild birds, etc.). In our academic circles, there is no supporter of the theory and practice that should shape the Penal Code in such a way that these norms are adorned by an important chapter of the Code, such as specific crimes against the constitutional order, designed in an anthropocentric manner, not state-centric as present, in order to reach a binding contact of our legislative framework with framework of the imaginary world the concept of human security. But if you believe in such a generally accepted definition of protected resources, and just think of the national economy and finance, from this we can conclude that certain political parties, when they were in power, made decisions that were detrimental to national security with *impunity*. But who is the one that shall forthwith send a message to the Government? The general feeling of the laity is that the public perception of safety is such that it appears that there was no time to stand trial for people who made bad decisions.

Generally, only equal, free, and democratic participation in political and economic life of citizens in the country or community can build national security and contribute to the construction by establishing an integrated security. Only complete Guarantees of Human Rights, participatory governance, the rule of law, sustainable development and equal access to resources can provide the human and national security to contribute to democratic decision-making and international cooperation."[14]

It is the ruling feeling of inadequacy that has coincided and conducted social change in countries in transition, the main empirical evidence of *lack of capacity of the Security System*. When we analyse the perception of citizens about what they perceive as the

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[14] Radoslav Gaćinović, "Democracy and Security in the Nation-State", Serbian Political Thought, 2010, № 1, p. 151-168.

main factors endangering National Security, we see that the "voice of the people" (*vox populi*) indicates that security services are far from the priority, for the citizens put in the first place of danger the so-called " White Plague" (low birth rate) as the main source of existential fear of the population, of course, far ahead of "endangered territorial integrity" which suggests that the media and politicians are far from what citiznes consider to be the most important. In doing so, the female correspondents showed their *atavistic security features* (intuition), and it is to be sensitive to the risk of loss of people of the matter (substance)[15], the concept of security just applies to humans, so the personal substance of the state, and not to things belonging to the state.

This resembles the fable of the ″Emperor's New Clothes,″ we are waiting for an innocent boy to announce that "the emperor is naked,"[16] thus, to be in the area of constitutionally guaranteed rights of the people and the security of the state, to demystify the sort of simple distinction between light and darkness, that is, to realize that the democratic transition is not reduced only to giving people just the right to vote as a kind of punishment for the Government for bad conduct of the people and the state, but that it comes down to and summarizes a special kind of *criminal responsibility* – Historical Responsibility. We have publicly expressed the view that on 5 October 2000 our country has missed a historic opportunity to create a different and a better world. There are courts, but, for now, they are for regular proceedings, because for such a trial they are unprepared, but there are no Courts of History. It is high time to better examine a specific type of judgment based on historical responsibility. The governments in the transition bear a huge load of historical responsibility that has been transferred due to errors committed on behalf of all governments and authorities in the past. So if there is a historical responsibility, and if this responsibility is easiest understood as a simple *sum of the results of accumulated political mistakes* from the past, then the security of the entire system must be discussed from the point of civilian control from the point of view of the insufficiency and inefficiency – ineffectiveness. There have been many examples in history when governments or rulers apparently had no proper assessment of the degree of vulnerability of the people and the state, or, otherwise, they simply would not have made some wrong decisions, or, if they were aware of the facts, and still made that decision, then why had they not been notified/alarmed by a proper security system? Due to the time passed since the events by which the actors were influenced, among other things, the security services that started avoiding complying with the rules of profession, it is necessary to correct our historical memory.

Judgment of History, therefore, requires the existence of a Historical (State) Memory. But in the Balkans of course, unevenly intertwined and complemented are both our and the EU standards of civilized governing and civilized relation to the past. But, not only in the Balkans, there is present tension "between transnational and EU anti-totalitarian memory of the Holocaust as a symbol on one side and the national memory of the

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[15] May Bjeloš, "What do Serbian citizens think about their own safety Serbia?" BCSP (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy), in cooperation with CESID, when asked what the main threat to the security of the nation they belong to men and women gave the following answers: "white plague" (insufficient national birth rate) – men 37.2%, women 35.6%," secession of Kosovo and Metohija " – men 19.6%, women 14.2%, "strengthening nationalism and ethnic tension" – men 11.9%, women 12 8%, "migration" – men 9.8%, women 10.3%.

[16] Svetislav Basara, 30/09/2009, "Danas" daily, "Basara - the Famous "Emperor's old clothes."

victims, centred around individual communities, on the other hand[17]. Between the various countries in the region and on continents it leads to a kind of "war of memories." Conflicted histories are retroactively the source of conflict. Conflicts of this kind undermine the security of the EU, which has already achieved political unity and seeks to achieve resolution on non-conflict relationship in the past.

The process of reforms of the security services were symbolically based just on the fact that we ended with the authoritarian past. Changes in the field of Civil – Military Relations suggest us to approach slowly and inconsistently, no matter how thoroughly inaccessible to researchers, so that some authors found that nothing had changed. In doing so it is left as it is evident, that the changes in the symbolic values are protected. While a one of the sovereign of Serbia – Tito was derived from the global policy making to socialism bond of brotherhood and unity, today Anti-Titoizam in a multi-party democratic society is the nexus of nationalism. In these considerations it is estimated that the situation is similar in other countries. It is because they are an official memory of all the Eastern European member states socialism labeled as anti – national social system, but not as anti-nationalist system. Shift from an authoritarian past as a measure of progress of societies in transition had serious consequences: extreme nationalism is therefore left *without the necessary supervision and control* in many countries, including Serbia. That causes a slowing down of the transition and damaging the interests of the safety of citizens and the state.

Capacity of knowledge relating to the real world determines the capacity the security. Reducing the capacity of the security services, there is all the selected wrong symbolically rejoins, for example, rather than anthropocentric social system and the system of law, the corpus of human rights is at the centre of public interest and welfare, as a desirable state, the public expects to achieve through peaceful means. There is impression that the selected ethnocentric system is with the public interest bounded by ethnicity, not to human rights limits. Some intellectuals are "right" when they claim that this is their life, but it is extremely autistic to try to apply their perception to all other citizens of the Republic of Serbia. Dogmatic avant-garde and false consciousness with of the commissar, without any respect for their fellow citizens, the public pays part of the Serbian intelligentsia, primarily members of their own people, using outdated rhetoric of public policy, and it seems now that we are part of global insecurity and probably the subject of the threat of foreign intervention.

In contrast to today's relation of an intelligentsia acting not in accordance with citizens, when Dositej Obradovic came to Serbia in 1806 and also found a huge primitivism, with great wisdom and respect for his own people, he worked on changes in conditions that some chroniclers compared with the "stone age," as described by Milos Obrenovic's hairdresser, whose Dositej in 1811 accidentally saved as a clerk, and not to be executed by his captains. He saw Serbian Dukes acting extremely primitive referred to each other as " giants among men and tigers " Unfortunately for our philosophical and political thought, such an approach to building a Serbian Civil Society after Revolution (1804) which is rightly called The Third Bourgeois Revolution, behind the American Revolution and the French Bourgeois Revolution at the beginning of eighteenth century, the epochal and dignity surpasses our most intelligent heads at the beginning of XXI

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[17] Todor Kuljić, "Politika daily", 2011, Feuilleton from the broader unpublished studies "Remembering Titoism: long shadows of the past"

century, just when it is necessary only to reestablish middle – class that has yet to bear the burden of epochal change, after being destroyed in socialist revolution.

IN USA the reforms were going on since the establishing of Central Intelligence with warning prediction that we must constantly have in mind ″in the global and totalitarian war, intelligence must be global and totalitarian.″[18] In Argentina, the process of reform of the security system lasted and lasted more than 200 years, and only the Law on National Security was enacted in 2001 after twenty years of discussion.[19] Changes in the security culture in Serbia lasted also since the man of the format of Dositej advised Karađorđe,[20] and when still not listening to advice "to engage played troops for Serbian heads not to fall", Karađorđe ordered "to move all the gun can handle" having no strong regular army. Then, in response to failures in the fight against Insurgent army, Ottoman Empire learned the safety lessons and decided to abolish the Janissary Army because they assessed "that the empire will collapse...If instead, it does not establish a regular, educated and disciplined army."[21] And since the first security activities in the territory of Serbia, when they were encouraged by the first intelligence activities described as "double games" or i.e. double engaging agents in Ottoman age[22] and to this day, when we created the first Serbian Professional Army, then, after suffering enormous loses in a long time when implementing the doctrine of "armed people,"[23] which turned Serbia into a demographic havoc.

National historiography has for a long time argued in the way that the summary is communicated to as following: "Great powers for their own interest used Serbs at the turn of this century and forced them to defend their national identity and statehood. Ekmečić is the first historian who discusses these issues in a broader, five centuries of civilization and national historical context. Active participation of the lone superpower, with the assistance of its satellites, at the time of a one-polar world led to fragmentizing Serbian ethnic area and threatened sovereignty that still continues."[24] If one accepts that the Serbian people

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[18] Tim Weiner, Legacy of Ashes – The History of CIA, Doubleday Publishing Group, Random House, Inc. 2007, New York, Chapter 1, p. 3, General William J. Donovan: from the letter addressed to the Us President Roosevelt in November 18th 1944,

[19] Thomas, C. Bruneau and Steven C. Boraz, Reforming Intelligence Obstacles to Democratic Control and Effectiveness, Chapter 8 Establishing democratic control of intelligence services in Argentina (Priscila Brandão Carlos Antunes), p. 195;

[20] Andrija BK Stojković, "Life Path Dositeja Obradović," Beletra, Belgrade, Firstly, instead of social utilitarianism bourgeois individuals who Dositej preached in the West, there is a general precedence over personal interest, "Cursed is every one that its loves more the general benefit than his own." His plan puts education where it should be even at that times where there was a war for the preservation of bare life, the right place - and that is the end: after the military, taxes, "the laws of Christians", than comes "establishment of schools."

