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Darko M. MARKOVIĆ

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STYLES IN THE FUNCTION OF CREATING A
CULTURE OF PEACE**

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**A SYMBOLISM OF A HOLIDAY AS A DETERMINANT
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Darko M. MARKOVIĆ*

University Business Academy in Novi Sad
Faculty of Law for Commerce and Judiciary

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES AND STYLES IN THE FUNCTION OF CREATING A CULTURE OF PEACE

Abstract

Conflict, violence and peace, as well as relations between them, are the basic axes of peace studies as an interdisciplinary field, which began to develop in the first half of the XX century as a reaction to the catastrophic consequences of World War I and II. As time went on, respecting the complexity of social relations and adapting to changes in the focus relating to social interests and concerns, the concept of negative peace (absence of violence and war) gave way to a more optimistic concept of positive peace, i.e. peace maintained by a preventive approach. In order to create peace with a positive approach, it is necessary to timely determine the presence of conflict, its nature and the possibility of causing violence, and accordingly, choose an appropriate way to overcome disagreements that produce conflict, i.e. calm the conflict and prevent its escalation into some form of violence. In this regard, the aim of this paper is to point out the significance of conflict management with the intention of creating a culture of peace, rather than imposing one's own interest at any cost and, thus, exacerbating the conflict situation.

Keywords: social relations, harmony, conflict situation, confrontation of interests, conflict resolution

* E-mail: darko.markovic@fepps.edu.rs; <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9124-6417>.

INTRODUCTION

Peace studies is an interdisciplinary field that began to develop in the first half of the twentieth century in response to the catastrophic consequences of World Wars I and II. Accordingly, initial peace researches were focused on the military aspects of the problem. Relying on epistemological and methodological resources of various disciplines, peace studies have gradually entered segments of other social phenomena that carry conflicts in themselves and/or produce them - economy, public policy, education, gender policy and sexism, interculturalism, social development in general, and, markedly in the past years, sustainable development. Therefore, those studies are characterized by a systematic interdisciplinary analysis of the causes of violence and the conditions for establishing and maintaining peace. Conflict, violence, and peace, as well as relations between them, soon became the basic axes of this discipline, so the approaches and interpretations proposed through peace studies are basic for the analysis of a large number of problems. In the beginning, researchers focused on the negative definition of peace - negative in terms of the state of absence of conflict (war) and violence. It is more an approach to peace that is established after the conflict, and the process of establishing peace itself does not always take place peacefully. Recognizing the complexity of social relations and adapting to changes in the focus in terms of social interests and concerns, this concept has changed over time, gaining holistic features in greater amount. Thus, at the end of the sixties of the last century, the concept of so-called positive peace started developing on a more optimistic basis. It is a peace that is maintained by a preventive approach, and in that sense, it also means peace that is reached peacefully, by preventing and calming the conflict at the stage when there are indications of it or it has just started, before any use of violence occurs. Galtung believed that the focus of researchers should be positive peace, i.e. the pursuit of understanding "conditions for

preventing violence”, which “requires an understanding of the civilizations, development, peace and conflict studied eclectically.” This necessity exists because long-term solutions can only be achieved through a positive peace approach, while the effects of negative peace are short-term.¹

In order to create peace with a positive approach, it is necessary to timely determine the presence of conflict, its nature and the possibility of causing violence, and accordingly choose an appropriate way to overcome disagreements that produce conflict, that is, calm the conflict and prevent its escalation into some form of violence. Conflicts are a part of everyday life, coexistence, and social interactions. Tendencies to present them as a negative social phenomenon in itself are not justified, given that conflict can also have positive aspects, as a driver of interest, personal and social changes and identity establishment.

In this regard, the aim of this paper is precisely that – to point out the significance of managing conflicts with the intention of creating a culture of peace, rather than imposing one’s own interest on others and thus exacerbating the conflict situation.

UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT - THE FIRST STEP TO PEACE AND HARMONY

“An eye for an eye will only make the whole world blind.”

Mahatma Gandhi

Knowledge and understanding of the problem precede any reasonable decision on choosing the way it is solved. Likewise, when talking about conflict management styles and strategies, before accepting and implementing them, it is necessary to understand the essence of conflict not only in specific circumstances but also in general meaning and sense.

¹ Grewal, B. S. (2003). Johan Galtung: Positive and Negative Peace, pp. 4-5. http://www.activeforpeace.org/no/fred/positive_negative_peace.pdf.

Regardless of the area of life it concerns, conflict represents a lack of agreement between two or more people, and if such polarization lasts for a long time, the intensity of the conflict increases, spreading it to social groups, which is when we can talk about social conflict.² In everyday speech, the terms clash and conflict are used interchangeably. However, there is a difference in intensity, so a conflict can be considered a clash of interests that are so opposed that it is impossible to fully satisfy both sides. The existence of inequality in society, primarily economic, and in accordance with it all others (political, social, racial, gender...), is an eternal source of conflict. Even in an imaginary communist society, which is still a pure utopia, there is inequality between those who contribute to the community “according to their abilities” and those who take “according to their needs”, which at some point may cause dissatisfaction among those with “greater abilities” and produce serious social conflicts. Thus, inequality is inevitable, and according to the Marxists, to avoid dissatisfaction one ought to reach a certain level of social consciousness. In the 21st century mankind is getting farther and farther away from that ideal, so the polemics on eternal inequality as a source of social conflicts ends there.

Therefore, given that they grow out of inequality, social conflicts are “struggles between and within a social group to pursue conflicting interests and values”³. The nature of conflicting interests may be different, but it always comes down to striving for economic and/or political domination, conquest or defence of territory, revolutionary changes of social relations or preservation of the existing situation, etc.⁴

Regardless of the social context in which the conflict occurs, it can be conditionally divided into four phases. In the first phase, the conflict is

² ACNUR Comité Español (2018). *Qué es un conflicto social y qué efectos puede tener*. UNHCR/ACNUR – conciencia social y económica. https://eacnur.org/blog/conflicto-social-que-es-y-efectos-tc_alt45664n_o_pstn_o_pst/.

³ Vidojević, Z. (1993). *Društveni sukobi od klasnih do ratnih*. Beograd: Radnička štampa, str. 79.

⁴ Đukić, S. (2018). Uzroci društvenih konfliakta i upravljanje konfliktima u uslovima krize, *Vojno delo* br. 3/2018, str. 196.

hinted at from the attitudes taken by the opposing parties, and those attitudes are built on certain beliefs and established interests. In the second phase, there is a conflict, the third phase is a reaction, and in the fourth, we get the result as a product of polarized interests and reactions.

A favourable result strengthens the belief system and thus draws a pattern of future action.

For the outcome to be favourable, it is necessary to apply a strategy that best suits the circumstances of the conflict situation and the interest that is to be achieved. There is no predefined “best” strategy, but there are appropriate styles of conflict management on which concrete strategies can be built.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT – CHOICE OF A STRATEGY

“Peace is not the absence of conflict but the presence of creative alternatives for responding to conflict - alternatives to passive or aggressive responses, alternatives to violence.”

Dorothy Thompson

In everyday life conflict is considered a big unpleasantness, a hint of an evil much greater than itself. Because of that, when a conflict arises in private life, people tend to minimize its existence or even ignore it entirely. In an individual's public life, wherein we consider the sphere of politics, minimizing and/or ignoring a conflict can only occur due to the lack of authorities' and competent persons' abilities to recognise it, i.e., to timely discern the adverse effects it may have. Of course, adverse effects may happen as a result of a conflict simply existing, but this only shows how important it is to manage it so it would not become more aggravated or escalate into violence with inconceivable consequences. Bearing in mind the nature of social relations, one may claim with certainty that conflicts are unavoidable in modern society, which is why conflict

management “has become the centre of gravity of human activities”.⁵ The inevitability of conflicts’ existence propels the need for their nature to be studied in each individual situation so their dynamics could be predicted, and therefore adequate measures could be taken, which would result in curbing and transforming conflicts into “positive force for the growth and development of the society”⁶.

Nowadays, within different scientific disciplines (law, sociology, psychology, philosophy, military and security sciences, political sciences, et al.) there is much effort to find and offer solutions to conflicts, that is, strategies for conflict management that can achieve a state of balanced security and peace. Life is so diverse and full of unpredictable circumstances that it would be difficult to keep facing conflict situations using just one unique strategy. Besides, since conflict implies the existence of at least two opposing parties, oftentimes a solution to a conflict is good for one side, yet not so much for the other one. Precisely because of that, the main goal of conflict management is mitigating disagreements that cause conflicts, specifically, removing or at least allaying its causes. Depending on the angle from which a conflict is observed, who is offering a solution and with what interest, numerous conflict management strategies are being developed. In theory there is a generally accepted Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI)⁷ that serves as a starting point for creating different approaches to conflict management. This method distinguishes five basic styles that can be used in different areas of human life for situations with incompatible goals or contradictory opinions:⁸

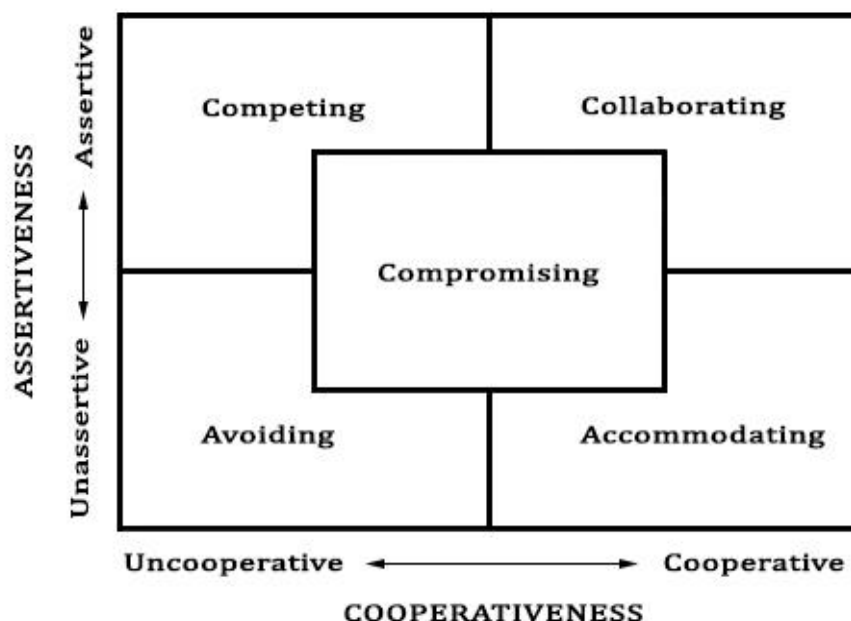
⁵ Alimba, C. N. (2018). Conflict Management Styles: Historical Evolution, Perspectives and Rationalisation, *Review of Public Administration and Management*, Vol. 7(1), p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.

⁷ Ovaj metod upravljanja je razvijen 1974. godine od strane Kenneth Thomas and Ralph Kilmann, kojim se na osnovu dve glavne ose (affirmation and cooperation) prepoznaje pet različitih reakcija u okolnostima postojanja suprotstavljenih ili nekompatibilnih interesa, odnosno izbor strategija za prevazilaženje konfliktnog stanja.

⁸ Mossanen, M. et al. (2014). A Practical Approach to Conflict Management for Program Directors. *Journal of Graduate Medical Education*, Vol. 6(2), pp. 345-346.

Figure 1: *Conflict Management by the Thomas-Kilmann Method*⁹



(1) Competing

If assertive behaviour is used as a reaction to conflict circumstances, with the goal to satisfy personal needs without understanding the other side and cooperating with them, at the cost of damage to the other side, then we are talking about the so-called “win-lose” approach. This is always a confrontational style where at least one-party acts from the position of power, and the final outcome always has a winner and a loser. Still, this approach need not have a negative connotation if the objective circumstances require urgent action and decisiveness with the understanding of the other party. In less urgent situations, one side will be unsatisfied, maybe even indignant because of the unfavourable outcome, which may cause a new conflict after some time.

⁹ This two-dimensional model of conflict-handling behaviour is adapted from “Conflict and Conflict Management” by Kenneth Thomas in *The Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, edited by Marvin Dunnette (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976). Another valuable contribution in this field is the work by Robert Blake and Jane Mouton in *The Managerial Grid* (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1964, 1994).

(2) Collaborating

If it is estimated that the significance of relations transcends the current state of misunderstanding, a way to show preparedness to harmonise interests of all parties included is found. This applies particularly in cases when there have been conflicts before between the same sides, or if the circumstances are such that achieving a simple compromise would not correspond to the importance of the situation. Purpose of this approach to conflict resolution is connecting sides with different perspectives on a joint road towards satisfying bilateral (multilateral) interests. Here there is no desire to win, nor is there yielding, which is why this style is considered a “win-win” approach. This is precisely the advantage this style – different views are merged with the aim to find the best solution that would make everyone a winner. On the other hand, its drawback is the length of the road towards that goal, because it depends on the level of mutual trust, which certainly is not high at the very beginning, otherwise there would have been no conflict.

(3) Accommodating

If the other side is in a more favourable position and with better solutions and resources for resolving the conflict to their advantage, or if for one side there is a more significant goal in the long run compared to the ongoing conflict situation, it may take the line of least resistance, yielding to the other side and adapting to the new circumstances while suffering a certain amount of damage. That side suppresses its assertiveness in favour of cooperation, often believing that peace is more valuable than “victory”. Still, it is completely obvious that in the future the side that suffered damages would feel dissatisfaction with such an outcome, which may possibly cause a new conflict.

(4) Avoiding

Reaction to a conflict situation by avoiding confrontation with problems may manifest as completely turning away from the conflict, i.e., as denying the existence of the problem, or postponing the response for a

more suitable time. Having in mind that this is practically non-dealing with the conflict on any visible level, one may pose the question whether this a style of conflict management or a style of behaviour in a conflict situation. Complete avoidance of confronting with the problems related to the conflict is basically unproductive and shows submissiveness and uncooperativeness. Turning your back to the problem, and unawareness of the existence of the conflict, will in no way help the problem disappear. On the contrary, the conflict can only strengthen and grow to an unmanageable level. On the other hand, avoidance with the aim to postpone giving an adequate response for a more suitable moment is a style of conflict management. Such approach makes sense when emotional tensions are running high¹⁰ and we are in an unfavourable situation with small chances of a favourable outcome, as well as in conflicts of smaller intensity and lesser importance where there is no real risk of the conflict escalating. However, even in such cases it is unrealistic to expect the problem to disappear all on its own, so the strategy based on postponing is not a good solution in the long run.

(5) Compromising

Looking for a compromise is one of the possible ways to resolve a conflict, which implies balancing the relations by making concessions to find an average solution, satisfying and acceptable to all sides included. The possibility of finding such a solution is conditioned by the preparedness of all parties to make certain concessions, which can be facilitated by knowing that escalation of the conflict would be much greater. Comparing it to the other abovementioned approaches, it is easy to notice that this one is the most moderate. In comparison to competing and accommodating, searching for a compromise represents the middle way because competitiveness is mutual, and concessions are brought down to a rational level. Striving to reach a compromise is more direct than avoiding or ignoring a conflict, but on the other hand it does not

¹⁰ Bajalski, B. (2017). Power in the Process of Negotiations, *Nauka i društvo*, Vol. IV, Issue 1(7), p. 65.

delve into the problem too deeply and requires more concessions to one's own detriment than the collaborating approach.

With a comprehensive insight into the abovementioned styles of resolving conflict situations one may discern two key determinants based on whose relation it depends which style would be applied (Figure 1) – from decisiveness and persistence (assertiveness) to fulfil one's own aspirations, as well as from the preparedness to meet others' aspirations (cooperativeness).

Purpose of the conflict management styles and strategies is increasing the efficiency of interventions designed to lessen exaggerated conflicts, and in some cases to further insufficient conflict,¹¹ so as to achieve organizational and individual goals¹², which are basically creating a favourable ambience for establishing culture of peace in society. Which style or strategy should be used depends on numerous circumstances, among which the most important one is the very personality of people and the nature of relations characterizing conflict, basic causes, and conflict dynamics. Among the styles offered, neither one of them can be considered universal for certain types of conflicts. Therefore, the best approach may be the one that leads to a stable peace with least negative consequences.

CONCLUSION

Manifesting in different ways, conflicts are inherent in life - all people, of different age, gender, race and social characteristics, as well as all social groups and countries, experience conflict situations during their existence. Although they are inevitable, they must not be viewed only in a negative context since they also have their positive aspects, primarily in

¹¹ Hellriegel, D. and Slocum, J.W. (1996). *Management*. Cincinnati Ohio: South Western College Publishing. In: Alimba, C. (2018), *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹² Gumuseli, A.I and Hacifazlioglu, O. (2009). Globalization and conflict management in schools, *Cypriot Journal of Educational Science*, Issue 4, pp. 183-198. In Alimba, C. (2018), *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

because they help us improve our views and ways of responding to problems, and to build better and more lasting relationships through getting better knowledge of ourselves and others. It is important to learn to live with conflicts and not allow them to dominate us, because in that case we will become sources of destruction ourselves. Therefore, it is necessary to be an active participant, not a passive observer or ignorant, not to suffer but to manage conflicts in direction of their transformation into a positive development. Since we live in an age of accelerated technological development, new family models, new migration movements and transformation of societies in general, most conflict situations are very complex, especially when the actors are social groups and states. That is why success of conflict management is significantly conditioned by appropriate planning approach, i.e. choosing the most suitable strategy. Five styles of conflict management, which were developed with the help of the so-called Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument method is a generally accepted basis for creating an appropriate approach to conflict management, but they are not a solution in itself. There is no universal most effective strategy because every conflict is a story in itself, and the actors are not always the same as well. Even in situations where the same actors have a recurring conflict situation, the circumstances are not the same, at least due to the fact that they enter the new conflict resolution process with some experience and lessons.

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Дарко М. МАРКОВИЋ

Универзитет Привредна академија, Нови Сад
Правни факултет за привреду и правосуђе

СТРАТЕГИЈЕ И СТИЛОВИ УПРАВЉАЊА КОНФЛИКТОМ У ФУНКЦИЈИ КРЕИРАЊА КУЛТУРЕ МИРА

Апстракт

Сукоб, насиље и мир, као и односи међу њима су основне осе одреднице мировних студија као интердисциплинарне области, која се почела развијати у првој половини XX века као реакција на катастрофалне последице I и II светског рата. Како је време одмицало, уважавајући комплексност друштвених односа и прилагођавајући се променама фокуса у погледу друштвених интереса и брига, концепт негативног одређења мира (одсуство насиља и рата), уступио је место оптимистичнијем концепту позитивног мира, односно мира који се одржава превентивним приступом. Да би се мир креирао позитивним приступом, неопходно је правовремено утврдити присуство конфликта, његову природу и могућност изазивања насиља, па у складу са тим изабрати одговарајући пут превазилажења несугласица које производе конфликт, односно смиривања конфликта и спречавања његове ескалације у неки облик насиља. С тим у вези, циљ овог рада јесте да истакне значај управљања конфликтом с намером креирања културе мира, а не наметања сопственог интереса по сваку цену и, на тај начин, заоштравања конфликтне ситуације.

Кључне речи: *друштвени односи, хармонија, конфликтна ситуација, супротстављање интереса, решење конфликта*

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Ana VUKOVIĆ*

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade

A SYMBOLISM OF A HOLIDAY AS A DETERMINANT OF IDENTITY **

Abstract

The article analyzes the attitude towards the holiday on the example of March 8 as a component of women's identity. In the first part of the paper, we will give a brief historical overview of the origins of holiday. The second part of the paper will include an analysis of data on March 8 based on the author's research. The basic thesis in the paper is that the attitude towards the holiday depends on the individual attitude of women towards identity and the collective attitude towards the holidays as an intangible heritage in the wider social context. The aim of this paper is to point out that the attitude about the holiday is conditioned by the way of intragenerational and intergenerational attitude towards memory, but also by the social position of women as a group in different historical periods. The author concludes that the main guardians of the festive cultural heritage are women as a social group, and the potential disqualification of March 8 as an irrelevant historical date, which was done through a form of celebration makes meaningless the significance of women's position in society.

Keywords: *equality, March 8, memory, society, women.*

* E-mail: annvukovic@yahoo.com

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INTRODUCTION

International Women's Day as a holiday arose as a need to mark the uprising of women workers in New York on March 8, 1857. During this period, equality between women and men was proclaimed within the program of a few socialist parties, in France in 1879 and in Germany in 1891. Within the framework of the Second International, Clara Zetkin organized the first international conference of women social democrats in 1907.¹ According to the authors, Clara Zetkin dealt mostly with the problem of women's emancipation. Her book *Women and Students* deals with the women's emancipation movement, the social position of women and the formation of women as free persons was translated and published in Serbo-Croatian language in 1924. During that period, her articles were published in our socialist newspapers. In the 1980s, she joined the socialist movement in Germany, which forced her to emigrate, and after returning to Germany in 1890, she led the women's proletarian movement. As part of her political activities, she was the initiator of the International Conference of Women (1907), at which she was elected secretary of the International Women's Secretariat, and from 1920 until the end of her life in 1933, she was the president of the secretariat. Based on her proposal at the International Conference of Women, held in Copenhagen in 1910, March 8 was declared International Women's Day.²

Some authors believe that "every culture of memory is closely linked to its own historical form of social time, which is a dynamic framework for using the past."³ Within this "critical culture of memory seeks internal antagonism, studies the planned direction of the intertwining of public, official and personal memory, then the ways in which the image of the past divides people who experienced it, but also those who did not

¹ Božinović, N. (1996). *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*. Beograd: Devedesetčetvrta, p. 16.

² Kecman, J. (1978). *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama 1918 – 1941*. Beograd: Narodna knjiga i Institut za savremenu istoriju, p. 12.

³ Kuljić, T. (2006). *Kultura sećanja: teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti*, Beograd: Čigoja štampa, pp. 12-14.

experience it, and yet accept it as part of their own identity".⁴ According to Malešević, the symbolism of the holiday changed its view in the middle of the 20th century when March 8, "Instead of the former 'battle day', is transformed, in the 1960s, into Mother's Day, the holiday of parent and nurturer."⁵ At that time, the celebration of Women's Day was divided into two levels - official and spontaneous, i.e. celebratory.

New trends in the way of celebrating holidays as changes in memory and dynamics have influenced changes in the perception of previous memories on the holiday and all the dimensions it contained, so from the "revolutionary-fighting" dimension moved to a more socially acceptable dimension of the holiday as a celebration of traditional roles of women in society. Such an attitude towards the holiday is a consequence of the attitude towards women's identity in the socialist system, but "much more scientific efforts need to be made to establish a relatively consistent and true idea of the meaning and real effects of the socialist system on changing the social position of women and their identity in ex-socialist countries in Europe".⁶ In the next chapter, we will point out the interpretations of the holidays from our research.

WOMEN'S PERCEPTION OF THE HOLIDAY: RESEARCH DATA

The answers to the question *What do you think about March 8?* are clusters of memories of individuals at one time, in which are the memories of women who were direct participants in celebrating holidays in socialist Yugoslavia to the "memories" of previous generations, as well as the attitudes of younger generations about the holiday, which gave rise to sporadic reminders of the symbolism and significance of the holiday every March 8 of the year in the media. We will analyze the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

⁵ Malešević, M. (1988). Osmi mart od utopije do demagogije, *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU*, XXXVI-XXXVII, pp. 68-70.

⁶ Milić, A. (2008). Žene u bivšoj Jugoslaviji – drugačiji pogled na učinke socijalizma u promeni društvenog položaja žena, in Vujović, S. (ed.) *Društvo rizika: promene, nejednakosti i socijalni problemi u današnjoj Srbiji*. Beograd: Čigoja štampa, p.181.

perception of ordinary women about the Eighth of March to determine whether there are any generational nuances. Attitudes also indicate the quality of interpersonal relationships in individual and collective memory.

The data are part of a broader study by the author of the paper conducted in 2013, on a quota sample of women. They were collected by the quantitative method (survey questionnaire), and the question What do you think about the Eighth of March was answered by 165 respondents. Given the size of the sample of the general population of women, we will not subject the collected data to a broader and deeper statistical analysis, which is performed on larger samples. The data can serve as a framework for empirical research on larger samples in the future. Quota sample included 188 women, equally represented groups of women aged 36-50 years 41.0% (77) and 51 and older 41.0% (77), and the respondents aged 20 to 35 have 18.1% (34). Most respondents have completed secondary school, almost half 44.1% (83 respondents), then slightly more than a quarter of respondents with completed primary school 23.9% (45 women), and a third of 60 respondents with higher education: higher education has 5.9% (11), 19.7% of women (37) have completed college, and 6.4% (12) are women with a master's degree or doctorate.

The majority of respondents are 91.4% employed women, 3.8% retired, 2.2% female students, 1.6% unemployed and 1.1% housewives. According to marital status, married women predominate, slightly more than half of the respondents 59.7% (111), then, in a significantly lower percentage of unmarried 15.1% (28), in extramarital union is 9.1% (17), 11.3% are divorced (21) and 4.8% are in the widow group (9). A neutral question has been formulated *What do you think about March 8?* open type, with the possibility for the respondents to define their own attitude towards the holiday. The answer to the question was given by 165 respondents. Considering that the sample consisted of women of different levels of education as well as members of the younger and older generation, the intention was to see potential differences. The answers of

the respondents were then coded and a typology was made: a) a day like every other day of the year; b) a beautiful holiday, it should be celebrated, given and paid attention to; c) an important and symbolic date, but it has lost its significance and essence; d) it is not important, it should not be celebrated; e) I don't think anything special about March 8; f) imposed and obsolete holiday; d) mother's and grandmother's day, not wife's; h) Women deserve attention every day, not just March 8th.

According to the frequency of answers, the largest number of respondents believes that March 8 is a "beautiful holiday, it should be celebrated, gifts and attention" (36.4%), followed by "a day like every other day of the year" (18.2%); Approximately the same percentage of respondents state that "they don't think anything special about March 8 (13.3%) and that it is" an important and symbolic date, but it has lost its significance and essence"(12.1%). 8.5% answered that "women deserve attention every day and not only on March 8", and the smallest percentage of women think that it is an "imposed and obsolete holiday" (4.8%), that it is not important and should not be celebrated (4.2%), and that it is "Mother's and Grandma's Day, not Women's Day" (2.4%). The following tables show the respondents' answers according to age and education.

Table 1: *Opinions on March 8 by age (N and %)*

	20-35	36-50	51 and older	In total
A day like any other day of the year	(4) 14.3%	(14) 20.3%	(12) 17.6%	(30) 18.2%
Nice day, it should be celebrated, gifts and attention	(9) 32.1%	(22) 31.9%	(29) 42.6%	(60) 36.4%
An important and symbolic date, but it has lost its significance and essence	(8) 28.6%	(7) 10.1%	(5) 7.4%	(20) 12.1%
It's not important, it	(1)	(2)	(4)	(7)

shouldn't be celebrated	3.6%	2.9%	5.9%	4.2%
I don't think anything special about March 8 th	(3) 10.7%	(12) 17.4%	(7) 10.3%	(22) 13.3%
An imposed and obsolete holiday	(0) 0.0%	(1) 1.4%	(7) 10.3%	(8) 4.8%
Mother's and grandmother's day, not women's	(0) 0.0%	(1) 2.9%	(2) 2.9%	(3) 2.4%
Women deserve attention every day, not just on March 8 th	(3) 10.7%	(9) 13.0%	(2) 2.9%	(14) 8.5%
In total	28	69	68	165

Note: From the author's calculations, database.

Table 2: *Opinions on March 8 by education (N and %)*

	Completed primary school	Completed secondary school	Higher education and faculty	Total
A day like any other day of the year	(15) 35.7%	(12) 17.4%	(3) 5.6%	(30) 18.2%
Nice day, it should be celebrated, gifts and attention	(16) 38.1%	(27) 39.1%	(17) 31.5%	(60) 36.4%
An important and symbolic date, but it has lost its significance and essence	(1) 2.4%	(5) 7.2%	(14) 25.9%	(20) 12.1%
It's not	(1)	(2)	(4)	(7)

important, it shouldn't be celebrated	2.4%	2.9%	7.4%	4.2%
I don't think anything special about March 8 th	(5) 11.9%	(11) 15.9%	(6) 11.1%	(22) 13.3%
An imposed and obsolete holiday	(1) 2.4%	(3) 4.3%	(4) 7.4%	(8) 4.8%
Mother's and grandmother's day, not women's	(0) 0.0%	(3) 4.3%	(1) 1.9%	(4) 2.4%
Women deserve attention every day, not just on March 8 th	(3) 7.1%	(6) 8.7%	(5) 9.3%	(14) 8.5%
In total	42	69	54	165

Note: From the author's calculations, database.

As can be seen from the data, most respondents of all levels of education and age categories believe that March 8 is a beautiful holiday that should be celebrated, and that it is an opportunity to show attention to women and receive gifts. However, there is a difference in the attitude of respondents towards education, 25.9% of highly educated respondents believe that this is a very important date but that it has lost its significance and essence, compared to only 7.2% with high school and 2.4% with primary school. The answer shows a dose of resignation of the highly educated that March 8 has no significance in society and that the essence of the holiday is lost. In order to show the observed differences more comprehensively, we will introduce the qualitative answers of the respondents into the analysis.

Several characteristic qualitative answers that describe the attitude of highly educated women that the holiday is important but that it has lost its essence are: "Follow the media more and point out the problems of

women and their unequal position in society"; "Many brave women have suffered to give us the right to vote"; "Today, this holiday has lost the significance and meaning it had in previous decades, more like Love Day than a day that marks and symbolizes women's struggle for equality"; "I support the celebration of important historical dates, but, on the other hand, in time it becomes an empty form without content, essence"; "The symbolism of that date is completely negligible in relation to the position of women throughout the year"; "A poorly interpreted holiday has essentially gone into its opposite"; "An important historical date, unfortunately, was reduced to a day of small gifts and attention out of habit."

