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ПРОШИРЕЊЕ ЕУ, ГЕОПОЛИТИКА И РУСКО-УКРАЈИНСКИ РАТ

EU ENLARGEMENT, GEOPOLITICS AND THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINE WAR

КЊИГА САЖЕТАКА
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



ОРГАНИЗАТОРИ



УДРУЖЕЊЕ ЗА
ПОЛИТИЧКЕ НАУКЕ СРБИЈЕ
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ТЕХНОЛОШКОГ РАЗВОЈА
И ИНОВАЦИЈА

EU ENLARGEMENT, GEOPOLITICS, AND THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINE WAR

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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

PROŠIRENJE EU, GEOPOLITIKA I RUSKO-UKRAJINSKI RAT

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Dušan Pavlović

U skladu sa dogovorom o regionalnom predstavljanju i saradnji naziv Kosovo* je bez prejudiciranja statusa i u skladu je sa Rezolucijom Saveta bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija 1244 i savetodavnim mišljenjem Međunarodnog suda pravde o deklaraciji o nezavisnosti Kosova. Svako drugačije navođenje u knjizi sažetaka isključivo je stav autora, odnosno učesnika konferencije.

Belgrade/Beograd 2023.

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LOKALNE JAVNE POLITIKE U OBLASTI DIGITALIZACIJE RADA – ISKUSTVA IZ UPOREDNE PRAKSE I NJIHOVA POTENCIJALNA PRIMENA NA GRAD BEOGRAD

Digitalizacija rada predstavlja relativno nov fenomen koji nije dovoljno istražen u polju političkih nauka. Ona zahteva i multidisciplinarni pristup uz korišćenje saznanja iz polja ekonomije, prava i sociologije. Posebno zanimljivo polje analize koje je neophodno obraditi jeste polje javnih politika sa posebnim osvrtom na lokalne javne politike. Stoga, osnovno istraživačko pitanje u ovom radu glasi: da li je digitalne oblike rada moguće regulisati na lokalnom nivou? Ovo istraživanje polazi od objašnjenja fenomena digitalizacije rada i njenog uticaja na uslove rada i položaj radnika. Digitalizacija rada se manifestuje kroz dva pojavna oblika, i to: rad na digitalnim platformama i rad na zahtev posredstvom mobilne aplikacije. U ovom radu se akcent stavlja na analizu rada na zahtev posredstvom aplikacija koga odlikuje postojanje fizičkog kontakta između zaposlenog i krajnjeg korisnika čiji se odnos, ali i obaveze koje proizilaze iz ovog odnosa, regulišu posredstvom digitalne odnosno mobilne aplikacije. Ovaj oblik rada se može označiti kao rad na lokalnim digitalnim platformama. Regulisanje ovog oblika rada je postalo značajno pitanje na lokalnom nivou u pojedinim gradovima, te je potrebno analizirati lokalne javne politike u gradovima Bolonji, Laciju, San Francisku, Njujorku i Čikagu koji predstavljaju primere dobre prakse u regulisanju ovog složenog fenomena. Komparativna iskustva ovih gradova mogu poslužiti kao osnova za izgradnju lokalnih javnih politika u Beogradu kojima će se regulisati ova složena oblast.

Ključne reci: digitalizacija rada, lokalne digitalne platforme, lokalne javne politike, komparativna analiza, Beograd

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INICIJATIVA “GLOBALNA KAPIJA” KAO INSTRUMENT STRATEŠKE AUTONOMIJE EVROPSKE UNIJE

Evropska unija je 2021. godine započela projekat „Globalna kapija“ (Global Gateway) kojim je nastojala da kroz investicije u infrastrukturu i povezanost u periodu 2021-2027. obezbedi tržišta za svoje robe i usluge ali i da podrži uspostavljanje i dalje širenje sopstvenih industrijskih, tehničkih, pravnih i komercijalnih standarda. Dodatni cilj ove strategije je bio pokušaj da kroz „održive investicije i pouzdane veze“ ponudi zemljama u razvoju alternativu za konkurentne programe - kinesku inicijativu „Pojas i put“ (Belt and Road) ali i za američki projekat „Izgradimo ponovo bolji svet“ (Build Back Better World - B3W). Pored toga, ovaj program je trebalo da kroz mešavinu ekonomskog razvoja i geopolitike podstakne bliže ekonomske i političke veze sa partnerskim zemljama i promoviše globalnu ulogu Evropske

unije. Iako se po nazivu čini da je reč o projektu globalnog domašaja i povećanja strateškog uticaja Evropske unije, regioni od najvećeg značaja, sudeći po definisanim programima, bili bi Zapadni Balkan i zemlje Istočnog partnerstva, Bliski istok, Severna i Podсахarska Afrika. Pored toga, značajan deo predviđenih sredstava od 300 milijardi dolara predstavlja iznose koji su prenamenjeni iz drugih projekata koje sprovodi Evropska komisija ili nacionalnih razvojnih programa država članica. Ovaj tekst će pokušati da utvrdi domet inicijative Globalna kapija, upoređujući ih sa sličnim programima Kine i SAD, kroz odnos javnog i delimično javnog finansiranja i privatnog investicionog kapitala. Drugi cilj rada je pokušaj utvrđivanja veze između projekta Globalna kapija i koncepta otvorene strateške autonomije Evropske unije.

Ključne reči: Evropska unija, Globalna kapija, strateška autonomija, investicije, geopolitički uticaj

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“PICTURES OF YU”: HOW INFLUENTIAL US POLITICAL AND EDITORIAL CARTOONISTS FRAMED SERBIA DURING THE 1990S AND WHY IT STILL MATTERS?

Studying international political and editorial cartoons which depict war and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia has rarely appeared in contemporary scholarship. Previous analysis of the dominant patterns in the Western European political cartoons showed how Serbia was largely dehumanized and blamed for severe political and societal disruptions in the region (Jovanović, 2000). However, these analyses are mostly limited to specific years, usually the beginning of the 1990s or specific methodological approaches oriented towards the pictorial analysis and not the production of meaning and public influence. Against this background, this paper examines the portrayal of Serbia in the most influential political and editorial cartoons of the US press in turbulent geopolitical context of war and conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s. The paper builds on the mixed-method research of 104 political and editorial cartoons published in different periods throughout the whole decade 1991-2000 in the mainstream American newspapers. Political cartooning in this analysis is not observed merely as symbolic art providing a record of events or portrayals of specific actors, but also as representation of what the most influential American cartoonists and their editors felt was newsworthy in a specific historical moment and as powerful tool for demonization of the enemy and overall propaganda against Serbia as the “treading boot”, “the ultimate killer”, “Hitler’s mouthpiece”, “master of ethnic cleansing” etc. This paper provides the basis for discussion on how powerful media depictions and political cartooning matter not only in the context of political and societal memory of former Yugoslavia, Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, their political leaders, and the role of the UN and the NATO, but also in relation to contemporary geopolitical events.

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WASTE ON THE PERIPHERY: THE PECULIAR SIMILARITIES IN UK AND SERBIAN COVID-19 RESPONSES

As COVID-19 spread, governments relied on a variety of tools to respond, with varying levels of effectiveness and long-term impact. Here, we identify responses in two countries on the European Union's periphery in the shape of the Republic of Serbia, and the United Kingdom and examine key dimensions of their approach in the 18 months following the emergence of the virus as a live policy issue. While the United Kingdom is undergoing a process of deviation from EU policies, strictures, and norms following 'Brexit', Serbia is gearing towards accession. In other words, the UK is 'de-Europeanizing' while Serbia is 'Europeanizing'. Despite these differing trajectories and notable differences in wealth, political system, and policymaking cultures, we identify similarities between their respective responses such as high levels of government waste, a reliance on informality and extra-legality (particularly in the area of government procurement) and a recourse to rhetorical nationalism. Ultimately, we find that even when accounting for the high levels of uncertainty and ambiguity which marked this period in the two countries, both deviate substantially in similar ways from a 'standard European approach' to managing the COVID-19 pandemic., marked by relative consistency from member states to issues such as government spending and procurement. Thus, our paper seeks to inform the literature on crises and policy learning by including insights from the study of informal politics and populism alongside the standard expectations of the policy process literature.

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BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE: DISCOURSES OF WESTERN BALKANS STATES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ON RUSSIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION AFTER THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

In the aftermath of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, all countries had to take a very public position of, generally, either supporting Ukraine and condemning Russia or declaring some sort of neutrality and maintaining relations with both belligerents. Of particular importance to both Russia, the antagonist, and the collective West, the protagonist-adjacent, were the Western Balkans states for a number of reasons: the symbolism due to cultural ties, their status as a litmus test of both parties' soft power as a result of distinct kinds of investment, geopolitical posturing as a site of instability, and pure mathematics in terms of numbers of votes at international fora. This makes the foreign policy actions undertaken by the five Western

Balkans states that are members of various international organizations quite useful as a study of how small states behave in times of international turmoil, but also how larger actors adjust their policies as an exercise of power to induce favorable foreign policy outcomes. Therefore, this study analyzes the discursive behavior of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia at the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the United Nations General Assembly from November 2020 to June 2023, covering a 28-month period equidistant from the start of the war regarding the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the policy of the European Union, in order to ascertain the continuities and changes of their foreign policy orientations and preferences.

Keywords: discourse analysis; European Union; Council of Europe; Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe; Russian invasion of Ukraine; United Nations General Assembly; Western Balkans states

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GEOPOLITIKA (DEZ)INFORMACIJA: RUSKO-UKRAJINSKI RAT KAO SUKOB MEDIJSKIH NARATIVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Sa povećanjem medijske pažnje spram Rusko-ukrajinskog rata primjetna je i proliferacija dezinformacija unutar bosanskohercegovačkog medijskog prostora. Polazeći od pretpostavke da je medijsko predstavljanje uslovljeno postojećim društvenim i političkim odnosima, u radu se napušta konvencionalno shvatanje kako mediji oblikuju društvenu stvarnost. Njihovom zarobljenošću etnopolitičkim interpretacijama te ograničenom nepristranošću i neovisnošću, akcentira se mogućnost manipulacije informacijama, nerijetko i u svrhu promicanja stranih interesa i narativa. U kontekstu kompleksnog međudnosa na relaciji društvo-medijsko-geopolitika, cilj rada je osvijetliti navedeno stajalište na primjeru medijskog izvještavanja o Rusko-ukrajinskom ratu. Identificirajući distinkcije i pristrasnosti u medijskom izvještavanju, rad će se primarno osloniti na višedimenzionalnu kvalitativnu komparativnu analizu medijske pokrivenosti i različitih narativa zastupljenih na web-portalima javnih servisa i privatnih medija u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine i Republici Srpskoj. Shodno evidentnoj medijskoj reprodukciji dominirajućih političko-ideoloških narativa kao (ne)posrednoj refleksiji polarizacije bh. društva na entitetskoj i etničkoj a ne na relaciji javni servisi-privatni mediji, iznova se potvrđuje, ali i učvršćuje postojanje duboko podijeljene javnosti sa različitim, pa nerijetko i potpuno oprečnim percepcijama globalnih događaja. To u konačnici doprinosi osnaživanju fenomena sužavanja medijskog prostora, javnog diskursa te demokratije uopće. Na temelju ovih uvida, sugerira se potreba za mogućim promicanjem koncepta alternativne javnosti s ciljem prevazilaženja društvenog jaza, osnaživanja pozicije nezavisnih medija, demokratske kulture, kao i poticanja javne debate.

Ključne riječi: agresija, medijska fragmentiranost, popularna geopolitika, vojna operacija, zarobljeni mediji

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REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE WESTERN BALKANS: WAYS FORWARD AND THE KEY CHALLENGES

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of regional economic cooperation initiatives in the Western Balkans, including the analysis of CEFTA 2006, the Berlin Process, and the “Mini Schengen”, i.e. the “Open Balkan” initiative. The paper will also highlight the significance of these initiatives and their importance for the economies in the respective region. The European Union has encouraged regional economic cooperation in the Western Balkans and these initiatives are considered as instruments to improve regional cooperation in general, which is a prerequisite for the region's membership in the EU. Apart from the prospects of EU membership, the author will argue that the benefits of regional economic cooperation are that it can reduce tensions in the turbulent region and also bring tangible economic benefits to the participating economies. However, the overall regional economic cooperation and the development of regional economic integrations should not be motivated by short-term political interests and politically advantageous dimensions of the cooperation, but by the prospect of the future and a belief in the intrinsic values of regional economic cooperation itself. The author will argue that precisely these political interests and the lack of awareness of the importance of regional economic cooperation itself are the main challenges, on which the overall development of regional economic cooperation depends.

Keywords: Western Balkans, regional economic cooperation, CEFTA 2006, Berlin Process, “Mini Schengen”, “Open Balkan”, European Union

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION OF THE WESTERN BALKANS DURING THE WAR IN UKRAINE – ILLUSION OR REAL INCENTIVE TOWARDS FULL MEMBERSHIP?