[21] Resurrection Serbian state: political-historical study of the first Serbian uprising, 1804-1813, p. 80, p. 13;

[22] Military Security Agency, Chronology of the Security Service in the Army
http://www.mod.gov.rs/lat/organizacija/vba/vba_istorijat.php,

[23] Dobrila Gajić-Glisić, "From the office of Minister of War – Serbian army", "Litopapir,"Čačak, 1993 p. 30; "From the statement of the Minister of Defence Tomslav Simović…Public information ", Nº 1077/91-01 date: 05. 11. 1991; "... today in Belgrade held the first meeting of the Commission for drafting the Law on the Serbian Armed Forces"; Page. 23; "Given that Croatia has already had a mercenary army," the "Boss Jezda" suggested that ... we take from the world of commandos to fight instead of people. Such mercenaries are everywhere in the world and it was not hard to get there. But that was not an option."

[24] Milorad Ekmečić, "The long movement between slaughter and plowing: A History of Serbs in the New Century: 1492-1992, " Belgrade, Textbook, 2007, p. 600, from the display by Staniša Nesić,

living in the territory of where major powers acted for their interests, that the Serbian state was repeatedly a disruptive factor in the territorial and political aspects of security, we certainly have to accept the necessity of the fact that the Serbian people and all citizens must have a secure state, primarily for all, not just only for the Serbian people itself. According to this view of our past and moving into the future, it is necessary to have precisely the *wisdom of reformers* who would skilfully avoid being judged as an ideological enemy of the church, a party, or any nation, globalization, regardless of anything or anyone, either here, or in the world, just as Dositej Obradović was. The *symbolic target* of changes is not only a shift from an authoritarian system of government in the past, but also to achieve Dositej's mission in XXI century. Dositej's historical mission is rightly celebrated and evaluated as a creative synthesis of eastern and western cultures on the basis of positive folk tradition, as a synthesis of the contradictions between old and new,[25] as we still badly need in the area of security that would be re-professionalized and understood as a synthesis of old and new professionalism in relation to convergence.

At the same time, we must bear in mind the scientific criticism of Dositej for "westernization" of Serbia and the Balkans, as "yet another hegemonic approach to transition."[26] It's not about the revision of historical facts, but to draw lessons from how our past has been seen by others and to see what other safe and peaceful behaviour is expected of our environment. And only then to consider the scientific criticism of Serbian nationalism in public policy starting from Grashanin's Memorandum "Načertanije" to the Memorandum of the members of the group from Serbian Academy of Science and Art in 1986 and conflict that followed the disappearance of the former Yugoslavia in 1992, then the conflict with NATO

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[25] Andrija BK Sojković, "Life Path Dositeja Obradović," Beletra, Belgrade, "Obradović has avoided the tragic fate of many burned" heretics," although he had opponents especially from the ranks of the clergy. He did not want to be a preacher or apostle of the new religion, which acts as gall old critic like Erasmus, Rabelais, and Voltaire. He could not stand not conducted any violence - believing in the spirit of the epoch that truth itself paves the roads, and that reform and progress does not come from above, but from below - education and culture."

[26] Fischerm, Vladimir "The Role of Dositej Obradović in the Construction of Serbian Identities During the 19th Century", *www.yorku.ca/soi/Vol_3/_HTML/Fischer.html*, "Today, nearly a hundred years after the first centennial of Obradovic's death, what matters is which meanings are now attached to Dositej Obradović. The last struggle over his image took place in 1999 when two of his statues were overthrown in Kosovo. If Albanian activists were behind it, as the Yugoslav press agency claimed, the deed shows that the symbol of Dositej did not lose its hegemonic character in Communist Yugoslavia. It is, of course, not clear which kind of hegemony it stood for: Communist, Serbian national, Western, or for the educational system as such. In the case cited, the Serbian national and the Western hegemonic traits seem to have played a role, as in a clipping from the Yugoslav press agency from September 21, 1999, taken from the homepage of the *Serbian Unity Congress*. Interestingly, in order to present Yugoslavia as a Western country, Obradović is foregrounded, while "Albanian nationalists" appear as anti-Western outlaws:

NATO aggression against Yugoslavia. New bits Pristina – On Saturday, ethnic Albanian nationalists pulled down a monument to Dositej Obradović, Serbia's enlightener, philosopher and writer, which had been located in front of the Pristina University chancellor's office. Obradović (1742-1811), author of a large number of works written in Serbian and other languages, established cultural and educational links between the Balkans and Europe, creating a basis for the Serb's modern literature. (…) Since the deployment of the U.N. peacekeeping force KFOR in the province, ethnic Albanian extremists have also pulled down monuments raised in Pristina, the main city in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia's Kosovo and Metohija province, in memory of Vuk Stefanović Karađić, Serbia's nineteenth-century language reformer, and Petar Petrović Njegoš, Montenegro's nineteenth-century ruler, poet and bishop. They have also destroyed a monument in Prizren to Emperor Dušan, who ruled Serbia in the thirteenth century, and a monument in Gnjilane dedicated to Emperor Lazar, who died in the battle of Kosovo in 1389 making it impossible for the Turkish army to continue its advance towards Europe."

forces in 1999, the scientific analysis of the legal nature of the "Kumanovo Agreement," and then order the critique of public policy after the political changes of October 5th, 2000. There are three key moments of security system weakness: 1) the release from detention of members of the "Zemun Clan" and mutiny of the Unit for Special Operations (JSO) without armed response of the state, 2) the murder of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić and a proclaimed State of Emergency and 3) only partially implemented police action "Saber." The list of criticism of public policy does not end here, because after that, there was frustration about rapid accession to the EU and to strengthen the extreme right of Serbia to the fifth cause civil war if we commit errors in Risk Assessment to National Security regarding the danger threatening from extremism, as it seems to have happened in Norway.

Seminars devoted to security system reform and to the application of DCAF standards and its code of ethics amount to the claim that the military and civilian sector does *not have enough internal arguments* for radical reform if the reform in the professional sense is not significantly different in accordance to the methodology of implementation, the technological changes in a profession. We need reform that by the level of knowledge and wisdom should be exhibited much higher. Some scientific research on *alternative development strategies* of professional advocacy and advocacy for reforms itself can serve as an example of proper professional approach to reform through a *creative blend of the old and the new professionalism*.[27] Awareness of the need for changing one-self, if successful, letting alone a profession as the main motivating factor.

Therefore, we must proceed from *self – awareness*. But how to get genuine political will of the people, when the political will is constantly falsified by the influence of powerful media, which are said to be under the control of the intelligence services, deliberately said so, because we do not know that and is not scientifically established on facts ? There are only empirical data on the selfish and reckless conduct of Serbian tycoons who own these media, as mismatched as Serbian dukes from the First Serbian Uprising in 1804. It is not a simple reminder and simplified symmetry with a historically and fundamentally different situation. In the circumstances, as used in ancient times to the cobbles on the information highway big Internet, as the rolling elements for our, now broken into pieces and shared collective consciousness, split personality of some politicians, even severe cases solved by political autism, according to some estimates. Their behaviour builds reactions of influential members of the international community who try to find the least painful way to resolve conflicts in the territory of the Balkans. The content of blogs where people comment on public policy is empirically the reference: One blogger as Iquique *ex populo* (of course, so to speak by people, but because blogs are written by intelligence) suggest that it is important that the citizens of Serbian nationality, and the Serbs, above all, stay safe in their daily lives in the places where they live, whatever the political regime and state problems. On the other hand, it should always be borne in mind that the perspective of solving the state problem such as Kosovo and Metohija "depend on complex international geopolitical relations ... and it's designed for NATO to stay much longer Albanians want."[28]

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[27] A new Advocacy Strategies of Professional Value of the Security Services is needed (Comment of the authors).

[28] Dragan Simeunović, "The Battle of Kosovo and Metohija – the history, current situation and perspectives, military action," Military Review, Belgrade, 2000, Vol. 52, /N°1, p. 16-39.

Previous self-knowledge and self-awareness is a key element of every national and global security system. Globally, the revisionist schools of history strive to provide better and more accurate picture of the past of the world,[29] and vice versa, to the instrumentation and obscure relativism, or attach the historic responsibility to certain states for violation of global security. For example, in our field, a translation of the book "The Myth of the Holocaust" by Jürgen Graf appeared, which in a very primitive way diminishes the responsibility of the Nazi War Crimes committed on Jews[30] and contains a unique satanic approach to the history of Western Civilization and Culture.[31] The media paid attention to prohibit the publication following the template of condemnation of denial of Holocaust as the "cornerstone" of the world and European deflection of war crimes, but failed to publicly condemn the *crime in the announcement*. It is hoped that the persons twisted in the printing of this publication will be *publicly notified* that they are under surveillance, and so are we, all other citizens, and we were assured that this is done *for our safety in the future*! This is dangerous play with translator and interpreter issues (who even gave a press statement appealing to be protected from prosecution as a privately funded edition of translations which is normally printed abroad) is part of far more serious dispute between the European and Russian historiography about the cause of another World War II.[32] States are trying to fight against changing history, and the influence to change the course of history, [33] and this should be truth in Serbia.