Here are some answers from high school respondents: "Nothing special, a day like any other day"; "He has lost his originality"; "The very concept of March 8 has lost its meaning, because women, in addition to the achieved rights, have diminished their value as human beings"; "A holiday for men's fools - a woman needs attention every day"; "Since that date, the women's struggle has begun and is still going on"; "It doesn't matter when it was created, but it should exist as one of the gestures that direct attention to a woman."

Unlike the highly educated, respondents with lower levels of education (primary and secondary) in their answers more often interpret the holiday as "a day like any other" or "they don't think anything special" about it.

The answers within the same category of education and between different levels are very diverse, but there is a difference in the qualitative answers of respondents with primary and secondary school where the emphasis is more on the way to celebrate holidays (day off work, gifts, attention) compared to respondents with higher education that emphasizes the historical significance of the holiday, but also the need for its revitalization in that direction. However, based on the frequency of responses, we can conclude that the common thread in the

responses of respondents of all generations and levels of education is that the holiday is an important date and should be celebrated.

Based on this question, we tried to see the reflectivity of the general population of women on International Women's Day and how women of different ages recalled similar events and holidays and the interpretation of some events and holidays change over the generations. The question allowed us to indirectly, through the opinions of different generations of women and levels of education, gain insight into the symbolism of this holiday in different socio-historical circumstances.

WHOSE HOLIDAY IS MARCH 8?

The social and historical contextualization of the symbolism of holidays can be seen in the following two definitions of holidays in our country, the first is from 1975, and the second was created 35 years later. First is the definitions within the determinant International Women's Day - March 8 in Political encyclopedia 1975. According to this definition, March 8 is "the day of international solidarity of women in the fight for economic and political equality. At the Second International Conference of Women in Copenhagen in 1910, at the initiative of Clara Zetkin, a resolution was adopted establishing an international day, emphasizing that it was organized in cooperation with workers' parties and unions to achieve economic, political, and social equality for women. The first celebrations of International Women's Day were held in 1911. in Germany, Austria, Denmark, and Switzerland under the slogan of winning universal suffrage, and in Russia in 1913. Until the Second World War in Yugoslavia, the March 8 celebrations were marked by the struggle against reactionary regimes, the fascism of the country, the conquest of political freedoms and the demand 'for equal work - equal reward'. During the Second World War, the basic content of the celebrations was the activation and mobilization of women in the national liberation struggle. With the victory of the socialist revolution, the women of Yugoslavia achieved legal and political recognition of full

equality, so the content of these celebrations was manifested in a broad gathering of women to rebuild the war-torn country, build socialism and fight for equality between nations and peace in the world."⁷ Given that the determinant is included in the Political Encyclopedia, this indicates women's political significance, their participation in the Second World War, and their proclaimed equality in every sphere of society.

One other definition of holiday created 35 years later is: "Women's desire for equality lasts as long as the human race. 102 years ago, in 1908, textile workers marched in New York under the slogan 'bread and roses'. They demanded shorter working hours, higher salaries, and a ban on the exploitation of child labor. A year later, workers demonstrated in Chicago. In memory of these, but also some other events in which women tragically lost their lives due to poor working conditions in 1910, in Copenhagen, at the initiative of Clara Zetkin, at the Second Conference of Socialist Women, March 8 was established as a holiday of women's rights. The following year, 1911, over a million workers celebrated Women's Day in Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark. March 8 was celebrated in Serbia for the first time in 1914. March 8 was accepted as the International Women's Day of 1917. In Russia, the so-called February Revolution (according to the new calendar on March 8) begins with demonstrations on the occasion of the International Women's Day. After the October Revolution, Bolshevik feminist Alexandra Kollontai fought to make March 8 a national holiday. Feminists of the second wave of feminism are restoring dignity to the Women's Day, calling it the day of actions for women's human rights. The year 1975, which was declared the International Year of Women, the United Nations officially began to mark International Women's Day. In the SFRY, after the Second World War, March 8 was celebrated first as a day in which the equality of women was discussed, so the emphasis was shifted to Mother's Day. This dimension of the holiday was insisted on in the education system from kindergartens to high schools. When the Anti-Fascist Women's Front was

⁷ *Politička enciklopedija. (1975). Beograd: Savremena administracija, p. 556.*

transformed into the Conference for Women's Social Activity, the holiday acquired the characteristics of a holiday in a consumer society. Trade unions organized women's trips abroad, women received cashier's checks for purchases in companies and institutions, and union organizations organized collective lunches, dinners, and parties in hotels and restaurants. The women received flowers."⁸ We can notice that this determination of holidays form example no longer mentions the historical role and struggle of women in the Second World War and their role in society in previous periods, except for the transformation of Anti-Fascist Women's Front, but emphasizes the way of celebrating holidays and passing patterns and symbolism to younger generations, which partially effects lost of the essence of holiday symbolism and it's significance for female identity.

Within the analysis of the basis and origins of March 8, it is necessary to distinguish two layers. The first layer of the origin of the holiday is connected with the historical dimension - the reasons for founding holiday and its establishment as an element of women's collective consciousness, within the revolution and the struggle for a better socio-economic position of women. Then marking Women's Day as a feminist holiday also. The second layer appears as a consequence of the interpretation of holiday in different ideological and social arrangements and depending on the educational and generational distance between women in terms of marking this holiday. Our research also includes the perception of holidays through the importance that women attach to their various social roles.

How the respondents perceive the holiday is visible in the way they define their opinion, namely, part of the respondents, through the answers is oriented on way of celebrating the holiday, part of the respondents to whose "ownership" is holiday and part of the answers on the period of active (public) celebration of the holiday. The way

⁸ Jarić V., Radović N. (2010). *Rečnik rodne ravnopravnosti*. Beograd: Kulturni centar Beograda, pp. 109-110.

individuals collectively remember, forget, and recall events, people, places, etc., has been a prominent topic of research on collective memory. In that sense, intergenerational agreement of women on the importance of March 8 should contribute to their collective memory. The appearance of the same (re)interpretation of March 8 only as an insignificant holiday that represents a relic of socialism, in the long run shapes a "new" collective memory that can influence attitude of younger generations who do not remember the time of socialism towards this holiday – in that manner they can only get a "narrow" picture of it's symbolic. A similar case is with other holidays that were celebrated in the former SFRY.

When the older generations pass on to the younger ones that the celebration of a holiday was an indicator of closeness, warmth, and through sociability the formation of a community, then the pattern of collective connection with the holiday is transmitted. This way of transmitting knowledge about various social phenomena can be classified as tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is not visible and cannot be easily expressed, it is a knowledge of an individual that is difficult to formalize, it can include subjective insights, hints, intuition. Adequate combination of tacit and explicit knowledge would be an ideal case type through two combined processes - knowledge perception and knowledge interpretation.⁹

For the formation of identity, it is necessary that the process of women's emancipation takes place "from within" - through personal and independent definition of the boundaries of identity where women are an active social actor in the process. The collective identity of women is considered in research in which the subject is the social position of women and the influence it has on the formation of women's identity. In this process, the role is played by the political socialization of women as a social group which, according to research, is primarily influenced by the family situation which is a consequence of the action of existing social

⁹ Vuković, A. (2020). Knowledge Management Concept and Subculture: Police Profession Example, *Nauka i društvo*, Vol. VII, br. 1(12), pp. 16-35.

patterns. The desire of an individual to develop identity in different social circumstances is directed on the basis of the value system propagated by the social community.¹⁰ Ignorance of the history of women - participants in politics and other influential social spheres and failure to convey the collective memory of the roles that women played in society in different historical periods affects the disintegration of women's identity.¹¹

CONCLUSION REMARKS

The potential disqualification of Women's Day as an unimportant historical date, which essentially was done through the form of celebration, makes meaningless the importance of women's social position, and can continuously question whether women built history or were an unimportant factor in it, or they were completely prevented from actively participating in history. That's why this holiday is important – so that there is a trace of when and why women changed historical trends and were active subjects of history. The main guardians of that cultural heritage are women as a social group. Considering that during the intensive and continuous celebration of Women's Day during socialism, we do not have enough data on the attitudes of women in that time period, then the transmission of oral memory is an important communication channel among women, which can indirectly shape attitude of the younger generations towards this issue and future cultural code of holiday.

Therefore, the collective memory towards this holiday is divided through the prism of memory of women of different generations –those who had the opportunity to celebrate the holiday, and those who lived in a different social context. The attitude towards Women's Day is shaped, to a different extent - by the culture of celebrating holidays in different

¹⁰ Vuković, A. (2013). Pitanje ženskog političkog identiteta u Srbiji i SAD – jedno poređenje, *Sociološki pregled*, vol. XLVII, no. 2, pp. 249-251.

¹¹ Vuković, A (2009). *Potisnute ili samopritajene? Žene u politici prema mišljenju političke elite u Srbiji*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik, pp. 15-30.

periods of a society, personal memories, and intergenerational transmission of memories. Part of this series is the attitude of official policy towards historical events and holiday celebrations. This intertwining is also enriched by the meaning that, in this case for the women's identity, can have a manifest and latent attitude towards the holiday. Since identity consists of several components, it is a question of each individual whether through the attitude towards the holiday expresses the entire attitude towards his life memory in one or more different socio-historical contexts.

We can conclude that the symbolism of Women's Day in our research was formed on the basis of individual experience of women, but also on the basis of the prevailing social climate in which the holiday was determined as desirable or undesirable, i.e. important, or insignificant. Thus, the perception of the significance of this holiday in different social periods is somewhere between the memory of active participants in the celebration, the transfer of memories of the holiday (oral history, traditional heritage) to women who were not direct participants and contemporaries of celebrating the holiday in the form it had in socialism (obligated, public celebration and continuity in celebration). As well as the attitude of all social actors towards the past and the celebration of holidays in the past and today are permeated through documented records and media presentation and (re)interpretation. All these factors in an individual in a specific way connect the collective memory transmitted orally by families, or between the generations and institutionalized memory within the dominant culture holidays, monuments, books. The intertwining of these actions shapes personal and collective projections of the importance of holidays as component of identity and the celebration of holidays as a cultural phenomenon in the future.

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Ана ВУКОВИЋ

Институт друштвених наука, Београд

СИМБОЛИКА ПРАЗНИКА КАО ДЕТЕРМИНАНТА ИДЕНТИТЕТА

Апстракт

У чланку се анализира однос према празнику на примеру 8. марта као састојнице женског идентитета. У првом делу рада даћемо кратак историјски преглед настанка празника. Други део рада обухватиће анализу података о Осмом марту на основу истраживања аутора. Основна теза у раду је да однос према празнику зависи од појединачног односа жена према идентитету и од колективног односа према празницима као нематеријалној баштини у ширем друштвеном контексту. Циљ овог рада је да укаже на то да је став о празнику условљен начином унутаргенерацијског и међугенерацијског односа према сећању, али и друштвеним положајем жена као групе у различитим историјским периодима. Аутор закључује да су главни чувари празничног културног наслеђа жене као друштвена група, а потенцијална дисквалификација 8. марта као небитног историјског датума, која је учињена кроз форму прославе, обесмишљава и значај положаја жене у друштву.

Кључне речи: 8. март, друштво, жене, једнакост, сећање

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Tanja MILOŠEVIĆ*

University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Political Science

CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSFER OF HARMFUL TRADITIONAL PRACTICES AS A FACTOR OF DESTABILIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY

- *Bacha Bazi* phenomenon case study -

Abstract

Tradition is a belief or behavior passed down within one group or a society with a symbolic meaning. However, not every tradition is positive – there are many harmful traditional practices throughout the world, most of them centered around treatment of women and children in various cultures. Even though most of them predominantly target women, that is, girls, such as early child marriage, female genital mutilation, honour killing, etc., it is a quite unknown fact that boys, that is, male minors, face similar problems as well. In this paper, the author aims to analyze the harmful traditional practice known as Bacha Bazi, that is, “the dancing boy”, referring to culturally approved, centuries-old tradition of child sexual abuse practiced in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which has emerged as a negative phenomenon within the migration crisis, and thus, entered the European space. In exploring the origins and forms of cultural justification of this ill practice, the author seeks the answer the following research question: “Does the emergence of the harmful traditional practice of Bacha Bazi along the migration

* E-mail: tanja.z.milosevic@gmail.com

routes pose a threat to Europe?”. By using the method of content analysis, as well as through interviews with humanitarian workers in the Republic of Serbia, the author intends to shed some light onto this negative practice, as well as offer possible detection and prevention methods aimed at saving the male minors from such environments.

Keywords: *migration crisis, violence, children, negative customs, Bacha Bazi phenomenon.*

INTRODUCTION

The end of 2015 will, for the eternity, remain remembered as the year when a global record was set regarding the number of forcibly displaced people fleeing warzones and persecution. At that point, our planet was inhabited by 65.3 million displaced individuals, of whom 21.3 million were refugees.¹ In 2015, the majority of those refugees were hosted in “the Global South”, that is, in countries like Turkey, Iran and Lebanon, but soon, Europe emerged as the final destination to many, if not all migrants and refugees. By 2018, on average in the EU, 80% of asylum claims in Germany, France, Greece, Spain, the UK, and Italy, were predominantly made by the Syrians, Eritreans, Afghans, Sudanese, Somalis, Iraqis and Iranians.²

The causes of the European migration crisis are numerous, but it is evident that most of them are rooted in violence, that is, terrorism and civil wars, as well as in poverty, economic hardship, and humanitarian crises. It is estimated that, in 2015, a total of 1,015,078 refugees entered Europe by sea, and a total of 34,887 of them arrived to the European continent by land.³ In the years to follow, up to the present day, the

¹ Almustafa, M. (2021, February). *Reframing refugee crisis: A “European crisis of migration” or a crisis of protection?* Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space. doi:10.1177/2399654421989705, p. 1.

² Archick, K., Magresson, R. (2019). “Europe’s Refugee and Migration Flows”. Congressional Research Service. In Focus, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

number of refugees and migrants continued to rise, only to become a constant phenomenon in the contemporary international relations and politics. Not only has it become a quite useful leverage for some countries, such as Turkey, which holds a vast number of refugees in its numerous refugee camps, but it has also become a fruitful topic of multidisciplinary research in almost every field. Arising from the need to understand the current state and security and political situation that has caused the migration crisis, many have attempted to analyze the consequences of migrations, not only for the countries of origin, but also for the host countries.

Given the current political and security situation in the world, as well as renewal of conflicts and violence in certain parts of the world, notably Afghanistan, the main topic of this paper will be the Bacha Bazi negative cultural phenomenon, in light of detection of cases of its practice along the migration route towards Europe. In order to better understand the said phenomenon, the following pages will present the reader with the current “anatomy” of the migration flows, as well as the forms of harmful traditional practices present in the countries that contribute the highest portion of the refugees and migrants. These two segments will serve as a form of justification for further research directed towards describing and explaining the Bacha Bazi practice, seen through the eyes of humanitarians engaged in relieving the migration crisis.

ANATOMY OF THE CURRENT MIGRATION CRISIS

Before tackling the task of describing and explaining the negative tradition of Bacha Bazi, present in Afghanistan and Pakistan, let us look at the current migration trends in the world and compare the predictions of political analysts from the beginning of the migrant crisis with the present-day situation. Namely, even in 2015, with the increase of influx of migrants and refugees to Europe, the analysts warned that the

situation is only to worsen.⁴ At the time, most of them observed that “the war in Syria continues, Afghanistan is on the verge of collapse, the offensive against the Islamic State (IS) risks creating a new wave of refugees, and the situations in Libya and Ukraine are far from stable”.⁵ From the present standpoint, we can conclude that this estimate is not far from the truth, though there are some mild discrepancies regarding the developments in the said regions.

For instance, when we speak of the Islamic State, it is evident that this terrorist organization was slowed down, but is still far from being completely eradicated, given that it is “struggling to maintain operations along the Kurdish-Arab ethnic front lines in Iraq as well as along the Euphrates River in the northeast Syria”, but also in the government-held areas of the latter state, namely in the Badiya desert south of the Euphrates and east of Palmyra.⁶ Thus, the ISIS is indeed weakened in Syria and Iraq, but still present and active.⁷

“After a decade of war and division, Libya has made progress towards peace this year”⁸, but the situation still remains gloomy. Namely, the Government of National Unity was formed to unify the Government of National Accord of Fayez al-Sarraj, and the Eastern authorities led by field marshal Khalifa Haftar, that is, the commander of the Libyan National Army, until the Libyan nation gets to state their opinion on the future leader in democratically-organized elections, planned for the beginning of 2022.

⁴ Marković, D.M., Zirojević, M. (2020). Irregular migration as latent threat to the Western Balkans security, *Nauka i društvo*, Vol. VII, Issue 1(12), p. 41.

⁵ Kugiel, P. (2016). *The Refugee Crisis in Europe: True Causes, False Solutions*. The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs, 2016, no. 4, pp. 41-42.

⁶ Jeffrey, J. F. (22.12.2020). “Part 1: The Future of ISIS”. Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/part-1-future-isis> [Accessed: 09.07.2021]

⁷ Djoric, M. (2017). Impact of the migration crisis on the development of Islamic extremism and terrorism, *Nauka i društvo*, Vol. IV, Issue 1, p. 16.

⁸ Wilson, N., Abouaoun, E. (2021, July 14). “On the Road to Peace, Libya Makes Progress but Hits Pitfalls”. United States Institute of Peace. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/07/road-peace-libya-makes-progress-hits-pitfalls> [Accessed: 13.08.2021].

In Ukraine, tensions continue to rise due to concerns regarding growing violations of the cease-fire and a massive Russian military buildup near its border with this nation that threatens to explode in yet another direct conflict in the region. The number of refugees arriving to Europe from this region has definitely decreased, as a result of the cease-fire brokered in 2015, but the new developments are indeed promising to bring along a new wave of Ukrainian refugees if the war is to break out in the near future.

Unfortunately, Afghanistan indeed collapsed. The complete deterioration of the security situation begun on May 1, 2021, with the final offensive of the Taliban and the beginning of withdrawal of international forces. Soon enough, by mid-August, the Taliban have taken control over 17 of 34 provincial capitals, resulting in President Ashraf Ghani fleeing the country and Taliban leaders entering the presidential palace.⁹ With the rise of the Taliban came along the increase in ISIS-claimed attacks in Afghanistan, targeting the rival Taliban fighters.¹⁰ This increase of political and security instability in the country served as a catalyst for renewal of migrant flows from the region.

Having all this in mind, it is evident that the migration trends nationality-wise are still the same, with a minor shift in places among the Syrian/Iraqi refugees and the ones fleeing Afghanistan. According to the data acquired by Frontex, "the number of illegal border crossings at EU's external borders in the first nine months of 2021 rose 68%, most of them arriving via the Central Mediterranean and the Western Balkans route".¹¹ Regarding the Balkan route, which includes Serbia as well, about 40,200 illegal border crossings were registered in the first three quarters of

⁹ European Asylum Support Office (2021). "Afghanistan Security situation update: Country of Origin Information Report". European Union, p. 11.

¹⁰ Jeffrey, J. F. (2020, December 22), *Op. cit.*

¹¹ Relief web. (2021, October 15). "Frontex: Migratory situation at EU's borders in September: Increase on the Central Mediterranean and Western Balkans routes". <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/frontex-migratory-situation-eu-s-borders-september-increase-central-mediterranean-and>. [Accessed: 17.10. 2021].

2021, which is a 112% increase in comparison to the same period the previous year. That being said, it is worth noting that the majority of migrants and refugees detected along this route were from Syria, Afghanistan, and Morocco.¹² Moreover, an analysis conducted by the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) shows that, even in July 2021, “applications by Afghans increased for the fifth consecutive month to about 7,300”, coming quite close to the number of applications by Syrians. EASO also concludes that “the gap between Afghans and Syrians has been shrinking almost steadily since December 2020”, and we can, from the present standpoint, firmly conclude that the number of Afghan refugees arriving to Europe has definitely topped the number of refugees originating from Syria and Iraq.¹³

Every nation has their own traditions, customs, and beliefs they carry along with them wherever they go. It is an integral part of their identity, and thus inseparable from their bodies and souls. Moreover, “each individual's identity is made up of a number of elements, and these are clearly not restricted to the particulars set down in official records. [...] Of course, not all these allegiances are equally strong, at least at any given moment. But none is entirely insignificant, either. All are components of personality – we might almost call them “genes of the soul” so long as we remember that most of them are not innate”.¹⁴

This is best seen in the fact that every diaspora, wherever it is and from wherever it originates, still tends to preserve its customs, and transfer them to their offspring. For example, the Russian diaspora visits their Christian Orthodox churches in, for example, the US or Canada; the Turkish diaspora in Germany, and in other countries as well, gathers in mosques, typical Turkish cafes and Turkish associations and cultural

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ EASO. (2021, September 16). “Asylum applications by Afghans approaching those by Syrians”. <https://www.easo.europa.eu/news-events/asylum-applications-afghans-approaching-those-syrians> [Accessed: 22.09.2021].

¹⁴ Maalouf, A. (2003). *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong*. Penguin Books, pp. 10-11.

centers; the Maghrebi population in France still practices Islam and frequents traditional restaurants. Examples are numerous. So, when faced with mass migrations to Europe, it is important to examine and get acquainted with cultural practices ones bring along, not only the good ones, but also the rare, negative ones. Since Europe is currently witnessing an increase of Afghan migrants in the heartland, the main body of this paper with herein forth be directed towards defining and describing the negative custom of practicing Bacha Bazi, as well as towards examining the experience of humanitarian workers with such occurrences along the migration routes.

However, before we step into examining the data available on this negative phenomenon, we must stress that “although the literature and examples show that the practice exists, we would be hesitant to refer to it as Afghan culture. First of all, it is likely that the practice is not an accepted social norm, nor it is the main culture in Afghanistan. It can simply be a subculture of wealthy and influential men”¹⁵, which found its way into the migration routes and possibly refugee camps. Moreover, this practice is not restricted solely to Afghanistan, since some versions of the practice were also noted in other Asian countries, such as Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh¹⁶, and thus cannot be regarded as an Afghan custom.

HARMFUL TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Harmful traditional practices (HTPs) are deeply entrenched behaviors or actions that violate the human rights of affected individuals¹⁷, predominantly directed towards young women and children. Besides

¹⁵ van Baarle, E.M. (2018). *Ethics education in the military: Fostering reflective practice and moral competence*. VU Research Portal. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Netherlands, p. 86.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁷ Glover, J. et al. (2018). *Persistence and Resistance of Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs) Perpetuated against Girls in Africa and Asia*. Journal of International Women's Studies, 19(2), 44-64. <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol19/iss2/4>.

from being perceived as cruel and inhuman by the Western society, they have negative consequences on the physical and psychological health of the persons subjected to such practices. That being said, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child¹⁸ define traditional or cultural practices considered 'harmful' as "those that hold negative consequences for the physical or psychological health of affected individuals and have adverse social and political implications".

Harmful traditional practices are directed most often to young women and children, and they occur in many different forms, of which, son preference and infanticide, female genital mutilation, forced marriage, child marriage, honor killings, acid attacks, stoning, virginity testing, breast ironing, to mention just a few, are the most common. But what is evident in this list is the fact that most authors choose to omit a harmful traditional practice directed against young (often also adolescent) boys, probably in fear of stepping into the field of taboos and topics that are most often ignored and not talked about. Namely, when examining the existing literature, the author found that the harmful traditional practices directed towards men and boys are continuously being ignored, which can, to a certain extent, be an example of reverse gender inequality, since men and young boys are most often perceived as strong pillars of the community and "manly" protectors of their families and loved ones.

Of the previously mentioned harmful traditional practices, it is worth mentioning that son preference, as a form of denouncing of female children through abandonment or even infanticide has been present world-wide, and even in South-Eastern Europe, while the other harmful traditional practices are predominantly linked to Asian and African societies, and are, in most cases, present in rural Muslim societies. Moreover, as it was previously pointed out, it is evident that most of

¹⁸ UN General Assembly. (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948, 217 A (III). General Assembly Resolution, article 3 and 4; UN General Assembly. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child, 20 November 1989, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1577, p. 3.

them target women, given that women are in these societies perceived as the “weaker sex” and even property of their male members of the family. However, the current migration crisis and the upsurge of Afghan migrants on the outer borders of Europe have stressed the necessity for analysis of other forms of violence conducted against male children, given that it has emerged as a dominant, peculiar, and perverted form of not only exploitation, but also survival for certain migrant and refugee populations, depicted in the harmful traditional practice of Bacha Bazi relationships.

THE ORIGINS OF *BACHA BAZI* NEGATIVE TRADITION

Somewhere in Afghanistan, at night, a group of powerful men gathers in a room filled with smoke. They drink chai, talk, make plans, enjoy listening to music, and – watch a pretty young creature dance in the center of the room. That pretty young creature is a young boy, usually 12-13 years of age, that will, after the gathering ends, be taken home, or more often to a hotel, by one of the present men and forced into having sex, because, “real men [in Afghanistan] are required to smoke like a chimney, love horses, wear a beard, and of course, enjoy watching boys dressed as women dancing in a room full of grown men. Here, they call it a cultural tradition”.¹⁹

The parties during which this “cultural tradition” takes place are not called parties, but weddings. “However, in these ‘weddings’, the bride and the groom are missing. There are no women in sight either, men hover there, with their guns. Almost everyone’s attention is focused on young dancing boys who are made to wear feminine clothes”.²⁰

¹⁹ Russia Today Documentary. (2016). “Bacha Bazi Boys”. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i6eL1js7zTo&ab_channel=IncognitoStranger [Accessed: 06.04.2021].

²⁰ Verma, S. (2019). Por qué el problema de Bacha Bazi merece atención internacional. *Novum Jus*, 13(2), 41-55. <https://doi.org/10.14718/NovumJus.2019.13.2.3>, pp. 43-44.

In a paper published by CARE International Balkans NGO, based on research conducted in September 2017 in the reception center in Preševo, Bacha Bazi is defined as “a slang term in Afghanistan for a wide variety of activities involving sexual relations between older men and younger adolescent men, or boys, which may include, to some extent, sexual slavery and child prostitution”.²¹ According to the same research, this negative tradition has existed throughout history and is currently reported in various parts of Afghanistan. “Force and coercion are common, and security officials state that they are unable to end such practices because many of the men involved in Bacha Bazi-related activities are powerful and well-armed warlords”.²²

This “relationship”, as many Afghans call it, includes at least two participants – the Bacha Baaz, that is, the adult man, and the Bacha Bareesh, a young boy who dresses as woman “and wears makeup in order to perform dances for their masters”. After the dance ends, “the boys are then taken to the home of the highest bidder. [...] The boy is taken into the family or social circle of the man and is sometimes given some form of special payment and/or financial support for his family”.²³

The boys are sometimes lured into participating in a Bacha Bazi relationship, and sometimes they are bought from the poorest families or even kidnapped from the streets of Afghanistan. They are a sort of a status symbol, given that only rich and influential men are able to keep a Bacha Bareesh for themselves. “The more attractive the boy, the more prestige the adult man (bacha baaz) “owner” receives. [...] Boys who are good performers are respected and often have the chance to give dancing lessons, earn a reasonable wage, and, in some cases, become a bacha baaz themselves. It is a vicious circle”.²⁴

²¹ CARE International Balkans. (2018). *ON THE ROAD TO EUROPE: Gender Norms Among Young Men in the Migrant Community in Serbia*. Qualitative research, p. 12.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ van Baarle, E. M. (2018), *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Even though this practice implies a relationship between two men, in Afghanistan, the practice of Bacha Bazi is not treated as homosexuality, since "homosexuality is sex between men, but young boys are not yet men. These boys have a feminized role in terms of appearance and conduct" (van Baarle, 2018:86), and in no way are portrayed as males by their "masters". However, it is evident that "this practice also seems to contradict Islamic norms in Afghanistan. For example, the boys may often be considered to have breached their family's honor, or commit suicide, which suggest that the practice is far from being well accepted in Afghan culture".²⁵

The origins of this tradition are often explained by a common maxim that can be heard on the streets of Afghanistan, stating that "women are for child bearing while boys are for pleasure".²⁶ Namely, there is a very clear stereotypical division between male and female roles and duties, conditioned by situation and norms in wider social context of contemporary Afghanistan, in which women are obliged to preserve their virginity, and certain rich and influential men opt to turn to young boys in order to satisfy their needs. That is, these individuals regard Bacha Bazi relationships as more moral than defiling a woman.²⁷ For example, a documentary directed by Afghan journalist Najibullah Quraishi and published in 2010 depicts a former commander from Takhar Province named Dastagar, who stated that he has been involved in Bacha Bazi relationships for 20 years, and that, for the said period of time, he has seen about 2,000-3,000 Bacha Bareesh.²⁸ In other documentary, produced by Russia Today, another former commander, Japar, presents the Bacha Bazi scene of Mazar-e Sharif, explaining that the best Bacha Bareesh are twelve to fifteen years old, because "under twelve they're

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁶ Verma, S. (2019), *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁸ Clover Films. (2010). The Dancing Boys of Afghanistan. Documentary. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B7eMUwkKiFY&ab_channel=MichaelHealy [Accessed: 17.07.2021].

kids, people don't like them".²⁹ In order to keep them "in shape" and willing to participate, sometimes, the Bacha Bareesh are provided with alcohol, and in other cases, the Bacha Bareesh himself chooses the man he will go home with. Even though most of children, especially the youngest ones, are tricked into becoming a Bacha Bareesh, it is evident that, in some cases, they allegedly willingly opt to this "profession". Two Bacha Bareesh interviewed by Najibullah Qureishi and depicted in the documentary "The Dancing Boys of Afghanistan", Abdullah and Iman, confirm to the camera that it was their choice, stating that they "had a passion for it" (Abdullah), and that, when they grow up, they wish to have their own Bacha Bareesh (Iman).³⁰

However, even though this tradition is quite prevalent, especially "across southern and eastern Afghanistan's rural Pashtun heartland, and among ethnic Tajiks across the northern country-side"³¹, it was confirmed that such "weddings" occur in urban cities as well. The practice was officially banned under the Taliban's rule from 1996 to 2001, only to become popular again during the past two decades, as soon as the Taliban "iron grip" on the country loosened. The Taliban have traditionally nursed an aversion towards this practice, considering it as un-Islamic and wrong, a form of homosexual expression. The punishment for such act, under Taliban rule, was, or should we say – is death or mutilation.³² Given the sudden surge of Taliban violence and consequent takeover of power in Afghanistan, it is expected that, among the refugees fleeing the country, Bacha Bazi practitioners will be present as well, fearing Taliban retribution and punishment.