The author examines the existence of specific progress in the Western Balkans (WB) within the process of European integration, taking into account the war in Ukraine and the current status of the European Union (EU) on the international scene. The starting point is that the EU aims to be the most significant actor in the WB, and maintaining such perception in light of the new geopolitical situation is of utmost importance. In this spirit, the EU strives to preserve its role as a transformative force that keeps the region stable and reform-oriented, providing a new

impetus to the European perspective of the WB countries, but without a genuine intention to accelerate the accession process. Through the theoretical paradigm of social constructivism, the author explores whether the EU's enlargement policy instruments lead to a deepening of the European integration process by opening accession negotiations with the Republic of Albania and the Republic of North Macedonia and granting candidate status to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through content analysis and comparative methods, the author addresses whether the progress in the integration process is illusory or a genuine encouragement toward full membership. Firstly, the author presents learned lessons from the accession process of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro, whose (un)successes are reflected to other WB states. Additionally, the author examines the relationship between the Ukrainian war and the enlargement policy, exploring the geopolitical moment of the WB integration process. To conclude, the integration progress of the mentioned WB states is caused by a combination of geopolitical and regional factors, which maintain the global actorness of the EU in WB without a more promising membership perspective, considering the other WB countries' experience.

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GEOPOLITIČKA MISAO U NAUČNIM RADOVIMA PROF. DR ZORANA MILOŠEVIĆA

U izdavaštvu „Sveži pogled“ u Rusiji se pojavio zbornik radova prof. dr Zorana Miloševića „Geopolitika – pogled sa Balkana, prvi deo“, a u Belorusiji – drugi deo istoimenog zbornika. Oba su objavljena na ruskom jeziku, u prevodu eminentnih prevodilaca i izdanju krupnih izdavačkih kuća. I ovi slučajevi nisu usamljeni, jer su se knjige dr Miloševića iz oblasti geopolitike objavljivale i na drugim svetskim jezicima, uključujući i arapski (2022).

U ovom radu razmotrićemo razvoj geopolitičke misli u naučnim radovima prof. dr Zorana Miloševića – pogled na EU i dominaciju Zapada, odnos Istoka i Zapada u smislu „sudara“ suprotnih svetova, rusku Specijalnu vojnu operaciju u Ukrajini i njene posledice po savremeni svet i moguće ishode.

Geopolitička misao dr Miloševića je dobro utemeljena i proračunata, potkrepljena naučnim činjenicama, dovoljno primamljiva i istraživačima i drugim zainteresovanim čitaocima, što dokazuju i njegovi uspesi U Srbiji i van granica Srbije, o čemu ćemo u naredom radu više govoriti.

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REDEFINING EU'S CLEAN ENERGY AND ENERGY SECURITY – HOW THE WAR IN UKRAINE AFFECTED THE DISCOURSE AROUND THE FUTURE OF EU ENERGY POLICY

The war in Ukraine met the EU unprepared. The economy and the energy sector of the EU are largely dependent on supplies from abroad, and especially on imports from Russia. This is especially the case with natural gas, the procurement of which from other countries requires serious logistical efforts. This is all happening in the context of the new development strategy, the EU Green Deal, which envisages a carbon-neutral Europe by 2050. In addition, the Fit for 55 package, which plans to set an ambitious target of reduction of greenhouse gases emissions by 55% compared to the 1990 level, has been called into question. A good number of EU countries viewed gas as a transitional solution that is now questionable. Energy security has practically become the number one topic on the agenda of EU's internal energy policy, as well as foreign policy. Energy security is a complex term, consisting of different dimensions. However, there is no consensus among the scientific community when it comes to the exact meaning of this concept. It is mostly equated with security of supply. However, recently, there are opinions that the concept should be significantly expanded with security of demand, environmental protection and clean energy, as well as human security and etc. The requirements have led to the number of definitions of energy security increasing to about 45. After the start of the war, a lot of attention was given to the dimension of the security of supply, in the context of EU's dependence on imports from Russia. Despite mapping the further development of renewable and clean energy as one of the solutions, some member states lead by France are advocating for expanding the capacities for nuclear energy, on which the debate is heated. The objective of this paper is to analyse the changes in the definition of EU's energy security in regards to the war in Ukraine. Special focus will be given to the discourse and debates related to nuclear energy, and the definition of clean energy in the EU's strategic policy documents.

Keywords: energy security, environmental protection, decarbonisation, clean energy, security of supply.

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PEACEBUILDING AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION WITH MULTIPLE EXTERNAL ACTORS

The escalation of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has repercussions for unresolved conflicts much beyond the borders of Ukraine. Russia and the North-Atlantic allies play an important role as external actors in conflicts in the larger region, ranging from the former

Yugoslavia to Central Asia. Does peacebuilding work in a regional context with multiple, antagonistic external players?

This paper introduces a new game theoretical model of external support for peacebuilding and democracy promotion in post-conflict societies. The external actors analysed have important linkages, and can exert significant political, economic and military power in the target countries or region, where peacebuilding takes place. They follow two agendas: providing for stability (peace), and strengthening political partnership, which involves promoting their political norms, which can be either democratic or authoritarian rule. I speak of multiple external actors when there are several powerful actors engaged in the same region, which pursue fundamentally different agendas, e.g. if they have fundamentally different visions, irreconcilable for peace, and/or if external actors include both democratic and authoritarian regimes.

The game theoretical model investigates the decisions taken domestic political actors, i.e. the actors (governments and oppositions) in the target countries or region for peacebuilding. On the domestic plan, democratic governing parties compete against opposition parties that want to replace them as the main representatives for their respective group. They face two decisions: first, whether to maintain democracy or to autocratise (and thereby reducing the threat of the internal opposition), and second, to contribute to peace, or to escalate the conflict (which may alter their domestic support).

The paper proposes multiple versions of this game, with a single actor, with multiple actors with conflicting political norms (democracies vs. authoritarian regimes), and with multiple actors with conflicting political norms and with fundamentally different visions for peace. The models are illustrated with tentative examples, where the escalation of the Russian aggression against Ukraine has altered the seat and the goals of external actors relevant for conflict solution.

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IZBORNA (NE)STABILNOST NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU U FOKUSU GEOPOLITIČKIH PROMENA

Promene koje su se desile na globalnom, evropskom i regionalnom nivou bitno su uticale na izborne procese na Zapadnom Balkanu. Spoljnopolitičke teme imale su svoje mesto u izbornim procesima, ali su sa početkom rata u Ukrajini bile fokus, a često i dominantne teme na izborima. U zemljama Zapadnog Balkana od početka rata u Ukrajini održano je 5 izbornih procesa – parlamentarni izbori u Bosni i Hercegovini, predsednički i parlamentarni izbori u Crnoj Gori, predsednički i parlamentarni izbori u Srbiji koji su održani istovremeno. Uticaj orijentacija prema ovom pitanju ali prema drugim pitanjima – sankcije Ruskoj Federaciji, odnos prema Otvorenom Balkanu, bilateralni odnosi zemlja Zapadnog Balkana itd. imali su svoj doprinos značajnim nivoima izborne (ne)stabilnosti na sistemskom nivou i važnim promenama izbornih rezultata pojedinačnih partija, koalicija i lista. U ovom radu merim stabilnost kroz dva tipa

izborne volatilnosti: na nivo partijskog sistema i na nivou pojedinačnih partija, čime pokazujem uticaj orijentacije prema navedenim spoljnopolitičkim temama na izborne rezultate. Izbornu volatilnost računam kroz Pedersenov indeks, dok za pojedinačne partije prikazujem rezultat apsolutne i relativne volatilnosti u odnosu na rezultate sa prethodnih izbora. Kroz kvalitativnu analizu objašnjavam uticaj stavova partija i lidera u kampanjama na promene izbornih rezultata, kao i stavove javnog mnjenja po navedenim pitanjima.

Dragan Pavličević

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GEOPOLITIČKI ASPEKTI FINANSIRANJA I IZGRADNJE INFRASTRUKTURE NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU

Saradnja u infrastrukturi je ključna komponenta kineske inicijative “Pojas i Put” i kao takva centralna je za brz razvoj odnosa Kine sa državama Zapadnog Balkana u prethodnoj deceniji. Međutim, drugi važni regionalni akteri – naime Evropska Unije i SAD – takođe su poslednjih godina pokrenuli inicijative i mere za infrastrukturnu saradnju koje su usmerene na Zapadni Balkan i koje imaju za cilj da se nadmeću sa napprima Kine u tom domenu.

Pojava konkurentnih inicijativa i modela finansiranja i razvoja infrastrukture ima značajne praktične i akademske implikacije. U praktičnom smislu, neophodno je razumeti uticaj konkurentnih modela i praksi finansiranja infrastrukture i na dosadašnje rezultate i na potencijal dalje saradnje u infrastrukturnom razvoju između i Kine i zapadnih aktera i država Zapadnog Balkana. U akademskom smislu, neophodno je usredsrediti se na empirijske podatke i analizirati implikacije konkurentskih modela na odnose Zapadnog Balkana i Kine, kao i Zapadnog Balkana i tzv. “Zapada”, uključujući i njihov značaj za politiku i perspektive proširenja Evropske Unije na Zapadnom Balkanu. Takva analiza može dati uvide ne samo na geopolitička kretanja u regionu, nego i u šire, jer ovaj kontekst konkurentskih modela nije samo regionalnog karaktera već odražava i trendove na globalnom nivou.

Otuda, ova studija će predstaviti uporednu analizu konkurentskih modela finansiranja i izgradnje infrastrukture na Zapadnom Balkanu, kako bi doprinela akademskoj literaturi o kinesko-balkanskim odnosima, (evropskim) perspektivama Zapadnog Balkana, kao i geopolitičkim aspektima konkurentskih politika konektivnosti koje se materijalizuju u regionu.

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UTICAJ RATA U UKRAJINI NA OSNOVNE LINIJE POLITIČKIH PODELA U SRBIJI

U ovom tekstu razmatram uticaj rata u Ukrajini na partijski sistem Srbije, primarno posmatran kroz osnovne linije političkih podela. Oslanjajući se na Deegan-Krausov (2007) koncept podela (divide), analiziram kako su se tokom konflikta u Ukrajini menjale ključne teme na političkoj

sceni Srbije, te kako su se tokom vremena menjale pozicije političkih aktera i njihova argumentacija.

Partijski sistem Srbije je od dolaska na vlast SNS karakterisalo smanjenje intenziteta dotadašnjih linija podela i dominacija sveobuhvatnih i centrističkih politika, što je dovelo do specifične konfiguracije partijskog sistema i osnovne linije podele bazirane na odnosu prema režimu Aleksandra Vučića, te nizom sekundarnih ideoloških podela. Kako se početak rata u Ukrajini poklopio sa izbornom kampanjom u Srbiji 2022. godine, političke partije su većinom pokušavale da izbegnu jasno određivanje prema sukobu i da zauzmu balansiranu poziciju. Ipak, trajanje sukoba, pojava novih jasno definisanih spoljno-političkih tema (npr. uvođenje sankcija Rusiji), te promena spoljnopolitičkog okvira i nova dinamika starih regionalnih pitanja (npr. Francusko-nemački plan za rešavanje statusa Kosova) su stvorili osnovu i dali podsticaj za dublju polarizaciju na identitetskim i ideološkim osnovama.

Rad se zasniva na analizi sadržaja izborne kampanje iz 2022. godine, parlamentarnih raspravama u vazi sa ratom u Ukrajini i ključnim medijskim nastupima predstavnika vodećih stranaka, što će nam omogućiti da jasnije razumemo nijansirane pozicije stranaka, ali i njihovu transformaciju tokom godinu i po dana sukoba, kao i način na koji se pitanje rata u Ukrajini kombinuje sa ostalim političkim pitanjima.

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DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONAL DESIGNS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EU AND ASEAN

Unlike Fukuyama's prediction, history has not ended and democracy has not won. With the rise of China, war in Ukraine and waves of far-right and far-left populism, the liberal order is not short on challenges and possibilities. The specialized literature on International Relations has produced a number of models of institutional designs for economic blocks to handle those challenges and operate under those possibilities, but are institutional designs truly effective tools? Revising the models proposed by Vleuten & Hoffmann (2010) and Davies (2017) through negative reasoning of their theoretical assumptions and empirical evidence, this work questions to what degree institutional design influences the democratic processes of member states of a modern economic block. Understood as both democratization or undemocratization, the democratic processes of the European Union's (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) member states were the focus of the analysis. The study understands institutional design to be an intervening variable and argues that institutional designs are merely one of many possible expressions of systemic constraints and impositions from great powers, even though being generally more legitimate and accepted than other exertions of power. Finally, it fosters the causal relation between the foreign policies of great powers; existential

security of the state and regime of the member state, and the democratic processes of the member state in question.

Key words: democracy; institutional designs; EU; ASEAN

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EU'S, COLONIZATION OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. HYPOCRISIES AND FALSE PROMISES OF FREE MARKET ECONOMY AND DEMOCRACY

Despite the long and grisly Nazi occupation during the WW II, the Yugoslav nation succeeded in fighting off the enemy to the point that they were the only nation which liberated its own territories without the Soviet, American and British armies. Human price was high. Over one million Yugoslavs perished. The Yugoslavs also suffered grisly Nazi methods and concentration camps. The high price for freedom was paid in blood by millions of its citizens. However, only fifteen years later, the first German tourists arrived to the sunny beaches of Yugoslavia to enjoy the stunning coastline. German tourists were treated as any other tourists without any prejudice. They were not stoned by rocks on Split Riva or Dubrovnik Old Town if they wore a German Football dress. Their cars were not vandalized because their cars had German license plates. Fast forward to the 1990s, after the war in Croatia, which was much less intense in terms of infrastructure destruction or people casualties on all sides yet despite 30 plus years after the war Serbian tourists, athletes are regularly attacked in Croatia, their cars vandalized etc. But similar vandalisms are reported in Serbia against the Croatian visitors. On the other hand Croatia is an EU member state, yet both EU and Croatia only watched as more than 3000 WWII monuments commemorating the fight against Nazism and Fascism get systematically erased in Croatia some before but many after the wars. Serbia is not as nearly bad but it has its own way of (not)dealing with WWII Partisan monuments. At the same time Croatian shipyards have been shut down, Croatian banks purchased by the large German, Italian and French banks, Croatian major oil company bought by Hungary national oil company, food market stores are Austrian or German essentially EU stripping Croatia to its bare minimum of an economic skeleton to barely survive and contribute zero to its own development much less to European or global. So what gives ? What has happened with the promises of capitalist market economy and democracy ? Periphery and small EU member states appear to have some say, but in reality have zero influence in any major EU political and economic policy decisions. It turns out Yugoslavia perhaps, was not all that bad as the nationalists of the 90s and today betray her to be. There is an old proverb across the Mediterranean world: "The greatest sorrow in the life of a peasant is that his donkey is lost. And the greatest happiness is that he finds it back." The Yugoslavs either lost their donkey and never found it, or they were duped into trading it for a broken but shiny piece of farm equipment. This paper is of multidisciplinary research and will attempt to answer some of the hypocrisies of the European Union in the post-Yugoslav space in the last three decades and provide some but highly improbable ways for the future of the region.