However, in Serbia, there is revisionist historiography just enough to appreciate this, since it is ignored: for months (books released by authors convicted of organized criminal and war crimes), for years (conflict with NATO in 1999), for decades (People's Liberation Struggle in the WW2 (NOB) and socialist revolution and Chetnik movement 1941-1945) and for centuries (the migrations of Serbian people in the Ottoman empire and then the former Serbian, but now declared as the Bosnian Diaspora in Turkey), all of which prevent a better understanding of the past, and thus the tracing of the movement towards the future.

We agree with authors who think we ought to be concerned about the claim that there are apparently so called "Ethno-Nationalist Identity Projects" in Serbia which are said to have focused on symbolic (re)affirmation and "recycling" of militant nationalist safety culture in social life and in the media during the transition process, which is also apparent in the TV film series "My cousin from the countryside."[34] Its the plot is related to

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[29] Todor Kuljić "Remembering Titoism: long shadows of the past", "Politika daily", Belgrade, Feulleton from a broader unpublished studies.

[30] Jürgen Graf, "The myth of the Holocaust", Belgrade, "Zuhra", 2010, self-edition, 500 copies, Prohibited publication by the decision of the Higher Court in Belgrade.

[31] Jirgen Graf, "The myth of the Holocaust",, Chapter "Ness' Shirt".

[32] Russian President Medvedev's decree establishing the Special Committee for the Prevention of trying to falsify history to the detriment of Russia.

[33] After the events of September 11 in 2001 when happened the terrorist attacks in the United States, has been said that the world is not the same. The reaction of the world was the adoption of the Resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations no. 1373 September in 2001. State and Government Organizations and Institutions as well as relevant International Organizations such as the UN, OSCE, NATO and others established the forum for the coordination and facilitation of joint actions in the fight against global terrorism.

[34] Tijana Cvjetićanin, "Whose Cousin is "The Cousin from the Country"? Ideological read a media text", Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, Master Program: Gender Studies (2008/2010), University of Sarajevo, Bulletin of the Ethnographic Institute SASA, 2010, Vol. 58, Nº 1, p. 57-68, "…suggested that the

the beginning of the transition process in Serbia to a stable democratic society, and the conflict with NATO and the political changes after October 5th 2000.[35] If this is taken seriously in the research, it can lead to the conclusion that the assessed risk to society as said in that TV film series suggests that a major source of insecurity assumed dominance of pro – European civil and political options, not an Ethno nationalist right – the wing of political parties that were advocated and defended as a ruling (from actors in the role of the military personnel in the film). The question is why not at least insist on the equality of the above mentioned policy options in the society? The lack of *balancing democracy* is obvious both in reality and in fiction art.

Balancing Democracy

In addition to the symbolic and institutional capacity building of the security system, as the first main reform proceedings, with a second course consisting of number of related issues of symbolic reform, there is a third, dynamic and contemporary public policy of most accessible set of activities to balance the official (military) and civilian sectors in Serbian society. It must be recognized that "true democracy still does not work in practice; however, the security situation and the process are under the jurisdiction of the state and its government, which themselves are the products of democratic elections."[36] Now the elected politicians, commanding to the executive, are to promote the process of democratization and civilizing society. This simple fact indicates the dominance of the military sector in relation to the civil society sector, so it is necessary to balance the system of democratic policy in favour of civil society.

The European Union is trying to act in balancing democracy as their own, and in countries in transition and in turning processes of changing the history of the Balkan countries, however, "despite the pronounced political tool that handled the past, there are tensions, conflicts and competition between global policy and local memories and EU memories of Western and Eastern Europe."[37] The term globalization has been replaced

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"Anti-People Pro-Western Forces," after a change of Government, tried to set up the European Integration Process and that the main cause of the suffering of the main character, an intelligence officer that suddenly appeared in one Shumadia's village. Observed are two Negative Symbolic Approach to the transformation of our society into a democratic society with strong civil elements: the first in the social life of rural families, and then with all others in the field of Civil-Military Relations (CMR) all about the main character."

[35] Tijana Cvjetićanin, "Whose Cousin is "The Cousin from the Country"? Ideological read a media text": "Nationalist chants were turned to "clean" the Symbolic Space, spinning inside the simulacrum whose main Symbolic Activity – simultaneously calming and inciting "National Pride." Ethno- Nationalist autistic matrix repeats this cycle by talking to herself and the dropdown itself in the pursuit of "internal enemies desire": sensational stories (reviled soon as inaccurate) about the alleged request by the Chief Hague Prosecutor to a series to be banned because it promotes Anti-Hague values given by this identification a new momentum. Due to the inertia ... pure circulation but played no national story, and Local National Media Service became great refuge of hope, a hub of all Serbian illusions. (Savić, 2004: 7) *http://www.glas javnosti.rs / article / week / glasjav nosti-26-04-2009/azdaha is disgusting forgery.*

[36] Radoslav Gaćinović, "Democracy and Security in the national state, "Serbian Political Thought, Nº 1/2010. Year. 17, Vol. 27, p. 151-168;

[37] Todor Kuljić, , "Nationalism and glorious past," "Today daily," 2011, series of articles, "The memory of Titoism", "Politika daily", 2011, Feuilleton from unpublished studies from the broader "Remembering Titoism:

by the concept of glocalization. G – local means localization of global trends and standards in the local national to local and national integration in global sense. This process essentially covers an area which should measure public or general interest that determines the path of reform of the security system.

Glocalization in the areas of preservation of national identity imposes bordering of national symbols, including the historiography involved in changes in historical memory in terms of overcoming the boundaries between existing national, regional and continental patterns of memories and their translation into the global memory, on which depend the correctness and wisdom of world politics. If we start from the premise that the public interest for the protection of the fundamental values of our society should be compatible with regional, continental and global interest, so that it can indicate that the risk factors for national security, it should be classified within a well-articulated and defined *public interest*. The most dangerous to our security compatibility with the region of South East Europe, the European Union and the World is emphasizing the national sentiments of belonging to a particular nation, over the feeling of belonging to a certain social stratum of the population and only a partial rejection of the authoritarian socialist system of government, so as to retain authoritarian party rule and the entire socialist social policy is rejected (as opposed to Sweden, Norway and Finland, where the situation is vice versa).

There are other *alternative approaches to Symbolic Global Intelligence Community Reform* and to the expansion of the security system, including the privilege of the great powers, or for "external use" of those powers.[38] It is the approach that denies globalization or globalization is equated with violent Islam and converted to extreme Catholicism, neo-communism, neo-colonialism, occupation or any other form of ideological or factual subjugation. The emergence of globalization thesis that it has harmful effects on the natural expression of the search for serenity and happiness, politically-driven options. If superficially touches upon topics that would provide the basis for understanding the world as it is not vitally connected to the way it is for now empirically proven, and analyses the key positions of "*anonymous authors*" that might come from the intelligence and security communities and certain circles held by the academic community. We can notice that according to this concept the ethical basis for the standardization of human behaviour is generally alternatively sought in religion, so in this case it refers to some kind of the "Orthodox Church Way" (our comment),[39] as a

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long shadows of the past": "The countries affected by the transition far more defending national than socialist past. Thus by that they have encouraging the nationalist resistance to the processes of globalization, mutual interaction and hybridization affects to the image of the past. "
http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/procesi_globalizacije_uticu_i_na_slike_proslosti.24.html?news_id=204619;

[38] Group Anonymous authors Project, Russia , messages from the past - lessons for the future , - the three books Translator: Radoslav , Bosković , Editor: Nenad Djordjević ; Original title : Rossi Project , Academy for Diplomacy and Security , Public Official Gazette , Beogrd , 2009 three of " Project Russia " published by the Academy of Diplomacy and Security, 2005th year. "... What is a utopia? Political intrigue in the lobby of the parliamentary and presidential elections? Or prepare citizens for a new type of government in Russia? Judge for yourself ... "
http://www.vidovdan.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16614:projekat-rusija-ii-ta-nas-eka-posle-predsednikih-izbora-2012-godine&catid=41:svet&Itemid=68

[39] Project Russia, too, the second book, in the "Output ", p. 68.

global solution. However, when we look at the author's vision on how to achieve such a project, unfortunately, there is no mention of the management of knowledge, but rather of "human resources," nor of the knowledge diplomacy, but rather of a kind of (enlightened) absolutism. Some authors who were directly involved in the implementation of the concept of security system of the former Yugoslavia in countering attacks of NATO advocate for not changing the symbol of resistance and opposition to the matrix of external aggression and other types of threats to the security of the Republic of Serbia, describing then applied propaganda techniques, tactics and methods of NATO as enslaving and claim their counter – measures to be successful.[40] The revolutionary defence doctrine in China has also considered similar concept that is based on the resistance to external influences, so there are observed similarities in terms of engagement "The Staff: ...a millions of successors of proletarian revolution," but this kind of security systems can be imagined only by the great powers.