Apart from its emergence in Europe along the migration routes, the issue of Bacha Bazi relationships has gained international coverage when, in 2020, a Facebook page was discovered featuring "more than 100 videos

²⁹ Russia Today Documentary. (2016). Bacha Bazi Boys. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i6eL1js7zTo&ab_channel=IncognitoStranger [Accessed: 06.04.2021].

³⁰ Clover Films. (2010), *Op. cit.*

³¹ Verma, S. (2019), *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

showing the alleged abuse of boys in six schools by teachers, headteachers and other authority figures”, hidden under the auspices of an NGO called “Logar Youth, Social and Civil Institution”.³³ After the scandal broke out, Afghanistan's attorney general launched an investigation into an allegation that the said individuals engaged in Bacha Bazi relationships with about 500 children, however, the case soon “went cold”, due to the fact that many high officials still partake in such traditions.

THE PRESENCE OF BACHA BAZI NEGATIVE TRADITION ALONG THE MIGRANT ROUTES

The young men who participated in workshops organized late-2017 in Preševo stated that in Afghanistan, rich people find young boys from the lower class and rape them, identifying this vile custom as Bacha Bazi relationship. “It happens a lot in Greece”, stated one participant. “Older men want to have sex with young men and they give them money for that. We saw this happen in Victoria and Alexander Park. In Greece, an older man approached me, put me aside of my friends, and asked for sex. I know young men from Iran who did that and got paid good money”.³⁴ The same practice was reported in Turkey, where it was closely linked with migrant smuggling, whilst the smugglers would verbally, physically and often sexually abuse the migrants and refugees they trafficked until the payments for the continuance of their journeys would be made. Many refugees and migrants who found themselves in such situations later reported that such acts were often recorded by the smugglers, with a threat that these videos would be sent to their family members. “Some of them report that they were forcefully made to take the gender role of a

³³ The Week Staff. (2020, January 29). Bacha bazi: the scandal of Afghanistan's abused boys. <https://www.theweek.co.uk/105442/bacha-bazi-the-scandal-of-afghanistan-s-abused-boys>.

³⁴ CARE International Balkans. (2018), *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

girl, to dance for adult men and were sexually exploited by the same men”³⁵ in a traditional harmful practice (HTP) known as Bacha Bazi.

Another report, published by International Center for Migration Policy Development, stated that such testimonies were recorded in migration camps in Greece, but also in Austria, Sweden and Finland. In the said report, it was stressed that sexual exploitation affects unaccompanied and separated male children, “especially Afghani asylum-seeking boys, as well as young men, exploited as Bacha Bazi (“dancing boys”)”.³⁶ In Bulgaria as well, upon conducting interviews with the refugee and migrant population, it was stressed that “a number of interviewees in Bulgaria had come across cases of sexual abuse of children, particularly of teenage Afghani boys, perpetrated while the boys were accommodated at Bulgarian reception or detention facilities for asylum applicants”.³⁷

Skilled humanitarian and social workers possess sufficient knowledge regarding the consequences of Bacha Bazi tradition on young boys, and thus stress that, for example, such cases are closely monitored due to the fact that childhood sexual abuse and dysfunctional family life, in which they include Bacha Bazi relationships as well, represent high risk factors for future involvement in prostitution and sex trafficking.³⁸ In this sense, workers within the migration crisis explain that male children with such backgrounds are more prone to engage in “survival sex”, that is, consensual sexual exploitation or sex trafficking, and thus represent a highly vulnerable group. Moreover, some countries, such as Norway and Switzerland, go to the extent of providing former bacha bareesh with grounds for refugee status, which is also granted to children without

³⁵ Vještica, S. A., Dragojević, M. (2019). *Game people: irregular migration and risks*. Belgrade: Crisis Response and Policy Centre, p. 9.

³⁶ Forin, R., Healy, C. (2018). *Trafficking along Migration Routes to Europe: Bridging the Gap between Migration, Asylum and Anti-Trafficking*. European Union, p. 66.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

fathers and street children, who are at risk of persecution upon return to their homeland.³⁹

Such evident recordings of emergence of the practice of Bacha Bazi relationships in our region, namely in Greece and Bulgaria, but also probably in other countries of the region and our country as well, has raised certain concerns among the humanitarian workers, who stress that such negative practices have their way of being inter-culturally transferred among the migrant population and, if not eradicated, might be “here to stay”. Certain humanitarian workers, engaged in the refugee camps along the borders of the Republic of Serbia, as well as in Greek islands and the Greek mainland, stress that such occurrences are common, but remain unregistered and untreated due to the fact that the only legal solution lays in the arrest of the Bacha Bareesh, who in fact, in this case, represent the victims, and not the perpetrators. Moreover, the humanitarian community stresses that the known Bacha Bareesh often end up being “repeat offenders”, given that, once they enter the circle of violence, they start justifying it, and finally see it as a good method for earning money, necessary for the continuance of their refugee journey.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The migration crisis is a two-way problem, benefiting and harming both the refugees and the host countries, whether they represent the final destination, or simply a transit country. Given that Serbia, situated on the European continent, has found itself on the hosting side, following migration trends and examining all segments of the migration crisis – from the point of origin of the refugees to the journey along the Balkan route, all the way to the EU, as well as all phenomena emerging along the way, seems to be detrimental for creating a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon that lays before us.

³⁹ NOAS. (2018). Who's the strictest? A mapping of the Afghanistan-policies in Western European countries.

The current anatomy of the migration crisis, that is, the increase in number of refugees arriving from Afghanistan, is additionally complicating the existing migration crisis, present on the European soil since 2015. It is evident that the highest burden at the moment is being carried by the countries surrounding Afghanistan, as well as the countries that have willingly taken certain numbers of refugees. However, since the arrival of more than a million migrants and refugees, mostly from Syria, many European countries have become increasingly hostile to migrants and asylum-seekers, and since the collapse of the Afghan state, have urged the EU leadership to continue deporting Afghan asylum seekers whose claims were rejected. However, as much as certain European countries plan to “defend” themselves from the migrant crisis in such a way, it is inevitable that many of Afghan refugees will end up exactly in Europe, especially given that some 100 countries pledged on August 15, 2021 to accept Afghans fleeing the Taliban rule, which was followed by evacuation of EU citizens and Afghan nationals from this country.

Afghans already make up the second-largest group of asylum seekers in Europe, with 570,000 asylum claims submitted within the European Union since 2015. Moreover, about 123,000 Afghan refugees have arrived in Europe in August and September 2021 alone. Thus, the numbers had been increasing in the last few months, and it seems that this trend will not stop anytime soon. All this serves as a good reason for conducting research and getting acquainted with the problems faced by some of them, that is, the minors, who definitely represent the most significant age group, given that, as soon as they permanently settle in a certain community, they will enjoy their rights of attending schools, participating in the work environments, basically – become equal members of European communities. This emersion into a different culture is also a two-way process – in order to accept a new culture, one has also to be accepted in return. This is why learning about the cultures

and heritages carried along by the new potential inhabitants of Europe is essential.

For Afghan refugees, violence is a vicious circle, having in mind that the fight against the Taliban have been present in this country for almost three decades. However, war atrocities themselves turned out to be not the only violent occurrences that scarred the Afghan people. A negative tradition called Bacha Bazi, that is, almost culturally acceptable form of molestation and rape of young boys aged 12-15, and even younger, has contributed to deterioration of human rights, that is, rights of children, as well. Moreover, this custom has made its way onto the main migration routes and travelled all the way to Europe, and thus – to our country as well.

The presented testimonies of several young Afghan refugees, as well as statements from humanitarian and social workers, stress the fact that this harmful traditional practice has not only emerged in formal and informal refugee camps and a forced practice, but has also evolved into sometimes even consensual form of prostitution, which can best be described as “survival sex”. Namely, the practice of Bacha Bazi relationships manifested along the migrant routes in their “traditional” form, that is, as a tradition of having young boys dress up as women, wear makeup and dance for wealthy men. This form of Bacha Bazi emerged twofold – as a practice that ended upon the boy's flee from the country and as a practice occurring in migrant communities outside Afghanistan. Then, this practice evolved into a method of coercion used by certain smugglers in order to force the refugee's family to pay for the said individual's journey, but honor as well. Among the smuggling “community”, it also became a method for forcing refugees to pay their debts to the smugglers. Finally, it has evolved into a consensual form of child prostitution, whereas the underage male refugees chose to use their bodies as a tool for earning.

Whichever form of Bacha Bazi practice we speak of one thing is the same – every Bacha Bareesh, that is, the underage boy participating in a Bacha

Bazi relationship, enters this form of relationship without true will, and leaves this vicious circle of violence only through death, or with good and persistent help of the humanitarian and social workers. This is why examining all the segments of this harmful traditional practice is detrimental for providing relief and help in such cases.

The scars the underage boy is left with after participating in such a practice are both visible and invisible, that is, written not only on the young boy's body, but also on his soul. For this reason, the best solution for acting in such cases must be multidisciplinary, and include not only medical help, but also psychological, and finally legal.

The final question is also the most significant one, given that the answer to it might serve as an early warning to the European community. Namely, is there a possibility that this harmful cultural tradition is "here to stay", that is, will it remain to live on the European soil within some Afghan migrant communities, or will it be eradicated with the clash of the two cultures? To this sense, early detection can be the best solution for prevention of spread of this practice within the European continent, given that, once eradicated, it will serve only as a remainder of the ill practices and perversion of a small social group of the Afghan people, only to leave a space for the future Afghans that will be living in Europe to make a successful adaptation to the European way of life. In this sense, in order to preserve the current state of the refugee population, as well as to prevent the spread of negative practices such as Bacha Bazi relationships, it is necessary that the decision-makers, as well as the humanitarian and social workers and legal aids present in the field, remain vigilant and react to any cases of such practices, not only through legal responses, but also through organizing workshops and psychological counselling for possible cases of Bacha Bareesh.

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Тања МИЛОШЕВИЋ

Универзитет у Београду,
Факултет политичких наука

МЕЃУКУЛТУРАЛНИ ТРАНСФЕР ШТЕТНИХ ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНИХ ПРАКСИ КАО ФАКТОР ДЕСТАБИЛИЗАЦИЈЕ ЕВРОПСКОГ ДРУШТВА

- Студија случаја *Бача Бази* феномен -

Апстракт

Традиција представља веровање или понашање које се преноси са једне групе или друштва на друго, уз одређено симболично значење. Међутим, не мора свака традиција имати позитивну конотацију – постоје бројне штетне традиционалне праксе широм света, при чему су многе од њих концентрисане на третман деце и жена у разним културама. Поред тога, иако је већина таквих пракси усмерених против жена, то јест, девојака, попут дечијих бракова, гениталне мутилације жена, убијања из части, и тд., непознаница је да се и дечаки, то јест, мушки малолетници и адеолесценци, суочавају са истим проблемима. Циљ рада је да пружи анализу штетне традиционалне праксе познате под именом Бача Бази, то јест, “дечак који плеше”, која се односи на културолошки правданим, вековима старим видом сексуалног злостављања који се практикује у Авганистану и Пакистану, а који се као негативни феномен појавио у оквиру мигрантске кризе и стога, ступио у европски простор. Истражујући порекло и појавне облике културолошког оправдавања ове лоше праксе, ауторка настоји да одговори на истраживачко питање: „Да ли појава штетне традиционалне праксе Бача Бази односи дуж мигрантских рута представља претњу по Европу?“. Користећи се методом анализе садржаја, као и кроз спровођење интервјуа са хуманитарним радницима у Републици Србији, ауторка даје приказ претходно наведене негативне праксе и примере метода детекције и превенције, усмерених ка пружању помоћи наведеним категоријама лица.

Кључне речи: мигрантска криза, насиље, деца, негативни обичаји, феномен Бача Бази.

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Željko SPALEVIĆ*

University Donja Gorica, Podgorica

Žaklina SPALEVIĆ

University Singidunum, Belgrade

Ljubiša KONATAR

Ministry of Ecology, Spatial Planning and Urbanism of Montenegro

TOURISM AND PRIVATE SECURITY FUNCTION IN HEALTH CARE AGAINST INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to highlight the specificity of the environment in which the tourism industry and corporate security of business organizations and companies during the epidemic (SARS-COV-2) known as COVID 19. Simultaneously, the devastating economic effects of the pandemic on tourism and accommodation facilities were emphasized. Additionally, the authors want to emphasize the role of private security entities and crisis management during emergency management. However, many problems arose due to the fact that many activities were unrelated to the risk itself. Hence, it was obvious there was a lack of standards for emergency management in a systematic way. At the same time, it has been shown that the assessment standards prescribed by the existing

* E-mail: zeljko.spalevic@udg.edu.me.

laws and regulations are insufficient to develop an appropriate assessment methodology when it comes to infectious diseases. The COVID 19 epidemic is a crisis quite different from the events commonly studied under the term crisis, so the name „Modern Crisis” can be used for it. Finally, it seems that the topicality of the phenomenon of endangering human health and the tourist economy imposes the need for its analysis.

Keywords: security guard, protective measures, contagious disease, hotel, catering facilities

INTRODUCTION

The COVID 19 pandemic is in the center of public interest, starting from its identification, conceptual definition and onwards. This contagious disease has caused great contradictions and huge health and economic destruction of the world community in a short period of time. In addition to the above, this phenomenon is accompanied by the phenomenon of so-called psychopandemics and social engineering, whether it is the appearances of health laymen, health officials or executive authorities. At the same time, the world community declared war on the invisible enemy. Finally, during a pandemic, regardless of all infrastructural and other conditions that attract the arrival of tourists, the epidemiological situation in a tourist country is one of the decisive conditions in making a tourist's decision to travel and choose a tourist destination. Therefore, the epidemic and pandemic of infectious diseases, and thus the appearance of the COVID19 virus, represent an emergency situation that humanity is facing on a global level, and thus the tourism economy. The National Security Strategy in Montenegro identifies natural or artificially caused epidemics and pandemics as security challenges, risks and threats, i.e. as biological hazards, so organizing an adequate health care system and combating epidemics and pandemics is a great challenge.

In case of infectious diseases, besides the national level, and at the level

of companies also, the planned establishment of an institutional framework for the response is of special importance. This also applies to security agencies and security services of hotels and restaurants, ie companies that operate on the basis of several laws that will be treated in this paper as subjects of private security or subjects of physical and technical protection (PTP).

The organization of private security entities in the conditions of the epidemic aims at systematizing the work, defining the structure of the PTP, specialist training of security members and defining the level of their responsibility. At the same time, the management has the task of creative organization, maintenance of work discipline and motivation of employees in order to carry out security work in an efficient and rational way.

PTP subjects have a significant role in the prevention and control of infectious diseases. Of course, regardless of the way the FTZ is organized, an integral part of the subject of private security are people, both at the managerial and executive level. Starting from the basic reason for organizing private security entities, that an individual cannot independently solve security problems, there was a need for synchronized action of several individuals and groups with the division of competencies according to pre-defined management rules. This applies in particular to monitoring information on the increase of the threat, taking preparatory measures for specific tasks, if ordered by the authorities. The architecture of the subjects of private security consists of managerial parts, responsible persons by lines of work and direct executors (so-called operatives).

In accordance with the recommendations of the health authorities, with the help of security guards, tourist businessmen established order in the facilities and beaches in order to maintain adequate distances. In addition to the above, it was necessary to implement preventive measures in accommodation facilities in accordance with hygienic and

safety conditions. Improving the system of protection against infectious diseases and effectively counteracting these threats require strategic planning and organization not only of state bodies but also of all entities, including hotel and catering facilities. Experience during 2020 indicates that the risks and threats related to the pandemic spread of infectious diseases may be underestimated or not taken seriously enough. Therefore, health care, besides its role in health care, also has the role of influencing people's consciousness in order to properly understand the importance of prevention, suppression and control of infectious diseases, but also the role of individual subjects in all of this measure and procedures.

THEORETICAL AND LEGAL REVIEW OF HEALTH CARE

Health care is a social activity whose role is to organize and implement a process of measures to preserve and improve human health and treat injured and sick people¹. Within this process, the employer is also recognized, which is obliged to implement measures of specific health care of employees, i.e. to introduce and implement measures in the process of work in order to prevent and suppress infectious diseases. Specific health care represents preventive activities that create and maintain a safe and healthy work environment and which ultimately achieve optimal physical and mental health of people². In addition to these duties of the employer, it should be emphasized that no one must endanger the health of other citizens and that citizens have the right to be informed about the protection of their health in case of epidemics. Health care is based on many principles, and we emphasize the principle

¹ Jović, R. C., Jović N. R. (1999). *Zdravstvena i socijalna zaštita*, Fakultet odbrane i zaštite, Beograd, 1999, p. 155.

² Zakon o zdravstvenoj zaštiti. (2016). „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 003/16, 039/16, 002/17, član 19 i 20.

of comprehensiveness because it involves all citizens in the implementation of appropriate health care³.

Legal entities and entrepreneurs also participate in the protection of the population from epidemics, which means that this includes companies that deal with various activities, but also security companies that deal with the protection of people and facilities. These entities not only participate but are also obliged to cooperate with state bodies, implement measures related to the distance of people, the number of people in an area or facility that are in their jurisdiction, wearing protective equipment etc. This implies that all public and private sector entities, whether government agencies, institutions, hotels and restaurants or individuals, have the right to protection against infectious diseases and must be involved in the health care process in case of epidemics, that is emergencies by implementing the necessary activities and measures.

In emergencies, health care carries out its tasks in several basic forms, namely: preventive medical care, care for the sick and medical supply. *Preventive-medical protection (italic-authors)* includes a set of measures to improve human health and the occurrence and prevention of the disease spreading and consists of hygienic measures, anti-epidemic measures and medical measures of anti-radiation, chemical and biological protection. *Patient care (italic-authors)* includes measures to find sick persons (patients) and provide the necessary treatment and care, as well as the assessment of ability for certain types of work tasks. *Medical supply (italic-authors)* is a significant form of health care. The efficiency of health care in emergency situations depends on the way of organizing medical supply. Material needs (equipment, medicines...) in such conditions increase many times over, and in relation to large needs, the main problem that arises is the lack of medical supplies⁴.

³ *Ibid*, član 2 -10.

⁴ Jović, R. C., Jović, N. R., *Op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 155.

Hygienic measures are the basic elements of preventive medical care and relate to personal hygiene, hygienic accommodation, occupational safety measures, hygienic-epidemiological reconnaissance and surveillance, disinfection, rodent control, disinsection (DRCD) and other measures, and are carried out constantly and daily until they become habits⁵. In practice, this includes: washing and disinfecting hands, brushing clothes, exposing clothes and shoes to the sun, washing general use items, washing fabrics with hot water and detergents, treating items in the most frequently touched objects, ventilation, dusting common areas and objects...

Hygienic-epidemiological reconnaissance and observation provide data on one area. These measures are carried out in emergency situations or in the event of an epidemic. They include all health workers but also members of civil protection who constantly monitor the situation. Hygienic-epidemiological survey and observation collect data on human health (type, frequency, prevalence), reveal the focus of the disease, determine the number of sick persons, topographic distribution, route of transmission...DRCD hygienic measures, ie disinfection (italic-authors) as an action, destroy pathogenic microorganisms (bacteria, viruses and parasites) - the causes of infectious diseases. It is performed before, during and after the illness and refers to: hand washing, toilet disinfection, sanitary treatment of patients and suspects of infectious diseases, sterilization of objects, disinfection of drinking water, etc. Disinsection destroys harmful insects, vectors of infectious diseases (mosquitoes, beetles, ticks, flies). Pest control is harmful to rodents and is used indoors and outdoors⁶. For the needs of hygienic-epidemiological reconnaissance and monitoring of the situation, as part of the civil protection units, protection units can be formed either as general purpose units or as specialized units.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 39-40.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 87-109.

Anti-epidemic measures include procedures that detect and suppress the occurrence of infectious diseases and their spread in the form of epidemics. The basis on which the suppression of an epidemic is based on an epidemiological survey which reveals the sources and ways of spreading the disease. The epidemiological survey collects data on the patient, collects data on the collective and draws a conclusion. Patient data refer to personal data, clinical data (symptoms of the disease, onset of the disease), data on the movement and stay of the patient. By collecting data about the collective, the existence of previous diseases, hygienic conditions, the existence of wastewater etc., are determined. In the conclusion, all data showing the source of infection, the place of infection, the number of patients, measures to combat the epidemic etc., are sublimated. Anti-epidemic measures actively detect patients (sick people) by *measuring temperature (italic authors)*, taking swabs and other material. Also, a significant anti-epidemic measure is quarantine and health surveillance. In quarantine, sanitary treatment of persons, isolation of persons, medical examination is carried out, while health supervision is carried out over persons who come from infected areas or have been in contact with patients⁷.

Medical measures for radiation, chemical and biological protection (RCB) are implemented at several levels. For the purposes of this paper, we will single out the level of self-protection and the general level of protection. At the initial level of RCB health care is the self-protection of the individual using the means of personal and collective protection. In medical measures, a special place is occupied by medical technical measures, which means that every person has a protective mask, protective suit, gloves, protective paste. General level implies detection (use of detectors) for various agents and decontamination of all contaminated means and objects⁸.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 86-94.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 110-121.

Considering medical measures of radiation, chemical and biological protection, we can also rely on sanitary-technical, biological, chemical and health protection measures that are applied in the protection of persons and objects.

Thus, according to *Rajko Rađenović*, the following sanitary-technical, biological and chemical measures are applied: sanitary-technical inspection of certain facilities, insight into the sanitary status of staff, insight into health and quality of food and other items, control of transport hygiene and food and medicines storage, biological and chemical control of food, water, air and general use items, disinfection, disinsection and deratization measures (DRCD protection), engagement of certain inspection services (sanitary, health, veterinary, market) and certain specialized institutions⁹.

ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL IN HOTEL AND CATERING FACILITIES FOR RESPONSE TO INFECTIOUS DISEAS

Citizens have the right to protection from infectious diseases, but also the obligation to protect others from infectious diseases. In addition to this role of citizens, all companies implement general measures for the protection of facilities under sanitary supervision, so they have the obligation to implement DRCD measures in settlements, housing, public transport facilities, public places intended for gathering people¹⁰. In addition to the implementation of general measures in these facilities, all companies must participate in suppressing the risk to public health from infectious diseases.

The occurrence of a contagious disease epidemic belongs to an emergency situation when a contagious disease endangers the health and life of people on a larger scale and there is a danger of mass transmission

⁹ Rađenović, R. (2003). *Bezbednost ličnosti i objekata*, Izdavač-autor, Beograd, p. 130.

¹⁰ Zakon o zaštiti stanovništva od zaraznih bolesti. (2018). „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 012/18, čl. 22.

of infectious diseases¹¹. Therefore, all business organizations should have an elaborate answer that refers to the established organization and specified duties of those parts of the system that are the bearers of activities in emergency situations. For this purpose, the business organization forms in advance an ad hoc body called the General Staff of the business organization for emergency¹² and crisis¹³ situations. The composition of this staff includes the president of the board of directors, the executive director, the so-called director of operations, financial director, director of security and safety and a person in charge of public relations who make decisions at the strategic level of the business organization.

The General Staff of the business organization for emergency and crisis situations:

- reviews and approves the Infectious Disease Response Plan,
- decides on the activation of the Infectious Disease Response Plan in case of infectious disease,
- decides on the establishment of a communication system and chain of command in emergency situations which ensure the rapid transfer of the issued command, as well as its execution,
- decides on the need to engage the Operational Staff for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases
- adopts the necessary internal legal acts of the business organization,
- decides to establish a system for detecting potentially infected employees,

¹¹ *Ibid*, Art. 53.

¹² An emergency is a broader term than a crisis because an emergency does not have to be a crisis and on the other hand a crisis is also a situation. An emergency system with existing routine mechanisms and existing resources can respond to emergency requests, in: Zoran Keković, Želimir Kešetović, *Koncept upravljanja u vanrednim situacijama*, u: Vanredne situacije-zbornik radova, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Beograd, 2009, str. 134.

¹³ For an organization, a crisis is an environment in which it cannot function normally, prevents the achievement of goals, and sometimes endangers the survival of the organization. The crisis is characterized by unexpectedness, unpreparedness and time pressure, in: Želimir Kešetović, *Teorijski koncept krize*, Krizni menadžment I - hrestomatija, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, 2006, str. 27.

- makes a decision to prevent the introduction of infectious diseases into the business organization,
- approves the engagement of additional security guards on the perimeter of the building,
- determines the needs of the company for the procurement of funds and services in order to suppress infectious diseases,
- prohibits the procurement of goods from certain areas and suppliers,
- determines additional financial resources and other resources for the suppression of infectious diseases,
- if necessary, issue a press release that will contain minimal information that will not endanger employees and guests or negatively affect the further course of resolving the emergency situation,
- makes a decision on conducting training for all entities that carry out their business activities in the business organization area,
- decides on the establishment of a crisis management center,
- decides on the employment of employees on the principle of „work from home”,
- supervises the implementation of measures for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases.

After the General Staff, the Operational Staff for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases is formed with specialized teams, i.e. the Team for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases, the Team for the supply of medical equipment and means and the administrative support Team. The Operational Staff for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases of the business organization for emergencies and crisis situations is an ad hoc body that implements the decisions and orders of the General Staff, is the holder of operational activities and has an executive command. The Operational Staff consists of: the Director of Security and Safety who manages this staff, the Safety Manager or a representative of the business organization dealing with occupational safety, the Safety Manager, the Director of Technical Service, the Director of Human Resources, the Director of Information

Technology and systems, director of customer relations (reception, sales, event organization), manager of administrative service, procurement manager, horticultural manager, director of a private health institution with which cooperation has been established or an expert in the field of epidemiology.

The Operative Staff after the onset of an infectious disease:

- proposes to the General Staff the adoption of amendments to internal acts and proposes new acts (rules, instructions, guidelines, SOPs),
- develops Protection Plans in the event of an infectious disease,
- issues excerpts from binding rules, SOPs and guidelines for the protection of employees and guests from infectious diseases,
- gives advice and recommendations,
- plans, organizes and ensures the implementation of measures for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases,
- conducts education and training of employees and members of their families on infectious diseases,
- controls the ban on gathering employees and guests indoors and outdoors within the business organization,
- restricts movement in the building or in the zones of the building or space,
- orders the implementation of DRCD measures,
- requires mandatory medical examinations for employees working in food service facilities, pharmacies, private health facilities located in the resort, beauty salons,
- strengthens measures to control access to the facility and space,
- oversees the removal and disposal of waste,
- requires the submission of daily and periodic reports from the teams,
- provides assistance, support and cooperation to all entities involved in resolving the emergency situation,
- cooperates and communicates with the competent state bodies (inspections, health institutions...) and institutions and local bodies and carries out other activities determined by the Emergency Plan,

- collects available information on the current situation in the building and space,
- submits information on the current situation to the General Staff,
- keeps records during his work.

As already mentioned, the Operational Staff manages the executive bodies - the Team for the prevention and control of infectious diseases, which consists of managers, security guards, occupational safety specialists, technicians, gardeners, IT experts, human resources employees... This team operates directly in the facility and space and gives orders and manages the entire staff, including security guards who further exercise their authority towards all persons (employees, visitors and guests) who enter the facility or space. At the perimeter of the entrance to the space, the entire protected area or at the entrances to the facility, this team organizes all activities related to the prevention of infectious diseases, detection of possibly infected and thus potential carriers of infectious diseases. In addition to this, the team has no less important role in the suppression of the already existing infectious disease in order to reduce its frequency.

In addition to this team, a *Team for the supply of medical equipment and resources (Logistics Team)* is organized, which consists of procurement employees and consultants for certain professional areas (occupational safety, health care, technical service). The Team establishes cooperation with suppliers of goods and services, procures, stores and releases equipment and resources, supervises medical equipment and resources, communicates with all entities involved in the suppression of infectious diseases during the procurement process of goods and services.

Last but not least is the *Administrative Support Team*, which provides administrative support related to the interpretation and drafting of all acts of the business organization, provides various useful data (maps, plans, drawings, photographs), keeps minutes of meetings.

At the level of the security agency or security service of the business

organization, PTP (physical and technical protection) establishes bodies: operational center to which all signals of the technical protection system are directed, stationary positions of security guards, patrols, check-in at the entrance to the protected area or facility, checkpoint (economic entrance or entrance for employees). In relation to the mentioned bodies of the PTP, such an organizational solution enables comprehensive monitoring of all activities and threats in the facility and the protected area.

LEGAL BASIS FOR THE ENGAGEMENT OF PTP SUBJECTS IN THE CONTROL OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES

The European Convention on Human Rights¹⁴ protects human life as the highest value. At the same time, in order to protect life - some human rights may be restricted (e.g. deprivation of liberty) in situations of preventing the spread of a contagious disease.

An integral part of every human life is health, which is a priority and whose endangerment may restrict other constitutional rights¹⁵ such as access to information, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of enterprise, expression of religious beliefs. In addition, the Constitution of Montenegro does not allow procedures and activities that impair the health of consumers who meet their various needs in everyday life and

¹⁴ Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, as amended by Protocols 11 and 14, with Protocols 1, 4, 6, 7, 12 and 13, Council of Europe, Rome, 4 November 1950 - The text of the Convention contains amendments in accordance with the provisions of Protocol No. 14 (ETS, No. 194) from the date of its entry into force on 1 June 2010. The text of the Convention was previously amended in accordance with the provisions of Protocol 3 (ETS, No. 45) which entered into force on 21 September 1970, Protocol 5 (ETS, No. 55) which entered into force on 20 December 1971, Protocol 8 ETS, No. 118) which entered into force on 1 January 1990. It also contains the text of Protocol 2 (ETS, No. 44) which, in accordance with Article 5 § 3, became an integral part of the Convention after 21 September 1970. when it came into force. Any provisions which have been amended or added to these Protocols shall be amended by Protocol 11 (ETS No. 155), from the date of its entry into force on 1 November 1998. From that date Protocol 9 (ETS, no. 140), which entered into force on 1 October 1994, was repealed and Protocol 10 (ETS, no. 146) lost its purpose.