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IS DEMOGRAPHY ENERGY DESTINY? COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN ENERGY POLICIES

With the ongoing climate crisis, conflicts in the Middle East and Europe over energy resources, and rapid political and economic transformations driven by advancements in renewable energy technologies, the 21st century has increasingly been defined by humanity's complex relationship with energy. In particular, the countries of Southeastern Europe have undergone an exceptionally difficult transition, grappling with both technological and political challenges which impacted, and were impacted by, their energy policies. Despite having broadly different political outcomes, the countries of Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia exhibit striking similarities in certain aspects of their respective energy policies, while showing divergence in others. Therefore, this paper addresses the following question: why have the energy policies in the three countries diverged and converged? under what conditions have energy policies developed in the three countries? This paper tests explanations from the literature on Europeanization, climate entrepreneurship and climate policy integration, energy security, policy diffusion, and coalition dynamics as to why the countries have developed in the observed ways. In doing so, it examines the impact of theoretically significant exogenous and endogenous factors in determining energy policy. Through this analysis, the paper aims to refine our understanding of the conditions under which energy policies and energy systems are shaped.

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NAVIGATING EU ENLARGEMENT: BALANCING CHRONOLOGICAL PRECEDENCE AND GEOPOLITICAL PRIORITIES

By employing a realist approach, the authors investigate how geopolitical factors influence the EU's decision to expand into regions of strategic importance or vulnerability to major powers' influence, as a means to enhance its security and projection of power. They also explore the obstacle posed by the absence of a unanimous stance on "pre-scheduled" accessions, as seen in the past in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The authors argue that the changed geopolitical landscape in Europe has profoundly influenced the European Union's (EU) enlargement policy. However, its impact has been asymmetrical in the two main micro-regions: the Western Balkans on the one hand and the Eastern neighbourhood on the other. The authors contend that the EU's response has not predominantly been strategic but rather tactical. This phenomenon reflects the

longstanding deficiencies in the EU's enlargement policy, coupled with the urgent need to extend commitments to the eastern partners who face immediate security threats from Russia. Nevertheless, the authors hypothesise that such tendencies are not advantageous for the Western Balkans, which face lower direct jeopardy from Russia. Consequently, it becomes a lower priority for the European Union, despite its chronological precedence in the enlargement domain. While ideally, both enlargement regions should be granted an "accession timetable" along with on-ground democratic reforms (similar to CEE), the authors highlight that due to differing geopolitical dynamics and pressure, the outcomes for the two regions may either diverge in terms of potential favouring of the new candidates or, perhaps more likely, converge – meaning that the accession of either region might be postponed until after the invasion of Ukraine ends.

Keywords: enlargement policy, Eastern partnership, priority, strategy, interest, security, threats

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SANCTIONS PRESSURING: EU INTEGRATION CHALLENGES IN THE CASE OF SERBIA

This paper deals with new developments of the EU integration of Serbia after Russian fully-fledged invasion against Ukraine on 24th February 2022. It attempts to analyse the contextual setting and efficiency of sanctions pressuring of the EU directed at Serbia. The key leading question regards reasons why Serbia did not decide to join the sanctions against Russia and align with the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Empirical analysis addresses recent history of the EU-Serbian-Russian relations, scope of sanctions pressuring and its limitations from the EU's perspective as well as comparative study of conditionality in cases sensitive to national identity with regard to cost-benefit analysis and credibility of conditions. This study is based on empirical research and 22 interviews conducted during fieldworks in Belgrade (March-April 2023) and Brussels (May 2023) involving perspectives of NGOs, experts and academics, representatives of governmental and EU institutions.

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PRIVREMENA ZAŠTITA RASELJENIH OSOBA IZ UKRAJINE: IZMEĐU PRUŽANJA MEĐUNARODNE ZAŠTITE I UPRAVLJANJA MIGRACIJAMA

Oružani sukob između Ruske Federacije i Ukrajine neizmerno je uticao na živote ljude u ove dve zemlje, posebno u Ukrajini. Kao rezultat sukoba, skoro 8 miliona ljudi (UNHCR, 2023) je napustilo Ukrajinu i potražilo utočište u drugim zemljama, uključujući zemlje EU i Zapadnog Balkana. Kao odgovor na masovni priliv osoba iz Ukrajine, EU je po prvi put aktivirala mehanizam privremene zaštite. Cilj ovog rada jeste da ispita da li privremena zaštita koja je pružena raseljenim licima iz Ukrajine predstavlja odgovarajući vid međunarodne zaštite ili je pre instrument kojim su države pokušale da upravljaju velikim migratornim tokom koji je usledio kao posledica sukoba. Iako je privremena zaštita nesumnjivo važan mehanizam pružanja zaštite koja je neophodna osobama koje su pogođene oružanim sukobom, naša tvrdnja jeste da se ovaj mehanizam u praksi aktivirao uzimajući u obzir prevashodno interese u vezi sa regulisanjem migratornih tokova. Kako bismo potkrepili ovu tvrdnju ukazaćemo na sledeće: da je način aktiviranja privremene zaštite u rukama političkih organa i da je rukovođen političkim procenama a ne (samo) nužnošću pružanja zaštite raseljenim osobama; da privremena zaštita zamagljuje različite potrebe osoba koje napuštaju Ukrajinu i da to utiče i na zamaglivanje odgovarajućeg pravnog statusa za ove osobe; i konačno, da trajanje privremene zaštite uskoro ističe, a da čelnici EU, a posledično i Srbije, još uvek (javno) ne razmatraju adekvatnu izlaznu strategiju kako bi se izbeglo da osobe koje su uživale privremenu zaštitu ostanu u pravnom limbu.

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AUTHORITARIANISM BETWEEN EUROPEANISM AND EUROSCEPTICISM: THE CASE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

This paper questions the assumption of an uncritical attitude of the European Union and the EU-Integration process in Bosnia and Herzegovina by any relevant political and social actors. This uncritical perspective where the goal of accession to the EU is considered both a *guiding principle* and the *ultimate prize* is seen because of three factors: first, the *marketing image* of the EU being aided by a number of post-war foreign projects promoting a strong Europeanization ideology which declarative support is, secondly, used to compensate the lack of coherent policy agendas and visions from local political actors. This, finally, serves to justify the EU's future on the other side, giving importance to the European integration process and the idea of the EU itself. This leads to the EU promoting stabilitocracy, semi-authoritarian

regimes in the Western Balkans that receive external support for the sake of promising stability in the region while turning a blind eye to their undemocratic internal practices. The paper aims to show the relationship between this uncritical attitude toward the EU-Integration process on the one hand and the strengthening of authoritarian tendencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other. It argues that those tendencies are being legitimized by a strong auto-colonial and self-victimization narrative, which not only perpetuates divisions along ethnic lines but also consolidates the grip of ethno-political regimes on power and undermines the prospects for genuine democratic progress in the region. Hence, the paper discusses the possibilities and dangers of the potential emergence of Euroscepticism in such circumstances.

Keywords: Balkans, democracy, geopolitics, multilevel governance, Yugoslavia

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REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA ON A DIFFICULT PATH TO EUROPEAN UNION OBVIOUSLY IS MOVING AWAY FROM DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES

Integration in the European Union is one and only way for democratization of political system in Republic of North Macedonia. In 2016 Colorful revolution was hope for better governance which will bring Macedonian society closer to European Union, but it failed. Democratic practices are directly correlated with the European Union integration processes and in the last five years trends go in the opposite direction. Skepticism about European Union is growing among Macedonian citizens; in 2022 49% of the citizens agree the EU membership is a good thing which is 20 % less than in 2021 when 69% thinks the same.

Then again in 2022, 46% of the citizens believe that there is no democracy at all in the North Macedonia, 53% suppose that it was working in the wrong direction, only 9 % believe that things are moving in the right direction. There is 10 % less from 2021, when 19% of citizens believe that things are moving in the right direction.

Republic of North Macedonia is becoming political system that moves away from practices of good governance and democracy. European integration processes are still crucial to put pressure on the actors within the political system to return to the democratic path against the authoritarian one that is practically developing.

Key words: European Union integration, believing in democracy, authoritarian characteristics

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„RAZUĐENO PROŠIRENJE EVROPSKE UNIJE – BUDUĆI IZAZOVI ZA ZAPADNI BALKAN“

Rad analizira uzroke ograničenog uspeha proširenja Evropske unije i primenu nove metodologije na zemlje Jugoistočne Evrope i Zapadnog Balkana posle Solunske deklaracije (2003), kojom je i zvanično ovim zemljama potvrđena evropska perspektiva i članstvo kad ispune kriterijume iz Kopenhagena (otvoreno tržište, demokratija i pravna država), a bavi se i stepenom „transformativne moći“ Evropske unije, odnosno sposobnošću da podstakne reforme u regionu. Konstatuje se da je evropsko komunitarno pravo (*acquis communautaire*) u međuvremenu primenjeno tako da su zemlje ovog regiona postigle zajedničke ciljeve u različitim oblastima (bezvizni režim, regionalno tržište za struju i gas, zaštita životne sredine, naučna istraživanja i digitalizacija), ali su sada, što je posledica ukrajinskog sukoba, status kandidata dobile Ukrajina i Moldavija (2022), evropsku perspektivu ima Gruzija, dok Turska nastoji da obnovi evropski put koristeći atlantsku komponentu i članstvo u NATO-u. U odgovoru, do kog se došlo analizom dokumenata koja se odnose na odluke i praksu država kandidata Zapadnog Balkana i komparativnom metodom sprovedenih unutrašnjih reformi i realizovanih projekata EU (IPA programi) kroz statističke podatke pružene finansijske pomoći, uz studiju slučaja ukrajinskog evropskog puta, autor iznosi hipotezu o sve većem uticaju geopolitike (odnos prema Rusiji) na evrointegraciju u odnosu na ideologiju, na šta ukazuje formiranje Evropske političke zajednice 2022. godine sa oko 40 zemalja. U zaključku se navodi da je kombinovani proces zakonodavne harmonizacije i proširenja granica Evropske unije i NATO-a (Finska i Švedska) odgovor na multilateralizam i grupisanje zemalja Istoka, sa čim se Zapad suočio i pre ukrajinskog sukoba, ali koji se sada intenzivira i dobija svoju jasniju i konačnu formu (širenje Šangajske organizacije za saradnju i objedinjavanje ove organizacije, Evroazijske ekonomske unije i BRIKS-a), ukazujući na novo restrukturiranje međunarodnih odnosa posle Hladnog rata.

Ključne reči: evro-atlantsko proširenje, geopolitika, ukrajinski rat, Evroazija, Zapadni Balkan.

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A SINGULAR OR A PLURAL? THE EUROPEAN UNION’S DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE OR DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES OF SUSTANIZATION IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

There is not a single theoretical approach to EU diplomacy sufficient to explain its every detail. Practice approaches in International Relations, confluent with the traditional practice approach

in Diplomatic Studies, proved to be the most apt in providing detailed answers to puzzling questions. These theoretical lenses will be used in this attempt to disentangle one knot of conditions for the EU to achieve sustainability and climate neutrality. The research question is how the EU's sustainability diplomacy has worked in the Western Balkans since 1998. It was inaugurated in the intersecting EU's diplomatic invention of this region with the priming of its own environmental protection and sustainable development. These are two initial "rungs of the ladder" of the distinctive regional dimension of the EU's sustainability diplomacy. This "ladder of sustainability" is expanded with energy, climate neutrality, green transition, and overall sustainability "rungs." Four process-level activities exist, while the fifth is in the making. Sayings and doings of a wide array of officials in the EU's conduct of sustainability diplomacy in the Western Balkans on all levels, and all the "rungs of the ladder of sustainability" will be outlined. The research core is the analysis of the day-to-day "work on the ground" of the EU's officials on the regional level since 2018. We assume that their sayings and doings constitute a single EU diplomatic practice of sustanization. It is multistakeholder, multilevel, and multilayered, aiming to support the Western Balkans in building a sustainable future despite numerous obstacles slowing down the progress.

Keywords: EU diplomacy, EU diplomatic practices, sustainability, climate neutrality, EU strategic diplomacy, EU sustainability diplomacy, EU structural diplomacy, Western Balkans, EU sustanization diplomatic practice, permacrisis.