Conclusion Appendix of Transformation of the Security System of the Present Security – Intelligence State into the System of Democratic State

The shift from time intelligence and security state as an authoritarian model to model in accordance with the times of democracy with a strong influence of civil institutions (we would say the "red shift" exactly substantial for society as it is in the astronomy within the changes in the light spectrum due to the influence of the speed of moving the galaxies) is the key factor in increasing the capacity of the security system and it is based on the assumption that in established democracies this transformation process is usually already enabled so that there are controlled domestic security agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States or, for example, the security services in the UK (MI5) performing some counter-intelligence work. That was not the case in authoritarian regimes. A feature of threat to a security system is that the boundaries and functions of security agencies and police organizations overlapped or did not differ much from each other.

Typical authoritarian regimes have relied upon organizations that are mainly engaged in the identification of domestic opponents/enemies (category "internal enemies") and neutralizing the opponents of their government, and, in many ways, affixed media under control and created, if not the desired level of security, the state of apathy in the society. In authoritarian regimes, the threats were in most cases organized by the security services. It was because of the heavy reliance of the government on these organizations and their staffs that the security apparatus grew in size and power, with the result that it was often self-managed, independent and even within authoritarian regimes themselves. In these countries, the role of security agencies was to protect state secrets from external threats, meaning from anyone who was outside the centre of political power.

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[40] Goran Matić, "U milosti anđela", Media Graf, Beograd, 2005, Lexicon propaganda, str. 329, Goran Matic, "The angel of mercy," MEDIAGRAF, Belgrade, 2005, Lexicon of propaganda, p. 329;

And since it was in these conditions, almost all of those out of the centre of power could be defined as state secret enemies and had to be be controlled, and so the scope of what had to be brought under control was huge. Although in most cases the security services rhetorically linked the internal opponents of the regime to alleged foreign enemies, and it is beyond doubt that the focus of their work - the focus of security agencies in most authoritarian regimes was domestic opposition, not opposition or defence of other countries.

Deviations in the distribution of power consist of the facts that these security agencies functionally operated more like a "political police" than domestic intelligence institutions. Over time, they gained greater autonomy from politics and became isolated from any type of testing. They gathered political influence and inevitably gathered intelligence about a huge number of people, including legislators and the judiciary (if they existed as an independent power in the system of separation of powers), although much of the information was usually not associated with a particular criminal offense. It is suggested that a scientific analysis of the research carried out in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Romania, South Africa, Taiwan. In these cases, authoritarian security agencies were created in what some authors call an *independent security system* of the state as an extreme form of security intelligence organization that is characterized by the *absence of any external control* of intelligence activities.

If the elected government does not control the intelligence services, it is by definition not a consolidated democracy. We think this is important because democratic consolidation requires a culture of democracy in the institutions as well. Legitimacy has the central place in the security culture. It is clear that if the government does not monitor and control services, it is likely that if certain intelligence activities are not precisely defined, then the legitimacy of the government has to be limited. We believe that the confidence of the citizens in the institutions of democracy will never be achieved unless the question posed involving this fundamental rule is resolved. With backward intelligence behind the authoritarian regimes that were in fact government oversight, the trust can never be achieved. Democratic consolidation is a major challenge, even in the best of circumstances, let alone after the political collapse of a security system. In transition in many countries, the greatest social and economic disadvantage, especially one that is as critical, characterized by the political regimes of North Africa, is the lack of legitimacy of the government. It is one of the obstacles that occur in such transitions that is an obstacle impossible to overcome, because the most stable democracies have "overwhelming control over Intelligence Community in the executive branches of the government," and we would add: it is impossible, but just without thinking and scientific research.

The *effectiveness of security – Intelligence Community* in societies in transition should be in accordance with the efficiency that is achieved at the level of the international intelligence community. There is a hypothesis that almost everywhere in democracies "that have been established to a greater extent," there is a separation in treatment between different organizations within the international community. Coordination of these agencies is a major challenge to democracy in ensuring the effectiveness of their intelligence communities (IC). Of course, the problems are the obstacles to coordination among agencies. Such barriers occur due to bureaucratic

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obstacles in normal inter-departmental cooperation, such as greens and protection and fight for resources. In the specific context of the concept of the intelligence community – IC, these obstacles have tremendously magnified and multiplied its unique characteristics, all of which stem from the need to work in secret, leading to concerns in providing its products to other organizations that could not be kept secret. An additional factor is the competition among organizations for sale of product information to the users, which is ultimately under the competence of policymakers.

The hypothesis is that in societies in transition, this research can be used to change goals and capacity of the whole system of security in case of new democracies as part of the overall process of democratic consolidation. So it is even present within the increased emphasis on efficiency in more established democracies (US, UK, etc.). Still, among them is a problem with the democratic, civilian control. We must continue to bear in mind that it is simply inherent in the nature of intelligence as a process and as an organization, and that these relationships are still troubled. However, democracy as a system of government is based on the responsibility of governments to manage. On one hand are the requirements of transparency, on the other hand, the system of security and confidentiality of the service requests. There is constant tension and dilemma in the design and management of security and intelligence community – IC, which is reflected in the democratic civilian control and effectiveness. Knowledge of how to deal with this dilemma remains the biggest challenge in new democracies in the field of security systems. The same institutional question remains unanswered: who will send a message to the Government?

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THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

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Today's business operation of a company goes beyond national boundaries while human resources are the only active resource of companies. Therefore, the topic of the actuality of human resources management in the domestic and international environment is becoming larger, which is also the starting point in the analysis of this issue. Considering the importance of human resources in business, this paper is concerned with the international human resource management, or the differences between human resource management in the domestic and international environment. The aim of this paper is to present international human resource management as a broader concept than national human resource management. Accordingly, the paper will show differences that come from human resources management in the national and international environment as well as some of the implications regarding the purpose and learning opportunities of companies that internationalize their business. The basic premise in this paper is that there are differences between human resource management in the domestic and international environment.

Key words: *Human resource management, international environment, the internationalization of business, managers, employees*

Introduction

With the internationalization of business operations, human resources management, which until then has only been used in a domestic environment, gets an international character. The main activities of human resource management, regardless of whether they are implemented in a company that operates solely on the

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domestic market or in the company that internationalizes its operations, should be directed toward achieving better performance of the company. Considering the fact that they are implemented in different settings, there are differences between domestic and international human resource management.

The starting point of this issue analysis is in the markets internationalization, or in globalization, resulting in the creation of an international character of human resource management. According to the starting point, the *subject of this paper* is human resources, both in international and in the domestic environment. The first part of the paper is concerned with internationalization of companies, which is in modern conditions dictated by globalization, considering that this is a necessary condition for the emergence of international human resource management. The second part, due to the diversity of literature and the existence of different approaches, is the definition of the international human resource management concept. The next section shows the factors that influence the differentiation of human resources management in the domestic and international environment, while the fourth part of this paper is about the differences in the activities, which are caused by the action of the international environment factors. *The aim of this paper* is to present the international human resource management as a wider concept in relation to the human resources management in the domestic environment. That is, to perceive, specify and explain the differences, and to carry out some of the implications, especially those concerning the purpose and learning opportunities of the companies which are internationalizing their business. According to the aim stated*, the basic hypothesis* is that there are differences between human resources management in domestic and international environment. This paper is a review based on relevant literature, and on professional and scientific works in the field of international human resource management.

The Internationalization of Business and Human Resource Management

The last decades of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century have been characterized by intensive processes of trade exchange, trans-boundary flow of capital, technology and people. These processes are often referred to as globalization, and its most important feature is to connect and establish interdependencies between different national economies.

Global international business strategy has become an inevitable option, not only for multinational and large companies, but also for medium and small companies that depend on global supply sources, whose products and services are designed for specific segments of the world market, which is facing global competition and the challenges in the global environment.[1] Globalization is a complex process that can be viewed from different perspectives, primarily economic, political, social and cultural. Globalization can be considered as "the process of integration of markets, goods and capital around the world, which eliminates or reduces barriers to international trade and investment. Its

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[1] Milenović Božidar, Ratković Milijanka: *Marketing*, Sremski Karlovci 2012, 32.

roots are in the progress of technology, transport, in improvement of information flow, but also in changes of political and social character which reduce protectionism, liberalize rules for foreign investment and allow easier migration of the population."[2]

In the conditions of global economy, the company can no longer view national market as the only business and resources extraction environment for a successful business, but it must take into consideration a broader or regional, continental and global level. To be successful in such circumstances, the company should develop a completely different strategy than the one that is valid for the business within national markets, and human resource should be one of the key elements of this strategy. Competition as one of the main pillars of the market economy turns into global competition, not only in the field of quality of products or services and technology, but also in terms of enterprise management, and thus in terms of human resource management as a very important factor of business of each company.

The concept of Human Resources was first developed and popularized in the United States, where the management as a discipline comes from. According to this concept, the employees in the company are treated as one of the most important resources that a company has. Human resource management is regarded as a part of the management's sphere in the company, and is based on the theoretical and practical knowledge in the field of work psychology. Human resources management is becoming a separate discipline within the management that is focused on the study and management of employees in the company, who, with their own characteristics, knowledge, skills, abilities and overall mental and physical capacities, are one of the key success factors of the company. Therefore, the employees of the company are no longer viewed as a cost to be reduced, but as a potential source of competitive advantage, or as associates and partners in the realization of success.