¹⁵ Ustav Crne Gore (2007). „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 1/2007 i 38/2013 - Amandmani I-XVI.

buy in their physical environment - food, drink, toys and many other items. It is this physical environment that refers to crowds or facilities - potentially places where consumers can be exposed to infectious diseases.

The protection of human rights, including the right to life, has been recognized as the basis of internal security policy and one of the vital interests of Montenegro¹⁶ which may be endangered by dangers such as natural or artificially caused epidemics and pandemics. Montenegro's strategic interest is, among other things, the prevention and suppression of security challenges and threats, which include these dangers. Furthermore, an important interest of Montenegro is the protection of critical infrastructure (which includes the field of health) which is achieved through cooperation between state bodies and the private sector. Cooperation between state bodies and the private sector in the protection of critical infrastructure, in terms of security, is achieved through the engagement of agencies and security services that are recognized as a special element of the national security system. Bearing in mind that the field of health is recognized in the Law on Critical Infrastructure¹⁷ as critical infrastructure, we find a strong legal basis for the engagement of agencies and security services in protection against infectious diseases in either the private or public sector.

Let us point out that critical infrastructure means an asset, system, or part of it that is necessary to maintain vital social functions such as health or safety and whose disruption would have a significant impact on the maintenance of those functions¹⁸. The proposal for the Directive of the European Commission states the list of critical infrastructure sectors, where in the 4th Sector - health, subsectors are listed: medical and

¹⁶ Strategija nacionalne bezbjednosti Crne Gore. (2018)., „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 085/18.

¹⁷ Zakon o određivanju i zaštiti kritične infrastrukture. (2019)., „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 72/2019.

¹⁸ Council Directive 2008/114/EC of 8 December 2008, on the identification and designation of European critical infrastructures and the assessment of the need to improve their protection, Official Journal of the European Union, L 345/75, Article 2.

hospital care, drugs, serums, vaccines and medicines, bio laboratories and bio agents¹⁹. Critical infrastructure includes health care (eg. hospitals, health and blood supply facilities, laboratories and medicines, emergency services)²⁰.

The mentioned agencies and security services are established on the basis of the law²¹ which has its legal basis in the Constitution of Montenegro²², according to which issues of interest for Montenegro are regulated, which is certainly the protection of persons and property. Among other tasks in this law, the activity of protection includes activities of protection of persons life, personal rights, as well as protection of safety of persons from other forms of endangerment. Endangering people can be caused by an epidemic of infectious diseases that belongs to the so-called. natural hazards.

Furthermore, in addition to the aforementioned activities for the protection of human life, for the purposes of this labour, the activities of surveillance of technical protection systems and devices such as video surveillance, alarms (detectors), access control devices and other electronic protection devices that are connected into a functional unit. These funds are monitored from the central operations center or from the local monitoring point. Therefore, protection activities are realized through the activity of protection in the form of physical and technical protection, which is directly carried out by security guards and who have at their disposal numerous technical means.

¹⁹ Commission of the European Communities, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Critical Infrastructure Protection in the fight against terrorism, COM(2004) 702 final, 20.10.2004, Brussels.

²⁰ Commission of the European Communities, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Critical Infrastructure Protection in the fight against terrorism, COM(2004) 702 final, 20.10.2004, Brussels.

²¹ Zakon o zaštiti lica i imovine. (2018). „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 043/18.

²² Ustav Crne Gore, *Op. cit.*

The peculiarity of the Law on protection of persons and property is that it recognizes the so-called „mandatory protected facilities” which means facilities in which activities of public interest are performed or those facilities whose endangerment may pose risks to the life and health of a large number of people. These are facilities of strategic importance: bus and railway stations, airports, ports, larger shopping centers, stadiums, halls, banks, gas stations, water sources, food factories, electricity generation facilities (hydropower plants, thermal power plants, wind farms...), post offices, telecommunications facilities, museums, state archives, libraries - some of which are attractive or traffic tourist factors that encourage tourists to move. In addition to these facilities, all public and private entities have the right to establish protection of their property or persons who, on any basis, are located in these facilities or space.

Taken as a whole, for the performance of their duties in the protection of mandatory protected facilities and critical infrastructure facilities - security guards have at their disposal powers that are, in relation to the law, very similar to police powers.

Another basis for the actions of security guards and companies is on the order²³ issued by the Ministry of Health to companies and citizens in order to combat infectious diseases. It is emphasized that any non-compliance with the order entails responsibility²⁴ which is sanctioned by business organization and citizens.

²³ Zakon o zaštiti stanovništva od zaraznih bolesti (2018). *Op. cit.*, Art. 15 and 55.

²⁴ Failure to comply with regulations, decisions and orders determining measures to combat a dangerous contagious disease shall result in a fine or imprisonment. In a situation where a person's health is severely impaired due to non-compliance with decisions and orders of measures to combat infectious diseases, the perpetrator of such an act shall be punished by imprisonment in: Krivični zakonik Crne Gore, „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 070/03, 013/04, 047/06, „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 040/08, 025/10, 073/10, 032/11, 064/11, 040/13, 056/13, 014/15, 042/15, 058/15, 044/17, 049/18, član 287 i 302, and non-compliance with the provisions of the Law on Protection of the Population from Infectious Diseases „Sl. list Crne Gore”, br. 012/18, član 69-74 - entails a fine.

Bearing in mind that there are laws and bylaws that create legal preconditions for the application of activities and measures for the prevention and suppression of infectious diseases in this place, we believe that the powers of security guards should be stated. In order to carry out all his tasks in the field of protection against infectious diseases, the security guard is authorized to: determine the identity of the person, issue warnings, issue orders, detain a person caught committing misdemeanors and criminal offenses and other powers that we will not consider further. He applies the powers at his disposal on the space and in the facility he provides.

The authority to determine the identity of a person is exercised by inspecting a public document with a photograph, for those persons who enter or are found in a protected space or facility. This authorization is effective especially for employees in hotel and catering facilities who have the obligation to „work from home” or if they are under supervision or isolation measures. By ordering authority, the security guard warns by voice or written warnings and prohibitions all persons who by their actions or omissions may endanger their safety, the safety of the protected object and thus do not allow access to the object or space. For this purpose, written warnings and prohibitions related to: wearing a mask, mandatory disinfection of the body or vehicle, physical distance between persons... The security guard issues an order to prevent entry into the protected facility when a person does not act on the warning. When a security guard in a protected facility or space finds a person committing a misdemeanor and a criminal offense, he is authorized to detain such a person until the arrival of the police. Misdemeanor and criminal offense of a person refers to a situation when the security guard is aware that a person has received a measure of health supervision, isolation in quarantine or in other conditions, when he does not respect the ban on assembly, does not comply with the limit of presence of

citizens in public place and issued physical distance or when other orders of the Ministry of Health are not respected.

THE ROLE OF PTP SUBJECTS IN THE CONTROL OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES

The tourism industry is of great importance for Montenegro. Namely, revenues from tourism make up a quarter of the country's gross domestic product (GDP), so that the decline in tourist visits caused by the COVID 19 pandemic induced an economic recession and other instabilities. Due to the nature and seasonal character of Montenegrin tourism, the largest number of tourists come during the summer months. Thus, the tourism economy suffered a large drop in tourism earnings during the pandemic, especially due to the cancellation of foreign guest arrangements. According to the data of the Ministry of Sustainable Development and Tourism of Montenegro for 2020 (Table 1), the decline in the arrival of foreign tourists was over 70%, so it was impossible to compensate the overall decline in tourism earnings with domestic guests.

Table 1: *Comparative overview of the number of tourists and realized overnight stay in Montenegro, in months of August in 2019 and 2020*

Tourists / nights	2019		2020		Index-es	
	August	Since the beginning of the year	August	Since the beginning of the year	Monthly	Since the beginning of the year
Tourists	220915	913981	60384	201566	27.3	22.05
- domestic	16453	86625	20926	68340	127.19	78.89
- foreign	204462	827356	39458	133226	19.30	16.10
Nights	1048037	3508608	280535	671825	26.8	19.15
- domestic	85869	357336	88360	265031	102.90	74.17
- foreign	962168	3151272	192175	406794	19.97	12.91

From everything presented so far, we will try to concretize the role of PTP subjects in the suppression of infectious diseases. In order to reduce the risk of infection and the spread of infection, the subjects of physical protection perform a series of general preventive measures. The measures are predominantly related to limiting the number of people entering buildings and gatherings indoors. Namely, the immediate - operational use of PTP subjects and the application of PTP technical means in the control of infectious diseases is recognized.

Direct - operational use of PTP entities is carried out at the level of the security agency or security service of the hotel and catering facility by establishing internal bodies that apply the authorizations given by law. Besides facilities that are protected either by law or all facilities for the protection of which the private sector is interested - security agencies may also provide facilities designated for quarantine.

Regardless of the character of the facility, during their direct activities, PTP subjects are focused on compliance with measures and giving binding orders related to: visual display of prohibition and warning signs in the hybrid space²⁵, measurement of facial temperature at the entrances to the protected facility and space with hand-held contactless thermometers; hand washing and disinfection, filling of dispensers with disinfectants, wearing personal protective equipment (masks, visors, gloves, protective caps, suits, trousers), maintaining the required physical distance and the prescribed number of people in a certain place, restrictions on the movement of people in space and facilities in ownership of a hotel and catering facility, ban on organizing public events in a hybrid space, disinfection of private and hotel vehicles at the entrances to facilities and premises, disinfection of hotel and catering

²⁵ The term hybrid or quasi-public space is defined as an area (facility) in private ownership, within which activities and services of public importance are located and provided. Examples of hybrid space are shopping malls, hotels, restaurants and sports facilities, amusement parks and similar, u: Zoran Kesić, *Specifični pojavi oblici privatnog obezbeđenja u svetu*, Bezbednost br. 1-2, Beograd, 2009, str. 197.

facilities, calling the competent services to remove stray dogs and other animals, emptying bags with used protective and dezinfectious means, keeping the prescribed records in relation to the regulations on the protection of personal data.

On the example of a hotel and catering facility in Budva, one can see the activities against infectious diseases (COVID 19) during 2020 by a business company with an international reputation that deals with PTP.

Observing Table 2, we notice the application of an anti-epidemic measure - temperature measurement (over 37 °C) and that the measurement began in March with the outbreak of the epidemic when the first cases of infection were registered. In April, May and June, the number of people whose temperature was measured decreased because some employees worked from home, and the number increased significantly from July because epidemiological measures were mitigated, so the movement of guests and the presence of this facility employees increased. It is interesting that the number of people warned to use personal protective equipment was the highest in March, and later that number decreased primarily due to the raised awareness of employees and guests about the need to wear protective equipment. A total of 191 people were warned to use personal protective equipment at the entrances to the facility and in the protected area, while in only one case was an order issued and entry into the facility prevented.

On the other hand, technical means, i.e. electronic protection devices of PTP, in the control of infectious diseases have not been used significantly, although they are diverse, so video surveillance, access control devices, alarms and detectors should find their full use...

Modern possibilities of using video surveillance can significantly help in the control of infectious diseases, namely: by measuring the temperature of the face and body, counting people, recognizing a person's face (face recognition), adhering to distance measures and gathering people.

Measuring temperature determines a person's health, and an elevated temperature is an indicator that a person has health problems. The thermogram (thermovision, gr. - thermo - warm and lat. Video - watch) registers persons but also objects in place or in movement during the day, night and conditions of poor visibility. Identification of personal characteristics is achieved using infrared camers in the CCTV system.

Table 2. *The authors' research*²⁶

Ord. Nr.	Month	Number of persons whose temperature was measured		Number of persons with elevated temperature		Measures taken		Number of persons warned to use personal protective equipment
		Employed	Guests, visitors	Employed	Guests, visitors	Allowed entrance to the building	Not allowed entrance to the building	
1.	March	230	5	1	0	234	1	48
2.	April	215	8	0	0	223	0	26
3.	May	220	4	0	0	224	0	22
4.	June	275	7	0	0	282	0	31
5.	July	470	49	0	0	519	0	35
6.	August	490	62	0	0	552	0	29

Thermal cameras detect a person's fever either on exposed parts of the body (face, hands) or under clothing. Infrared cameras detect the emitted thermal radiation of the subcutaneous blood system as unique physiological characteristics of each individual. Using this so-called. biometric methods, we get a thermogram of the face and body, so it is easy to determine elevated temperature, because you can set the parameter from which body temperature the alarm sounds, and thus draws attention to the fact that a person has elevated temperature and is a possible carrier of infectious disease.

This type of camera is placed at the entrance to a protected area or

²⁶ The request of the security agency and the hotel and catering facility to which these data refer is to preserve their anonymity.

facility. The security operator at the central operative center or at the local control point monitors the movement of people on monitors, and the system can be set to automatically report and mark people with fever or to be noticed directly by the operator if there is not a large flow of people. The detected persons are separated and their temperature in the room prepared in advance for this purpose is subsequently measured again with a precise thermometer.

The modern possibility of CCTV is video analytics where the person's face is analyzed (so-called „face recognition”) or adherence to distance measures and gathering of persons is analyzed. Software solutions in the CCTV system can determine facial recognition, but also - whether a person has a face mask.

The use of information and alert systems is effective in emergency situations, which include an epidemic of infectious diseases, so that messages about mandatory compliance with the ordered measures are broadcast in the facilities and protected area.

The unification of the direct work of security guards and the application of technical means of FTZ in the control of infectious diseases can be shown when using the disinfection tunnel at the entrance and exit to the building and the protected area. The disinfection tunnel is equipped with motion sensors and a system for spraying disinfectant and pressurized water in the form of tiny droplets. The disinfection tunnel, which is also for mobile purposes, is used for economic entrance, entrance for employees, but also at the entrance or space for guests and visitors. The motion sensor detects the person entering the tunnel, transmits a signal to the disinfectant spray system and a fine drop curtain is created in the tunnel, which disappears when the person leaves the tunnel, which previously also detects the motion sensor. A security guard and CCTV are placed in front of the mentioned entrances, which control whether everyone passes through the disinfection tunnel.

In addition to this, when entering specially protected zones or facilities, it

is known that there are modern access control technologies or biometric methods that measure the shape of the face, handprint, eye scan, based on which entry is allowed or not allowed. Similarly, a measured elevated temperature can prevent entry, that is, a person's normal temperature will allow entry into an object or protected area. Also, entry may or may not be allowed to persons whose CCTV video analytics detects whether they are wearing protective masks.

CONCLUSION

Concluding this paper, we must emphasize that the research is associated with a number of difficulties. First, it is still not possible to determine the exact and scientifically proven conditions that caused the epidemic, the consequences for the tourism industry are serious, the degree of harm to communities is high and they still cannot be objectively assessed.

Hence, the health and safety challenges that affect the tourism industry, and thus the safety of the community, are more complex today than ever before. It is quite certain that this trend will continue with the constant complication of various threats and risks. In this regard, it is primarily about phenomena of human or natural origin, risks that are usually associated with human health as well as the creation of new values and products. Finally, the assessment when it comes to epidemics, must be based on expert basis and harmonized with the national platform for the prevention of infectious diseases. The COVID 19 epidemic proved to be almost unpredictable and unmanageable, with tremendous destructive potential. The health community's responses to the pandemic were insufficient, and preparation for them was practically impossible. Based on all the above, we notice that the tasks of private security entities are becoming more complex, it is necessary to improve the regulatory framework that will increase the efficiency of their work, especially in preventing epidemics. The timing of the spread of the infectious disease-epidemic is a challenge for private security entities. In emergency

situations, PTP is established in order to take general measures to prevent and eliminate infectious diseases, its action is reflected in the division and training of individual tasks. These tasks are mainly related to the implementation of the imposed rules of gathering and movement of people in buildings and open space. Electronic protection devices in the control of infectious diseases have not found their application either due to unpreparedness or due to unbudgetary funds, which may be the subject of another research.

Finally, concluding this paper, we must point out that only modernly conceived, organized and equipped private security entities can provide results and justify the invested funds. A well-established security management must create an insight into the dangers and endangerment of people, and by its actions disable or reduce to an acceptable level the effects of harmful factors on the tourism economy.

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Жељко СПАЛЕВИЋ

Универзитет Доња Горица, Подгорица

Жаклина СПАЛЕВИЋ

Универзитет Сингидунум, Београд

Љубиша Конатар

Министарство екологије, просторног планирања и урбанизма
Црна Гора

ТУРИЗАМ И ФУНКЦИЈА ПРИВАТНЕ БЕЗБЈЕДНОСТИ У ЗДРАВСТВЕНОЈ ЗАШТИТИ ОД ЗАРАЗНИХ БОЛЕСТИ

Апстракт

У овом раду имали смо за циљ да истакнемо специфичности амбијента у ком се нашла туристичка привреда и корпоративна безбједност привредних друштава и компанија током епидемије (SARS-COV-2) познатој као COVID 19. Истовремено, истакнути су разорни економски ефекти пандемије према туризму односно објектима смјештаја. Поред наведеног аутори желе да истакну улогу субјеката приватне безбједности и кризног менаџмента током управљања ванредном ситуацијом. Међутим, појавили су се многи проблеми због чињенице да су многе активности биле неповезане са самим ризиком. Дакле, манифестовао се недостатак стандарда за управљање ванредном ситуацијом на системски начин. Истовремено, показало се да су стандарди за процјену прописани постојећим законским и подзаконским прописима недовољни за израду одговарајуће методологије процјене када се ради о заразним болестима. Епидемија COVID 19 је криза сасвим различита од догађаја који су уобичајено проучавани под појмом криза, па се за њу може користити назив „Модерна криза“. Најзад, чини се да актуалности појаве угрожавања здравља људи и туристичке привреде намеће потребу њене анализе.

Кључне ријечи: *заштитар, заштитне мјере, привредна друштва, хотел, угоститељски објекти*

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Zoran SPASIĆ*

Center for Cooperation with Asian Countries

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Abstract

This paper will address the historical significance of the adoption of three important resolutions passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. These include the importance of the historical, political, and economic context, how the party overcame numerous internal and external challenges, and historical strength of the Communist Party of China. The paper evaluates the insights of three key theories in understanding socialism with Chinese characteristics and their content, systematizing it in an analytical framework. Complexity awareness of this task is paramount, but the paper should, if nothing else, offer to the reader a structure that facilitates both comprehension and understanding of the resolutions in a political-theoretical context of "Thoughts of Mao Zedong", "Deng Xiaoping Theory" and "Xi Jinping's thoughts on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era", significance and what the latest CCP resolution offers on a global political context.

Keywords: Xi Jinping, Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zedong, socialism, reforms, New Democratic Revolution

* E-mail: zoranspasic@csza.org.

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of China (CCP) was founded in 1921, and this year celebrated its centenary. There have been many significant events in the last centennial that have resulted in dramatic change, enormous productive power, unprecedented social transformation, and a tremendous advance in a human civilization, least of all the profound and transformative changes in China itself. A country with an incredible history of more than 5,000 years, China has left an indelible contribution to human civilization. Since 1840, several major aggression wars were successively launched by the forces of Western countries against China¹.

Of special significance are the Opium Wars and the first Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895. Incredible looting and destruction had overthrown what was once the world's largest economy, and negatively impacted people's lives. After the Opium Wars in 1840, China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society; those were years of intense humiliation. The people of China were pushed into darkness, and ancient Chinese civilization had lost its way.

Despite these setbacks, China and its people continued to fight relentlessly against repeating setbacks, and to save the nation from subjugation. China and its progress were rejuvenated in 1917, specifically as a result of The Russian October Revolution, which introduced Marxism and Leninism to China, and this directly resulted in the birth of the CCP. One can note that the founding of the CCP was an epochal event that profoundly changed the course of Chinese history, brought a new future for the Chinese people and nation, and had a significant impact on the rest of the world. The October revolution of 1917 continuously inspired the CCP to progress. As a Marxist party, the CCP, unlike previous political forces, has no particular interest in

¹ Yihua, J., et al. (Eds.). (2007). Kang Youwei "Bao Guo Hui Xu", The Complete Works of Kang Youwei, Vol. IV, China Renmin University Press, p. 67.

realization. From the very beginning of the CCP's founding, it had two key goals that have remained unchanged to this day; to bring happiness to the Chinese people, and to rejuvenate the Chinese nation. In just one hundred years, the CCP has grown from a small party with just over 50 members, to the world's largest ruling party, with more than 95 million members, in a country of more than 1.4 billion people. It is a party of great international prestige².

The party is led by revered Chinese Communists, with Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, and Xi Jinping at the helm. These leaders adapted basic Marxist principles to the Chinese reality and its traditional culture, and their approach took them from victory to victory, resulting in national rejuvenation. It was not an easy achievement. National rejuvenation saw the CCP lead the Chinese people from war to war, fighting with uncompromising determination and as armed revolutionaries through many battles. These include the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, and the War of Resistance against Japanese aggression and the Liberation War. These counterrevolutionaries won, defeating the three greatest threats to imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and founding the People's Republic of China in 1949. They secured the nation's independence, liberated the Chinese people, and took control of their future. Resulting in a great transformation of a poor, backward and populous country in the east into a modern socialist China. The CCP created fundamental political conditions and laid down the institutional foundations necessary for the realization of the national rejuvenation. Succeeding in their persistent struggle, both the Party and the Chinese people have shown the world that they are equally capable of changing the old China and building a new one, more prosperous state.

The CCP achieved this goal of national rejuvenation by providing leadership to the Chinese people, liberating their minds, and achieving

² Perović, P. (1978). *Pregled istorije međunarodnog radničkog pokreta*, Narodna knjiga, Beograd, p. 272-277.

great success in reform, as well as socialist modernization. The Communist Party of China has recognized the need for economic reform to be accompanied by political reform³

Fardi Zakaria was amongst the first people to recognize that the process of shifting power will create a world that is very different from the one that humanity has known for the last five centuries, with Asia as the dominant continent⁴. He hinted that the international system would be completely different from those that preceded it. The change in this system is evident; one hundred years ago, there was a multipolar order ruled by several European countries, with constantly changing allies, rivalries, and wars. More recently, the Dual Power emerged from Russia during the Cold War. This appeared to be a more stable order, but internally, the superpower overreacted to every move made by its rivals. Since then, we are slowly moving towards a post-American era, which will be defined by it and managed by many people from a large number of places⁵.

As the world progresses towards this new era, the People's Republic of China has occupied the attention of numerous experts around the world with its rapid development over the past two decades. In fact, a number of books have been written about the phenomenon of China and its social and economic uprising. In most of these writings, the Asian state is mentioned as the herald of a new multipolar world, which was born right after the end of the "unipolar moment"⁶. The rise of the new power is evidenced by the historical role of passing resolutions, which is best confirmed by the fact that all three have been adopted so far. In 1945, the "Resolution on certain question in the History of Our Party" was passed by the Sixth Central Committee of the CCP. This resolution dealt with the New Democratic Revolution, the struggle against imperialism, feudalism

³ Bergsten, F., et. al. (2011). *Uspom Kine*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, p. 89-95.

⁴ Arežina, S. (2018). *Kina u Evropi*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, pp. 9-11.

⁵ Zakaria, F. (2011). *The Post-American World*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, pp. 43-59.

⁶ Arežina, S. (2018), Op. cit., pp. 20-27.

and bureaucratic capitalism, and the work for national independence and national liberation. It confirmed the great role of Mao Zedong, and eventually paved the path for the Seventh National CCP Congress, which promoted the Chinese Revolution and eventually led to victory in 1949⁷. In 1981, during the sixth plenary session of the CPC Central Committee, the party adopted a "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China." This resolution gave impetus to the reform under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, assessed the history of the CCP, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the course of socialist revolution and development. Since then, the moment has led a great transition after the establishment of the PRC, setting its general guidelines for the primary development of socialism. Deng Xiaoping has resolutely promoted both the reform and the opening up of the PRC.

Under his leadership, the Republic managed to overcome risks and challenges from all directions, and founded, supported, and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics. This enabled China to transform itself from a highly centralized planned economy into a socialist market economy full of vitality, and from a generally closed country to a country open to the world on all its fronts. It also enabled China to make the historical leap from a country constrained by backward productive forces to the world's second-largest economy. Furthermore, it enabled the historical transformation of the standard of living for its people, from mere subsistence to general prosperity. These achievements have spurred pressure on the national rejuvenation by providing strong institutional conditions and material basis for rapid development.

By succeeding in their persistent struggle for development and progress, the CCP and the Chinese people have shown the world that reform and opening are of crucial importance for China to become what it is today.

⁷ Novačić, A. (1979). *Veliki zaokret*, Globus, Zagreb, pp. 67-84.

China has made great strides and kept up with the times. A new resolution was adopted in November 2021. The resolution was divided into seven major parts and has marked four different periods in the CCP's history: "The Great Victory in the New Democratic Revolution", "The Socialist Revolution and the Construction", "Reform, Opening and Socialist Modernisation", and finally, "A New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics". Moreover, the sixth plenary session reaffirmed the CCP's dedication to support Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought, Deng Xiaoping's theory, the Three Representatives' theory and the scientific view of development, and the full implementation of Xi Jinping's views on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era. Finally, this resolution cements the CCP's history of the last century with a positive assessment that the Party has achieved, in Xi's words, "the first hundred-year goal of building a moderately prosperous society in every way" The CCP's next goal is to realize the second hundred-year goal, which is according to Xi's, to turn "China into a great modern socialist country in every way, continuing to advance towards the ultimate goal of national rejuvenation." For the past hundred years, the CCP has led the Chinese people ending the humiliation and misery inflicted on them in the modern era. Without CCP there wouldn't be the new China. This is a fact that is clear to the Chinese people about China's achievements in revolution, reconstruction, and reform. CCP leadership is a choice of history and people. This leadership is vital to the country's future and the nation. Over the past hundred years, through its fearless efforts to create a new China, the CCP has led the Chinese people in writing a magnificent chapter in the millennial history of the Chinese nation. The great path they have set out on, the great goal they have undertaken and the great achievements they have achieved over the past century will enter the annals of the Chinese nation and humanity⁸.

⁸ Xinhua. (2021, November 17). Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Major Achievements and Historical Experience of the Party over the Past Century. (2021), p.17-29. http://english.www.gov.cn/news/topnews/202111/17/content_WS61945ecbc6d0df57f98e5141.ht ml

HISTORICAL STRENGTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The Chinese Communist Party has a long history. It all started with 12 cups of tea, at the founding assembly, 1921 in Shanghai. There were 12 delegates, representing 57 members of the party. The founding assembly was held in legal conditions in one of the teahouses, and the party was founded by left-wing writers and intellectuals. The first president was Professor Cheng Dishyu and among the delegates was Mao Zedong. The founders of the CCP were influenced by the October Revolution in Russia and Marx's ideas about the revolution of the proletariat. The problem was that in China only a mere 0.5% of the population made up the working class, while the peasantry represented over 95% of the people⁹. In addition to this, the Chinese working class was under triple exploitation: foreign capitalism, domestic feudalism, and domestic capitalist forces. The Communist Party of China aimed to transform this and has shown remarkable creative momentum in the preparation, execution, and ultimate victory in the revolution. They won the final victory in very unfavourable conditions, when the two largest world powers, the USA, and the USSR, recognized the Kuomintang government, and the USA helped this government economically and militarily¹⁰. However, representatives of the Comintern from Moscow provided assistance in founding the People's Republic of China. In 1933, Chiang Kai-shek launched a general offensive to destroy the Communists and occupy the territories they controlled. During this period, the famous Long March began, during which, within a year, most Red Army fighters moved to a safer area, to the north of China. After the occupation of parts of China by imperial Japan in 1937, the Communists formed a truce with the Kuomintang and joined the fight against the occupiers. Despite this, the Kuomintang began to limit the spread of communist influence as early as 1939, which led to frequent conflicts. The tasks of the Chinese

⁹ Novačić, A. (2018). *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

¹⁰ Dinić, J., Lazić, D. (1970). *Narodna Republika Kina - Konceptije o socijalističkom razvoju i politika u međunarodnim odnosima*, Institut za međunarodni radnički pokret, Beograd, pp. 61-89.

revolution were to fight against Japanese imperialism and the feudal class. These two great tasks consisted of carrying out a national revolution keeping it interconnected. For this reason, one of the basic guidance's of the Communist Party of China was to assist the peasantry in overthrowing the feudal landowner class, because the peasantry was the main army of the CCP¹¹. After the end of the occupation in 1945, the civil war continued, and the communists defeated the nationalists until 1949¹². Since its establishment in 1921, the Communist Party of China (CCP) has remained true to its original aspirations and mission, seeking happiness for the Chinese people, and rejuvenating the Chinese nation. Remaining committed to communist ideals and socialist beliefs, it united and led the Chinese of all ethnic groups to work tirelessly to achieve national independence and liberation, and to make the country prosperous and strong.

With the ascendance of the Communist Party of China, at the head of the revolution, and later at the head of the state, new forces emerged, with new historical tasks, which gave colour and character and determined bigger and more ambitious goals than the old bourgeois-democratic revolutions. According to Mao Zedong, the ultimate goal of the revolution was a distant perspective; while closer goals are the nationalization of banks, large industrial and commercial companies, railways, air transport and such, as well as all other key companies important for economic development¹³. A staunch practitioner of the Marxist view on society, the CCP has creatively transformed and developed a traditional, people-oriented philosophy. From serving the people wholeheartedly, considering the support, approval, satisfaction, and consent of the people who carried out their work, to representing the basic interests of most of the Chinese people, putting people first, the CCP leadership has enriched

¹¹ Ce Tung, M. (1968). *Kineska revolucija*, Vuk Karadžić, Beograd, pp. 39-42.

¹² Wang, Z. (2012). *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 31.39.