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Everyday Peace Indicators Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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ACTIVATING SPACES IN MOSTAR: FROM INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION TO EVERYDAY PEACE

Three decades after war ended in Mostar, in Herzegovina, the city is one of very few places left in the country where different ethnic groups still live side by side, albeit usually on different sides of the city. Internationals first tried to reunite the city's administration and later intervened to end a stalemate over election law reform which had deprived Mostar of its local government for nearly a decade and blocked the country's bid for EU candidacy. These hurdles partially overcome, the British Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina initiated a significant project, financed by the UK's FCDO, to improve life for Mostarians. This 2021-2024 project, Mostar: Prostor koji pokreću (in English, Spaces to Activate and Rejuvenate), focuses on (development) improvements to infrastructure and content in the municipality's public spaces, with the (peacebuilding) aim of also facilitating increased interaction in this pluralist context. The spatial orientation of this project aligns with a significant scholarly focus on Mostar's spatial divide, which has also been the international community's concern the last 30 years. While Everyday Peace Indicators' community-sourced indicators of life together and peace tell a much broader story of Mostarians' local concerns, they also point to the importance of spaces

and opportunities in these spaces – for all. This contribution will present the project and EPI's peace research, which is nested within it, as the latest development/peacebuilding intervention in a new era of possibilities for Mostar and one of the newest EU candidate states, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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SERBIA HEDGING ITS BETS BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

This article explains the evolution of Serbian political, economic and security relations with the European Union, Russia, and China in the period 2009-2022. The analysis of Serbia's ambivalent relations with three partners relies on the existing literature on the strategies of small states in relation to great powers. An overview of several theoretical concepts has ensured the identification of the hedging model as suitable for understanding Serbia's approach towards external actors. Within various descriptions of hedging policy in the literature, the conception of the author Cheng-Chwee Kuik was chosen as adequate for analytical clarification of Serbian behavior in recent years as a complex combination of hedging components of economic pragmatism, binding engagement, limited bandwagoning, dominance denial, and indirect balancing. Such a theoretical interpretation of Serbian relations with the European Union, Russia, and China is important as the country does not yet have a written form of its foreign policy strategy, nor is there a more detailed doctrinal basis of this model in domestic literature. In practical terms, this analysis will help to better understand how Serbia found itself in an uncomfortable position between the West and the East due to the outbreak of the war in Ukraine. The research methodology of this work is based on the combination of semi-structured interviews with Serbian foreign policy experts and the analysis of secondary statistical data on Serbian foreign trade and foreign direct investments (FDI).

Key words: Serbia, hedging policy, European Union, Russia, China

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EVROPSKE INTEGRACIJE SEVERNE MAKEDONIJE: KANDIDAT-SVEDOK TRANFORMACIJE EVROPSKE UNIJE

Sažetak: Severna Makedonija više nije u fokusu proširenja Evropske unije. Nakon konflikta 2001. godine bila je država-lider na evropskom putu, u mnogim segmentima ispred Hrvatske koja je već članica. Početkom druge decenije 21. veka dobila je ulogu „poslednjeg vagona“ u

širem kontekstu evropskih integracija na Zapadnom Balkanu, bez sumnje iza Hrvatske koja je već tada spremno očekivala datum ulaska, ali istovremeno iza Crne Gore i Srbije. Sve je bilo svedeno na grčko-makedonski spor koji je zapravo odgovorio na pitanje da je Grčka daleko od uloga „ekskluzivnog kočničara“ evropskih integracija svog severnog suseda. Zapravo, transformacija je bila dvosmerna ulica u slučaju odnosa Evropske unije i Severne Makedonije. Dok se Skoplje suočavalo sa unutrašnjom borbom građanske (binacionalne) i nacionalne (jednonacionalne) države, sveprožimajućim političkim okršajem čiji je epilog bio u potpunosti zarobljene institucije, Evropska unija je bila suočena sa unutrašnjim ekonomskim, finansijskim, a potom i političkim i institucionalnim izazovima koje su u neku ruku uticale da Brisel ne spreman dočeka sukob na teritoriji Ukrajine. Upravo zato potražićemo odgovore na pitanja: koji su uzroci „vakuuma“ u odnosima Skoplja i Brisela, Koje pogrešne korake možemo da pripišeme Skoplju, a koje Briselu, da li je evropska integracija na zapadnom Balkanu postao samo teorijski koncept, bez praktične mogućnosti realizacije i kako će izgledati sledeća transformacija, Evropske unije, s jedne strane i Severne Makedonije, s druge – nakon svih tekućih izazova?

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NEW GEOPOLITICAL INITIATIVES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION'S ENLARGEMENT POLICY: THE CASE OF THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL COMMUNITY

The 27-member European Union experienced enlargement fatigue after Croatia's accession in 2013, had to cope with constantly changing crises on the agenda and had to slow down its enlargement processes in this conjuncture. However, the period that started with Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 has shaken Europe's security and paved the way for the discussion of democratic values. European countries had to response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine and shape policies accordingly. The European Political Community is a new initiative that emerged within the scope of these policies.

This initiative, launched by French President Emmanuel Macron in May 2022, brought together both European countries that are members of the Union and those that are not. Although it is underlined that it is not a new alternative to the European Union, it is important in terms of creating an opportunity where Europe's problems can be discussed and cooperation can be developed through different channels with the participation of European countries other than Russia and Belarus, which are not yet members of the Union, and the United Kingdom, which has left the Union.

This study aims to examine the development of the European Political Community and to analyze the geopolitical environment in which the discussions on the enlargement process of the European Union, European security, the energy problem and thus the future of Europe will be addressed.

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WAR AND ORDER

The war in Europe (Ukraina) recall the canonic question about war and order. Backed on some canonic normative and theoretical motives in political theory in clasicl (Thucidides, Tacit) and modern political theory (Constant, Ferrero, Marx, Treitsche) the treaty is exploring political patalogy in contemporary European political societies (militarization of societies, colonization of public sphere, rise of authoritarianism, modern ostarkism). The political influences of such tendency in the region would be reflected in last part of treaty.

Key words: war, order, political theory, autoritarianism

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FEAR OF DEMOCRACY OR THE FEAR OF LOSING THE SELF? LIBERALISM, ONTOLOGICAL SECURITY, AND THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

The common explanation conflict in Ukraine is rooted in Russia's fear of democratization. This explanation is often espoused by the liberal theories of international relations and is usually echoed by the Western media. However, Russia did not react to some previous pro-democratization moves in its immediate vicinity, such as Armenia in 2018. So why would Russia react to some democratizations in its immediate vicinity and not others? If Russia truly feared democratization, it would seek to curb such attempts, especially within CIS. This paper claims that Russia did not fear democratization in its region at all, but rather that Russia feared losing its ontological security. The claim is that the Western influence in Ukraine was making Russia more ontologically insecure. Russian identity has been very ontologically insecure since the breakup of the USSR, and Russia has thus pursued ontological security through reproducing old routines of relations with the West, as well as seeking great power status. Most important for this case, however, is the narrativization of the Russian civilization as being emergent from Kyiv Rus. As such, the territory of Ukraine has gained special importance for Russian ontological security, meaning that the loss of control over that space made Russia very ontologically insecure, and thus ready to act to protect its ontological security by maintaining the illusion of control. To explain Russian politics toward Ukraine, this paper will apply the theoretical framework based on the ontological security theory to the case study of the annexation of Crimea in 2014.

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EFEKAT RAZLIČITIH TIPOVA RELIGIOZNOSTI NA EVROPSKI IDENTITET

Još uvek zastupljena teza u zapadnoj civilizaciji, pre svega u Evropi, jeste teza o sekularizaciji. Ipak, bez obzira na sekularizacijske procese, religija je, prema velikom broju istraživanja, važna za individualne identitete. Ovaj rad ispituje vezu između evropskog identiteta i religioznosti. Koristili smo empirijske podatke iz Evropskog istraživanja vrednosti kako bismo dokazali prediktivnost različitih tipova religioznosti na evropski identitet na individualnom nivou. Kada je reč o religioznosti, testirali smo četiri tipa religioznosti i njihov pojedinačni efekat. Za tu svrhu smo koristili *multilevel modeling*. Naši nalazi pokazuju da je religioznost snažan prediktor evropskog identiteta kod pojedinaca iz cele Evrope. Postoje značajne razlike između prediktivnosti različitih tipova religioznosti na evropski identitet, pri čemu je verovanje u Boga najznačajniji.

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MEDIJSKO ZAROBLJAVANJE U GEOPOLITIČKOM KONTEKSTU – DA LI BALANSIRANO ZNAČI I ISTINITO IZVEŠTAVANJE?

Rusko-ukrajinski rat, osim geopolitičkih i ekonomskih implikacija, snažno je uticao na fundamentalne novinarske vrednosti, pomerajući iz temelja osnovne principe novinarske profesije. Istorija poznaje (propagandnu) ulogu medija u svakom ratu, kao i medijski kreirane ratove (Ružić&Lalović 2017), ali je paradoksalno da u eri apsolutnih tehnoloških mogućnosti i mnogostrukosti izvora, novinarska profesija bira da bude medijski zarobljena. Takvo medijsko zarobljavanje vodi se političkim i ekonomskim interesima vlade ili vlasnika (Schiffrin, 2017), a najočitije se vidi u odsustvu potrebe za novinarskom objektivnošću, ma na kom ideološkom polu, odnosno strani, da stoje ti mediji. Ovo “angažovano novinarstvo” koje negira neophodnost fer izveštavanja, odnosno “paradigmu nepristrasnosti kao ravnotežu” (Wahl-Jorgensen et al, 2017), ne podrazumeva sagledavanje gledišta svih učesnika u procesu, uz obrazloženje da se mediji svojim angažovanjem bore za jedinu istinu. Autorka ovog rada teorijski razmatra primenu načela novinarske objektivnosti, od “paradigme objektivnosti” (Berkowitz, 2000) do “paradigme nepristrasnosti kroz ravnotežu” I pokušava da odgovori na pitanje da li novinarstvo treba da redefiniše svoje postojeće paradigme, ili se nuđenjem gledišta dve sukobljene strane u balansiranom izveštavanju zapravo ruši načelo istinitosti, a priči oduzima neophodni kontekst.

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SRBIJA I ORUŽANI SUKOB IZMEĐU RUSKE FEDERACIJE I UKRAJINE: INHERENTNA OGRANIČENJA LEGITIMIZACIJSKE FUNKCIJE MEĐUNARODNOG PRAVA U SITUACIJAMA KRIZE

U svom zaključku od 25. februara 2022. godine, samo jedan dan nakon početka napada Ruske Federacije (Rusija) na Ukrajinu, Savet za nacionalnu bezbednost Republike Srbije je doneo kratak Zaključak u kome se čak osam puta pominje sintagma međunarodno pravo.

Osnovni cilj ovog doprinosa je da istraži način na koji je Srbija u pomenutom Zaključku, ali i u daljem toku oružanog sukoba Rusije i Ukrajine, pokušala da ostvari svoje nacionalne interese pozivajući se na norme međunarodnog prava. Doprinos se u tom smislu oslanja na takozvanu legitimizacijsku funkciju međunarodnog prava, odnosno na radove autora poput Jasuaki Onume koji istražuju na koji način države legitimišu svoje nacionalne interese u međunarodnoj zajednici pozivanjem na norme međunarodnog prava. Osnovni argument doprinosa je da opisana situacija u vezi sa oružanim sukobom između Rusije i Ukrajine i pozicijom Srbije pokazuje da legitimizacijska funkcija međunarodnog prava ima svoja inherentna ograničenja u slučajevima krize.

U tom smislu se najpre na primeru Rusko-ukrajinskog oružanog sukoba kritički preispituje koncept krize u međunarodnim odnosima i međunarodnom pravu. Zatim se iznosi konkretan argument da Srbija neuvodjenjem sankcija Rusiji nije prekršila norme međunarodnog prava, ali da u situaciji krize to nije bilo sasvim prihvatljivo Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i ogromnoj većini država članica Evropske unije. Drugim rečima, pozivanje Srbije na norme međunarodnog prava kako bi se nastavila politika „nesvrstavanja“ između Rusije i Globalnog Severa u situaciji krize nije mogla da da sasvim zadovoljavajuće rezultate.

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THE EU ENLARGEMENT POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW GEOPOLITICAL REALITY - WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF KOSOVO'S MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION?

Following the extension of the EU enlargement policy on Eastern European countries of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia and granting candidate status to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo officially applied for the membership in the EU in December 2022. The Government of Kosovo opted for candidacy despite the unresolved issues of statehood, non-recognition of the EU, lack of progress in the dialogue with Belgrade, tensions in the North and seriously shaken relations with the EU and US. In the context of aforementioned problems, it is expected from the Commission to assess Kosovo's ability to meet the Copenhagen criteria and the European Council to decide upon the application. In this article the author analyses Kosovo's readiness to get a green light for membership in the EU and points out several potential

stumbling blocks that might result in the negative decision of the EU institutions. First, for the EU itself Kosovo is not a state, therefore, it does not fulfil the first Copenhagen criteria, being a *European state*. Second, according to the Basic Agreement accepted by Belgrade and Pristina in February 2023, the EU membership of both sides is contingent upon implementing this, and all previous agreements coming from the Brussels facilitated dialogue. Since there was not progress in implementing agreements, the chances for positive decision are shrinking even more. The issue of statehood and lack of progress in the dialogue are two key obstacles for Kosovo to get a green light for future memberships. Furthermore, the paper will delve deeper into the issue and provide an explanation whether these obstacles can be overcome in the future or the decision of the EU regarding Kosovo's candidacy will be negative.