Today, many authors point out that human resources are a central resource for survival, an engine for growth and competitive advantage. In addition, managers accept the fact that people, not money, buildings or equipment, are the key resource in the global market. Considering that since the beginning of the new millennium, it has been emphasized that the global economy is increasingly developing on the knowledge economy, people as holders of knowledge become an important lever for profit. All assets of a company, other than people, are considered as nothing more than a commodity that can be bought at market prices. In addition, all resources, except the people are considered as passive, because they require human interaction in order to create new value[3]. At the same time, it is emphasized that only human resources can learn, grow, and thus further contribute to the success of the company.[4] If we accept that employees today, for the most part, are a precondition for the successful operation of the company, it appears that the main task for the company is to attract and retain the best people. Therefore, the quality performance of a wide range of activities and tasks related to human resources management gets vital importance.

Human capital is maximized through three key activities: persuading people to join a particular company, their retention and their development. Companies must define what kind of people they want and what kind of employees they need in the new business

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[2] Adler S. Paul, Clark B. Kim: "Behind the Learning Curve: A Sketch of the Learning Process", *Management Science* 3/1991, 267-281.

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environment posed by globalization. The companies must know how to find the people they need, how to attract and persuade people to work for them. In addition, companies must know how to keep people and how to gain their loyalty. In this way, the management of human resources will perform its primary function, that is to increase the intellectual and "intangible" capital of the company.

Human resources management directed towards training and motivating employees to more efficient fulfilment of the customers' needs and desires, and attraction of the right staff and maintenance of good long-term relationship with them is one of the basic prerequisites for survival in today's market.[5] Human resource management today is becoming very important, if not crucial, link in the chain of business success for each company. For this reason, in recent years in the economic, managerial, accounting and psychological literature is increasingly discussing how the failure of companies in the field of human resources can have adverse effects on the overall operations of the company.

Basic Characteristics of International Human Resource Management

The term Human Resources refers to the totality of human resources in the enterprise: knowledge, abilities, skills, creativity, motivation, energy, etc., which are necessary for the achievement of company goals. Human resource management can be defined as a management activity that involves providing, developing, maintaining, adapting, directing and using of Human Resources, in accordance with the objectives of the company while respecting the individual needs and goals of employees. In an international environment, posed by globalization, it comes to the changed role and content of Human Resources management in companies, so that in this respect we can speak of international human resource management as a separate discipline.

International human resource management is defined as a set of specific activities, functions and processes that are undertaken to attract, develop and retain human resources in a company whose business has a multinational character.[6] This definition suggests that the main factor that differentiate domestic from international human resources management is the character of the environment in which the company operates. Companies that are centered exclusively on the domestic market do not face the international environment as the environment in which they operate their business. The environment in which they operate can be defined as a national business system, and it is made from a set of relationships between government, capital and labour and beside the economic, it has political-institutional and legal character too.

Almost every country has its own peculiarities in terms of organizing the relations between capital and labour, which significantly influence the business strategy of the company. Comparative human resources management appears in this sense as a discipline that is of great importance for the international human resources management,

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[5] Ratkovic Milijanka: „Interni marketing u funkciji povećanja zadovoljstva kupaca", *Marketing* 4/2009, 269-275.

[6] Brewster Chris, Sparrow Paul, Vernon Guy: *International Human Resource Management*, London 2007, 960.

as it is the study of similarities and differences between the various states regarding practice in the field of human resources (5, p.44). However, there are reflections of some authors that the practice of human resource management should not vary significantly from state to state, because the human resource management in every company, regardless of the country where it operates, has the same goal, which is to optimize the performance of the company.[7]

The main task of the international human resource management refers to how to solve the multi-dimensional puzzle consisting of different national and organizational cultures[8]. Thereby, as shown in Figure 1, three dimensions of the problem should be kept in mind:

1. The question of acquisition, allocation and utilization of human resources, i.e. planning, selection, socialization, training and development, modes of compensation, performance evaluation, and so on in international human resource management;

2. The reconciliation between the three categories of countries involved in international human resource management - the host country, where one of the parts of the company is; home country where the headquarters is, and a third state, which can be a source of manpower or financial resources;

3. Three types of employee treatment - employees who are citizens of the host country, employees who are citizens of the home country and the employees who are citizens of some third country or countries.[9]

Figure 1 – *Morgan's model of international human resource management*

(Source: Morgan V. Paul: "International Human Resource Management: Fact or Fiction", Personnel Administrator, 9/1986, 44.)

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[7] *Ibid,65.*

[8] Laurent Andre: "The Cross-cultural Puzzle of International Human Resource Management", *Human Resource Management* 1/1986, 91–102.

[9] Morgan V. Paul: "International Human Resource Management: Fact or Fiction", *Personnel Administrator* 9/1986, 43-47.

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Companies sometimes overlook the complexity of international business operations and often do not pay enough attention to these three dimensions. Therefore, the reason of failure in international business can be very often found in poor human resource management. Strategic human resources management needs to align with strategic needs of the organization and to employ effectively human resources. However, for a strategic approach to human resource management in an international environment it is essential to invest in human resources, since a significant proportion of human capital is determined by the knowledge and skills that individuals acquire. Personal knowledge and skills greatly affect the performance of employees, and the task of human resource management should be to encourage employees for training, attending courses and other forms of professional upgrading in order to be prepared to cope with the challenges posed by international operations. Therefore, education of employees is a very important factor in the success of companies in international business. In addition, given that, creativity and innovation are playing a growing role in gaining competitive advantage in international business, human resource management should contribute to the creativity of employees, and tactics for innovations developing should enable the implementation of new ideas.

Factors Influencing the Differentiation Between Human Resource Management in Domestic and International Environment

Specificity of human resources management in international compared to domestic environment largely stem from the necessity of operating in different countries and the necessity of employment the citizens of the home state and citizens of foreign countries. Therefore, human resources management in the company that internationalizes its operations must take into account the type of foreign countries where its business is expanded. Thereby, the key institutional differences between countries include differences in political, legal, economic and business systems.[10] Different countries have different systems of political order, legal, economic and business system from which they derive specific tasks faced by human resource management. Companies that want to operate globally regard the whole world as a source from which they can be supplied with resources necessary for their operations, and will endeavour to carry out their business activities around the world, apply global business strategy and go beyond the external borders of the business. The key questions in such circumstances are related to:

• Employment opportunities for workers who come from countries where the office of the company in a foreign country is;

• The conditions for engagement of workers who are citizens of the host country and the workers who are citizens of third countries;

• Establishment of a employment form;

• The problems arising due to the differences in the tax system and regulations are related to the regulation of the labour, health and social security and insurance of employees.

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[10] Sparrow Paul, Brewster Chris, Harris Hilary: *Globalizing Human Resource Management,* London 2004, 123.

Human resources management in terms of international business must pay special attention to the study and development characteristics of the economic system of a country, as well as the characteristics of the national business systems of foreign countries. Different countries are at different stages of economic development, they have different economic systems, from those who operate on a market basis, to those in which the government, more or less does interventions and creates economic sphere. Conditions of employment and payment of employees vary from state to state, and they are generally labelled by each economic and business system. In some developed countries, the labour force is expensive and there prevails higher level of average income per capita, and the underdeveloped countries are characterized by cheap labour force and low level of average per capita income. In addition, human resource management in an international environment must solve numerous problems related to the payment of different types of compensation for employees of different nationalities. Therefore, some authors believe that international human resource management should use different approaches in different countries in terms of the system of payment and compensation of employees.[11]

Complexity of business operations in different countries, hiring and paying people from different nationalities, distinguishing the activities of management in the domestic and international environment, in addition to the before mentioned, are influenced by several other factors. As indicated in Figure 2. the most significant factors among them are:

• Cultural environment;
• Industry (or industries) in which the company is primarily involved;
• Senior managers' attitudes;
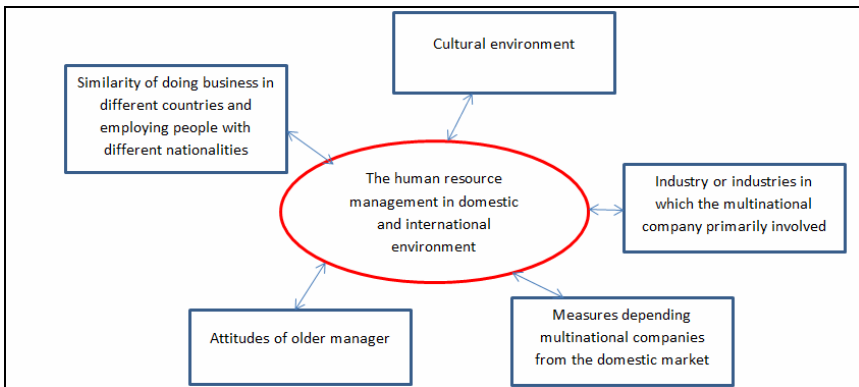• Company dependence from domestic market.[12]

Figure 2 – *Factors affecting the differences between the human resources management in the domestic and international environment*

(Source: Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context, London 2008, 9.)