¹³ Dapčević, S., Pavlović, P. (1960). *Narodna Republika Kina*, Kultura, Beograd, pp. 70-76.

traditional people-centred thinking¹⁴.

SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

The Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is a set of political theories and policies of the Communist Party of China (CCP) consisting of Mao Zedong's thought, Deng Xiaoping's theory, Three Representatives (Jiang Zemin), Scientific View of Development (Hu Jintao) and Xi Jinping's socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era¹⁵. Marxism does not exhaust the truth but paves the way to it. Based on Chinese reality, the CCP has adapted the basic tenets of Marxism to the Chinese context, fully demonstrating its theoretical approach to combining heritage and innovation. From the thoughts of Mao Zedong, the theory of Deng Xiaoping, the theory of three representatives and the scientific view of development, to Xi Jinping's thoughts on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era. It embodies the basic principles of Marxism containing the latest theoretical innovations based on needs at a given time and practice, serving as guidelines for all CCP members and to all Chinese people¹⁶.

MAO ZEDONG'S THOUGHTS WITH REFERENCE TO "RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY (1945)"

Mao Zedong's thoughts are a scientific and theoretical system, a combination of the basic principles of Marxist and Leninist ideology and the experience gained during the long period of the Chinese revolution and construction. Mao Zedong's thoughts are the product of the implementation of Marxism and Leninism in accordance with the Chinese

¹⁴ *Mao Zedong Works* (1999), Vol. VII, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, p. 89.

¹⁵ Novačić, A. (2018). *Op. cit.*, pp. 208-209.

¹⁶ Jizu, B. (2021). *Concise History of the Communist Party of China*, People's Publishing House & Party History Press, Beijing, pp. 180-188.

Revolution.

This includes summarizing experiences and correct theory of the Chinese Revolution, as well as the collective wise crystallization of the Communist Party of China. Mao Zedong's thoughts have three basic starting points: the search for truth in facts, consistency in the path of the broad masses, autonomy, and independence. The search for truth in facts is the essence of Mao Zedong's thoughts and the ideological direction of the Communist Party of China. The search for the truth is starting from reality, merging theory with practice, uniting the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism with experience in the practice of the Chinese revolution. Consistency on this path of broad masses of the people shows that everything should be done for the benefit of the people. Autonomy, independence, and reliance on one's own strength mean relying on the broad masses of the people, starting from the real situation in China¹⁷. The first resolution of the Communist Party of China was adopted in 1945, and it confirmed the great role of Mao Zedong. The process of disintegration of the colonial system, taking the Chinese Revolution as an integral part of that process, in its own essence, it gained something new after the First World War and the October Revolution in Russia, a new character.

Presenting the economic and political program of the “new democracy”, Mao Zedong spoke about the ultimate goal, which is the establishment of a socialist society. He advocates that the history of China should be studied in detail, especially from the opium wars onwards, the study of experiences of international labour movements and the connection of revolutionary theory and practice. Understanding general legalities that results from the modern historical epoch in which the Chinese Revolution took the place, and at the same time noticing the characteristics, specifics and special legalities of his country and creatively binding it all together into one whole, highlighted Mao Zedong

¹⁷ Jiping, X. (2014). *The Governance of China*, China International Publishing Group, Beijing, pp. 91-115.

as the great leader in the Chinese Revolution of that time¹⁸. Mao's circle of thinking was reduced to relations in the economy (heavy industry has the priority over light and foreign economy), to relations in regional development, to national unity (Khan's chauvinism should have been prevented in relation to the national minorities), to revolution and counterrevolution (the party should support the revolution). Briefly the resolution was an analysis of the Chinese situation under the leadership of Mao Zedong¹⁹.

DENG XIAOPING'S THEORY WITH REFERENCE TO "RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY (1981)"

Deng Xiaoping's theory, better known as Dengism, represents a series of political and economic ideologies first developed by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. The theory does not reject Marxism-Leninism or Mao Zedong's thought, and instead strives to adapt it into China's existing socio-economic conditions. Deng stressed China's opening up to the outside world, implementation of one country, two systems, and also through the phrase "seek the truth from the facts, " advocating political and economic pragmatism²⁰. At the time of the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee, the CCP struggled to emerge from political and ideological chaos. Doubts arose both inside and outside the party concerning the party's socialism and sustainability, as well as Mao Zedong's lifelong contribution and validity of his ideas. In this context, a resolution has been developed based on some key questions. Beginning in the November 1979, the forming process went through several rounds of discussions and revisions before the final document was adopted by consensus at the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee of the 11th CCP in June 1981.

¹⁸ Dapčević, S., Pavlović, P. (1960). *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

¹⁹ Novačić, A. (2018). *Op. cit.*, p. 210

²⁰ Zhang, W. (1996). *Ideology and economic reform under Deng Xiaoping, 1978-1993*, Kegan Paul

The resolution affirmed Deng Xiaoping's new reform strategy. The resolution assessed main initiatives launched by the CCP since the founding of the People's Republic of China, in particular the Cultural Revolution. It also assessed Mao's achievements and wrong steps, as well as the basic settings of his philosophy and its value in leading the nation forward. The misconceptions behind the Cultural Revolution and so-called "continuous revolution under dictatorship of the proletariat" have been unequivocally rejected. Conclusions were made based on evidence of the important events and people in history, as well as our experience with the socialist revolution and economic development in socialism. The resolution has reaffirmed the gradual approach to building a strong, modern socialist country, as the answer to China's current reality, which has been under way since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It determined the future direction of Chinese socialism and helped build cohesion within the CCP. In it the assessment was made of Mao's place in history based on facts and completely reaffirmed Mao Zedong's thought as the CCP's leading philosophy²¹.

XI JINPING'S THOUGHT ON SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS FOR THE NEW AGE

With reference to the "Resolution of the CPC central committee on the main achievements and historical experience of the party in the past century", Xi Jinping's view of socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era is a set of policies and ideas derived from writings and speeches of the general secretary of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping. Studying the history of China, Xi emphasizes that "Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong brought the Chinese people out of the darkness and established a new China." As for the future, "the consolidation and development of the socialist system will require a long

International, New York, pp. 14-23.

²¹ Deng S. (2012). Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, People's Publishing House, Beijing, p. 341-371.

period of history; it will require a tireless struggle throughout generations, up to the tenth generation.”²² Xi Jinping emphasized that the new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics is an era in which the PRC will continue to build up on past successes, to further their cause and continue to strive for the success of socialism with Chinese characteristics in these new historical conditions, an era in which we'll use the momentum of our decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in every way to encourage overall efforts to build a great modern socialist country. An era in which Chinese of all ethnic groups will work together to create a better life for themselves and gradually achieve their goal of a common prosperity; an era in which all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation will strive with one heart to realize the Chinese dream of national rejuvenation; and an era in which China will make an even greater contribution to humanity. This new era marks a new historical point in China's development.²³ The new strategy of development, the Chinese renaissance or Chinese dream program, as Xi Jinping often calls it, is different from past plans in that it focuses less on gross national income growth as the only measure of success, and focuses more on key elements of the economic quality growth. This is exactly the reason why redefinition of Mao's and Deng's philosophy has been required. Xi Jinping has made a change in formulation. This opened a wide space for new ideas that can be expected in years to come²⁴.

Xi Jinping's thought on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era clearly shows the following: the leadership of the Communist Party of China is a feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the greatest strength of the socialist system, and the CCP is the highest power of political leadership. Therefore, all members of the party must strengthen their awareness and maintain the highest political integrity.

²² Jiping X. (2014). *Op. cit.*, pp. 40-89.

²³ Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee. (2019). *Study Guide of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*, Xuexi Publishing House, Beijing, pp. 87-129.

²⁴ Novačić, A. (2018). *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

Furthermore, members are reminded of the vision, and to follow the core leadership, always maintaining compliance with the central party leadership; as well as staying safe on the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Therefore, Xi Jinping's thoughts on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era are the Marxism of modern China and the 21st century. These embody the best of Chinese culture and nature in our time and represents new breakthroughs in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context. The party has established the core position of comrade Xi Jinping in the party's central committee and in the whole party, reflecting the general will of the party, armed forces, and Chinese people of all ethnic groups. This stance is crucial for the advancement of the party and the country in this new era and for initiating the historical process of national rejuvenation²⁵.

In this resolution, the central committee with comrade Xi Jinping made it clear; at its core that leadership of the party is the foundation and lifeblood of the CCP and the country, and the pillar on which all interests and well-being of the Chinese people depend on. All members of the party must maintain a high degree of unity with the central committee, ideologically, politically and in action. We need to improve our capacity to implement sound, democratic, law-based governance, as well as our ability to chart our course, make overall plans, create policies, and promote reform. We must ensure that the party fully fulfils its primary role in providing general leadership and coordinating the efforts from all sides²⁶.

The central committee of the Communist Party of China (CCP) ended its sixth plenary session by publishing its very much significant resolution, which coincides with the party's centenary. The resolution covers first 100 years of the CCP in a way that highlights its most significant achievements during a period that its authors justifiably describe as the

²⁵ Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee. (2019). *Op. cit.*, pp. 145-149.

²⁶ Xinhua (2021, November 17), *Op. cit.*, pp.17-29.

most glorious in the millennial history of its nation. The resolution emphasizes that Xi Jinping's idea of socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era must be fully implemented. We must use Marxist points of views and methods to observe, understand and manage the trends of the time, and constantly deepen our understanding of the laws underlying the Communist Party's governance, building socialism, and developing human society. We must adhere to the party's basic theories, lines and policies; strengthen our awareness of the need to maintain political integrity, think big, monitor the core of leadership and maintain compliance with the central party leadership; stay confident on the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and support the essential position of comrade Xi Jinping in the central committee of the party and in the party as a wholeness, and support the authority of the central committee and its centralized, solely leadership²⁷.

CONCLUSION

In 2021, the Communist Party of China celebrates 100 years of existence, which is one hundred years of impressive achievements, diligence, and hard work. The Chinese Communist party was founded during a time of great challenges, which were faced by the Chinese people. Following the Opium Wars of 1840, old China gradually shrank into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society due to the stubbornness, decadence, and incompetence of feudal rulers, altogether with the aggression of capitalist forces. Following the foundation of the Communist Party of China in 1921, it established the right path for a new democratic revolution, and the Chinese people saw the CCP as new strength, new hope, and new support. More than 100 years of history prove that the Chinese Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thoughts, Deng Xiaoping's theory and Xi Jinping's idea of socialism with

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-69.

Chinese characteristics for the new era, showed the strength of the Chinese state for future times. Over the past 100 years since its founding, the Chinese Communist Party has made impressive achievements, led the way to achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and it fundamentally changed the historical destiny of the Chinese people. Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party contributed to solving global problems for all mankind.

Xi Jinping's thought on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new age promotes building a new form of international relations and community with a common future of humanity, making a great contribution to peace and the development in the world. One of the most significant results of the CCP leadership is poverty reduction, which has lifted over 850 million people out of extreme poverty, accounting for nearly 70 percent of the world's poverty eradication. This was an unprecedented achievement in history. China has provided unselfish assistance to the developing countries, established and improved cooperation mechanisms such as China and Africa, China and Latin America, China and the Arab States, and China and the Pacific island countries. The CCP conducted extensive cooperation under voluntary and mutually beneficial conditions to support developing countries. China has provided enormous health and medical assistance to African countries. In the struggle against pandemics, China has not only taken the lead in controlling the pandemic, but has also provided technical, material, and medical assistance to many developing countries and provided vaccines developed by China as a global public product, especially to developing countries. Additionally, China made exceptional contributions to the global fight against the pandemic. In the West, there is a misconception that the one-party system is unsustainable because it allegedly cannot be reformed, but the Communist Party of China, more than any other party in the world, has shown an extraordinary capacity of vitality and reform.

The CCP has never considered its political system to be a model for

others, unlike the United States, Britain, and the former Soviet Union. As China becomes more important and influential, it will be inevitable that other countries start striving to learn from its achievements, whether it is for example, economic policy, pandemic struggle, technological innovation, or climate change.

The CCP actively participates and develops relations with political parties in other countries and promotes healthy and stable relation development between China and other countries, thus contributing world peace, economic development, and progress of the humanity. In this process, the CCP follows four main principles: independence, equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Under the strong leadership of PRC President Xi Jinping, the community building with a common future for humanity has begun, it is highly recognized by the vast majority of countries and international organizations, such as United Nations, and has shown its on the right path and that it has bright prospects for the future. A significant resolution has been adopted at the CCP plenum "Marxist program document", a political declaration of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era and a guide to achieving great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, the plenum fully confirmed achievements in cultural construction and ideological work. The CCP remained committed to seeking happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenating the nation. All three historical resolutions have confirmed that it has never deviated from these historical goals. Over the decades, and despite changing international circumstances, the CCP has improved the effectiveness of its policies, managed to overcome numerous situations in the country, to integrate China in the world, and to restore pride to its people.

Socialism with Chinese characteristics continued to be constantly developed. Xi Jinping contributed to this evolutionary process through what is now known as Xi Jinping's thought of socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era. The adoption of resolutions throughout the history of the CCP is of the great political, historical, and economic

importance, so far there have been only two resolutions. One was in 1945, which confirmed the great role of Mao Zedong, and another in 1981, which affirmed the new political and economic reform strategy of Deng Xiaoping. According to a resolution passed in November 2021, "the Central Committee, with president Xi at its core, has shown the great historical initiative, great political courage and a strong sense of mission." The party established Xi Jinping's main position in the Central Committee of the party and in the party as a whole and defined the leading role of Xi Jinping's thought on socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era, as also stated in the resolution. The Central Committee called on the party, army, and Chinese people to gather closely around the Central Committee, along with comrade Xi Jinping as the head of the party. In practice, examples of this include strengthening the CCP's unity, strengthening its self-reform capabilities, balancing the country's development, enriching Chinese culture, prioritizing environmental goals, fighting corruption, modernizing armed forces, ensuring national security, and actively developing the entire human process. The CCP's focus on achieving the great success of Chinese nation isn't happening at someone else's expense. On the contrary, it's the most powerful driver for the human development, as evidenced by the incomparable contribution of this country to humanity over the past century. Considering the 100-year history of the CCP and determining its direction for the next few decades, the resolution serves to strengthen unity among the party members and strengthen authority and leadership of the CCP Central Committee.

Unlike many political parties in the West, the reason the CCP has achieved great success is not that it doesn't make mistakes, but that it does not hide its mistakes and instead taking the steps to correct them, daring to face problems and draw lessons from them. The party has consistently promoted broader and deeper reforms. The life of the inhabitants has improved in all aspects, and efforts to protect the environment have undergone great, historical, and transformative

changes. For the past hundred years, the CCP has led the Chinese people in the path of ending the humiliation and misery inflicted on them in the modern era. Without the CCP, there wouldn't be a new China and national rejuvenation. This fact is clear to the Chinese people based on China's achievements in revolution, reconstruction, and reform.

In terms of foreign affairs, China's diplomacy has progressed on all fronts, and the concept of community with the common future of humanity has become the leading trend of the time. When Xi was elected as the General Secretary of the CCP Central Committee in 2012, he stated two "hundred-year goals" - to make China a moderately prosperous society by the 2021 and a great modern socialist country by the 2049. The former has already been achieved; the plenary session gave new impetus for achieving the second goal. Xi Jinping's idea of socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new age was created by continuous enrichment, deep reflection and application of scientific socialism and continuous research and progress in supporting and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. This thought represents the latest achievement, encompasses the practical experience and collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China and the people as well, which keeps pace with the times. Under the strong leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Xi Jinping, the Chinese people will surely create new and greater miracles that the whole world will admire. Sticking together, maintaining close ties, and giving prosperity to the people, this enabled the CCP to overcome all the difficulties and dangers in the past. This approach also laid the foundations for building a strong party and a prosperous nation. According to Xi Jinping, the CCP will remain invincible as long as it's in the forefront of the time; lead the charge in overcoming difficulties and challenges, and spreading the roots among the people.

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Зоран СПАСИЋ

Центар за сарадњу са земљама Азије

ИСТОРИЈСКИ ЗНАЧАЈ УСВАЈАЊА РЕЗОЛУЦИЈЕ ЦЕНТРАЛНОГ КОМИТЕТА КОМУНИСТИЧКЕ ПАРТИЈЕ КИНЕ

Апстракт

У раду се говори о историјском значају усвајања три важне резолуције, које је донео Централни комитет Комунистичке партије Кине. Историјски значај ових резолуција је видљив и у политичком и економском контексту, што се огледа у чињеници да је партија превазилазећи бројне унутрашње и спољашње политичке и економске изазове потврдила историјску снагу Кине. Аутор у раду представља три кључне теорије потребне за разумевање саме суштине социјализма са кинеским карактеристикама, систематизујући га у аналитичком оквиру. Свестан сложености овог задатка, аналитичким приступом аутор нуди читаоцу добру структуру која олакшава разумевање тематике, као и самих резолуција у политичко-теоријском контексту следеће три теорије: „Мисли Мао Цедунга“, „Теорије Денг Сјаопинга“ и „Мисао Си Ђинпинга о социјализму са кинеским карактеристикама за нову еру“. Указујући на значај ових резолуција Комунистичке партије Кине за саму Кину, рад даје одговор и на питање шта оне нуде у глобалном политичком контексту.

Кључне речи: *Си Ђинпинг, Денг Сјаопинг, Мао Цедунг, социјализам, реформе, Нова демократска револуција*

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Teodor SIMEUNOVIĆ*

Academy of Vocational Studies, Šabac

Svetozar S. RAKAZOV

**“INTERMARIUM PROJECT”,
HYBRID WARS AND MIGRANT CHAOS****

**- genesis, actualities and their synthesis, seen through the prism of
potential perspectives of the development of events -**

Part II

*“History is not a teacher, but a controller, it does not teach us anything, but severely
punishes us for not knowing the passed material.”*

Abstract

The beginning of the 19th century, under the conductor's baton of Adam Czartoryski, brought a failed attempt to create the Second Rzeczpospolita, which was initially conceived as a great state between two seas, the Baltic and the Black. Such efforts continued throughout the 19th century, but only after the First World War did they bring a certain result in the form of a new Polish state. The failure of the agreement with the Nazi leadership on the division of the Third Reich on Poland marked the collapse of the Second Rzeczpospolita. On the wings of the Red Army, after the Second World War, the Polish communists laid the foundation of a new state, the Third Rzeczpospolita, with significant territorial expansions to

* E-mail: drteodorsimeunovic@gmail.com.

** Translated into English by Jelena Petkovic.

the detriment of German territories. The victory of transnational companies over the Warsaw Pact and the USSR in the 1990s brought changes in Poland as well. On the political basis of the center-right and Catholic conservatism, the state began its internal transformation into the Fourth Rzeczpospolita. One of its direct products is the reanimated and redesigned "Intermarium" (o) Plan, now called "Three Seas Initiative". The authors develop the thesis that, in addition to Poland's desire for dominance in the immediate geopolitical environment, undisguised ambitions of management appeared, this time with the territory and peoples between the three seas: the Baltic, the Black and the Adriatic. Pointing out that the collapse of the capitalist model of governance, the collapse of its ideological matrix and the catastrophic consequences that financial colonialism leaves behind, have marked the last few years, especially 2020, the authors try to answer the question of whether the Polish "Intermarium" Plan ("Three Seas Initiative") fits in some of the well-known global geopolitical plans.

Keywords: *Three Seas, digital technologies, hybrid wars, migrations, colored revolutions, inclusive capitalism*

INTERACTION OF "INTERMARIUM" WITH OTHER GEOSTRATEGIC PLANS

The visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Warsaw in June 2016 by the ruling Polish right-wingers is paradoxically interpreted not only as a possible incentive for infrastructure construction in the Fourth Republic, but also as a kind of assistance in the implementation of the "Intermarium" Plan, is economic and political wall which should definitely separate Germany from Russia, in which they are supported by the aggressive and expansionist part of the American elite. The French and Catholic Churches have a two-century-long continuity in their efforts to realize this plan, or to separate the Prussians from the Russians, as if they all forget how the earlier attempts in the 19th and 20th centuries ended. For his part, in Poland the Chinese president mentioned two projects from the "One Belt, One Road" strategy as the driving force

behind the development of this part of the world. These are "New Silk Road"¹ and "Amber Road". The first project is the integration of the People's Republic of China with the countries on the so-called The old Silk Road, and the other is a transport corridor that should extend in a north-south direction, from the Baltic to Greece, with a branch to Belgrade, and then forks there to the southeast, ie the Black Sea, and the other branch continues south, towards Thessaloniki and Greece. It is interesting that in 2017, they opened an office in Poland to manage the "New Silk Road", but details about its work are not available.

It is a worrying fact that the current Polish government continues to homogenize the nation on the basis of inciting various conflicts with the EU, with Russia, Germany, with the Bandera members from Ukraine, that is, with the majority from its immediate surroundings. Such a foreign policy framework does not instill confidence and in the medium term can hardly be the foundation of stable economic development. Former Polish Prime Minister Leszek Miller commented in an interview that Russophobia and intimidation of non-existent Russian ambitions towards Poland became the official policy of Warsaw, and that the illogicality of the same foreign policy was to support Ukrainian nationalists,² who have territorial aspirations towards "the Fourth Republic"³. There is no Russian minority in Poland, no natural resources that Russians would be interested in or a religious minority that needs to be protected, and that is why there is no need to intimidate the nation on a daily basis, Miller concluded at the end of the conversation. Continuing in the direction of conflicts with its neighbors, in the middle of 2020, Poland "put on the ice" the signing of an agreement for the newly

¹ Includes 17 countries, of which 4 are Orthodox, Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine and Belarus.

² At the beginning of the colored revolution of 2014 and during 2015.

³ That "Intermarium Plan" has well-distributed supporters is shown by the situation from 2013 in which the National Security Council under the President of the Republic of Poland (RBN), at the time when Bronislaw Komorowski from the "Civic Platform" was the president, tried to harmonize the direction of implementation. common foreign policy towards Ukraine, with the party "Law and Justice" (Polish: PiS). The mentioned party, with a strong influence on local self-governments, courts and universities, is publicly called out for the implementation of pro-German policy and demoralization of the youth.

proposed German ambassador in Warsaw. Reading a German message between the lines, unequivocally sent to the Polish elite by appointing Arndt Freytag von Loringhoven⁴ as the new ambassador, the ruling Polish party continues with its stubborn policy of pursuing its own policy, even though Germany took over the presidency of the European Union on July 1, 2020. The successor of Baron Bernd Freytag von Loringhoven, who during the Third Reich was a military intelligence analyst in the rank of lieutenant general and contacted Adolf Hitler on a daily basis, has an enviable intelligence and diplomatic career. After his doctorate in biochemistry (Max Planck Institute), he joined German diplomacy, where he reached the position of director for European affairs. From 2007 to 2010, he was the Deputy Director of the BND, and from 2014 to 2016, the Deputy Secretary General of NATO for Intelligence and Security Issues.⁵ Even if he receives acceptance of the agreement, the new ambassador will face very tricky topics, such as a hot Polish request to Germany for war reparations from World War II (identical requests were sent by Jaroslaw Kaczynski to Germany and the Russian Federation, and it is realistic for Austria to expect an identical request, as the legal successor of Austro-Hungary). In his interview given in October 2020 to the newspaper "Gazeta Polska", Jaroslaw Kaczynski continued to deepen the conflict with the EU and direct Polish foreign policy navigation in his direction. Criticizing the continuation of "threats and blackmail" from Brussels, which threaten Poland's "identity, sovereignty and freedom" over the distribution of the EU budget for the period 2021-2027, Kaczynski added: "We will not allow ourselves to be terrorized with money", and threatened to veto when voting for the budget.⁶ We were allowed more during the time of the Polish People's

⁴ His father took part in the 1939 attack on Poland.

⁵ Mitrinović, B. (2020). „Nemački obaveštajac čeka dogovor u Poljskoj“, *Politika* [printed edition], br. 38318, p. 3.

⁶ For the mentioned period, the Republic of Poland is expected to receive 125 billion euros in European subsidies.

Republic, when "Warsaw was completely subordinated to Moscow"⁷, Kaczynski compared. "Without sufficient guarantees that the contractual rights of member states will be respected, we do not see the possibility of ratifying the budget in the Polish parliament," Prime Minister Morawiecki wrote in a letter to EU institutions⁸. On November 19, 2020, the Polish Sejm "welcomed the fact that the representatives of Poland blocked further work on the package of budget solutions, whose financial volume is 1.8 trillion euros." Out of 460 deputies, 236 voted for this decision, i.e. all from the ruling party Law and Justice, which has 235 deputies. In a certain way, the political solidarity of the right-wing parties "Law and Justice" (PiS), "Agreement" (Porozumienie) and "United Poland" (Solidarna Polska) was emphasized. Continuing to manipulate the potential veto of the European budget in 2021-2027, Polish political scientists began to use the term "Polexit" at the end of November. An identical position and response to the European Commission regarding the adoption of the budget was sent from Budapest, which, like Warsaw, was under investigation by the EU for their alleged undermining of the independence of courts, the media, and the NGO sector. Although they are aware that they will suffer losses due to such an attitude, both countries have made it clear that they will block the adoption of the budget for the period 2021-2027. Austria, Benelux, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden reacted with different motives, but in a similar way. The deputy head of the PiS parliamentary club in the Sejm,⁹ Marek Suski, points out in this context that "the atmosphere in Europe, now gripped by ideologies similar to the 1930s but also new ideologies, is undermining Europe's foundations, trying to impose things on us through blackmail. and coercion. "The German "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" (German: FAZ) warned that "if EU members are not determined

⁷ Стремидловский, С. (2020, October 14). „Советский Союз для Качиньского оказался свободнее Евросоюза” [For Kaczyski, the Soviet Union proved to be freer than the EU], IA Regnum. <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3089514.html>.

⁸ "Poland threatens to block the EU budget", "Politika" no. 38430, dated 16 November 2020, p. 2.

⁹ The next regular elections for the Sejm are in 2023.

to oppose blackmail attempts, then in the medium and long term they will be much more in danger than the budget. "One of the consequences of the Polish-Hungarian waltz could be the acceleration of the integration of the center of the EU, whereby the periphery, primarily the East, but part of Central Europe would be left to the impending element. However, time and events have shown that the outcome of the EU budget crisis was unexpectedly fast, Warsaw and Budapest met on December 12 and agreed with the EU proposal. Former Foreign Minister of Poland Radosław Sikorski, an angry opponent of Jarosław Kaczyński (PiS leader), commented in an interview with TVN24 that "Law and Justice" accepted "the possibility of a significant restriction of sovereignty" of Poland for 770 billion zlotys. Ursula von der Leyen stated that the mechanism "money in exchange for the rule of law" will start working on January 1, 2021. Der Spiegel published an article in which it rejoices over the success and states in the already seen colonial manner, that the Germans will have huge profits from expanding to the east, because Poland and Hungary are big markets for their goods. It adds that workers in these countries can be paid less than "a mechanic in Stuttgart. "It will not be easy for the ruling coalition in the resuscitation of the stumbled economy, because all the problems are followed by the situation with the Covid-19 virus and the implementation of quarantine¹⁰ from December 28, 2020 to January 17, 2021.

After the end of the "budget crisis", Jarosław Kaczyński once again surprised the members of his party and a part of the citizens in Poland. In an interview with the Rzeczpospolita newspaper on December 21, 2020, he announced a new PiS foreign policy strategy. "We want to present a personal project of European construction through the parliamentary group of European conservatives and reformers in the European Parliament.¹¹ I hope that in time we will be able to propose new federal agreements. "Looking at nation-states as a symbol of independence and

¹⁰ About what the Polish Minister of Health Adam Niedzielski informed the public.

¹¹ A group of 59 MPs (out of 751) that brings together Eurosceptics and Confederates.

diversity, including cultural differences, Kaczynski argues that they are the foundation of democracy. In Europe, either an empire or a confederation is possible, a federal-type state on the Old Continent, according to him, is simply not possible. "We are really looking at the European Union.¹² "Very bad processes are happening there," he added.¹³

Problems with coalition partner Zbigniew Ziobro,¹⁴ president of the United Poland party and justice minister, forced Jaroslaw Kaczynski to join the government as deputy prime minister, trying to unquestionably control disobedient members of the government and pursue their policies more consistently. In addition to Kaczynski, Przemyslaw Czarnek, the future Minister of Education, who is known to the public for his anti-gay texts against "LGBT ideology", which he claims for it threatens the concept of the Polish family, that it is "rotten, perverted and completely immoral", also entered the government.¹⁵ Continuing with his "own" policy, Ziobro acted contrary to the official position of the Government regarding the permits for "Huawei"¹⁶, has opening another small crisis. Speaking about 5G manufacturers, the Minister of Justice, and the General Prosecutor of Republic of Poland, Ziobro, was against the exclusion of Chinese companies in the application of new technologies. The ministry he heads gave a negative assessment to the amendments to the Law on Cyber Security, which mentioned that Polish operators could not be associated with producers that were assessed as high or medium

¹² "Whoever wants to establish sovereignty, which is a politically justified aspiration, must leave the EU according to the Brexit pattern," said Dr. Christoph Vedder, professor of international law at the University of Augsburg, in an interview with the newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung*.

¹³ Стремидловский, С. (2019, December 22). „Польша надувает очередной политический «воздушный шарик»“ [Poland inflates another "hot air balloon"], *IA Regnum*, <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3147813.html>.

¹⁴ Author of the controversial Justice Act.

¹⁵ Lj. Vujić, "Jaroslaw Kaczynski came out of the shadows", *"Politika"* no. 38385 of 2 October 2020, p. 2, transferred the writing of the portal "Politico".