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GEOECONOMIC STABILISATION IN UNSTABLE TIMES: THE WESTERN BALKANS COMMON MARKET AND FUTURE OF EU ADHESION

The EU enlargement policy for Western Balkans was at times hindered due to the reverberations caused by systemic European or global crises. In turn, this created an opportunity for tertiary powers to socio-politically mix themselves in the area, creating powerful centripetal forces. However, the recent developments in Europe's grander neighbourhood, consisting of an ongoing armed conflict has prompted Brussels to reassess its approaches, especially considering emerging influences in the region.

In parallel, regional and pan-European integratory frameworks have re-engaged with WB6 partners, an instance being an enhanced Berlin Process aimed at creating new political and economic bonds beyond the traditional European trajectories. Since these actors still showcased some reluctance in respect to further establishing accession architectures or fully committing themselves to instrumentalizing in-depth reforms, EU's foreign policies objectives of bringing them into its orbit had to be sedimented on a more indirect approach. Hence, we can notice the emergence of stronger geoeconomic and geostrategic manoeuvrings, like the establishment of a common regional market (derived from the EU Single Market), under the Berlin Process.

Due to the fact it represents a rather recent development, meaning that the literature is scarce, the paper seeks to fill in this hiatus by interpreting, through the employment of secondary data, the ways in which the initiative might evolve throughout current geopolitical contexts and what its prospective implications might be. Moreover, by juxtaposing empirical evidence alongside IR paradigmatic approaches, the research generates a comprehensive overview of the subject and comparatively accounts for local specificities.

Keywords: Western Balkans, EU Enlargement, Common Market, geoeconomics, geostrategy, Berlin Process.

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STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS DURING THE UKRAINIAN WAR

The war in Ukraine that began in 2014 and peaked in February 2022 is undoubtedly the largest war on the European continent since World War II. This war brought with it various transformations in Europe in the military, political and economic terms.

Meanwhile, the current Russian-Western relations have aroused the memory of *Cold War* to the citizens of Europe. Transatlantic relations were set in motion in order to show unity in an increasingly challenging period for the West. Indeed, the war in Ukraine from different intellectual circles is also seen as a battle of the previous war between great powers, but this time it has taken place in the post-Soviet area. This war showed that the stability in the European continent was put under question by actors who want to maximize power and who operate under the premise of the *zero-sum game*, where profits of one side are losses for the other.

This paper is intended to provide that despite the occasional differences between the Western partners in the past, the war in Ukraine strengthened the relations and solidarity between the allies. In the shadow of this war North Atlantic Alliance underwent enlargement, while European Union has given the candidate status to some of his partner countries. In this article will be used qualitative method, also secondary sources will be used as data collection, such as government documents or publications.

Key Words: European Union, Eastern Partnership, NATO Enlargement, Eurasian Union, Russia Federation

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UNVEILING RUSSIA'S HYBRID PRACTICES: ASSESSING POWER DYNAMICS AND MUTUAL THREAT PERCEPTIONS IN EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The foreign policy priorities of the European Union, particularly its gradual eastward expansion through the neighbourhood policy, and NATO's enlargement policy are viewed by Russia as incompatible with its own priorities. As a result, Russia has sought to exert influence in areas adjacent to its borders and where its citizens reside. This has led to increased tensions and armament, particularly following Russia's annexation of Crimea and the subsequent conflict with Ukraine. The potential for spillover effects of these conflicts into other regions has also become a concern.

In recent years, Russia has been trying to exert influence in the Western Balkans, the Baltic Sea Region and Kaliningrad not only militarily but also through hybrid means. Currently, when referring to Russia, hybrid practices denote the utilization of a wide array of subversive tactics, predominantly nonmilitary in nature, with the aim of advancing Russian national interests.

Moscow employs hybrid practices as a means to achieve compliance on various policy matters, fragment and undermine NATO, subvert governments leaning towards the West, fabricate justifications for armed conflicts, annex territories, and secure access to European markets under its own conditions. As a result, the European Union and NATO have developed strategies to balance Russia and prepare for the new era on their eastern and southeastern borders.

This study aims to evaluate the activities of the various power actors in the region in recent years and to explain their objectives. Specifically, the study will examine how mutual threat perceptions have shaped the new era and the objectives of the parties involved. The study also aims to highlight the diversity of Russia's military and hybrid practices through various examples and to emphasise that the Russia-Ukraine war has increased the importance of these practices.

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ORIGINS OF HYBRID REGIMES IN THE BALKANS AFTER COMMUNISM: PRIOR REGIME TYPE AND STATE BUILDING

Transition from communism in the Balkans did not initially result in democracy but in hybrid regimes. Competitive authoritarianism spread widely across the region, including Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania. Ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia provided the context for the rise of ethnocratic features in the regimes in Serbia and Croatia and for international tutelary regimes in Bosnia and Kosovo. Only did Slovenia and Bulgaria introduce democracy early on, though of an unstable and low-quality sort in the latter case. The paper provides an overview of different types of hybrid regimes in the Balkans after communism and then explores the causes of a wide variation in regime outcomes in the Balkans within the broader context of post-communist Eastern Europe. Why did hybrid regimes emerge in most Balkan states after communism, but not in much of Central Europe? Why did hybrid regimes rise in most Balkan polities, while Slovenia and Bulgaria introduced democratic institutions? Why did competitive authoritarianism emerge in some Balkan polities, but international tutelage in others? I argue that historical path dependence mattered most: prior regime type and nation- and state-building decisively shaped regime outcomes of the transitions from communism. Spiralling nationalist conflicts and large-scale violence in the former Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and the legacy of harsh communist rule in other parts of the Balkans, on the other hand, produced hybrid regimes with a distinctly exclusionary and nationalist flavour.

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TRIDESET GODINA OD KOPENHAGENA – PROŠIRENJE 3.0; NOVI CILJEVI POLITIKE PROŠIRENJA EVROPSKE UNIJE

Politika proširenja Evropske unije nastala je početkom devedetih godina XX veka kao odgovor na zahteve država Centralne i Istočne Evrope za pristupanje Uniji. Imajući u vidu nekoliko prethodnih talasa proširenja, cilj Unije bio je prvenstveno da institucionalizuje prethodna iskustva i na taj način stvori set standardizovanih pravila za proces pristupanja. Tokom godina Politika proširenja doživela je nekoliko promena i reformi koje su determinisane prethodnim iskustvima proširenja, institucionalnim i političkim izazovima u funkcionisanju same Unije, ali i političkim dešavanjima u regionima u kojima Politika proširenja deluje. Posledično, ona se našla u stanju hiperinstitucionalizacije i kao takva predstavlja „pokretnu metu“ za države u procesu pristupanja. Praksa je pokazala da navedena dinamika institucionalizacije nije poboljšala performanse Politike proširenja. Naprotiv, novih proširenja nije bilo, a Unija je determinisana Rusko-ukrajinskim sukobom promenila ciljeve proširenja. Ona je sada usmerena na nove države koje do tog trenutka nisu gradile institucionalne veze sa perspektivom članstva, a u regionu Zapadnog Balkana postavljeni su novi prioriteti u pregovorima. Ove promene možemo okarakterisati kao esencijalne, te u skladu sa tim naglasiti da su trideset godina od promovisanja Kriterijuma iz Kopenhagena Unija i države članice prioritizovale političku dimenziju proširenja. Rad analizira glavne pravce razvoja Politike proširenja sa posebnim osvrtom na pomeranje fokusa sa vladavine prava na usklađivanje sa Zajedničkom spoljnom i bezbednosnom politikom Unije kao i promenu institucionalnih veza sa državama Istočnog Partnerstva uz osnovnu tezu da je nakon prioritizacije vladavine prava ovo druga esencijalna promena Politike proširenja.

Ključne reči: Politika proširenja EU, Istočno partnerstvo, vladavina prava, Zapadni Balkan

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CIVIL SOCIETY AT A CROSSROADS – EXPECTATIONS ON THE NEAR FUTURE OF THE WEST BALKANS

The progress of the Balkans towards wider-scale integration with the West has been an expectation shared by the US as well as the EU. A common expectation shared among the various stakeholders within and without the Balkan region, holds EU accession as the key integration method. However, the various EU-mandated reforms in Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and Croatia have been met with different levels of success and advancement post-accession. Moreover, the expectation of accession and the reforms required to achieve it have led to sub-optimal “Stabilocracy” arrangements with state leaders, and dashed hopes of meeting EU requirements among civil societies and local populations hoping for a quick accession.

Finally, China-sponsored Belt and Road Initiative projects in the Balkans have led to a widening rift between EU criteria and the ability of Balkan states to meet them, particularly with regard to environmental regulation and the functioning of the judiciary.

The paper highlights the changes in the integration process and geopolitical environment of the West Balkans and seeks to investigate alternatives outside the EU accession in supporting the integration process of the Balkans and avoiding regression into stabilocratic governance models. Partial results suggest strengthening and empowering local civil society organizations and efforts could prove beneficial in the aforementioned goals and establishing the intrinsic value of strengthened, democratic institutions. The top-down models of institutional support are challenged, with bottom-up models investigated for their value in the democratisation and institution-building of the West Balkans.

Keywords: Stabilocracy; EU Accession; Civil Society; West Balkans

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DOMOVINA SE BRANI ŽIVOTOM? MORALNE GRANICE PATRIOTIZMA

Rat u Ukrajini još jednom je na videlo izneo „moralnu rastegljivost“ pojma patriotizam. Bez izuzetka, sve strane u sukobu, pa čak i plaćeničke formacije koje u njemu učestvuju, pozivaju se na patriotske razloge onda kada pravdaju vlastite vojne operacije. Ovim žele poručiti da su njihovi ciljevi ispravni jer su odraz ljubavi prema domovini, ali i više od toga - da su vredni svake žrtve. No, da li se baš svaki ratni cilj i svaka ratna žrtva mogu podvesti pod patriotsku brigu za dobrobit domovine? Dodatno, da li su ovi ciljevi i žrtve, čak i kada su odista patriotski utemeljeni, moralno opravdani? U svom izlaganju ću ova preliminarna pitanja razložiti na dva dela. Najpre ću ispitati da li je s moralnog stanovišta moguće napraviti razliku između žrtvovanja vlastitog života zarad dobrobiti domovine i žrtvovanja tuđeg života (čin ubistva) iz iste namere. Potom ću istražiti da li se moralni status ove ultimativne patriotske žrtve razlikuje u zavisnosti od toga da li je do nje došlo u odbrambenom ili ofanzivnom (agresorskom) ratu.

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ODNOS STRUKTURA EU PREMA ČVRSTORUKAŠKOM VOĐSTVU U DRŽAVAMA KANDIDATIMA: PONOVO RAZMATRANJE STABILITOKRATSKE PARADIGME

Ovaj rad se bavi odnosom struktura EU prema čvrstorukaškom vođstvu u državama potencijalnim članicama EU na Zapadnom Balkanu, naročito se fokusirajući na Srbiju. U njemu se problematizuje stabilitokratska paradigma (Pavlović 2016; Bieber 2018; Cianetti, Dawson & Hanley 2018; Ross Smith, Markovic-Khaze & Kovacevic 2021), koja je poslednjih

godina predstavljala prominentno mišljenje o pomenutom odnosu EU prema državama kandidatima. Stabilitokratska paradigma sugerše da strukture EU preferiraju očuvanje stabilnosti u odnosu na promociju demokratije na ionako hronično nestabilnom Zapadnom Balkanu, te svojim delanjem pružaju eksternu podršku čvrstorukaškom vođstvu.

Međutim, autori koji su prihvatili stabilitokratsku paradigmu činili su ovo često bez konkretnog potkrepljenja (npr. Kmezić 2019; Radeljić 2019; Mujanović 2018), te ostaje nejasno kojim je tačno mehanizmima EU pomagala čvrstorukaško vođstvo. Tako izostaje potkrepljenje da je EU iskreno prihvatila ovakvo vođstvo. Tokom devedestih godina Zapad je takođe na površini podržavao nedemokratsko vođstvo u Jugoslaviji, ali je pomagao njegovu promenu. Rešavanje otvorenih državnih pitanja, visoko u evropskoj agendi, takođe predstavlja preduslov za demokratizaciju (Milačić 2020). Stabilitokratska paradigma može da bude opasna, jer delegitimizuje vredosti EU, te može da oteža transfer vrednosti ka potencijalnim članicama.

Rad pretenduje da doprinese politikološkoj literaturi na nekoliko načina. U njemu se ukazuje na značaj domaćih političkih aktera u procesu evropeizacije. U Srbiji, ali i drugim državama Zapadnog Balkana, među domaćim političkim akterima je često postojao problem nepostojanja alternativnih nosilaca procesa evropeizacije, što je i otežavalo napredovanje ovog procesa. Dodatno, promocija demokratije „odozdo na gore“ bila je zanemarena i mogla bi da doprinese osnaživanju reformskih procesa.