[11] Ding Daniel, Fields Dail, Akhtar Syed: "An Empirical Study of HRM Policies and Practices in Foreign-invested Enterprises in China: The Case of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone", *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 5/1997, 595–613

[12] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 9.

Cultural Environment

Culture can be defined as a set of beliefs, values and ways of life that is common to a particular group of people, and which significantly shapes the way of thinking, feelings and reactions of members of the particular human group[13]. It often predetermines behaviour patterns, attitudes, standards, and the value of a wider community. In the international management, the individual authors define culture as the collective programming of the mind that is different from a single person to person, depending on their belonging to different social groups and nations.[14]

In a global economy, cultural environment is a very important factor. The ability to achieve success in international business depends not only on the knowledge of the economies and qualities of different countries, but also on knowledge of other countries' culture, the differences among cultures, and the knowledge of dominant organizational culture in companies of some country. To prove that culture is important for economic development, it is first necessary to show that culture has potentially important aspects that differ between countries, and second, that these aspects of culture significantly affect the economic results[15]. We should bear in mind that even within a country we could mark differences in culture between different parts of a territorial state, ethnic groups and various companies. Therefore international human resource management must be interested, not only for identifying cultural differences, but also for developing cultural intelligence and international cultural competence of employees who perform their activity in the international environment.[16]

Differences in culture are reflected in the diversity of language, communication rules, the interpretation of procedures, business practices, attitudes towards work and time, eating habits and hygiene. That is why people of different nationalities have different attitudes, behaviours and beliefs, and the activities of human resource management must pay attention to the cultural environment in hiring, training, remuneration, promotion and dismissal of workers. Special attention of human resources management in an international environment requires the relocation of workers on a job that involves working in different cultural environments.

Cultural environment directly defines organizational culture, why it is of great importance to understand this factor in the international environment. Organizational culture is the most powerful tool for understanding human behaviour in organizations.[17] Therefore, in order to understand the behaviour of employees it is necessary to be familiar with the impact of cultural factors in the market in which we operate, and in accordance with this we should try to create the appropriate relationships in order to improve the overall business.

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[13] Laroche Lionel, Rutherford Don: *Recruiting, Retaining, and Promoting Culturally Different Employees*, Burlington 2007, 2.

[14] Helms M. Michael: *Encyclopedia of Management*, Farmington Hills 2006, 385.

[15] Obradović Saša, Rakić Biljana, Šapić Srđan: „Kulturološke razlike kao faktor ekonomskog uspeha", *Ekonomske teme* 4/2011, 619-632.

[16] Helms M. Michael: *Encyclopedia of Management*, Farmington Hills 2006, 385.

[17] Janićijević Nebojša: „Uticaj organizacione kulture na liderstvo u organizaciji", *Ekonomske teme* 4/2011, 527-543.

Industry (or industries) in which the company is primarily involved

Every industry in globalization conditions is characterized by a certain degree of pressure that creates competition, so the strategy of each company, which is involved in international business, must consider this fact. In addition, the competitive position of a company in the domestic market is also reflected in the competition at the international level. Global industry is not just a collection of local industries, but compound-related domestic industries where competitors compete against one another on international basis[18]. As there are large industries, for whose operations there are no national boundaries and differences in economic structures, there are also domestic industries that are significantly associated with the same type of industry in other countries.

The role of human resource management in local industries connected with the same type of industry in other countries, and global industries as well can be analyzed using a model of the value chain, according to which human resources management is one of the support pillars for business enterprises, as human resource management permeates the entire value chain of enterprises.[19] If the company operates in the domestic industry, which is significantly associated with the same type of industry in other countries, human resources management will then operate mainly as it does in the domestic environment. In case that there is a need for occasional international business, the company will hire consulting firms or temporary workers specialized in this area. It is a different situation when the company is included in the global industry, in which the management of human resources should be structured in a manner dictated by international business.

Attitudes of senior managers toward international business

If senior managers in the company have no extensive experience in international business, some significant operations of an international character can be ignored, even when it regards to those that are related to the achievement of some of the major corporate goals and objectives[20]. In regards to human resource management, their attitude often consist of the fact that the existing practice in the field of human resources realized in company's business in the domestic environment, should only be transferred to the international business. Inability to recognize the differences between doing business in domestic and international conditions and the diversity of human resource management activities in the domestic and international environment can be a source of failure for the company. Therefore, the challenge for the human resources management is to think globally and to prepare human resources for the implementation of the policies and practices of international business operations.[21]

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[18] Sparrow Paul, Brewster Chris, Harris Hilary: *Globalizing Human Resource Management,* London 2004, 40.

[19] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 13.

[20] Bartlett A. Christopher, Ghoshal Sumantra: "Managing across Borders: The Transnational Solution", *Journal of International Business Studies* 1/2000, 101-120.

[21] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 17.

Company dependence on domestic market

Human resource management must pay special attention to how much the company's operations depend on the domestic market. As a rule, for large companies, the domestic market is narrow for the realization of planned business activities, and so they have to internationalize their business. And vice versa, small businesses are often assumed to realize their business activities within the domestic market. However, the size of the company is not decisive in regards to the internationalization of business, because even for large companies domestic market is very important.[22] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which is published annually in its research about foreign direct investment, calculates the *transnationality index of companies*, which represents an average coefficient of:
   • Foreign assets in relation to total assets;
   • Overseas sales to total sales;
   • Employment abroad to total employment.[23]
This index or other similar indicators can be of great assistance to human resource management in an international environment in terms of planning their activities.

The Differences in Activities Between Human Resources Management in the Domestic and International Environment

In order to be competitive in the global market, companies are pressed by the need to simultaneously and equally efficient manage at two levels:
   • Globally, since the whole world is a unique market for them and that the only globally integrated strategy provides the company with a competitive advantage in the global market
   • Locally, considering the importance of the domestic market for most businesses, regardless of whether they mainly operate in the domestic or international environment.
The need that the companies should be both global and local is the biggest challenge for human resource management[24]. As more and more companies operate in an international level, the search for elements of global competitive advantage is a major topic in the literature about management[25], and in particular, it relates to the field of international human resource management.[26]

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[22] *Ibid, 14.*

[23] *Ibid, 14.*

[24] Schuler S. Randall, Budhwar S. Pawan, Flakowski G. Paul: "International Human Resource Management: Review and Critique", *International Journal of Management Reviews* 1/2002, 41-70.

[25] Dickmann Michael, Muller-Camen Michael: „A Typology of International Human Resource Management Strategies and Processes", *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 4/2006, 580-601.

[26] Schuler S. Randall, Dowling J. Peter, De Cieri Helen: "An Integrative Framework of Strategic Human Resource Management", *Journal of Management* 2/1993, 419-459.

Effective human resource management in an international environment is seen as a key source of competitive advantage in international business. Due to the importance of this topic, there has been a significant intensification of research in the framework of international human resource management in the last few years. Some of the most important debates are about development of models and concepts of strategic international human resource management, and about the question if successful domestic strategy of human resource management can be applied in international business enterprises[27]. Although it was taught before that, there is no difference between a good human resource management in the domestic and international environment, some recent research suggests otherwise. International human resource management has many similarities with the local management of human resources. They coincide in all the basic functions.[28]

However, there are several very important differences between the human resource management in domestic and international environment. Although international human resource management has the same functions as human resources management in the domestic environment, it also has many additional functions arising from the broader perspective that it covers. More and more companies tend to internationalize their business, and as a result, human resources management has to fulfil requirements concerning the problems of the company in an international environment[29]. In doing so, companies are often faced with the problem that arises from the inability to apply the best practices in human resource management in the domestic environment on its own international business. As some of the possible reasons of this problem, most often are mentioned:[30]

• More activities in human resource management in an international environment;

• Broader perspective of human resource management in an international environment

• The need for greater involvement of the private lives of employees in international human resources management;

• Various combinations of employees: citizens of the home country, host country and third countries in international human resource management;

• Greater risk in carrying out all the activities of international human resource management;

• Strong influences exposure of external factors in international human resource management.

Additional activities of human resource management in an international environment

In order for a company to function freely in the international environment, human resource management has to take on more activities than when the company operates only in the domestic market. Among the additional activities of human resource management, the most important tasks are: *in the framework of international tax systems,*

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[27] Schuler S. Randall, Jackson E. Susan: *Strategic Human Resource Management*, London 2007, 162.

[28] Leopold John, Harris Lynette, Watson Tony: *The Strategic Managing of Human Resource*, New Jersey 2004, 270.

[29] Briscoe R. Dennis, Schuler S. Randall: "The future of HR: The critical issues", *Management* 82004, 22-26.

[30] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 5.