¹⁶ The mentioned Chinese company planned to open its development center in Warsaw in 2019, employ 300-500 engineers and invest around 500 million USD in a period of 3 years, but it seems that it has given up under pressure from the USA. Temporary or permanent time will tell.

risk, with the criteria being exclusively political and under US pressure. The main lobbyists of American interests in this direction are Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and Minister-Coordinator of Special Services Mariusz Kaminski. Foreign Ministers Jacek Czaputowicz and Minister of Agriculture Jan Ardanowski also opposed the conflict with the People's Republic of China, which is why they were obviously on American intervention (Michael Pompeo was in Poland on August 15, 2020 to discuss security in the field of 5G technologies, and in September At the Atlantic Council meeting, he said that the main obstacle to the "Three Seas" initiative came from the Chinese Communist Party (removed from the Government) (the first on August 20 and the second on October 6, 2020). The arrival of Joe Biden in the White House was not good news for the Polish government. Confirmation of this assessment came before the holding of the virtual Summit of Central and Eastern European Leaders with the Chinese leader in the "17 + 1" format. The adviser to the American president for foreign policy, Michael Carpenter, aired the following content: "It will be interesting to see how many European countries that support the "Three Seas initiative "as just a job", will support the "17 + 1" summit with China."¹⁷

The Visegrad Group demonstrates the continuation of the implementation of an independent domestic and foreign policy in several directions in relation to the European Union. Hungary relies on Poland and its voice in the EU against the adoption of a decision that would punish it for passing new laws on asylum seekers, foreign universities (primarily owned by George Soros) and non-governmental organizations. For its part, Poland, although left in the lurch by Hungary during the vote on the re-election of Donald Tusk as President of the European Council in March 2017, counted on the Hungarian vote in the proceedings against it by the EU for violating the rule of law, the place and role of judges in society and human rights violations, which has been repeatedly

¹⁷ After the change of governments in 2020, Slovakia and Romania began to openly pursue a pro-American policy, and the level of cooperation in the "17 + 1" was announced by the Baltic republics.

confirmed to the public by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. The official positions of the two mentioned EU member states coincide in principle that the Brussels institutions must refrain from interfering in the internal politics of the members. On that line, Polish President Andrzej Duda signed a new law on February 4, 2020¹⁸ whose regulations allow for the dismissal of all judges, from the Supreme, Constitutional, to the basic courts, if in their decisions they give precedence to the European judicial system over national or they are not at the will of the ruling party. Thus, the governmental reform of the judiciary started in 2015 gained momentum, the judiciary is subordinated to the executive and it is quite objective to expect political differentiation and removal of all undesirable judges, which significantly destabilizes the domestic political scene in Poland. It is interesting that, violating diplomatic customs, the re-election of Duda on July 12, 2020, before the final gathering of Polish votes, was welcomed by Ukrainian President Vladimir Zelensky and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. Continuing with the proclaimed course, Duda announced that his first foreign policy visit would be to the United States, leaving Brussels completely aside. However, in Washington, he was greeted by certain changes. President Trump ordered that portraits of former US presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush be removed from the White House lobby. Instead, portraits of Theodore Roosevelt (the 26th President of the United States) and a portrait of his predecessor, the 25th President William McKinley Jr.¹⁹, a well-known imperialist and conqueror, were erected. It is interesting that McKinley did not live to see the end of his presidential term, because he was killed by Leon Czolgosz, a Polish emigrant and anarchist, during a visit to the city of Buffalo.

The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs insisted on the common position of the member states of the Visegrad Group on the exit of Great

¹⁸ During the official visit of French President E. Macron to Poland, which gives the law a certain sign of the tacit agreement between Warsaw and Paris on that issue.

¹⁹ The highest peak in North America, Mount McKinley, is named after him.

Britain from the EU, offering Poland the leading role of the group on this issue. The analyzes of various foreign policy analysts, whose assessment is that Hungarian President Viktor Orbán, managed to overcome the trump cards in the foreign policy game, which the Polish elite had until recently, show how sincere it was.²⁰ The statement of the Hungarian Prime Minister given during his stay in Belgrade on May 15, 2020, should be considered exclusively in that direction, cit. "that Serbia is far more important to the European Union than the other way around..."²¹ In that way, Orbán very skillfully completes his decades-long geopolitical plans, creating a center of gravity from his country, whereby he based them on an unfulfilled dream about Great Hungary²² with the help of the "Great Road to Turan" strategy. The fact that Orbán, congratulating the graduates on the history exam, posted a photo of Great Hungary on his official Facebook account, which includes the current territories of Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, Austria, Croatia, Slovenia and Ukraine shows that this is not an ordinary political construction, but the implementation of serious long-term ultra-right plans.²³ Through a series of foreign policy, intelligence, subversive and financial projects, he very skillfully draws Serbia into his field of interest (as well as Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, Romania and Ukraine, i.e. most of his immediate environment), creating from it (but also them) and its politicians useful extras in their behind-the-scenes geopolitical game. Playing with the feelings of his own, but also of other peoples in the region, Orbán, after all, like his political role model Miklos Horthy, calls

²⁰ Стремидловский, С. (2019, December 20). „Венгрия переигрывает Польшу за влияние в ЕС и мире” [In the fight for influence in the EU and in the world, Hungary leads against Poland], IA Regnum, <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2813378.html>.

²¹ Jelena Popadić, "Budapest best understood Belgrade", "Politika", No. 38246, May 16, 2020, p. 1 and 5.

²² In December 2020 alone, the Hungarian police returned 4,400 migrants who entered Hungary to Serbia, contrary to the regulations governing migration and the Decision of the European Court of Justice from the same month in 2020. This behavior resulted in the temporary withdrawal of Frontex (headquartered in Poland) from Hungary. <https://euobserver.com/migration/150744> site visited on January 29, 2021.

²³ Jakšić, B. (2020, May 20). „Orbanov balkanski globus”, *Politika*, no. 38245, p. 14.

on war ghosts from the past in order to continue his personal and enrich his immediate environment. Aware that without the People's Republic of China, he is not able to provide a more serious inflow of investments, Orbán, at first glance, is leading a multi-vector foreign policy game aimed at several goals at once. Nurturing good personal and political ties with Vladimir Putin for years, the Hungarian Prime Minister hopes that with the help of the Russian Federation and the Eurasian Economic Union, he will succeed in strategically approaching Beijing. First of all, in this context, Orbán's stay in Belarus on June 5, 2020 and the signing of a series of mutually acceptable agreements should be considered. From nuclear energy, finance, traffic, the importance of oil pipelines, etc.²⁴ There should be no dilemmas, official Warsaw will know how to decipher such foreign policy moves of Budapest and recognize its place in them, despite the very skillful diplomatic moves of the Hungarian Government.²⁵

It is important to point out that unlike Poland, which relies on the US political favorite and recognizable Western arrogant foreign policy, has distanced itself or even damaged relations with important players on the international scene, Germany, the Russian Federation, to some extent France and others, Hungary leads a foreign policy that has only one ally. In the event that relations between Poland and the United States are disrupted for any reason, due to the refusal to pay compensation to Jewish families whose members died during World War II or for some other reason, it is left with only the Visegrad Group and then Hungarian influence grows many times over. The appearance of the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the international conference of

<https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/454165/Orbanov-balkanski-globus>.

²⁴ MTI-Hungary Today (2020, June 5). "Orbán Calls for Closer Hungary-Belarus Ties. Hungary Today". <https://hungarytoday.hu/orban-calls-for-closer-hungary-belarus-ties/>.

²⁵ At the end of December 2020, the Hungarian government decided to give Poland a very effective gift, the original armor of Polish King Sigmund II Augustus, who in 1569 united the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Commonwealth, but also turned Poland to the east. The historical artifacts were handed over to the Polish side by Viktor Orbán on February 17, 2021 in Krakow.

conservatives in Rome entitled "National conservatism: God, honor and state" also speaks for itself.²⁶ Acting as the leader of the fight against anarcholiberal views of the world, including a very disastrous "open door" strategy towards migrants, Orbán said that his country chose Christian, instead of liberal freedom. Continuing the realization of the idea of strategic breaking of "Intermarium" from within and publishing the concept of building its own zone of political and economic gravity, based on strengthening alliances with Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia and Serbia, Orbán said in his annual address to the nation in mid-February 2020: "that history has once again given the peoples of Central Europe a chance to build a new alliance, based on their national interests."²⁷ On that occasion, the Hungarian Prime Minister underlined: "In the past, we thought Europe was our future, but today we know we are Europe's future."²⁸ It should not be forgotten that in addition to the mentioned direction, the Republic of Hungary has very extensive relations with the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, Germany and, in addition to the Visegrad Group (V-4) and "Intermarium", it is building access to an alternative center of political gravity, embodied in the "Great Turan", led by Turkey.²⁹

In the game on the big board, Germany's position is clear, they want to prevent the influence of the Anglo-Saxons on the important transport corridors of Eurasia, seeking direct access to China. On the other hand, former French President Nicolas Sarkozy,³⁰ at the St. Petersburg

²⁶ The conference was held on February 4, 2020 in Rome, full name - "God, Honor, Country: President Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II, and the Freedom of Nations - A National Conservatism Conference." - Smeaton, P. (2020, February 11). "Pro-family Hungarian leader Orbán praises 'Catholic approach' for helping country flourish". LifeSite. <https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/pro-family-hungarian-leader-orban-praises-catholic-approach-for-helping-country-flourish/>.

²⁷ MTI (2018, February 18). Nekünk Magyarország az első. <https://miniszterelnok.hu/nekunk-magyarorszag-az-első-2/>.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ At the beginning of 2020, the Turkish Parliament approved the deployment of Turkish Armed Forces in 12 countries: Azerbaijan, Albania, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, Qatar, Lebanon, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Serbia and Cyprus.

³⁰ Former ally of Muammar al-Gaddafi, accused by the French opposition of taking money from the

Economic Summit in 2016, advocated the formation of a single EU-Russia-Turkey integration axis, which would have about 800 million inhabitants.³¹ Basically, Sarkozy's plan was presented to the public as a response of the Francophone elite to Germanic and Anglo-Saxon initiatives, but on the other hand it should not be forgotten that Sarkozy has long promoted the national interests of NATO's overseas partner on the international stage and that such ideas are, as a rule, aimed at destabilizing the geostrategic relations between the EU, China, Russia and Iran.

Instead of building the economy and developing society in Eastern and Central Europe, the smokescreen of alleged endangerment from the east is spreading, which is trying to influence the homogenization of society in those countries, but also the strengthening of ultra-right orientation among the citizens. The blatant falsification of the history of the Second World War, in which about 600,000 Red Army soldiers gave their lives just for the liberation of Poland, and the tendentious abolition of Nazi and fascist ideologies and their promoters, with an attempt to equate them with the communist ideology, the winner of World War II, contribute to that. The "Intermarium" plan, which is apparently supported by the administration in Washington, further dismantles the European Union and its long-term plans to become a serious super-state. This old project of building a "wall" towards Russia has been reactivated, this time with the help of Eastern European countries, which are also new members of NATO. The United States wants to add Moldova and Ukraine to them, in order to merge with Turkey, that is, with the southern wing of NATO. As far as "Intermarium" can be harmonized with Turkish geopolitical plans, is it possible to satisfy all appetites in the EU in which Germany, Italy and France have their ambitions and problems, Great Britain also, growing Polish desires, neo-Ottoman plans and growing hopes of pro-Atlantic

Libyan government for the 2007 elections, and later leading the attack of the Western coalition on Libya.

³¹ Sargis Tsaturyan, IA Regnum, "From Shanghai to Berlin: Russia and China are preparing for trade without borders", June 21, 2016, when the material was accessed.

elite, remains to be seen, but the authors seriously doubt such a possibility. American appetites must certainly be in the foreground, and all participants must take care of that and be satisfied with what is left. In addition, the American factor can be extracted as a common destructive element of all growing empires in the world, including all of the above.

In the era of dynamic changes in its environment and the continuation of the spread of "colored revolutions" combined with open interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, where the scenario of events was written abroad, the Belarusian parliament adopted a new military strategy in 2016. It provides for the possibility of using the armed forces in a potential armed conflict that would take place within the borders of this state. The new Belarusian military doctrine also contains certain new categories: "period of growing military danger", "regional war", "large-scale war", "strategic deterrence", "hybrid war", "local war", "illegal armed formations", "internal armed conflict" and others, which on the one hand determine the problems in national security, and on the other hand provide answers to possible security challenges that the state could face in the near future.

In 2018, the US Senate passed Law no. 447 (JUST), while in Congress this law bears the number 1226, which obliges the State Department to regularly inform them about the measures applied by 47 European states regarding restitution and compensation for looting Jewish property to their heirs and relatives (among others in Poland), during and after the Second World War and during the so-called communist times. Some analysts mention a Polish composition of Jewish families³² amounting to as much as about \$ 300 billion. The fact is that the Polish rightists reacted immediately, accusing the American Jews of wanting to organize bankruptcy for their country. In the same year, 2018, the Sejm passed a law that threatens to punish any public mention of Polish participation in the Holocaust.

³² In this way, the United States managed to obtain "compensation" from Switzerland and some countries on Helm.

It remains to be seen whether the revitalization of the "Intermarium" project will succeed and what its attitude will be towards the emerging world economic system, which has yet to be built. One thing is for sure, the ruling pro-American elites in Poland are working on it in a planned and full capacity, although during the Alliance Summit in Warsaw, their initiative to admit Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia to NATO was rejected, which may postpone the realization of the foreign policy goals of the current Polish elite related to the "Intermarium" Plan and the strengthening of positions in the Caucasus.

The fifth summit of the "Three Seas" initiative was held on October 19, 2020 in Tallinn. Representatives of Austria, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania³³, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, and the Czech Republic attended. US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo addressed the audience via a video link. Among other things, he stated that America is looking forward to when the participants in the initiative will start investing in this project. For its part, the United States has promised to invest one billion USD. During the summit, it became clear that the United States intends to sell the technology of building nuclear power plants to those gathered, in addition to selling gas. Earlier, Romania and the United States signed an agreement on the upgrade of the NPP "Black Water", the third and fourth blocks worth about 8 billion USD. Bulgaria is in negotiations for the extension of the Kozloduy NPP, and the United States has been emphasizing for years that it is against Russia's participation in the construction of the Belene NPP. The summit was crowned with the signing of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Nuclear Energy between the USA and Poland. All of the above projects provide for financing from loans approved by the United States, and the contractors are American companies.

³³ On January 20, 2021, the US Ambassador to Lithuania Robert Gilchrist advocated for the preservation of the US military presence in the Baltic region, as well as that the presence in Lithuania will be increasing, not less, <https://www.kurier.lt/ssha-soxranayat-voennoe-prisutstvie-v-litve-v-raznyx-formax-posol/>.

Continuing with its anti-Russian direction, Poland announced that it intends to dig a canal about 1.3 km long, worth 400 million USD, through the Baltic, in order to enable its ships to enter the Baltic Sea without the possibility of Russian forces preventing them from sailing. In order to set sail from the Gulf of Finland, Polish ships must now pass through the Baltic Strait, i.e. bypass the Baltic isthmus.

MODERN MIGRATIONS AND POLAND

In its Report for 2018, under the usual title "Global Trends", published on June 19, 2019, UNHCR presents fresh and worrying data. There are 70.8 million displaced people around the planet, which is almost 65% more than after the Second World War, when there were 40.7 million. Among them are 41.3 million internally displaced persons, 25.9 million refugees, 20.4 million refugees under UNHCR protection, 5.5 Palestinians under UNRWA protection and 3.5 million asylum seekers. The most endangered come from the Syrian Arab Republic, almost 6.7 million³⁴, Afghanistan 2.7 million, South Sudan 2.96 million, Myanmar 1.1 million and Somalia 0.9 million. So far, the biggest pressure on migrants is suffered by the Republic of Turkey, where 3.99 million,³⁵ are registered, IR Pakistan 1.4 million, Uganda 1.2 million, Sudan 1.1 million and FR Germany³⁶ 1.44 million (161,900 new asylum seekers). The most drastic figures are for Syria, where 13 million people have been displaced, 6.7 million are refugees, 6.2 million are internally displaced and 140,000 are asylum seekers. Although this fact is not emphasized in the mentioned Report, in the second place in terms of the number of persons cared for by UNHCR are the citizens of Colombia, of which 9 million (98% are internally

³⁴ <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/>.

³⁵ Ibid. In the only first 10 months of 2019, 340,000 new migrants were registered in Turkey, almost 100,000 more than in the same period last year.

³⁶ For the integration of more than a million refugees and the fight against the causes of migration abroad, Germany spent more than a billion euros in 2018, which is an increase of 11% compared to the previous year. Source: Politika, no. 38109, dated 16 December 2019, p. 2, B. Mitrović, "The alternative for Germany is financed by the rich".

displaced), and in third place are the citizens of DR Congo, 5.4 million. The picture on the continents is very interesting. Africa with the Middle East has 41.4 million migrants, Europe 11 million, both the Americas 12, and Asia and the Pacific 9.4 million, and the UNHCR takes care of a total of 74.7 million people on the planet! This organization published data that at the end of 2018, there were 249,241 registered persons on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, in the following categories: refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, returnees, stateless persons and other persons cared for by this organization.

According to Eurostat, in 2016, among the EU member states, the Republic of Poland recorded the largest number of residence permits related to employment for third-country nationals, almost half a million. Apart from Ukraine, the Office for Foreigners indicates that they arrived from countries such as Belarus, Russia, Vietnam, India, and China. Other estimates are based on the analysis of data on the use of mobile phones and indicated that at the beginning of 2019, about 1.25 million Ukrainians lived in Poland, or about 3% of the total population. Thus, Poland, whose citizens have significantly contributed to European migration processes in the last three decades and formed a new diaspora of over 2 million people in the West, is clearly transforming from a net emigration into a net immigration country.³⁷ From the economic point of view, it is worth mentioning that these migrants send part of their income to their families in the countries they came from, and thus spend significantly less money in Poland, which will have a long-term impact on the market in this country.

According to research conducted in 2016, only 2% of Polish citizens absolutely agreed with the proposal that the EU should accept migrants from the Middle East and North Africa, 23% moderately agreed with such an opinion, while 71% were strongly against such a solution. On the

³⁷ Pedziwiatr, K. (2019, August 19). The new Polish migration policy – false start. *openDemocracy*. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/the-new-polish-migration-policy-false-start/>. (February 10, 2020).

other hand, 60% of respondents agreed to receive refugees from Ukrainian regions where there were armed conflicts, while 33% were against.³⁸

The European Union has data that in 2017³⁹, 184,490 foreigners legally lived in the Republic of Poland, which, in relation to 38.4 million inhabitants⁴⁰, represents about 0.47% of the total population. A total of 58,286 of them have a permanent residence permit, while 126,204 reside temporarily. Most of the migrants came from the Ukrainian and Belarusian regions along the Polish border. About two-thirds of them came to Poland for employment, and 12% for family reunification. In 2016, 4,569 people received Polish citizenship.⁴¹

According to Polish official data, over 90% of seasonal workers in Poland are citizens of Ukraine. The abolition of simplified procedures for the arrival of Ukrainians to work in the Republic of Poland came into force in early October 2016, formally due to frequent abuses to go to Germany or the Scandinavian countries, which caused a 25% reduction in work visas in 2019, compared to the previous year. Such measures further increase tensions among neighbors and evoke old memories of injustice. In 2019 alone, 13,300 illegal workers from the Republic of Ukraine were discovered in Poland, and a larger percentage were deported. The number of workers from Ukraine is growing from year to year and in itself affects the thinking of Polish workers and unemployed people. Among young people aged 18 to 24, as many as 40% of respondents said they feared that they would not have a job because of Ukrainian migrants, but also that the price of labor would be lower and that it

³⁸ <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/diminishing-solidarity-polish-attitudes-toward-european-migration-and-refugee-crisis>, and 2016. *Stosunek Polaków do przyjmowania uchodźców*, 12. Warsaw: Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej. http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2016/K_012_16.PDF.

³⁹ European Commission, Integration of Migrants, Poland, <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/governance/Poland>. (February 10, 2020).

⁴⁰ 2014 census.

⁴¹ European Commission, Integration of Migrants, Poland, <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/governance/Poland>. (February 10, 2020).

would grow less, which 67% of surveyed young people believe. The Ukrainian policy of glorification of Nazi criminals from the Second World War and their criminal organizations OUN and UPA⁴², that is, the undisguised aspiration to redefine the Ukrainian national identity, is also transferred to this sphere of life. They are considered enemies in Poland and such a climate continues to be nurtured in Polish society, which is why about 50% of the population considers them unacceptable. Especially because the episodes such as those with Mykola Lebed, the head of the OUN Secret Police, who in 1934 took part in the assassination of Polish Interior Minister Bronislaw Pieracki⁴³, before and after World War II, remained outside the legal framework thanks to the engagement of British and American intelligence on inviolability of Lebed⁴⁴, as long as his activity is directed against the communists.

Since 2007, the Polish authorities have initiated activities on the enumeration and issuance of personal documents for all persons who can confirm their Polish roots. In addition to various excerpts, certificates, and confirmations, belonging to one of the cultural communities or organizations is sufficient. The so-called "map of Poles"⁴⁵, often obtained by RCC priests, is not in itself sufficient for Polish citizenship, but it is a political and marketing attempt to record in the immediate environment all those who have or want to have ties to the Polish ethnos. Not only strategic landmarks are important in the creation of "Great Poland", but in this way certain economic results are achieved. According to the estimates of the International Labor Organization, Poland will need about 5 million new able-bodied inhabitants by 2050, and it can find them only in Ukraine. The Polish state authorities announced that by the middle of

⁴² Responsible for the Volyn massacre in the Second World War, but also for the massacres of 1768 (Uman massacre) and 1918 (in Galicia).

⁴³ A Polish officer and politician, who, among other things, participated in the pacification of members of the radical OUN in 1930 in Galicia, on which occasion 1,739 members were arrested. He was killed in the restaurant "Friendly Club" in Warsaw, on June 15, 1934.

⁴⁴ Died in 1998 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA.

⁴⁵ Which was immediately noticed by the specialist services in the Polish environment, the Ukrainian SBU, the German BfV, the Belarusian KGB, the Russian FSB, and others.

2017, about 200,000 "maps of Poles" had been issued, of which the most were about 95,000 citizens of Belarus and about 90,000 citizens of Ukraine. For its part, the EU considers this document controversial, because through it many citizens outside the EU can only after a year of schooling, work or stay on another basis in Poland, obtain Polish citizenship and settle in the EU. The German authorities are openly against this approach, because according to them it creates the possibility of uncontrolled arrival of migrants in the Union, which is a very debatable and difficult to defend position, especially when compared to the uncontrolled influx of migrants to Germany from the Middle East, Afghanistan, and North Africa.

Faced with a chronic lack of media support for the implementation of its policy and frightened by a possible "colored revolution" in its backyard, the ruling party decided to launch an attack. Formally expressing concern for the events in the USA, by blocking the Facebook and Twitter⁴⁶ official account of President Donald Trump, his finances, as well as by blocking the constitutional rights of about 80 million people who followed his order and voted for it, without the approval of official US judicial bodies, only on the basis decisions of the management of a private transnational company, the Polish elite in mid-January 2021 decided to form the Ministry of Justice Council for Freedom of Expression⁴⁷. Composed of 5 people, the Council will monitor the exercise of the constitutionally guaranteed rights to freedom of expression on social networks. It will also consider the complaints of users of social networks and the reasons for removing the content, whereby if the digital giants do not return the content to the network, the possibility of their punishment is indicated, up to the value of 50 million zlotys. With this, but also with the support of

⁴⁶ Relying probably on the novelized biographies of French fighters for justice, the social network "Twitter" appointed the famous hacker Peiter Zatkó, known under the pseudonym "Mudge", as its security chief in 2020. It has been given broad powers to recommend changes to the operation of this network.

⁴⁷ Hint of the creation of the Council of the Polish (Rzeczpospolita) was presented by the press in December 2020.

the media space⁴⁸ activities in the preparations for the 2023 parliamentary elections have unequivocally begun in Poland. From month to month, the government's moves to take over the media space in the republic became clearer, with a basic emphasis on foreign media with a liberal political platform (pro-American TVN and Agora publishing house, which owns Gazeta Wyborcza). For its part, the European Commission warned Poland about the pressure on the media and the introduction of a tax on advertising in the media, while Warsaw responded that it intends to primarily introduce a "digital tax" on the revenues generated by Google and Facebook in their country. There is no doubt that this measure will affect all those publications whose annual advertising revenues are over 3.5 million euros. The European Law on Digital Services, passed in December 2020, envisages severe penalties if Internet giants do not control illegal content on their platforms. It created a legal norm for blocking content on social networks, which does not correspond to certain governments in Europe, whose predecessors in the past 30 years, as a rule, supported "colored revolutions" and carrying out coups abroad.

RESULT OF INFORMATION SYNTHESIS AND POSSIBLE PERSPECTIVES OF SITUATION DEVELOPMENT

The conceptual national plan, known to the general public as "Intermarium", marked the beginning of a new millennium in the Polish state. It is an old dream of the Polish national elite, ideologically always connected with the British Isles, aimed at ruling the peoples and the area from the Baltic to the Black and Adriatic Seas. This time, its realization is not only related to the Vatican, as the axis of spiritual and political gravity and the seat of the Black International, but also to the United States, Poland's new strategic ally. The attempt to unite the two allies and

⁴⁸ At the end of 2020, the Polish state concern Orlen bought the publishing house Polska Press from the German Verlagsguppe Passau, which publishes 20 of the 24 largest regional newspapers, 120

"Intermarium" through the newly proclaimed concept of "inclusive capitalism"⁴⁹, marked in recent years the foreign policy activities of the mentioned three players in the European geopolitical space (Warsaw, Vatican, and Washington). Faced with their challenges, each of them strived to maximize their position, without taking too much account of the positions, forces, and vectors of their foreign policy, with the remaining two. The result of such a game is visible and can be defined in the form of the initial stage of global chaos, in which everyone, by leading the elements of a hybrid way of warfare, conflicts with everyone more than they cooperate with each other. London, a player from the shadows, earned the most from this situation. The crisis of its essentially parasitic, conceptual power in the West has naturally spread to the entire planet. The end of the Bretton Woods capitalist system and the lack of an objective plan for the future because the West has systematically deprived itself of all versions of the future in the past decades, which is why they produced a global crisis of that inhumane model of governing human society. Overburdening human civilization with barbaric pseudo-pandemic measures is nothing but the concept of accelerating the breaking of what is left of financial capitalism, with the basic goal of its fastest and complete destruction, taking wealth not only from the poor but also from all millionaires⁵⁰ and at the same time seducing the totalitarian rule of the Trotskyist financial terrorists over the rest of the planet. Their undisguised desire is the destruction of the existing society in all its forms, including nation-states, which, according to their idea, should replace first numerous, and then only one "socially responsible transnational company".⁵¹ Due to the realization of this goal, they need

weekly magazines and creates about 500 portals, followed by about 17.4 million users.

⁴⁹ During a meeting with Russian President Putin on November 27, 2019 in Moscow, the founder, executive president of the World Economic Forum and professor at the University of Geneva, Klaus Schwab presented the Russian president with a copy of his book "The Fourth Industrial Revolution", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jdq-cGBH3o>.

⁵⁰ There is a sentence for the World Forum in Davos that it is a place where billionaires explain to millionaires how the poor should live.

⁵¹ TNC "Microsoft" and "Facebook" have their offices in the United Nations!

the destruction of all social ties between people, because it is easier to manage individuals.

Throughout history, the Kabbalistic-biblical conception of personal and group excellence has been abused many times for the realization of various plans of those parts of society who unjustifiably considered themselves the elite, but they have never gone through a direct verification of their immediate surroundings, which, we remind you, is a necessary precondition for someone to be able to use the mentioned noun for themselves or others. The Party of Law and Justice (PiS)⁵² led by the Kaczynski brothers⁵³ has very skillfully promoted this strategic concept (as well as a logical trap) since its inception, normally not publicly declaring it as its political platform, but the results achieved with part of the population and systematic field work can not deny its application. It doesn't matter where its archers promoted it, in Erbil (a city in the north of Iraq), in the Caucasus, the Baltics or in the EU and Washington, the essence came down to the same thing, the belief in personal and group destiny to dominate other nations, social classes and cultures. Such a conceptual trap has cost many times throughout history, even the Poles themselves, because they did not realize its fatality in time.

In the synthesis of available information about events in Polish society and their foreign policy, it should always be borne in mind that for more than two centuries, the Polish elite of different colors and political directions has been guided by London. Viewed from this angle, it becomes clear the genesis from left, socialist orientations to the right, primarily based on extreme Russophobia⁵⁴ and anti-Semitism, which is

⁵² In the 2015 parliamentary elections, Law and Justice won 36.7% of the vote and thus won 235 seats in the Sejm.

⁵³ Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński, born June 18, 1949, Jarosław has been the president of the Law and Justice Party since 2003.

⁵⁴ On this topic is an interesting book by the professor of law at the University of Warsaw, Dr. Witold Modzelewski "Poland - Russia. A miracle above the Vistula. Victory that hints at a catastrophe" issued in 2020, Polish: Witold Stanisław Modzelewski, „Polska-Rosja. Cudnad Wisłą – Zwycięstwo

present in Pilsudski and his political environment, in his first decades of political engagement, but also the Kaczynski brothers, whose party PiS sprang up on the ideological foundations of Solidarity. As at the beginning of the 20th and in the first decades of the 21st century, leftism in Poland had a non-Marxist character. The reason for this is pragmatic, easier, and more successful conversion to another ideology and faster access to power, which on populist slogans easily turns into a totalitarian one. First of all, in this light, the determination of Warsaw to have Washington as its newest strategic ally should be viewed, because thus the conceptual power from the Island (or what is left of it) has additional opportunities to influence the USA through Polish elites exclusively in its long-term interest.