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MEDIJSKI DISKURS JAVNOG SERVISA SRBIJE (RTS) PRILIKOM OBRADIVANJA TEME RATA U UKRAJINI U INFORMATIVNIM EMISIJAMA U 2023. GODINI

Javni medijski servis ima centralu ulogu prilikom obrađivanja različitih relevantnih tema i informisanja građana o društvenim i političkim događajima i fenomenima na domaćem i međunarodnom planu. Kao jedna od najvažnijih političkih tema u prethodnih više od godinu dana pozicionirao se sukob u Ukrajini koji traje više od 16 meseci. S obzirom na to da je intenzitet tog sukoba neprestano visok, kao i da posledice svih tih događaja osećaju građani različitih država svakodnevno, potrebno je utvrditi i detektovati kakav diskurs dominira u medijima. Takođe, primetno je da javnost u Srbi okupira ova tema, tako da će se u ovom radu potražiti pitanje kakav medijski diskurs preovladava na Javnom servisu Srbije (RTS) kada se obrađuje ova tema u okviru informativnih emisija. Kao što je naglašeno sukob na prostoru Ukrajine traje više od 16 meseci i teško je obraditi ceo period, zbog toga će se kao analizirani uzorak uzeti period od godišnjice obeležavanje početka sukoba, što je 24. februar, do pokušaju Vagner vojnih jedinica da izvrše unutrašnji sukob na prostoru Rusije što se odigralo krajem juna 2023. godine. Dakle, cilj rada je da se prikaže kakav diskurs je u tom periodu dominirao u informativnim emisijama na RTS-u koje su u žižu svog interesovanja postavljali ovu tematiku, a to su emisije *Oko magazin*, *Takovska 10* i *Četvrtkom u 9*.

Ključne reči: javni medijski servis, RTS, medijski diskurs, rat u Ukrajini, informativne emisije.

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UPOTREBA KONCEPTA ZAROBLJENE DRŽAVE U POLITIČKOM DISKURSU REPUBLIKE SRBIJE

Proces proširenja Evropske unije je za državu kandidata tranzicija iz trenutnog stanja u kome se nalazi u državu koja zadovoljava određene zahtevane vrednosti i standarde. Kako bi proces pristupanja bio moguć osmišljeni su različiti koncepti koji opisuju trenutno stanje kandidata, ali i one koji određuju procese koji čine elemente tranzicije. To su koncepti tranziciona pravda, lustracija, reforma sektora bezbednosti, zarobljena država i dr.

Namera ovog rada je da istraži koncept zarobljene države, kao i njegovu upotrebnu vrednost kako u pozitivnom tako i u negativnom smislu. Posebna pažnja će biti posvećena analizi koncepta kao instrumenta ostvarenja određenih nacionalnih interesa. Retki su koncepti koji su sami po sebi vrednosno određeni, bilo negativno bilo pozitivno, te njihovo vrednosno određenje zavisi od ciljeva njihove upotrebe, kao i subjekta koji ih upotrebljava i njegovih motiva. Geopolitički motivi, realistički motivi određuju kakvo će biti ponašanje prema pojedinačnoj zemlji kandidatu. Koncept zarobljene države se može primeniti na ceo sistem državnih institucija, na sferu medija i kulture. Možemo istraživati i zarobljenost civilnog društva gde veoma često imamo monopole određenih stavova u različitim oblastima.

Koristeći primere iz različitih zemalja kandidata istražićemo kako zavisno od opredeljenja prema geopolitičkim stavovima EU zavisi i upotreba, kao i insistiranje na konceptu. Konkretno, u trenucima kada se vodi rat u Ukrajini, i kada celokupnom evropskom politikom vlada rat različitih narativa, istraživanje koncepta zarobljene države postaje još značajnije.

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CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE IN THE WB6: ECONOMIC OR GEOPOLITICAL PROJECT?

The geographical position of the Western Balkan region is not studied for its size or population, but for its importance to regional and international actors. The beginning of the 21st century brought a new geopolitical picture and approach to the Western Balkan region, making it a region that stays at the centre of Great Powers' attention and politics (such as the US, EU, Russia and China). In light of this, the Great Powers play an important role in establishing the balance of power under the general equilibrium principle in modern international relations. However, during the last 20 years, the Western Balkan region has constantly changed and is still changing geopolitically and geo-economically. These changes are also present in the relationship that the countries of the region have with each other, but also with non-regional

actors. Meanwhile, China, as a Great Power, is looking for an opportunity for its presence in this region by using the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) for every opportunity for investment through attractive and vital projects for the six Western Balkan countries. Chinese investments are focused on everything, such as energy, infrastructure, and sociocultural spheres. The purpose of this research is to analyse Beijing's policy by understanding its position in the Western Balkan region.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative, Western Balkans, EU, China, investments.

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ZEITENWENDE OR STEADY AS SHE GOES? – GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS AFTER FEBRUARY 2022

Even before the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian army, the Western Balkans were considered a geostrategically important region within Europe. However, the accession process has been stalled for several years, partly due to a lack of reforms, but also because of the blocking tactics of existing member states. Now, though, there could be some impetus for the stalled EU enlargement. Ukraine has become a candidate for EU membership in June 2022, and since then representatives in Kiev have been pushing for rapid membership. This could in turn have a knock-on effect on other candidate countries.

In this context, Germany's foreign policy is important. In the past seen as a decisive "motor" for the EU enlargement, especially for the Eastern Europe accession in 2004, the German role has since then developed into a moderating one, compared to the rather critical attitude of France and (until 2020) Great Britain. The paper examines, against the background described above, the extent to which the "Zeitenwende" proclaimed by Olaf Scholz also applies or can apply in the future to German foreign policy in the context of the Western Balkans accession process. In addition to foreign policy actions and measures, plenary debates, press releases and debate contributions from the "Vorfeldorganisationen" of the Foreign Office and the European Union will be used for the analysis in order to be able to distinguish between actual changes, announcements and symbolic acts.

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**SPOLJNOPOLITIČKI CILJEVI REPUBLIKE SRBIJE – RAST ULOGE
UNUTARPOLITIČKIH ČINILACA U USLOVIMA SMANJENE „JASNOĆE“ U
MEĐUNARODNOM SISTEMU**

Izbijanje rata u Ukrajini 24. februara 2022. godine pokrenulo je niz procesa na evropskom kontinentu i na nivou međunarodnog sistema. Postepena multipolarizacija koja se decenijama odvijala dobija snažniji podsticaj otvorenijim međusobnim suprotstavljanjem velikih sila oko ključnih pitanja i jasnijim podelama u viđenjima kako i na kojim temeljima budućnost međunarodnog sistema treba da počiva. Dodatno, sama dužina rata, njegov promenljiv tok i nepredvidive posledice, utiču na spoljnopolitičko delovanje kako direktnih učesnica oružanog sukoba, tako i ostalih država koje osećaju njegove efekte. Oslanjajući se na neoklasičnu teoriju međunarodnih odnosa koju su izneli Ripsman, Taljafero i Lobel, autori ispituju kakvi su efekti ovih izmenjenih međunarodnopolitičkih okolnosti na spoljnopolitičko pozicioniranje Srbije u ostvarivanju njenih primarnih spoljnopolitičkih ciljeva. Koristeći koncept „jasnoće“ kao ključne systemske varijable neoklasične teorije međunarodnih odnosa, autori iznose argument da je ona kao posledica rata i pogoršanih odnosa velikih sila za Republiku Srbiju značajno smanjena, što je dodatno podstaknuto njenim statusom male države. Smanjena „jasnoća“ pretnji i prilika u međunarodnim odnosima, vremenskih intervala u kojima se one mogu manifestovati i opcija koje stoje na raspolaganju kao odgovor na njih ostavlja prostor za snažniji efekat činilaca unutrašnje politike. U radu se analizira odnos „jasnoće“ kao systemske varijable u teoriji neoklasičnog realizma i intervenišućih varijabli koje čini splet unutarpolitičkih faktora kroz njihov efekat na spoljnopolitičko pozicioniranje Republike Srbije u odnosu na dva trenutno dominantna strateška pitanja – odnos prema pitanju Kosova i Metohije i procesu evropskih integracija.

Ključne reči: jasnoća, Republika Srbija, spoljna politika, neoklasični realizam, međunarodni odnosi.

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PRISTUPANJE SRBIJE EVROPSKOJ UNIJI U KONTEKSTU REVIDIRANE METODOLOGIJE I RUSKO-UKRAJINSKOG RATA - ZAMRZNUT ILI USPOREN PROCES

Politika proširenja Evropske unije (EU) je tokom 2020. godine pretrpela promene s ciljem oživljavanja i ubrzavanja procesa pristupanja država kandidata istovremeno odražavajući kredibilitet EU kao spoljnopolitičkog i trgovinskog partnera. Sa ciljem da se postepeno ubrza pristupni proces i intenzivira sprovođenje reformi usvojena je revidirana metodologija pristupnih pregovora. Kao država kandidat, Republika Srbija se nalazi u poodmaklom pristupnom procesu koji je opterećenom dugim trajanjem, nezadovoljavajućim rezultatima, zamorom od proširenja, upitnom političkom voljom predstavnika vlasti, kao i brojnijim i strožim pristupnim kriterijumima. Njenu poziciju u pristupnim pregovorima dodatno otežava političko (ne)pozicioniranje u odnosu na rat u Ukrajini. Istovremeno, revidirana metodologija ne ispunjava svoju primarnu svrhu – politika proširenja nije oživljena – premda predstavlja podsticaj državam kandidatima da dokažu svoju želju, spremnost i sposobnost da zadovolje pristupne kriterijume. Cilj ovog rada je da ispita da li su četiri osnovna principa revidirane metodologije – povećana kredibilnost procesa, izraženije političko upravljanje procesom, grupisanje poglavlja u šest klastera, kao i predviđene nagrade i kazne – doprineli faktičkom usporavanju procesa pristupanja Republike Srbije umesto njegovom intenziviranju. Koristeći metod analize diskursa, analitičko-deduktivni metod i metod studije slučaja, rad će ispitati efekte revidirane metodologije po proces pristupanja Republike Srbije i da li rat u Ukrajini utiče na izostanak napretka Republike Srbije u pristupnim pregovorima.

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IZAZOVI ENERGETSKE TRANZICIJE NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU

Događaji kao što su pandemija virusa *COVID-19* i napad Rusije na Ukrajinu neminovno su izazvali globalne poremećaje u energetske sektoru i doveli u pitanje sigurnost snabdevanja u mnogim državama. Kako bi osigurale energetske bezbednost, neke članice Evropske unije, kao i Velika Britanija, od 2022. godine više se oslanjaju na fosilna goriva povećavajući proizvodnju (električne) energije iz starih termoelektrana. Iako se činilo da nova energetska kriza stavlja energetske tranzicije u drugi plan dajući primat obezbeđivanju energetske sigurnosti, globalno je zabeležen najveći rast proizvodnje energije iz obnovljivih izvora, naročito iz solarnih i vetroelektrana, koji će se sigurno nastaviti i u narednim godinama. Ono što je zajedničko svim akterima na Zapadnom Balkanu jeste potreba za dekarbonizacijom energetske sektora koji se dominantno oslanja na fosilna goriva. Proces energetske tranzicije odvija se kroz mehanizme

Evropske unije i Energetske zajednice koje su „Evropskim zelenim dogovorom“ definisale strategiju u borbi protiv klimatskih uz neto emisije gasova sa efektom staklene bašte ravnim nuli do 2050. godine. Potpisivanjem Sofijske deklaracije o „Zelenoj agendi za Zapadni Balkan“, 10. novembra 2020. godine, region se obavezao da će sprovoditi mere u sprečavanju klimatskih promena i zagađenja, razvoja energije, saobraćaja, mobilnosti, cirkularne ekonomije itd. Predmet istraživanja ovog rada jeste analiza napretka aktera sa Zapadnog Balkana u određivanju strateških ciljeva u oblasti energetike i klimatskih promena kroz definisanje integrisanih nacionalnih energetske i klimatskih planova (*INECP*), kao i drugih mehanizama iz Sofijske deklaracije koji upućuju na nužnost reformi u energetske sektoru. Iako ovaj region ima povoljne geografske uslove za razvoj obnovljivih izvora energije, imajući u vidu tokove velikih reka, vetrovita područja, veliki broj sunčanih dana u godini, najveći izazov energetske tranziciji predstavljaju nedostatak finansijska sredstva i kratki rokovi a ne aktuelna energetska kriza.

Ključne reči: energetska kriza, Zapadni Balkan, Evropska unija, energetska tranzicija, dekarbonizacija

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POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS?: INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW AND THE WAR IN UKRAINE

The decision of the Russian Federation to invade its neighbor Ukraine on February 24, 2022 has set in motion a series of reactions that have had a profound effect on the European continent and beyond. The alleged international criminal offenses committed by Russian Federation forces against Ukrainian civilians in the conflict, has put the question of international criminal law front and center. In the ensuing 18 months, the active participation of the European Union (through the European Union Advisory Mission in Ukraine) and International Criminal Court in providing direct technical, advisory, and investigative assistance to the Ukrainian Prosecutor General's Office in investigating these alleged international crimes has given rise to a legal (and even political) process that will, if the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is any guide, outlast the actual hostilities by years and possibly decades. Can the experiences of the former Yugoslavia inform how these alleged international crimes are prosecuted in the future and, perhaps more intriguingly, can events in Ukraine have any effect on the current continuing process in the former Yugoslavia in dealing with these questions? More important still --- how will the EU's active participation in this process affect its own goals and preferred outcomes in the Western Balkans?

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ROAD TO EUROPE: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE SERBIAN MEDIA

The media in Serbia do not pay enough attention to European integration and when they do, the reason is usually daily political events, meetings or statements by official local and European bodies. Few media outlets occasionally but analytically address how European societies function or what norms and values these societies are based on, which means that citizens rarely have the opportunity to learn from the media how their lives will change as they move toward the European Union. On the other hand, anti-EU narratives are present in the media, which is often perceived as a consequence of seriously endangered media freedom. According to policy brief „Serbian media: Threat to democracy, opportunity for anti-EU narratives“ (Centre for Contemporary Politics, 2021), anti-EU narratives dominate the Serbian media scene and Serbia represents a fertile ground for disinformation campaigns.