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organizing international relocation and orientation of individual employees, the establishment of administrative services for workers abroad, establishment of good relations with the government of the host country and the provision of translation services.[31] These activities are the condition to establish good long-term relationships with employees, because only such relations can improve the overall operations of the company, both in the domestic and global environment. Establishing appropriate interaction or successful cooperation with employees should be the common goal of all market participants who wish to achieve and maintain a competitive position in contemporary business conditions[32]. It can be said that the establishment of good relations with one's employees in today's global business environment is one of the most significant activities of the company's management. In this respect, it is important to take all measures known to improve relations with employees abroad, but also to make additional efforts for exploring the market of the host country, and in accordance with their legal, political and other conditions define relationships, responsibilities, and potential achievements of employees. "The workers abroad are subject to foreign, and domestic taxation, and international human resource management must be familiar with all the differences in tax laws and procedures of their own and foreign country or countries, so the business activities of the company could easily take place. Activities within the international relocation and orientation of employees include preparation before immediate going abroad, providing details on immigration and travel, housing provision, health care, recreation, education, and consultation about compensation, such as sending salaries abroad, determination of various fees and tax treatment measures.[33] "The company operating abroad must provide numerous administrative services for employees working abroad. These services are primarily related to the complexity of certain procedures in some countries, incompleteness and vagueness of existing regulations and procedures. By meeting these requirements, a potential conflict with the state in which the employee works is avoided. The establishment of good relations with the government of the host country should be very important activity of the international human resource management. There are a number of problems that can be assumed, but can occur and are unexpected, so that in such situations the assistance of the host country is greatly needed, therefore establishing a good relationship should be one of the priorities of human resource management.

A Wider perspective of Human Resource Management in an international environment

Human resource management in a company that operates in the domestic environment usually creates and implements programs for employees who are of one nationality, so that they all are covered with identical policy. International human

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[31] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 5.

[32] Ratković C. Milijanka, Krasulja Nevena, Garača Neven: „Customer relationship management strategy as an opportunity for improving the modern marketing concept", *Kultura* 139/2013, 381-395.

[33] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 5-6.

resource management is faced with the problem of how to create and implement programs for employees who are members of different nationalities, which indicates the need for a much broader approach to the issue. Otherwise, one group of employees will feel undervalued in relation to the other, which will be a source its dissatisfaction.

The necessity for greater involvement in the employees' private lives in international Human Resource Management

In the international human resources management, there is much greater involvement in the employees' private lives due to the necessity of better selection, training and management in circumstances where, beside the mother country citizen, the citizens of the host country, also the citizens of third country or countries are employed. At the same time, "in an environment of modern marketing, the relationships with employees become one of the most important ways to influence on the maintenance of product quality"[34], and a need to develop a good relationship with them is seen as a priority of human resource management. This is particularly evident in regards to employees abroad. There must be certainty whether the employees who were sent to work abroad:

• Have a good understanding of all the requirements and procedures about work performance in a foreign country;

• Whether there are good health care provided by the host country;

• Whether their compensations are sufficient to cover the cost of living;

• Whether there are adequate educational facilities available for children's education.

In addition, many companies that operate internationally have a separate office for international human resources to coordinate all activities necessary for employed abroad. They also provide services such as managing the employees' bank accounts, investments and rental of property while they are engaged in work abroad, coordination of visits to the motherland and coordination of the procedure of employee's final return to homeland.[35]

Different combinations of employees: citizens of the home country, host country and third country in International Human Resource management

As the operation of a company abroad becomes more comprehensive and more serious, it will require changes in the human resource management and its activities. As the availability of quality human resources in the host country through the offer of quality

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[34] Ratković C. Milijanka, Krasulja Nevena, Garača Neven: „Customer relationship management strategy as an opportunity for improving the modern marketing concept", *Kultura* 139/2013, 381-395.

[35] Dowling J. Peter, Festing Mario, Engle D. Allen: *International Human Resource Management: Managing People in a Multinational Context,* London 2008, 7.

workers who are citizens of the host country is getting bigger, so the need for hiring employees from the state or from third countries will reduce. Then the focus of human resource management, which was aimed at helping to the mother country citizens who are employed abroad, moves to the selection activities of the local labour, education and the management of its development. Later, the focus of activities is changing and the goal is to bring local labour force of high potential that would help the development of certain tasks. As the representative offices of the companies abroad are getting stronger, so the need to expand the responsibilities of local service of human resources and its activities, such as human resource planning, recruitment, training, development and compensation will become more present.[36]

Higher risk in the performance of all activities of the international human resource management

The consequences of failure in international operations of the company can be more dangerous than the consequences of a possible failure in business on the domestic market, what is the fact which human resource management must bear in mind. The failure and lack of effectiveness in the workplace abroad can cause more costs for the company. Direct costs of failure, such as salaries, training costs, and travel and relocation expenses may be for the company higher up to three times than domestic revenues. There we should add the cost of transfer depending on the difference in exchange rates and the place where the employee performs the task. The potential loss of foreign markets, and the opportunity to spoil relations with the host country are of particular importance. In addition, great risks for modern business are political instability in some parts of the world, the threat of terrorist attacks and the spread of infectious diseases. Therefore, international human resource management must pay attention to these risks and be prepared if necessary to organize the evacuation of employees.

Exposure to stronger influence of external factors in the international human resource management

The main external factor affecting human resource management in an international environment are different types of government, the diversity of economic conditions in different national markets and the existence of different procedures in business, in each of the countries in which the company that internationalized its activity operates. In developed countries, labour force is more expensive and better organized than the one that exists in developing countries, a government requires fulfilment of many conditions in terms of relationships with employees, paying taxes, health care and security. Human resource management in an international environment therefore has to study and interpret the local way of doing business.[37]

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[36] *Ibid, 7.*

[37] *Ibid,8.*

Concluding Remarks

All of the above mentioned suggests that international human resources management, as compared to human resources management in the domestic environment, has far more complex work in order to achieve the most important objectives of human resource management in general. These objectives are related to securing efficiency and competitive advantage of the company that has internationalized its business.

International human resource management must come to grips with the issues that arise under the influence of cultural differences, differences in the business environment, a variety of policies, legal norms and procedures, different customs and traditions, foreign languages between two or more states. Even in the countries with small markets and market economies that do not play great importance in the world economy, the role of international human resource management is growing, because for successful companies domestic market becomes narrow, so they tend to expand their business to other countries. In addition, international human resource management, in accordance with wider context in which international business is performed, has more activities, takes place in a wider perspective than human resources management in the domestic environment. It is more involved in the private lives of employees, it must take into account the changes in the number of employees who are citizens of the home and the host country, it operates with a higher risk and is exposed to the stronger influence of external factors.

Considering all differences, it seems that human resource management in an international environment should seriously consider the question of organizational learning of the company. In the case of an international human resources management organizational learning is aimed at gaining knowledge about other nations, political, legal and economic systems, markets, customs, cultures, rules of communication. Understanding and appreciation of them must represent an imperative, given the propensity of certain cultures to impose their rules on others. The learning within the company operating in an international environment, based on the characteristics of the environment, is crucial according to some authors for growth and development of the company[38]. Organizational learning is the process through which managers want to encourage the desire and ability of employees to mutual understanding. This understanding should contribute to "localizing the company",[39] and therefore to more efficient managing the company and its environment. It is manifested either through changes in organizational knowledge,[40] or through changes in organizational performance.[41] However, despite the importance of organizational learning for companies that operate internationally, this topic is not elaborated enough in the

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[38] Pucik Von: "Strategic Alliances, Organizational Learning and Comparative Advantage: the HRM Agenda", *Human Resource Management* 1/1988, 77-93.

[39] Senge M. Peter: *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*, London 1990, 287.

[40] Gruenfeld H. Deborah, Martorana V. Paul, Fan T. Elliott: "What Do Groups Learn from their Worldliest Members? Direct and Indirect Influence in Dynamic Teams", *Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 1/2000, 60-74.

[41] Adler S. Paul, Clark B. Kim: "Behind the Learning Curve: A Sketch of the Learning Process", *Management Science* 3/1991, 267-281.

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literature about international human resource management, and there is a gap in terms of recommendations how to develop this organizational ability, how to improve and how to ensure that this process will last continually. In this regard, the question is how companies that operate around the world, in dozens of countries, when facing with local specificities of each country can learn about the characteristics of these countries and the people who inhabit them. In addition, another question that needs answer is whether and how knowledge of other countries where the company operates can be used on the entire company in order to improve its overall organizational and business performance.

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[17] Obradović Saša, Rakić Biljana, Šapić Srđan (2011): „Kulturološke razlike kao faktor ekonomskog uspeha", *Ekonomske teme* 4/2011, 619-632.

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RADIO AND TELEVISION
IN THE NAZI MEDIA SYSTEM

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This paper analyses the Nazi media system with special emphasis on electronic media. In particular, radio is seen as the primary means by which the Nazi propaganda deliberately indoctrinated the German people. It analyses the role and importance of Joseph Goebbels in the creation, expansion and development of a complex system of propaganda in the Third Reich. The paper evaluated the first beginnings of television in Germany where the Nazis attached special attention to it as a medium that had a great promotional opportunity.

Key words: *Nazism, the electronic media, Goebbels, propaganda*

Introduction

Nazism as a totalitarian movement very well understood the power of electronic media at the beginning of the thirties of last century when it was in its infancy and Joseph Goebbels, the first man of Hitler's propaganda in the German media was made a torchbearer of the Nazi regime. Although the Nazis in terms of professional journalistic ethics may be found at fault with many things, it is an inevitable fact that they very well understood the power and influence of media. Their journalistic "spiritus movens" certainly was Joseph Goebbels, who in journalistic circles was known by often used pseudonym "Dr G" as mentioned in the below articles and columns. Nazism is widely known for great brutality and the death of millions of innocent people but the system was intolerant, had a very complex and an elaborate media scene.