The conflict of the Polish elite with Brussels, which unequivocally wants to limit the national sovereignty of Poland (but also Hungary, Italy and all other countries that refuse to fit into the clearly projected anarcholiberal pattern of multiculturalism), the destruction of education, science, tradition and national culture, unreasonable increase of rights for LGBT and migrants, (but also by denying identical rights to their citizens who earn and pay taxes, etc.) has definitely gone beyond diplomatic games and empty shootings. Poland's threat to block the adoption of the EU budget for the period 2021-2027 and the mention of a possible exit from the EU, while the EU has not yet made an adequate exit agreement with Great Britain, bring to the surface tectonic ideological and religious conflicts that have always lingered within Europe. All those who 30 years ago thought that the simple introduction of capitalism, the plunder of socialist states, peoples and their property, banal European integration and a mere oath to democracy, human rights, and multiculturalism, would in themselves solve all the accumulated problems of the capitalist system, the Old Lady and "lack of democracy" in countries outside Western Europe, have been grossly deceived. The aspiration to implement the so-called limited sovereignty over most EU members

increasingly resembles a dictatorial ultimatum. That is why it is not surprising that Viktor Orbán's interpretation that the use of the principle of the supremacy of rights by the European Union towards them (Hungarians, Poles) is similar to the relationship they had with the Soviet Union, in which they had more independence than with the EU. The fierce ideological conflict of the globalist anarcholiberal elites of the West, which through the application of measures of financial colonialism and hybrid wars.⁵⁵ The fierce ideological conflict of the globalist anarcholiberal elites of the West, which through the application of measures of financial colonialism and hybrid wars want to gain supremacy over the conservative, right and center forces, aided by what is left of the left in countries refusing to submit to Brussels, is not far off from the culmination. The authors are of the opinion that this time, unlike similar events in the 20th century, there will be an implosion.

As in the classic forms of warfare and in the hybrid war, the goal is identical, the destruction of finances, economy, society, and everything else that the opponent has at his disposal, but this time by applying different military tactics. Without direct and extensive military intervention, which throughout history has proved to be expensive, awkward, too obvious, but also uncertain, this time in a much more subtle way, by influencing social forms of thinking, extending "useful idiots" to opponents, mass migrations of its intellectuals, who instead of fighting for the freedom and dignity of the people who helped them rise and realize themselves as human beings, helped them become intellectuals, go to common enemies to serve them now directly against his people. Armed with the experiences of the Third World War, also called the Cold War, the world behind the scenes decided to continue the destruction of such capitalism in the Fourth World War⁵⁶, which is

⁵⁵ To carry out special actions of the Polish Armed Forces have units called "Thunder" (founded on July 13, 1990 by the former VJ 2305), parachute detachment "Agat" (from which members are recruited for "Thunder") and an elite combat squad divers "Formosa". The media reported that special units of Poland have been actively used in Iraq and Syria since 2017.

⁵⁶ Pope Francis announced back in 2014 that the new world war had begun, and he later repeated

dominated by asymmetric conflicts, hybrid warfare and conflicts under someone else's flag, for their own survival, subordinating it to its colonial plans. From the point of view of the success of conducting a hybrid war, it is mainly through social networks, the media (Hollywood and extremely pro-Western) and the so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) backed financially and organizationally by the opponent's specialist organizations, such as "Open Society", USAID, NED, International Republican Institute, etc., to completely absurd collective opinion, its mass fragmentation and marginalization, as locally, better said, the population in danger of being colonized could not understand what was happening until the plunder was over. Take control of the market, destroy the competitive economy, "privatize" - that is, steal local resources, energy, mineral resources, and strategic industries, all under the slogan of introducing "democracy" and "fighting for human rights", but exclusively tailored to the colonizers, and in essentially to satisfy the sick chrematistic instincts of financial terrorists.

If we start from the assumption that Pope Francis is a well-informed person, that is, we seriously take into account his claim made at the beginning of December 2019 before the members of the Roman Curia: "that the Christian world no longer exists"⁵⁷, we come to a very interesting situation that those who consider themselves consistent followers of this Church and its dogma, defenders of Christian democracy and society like Jaroslaw Kaczynski or Viktor Orbán, are not aware or tacitly pass over this fact. "Christianity, especially in Europe, but also in other parts of the West, no longer appears as an obvious precondition of our social life, it is often denied, marginalized and ridiculed," Pope Francis emphasized in his speech. Continuing to develop his conception, on October 21, 2020, the Pope advocated the legalization of homosexual

that assessment several times. The authors support the opinion of some authors Constanzo Preve, Diego Fusaro and others. that the Cold War was the Third, and that the Fourth World War is currently being fought, a predominantly new, hybrid type. All the wars from 1989 and the Panama War, the Iraq war in 1991, are still part of the Fourth World War. - see details in Preve's book "The Fourth World War" and Fuzar's interview "The Fourth World War. US against the rest of the world "

marriages, thus destroying the foundations of Christian dogma. In his public speech on December 5, 2020, Pope Francis reiterated his assessment from 2014, that the Third World War was being fought intensively, but that not all people could see it. The war is being waged in fragments and "in parts", which is why a large percentage of citizens do not know the whole picture of events. The ideological blow inflicted on the faithful and essentially conservative citizens by the pontiff will certainly have profound consequences for countries such as Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Croatia, and others. Building on what has been said, we would add that many, and not only in Poland, do not want to understand the depth of the changes that have taken place with our world since 2013. It is obvious that egregores no longer function, that negative energy no longer has the power it once had, and tribal totems and other negativist symbols are not nearly as powerful as their users would like. Managers of global negativist processes, those whom their media completely unjustifiably and essentially incorrectly call the "deep state"⁵⁸, insist on taking over the technology of managing global processes from their generational predecessors (H. Kissinger et al.). They just don't realize that on the one hand they have nothing to take over, because our world has completely changed, and on the other hand, even if there is some of the ancient knowledge, skills, and technologies that they could possibly use, there is no one to do it anymore, because the entropy of a closed system (which globalist governing groups and financial terrorists⁵⁹ definitely are) has done its thing. As representatives of their kind, they have degraded so much (mentally, sociologically, energetically, etc.) that they cannot manage themselves or their immediate environment, and there can be no question of global processes. Everything that has happened on the public scene in the past 3-4 years confirms our assessment. Their failures are getting bigger and

⁵⁷ The news was transmitted by "The Tablet", London, Great Britain.

⁵⁸ A more adequate name for them is renegade parts of financial elites or because of the way they act, financial terrorists.

⁵⁹ They, like their finances, do not like light, so they often hide in the darkness and labyrinths of TNCs.

more significant, and that tendency will continue and significantly expand in the coming years and decades.

The self-proclaimed Polish elite does not want to include in its foreign policy assessments that on March 1, 2018, in his speech to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, V. Putin informed the public about the existence of new weapons: hypersonic glider⁶⁰ "Avangard"⁶¹ RU15P771, speeds up to Mach 28 or 9.5 km / sec, unlimited range), missile complexes "Dagger", and "Zircon" (anti-ship maneuvering cruise missile 3M22, range over 1,000 km, speed 9 Mach⁶²), intercontinental ballistic missiles "Sarmat" (RS-28, on heavy liquid fuel with 16 controllable warheads, range 18,000 km) and laser complex "Peresvet" (blinding satellites of a potential enemy, so as not to detect the beginning of a mass missile strike, which has been on combat duty since December 2019) and other advanced weapons and military equipment⁶³. In addition, on June 2, 2020, Putin signed Decree no. 355, entitled "On the basis of the policy of the Russian Federation in the field of nuclear

⁶⁰ At the beginning of 2021, there are 4 such systems in the RF Armed Forces - Strategic Missile Forces. It is expected that by the end of 2021, the first missile regiment armed with "Avangards" will be formed, and by the end of 2022, two missile regiments with six launchers each.

⁶¹ American DARPA and "Lockheed Martin" are developing the project of the mobile hypersonic block C-HGB (The Common Hypersonic Glide Body), within the secret project "Operational Fires", with a speed of about 5 Mach and a range of 1600 km. It is supposed to join the United States after 2023. In addition, LRHW projects are being developed, with a speed of Mach 5 and a range of 4,000 km, TGB with the same speed and a range of 920 km and HAWC with a range of 800 km, but speeds of around Mach 17. In 2022, the Russian Federation plans to introduce the PRO S-500 system, capable of intercepting hypersonic missiles.

⁶² According to the report of the American The National Interest, the missile boats of the Russian RM class 1241 "Lightning" have a firepower that allows them to sign a cruiser or aircraft carrier of a potential opponent. This type of missile leveled the advantage of the Western fleet in the World Ocean.

⁶³ On January 29, 2021, a new military railway intercontinental ballistic missile complex of strategic purpose, 15P961 "Molodets" (called "Nuclear Ghost" in the Pentagon), was received at the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, Strategic Missile Units. The basis is a solid-fuel missile, model "Jars-S", with a range of 10,000 km, capable of destroying all forms of strategic targets, to maneuver and carry from three to six warheads with a capacity of 150 to 300 CT each. The system switches from marching to combat position in just a few minutes. Russia's return to the development of the promising railway complex "Barguzin" has also been announced, which will not differ in any way from an ordinary train in terms of appearance. It is planned to produce 5 such trains, each of which will have 6 launch pads (a total of 90 to 180 nuclear warheads).

deterrence". It is a framework document which not only provides guidelines for the further development of the Russian nuclear doctrine, but also very precisely determines the conditions for the preventive use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Signals have been published recognizing the aggression on the Russian Federation, which endangers the essence of the existence of the state as such. In part number three of this document, the Conditions for the transfer of the use of atomic weapons by the Russian Federation, in point. 19 determine the conditions when Russia can use nuclear weapons, namely: obtaining original information on the launch of ballistic missiles aimed at the territory of the Russian Federation or its allies, the use by opponents of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the territory The Russian Federation or its allies, the actions of opponents on critically important state or military facilities of the Russian Federation, the results of which can lead to the annulment of the nuclear response of the Russian Federation and aggression against the Russian Federation. With this, for the first time, the Russian Federation publicly states the retention of the right of a preventive nuclear strike on an opponent who is preparing to attack the WMD or conventional forces in large numbers. Thus, the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation get a qualitatively new argument in the defense of their country, that is, preventive restraint through the threat of inflicting the first blow in these or those circumstances. In that context, we should look at the information that on December 21, 2020, the Russian president, in order to maintain parity in the world, ordered that the Russian nuclear forces (the entire triad) must be in the highest stage of combat readiness⁶⁴. It should be noted that all technologically advanced weapons complexes that the Russian Federation has introduced and continues to introduce into its AF, make sense only in the case of a preventive strike on a potential opponent. No different... We are of the opinion that in this context we should understand the sentence from Vladimir Putin's interview: "... If you see

⁶⁴ <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view.aspx?izb=615806>.

that a fight cannot be avoided, you should strike first..."

The United Kingdom Armed Forces⁶⁵ created the Combined Joint Expeditionary Force (CJEF) in 2010 together with the French Armed Forces, and in 2014 the UK Joint Expeditionary Force (JEF) was created. When asked what the purpose of these forces (CJEF) was, the answer came very quickly, but with their use in Libya in 2011 and the destruction of a sovereign, internationally recognized state, which was attacked in the worst colonial manner without declaring war, which, we notice, has become almost a common practice after TNCs in 1972 took over the creation and implementation of foreign policy on a global level from Western countries. In addition to the already worn-out euphemisms for "peacekeeping operations", "spreading democracy" and "humanitarian aid", the term "protection of common national interests abroad" is used to elaborate the illegal use of armed force (read joint criminal enterprise against peace). It is nothing, but a gross untruth uttered to divert attention from the looting intentions of the inspirers of such activities and the spread of war fires solely for the personal enrichment of a small parasitic clique. The information that this structure is ready to function in the form of the "force of early entry ..." since 2016, but it is not announced where, is not a political trip into the unknown. Non-NATO concerns are heightened by a September 2020 document by the UK Ministry of Defense, entitled "Integrated Operating Concept 2025", referring to the pervasive uncertainty between peace and war, internal and external challenges, public, public, and private. relations, the authors of the new concept advocate a more aggressive approach to the use of armed forces, relying on new technologies, modernization of existing forces and their relations with individual members of the Alliance.⁶⁶ It is proposed to abandon the old concept of monitoring the

⁶⁵ The authors disagree with the conventional view that the United Kingdom was deprived of colonial possessions in 1946. It is due to the fact that colonialism as a social relationship has simply evolved into new forms, and thus the way of managing colonial possessions has changed. More details on that topic :<http://media1.naukaidrustvo.org/2020/12/broj-12-simeunovic-raskazov.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Britain, as well as Malta and Denmark, are not members of the European initiative for military and

activities of the opponent and acting on the basis of its moves. Instead, on strategic issues, the application of active actions and independent determination of the conditions and pace of implementation of the OS is advocated. The new British concept advocates a change in the structure of the Armed Forces, the basic forms of their management and the modernization of the defense industry. In this way, a serious change in the appearance of the British Army is planned, so that it will be more flexible and operative for solving all the tasks assigned to it in the near future. The authors have no illusions that, unfortunately, this is a continuation of the evolution of financial colonialism, which wants to use state resources in addition to private military companies (PMC) at least to a minimal extent, in order to preserve the illusion of general interests of Western countries in conquering new colonies and to try at all costs to preserve capitalism as the dominant social system. Combining the strategy of NATO and the United States, provoking all forms of crises in the world, this military structure has a self-proclaimed goal: "crisis management, including early entry into enemy territory" (underlined by the authors). For all those who did not understand the clear message of the insatiable modern colonizers, we repeat, all those who are not able to defend themselves with weapons are potential enemies, that is, their potential victims. It is very interesting that out of the 8 European countries that joined the JEF, Finland and Sweden, which were persuaded to join NATO for many years, immediately joined these forces. In addition to those cited in this "expeditionary force, which meets as needed..." there are also the armed forces of Lithuania,⁶⁷ Latvia, Estonia, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway. No less interesting is the

military-technical cooperation. At the initiative of Germany, Italy, France and Spain, a mechanism of "Permanently structured cooperation" was established in 2017. Apart from technical cooperation, the project of creating a unified European intelligence school, under the leadership of Greece, is interesting.

⁶⁷ Since the "colored revolution" in Kiev, the fifth group of Lithuanian military instructors was sent to Ukraine in January 2021 to train the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation according to NATO standards. These are volunteers, engineering specialists and the Lithuanian Air Force. The instructor staff, active at 7 training grounds for specialists in Ukraine, among which the most important is Yavoriv near Lviv, are members of the American, British, Canadian, Polish and Dutch Armed Forces..

European Intervention Initiative (EI2), a military project launched by French President E Macron⁶⁸ in 2017, which brings together 14 European countries. Drawing perhaps for some an unpleasant historical parallel with the events of 1939 to 1945, for a complete list of a joint criminal enterprise known to the general public as the "Drang nach Osten" (a war of conquest provoked without declaration, aimed at colonizing Slavic lands in the East, plundering and exterminating the indigenous population), this list lacks Croatia, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Bulgaria. It is obvious that the strategic message of Russian President Vladimir Putin from March 1, 2018 on the possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) did not reach the designated addresses. On the other hand, perhaps the anarcholiberal elites in Russia who are absolutely drugged by the concept of their own exceptionalism and decades of parasitism (after all, as in other countries where they are in power) persuaded behind-the-scenes players in the West to fully control social processes in this country, including the president, that is, people loyal to him and the common concept of rule. The answer to this dilemma and the growing chrematistic madness of global anarcholiberal creatures will bring next year ... In this foreign policy situation, a new Polish ambassador to Moscow is coming to the place that has been vacant for 6 months. On December 23, 2020, the Polish Embassy announced that the new Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the Russian Federation will be Krzysztof Krajewski.

Using the speech of Pope Francis regarding the support of the so-called LGBT populations and decisions of the Supreme Court of Poland regarding abortion⁶⁹, in this country at the end of October 2020, mass demonstrations of the (anarcho)liberal part of society were initiated.

⁶⁸ - Emanuel Macron's rise to the presidency was made possible by the late Benjamin Rothschild, who was connected with Lehman Brothers

⁶⁹ On October 22, 2020, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Poland limited the rights to perform abortions in cases of hereditary diseases or discovered pathology of a child. Possibilities of abortion are left in cases of illegal conception or if the fetus is a threat to the mother's life.

Hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens took to the streets every day, dissatisfied with the events in society. In the first weekend of the demonstration alone, 386 churches were attacked, masses were tried to be interrupted in 22 places, 79 church walls were damaged, 101 criminal investigations were opened, and 76 people were detained on this occasion. For the first time in the history of Poland, such a massive attack on spiritual objects and clergy took place, which has a shown tendency to continue! As a clear indicator that these are well-organized activities, the general strike of all employees in Poland, which took place on October 28, served. The leading role among protestants belongs to women and students. Conflicts with conservative-right-wing party activists, which occasionally occurred, clearly indicated deep divisions, exclusivity, and intolerance toward people of a different political stance. Mass protests can also help the ruling coalition, whose wishes to change the "leftist" Constitution from 1993 to 1997 are public, and accusations against Jarosław Kaczyński that he wants to divide Polish society are becoming more frequent. Thus, "Rzeczpospolita" reported that in a situation of political instability, the leader of the ruling party does not call for calm, but for a confrontation with protestants and their allies. It is a game with fire. In an interview with "Polskie Radio 24", Tomasz Panfil, a professor at the Catholic University of Lublin, described the protesters as "Bolsheviks" and compared the events in Poland to the 1917 revolution. In Białą Podlaską (Lublin Voivodeship), protestants attacked the local office of the ruling Law and Justice Party (Polish: PiS).

Growing antagonisms in Polish society, between cleronationalists and rightists on the one hand and everyone else on the other, and especially with objective centrists and leftists, who recognize misconceptions and witness the chauvinistic ferocity of the ruling right-wing elite, but cannot seriously influence the realization of their political ideas. because they are cut off from influential media, in the near future they will divide Polish society even deeper. The first of these will do everything in their power to block the plans of the Eurasian economic connections on behalf

of the allies on the other side of the ocean, but also the Chinese plans⁷⁰ shaped in the "Great Tea Route"⁷¹, "New Silk Road"⁷² and "Amber Road", as subprojects within the concept of the "Society of Peoples of Common Destiny". This inevitably follows the continuation of Hungary's attachment to the Visegrad Group and the blockade of its interests and its own strategy "Road to Great Turan". The intersection of Eurasian economic integrations is in direct conflict with the vital interests of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other European countries that want to continue with their national (or joint) development. The other side of Polish society, aware of the objective facts in its environment, the twilight of US hegemony, the devaluation of NATO, external and internal challenges that are multiplying, will try to preserve their state and its territorial integrity. Whether and to what extent they will succeed in will depend on their wisdom and ability to see beyond the horizon of current events. Regardless of whether the declared plans of the Polish elite depicted in the Plan "Intermarium" (or "Three Seas" or "Warsaw - Fourth Rome") are viewed as a barrier or obstacle to the development of geostrategic plans of major players such as "Great

⁷⁰ During 2020, about 2,000 managers of various levels and departments were arrested in the People's Republic of China, of which at least 18 were in the positions of Minister or Deputy Minister, and it should be noted that experts (N. Vavilov, A. Devyatov, etc.) estimate that will be arrested, before all the so-called. Komsomol members affiliated with the Democratic Party in the United States and certain circles in Great Britain, obviously continue. In this context, it is interesting that in October 2020, Beijing stated that they were moving from the strategic defense phase to the strategic attack phase, normally respecting new, modern ways of conducting armed conflicts (primarily hybrid warfare, asymmetric responses, and conflicts under foreign flag). AP Devyatov, video clip "It has started", <https://youtu.be/DUj66j8P-nc> 10:10, site visited on January 23, 2021.

⁷¹ Proclaimed in 2013 in Moscow by Chinese President Xi Jinping and includes, in addition to the People's Republic of China, Mongolia, Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. In 2019, the trade exchange between China and Russia was a record and amounted to 110 billion USD, while the trade exchange with the countries of the former USSR in the same period amounted to 112 billion USD.

⁷² Proclaimed in 2013 in Astana, Kazakhstan and includes 4 Orthodox countries: Armenia, Georgia, Greece, Ukraine and 12 Muslims, mostly with Turkish-speaking population. That is why the Megrina Corridor in Armenia is strategically important (decisively important for the strategy Road to Great Turan) and it is the main cause of the war fought in Nagorno-Karabakh in 2020. If this transport route comes to life at full capacity, Georgia, through which the transport corridor from Azerbaijan to Turkey is currently running, will remain off its main track.

Eurasia"⁷³ (Commonwealth of Independent States, "Moscow - Third Rome", "New Golden Horde", etc.), "Societies of Common Fate of the People" ("Great Unification", Chinese "Shit Datun"), whose strategy is "One Belt - One road"(with sub-strategies "New Silk Road"⁷⁴, "Amber Road", etc.), "Road to Great Turan ", etc., is based on the fact that at this time the Third Rzeczpospolita⁷⁵ does not functionally fit into any of the publicly known or mentioned plans, which operate or will operate in the near future on the European subcontinent, or with any of they have more important points of contact, so that they could possibly count on more serious international support in the realization of their ideas. Even with the "Great Europe"⁷⁶, project, led by the Vatican⁷⁷, the Black Nobility and

⁷³ During September 2020, it was marked that the 1500th railway composition with goods intended for consumers in Europe was sent from China via Russia. On the other hand, on December 4, a railway train was sent from Ankara to Chinese Xi'an (8,693 km), which arrived at its destination on December 20, through the territory of Turkey (2,300 km), Georgia (220 km), Azerbaijan (430 km), via the Caspian Sea, via Kazakhstan (3200km) and China (2100km). The Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway route and the East-West Trans-Caspian Middle Corridor were used. On December 31, 2020, the Azerbaijani

authorities announced that they plan to build a railway to Nakhichevan and Turkey, i.e. from Gorandiz to Zangilan (or the Barda-Agdam route), on the border with Armenia, where the goods will be reloaded into trucks and transported further along the Megrina corridor to Nakhichevan, Turkey, the Mediterranean and Europe. The Azerbaijani ambassador in Beijing, Akram Akif oglu Zeynalli, called this route "The New Silk Road" in his interview. In addition, the possibility of connecting Armenia with Russia by rail, via Azerbaijan, was mentioned, which is very important in the context of the "North-South" corridor, because it would create the possibility of direct connection of Russia with Turkey and Iran. The Azerbaijani railways have signed the construction of the railway to Stepanakert, and there is a possibility that the construction will be done by Russian companies through Nagorno-Karabakh. Turkish authorities have stated that they are ready to finance the construction of the Kars-Gyumri-Nakhichevan-Megri-Baku railway, i.e. from Turkey to Azerbaijan, via Armenia. <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3161760.html>

⁷⁴ It is about the China-Mongolia-Russia-EU route, i.e. from Shanghai to Berlin and beyond, via Paris to Madrid. This land corridor is about 13,000 kilometers long and will include high-speed railways, highways, communications for oil and gas supply, distribution centers connected by opto-electronic fibers to each other in a single network. The time of transport of goods will be shorter by 10 days by sea, ie about 21 days, and the price will be 20-30% lower than the existing sea transport.

⁷⁵ In the parliamentary elections in Poland, the right-wing PiS party used the term Fourth Rzeczpospolita, implying that the Third Rzeczpospolita was a communist creation and that Poland needed liberation from the past. Thinking in that direction, the Polish conservative philosopher Rafal Matyja, back in 1997 in the magazine "New start", proposed a plan for the moral and political renewal of Poland in the Fourth Polish Rzeczpospolita.

⁷⁶ Virtual reality circuses called "Navalny", "Return of Navalny" and the behavior of the EU on that occasion caused the expected result in the Russian Federation. During the visit of Josep Borrell to Moscow 4.-6. In February 2021, it became clear that there would be no Great Europe from Lisbon to Vladivostok. <https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2021/02/13/vydumka-o-evrope-ot-lissabona-do->

the Black International (whose project can justifiably be called the "Fifth Reich"⁷⁸), whose part of the "Great Reset" plans was carried out with the help of the World Health Organization, individual pharmaceutical companies, and digital giants (Microsoft, Apple, Facebook, Twitter, etc.), they can not count in full, because the current Western elite will certainly not accept Polish domination. They fit into this plan only in fragments, a)

vladivostoka-ne-stanet-geopoliticheskoy-realnostju-52922.html.

⁷⁷ In this context, the "Council for Inclusive Capitalism with the Vatican" was established <https://www.inclusivecapitalism.com/guiding-principles/>), whose motto is "Let's make the world fair, inclusive and stable". The council is headed by a group of business people, known collectively as the "Guard of Inclusive Capitalism". They are reportedly active in 28 international organizations, manage assets of 10.5 trillion USD, capital of 2.1 trillion USD, 200 million workers in 163 countries of the world. There are no active or former politicians among the "guards", and the entire list of "guards" can be found on the Bank of America website <https://newsroom.bankofamerica.com/content/newsroom/press-releases/2020/12/the-council-for-inclusive-capitalism-with-the-vatican-a-new-all.html#:~:text=The%20Council%20for%20Inclusive%20Capitalism%20with%20The%20Vatican%20is%20a,and%20trusted%20form%20of%20capitalism.https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2020/12/21/inkluzivnyj-kapitalizm-kak-ideologija-velikoj-perestrojki-52523.html> (December 21, 2020). The basic idea of Lynn de Rothschild (openly supported by Hillary Clinton in the 2016 US elections), to which this "discovery" (Inclusive Capitalism) made in early 2014 belongs, is that at the beginning of the 21st century, capitalism from the exclusive, the one for the bourgeoisie itself, must be turned into an inclusive one, supposedly for all the inhabitants, which is simply said against its nature. We notice that with this "philosophy" we come to the negation of the basis of capitalism, and that is the enrichment of certain (parasites), at the expense of the majority (workers). In capitalism it cannot be otherwise, because if social relations are different, then it is not capitalism. This brings us to the well-known financial sentence that "the terms should be changed, in order to preserve the essence", that is, the essence of that shamefully unjust, negative and parasitic system. In July 2020, Klaus Schwab, director of the World Economic Forum in Davos, together with Thierry Malert, published the book "Covid-19: the Great Reset", exposing the goal of the world behind the scenes, the Black International, of which Schwab is one of the operatives. to save the most unjust of all forms of capitalism, the anarcholiberal, to preserve the existing positions of the super-rich and, if possible, to convert them into absolute global power. Something like new slavery, supplemented by digital technologies with concentration camps and nano chips. Roughly speaking, their activity can be described as "corpse toileting" (a term from criminology), without the possibility of changing the essence, ie the fact that capitalism as such has already died. In one, the proponents of the chrematistic model are right, and that is the global reset that will happen. But times have completely changed, the existing window of opportunity will direct people towards positive development. None of their chrematistic plans will be realized and all of them will understand that in time. In the coming years, the yoke of financial terrorists will be removed, and their dark sorcerers will go where they have to go, into history. No one can change or stop that.

⁷⁸ The Third Reich lived 1932-1945. As early as 1942, the Nazi leadership was aware that they had lost the war and had begun to form transnational companies in Sweden and Switzerland. About 2,000 companies were formed on the basis of the looted treasure, which after 1945 was led by about 7,000 Nazis, selected and trained in the period 1942-1945, with excellent legends composed in Abwehr (VI Administration) and the Gestapo. From 1945 to 1989, the companies aimed to preserve and enrich capital and can be considered the Fourth Reich. The events at the beginning of the 21st century can be seen as tracing the road to the Fifth Reich.

in the role of forces in charge of provocation, distraction, and enemy resources from the main direction of the attack, but also b) eventual acceptance of the first counterattack. The directors know that this actor does not have the capacity⁷⁹ and that based on the presented plans, it simply cannot win.⁸⁰ He is simply not counted on in the distribution of the main roles (and potential prey) in the play that takes place before our eyes in the great geopolitical game. All this reminds us that present-day Poland was destined by the international backstage for the role that Lord Cardigan's light cavalry played in the Crimean War in 1854 and the battle of Balaklava.

By tearing down what is left of the facade of American democracy and blocking the information and money of the official president of the USA, Donald Trump, the owners of digital giants have clearly shown everyone on the planet what their intentions are in the future. That is, that they are a party in the ideological and information conflict (with everyone except the billionaire oligarchy), and not a neutral carrier of information, which they have claimed for themselves since their formation. By blocking finances, the freedom of expression and communication with other people guaranteed by the US Constitution (the so-called First Amendment), the so-called the "digital giants" illegally appropriated for themselves rights greater than those once held by the Inquisition or now held by the tax service. They are the police, the prosecution, and the judge, and they are especially happy with the role of the executioner. On the other hand, it is interesting that neither the then President Donald Trump, nor his closest entourage, understood that the parties were in a multi-layered conflict (with the military, genetic, economic, information and ideological component), in which the ideological component was dominant. which invented, placed, and carefully nurtured the term "deep

⁷⁹ In order for a certain state to conduct its own policy and be the axis of potential geopolitical gravity, it must have a minimum of 80 million inhabitants, a strong army and finances and possess WMD.