It is the pro-government media outlets that published hundreds of fake news on their front pages and quite often heaped praise on Russia and China while criticizing the EU and promoting hate speech and war-like rhetoric. Many recent researches show that euro-scepticism in Serbia is much stronger than in other countries of the region, which is strongly related to media reporting. The aim of this paper is to investigate most influential Serbian newspapers and magazines to determine how language is used to express differing viewpoints on European integration. Particularly, we discuss false news in print media in light of decreasing public support for EU integration.

Keywords: European integration, media, euro-scepticism, tabloids, fake news, misinformation

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RAT U UKRAJINI I POLITIKA PROŠIRENJA EVROPSKE UNIJE

Ruska invazija na Ukrajinu u februaru 2022. godine stavila je Evropsku uniju na najveći test geopolitičke zrelosti do sada. Pored akcija i mera koje je EU preduzimala u okviru zajedničke spoljne i bezbednosne politike, njena reakcija na krizu ogledala se i u ponovnom aktuelizovanju politike proširenja EU i promenama koje je ova politika pretrpela. Bivše sovjetske republike koje su ranije bile obuhvaćene Evropskom politikom susjedstva ubrzo su postale predmet politike proširenja, a dve među njima nedugo zatim dobile i status kandidata za članstvo. Rat u Ukrajini imao je posredne reperkusije i na politiku proširenja EU na Zapadnom Balkanu – formalno su otvoreni pristupni pregovori sa Albanijom i (uslovno) Severnom Makedonijom, Bosna i Hercegovina je stekla kandidatski status, dok je tzv. Kosovu* odobrena vizna

liberalizacija. Takođe, u javnom diskursu zvaničnika Unije i država članica, sve se eksplicitnije i učestalije naglašava potreba za ubrzanjem pristupnih pregovora sa državama Zapadnog Balkana, uz povremeno pominjanje njihove postepene, odnosno fazne integracije u EU. Stoga se u ovom radu, metodama diskurzivne analize i analize dokumenata, nastoje prikazati sve promene koje je politika proširenja EU doživela nakon ruskog napada na Ukrajinu. Centralna teza koja se u radu dokazuje jeste da je politika proširenja Unije, ma koliko bila predstavljena kao meritokratski proces, primarno rukovođena geopolitičkim i bezbednosnim motivima. Politiku proširenja Unija koristi kako bi ograničila prostor za uticaj trećih, ne-EU aktera, u regionima koje smatra svojom interesnom sferom.

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CHINESE AND EU CONDITIONALITIES IN INVESTMENTS IN THE WESTERN BALKANS: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Chinese investments in the Western Balkans are rising and contributing heavily to the development of infrastructure density on the peninsula through the Belt and Road Initiative. With its approach of political non-interference, China is attracting WB countries that are not EU member states and struggle to fulfil the political and economic conditions of the Union to become their members. Furthermore, Chinese infrastructure loans that have stricter conditions than the funds from the EU, are less demanding with respect to management, and are consequently more acceptable than the bureaucratically controlled access to the EU funds for the non EU state. In addition to this, the EU have imposed a long list of political conditions that are closely related to the access to the infrastructure funds for WB countries and hold back the WB countries in their attempts at improving their infrastructure. This paper will cover the political and financial conditions for acquiring Chinese and EU loans for infrastructure investments that the WB countries need to meet, the points where the conditions intersect, the positive and negative aspects for the WB countries and the knowledge that the sides in this tripartite relations can gain from each other.

Keywords: BRI, China, Western Balkans, EU integration

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WARS, POLITICS AND ENLARGEMENT. GEOPOLITICAL LESSONS FROM THE BALKANS

The aim of this paper is to explore the role of geopolitical factors on the EU enlargement policy. While often shadowed by the values based liberal institutionalist approach, there are sufficient

examples that already during the 2004 and 2007 geopolitical considerations played pivotal role in shaping EU's approach towards the candidate countries. This paper, based on the comparative analysis of the post Feb. 24, 2022 developments of the war in Ukraine and previous enlargements responses to conflicts in the Balkans, will explore the EU reaction and evaluate to what extent the new developments are detrimental for the enlargement process. Based on the findings, the paper will reflect on the dilemma of entanglement priorities that often balance between stability and values as detrimental factors for the pace of enlargement. Finally, the paper will search for an answer to the question whether the war in Ukraine can be considered a game changer to the extent that it will essentially dynamize and accomplish the enlargement process with Serbia and the other EU candidate countries in the region?

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ULOGA CIVILNOG DRUŠTVA U PROCESU REDEFINISANJA I REPRIORITIZACIJE POLITIKE PROŠIRENJA EU U KONTEKSTU GEOPOLITIČKIH PROMENA: MODEL FAZNOG PRISTUPANJA KAO PRIMER

Od izbijanja rata u Ukrajini 2022. godine, zvaničnici EU ističu da je politika proširenja ponovo na njenoj agendi. Iako ohrabrujuće, to je istovremeno reafirmisalo dotadašnje slutnje da proširenje nije bilo prioritizovano nakon 2013. godine. Na tom prelazu iz nedostatka prioritizacije u reprioritizaciju, ključna teza rada jeste da je civilno društvo odigralo značajnu ulogu kada je u pitanju ostvarivanje uticaja na donosioce odluka u EU i državama članicama o nužnosti razvijanja novih ideja na osnovu kojih bi politika proširenja mogla da postane efektivnija, predvidivija i kredibilnija. U tom pogledu *Model za fazno pristupanje*, objavljen oktobra 2021. godine, najevidentniji je primer na osnovu kojeg je moguće aktivno pratiti i analizirati postojanje i nivo ostvarenog uticaja. S obzirom da je autor ovog teksta istovremeno jedan i od koautora pomenutog Modela, cilj je da se analizira prihvaćenost ideje za fazno pristupanje pre rata i nakon njegovog izbijanja. Nalazi će ukazati na značajnu komparativnu razliku, čime će se istovremeno utvrditi nedvosmislena uvezanost između izgleda za razvoj novih ideja i geopolitičkih dešavanja. Pozivajući se na dokumenta i nalaze civilnog društva, kao i intervju, relevantne non-pejpere država članica i zaključke EU institucija poput Evropskog parlamenta i Evropskog saveta, istaći će se zaključci koji govore u prilog tezi da je civilno društvo odigralo ulogu od značajne važnosti kada je u pitanju prioritizacija ne samo politike proširenja od strane EU već i njene reforme sa ciljem da se prevaziđe dosadašnji (neuspešni) pristup u kontekstu Zapadnog Balkana.

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EVROPSKI PROGRAMI I MERE SOCIJALNOG BLAGOSTANJA ZA IMIGRANTE IZ UKRAJINE – EVROPSKA SOLIDARNOST U KRIZI?

Od početka Rusko-ukrajinskog sukoba februara 2022. godine više miliona ljudi iz Ukrajine potražilo je međunarodnu zaštitu u državama Evropske unije. Oko 4 miliona ljudi ostvarilo je pravo na privremenu zaštitu u državama EU (UNHCR, 2022), dok su preko 90% izbeglica iz Ukrajine činile žene i deca (MMF, 2022). Aktiviranje Direktive EU o privremenoj zaštiti (*Council Directive 2001/55/EC*) imalo je za cilj uspostavljanje efikasnijeg odgovora na masovni priliv imigranata, kroz smernice državama članicama EU za pružanje podrške korisnicima privremene zaštite u nekoliko oblasti socijalne politike.

U okviru pretpostavke da je evropska solidarnost u krizi nakon poslednje migrantske krize, postavljeno istraživačko pitanje je: Na koji način se koncept solidarnosti implementira u evropskim programima podrške izbeglicama iz Ukrajine? Predmet rada jesu programi i mere u oblasti socijalnog blagostanja u EU za imigrante iz Ukrajine. dok se u radu primenjuju institucionalni pristup i metod analize sadržaja relevantnih političkih i legislativnih dokumenata, kao i izveštaja međunarodnih organizacija.

Istraživački ciljevi su prikaz i analiza političkih i legislativnih dokumenata, kao i finansijskih instrumenata EU kao odgovor na podršku socijalnom blagostanju izbeglicama iz Ukrajine; prikaz i analiza programa podrške u državama destinacije u oblastima podrške prihodu i pristupa tržištu rada; analiza aktivnosti državnog i civilnog sektora i ostalih socijalnih partnera u kreiranju programa i omogućavanju izbeglicama da im pristupe. Rezultati upućuju na zaključak da su pod okriljem EU mnogobrojne države modifikovale programe u cilju podrške izbeglicama iz Ukrajine. Inicijalni programi materijalne podrške su bili pravovremeni, dok je potrebno unaprediti podršku dugoročnom obezbeđivanju socijalne sigurnosti kroz razvoj i unapređenje programa uključivanja u evropska tržišta rada.

Ključne reči: izbeglice, programi podrške, migrantska kriza, koncept evropske solidarnosti, Evropska unija.

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GENDER EQUALITY IN BUSINESS DOMAIN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The subject is the equality of women and men as a human rights issue and as a prerequisite and indicator of sustainable development focused on people and democracy. Over the past few decades, many countries have implemented reforms towards greater gender equality, but

despite progress, women still face limits in their economic opportunities and gender inequality is still very present in many aspects of economic life.

The aim of the paper is to point out the role of companies in respecting and promoting gender equality as very important in terms of employment and relations with employees. Necessary principles include equal pay for work of equal value, gender-responsive supply chain practices and zero tolerance against sexual harassment in the workplace. International organizations (UN Women, UNDP, etc) therefore promote not only gender mainstreaming and gender inclusiveness but recently, the more comprehensive term “gender-responsive supply chain practices”.

Topics of the paper include elements of the gender-responsive supply chain practices referring to the integration of gender considerations and the promotion of gender equality throughout the various stages of production, e.g. safe and equitable working conditions, gender-inclusive policies and practices, gender collaboration and partnerships.

Conclusion is that companies can enhance their social responsibility, improve efficiency and effectiveness, and contribute to sustainable development by promoting equal opportunities for all genders involved in the supply chain. Current risks in adopting gender responsive supply chains are the changed geopolitical situation due to the armed conflict in Ukraine and slowed down process of EU integration.

Key words: gender equality in business, gender-responsive supply chain, changed geopolitical situation, impact of international organizations programs

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THE RESTORATION OF MACEDONIA AS A STATE ACCORDING TO THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRAL MACEDONIASM AND ITS INTEGRATION INTO THE FUTURE REFORMED EUROPEAN UNION OF SOVEREIGN NATIONS

Now there is no more European Union enlargement policy, it is practically dead. The European Union strongly strives to turn into a federation of the United States of Europe, based on the maximum denial of the external and internal sovereignty of its member states. Today's European Union is already an insignificant actor in the new emerging multipolar geopolitical reality. In the case of the Republic of Macedonia, the EU completely trampled on its original principles and resolutions for the respect of the identity, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the European continent, by dominantly participating in erasing the name of the Macedonian people and the Republic of Macedonia as a state - imposing a phantom "Northern Macedonians" and phantom "Northern Macedonia" - with the pressures to adopt the Prespa Agreement and the second "Good Neighbor Agreement" with Bulgaria. With his standing on the side of Bulgaria, with his active participation in the forced imposition of the "French Proposal" and the so-called "Negotiation Framework with the EU", with dictates and ultimatums to change the national Constitution of Macedonia and to insert 3500 statistically counted Bulgarians in its preamble as the "Bulgarian state-created people of Macedonia" the EU is now also violating the

"Resolution of the United Nations Organization from 1981 on the inadmissibility of intervening and interfering in the internal affairs of separate states in the world" Considering all this, Macedonia has become "the graveyard of European ideals and values". Considering all this, more than 80 percent of the Macedonian people, according to several recent relevant public opinion polls, no longer want Macedonia to join the EU at all. That is why a fundamental change of the state European integration policy of Macedonia is needed: to "freeze" the submitted application, to stop all and any activities related to enlargement, and to activate that application only after the EU is reformed as a European Union of sovereign nation-states. If it doesn't fall apart in the meantime, in which direction a series of serious processes have already started. Also in the meantime, Macedonia must be restored as a national state of the Macedonian people based on the conception of Krste Misirkov from his ethnopolitical and linguistic study "On Macedonian Affairs" from 1903, as well as on the conception and practice of integral Macedonianism, founded on basis of this study. The restored Republic of Macedonia, with its restored international state-political and domestic constitutional-legal continuity and subjectivity, as a sovereign state in international relations, in any case, has its place in the European Union. Not in the current EU, but in the future reformed European Union, which will recognize and respect the identity of the Macedonian people, their language, culture, and history.

Keywords: Macedonia, European Union, enlargement, renewal, state, integral Macedonianism

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WHAT ROLE FOR THE WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES IN A GEOPOLITICAL EU ENLARGEMENT POLICY?

The events in Ukraine and Russia have resulted in a new and powerful momentum in EU enlargement policy. Whilst full EU membership of Ukraine had long been considered non-achievable for the foreseeable future, it has turned into a political and financial priority ad hoc, not least through the candidate status for Ukraine (and Moldova and Georgia) in June 2022. A few months later, the new momentum seemed to start spilling over as regards Serbia-Kosovo when the EU and the US quasi-imposed a preliminary bilateral settlement in an EU enlargement context in the spring of 2023, a move previously considered equally non-achievable in the short term.