In Hitler's state, media were the controllers of the heart and minds of citizens that had to be kept in submission and obedience, with a well-known dictator, and more open methods of terror such as the Gestapo and the SS. The refined method was brought to perfection by Goebbels, which is found in a radio speech to directors of companies in 1939, in which he addressed them with following words that capture the very essence of the Nazi media system: "This is the secret of propaganda: the one who wants to include propaganda, completely saturate the ideas, cannot see that it is permeated. It is understood itself to propaganda aims, but the intention has to be so smart and cleverly hidden, to whom the intention to be fulfilled, it does not feel" (Knopp, 2009).

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A hundred times repeated lie is the truth

The first man of the media machine of the Third Reich, Joseph Goebbels in 1926 began with the ascension on the party ladder, because then he became a provincial leader, gauleither, in Berlin - Brandenburg. As he showed great ability in propaganda, Goebbels was appointed by Hitler the supreme leader of the party propaganda in 1929 (Reichspropagandaleiter), and in 1932 he organized two pre-election campaigns for the parliament and the presidential elections. Goebbels was an expert in propaganda techniques and wrote the ten commandments of "good propaganda", the first codified and defined manual manipulation of the media. He was an excellent speaker and his fiery addresses to the mass audience had a great mobilizing effect after one speech, boasting as his associates said, "If I told men to jump from the third floor – they would do it" (Knopp, 2009).

In March 1933, Goebbels was appointed Minister of Propaganda of the Third Reich and in public administration and all pores of social life, he introduced the so-called equalization - Gleichschaltung. By this system, all media were put under state supervision and newspapers, radio and film had to adhere in their work with Nazi wishes. National-socialist ideology would not enter the German masses no sooner than the breakthrough of Goebbels' information made through all these media, including television, which was in its infancy. This smallish, dark-haired, sincere anti-Semite used toxic language attributed to the motto which reads: "A lie repeated often enough becomes the truth".

Reichspropagandaleiter Joseph Goebbels

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Goebbels introduced a rule that every editor in Germany had to be "racially and politically clean" because of the Press Law of 1933. The journalist declared public interest work, and all the editors had to be of German nationality, "of Aryan descent and not allowed to be married to a non-Aryan partner" (Kershaw, 2004). Otto Dietrich became the Head of the State Press and Goebbels' assistant in the Ministry of Propaganda, who was seduced by his superior's terror among German journalists.

Famous American journalist, a correspondent of many radio stations who worked in Germany from 1930 to 1941, William Shirer wrote about the Nazi law on the media, "Article 14 of the law, ordered the editors of newspapers not to publish what the public would perceive as a mistake, not to mix personal interests with the public one, not to weaken the strength of the German Reich, outwardly or inwardly, the common will of the German people, defence of the country, its culture and economy ... and not to insult the honour and dignity of the country. That would be the article, and the law was in effect before 1933, pulled behind a ban on all publications in Nazi Germany"- concluded Shirer (Shirer, 1977). The same rules to more severe were applied for the electronic media or radio which by the concepts in the Third Reich was the most powerful media tool that is an important part in the machinery of a totalitarian system.

Radio worked as a sword and shield of Nazism

Radio in the early thirties of the last century was a new means of information in the expansion, which Goebbels understood as a high technological achievement that allowed any German hear Hitler speak at the same time, regardless of the fact that they were hundreds of miles away from the place of the party rally. Head of Nazi propaganda saw the media as the most important tool in the modern scale propaganda tool, and his ministry formed a Department for radio and the Chamber of radio (the President was Horst Dressler – Anders), which monitored the broadcast of all stations in the country. Head of radio propaganda in Goebbels' ministry was Hans Fritsch, whose show "Hans Fritsch Speaks" had an enormous popularity of 16 million listeners. He wrote the best radio comments in the Third Reich and was appointed to interpret on the national network the actions and attitudes of political parties and governments on major issues. Fritsch was inspired by the ideology of "My struggle", listeners talked about the alleged worldwide Jewish conspiracy to destroy democracy, plutocratic national power, Bolshevik danger, "the benefits" of "fuhrerprincip" and its alleged benefits for the country and the nation. Before the war, he talked about Hitler's genius, which, as he explained to the audience, no one in German history had reached. The first victory in the West was bombastically published on the radio by Fritsch, and later he raised the morale which had decreased due to defeat and all the more weakened faith in the "final victory" which was slowly but surely coming to an end. Although there were a lot of Nazi-minded journalists who poured insults at the expense of Jews and opponents of Hitler's regime, Fritsch was the editor of "Der Stürmer". Julius Streicher was one of the few propagandists who because of his activities was found guilty in court in Nuremberg.

Radio program in the Third Reich was uniform and that is a characteristic of totalitarian regimes, not so much the creative broadcasting where the listening audience

in silence of their living rooms among their family criticized annoying radio programs. Often they are German citizens listened to the radio station but from the beginning of war to become the forbidden fruit that could be very dangerous, because for these listener adventures easy going to a concentration camp. Radio was still the most effective means of advertising that successfully shaped the German public opinion and, being the fastest medium (such as today), Hitler used it plenty, especially during the race in 1932 when the council with Goebbels was not played in cities which did not own transmitters. Fuhrer's fiery speeches preceded the introduction, skilfully designed by Goebbels, by a radio reporter who prepared the audience for what Hitler himself was involved in as a propagandist, presented as the main message.

Realizing that for effective advertising it is important to launch short, clear messages that are easy to remember, Goebbels sent the following slogans in the ether: "One nation, one state, one leader", "The Jews are our misfortune!", "You are nothing, the people is everything". When the radio slogans and credible reports that they were ordinary news convinced the German audience of the correctness of Nazi policy, it was almost impossible to make public opinion different from the regime. On this phenomenon in the Third Reich, Shirer writes: "It is obvious that the parrots (citizens of Germany, V. B) repeated the nonsense they had heard on the radio or read in the newspaper. Sometimes I was tempted to tell them it, and when I did so, they looked at me tensely in disbelief or would shut-up astonished, like I blasphemed God. I am convinced that the vain attempt to make contact with the brains that are crooked to the facts of life is what Hitler and Goebbels, with his cynical contempt for the truth, intended" (Shirer, 1977).

The great possibilities of radio transmitters coming out of the German feuilleton entire print readers who explained the great achievements of the media. Thus, in the German magazine "Signal" we can read the article by Ludwig Kapeller, under suggestive title "Here says Europe", in which they write about the power and force of the new German radio technology (Signal, March, No. 2, 1942). Goebbels was popularized by placing PA in public places and inexpensive radio receivers of Folksempfenger brand. These radio sets were in the nation secretly called "Goebbels muzzle", and they could have been purchased by families with average incomes and the effects of deliberate propaganda-media marketing campaigns were not missed, by the Nazis of course.

Hitler's TV

One medium that had just arrived was television and for many people the statement that reads:"... it is good that Hitler did not have television because he would have gotten the war" was only partly true. National-socialist state has experimented with "the miracle of the media", so that he was able to transmit images at a distance that at that time was on the verge of the possibility of science fiction. The Nazis were known for their quick and easy acceptance of innovations that would be of use to them and were in line with the principle of trying to establish television transmitters and develop a network of TV receivers.

Young German television was in its infancy and it enabled the Germans to watch direct broadcast which is quite a complex process but it leaves a good impact on the audience. In the thirties, Berlin had 11 public TV audiences in the jurisdiction of the

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German mail and Hitler and Goebbels were unusually interested in the possibilities of television in the transfer of Nazi speeches, films and documentaries and entertainment programs for the purpose of raising public morale. Thus, for example, was the television broadcast of the Olympics in Berlin in 1936 and it is considered that the sporting event was attended by about 150,000 people. German television stations continued broadcasting in the evening during the Second World War to 1943, when the allies destroyed the Berlin TV transmitter in the bombing.

Nazi TV camera – Signal, March 1, 1942

As the war operations lead to the end of Nazism, television has become the ideal means of persuasion in the final victory of the Wehrmacht and the German television opened a theatre that had been reserved only for soldiers. About the new technological developments that the German technology reached, the press wrote: "The recently opened in Berlin, latest television theatre with a comprehensive program ... for a small TV-Television for the big race. Home appliances - such as cameras installed in all the Berlin hospitals can be used on a small area of historical, artistic and sporting events. It did not take the presence in person at the same time. New Berlin television theatre, which opened with "Heimlich Bratfahrt" (comedy VB) from Leo Lenz, television pictures showed the size of cinema. During the war, only soldiers can attend the performances." (Signal, March 1, 1942).

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The Nazis created a media system that was equivalent to a totalitarian, brutal country that was based on violence and lies that were deliberately served to the public. Germans were supposed to convince the people of the alleged Jewish threat and the Communist conspiracy, the existence of "untermansch", or supermen and a series of untruths which were based on Hitler's regime. Having brought the media to the level of ordinary repeater of propaganda slogans, Goebbels was able to set standards for the dissemination of untruths and lies through the media, to which all subsequent dictators aspired. Complete media blockade and uniformity in reporting, "adorned" the German media in real-time Nazism, and it is difficult to speak about journalism work in such conditions. Journalists were seen as obedient soldiers who were to listen and write in accordance with the Nazi ideology that saw the media as one of the tools to govern the masses.

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