⁸⁰ After all, as well as the southern branch of these geopolitical pliers, led by Turkey and its geopolitical plan "Road to Great Turan".

state" and created numerous information, more precisely disinformation constructions. That this assessment is correct is shown by the fact that they (Donald Trump, General Michael Flynn, etc.) did not respond with ideological weapons, in public introduction and use of new terms, new language, which is necessary to mark their position, group ideological postulates, but also at the end of the victory in the ideological war. The accuracy of the assessment is confirmed by a simple analysis of the terms used by the state media and official political scientists. The situation is no better on other meridians either. For example, in the territory of the former USSR and the Warsaw Pact, everyone repeats the phrase placed in the West, that "the Soviet Union has disintegrated it is in fact incorrect, and ideologically incorrect. The USSR did not disintegrate, but was broken by the action of external and internal factors, and that absolutely changes the picture of cause-and-effect relations and in itself raises the question: Who broke it? Therefore, from the point of view of ideology, it is correct to speak of "breaking up the USSR", and not of its "disintegration". They do not want you to understand this very simple fact and adequately respond to the growing threat, neither in other capitals, nor in Moscow, nor in Beijing, according to which the ideological war is intensifying and threatens to turn into its hot form. On the contrary, financial terrorists from the West strongly support various forms of opposition (non-governmental organizations, societies for the protection of minority groups and the protection of animals and nature, etc.), with the most dangerous option for the mentioned countries being advocating a society without ideology (so-called ideological vacuum). On that occasion, it is understood that it is also a kind of ideology, but essentially with a negative and destructive sign. Very dangerous for those who succumb to it, because through its results (vacuum of social cohesion) it is very easy and simple to devastate the foundations of the attacked state, followed by its occupation and / or colonization, with all the ensuing consequences. Simply keeping silent and turning the other cheek after the first or second public slap only encourages Finnish terrorists to carry out their satanic plans. After all, as well as an

inadequate response to their ideology, because the most enlightened part of them, those who create their ideology, know very well that no military, genetic, economic or information weapon can win an ideological war. Victory is possible only on the basis of a new and this time leftist ideology⁸¹. The Overton window⁸², created from the world behind the scenes through Western media and digital social networks, in order to accelerate and completely destroy financial capitalism, and based on a global artificial psychic pandemic called "Covid-19", did not bring the desired results for them. On the contrary, the percentage of the population who do not trust politicians, the media and everything "official" is growing drastically, and in the course of 2020, they showed a worrying tendency for them to continue to spread mistrust. The constructed events accelerated the growth of distrust towards the billionaire oligarchy, towards the social elite, but also towards science, as a set of rationally united knowledge and normally towards the so-called. major religions, and it is important to note that the latter (both scholars and religious leaders) have openly sided with the global financial oligarchy⁸³. Observing the interaction of all the above, the authors concluded that the fourth industrial revolution, which is dreamed of by globalists, including Klaus Schwab himself, simply will not happen. After all, as well as his innovations in the "economy of shared use" and "renunciation of personal property". There will be no "Fourth Rome" project either. The reason for this is simple. The time of such mass relations between people has gone into irreversibility, and what we see today are only the remnants of the power of the former Darkness. No need to worry from year to year Light and emotions based on high

⁸¹ Based on the Law of the Pendulum, one of the nine basic laws of the Universe.

⁸² Sociological technique with the help of which any views of the world can be imposed on any social community. The media and social networks play a key role in it, because they change the perception of the inhabitants. For example. what is not natural is declared natural in stages: 1. unthinkable, 2. use of another term (key phase), 3. acceptable, 4. reasonable, 5. standard and 6. political norm.

⁸³ On the occasion of the World Day of Social Networks on January 23, 2021, Pope Francis stated that "if St. Peter were alive, he would surely send messages via Twitter and e-mail, he would use modern mass media to send news to the public." <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view.aspx?izb=624627>.

frequencies and objective changes in our reality will grow stronger, regardless of the intentions of the children of Darkness⁸⁴, and the New World will soon appear in all its majestic beauty. Due to that, Kaczynski's strategic maneuver towards the EU in December 2020 and the tendency to promote the Union Confederation's own plan were initially doomed to failure. With the "New Babylon" plan (in our view, the sub-project "Solomon's Plan" or "New London"), whose leader, at the expense of the City of London, is led by Washington, (which is why he founded the International Development Finance Corporation (DFC) in 2018 with the aim of financing projects that are pleasing to Washington through loans)⁸⁵, the Polish concept of rigid Catholicism⁸⁶ with all its characteristics is in complete contrast to anarcholiberal "values" (transhumanism, nano, bio, cogno and info convergence⁸⁷) which were previously intensively promoted by the USA within the framework of its foreign policy.⁸⁸

Poland's main geopolitical plans from the "Intermarium" are related to the Baltic, Black Sea, Adriatic, and Caucasus regions and undoubtedly represent too much for a country with less than 40 million inhabitants, declining demographics, over-indebted economy, increasing migrant rates, a major ally on the other side of the Atlantic., who is really still awaited by great foreign policy challenges, but also very serious

⁸⁴ You can read about the specific intentions behind the scenes in the book "A Brief History of the Future" by Jacques Atalius, published in 2006.

⁸⁵ Jared Kushner, son-in-law of Donald Trump, is a Hasid from Khazaria, Mikhail Khazin, "Putin and the War of Projects", "Zavtra" newspaper, February 1, 2021, site visited on February 3, 2021 https://zavtra.ru/blogs/global_naya_shvatka.

⁸⁶ A public opinion poll conducted by the Market Institute in Austria in December 2020 shows that 20% of citizens are religious, and only 4% pray more often in crisis situations. The tendency is for the Roman Catholic Church to rapidly lose trust even in countries with a traditionally strong foothold, especially when it comes to responding to contemporary challenges in society.

⁸⁷ The authors are of the opinion that technological convergence cannot contribute to the solution of the accumulated social problems multiplied by financial capitalism, nor to the development of the human race in general. Whether applied violently or by deception to human beings, technological convergence will not result in homoplasia or convergent evolution. It is a poisonous delusion and unfortunately its creators know it very well.

⁸⁸ US President Donald Trump has taken a course opposite to anarcholiberalism.

economic problems. About their tertiary strategic plans, we can even say dreams related to the Arctic, Siberia, the Middle East, and the Helm area, we think that they should not analyze, nor elaborate more seriously here. On the other hand, one should not have any illusions that its transatlantic strategic allies will get rid of its services⁸⁹ when they no longer need it, e.g. in the case of "Yalta II" or when more financially profitable relations / deals with larger partners are in sight, e.g. with China, Russia, or Germany. Although after 70 years, on February 14, 2020, at the Munich Security Conference, there was an official meeting of Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi with the Secretary of the Holy See, Monsignor Paul Richard Gallagher, and the opening of the nunciature was announced for autumn 2020 in Beijing⁹⁰, it is not to be expected that the Holy See will be able to make significant progress in improving Poland's status in the PRC in the near future, no matter how much they want or possibly plan to do so.

Academician, physicist, director of the Scientific Research Institute. Kurchatova, Mikhail Valentinovich Kovalchuk, at the International Round Table on the topic "Psychological Defense. The struggle for history - the struggle for the future", in Moscow on September 25, 2020, organized by the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, among other things, said: "Economy and politics have been determined by technologies from the very beginning of civilization. At the moment, science is able to reach almost what God has done ... All "colored revolutions" are the use of cognitive technologies to manage mass cognition. For success, it is necessary to fool everything as much as possible, completely destroy the education system, share everyone's mobile phone and have a satellite for transmitting messages. In practice, an organized and civilized society,

⁸⁹ "Being an opponent of the United States is dangerous, and being an ally of America is disastrous." - Henry Kissinger

⁹⁰ Croatian Cardinal Ante Jozic, a Jesuit, the newly appointed (2020) diplomatic representative of the Holy See in Belarus, was involved in the diplomatic negotiations between the Vatican and the People's Republic of China. Following the publication of parts of Pope Francis' book criticizing the People's Republic of China's attitude towards the Uyghurs, progress in the dialogue has been called into question.

protected by the state apparatus, is being replaced by a totality of easily manageable individuals, ie "herds". In parallel with that, there is a demographic shortening of nation states, forcible implantation of LGBT-type anti-values, and so on. Forming a "subspecies" of existing people, the so-called "service man", who will have the properties: manageable knowledge, controlled birth, and cheap food. According to Kovalchuk, this is achieved in the following way: The first stage, the Hybrid "cold" pre-war, whose main goal is to weaken the target state as much as possible with the entirety of activities. Absolutely all spheres of the state are attacked: education, culture, economy, science, defense, security ... Stage two, direct enslavement, use of new ones (e.g. with the use of a digital concentration camp called "Internet" where people are tricked, use of social networks, digital currencies, etc.), but if necessary also "traditional violent means". The crucial part is breaking the basic moral principles of society and the family and instilling "alternative" moral norms, which can quite freely be called immoral norms. Then the absolutization of personal freedoms is carried out and under that famous "slogan" state sovereignty is destroyed and the imposed "alternative", that is, essentially amoral norm, is preserved. Thus, we come to a completely absurd situation that those whose rights and freedoms for the development of their personalities can only be provided by the state, are (un) conscious destroyers of that same state. The first president of the World Health Organization (WHO) G.B. Chisholm (1948-1953), appointed by Rockefeller, claimed: "In order to reach a world government, it is necessary to remove from the knowledge of the people their individuality, attachment to family traditions, national patriotism and religious dogma." The destruction of the notion of truth and lies that occurs on the basis of a child's upbringing, the replacement of trust in the experience of the elderly gained by rational thinking - these are the later goals needed to change human behavior.⁹¹ Population policy is becoming very important for preserving the national interests of the United States.

⁹¹ US National Security Memorandum, NSSM no. 220 of 1947.

We must create social and political preconditions for the alleged spontaneous reduction of the birth rate ... we must deal with the fact that our activity in developing countries is not accepted as a policy of a developed country, directed against those countries ... ", after that, the fashion show "Playboy" was released.

There is an unequivocal conclusion that the expansionist part of the financial elite⁹² in the United States and the supranational part of the financiers associated with the British crown as an extended "Arab Spring" continue to use neo-Nazis and fascists in Ukraine and Belarus (but also in Germany, France and other meridians), so they would overthrow the German and in the background the Polish geostrategic plans related to Europe and the Caucasus, as they did in 2011 with French and Italian geopolitical ideas and intentions in the Mediterranean, North Africa and Helm. Therefore, when considering contemporary international relations, Western phrases about the "lack of democracy" in the East (or the South) and the "violation of human rights" on other meridians should be rejected at the outset. The West still needs a strategy of personal and group exceptionalism, as part of colonial ideology, in a prolonged ideological war with the rest of the planet, primarily for the successful continuation of parasitism, plunder and attempts to survive financial capitalism, the most criminal political system known so far. That is why in Poland (but also in Belarus, Serbia and elsewhere) all those who are Americanized ("Hollywoodized"), all who see themselves in the light of hipsters, Westerners, cosmopolitans, but also egoists of different colors, "caught" this ideology. Those who do not care about other people and the interests of the community, but only their personal interests and their faster, cheaper, and simpler satisfaction. Dr. Gracjan Cimek calls this behavior of the rebellious part of

⁹² In January 2020, Oxfam published a report discussing the distribution of funds on the planet. Namely, 2,153 billionaires have more than 60% of the world's population at their disposal. As you can see for a certain category (only "for their own") communism has long since appeared, whether you are in that group, you will decide for yourself. To this we would add the comment of one of the billionaires - "Yes, a class war is being fought and my class is winning in it," the authors would add to

the citizenry "Polish thought" (nos. 43-44) "the syndrome of a prodigal son"⁹³. However, in the United States, in Great Britain, in Berlin and on other meridians, the pressures of a huge percentage of ordinary people who seek general justice and equality for the unfortunate people are growing. This tendency will continue as the pressures of the anarcholiberal pseudo-elite⁹⁴ on society become stronger, it will not bring the desired results for them, but will serve as a catalyst for social events.

On the Eurasian continent, the current Polish strategy also has potential allies, albeit partial ones, whose national interests primarily coincide with the blockade of land roads that pass through the territory of the former USSR and the blockade of economic integration processes in Europe. It is about the interests of the Republic of Turkey, which is also backed by London, which has its own geostrategic plan, embodied in an attempt to revive the past, that is, the former Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, Turkey would like the communications united in the strategy "One Belt, One Road" to pass through the territories it manages.⁹⁵. Thus, it would keep control of one part of China's

this, a timeline - for now!

⁹³ Dr hab Gracjan Cimek, Institute of Political Science at the University of Gdańsk, publication "MislPolska", no. 43-44, 26.10-01.11.2020. and no. 45-46, 08.-15.11.2020.

⁹⁴ In order for a certain category to be elite in the true sense of the term, its higher position must be announced by the society from which it originates. In this example, this is not, nor can it be achieved. Self-proclamation in this social notion simply cannot be accepted.

⁹⁵ Some specialists for the People's Republic of China, A.P. Devyatov et al. advocate the hypothesis that this strategy is part of the Chinese global secret doctrine "Three Norths, Four Seas", adopted at the Third Plenum of the XIV convocation of the CCP in 1993, with the basic goal of expanding strategic borders. It is supposed to be realized at the poles of the Arctic and Antarctic, in space, on land and in the world's oceans. The four seas include the Arctic, Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the three northern seas include the United States, NATO and the Trans-Urals of the Russian Federation. In 2012, the "Chinese Imagination" was adopted at the XVIII CCP Congress and Xi Jinping was appointed President of China. Five years later (2017), the XIX CCP Congress adopted a doctrine entitled "Society for the Common Destiny of Mankind." The next period is planned to be divided into three parts, the first until 2025 called satisfaction with high technological development (primarily in the production of digital technologies, because microchips are produced in Taiwan), the second 2025-2035, and the third ends in 2045. The assumption is that everything will take place in three phases: chaos, war / conflict of great powers and their fragmentation, and then the Great Unification or in Chinese "Shit Datong". The new beginning of civilization is supposedly predicted from 2045. Contrary to this view, the author is of the opinion that the future will be completely different, without nano, bio, info and

geostrategic plans, certainly with the continuation of its pan-European strategy "Road to Great Turan", from Xinjiang Uyghur AR, through Central Asia to the Caucasus and Helm (German term for this part of the continent is the Balkans). Thus, their plan to raise the so-called The "Black Caliphate"⁹⁶ gained considerable certainty. Strategists in Pakistan resonate in an almost identical way, whose intention is to tie China's economic power to itself as much as possible, in order to make an adequate counterweight to India's growing power, on the one hand, and strengthen its position on the Great Turan Road.

When it comes to Polish domestic policy and stability, the fact is that the long-term game of intimidating its population to all its neighbors seems to have reached its peak, and that the population, in addition to enlightenment, also shows a pronounced fatigue of materials. Add to that the fact that over 2 million of the most productive part of the Polish population has already emigrated from Poland to the West, that migration continues to a lesser extent, and that migrants from Ukraine, Belarus, China, India, etc. are coming in their place. In the same issue, we have in front of us a demographic picture that is not at all naive for a country with a significant percentage of conservative Catholics. It should be noted that Poland managed to protect itself and at this moment it is far from the situation in Western European countries such as France, Belgium, Germany, or Sweden. Just for the sake of a simple comparison, let us remind ourselves for a moment that in the last of the above, the secretary of the "Arab Party of Sweden" Krar Al-Hamede stated that the

cogno convergence, and that from 2048, the nature of development will definitely begin. Essentially completely different from the proclaimed Western, but also Chinese.

⁹⁶ The term is a modification of the attitude of Russian authors, A.P. Devyatov, M.L. Hazin et al. who argue that Turkey may be the headquarters of the Red Caliphate. The authors are of the opinion that Turkey, according to ideological preconditions, with the existing concept of the "Road to Veliki Turan", cannot be the center of uniting Muslim countries in a project called "Red Caliphate". "It positioned itself in the Black International with its neo-Ottoman and Pan-Turkish policy. In that context, let us remind ourselves that since 2011 it has intensively supported the attempt to establish the "Black Caliphate"(the so-called Islamic State) and only in such projects it can be a leader under certain conditions. From the point of view of exercising conceptual power, only Tehran can fill the position of leader in the "Red Caliphate", and the recently signed strategic agreement on cooperation for the next 25 years between the People's Republic of China and Iran's IR confirms our assessment.

mentioned party "suggests to all Swedes who do not agree with the values of multiculturalism that they can leave the country forever.⁹⁷ The Swedes have nothing to do here anymore, because your Sweden is gone forever." Al-Hamede publicly suggested that his like-minded people form a fund to help Swedes who want to leave the country, but do not have enough money, to realize "their" plan.⁹⁸ On the other hand, the big question is whether the newly arrived migrants see themselves in Polish uniforms and in the role of cannon fodder for the sake of the interests of the current Atlantic Polish elite and certain TNCs that still stand in the Polish shadow. Given that in this part of Europe there is no alternative to the existing ideology, and obviously the will of parts of the political elites to put it into use, it is to be expected that the rating of the ruling coalition will fall, especially if it succumbs to anarcholiberal pressures from abroad. which is only possible by their even stronger turn to the right. Perhaps according to the "Confederation" (Polish: Konfederacja) movement, which is somewhat similar to the French "National Front". On the other hand, on the political scene, one should expect stronger profiling of the parties of the left and a turn of a significant part of the electorate to the left. When asked how much in the direction of the left projects, the answer is simple, use the Law of the Pendulum and determine the parameter of how far the state has gone to the right, approximately the same amount will go to the left. That our assessment (written in 2019) is correct is shown by the nervous reaction of the General Prosecutor of Poland, who addressed the Constitutional Court on December 6, 2020 with a written request to ban the Communist Party of Poland, allegedly for their commitment to "totalitarian rule", characteristic for the "communist states of the twentieth century". The essence cannot be covered with empty rhetoric, the prosecutor, and the Minister of Justice of Poland in one person, initiated an ideological showdown not only with the communists, but with the entire left, a

⁹⁷ E-newspaper "Komsomolskaya pravda" from September 16, 2020, column "In the world".

⁹⁸ Also and <http://fakti.org/quo-vadis-orbi/svedstka-arapska-partija-javno-savetuje-svedjanim-koji->

symbol of social equality and general justice, which does not exist in any society with anarcholiberal ideology. Due to such moves by the Polish authorities, the term "Polish-Polish war" is often used by political scientists and journalists in the media. If you are interested in how the conflict will end, we will tell you, as last time, the complete defeat of the right and the bearer of its ideology, because everything in this new space must be synchronized. The time of desynchronization of space, people, and events, that is, the time of parasitism is over. Now new, different, more beautiful, positivist rules are beginning to apply.

The presence of the American armed forces, which was publicly called for by the Polish comprador leadership, but not on the basis of a referendum, but its political orientation, makes Poland an occupied territory, ie a state that is in a vassal relationship with the United States.⁹⁹ Such a situation in the near future makes Moscow's contacts with Warsaw meaningless and points Russia to a direct dialogue with the Polish occupier, in order to eventually reach political agreements,¹⁰⁰ one of the components of which will be Poland. Many in Polish society are aware of these facts, and the aggravation of the economic situation cannot exclude mass riots and then open calls for the US occupation forces to leave this country. We do not rule out that the US Armed Forces¹⁰¹ were brought to Poland for this very reason, ie to preserve the puppet government in the form of the

ne-vole-migrante-da-se-sami-isele.

⁹⁹ Those who doubt this assessment should see the video or photos of the stay of Polish President Andrzej Duda in the Oval Office during the signing of documents and the attitude of the American president towards him on the Internet.

¹⁰⁰ The situation is identical with Romania and Bulgaria.

¹⁰¹ Following the publication of a strategy to achieve supremacy in space, the Pentagon has released a document entitled "Advantage at Sea", <http://media.defense.gov/2020/Dec/17/2002553481/-1/-1/0/TRISERVICESTRATEGY.PDF/TRISERVICESTRATEGY.PDF> These are strategic recommendations for the next decade, which were adopted after the document entitled "Cooperation Strategy for Maritime Supremacy in the 21st Century", published in 2015. It should certainly be underlined that the United States did not sign the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, but behaves in accordance with its interests in the World Ocean (essentially as it corresponds to the interests of the TNC). The continuation of this behavior is planned through advocating the use of "integrated naval force" by the United States.

existing pro-Atlantic elite and provide the US and TNC¹⁰², whose interests they promote, further inflow of money from this financial colony. Tactical battle groups ranging in size from platoon to battalion, in the use of which the United States within NATO and beyond has a very rich experience, are extremely mobile and suitable for inciting combat operations in a hybrid war, which could be objectively observed in this country. On such a possible operation, American units could count on the intelligence and information-subversive support of their intelligence structures DIA, CIA, NSA, FBI, but also the Israeli MOSSAD and its Unit 8200, ie the British MI-6 and the 77th Special War Brigade. (numbering about 2,000 members). For a potential conflict with leftists, which is smoldering in the background of political backstage games in modern Poland, immediately and according to the already seen pattern from the conflict of TNCs with the local population on other meridians, in Asia, Africa, Latin and Central America, foreign powers will be accused, even if they do not exist in the mentioned game. The connection of the leftists with the most hated national opponent of the Western TNCs, they used to be communists in the role of on-duty villains, and in this case we assume that they would be accused of connection with the Russian Federation and / or the PRC, will be massively exploited in all Western and subordinate media. We anticipate that, if necessary, an identical scenario, with the same reasons, will be realized in all states of the former Warsaw Pact and the USSR¹⁰³, which fell under the neocolonial influence of Western expansionist elites and TNC managers, including Greece and Montenegro. We should not rule out the possibility of trying to treat the Mediterranean countries, Italy, Portugal, and Spain in the same way in the case of the black scenario, if they try to pursue a more or less balanced policy with more pronounced elements of national sovereignty. When planning a response to a colonial attack, one should always keep in

¹⁰² Allegedly, according to the conclusions of the operation of the American Defense Intelligence Service, DIA, called "Hurricane", the informants concluded that at least 883 members of the Communist Party of China were incorporated into high positions in TNCs, which operate on US soil

¹⁰³ Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, etc.

mind that the West never conducts political dialogue. Everything he has always done and what he is only capable of in the information sphere, is an ideological monologue written in advance, with a precisely determined war goal. Ideological, psychological, economic, military and others. In realizing their ideas, the anarcholiberal part of the elite therefore counts on the so-called the third sector, ie private funds and organizations whose basic task is the perfidious destruction of traditional values and institutions in the target nation states. The basic tool for performing this task is globalist ideology of the so-called LGBTQI¹⁰⁴ population, with all the accompanying information and sociological techniques, including the formation of a new language and the terms needed for an aggressive ideological war. In that context, on February 4, 2021, US President Joe Biden presented to the public a memorandum from the US Government from 2011, the purpose of which is to "strengthen and protect the rights of the LGBTQI population around the world."¹⁰⁵ The tendency of the official ideology of globalists in extending their favorites in the so-called "Revolutions of values" will obviously gain in importance under the Biden administration. There should be no doubt that this fact will affect all nation states, including Polish foreign and domestic policy.

Amy Zegart, from Stanford University (a hotbed of globalist parasitic ideas) in California, USA, advocates a total reformation of the secret services, which, according to her, have lost the basic meaning of existence. According to her, the intelligence officers must decide for themselves who in this world truly makes decisions. Due to the alleged change of the world, the intelligence service should change, and secret agents in the service of nation states should work not only for the state. Since the main product of the work is information, it should be available to high-tech companies, such as Google or Microsoft, which do not

¹⁰⁴ An abbreviation in English that wants to include all people who are not heterosexual.

¹⁰⁵ Tanjug, "Biden fights for the rights of the LGBTQI population", February 5, 2021, site visited on the same day, <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view.aspx?izb=628034>.

necessarily have to be national, but those above them. The intelligence service working for TNCs must learn to communicate with the people or peoples and in that function the characteristic of secrecy is (allegedly) overcome. Along with it, there is discipline, focus and precision with all the other "little things",¹⁰⁶ that are characteristic of intelligence services. From all the above, the conclusion follows that governments no longer make any sense and that everything, including the management of the social community, should be left to transnational companies and their managers. What it might look like to any "ordinary" man was shown to us by the example of the abolition of all human and civil rights to legitimate US President Donald Trump in January 2021, by closing his social media accounts where he was followed by tens of millions of citizens and preventing the disposal of finances measured in tens of millions of USD, without a decision of a court or government agency. Only based on the subjective will of the TNK manager...

But puppet managers are expected to fail everywhere, primarily because they do not want to see that our objective reality has changed. The energies coming from the Universe have changed, free antimatter has appeared, the frequencies of the Earth have changed, and we humans have changed and will continue to change. The time of destruction, the era of domination of centripetal forces (disintegration, explosion, and destruction) or generally speaking of negativist programs has passed. We have entered an age of development, an era marked by centrifugal forces and the power of positivist programs, a time of development (shrinkage, implosion, and construction). Therefore, in the near and distant future, human society will change, this time you believe that it will be a huge change for the better...

These and other data, which due to the objective length of the material cannot be presented in it, indicate that the new Atlantic elite of Poland, led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski and the Law and Justice Party (Polish: PiS),

¹⁰⁶ Dmitry Kosyrev, "With a knife, but without a cloak", RIA Novosti, November 8, 2020, <https://ria.ru/20201108/razvedka-1583531947.html>.

once again stepped on the same historical rake as Adam Czartoryski¹⁰⁷ and Jozef Pilsudski before them¹⁰⁸. Apparently, the famous Polish political scientist Marek Budzisz agrees with this assessment, who in his book (collection of articles) "The illusion of a free Belarus - How it is possible to lose one's homeland in the fight for democracy"¹⁰⁹, analyzes the attempted coup in Minsk, warns foreign policy, the strengthening of Moscow and the open tendency of reckless interference in domestic politics among its neighbors. Prospects for the development of the geopolitical situation in Poland in the long run are not rosy at all and range from various economic sanctions (e.g. by the US for refusing to compensate Jewish families killed during World War II or by the EU for abandoning basic democratic values, rule rights, etc.), reduction of GDP, falling standards, continuing falling birth rates, continuing migrant flows of the indigenous Polish population on the one hand and the influx of different types of economic migrants on the other, reduction of state territory, and unfortunately to complete disintegration of Polish statehood which has happened several times during the known history. We sincerely hope that there will be enough lucid, brave, educated, capable and willing people among the current Polish elite to avoid this scenario. As neutral observers of the events, we claim that it is not too late to return the sword to its scabbard, hang the shield on a wedge and

¹⁰⁷ During the Crimean War of 1853-1856, he was an open patron of Polish volunteer military formations, created on the territory of the Ottoman Empire for war with Tsarist Russia. From that period in Turkey there are settlements of Polish emigration under the name of Adam's village - http://pawet.net/library/history/bel_history/memoirs/007/ЧарторижскийАдам.Мемуары.html.

That history lessons can be repeated for those who did not master the material is indicated by the fact that during the Azerbaijani-Turkish military intervention in Nagorno-Karabakh in September-October 2020, an initiative appeared in the Polish media to help Turkey in the Caucasus.

¹⁰⁸ From the point of view of the defense, our assessment is fully confirmed by the results of the military exercise "Zima-20", in which several thousand Polish soldiers took part. The main task of the exercise was to perform at least three weeks of defensive actions against potential aggression from the east. Instead, the defense forces were forced to capitulate in a few days. - Samardžija, S. (2021). „Izgubljeni rat Poljske“ [Lost War of Poland], *Politika*, no. 38519, p. 2. <https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/473167/Svet/Izgubljeni-rat-Poljske>.

¹⁰⁹ Issued in 2020 by Wydawnictwo Novej Konfederacji, from Warsaw, Poland.

find bread and salt in the outstretched hand.¹¹⁰ Such an approach would have many more supporters in Poland itself, but also allies in its environment.

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Теодор СИМЕУНОВИЋ

Академија струкових студија, Шабац

Светозар С. РАКАЗОВ

ПРОЈЕКАТ „МЕЂУМОРЈЕ“, ХИБРИДНИ РАТОВИ И МИГРАНТСКИ ХАОС

**- генеза, актуелности и њихова синтеза, виђени кроз призму
потенцијалних перспектива развоја догађаја -**

Део II

*„Историја није учитељица, већ контролор, она нас ничему не учи, али сурово
кажњава за непознавање пређеног градива.“*

Сажетак

Почетак 19. века је под диригентском палицом Адама Чаторијског донео неуспео покушај стварања Друге Речипосполите, која је у заметку осмишљавана као велика држава између два мора, Балтичког и Црног. Са таквим напорима је настављено током целог 19. века, али тек након Првог Светског рата они доносе одређени резултат у форми нове пољске државе. Међутим, амбиције и планови тадашње пољске елите су биле много веће од добијеног и они су наставили са озбиљним радом на територијалном проширењу државе. Због тога и улазе у рат са комунистима на територији Украјина, а затим и тајне дговоре са Трећим рајхом ради комадања Чехословачке, што је de facto означило почетак новог светског оружаног сукоба. Неуспех договора са нацистичком врхушком око поделе плена и напад Трећег рајха на Пољску су означили крах Друге Речипосполите. На крилима Црвене армије пољски комунисти након Другог светског рата постављају темељ нове државе, Треће Речипосполите, са значајним територијалним проширењима на уштрб немачких територија. Победа транснационалних компанија над Варшавским уговором и СССР-ом 90-тих година 20. века је донела промене и Пољској. На политичкој основи десног

центра и католичког конзервативизма, држава је започела своју унутрашњу трансформацију у Четврту Речпосполиту. Један од њених директних продуката је реанимирани и редизајнирани „План Међуморје“, сада под именом „План Троморје“. Осим непосредног геополитичког окружења појавиле су се нескривене амбиције господарења, овог пута територијом народима између три мора: Балтичког, Црног и Јадранског. Међутим, како то у животу често буде, план је морао бити допуњаван, мењан и делимично одбациван, јер су се појавили нови изазови у облику масовних миграција са Блиског истока, из Азије, Украјине и са севера Африке. Уз масовно коришћење дигиталних технологија, радикалних идеологија, асиметричних оружаних дејстава, ратовања под туђом заставом и нових, до сада некоришћених форми наоружања, сукоби у садашњости су добили и нови назив – хибридни ратови. Актуелна пољска елита је, осим традиционално верног савезника у Ватикану и прикривених ментора у Лондону, свој геополитички „План Троморје“ јавно везала за Вашингтон, нудећи се у улози могућег војно-политичког оператера у источној Европи. Очигледно је да планери у Варшави у своје прорачуне нису укалкулисали да у САД може доћи до смене политичке парадигме и озбиљне политичке кризе, чији су узроци много дубљи од самих САД, а последице историјске. Крах капиталистичког модела управљања, рушење његове идеолошке матрице и катастрофалне последице које финансијски колонијализам оставља за собом широм планете, обележиле су последњих неколико година, а поготово 2020. Стварање „Страже инклузивног капитализма са Ватиканом“ у последњих неколико година, покушај маркетиншког и фиктивног отклона од капитализма, уз остајање у његовим благодетима за привилеговани део глобалне елите и пољски маневар од стратешког савезника са оне стране океана, са једновременим залагањем за трансформисање ЕУ у европску конфедерацију, обележили су почетак 2021. године. Имајући у виду наведено, аутори у раду покушавају да дају одговор на питање да ли се пољски План Међуморје (Троморје) уклапа у неки од познатих глобалних геополитичких планова.

Кључне речи: Троморје, дигиталне технологије, хибридни ратови, миграције, обојене револуције, инклузивни капитализам