In my proposed presentation, I intend to discuss

- (i) the real or perceived shifts in EU enlargement policy priorities at the EU institutional level (Member States, European Commission, European Parliament) including financial commitments (e. g. the mid-term review of the EU financial period 2021-2027),
- (ii) implications of the new geopolitical reality on the EU enlargement methodology with a view to the Western Balkans region (regatta vs. convoy principle; conditionality; sustainability of bilateral dispute resolution), and

- (iii) considerations of reliability, credibility, and structural challenges/weaknesses of the EU accession process altogether.

Key words: EU enlargement; Ukraine; Western Balkans; Serbia; Kosovo

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REŠENJE KOSOVSKEG PROBLEMA U SVETLU NOVIH GEOPOLITIČKIH PRILIKA

Dijalog o normalizaciji odnosa Beograda i Prištine već jednu deceniju nije doneo suštinske rezultate iako je iznedrio Briselski (2013) i Vašingtonski (2020) sporazum i Ohridski dogovor, odnosno francusko-nemački plan (2023). Ovim potonjim dokumentom, od Srbije se ne zahteva izričito priznanje kosovske državnosti iako se to implicitno imputira ciljnim tumačenjem formulacije da se neće protiviti članstvu Kosova* u bilo kojoj međunarodnoj organizaciji. Navedenom formulacijom se pre svega aludira na članstvo Kosova* u Ujedinjenim nacijama. S druge strane, kosovska strana se protivi formiranju Zajednice srpskih opština, što predstavlja obligaciju iz Briselskog sporazuma. Evidentno je da zamrznuti konflikt kao strateško prolongiranje rešenja kosovskog problema, do nastanka nekih povoljnijih geopolitičkih prilika, ne rezultira poboljšanjem položaja srpskog stanovništva na Kosovu*, na čijem severu se konstantno održava stanje borbene gotovosti i tenzije visokog napona. Šatl diplomatija i dijalog u postojećem formatu pokazalo se kao tapkanje u mestu i usled toga, u međunarodnoj i domaćoj javnosti sve su snažniji narativi o organizovanju međunarodne konferencije na kojoj će se preseći kosovski Gordijev čvor. U ovom trenutku upitno je da li je posredi probni balon ili istinska namera ključnih geopolitičkih igrača da se reši kosovski problem. Ključno je pitanje koje će države uzeti učešće na potencijalnoj konferenciji kao i ko će biti garant mira.

Ključne reči: Kosovo, međunarodna konferencija, dijalog, normalizacija odnosa

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WHO SUPPORTS THE LEFT? EVIDENCE FROM TWO YUGOSLAV SUCCESSOR STATES

After decades of leftist quiescence in the electoral arena, recent protest waves and new social movements finally culminated in viable political options in Croatia and Serbia (i.e. “We Can” and “We Must”). This paper looks at the emergence of left-wing political parties, analyzing who supports the Left at the ballot box in the two countries. To address this question, I rely on the recently published ESS data from 2022, as well as on original survey data, which was collected in 2021 as part of the Horizon 2020 project titled INVENT Culture in Croatia and

Serbia. In addition, I also look at the recently published ESS data from 2022 which has data for both countries. Still a marginal political force, the results show that the younger, urban and culturally liberal minded individuals are more likely to support the new Left. A surprising finding concerns the economic dimension: individuals who support the leftist option, do not favor more state intervention in the market. Such a position needs to be interpreted in the context of high corruption and vast patronage networks, which is characteristic for both countries. The findings are thus concomitant with recent qualitative studies on the cases, pointing to a potential research avenue on detangling the mechanisms between patronage and individual's position regarding economic questions, and Left vote.

Keywords: Eastern Europe, Left, Electoral Behavior, Post-communism, Croatia, Serbia, Political Parties

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GOD WANTS IT! MISUSE OF RELIGION IN POPULIST NARRATIVES IN THE WESTERN BALKANS. CASE STUDIES OF MILAN BANDIĆ AND BAKIR IZETBEGOVIĆ

Religion is often (mis)used as an identity basis for populist movements and politicians. Political science still lacks research on how populists use religion as a mobilization power. Religion may act as an essential answer to perceived threats to traditional values in the face of globalisation, capitalism, and modern technology. Populists find their authority and legitimacy in transcendental religious values and often ask for clerical support. Showing affiliation to a specific religious group and denomination, participating in rituals, and expressing beliefs through morality policies are populist ways to appeal to traditional, conservative, and religious voters.

In the Western Balkans, there is no lack of populist religious movements and politicians. A comparative study of two famous politicians shows the traits of populist misuse of religion. One case study is the late mayor of Zagreb, Milan Bandić, who did not use much religious narrative, but vividly took part in religious ceremonies, was very close to the Roman Catholic Church, and formed his political character as a moral barrier to the rampant threats of modern globalised capitalism. Another case study is Bakir Izetbegović, a political leader of Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. His populist style appeals to Islamic voters, forming a narrative and behaviour close to Pan-Ottoman and pro-Turkish policies and creating a national Bosniak Islam.

The analysis can be used as a starting point for more focused research on religion in populist narratives of the Western Balkans.

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IMPLICATIONS OF PARLIAMENTARY BOYCOTTS ON THE INTERNAL POWER DYNAMICS AND ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Parliamentary boycotts are a near permanent feature of the political landscape in the Western Balkans. During the past decades political parties in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia, have often resorted to parliamentary boycotts which at times have even lasted for months and even years (WFD 2019). What is more, in recent years parliamentary boycotts have been centrepieces of strategies of opposition parties, which have led to the overthrowing of long-standing leaders such as Nikola Gruevski in North Macedonia and Milo Đukanović in Montenegro, but also their entrenching in the case of Edi Rama in Albania and Aleksandar Vučić in Serbia. Nonetheless, we know little about the impact of parliamentary boycotts on the political parties performing them despite clear indications that they affect the internal balance and organization of party activities. To shed light on these questions, the paper performs a comparative case study of the parliamentary boycotts launched by the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) in North Macedonia in 2014 and the one started by the Democratic Party (DP) in Albania in 2017. The impact of parliamentary boycotts on the two parties is analysed via an adaptation of Katz and Mair's (1993) framework, outlining three party actors: party on the ground; the parliamentary group; and party leader. The analysis draws from semi-structured interviews conducted with party members of the SDSM and DP as well as experts.

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ORBAN I VUČIĆ: OD RAZLIČITIH POČETAKA DO ZAJEDNIČKIH VREDNOSTI

Poslednjih godina Viktor Orban i Aleksandar Vučić sklopili su jedno od najne očekivanijih partnerstava u Evropi. Njihovi susreti su intenzivirani od pandemije korona virusa, a posebno posle invazije Rusije na Ukrajinu. Danas se čini da Orbanov i Vučićev ideološki diskurs deli mnoge vrednosti: oni su kritični prema Zapadu i dvosmisleni prema Rusiji, protive se vrednostima individualizma i promovišu kolektivističke vrednosti porodice i nacije, istovremeno podrivajući vladavinu prava. Međutim, njihovi ideološki počeci nisu mogli biti drugačiji. Orban je započeo političku karijeru kao prozapadni, disidentski liberalni omladinski lider Fidesa; Vučić je u politiku ušao u iliberalnoj, antizapadnoj Srpskoj radikalnoj stranci. Vučić je 1999. bio ministar informisanja u vladi u ratu sa NATO-om i Mađarskom tadašnjeg premijera Orbana. U ovom radu analiziram putanje Orbanovih i Vučićevih ideoloških pozicija i njihovo postepeno približavanje. Takođe, ispitujem elemente njihovog ideološkog diskursa koji su i danas relativno divergentni i ocenjujem doslednost primene njihovih pogleda na svet. Prateći analizu ideoloških putanja dvojice lidera i stepena njihove koherentnosti, razmatram

objašnjenja ovih promena tokom vremena, oslanjajući se na različite teorijske okvire, normativna opredeljenja, instrumentalne vrednosti ideološkog diskursa i efekte difuzije. Da bi se ova objašnjenja testirala, trebalo bi razmotriti najkritičnije razlike između Vučićevih i Orbanovih stavova u prošlosti, tokom rata 1999. i migrantske krize 2015, i njihova naknadna opravdanja. Njihovi odnosi sa liberalnim državama Zapada mogu donekle da objasne konfliktne periode i to kako su dva lidera retroaktivno predstavljali ove događaje. Ovo poređenje razvoja ideoloških diskursa dva autoritarna lidera doprinosi boljem razumevanju varijeteta autoritarnosti u Evropi, međuzavisnosti autoritarnih projekata i njihovih širih implikacija, posebno tokom produblivanja podela u Evropi.

Ključne reči: Mađarska, Srbija, autoritarizam, iliberalizam, nacionalizam

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SINO-RUSSIAN CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN HEGEMONY- ARE WE MOVING TOWARDS A MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER?

The current state of international relations and the global order is characterized by growing conflicts, and rivalry between the United States of America, as the declining hegemon, and the rising non-Western powers, first and foremost, China and Russia. Russia's "special military operation" to "demilitarise" and "denazify" Ukraine has galvanized and united Western allies against the attack on the international 'rules based' order. Dominated by the US, the West seeks partners and client states to support their actions against Moscow. On the other hand, Washington D.C. aims to contain Beijing, nudging European and other partners to limit Chinese expansion, political and technological. The countries of the so-called Global South seek their own interests and do not uncritically follow American positions. Practically all the states of Africa, Asia and Eurasia have not allied with the West in its struggle against Russia. The war over the future of the planetary order, the conflict between the unipolar and multipolar forces, has been going on for some time and unless US and its allies win the world is heading to polycentrism and multipolarity.

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MEHANIZMI DELIGITIMIZACIJE I DEKONSTRUKCIJE HIBRIDNIH REŽIMA U REGION ZAPADNOG BALKANA: SLUČAJ SRBIJE

Rad je posvećen analizi jednog od najsloženijih i najkontroverznijih političkih pitanja danas: na koji način i putem kojih mehanizama se politički legitimitet u kompetitivno-autoritarnim režimima može osporiti, „oduzeti“ ili delegitimisati? Prvi deo se bavi analizom procesa

delegitimizacije, dekonstrukcije i deinstitucionalizacije semi-autoritarnih političkih sistema. Rad referira na manifestacije i izvesne kontradikcije između tih fenomena kao i na određene snage, koje stoje iza tih procesa i njihovih efekata. Delegitimizaciju i dekonstrukciju poretka potrebno je posmatrati u kontekstualnoj interakciji sa ključnim susednim pojmovima kao što su država, izbori, demokratija, autoritarizam i populizam. Drugi deo se odnosi na implikacije autoritarizacije politike i političkog procesa. Ti procesi provociraju i otvaraju pitanje prevrednovanja države i političkih institucija u širem globalnom političkom okviru. Analiza podrazumeva proučavanje konsekvence odnosa stubova i moderatora procesa delegitimizacije autoritarne politike-poretka u regionu Zapadnog Balkana, kao i deinstitucionalizaciju autoritarnih enklava. Istraživanje u obuhvata i analizu anomičnog karaktera države i mogućnosti za rekonstrukciju stvarnog demokratskog legitimiteta političkog sistema. Treći deo rada pokušava da odgonetne neke dileme jer nije sasvim jasno kako različiti oblici hibridnih režima, kako u regionu Zapadnog Balkana, tako i u novom „evro-glokalizovanom“ svetu postaju sve jači, represivniji i otporniji na brojne unutrašnje i spoljne izazove. Pored delegitimizacije i dekonstrukcije autoritarnog poretka, omnipotentna politička kontrola naglašava lojalnost političkom lideru, jer to postaje primarna vrлина. Autor smatra da sve ovo slabi strukturalne demokratske mehanizme i doprinosi stvaranju atmosfere anomalije i političkog linča. Ovaj deo rada se takođe bavi sa mogućnostima i putevima rešavanja pomenutih kontradikcija i problema.

Ključne reči: delegitimizacija, autoritarizam, populizam, personalizacija, izbori, pobuna, protest, Zapadni Balkan

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THE ROLE OF THE OMBUDSMAN IN THE FIELD OF GENDER EQUALITY

The subject is the functioning the national ombudsman in the field of gender equality. Like other gender mechanisms, the ombudsman's gender section relies on domestic and international standards and documents that deal with these issues.

The aim of the paper is to present three periods of ombudsman activities in the field of gender equality, which are continuously connected to each other, from its establishment till present. Modus operandi also are the same: public reactions, opinions and recommendations to administrative bodies, organizing training for administrative bodies and local ombudsmen, public panels on gender equality issues, distributing promotional materials, participating in the drafting of laws, public presentation of regular annual and special thematic reports.

The changed geopolitical situation due to the armed conflict in Ukraine has not yet led to the abandonment of international standards regarding gender equality, although the impacts in this regard have weakened. At the same time, there is also an increase in domestic anti-gender-oriented forces that oppose gender equality in practice

The conclusion points to the continuity ombudsman thematic activities in that domain, domestic violence, the rights of pregnant women and mothers, as well as hate speech and violence against

LGBTI persons. It remains yet to be seen whether the achieved fifteen-year ombudsman's continuity in the field of gender equality will be maintained in the context of EU integration.

Keywords: ombudsman, gender equality, violence against women, rights of LGBT persons, continuity, international standards and influences, anti-gender movement, changed geopolitical situation, context of EU integration.